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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

Mr. RAPIN de THOYRAS.

Translated into ENGLISH with Additional NOTES, by

N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

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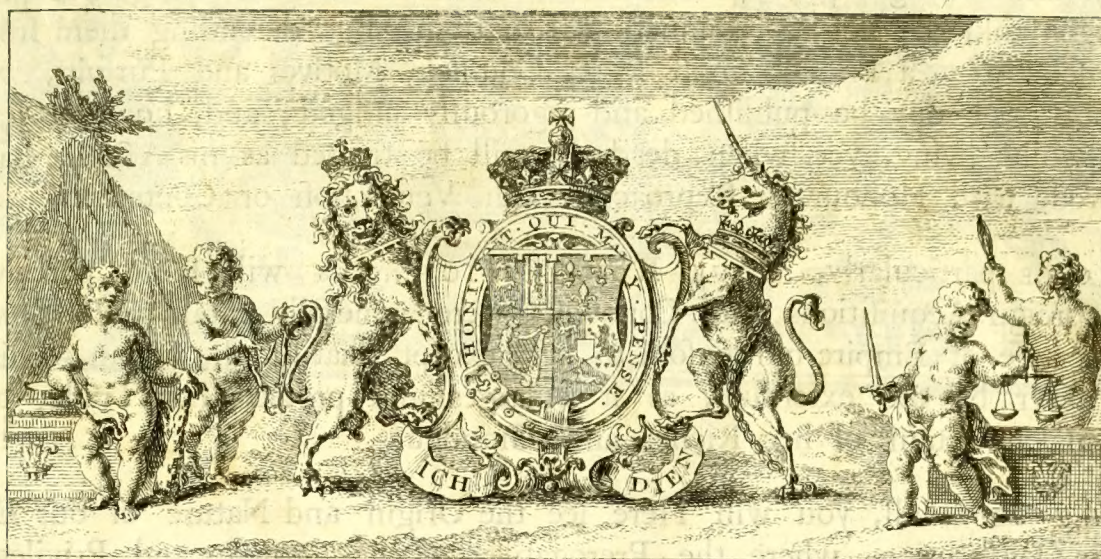
HISTORY

OF ENGLAND.

MR. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

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TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS
FREDERIC
PRINCE of WALES.

S I R,



Y prefuming to offer to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS this Translation, is in some measure justified by the Nature of the Subject, and Reason of the Thing. For History, however useful to others, is infinitely more so to a Prince, and particularly the History of that Crown He is born to wear. How instructive, as well as agreeable, must a fair and impartial Narration of the Lives and Actions of a long Series of Predecessors be to Him? And that Such is the following History, originally penned by a Foreigner, who had no Party to serve, or Interest to promote, may be undoubtedly concluded from the universal Approbation it every where meets with.

HERE then, as from a faithful Monitor, uninfluenced by Hopes or Fears, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS will learn, in general, That to a Prince nothing is so pernicious as Flattery; nothing so valuable as Truth: That proportionable to his People's Liberty and Happiness will be his

DEDICATION.

Glory and Strength: That true Valour consists not in destroying, but protecting Mankind; not in conquering Kingdoms, but defending them from Violence: That a Prince's most secret Counsels, Motives and Pursuits, will probably one day be published and rigorously judged; and, however flattered whilst living, yet when dead, he will be treated as his Actions have deserved, with Honour or Reproach, with Veneration or Contempt.

MORE particularly, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS will Here perceive, that foreign Acquisitions and Conquests were generally fatal to *England*; all Increase of Empire burdensome to her, except That of the Ocean, which can never be too extensive, as it enlarges and protects her Trade, the principal Fountain of her Riches and Grandeur.

BUT above all, you will Here see the Origin and Nature of our Excellent Constitution, where the Prerogatives of the Crown, and Privileges of the Subject are so happily proportioned, that the King and the People are inseparably united in the same Interests and Views. You will observe that this Union, though talked of by even the most Arbitrary Princes with respect to their Subjects, is peculiar to the *English* Monarchy, and the most solid Foundation of the Sovereign's Glory, and the People's Happiness.

ACCORDINGLY, you will Here constantly find, that in the Reigns where this Union was cultivated, the Kingdom flourished, and the Prince was glorious, powerful, trusted, beloved. On the contrary, when, by an Arbitrary Disposition, or evil Counsels, it was interrupted, the Constitution languished, mutual Confidence vanished, Distrust, Jealousy, Discord arose; and when entirely broken, as was unfortunately sometimes the Case, Confusion and Civil Wars ensued.

As this Union, so essential to our Government, was by Your *Royal Grandfather*, and is by His *Present Majesty*, Your Royal Father, steddily adhered to, so it is with extreme Satisfaction presumed, that the same Adherence will distinguish YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS's future Reign, a Presumption grounded upon Your many noble Endowments, but chiefly on that Foundation of all other, as well as Royal, Virtues, a generous Mind, which naturally abhors Oppression and Tyranny.

PRESUMING on this known Generosity, I most humbly intreat YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS's gracious Acceptance of this Address and Translation, and beg leave to have the Honour of subscribing my self, with profound Respect and Submission,

S I R,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Most humble, most dutiful,

And most obedient Servant,

N. TINDAL.



T H E P R E F A C E.



WHEN Mr. *Rapin* first begun this Work, he little thought of writing a compleat History of *England*. His long stay in our Island giving him an opportunity of learning our Language; and his Post in the Army, during the War in *Ireland*, even obliging him to it, he diligently applied himself to the reading of *English* Books, and particularly of such as treated of the Government and History of *England*, after the *Norman Conquest*. As the desire of knowledge continually increases, and being master of his time, he was not satisfied with understanding the Nature, but wished also to know the Original, of the *English* Constitution. To this end, he thought it necessary to peruse carefully the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, who introduced this form of Government into *Great-Britain*. He found this Study to be very discouraging, the History of the *Anglo-Saxons* being like a vast Forest, where the Traveller, with great difficulty, finds a few narrow paths to guide his wandering steps. It was this however that inspired him with the design of clearing this part of the *English* History, by removing the rubbish, and carrying on the Thread so, as to give at least a general Knowledge. For this purpose, he was indispensably obliged to show, how the *Saxons* came to send Troops into *Great-Britain*, and why a Conquest, which had cost them so much, was abandoned by the *Romans*. In a word, he fixed the beginning of his History to the time of *Julius Cæsar*, who first attempted to conquer our Island, intending to conclude with the *Norman Conquest*. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and besides finding, that after the Conquest, the Scene was changed, and from a wild Forest he was entered into a cultivated Country, where the way was easy, he resolved to proceed. However, when he came to the Reign of *Henry II*, he was upon the point of relinquishing his Work, of which the beginning gave him no encouragement, when an unexpected assistance, not only induced him to continue it, but also to form the project of a much larger History than what he at first intended. This assistance was *RYMER'S FOEDERA*, communicated to our Author by the famous *le Clerc*, to whom, being then publishing at the Government's charge, the Volumes were sent by the Lord *Halifax*, a great Promoter of that noble Work.

This Collection, consisting then of seventeen Folios, which are lately reprinted with two additional Volumes, was of infinite service to our Author in compiling his History, and enabling him to clear numberless things which remained in obscurity. It afforded him means, 1. To rectify the Dates in many places. 2. To discover a great number of errors in the best *English*, *Scotch*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Historians. 3. To decide, on many occasions, concerning the contrarieties between the Historians. 4. To insert in his History many Events, wholly omitted, or but slightly mentioned by others. In a word, it is This that chiefly distinguishes his History from all that have appeared before this Collection was published. For it is easy to see what an advantage it was to him, since it contains Treaties of Peace, Truce, League, Marriages, Commerce, made by the Kings of *England* with other Princes; Ambassadors Instructions; their Letters and Informations, as well concerning their own Negotiations, as

the affairs of the Courts to which they were sent; very instructive Memoirs upon affairs confusedly spoken of by the Historians; Letters Patents; Orders; Safe-Conducts; with numberless other Papers, which cannot be ranged under general Heads, and which are of great use to a Historian. All these Mr. *Rapin* was so well acquainted with, that he has published Abstracts of seventeen Volumes, to show the relation of these Acts to the History of *England*. This Work to a Man less versed in the *English* History than Mr. *Rapin*, would require his whole life; but to him, who knew the intent and motive of every Act, it was only a diversion. By the way, it may be added, that Mr. *Rapin* had a thorough knowledge of our Parties and Factions, as appears in his *Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories*, published in 1717, and translated into *English*, *Dutch*, *Danish*, and twice into *High-Dutch*.

The advantage which the use of *RYMER'S* Collection, gave Mr. *Rapin* over all our Historians, serves, in great measure, to remove the objection of his being a Foreigner, which naturally arises in the mind of an *Englishman*. But if it is farther considered, that besides this advantage, he not only carefully perused all the *English* Historians, but also confronted them with those of the neighbouring States, whether they wrote in *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, or *Spanish*, it must be owned this objection entirely vanishes, and that supposing his judgment and capacity equal to the Work, (which the Publick by an uncommon approbation seems to allow) he was in all other respects as well qualified as any *Englishman* can be.

As his assistances were extraordinary, so there's reason to believe his impartiality uncommon. For besides his privilege, as a Foreigner, of freely speaking the truth, without fear of offending any Party, he had no motive or interest to induce him to be partial to *England*, or any of the neighbouring States. His Life was equally spent in *France*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany*. During the seventeen years he was employed in this Work, he had no Post or Pension, nor exercised any Profession, which might bias him to one Nation more than another, and as he had no particular obligations to any of the forementioned States, so he had no reason to complain of ever receiving the least injustice.

But notwithstanding his endeavours to be entirely impartial, he plainly foresaw, People's prejudices in favour of their own Nation, would prevent them from doing him justice upon several occasions. But this was a Rock he could not avoid. How is it possible, for instance, to relate the Contests between the *English* and *Scots*, to the satisfaction of both? The War between them in the XIVth Century, concerning the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*, cannot be described with its Causes and Circumstances, without exasperating the one or the other. The *Scots* are persuaded, *Edward I.* acted very unjustly with their Ancestors, and that his Grandson *Edward III.* was not more scrupulous. The *English*, on the contrary, believe, their Kings had Then and long Before an uncontested right of Sovereignty over all *Scotland*, and that *Edward the First's* War upon that account was very lawful. Our Author has declared for the *Scots*, as believing the Truth on their side. For which reason he has endeavoured to set this whole affair in the clearest light possible, thinking it the duty of a Historian, to correct such errors

as have gathered strength from Time, or from the negligence and prejudices of former Writers.

The quarrel between *Edward III* and *Philip de Valois*, in which so much blood was spilt, is another instance wherein it is almost impossible to please both the *English* and *French*. Among the *French*, the *Salic Law* is a *Noli me tangere*. To satisfy them, not only the Antiquity of that Law must be acknowledged, but the Sense and Extent must also be left unexamined. The *English*, on their side, are no less prejudiced. Without considering that *Edward* could have no right to the Crown of *France*, but on supposition of the authority of the *Salic Law*, they alledge against it such reasons, as are not only unserviceable, but even prejudicial, to that Prince's Rights. Our Author however, without being restrained by the Fear of displeasing either, has explained, in a Dissertation at the end of *Edward the Third's* Reign, what is meant by the *Salic Law*, wherein consisted the Difference between the two Kings, and shown, that their Rights were so litigious, as to be very difficultly decided by that Law.

If it is hard to satisfy two different Nations in the recital of their Contests and Quarrels, it is no less so to content the *English* themselves, in things wherein their opinions are divided; as for instance, the Prerogatives of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Succession of the Crown, and the like. Mr. *Rapin* observes, that disputes on these points were first set on foot among us in the last Century, by two opposite Parties, one whereof was for an absolute and arbitrary Power in the King, whilst the other endeavoured not only to divest him of his just Prerogatives, but even to render him dependent on the Parliament. These two extremes he equally condemned, and as he had no motive or interest to incline him to either Party, he has done his utmost to discover the Truth, through the Passions and Prejudices of the Writers on both sides. He has fairly confronted the Facts laid down by the several Historians, received for true, such as they all agree in, and of such as are variously related, he has admitted only those that are supported by strong evidence. The Barons Wars are also a Subject that can hardly be treated to the satisfaction of all Readers; some considering as Rebellion, what others deem a just defence of Liberty and Property. Mr. *Rapin* has declared for neither of these Opinions, farther than induced by solid reasons, and, by means of the *Fœdera*, has clearly accounted for the Rise and Progress of these Wars, which, for want of that assistance, are very confusedly explained by others.

What most embarrassed our Author, is the national Partiality of the Historians, chiefly upon two Articles, *The Violation of the Treaties*, and, *the Success of the Battles*. For the first, where the Truth was no other way to be discovered, he has frequently made use of a very natural maxim; namely, that it is not likely the Party, to whom a Treaty is advantageous, should be the first to break it. As for the second Article, nothing is more common than to see Historians stick to own their Nation vanquished, and think it incumbent on them to diminish its losses, or magnify its victories. On these occasions, when our Author could not fix the success of a Battle by the Consequences, he has taken care to inform the Reader of the disagreement between the Historians.

Mr. *Rapin*, professing to write for the information of Foreigners, was obliged to give a particular account of the *English* Constitution. The following Discourse therefore was solely designed for the instruction of such as are strangers to our Government, which, being different, as he observed, from all others, the Reader, as well as Historian, must always have it in sight, least wrong Ideas lead them into great Errors.

Origin and
Nature of
the English
Constitution.

The Government of *England* is a mixt and limited Monarchy, as it is certain, all the Governments in *Europe* established by the northern Nations formerly were. They were Monarchies, invested, not with absolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national Laws. Such is still the *English* Constitution, whatever changes have happened in the other *European* Kingdoms. The King and People make but one Body, of which the King is Head. He directs and gives motion to all the other Members, takes care of their Welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the Publick, to procure their good, and guard them against all impending evils. By watching thus for the publick, he consults his own interest, since, being strictly united with his Subjects, he is sure to be gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But to enable the King to labour effectually for the good of the Kingdom, it was necessary to cloath him with a great Power, and assign him a Revenue sufficient to live in splendor, in order to attract the veneration of the People. It was necessary to grant him Privileges approaching absolute Power; as the command of the Armies and fortified Places; the execution of the Laws, and the admini-

nistration of Justice in his own Name; the pardoning of condemned Criminals; the disposal of all the high Offices; the calling and dissolving of the Parliament; the rejecting of Bills he thinks contrary to the publick Good; the proclaiming Peace and War: These are called the Prerogatives of the King, or of the Crown. I do not pretend to give an exact List of them. I am sensible some extend them much farther: but all I mean here is, that the King has great Prerogatives, which were the effect or consequence of the mutual agreement of the first *Anglo-Saxon* Kings with their People. The King wants nothing to render him happy and powerful. His Revenues are more than sufficient for his ordinary expences, and to reward those who distinguish themselves by their merit, besides the preferments in the Church, State, and Army, which he may bestow as he pleases. Has he a just War to maintain? He is not obliged to burden his People with Taxes and Impositions. It is the People themselves that voluntarily furnish him with every thing necessary. Thus, without ever being under a necessity of heaping up riches for the future, he is sure of finding in the purses of his Subjects wherewithal to supply his present occasions.

There are but two things, the *Saxons* did not think proper to trust their Kings with, by reason of the ill consequences, for being of like passions with other Men, they might very possibly abuse them; namely, The Power of changing the Laws enacted by consent of King and People; and the Power of raising Taxes at their pleasure. From these two Articles spring numberless branches concerning the Liberty and Property of the Subject, which the King cannot touch, without breaking the Constitution, and they are the distinguishing character of the *English* Monarchy. The Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Rights and Privileges of the People, flowing from the two fore-mentioned Articles, are the Ground of all the Laws that from time to time have been made by the unanimous consent of King and People. The *English* Government consists in the correspondence and strict union of the King's Prerogatives with the People's Liberties. So far are these from destroying one another, that they are rather the strongest cement of that strict union, so necessary between the Prince and People. The King, by means of his Prerogatives, is able to protect his Subjects; to see the Laws duly executed, and Justice impartially administered; to defend the Weak against their powerful oppressors; to assist the Unfortunate, and punish the Disturbers of the Society. On the other hand, the People, whilst in possession of their Liberties, confiding in the Laws and the King's care to execute them, live securely without any fears for their Lives or Properties. They enjoy the fruits of their industry, which turns to the King's advantage, since from the People it is, that the King's occasions are supplied. If they make their court to the Nobles, it is only when their interest or assistance may be necessary, and not out of fear of being oppressed, since the Greatest are equally subject to the Laws, with the Meanest.

It cannot be denied, such a Government is extremely proper to render both Prince and People happy. But when Kings arose, as some there were, that aimed at absolute Power; by changing the old, and making new, Laws, at pleasure; by imposing illegal and arbitrary Taxes on the People; this excellent Government being, in some measure, dissolved, by these destructive maxims, confusion and civil Wars ensued, which some very wrongfully ascribe to the fickle and restless temper of the *English*. On the other hand, the People have not always been contented with maintaining their Privileges, when once infringed by the King, but, for fear of the like attempts for the future, have proceeded to measures very destructive of the just Rights of the Crown. And this is the reason why the Prerogative, abused by some former Kings, runs not at present so high as formerly.

Since then the *English* Constitution consists in an intimate union between the Prince and People, as between the Head and Body, it is consequently in its utmost perfection and strength whilst this union subsists, and both, without mutual suspicions, jealousies, and fears, securely enjoy their respective Rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one endeavours to invade the Privileges of the other.

To preserve a perfect union between the King and the People, it was necessary to establish a way of communication between them. This was done by means of a *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Assembly of Wise Men*, who represented the whole Nation. This method the *Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*, where all publick affairs were decided in such an Assembly, of which their Generals, chosen in time of war, were Presidents. However, they were obliged to make some alterations, because in *Germany* they had no Kings, the supreme Power being lodged in the *Wittena-Gemot*; whereas in *England*, their Chiefs or Leaders assumed the Title of Kings. *Hengist*, who first led

led *Saxon* Troops into *Britain* as Auxiliaries, was the first that assumed this Title, probably with the approbation of the *Saxons* under his command. For since he was not naturally their King, how could he become so without their consent? But it must be observed, *Hengist* may be considered in a double capacity. At his arrival in *Great-Britain* he was certainly only General of the *Saxons*. But after receiving the Grant of *Kent* from *Vortigern* King of the *Britons*, he became as much Sovereign of that Country as *Vortigern* was before him, and accordingly assumed the Title of King of *Kent*, but this new Title did not make him King of the *Saxons*, of whom he was only intrusted with the command. So, it is likely, the *Saxons*, in consenting, their General should become their Sovereign, did not give him an absolute power over their Lives and Properties, supposing, what would be extremely difficult to prove, he was invested with such a power over his *British* Subjects. There is a remarkable passage in the History of *France* to this purpose. *Clovis* was King of the *Franks*, before he led his Army into *Gaul*, and his large Conquests there gave him no more power over his own Countrymen than he enjoyed before. This is evident from his being prevented by a common Soldier, from presenting the Archbishop of *Rheims*, with a piece of Plate taken among the Plunder. The Soldier could not bear, the King should appropriate to himself what belonged to all in common, so he hewed it in pieces with his Battle-Ax [and took his share.] The King, who knew he exceeded his Power, did not dare to punish him upon the spot, and though he afterwards took an occasion to put him to death, it was upon some other account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then with good reason be affirmed, that the *Saxon* Generals, in assuming the Title of King, acquired not a despotick Power over their own Followers, by whose assistance they conquered *Britain*. Since therefore the first Kings had not such a Power, it was necessary to establish some way to prevent their usurping it; and that could not be done better, than by general Assemblies, which consisting of the King, and the chiefs of the People, kept the balance even betwixt both. It must be further observed, there is one material difference between the settlement of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and of the *Saxons* in *Britain*. In *Gaul*, the number of the Conquered was always superior to that of the Conquerors. Whereas in *Britain*, if any *Britons* remained in the conquered Provinces, they were but few, and in a state of Slavery. So, the Country was properly inhabited only with *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*, over whom the Conquests made by their own Arms, gave to their first Kings no power but what they consented to. We are ignorant indeed of the particulars of the agreement between the Kings and their respective People, but the proofs that afterwards appear, of the People's Liberty, leave no room to doubt, there was at first some regulation thereon.

It is not easy to know distinctly, who the *Witan* or *Wifemen* were that composed their *Wittena-Gemots*. At first, these Assemblies might only consist of the *Saxon* Officers, among whom the conquered Lands were divided, and who from thence became the Princes or Chiefs in the several States. In process of time, the *Britons* having entirely abandoned their Country, the Conquerors, finding themselves too few to cultivate the whole, sent for a great number of Families from *Germany*, to whom the rest of the Lands were given. These distributions were thus made. The new King gave to those of his Followers, who were distinguished by their Birth, Services, or personal Merit, such a portion of Land, on condition they served the Crown on certain occasions; which these parcelled out again to others, with a reservation of such and such Services to themselves. These two sorts of Possessors were called *Thanes*, that is, Servants: but the first were distinguished by the Title of King's *Thanes*, which answers to that of the immediate Vassals of the Crown. These, after the *Norman Conquest*, were called *Barons*, and afterwards *Peers of the Realm*. For *Earl* and *Duke* were only honorary Titles or names of Offices. It is not denied, the King's *Thanes* were Members of the *Wittena-Gemots*: but that the other *Thanes* were so, is greatly disputed, as will be seen in the Dissertation on the Government, Laws, and Customs of the *Saxons*. It suffices at present, that there was in each Kingdom an Assembly of *Witan* or *Wifemen*, who, jointly with the King, regulated all important Affairs, made Laws and Ordinances, and imposed Taxes. As nothing was decided but by the mutual consent of the King and the Assembly, their interests not being separate, and their aims the same, namely, the good of the publick, this is a clear evidence, that the essence of the Government consisted in the strict union between King and People. If we look into the Histories of the other *European* Kingdoms founded by the northern Nations, we shall find the like Assemblies under different names, as *Diets* in *Germany* and *Poland*, and *Cortez*,
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in *Spain*. It is not therefore strange, the *Saxons* should establish in *England* the only form of Government known to them.

After the *Norman Conquest* these Assemblies were called *Parliaments*. If *William the Conqueror* continued them, which perhaps is not very easy to prove, it was not with the same Rights and Privileges they enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings. It is true, in the following Reigns, some traces of them appear, which make it thought, they were not entirely abolished. However, *Parliaments* were not frequent till King *John*, and *Henry III.* in whose Reign, several affirm, and perhaps not without reason, that the *Commons*, for the first time, sent Representatives to *Parliament*. Probably, the *Lords* and *Commons*, after their separation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different Houses, since the *English* still call Houses the two Rooms, where they assemble, though under the same Roof. They say, the Upper House, or House of *Lords*, and the Lower House, or House of *Commons*, to denote what is expressed in *French* by the word *Chamber*. It is but since the Reign of *Edward I.* successor to *Henry III.* that there has been an uninterrupted series of *Parliaments*.

After the *Commons* became a distinct House from the *Lords*, they pretended to be the sole Representatives of the People, by whom they were chosen. The *Lords* could pretend only to act for themselves, or for the Body of the Nobility, as making a considerable part of the Nation. However this be, the *Barons*, of whom very likely the *Parliament* at first consisted, lost by degrees many of their ancient Rights, and the House of *Commons* came to be considered as the Guardians of the People's interests. However, the *Lords* still retain very great privileges; they are, for instance, the highest Court of Justice in the Kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out Bills; in a word, they always make an essential part of the *Parliament*. The *Bishops* and *Abbots*, who had all along a Right to sit in *Parliament*, had it continued to them after the *Conquest*. It cannot well be doubted that they sat in the *Wittena-Gemots*, as King's *Thanes*, or *Barons*, since they were the immediate Tenants of the Crown: but it is not so certain, that they enjoyed this Right, as Representatives of the Clergy.

The *Commons*, as a consequence of their being the Representatives of the People, claim an undisputed Right of laying Taxes, and granting Money to the King. So that the House of *Lords* in this case have no other power than to pass, or throw out, the Bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two Houses of *Parliament* compose the Body of the Nation, jointly with the King, who is the Head. The close and absolutely necessary union between the King and the *Parliament*, appears in nothing so much as in the manner of making an Act of *Parliament*, or Law. When either of the two Houses designs to bring in a Bill (for so is an Act called before it is passed) after examining and debating every Clause, it is sent to the other House for their approbation: If it passes there, it is brought to the King for the Royal Assent, after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a Law. But if either of the Houses throw it out, or the King refuses his assent, it comes to nothing, as if it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonstrates, that the essence of the *English* Government consists in the union between the King and his People. Take away this Union, and it becomes Confusion and Anarchy.

Whether the *Commons* originally sat in *Parliament*, or only since the Reign of *Henry III.* it is certain, their power by degrees is very much increased, to which the maxim, that their House solely represents the People, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet established in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* since we find he applied to the *Barons* for a supply of Money. But this is not the only new Privilege they have acquired. Upon their separation from the *Lords*, the interests of the two Houses were not the same upon all occasions. They have had frequent contests concerning their respective Rights. But generally the *Commons* had the advantage of the *Lords*; and no wonder, since they alone dispose of the Nation's Money.

On the other hand, as great alterations have happened with regard to the *Lords* or *Peers*. Formerly all the immediate Vassals of the Crown were *Barons*, and, as such, had a seat in *Parliament*. But now, as there are none of those Lands that were called Fees of the Crown, the right of sitting in the House of *Lords* is annexed to the bare honorary Titles of *Duke*, *Marquis*, *Earl*, *Viscount* and *Baron*, which give those that are invested therewith, no power over the *Shires*, *Cities*, or *Lands*, whose names they bear, and which the King may bestow on whom he pleases. However, when once these Titles are conferred on a Family, the Head cannot be deprived of his right to sit in *Parliament*, unless he has been judicially condemned by
his

his Peers, for some crime that renders him unworthy. But it must be observed, it is in the King's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of succeeding to these Honours; so that sometimes, though rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male, Line. Though a Peer only has a right to sit in the House of Lords, the King may, if he pleases, call the Son of a Nobleman to the House of Peers in his Father's life-time. The inferior Titles are always included in the superior, so that every Duke is at the same time Marquis, Earl, Viscount and Baron (1). Thus all the Lords are Barons, and properly as such, are Members of the Parliament, according to ancient usage. For before and long after the Conquest, the Lords of Parliament were considered only as the King's Thanes or Barons. For this reason, the civil Wars in the Reigns of King *John* and *Henry III.* are called, the Barons Wars. The Title of Duke was first conferred in *England*, after the Conquest, by *Edward III.* on his eldest Son, whom he made Duke of *Cornwall*. The Title of Marquis is much later. In the time of the *Saxons*, Earls or Counts were properly Governors or Chiefs of Shires or Counties, so called from them. *William the Conqueror* having distributed the Lands of the *English* among his Followers, they on whom he conferred the Title of Earl or Count, became really and truly Lords of those Lands whose Titles they bore, so that they were hereditary in their Families. Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they lost this privilege, and the Title of Earl, as was before observed, is become only honorary. The Viscounts, under the *Saxon* Kings, were Lieutenants to the Earls in their Counties. They discharged the Office of High-Sheriff, which is now left to inferior Officers, whilst the Viscounts are ranked among the Peers, and have even the precedence of the Barons. This last Title was formerly general, and included the whole Body of the Nobility or Peers of the Realm, of whom the Upper House of Parliament consists. Next to these are what they call in *England*, the Gentry, who, though distinguished by several Titles, as Knight, Esquire, &c. are all included in the Body of the Commons, who in *France* are called, the Third Estate. From among these are chosen the Knights of the Shires, Citizens and Burgesses, who compose the Lower House, to the number of five hundred and thirteen: but it seldom happens that all are present, and forty are sufficient to make a House.

What has been said shows, how the two Houses of Parliament are part of the Legislature, since by them the Laws are made with the Royal Assent. Accordingly, the Parliament has ever been very careful to preserve its Privileges, and hinder the least breach, for fear of losing them insensibly, as it has happened in other Kingdoms. On the other hand, most of the Laws tend to maintain the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, so that they can be deprived of them only by Law. There are absolutely but two ways to deprive the *English* of their Liberties. Either by laying aside Parliaments entirely, or by bribing the Members to sacrifice their Country to their ambition or avarice. Both these methods have been tried more than once, and for some time with seeming success, but in the end have turned to

the Confusion and Ruin of the Projectors. The *English* have ever been extremely jealous of their Liberties, and this jealousy has frequently caused violent motions in the Kingdom, when they have seen or suspected a tendency to undermine their Privileges, and they have thereby preserved the Constitution of their Government in much the same state as in the beginning of the Monarchy.

In this Second Edition, the Translation, which in the first was not so correct, is thoroughly revised and compared with the Original; but if the Style be not yet so lively and agreeable as some could wish, it must be remembered that a fine Style cannot be expected from one who is supposed to translate *Mr. Rapin*. For though he was a very judicious, he was certainly no elegant, Writer. And perhaps it would be difficult to find a greater instance of the power of Truth on the minds of Men, than the universal approbation given to a History penned in so naked and unadorned a manner. Indeed, History does not require that nicety of Expression, which is necessary in other Works; but may be read with benefit, though it wants that Perfection. However this be, care has been taken in the Translation to avoid all low expressions, and to preserve an even and unaffected Style.

As it is almost impossible for a Foreigner not to fall into some little mistake, particularly as to our Customs, Laws, Names, Families, and the like, these are all carefully noted and rectified.

Though *Mr. Rapin* depended not on any modern Historian in what passed before *Henry VIII.* but consulted the ancient and cotemporary Writers, and accordingly placed their Names in the Margin of his Manuscript, yet many of these references are wanting, which happened, as he says himself, by the following accident. Having employed a young Man to transcribe his History for the *Press*, and ordering him to leave a Blank for such proper Names as he could not readily read, the Blanks in the Body of the History were filled up by the Author, whilst Those in the Margin were forgot. This omission is with great labour and pains supplied in the Translation, and the Names of the Authors every where quoted in the Margin.

As *Mr. Rapin* wrote his History for the instruction of Foreigners, he has passed over in silence numberless Facts, Particulars, and Circumstances, which, though of little moment or use to a Stranger, may be agreeable, and even necessary to an *Englishman*. This want is in some measure supplied, at least as far as the intended compass of the Work would allow, by many additional Notes.

In a word, the Translator, in his eight years application to this Work, has endeavoured to render it as useful as he could to his Countrymen, and thinks himself obliged publicly to acknowledge the assistance he has received, in this second Edition, from the Reverend *Mr. PHILIP MORANT*, Minister of the *English* Church at *Amsterdam*, who, besides revising the Sheets as they came from *Press*, has been at the pains to compare every Paragraph with the ancient Historians, and examine all the Quotations from the *Fœdera*, and thereby been enabled to correct some mistakes, and add several Notes.

(1) This is not so, unless they have had each Title distinctly conferred on them. There are few Dukes that are Marquisses, and many Earls not Viscounts.

Omissions of the PRESS.

Page 270. Col. 2. Line 57. after absolving, read-----*John's* Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoining them----- Page 697. Col. 1. Line 34, after the word [Reformation?] insert. [Is it all Christians in general agreeing together, as by a sudden Inspiration, to reform the abuses?]]

N. B. The rest of the Errata will be printed at the end of Vol. II.

Some PARTICULARS of the LIFE of Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

In a Letter to-----

S I R,

I Imagined you would be surprized at my backwardness to second your design of writing the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN. This has given me some concern, for I wish to be of your mind, but must confess, I have hitherto been unresolved. I know not how the publick stands affected; and though I supposed, with you, that the World would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. DE RAPIN, I should think nothing can better satisfy their Curiosity, than his new History of *England*; it not being possible, in my opinion, but in so voluminous a Work, an Author (undesignedly) draws his own Picture himself, more to the Life than any other can do. If you say, this is not sufficient, because his Family and Actions are not seen there; I answer, the two Panegyricks on Mr. DE RAPIN, (in the xth Volume of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, and in the *Histoire Littéraire* of February 1726) seem to contain all that is proper to be said on these two heads. By this, you see I have not the same scruple concerning your present proposal, that these Panegyricks may at least be re-published and prefixed to his History of *England*. Indeed I think it very requisite, and, what is more, am resolved to publish them my self, with some alterations, that is, of the two I design to make one Discourse, borrowing from each what shall occur to my mind, without affecting either to swerve from, or copy them, that there may be room to insert some particulars that are passed over in silence. It may be, I shall go too far, contrary to my first intention, but however, you may be assured, I shall say nothing but what I have been fully informed of, and what Mr. DE RAPIN's Family are ready to justify. Nevertheless, as in all this my sole aim is to oblige you, use this Letter as you please; suppress what you do not like; nay, if you think fit, be satisfied with the Panegyricks alone as first published, which perhaps would be best. But to begin.

Mr. DE RAPIN, counted among his Ancestors and Relations many eminent Persons as well of the Sword as the Gown. His Family is originally from *Savoy*, where it flourished time out of mind (1), and enjoyed several honorable Posts (2). As I am ignorant of their personal qualities, I cannot say whether it was through a wife precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, that a Bishop of *Maurienne* caused to be engraved, in the Episcopal Palace, the following Inscription still to be seen, *Caveant Successores nostri a familiâ Rapinorum*, i. e. *Let our Successors beware of the RAPINS*. On the other hand, this Family pretends, that their external Lustre was impaired solely by their steady adherence to the Laws of Honour and Justice. This is insinuated by the Author of

the following Verses, which are not quoted for their Elegance.

*Pour n' avoir sans besoin su prendre,
On voit tomber cette maison:
Si l' Effet eut suivi son nom,
Elle auroit de quoi se défendre.*

i. e. *This Family, for being too honest to invade the Property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their Name implies, they would have wherewithal to support themselves.*

But to draw nearer to Mr. DE RAPIN, I shall proceed to four Brothers of that name, who settled in *France* in the Reign of *Francis I.* (3)

One, a Clergyman, was Almoner to Queen *Catharine de Medici*, who desired him of the Duke of *Savoy*. Besides the Preferments he enjoyed in his own Country, he was called the King's Orator, but what that means I cannot tell.

His Brothers (of whom but one has left Issue) were all three Soldiers, and embraced the Reformed Religion; for the sake of which, very probably, they abandoned their Country.

The eldest was a Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Montauban*, with authority over the neighbouring Governors. His Name is among those of the Viscounts, who commanded the Troops of the Reformed in the Southern Provinces of *France*. Letters, still extant, show how well known he was to King *Henry IV.*, to *Lewis* and *Henry* Princes of *Condé*, to Admiral *Chastillon*, and many other Persons of the first Quality.

All we know of one of his Brothers, called *Peter*, is, that a Commission of Captain of Horse must, by all circumstances, belong to him; but of this we cannot be sure, because the Name is not expressed.

Philibert, another Brother, was Gentleman to the Prince of *Condé*, and afterwards his Steward (4). He had no less reputation in military (5), than capacity in civil, affairs (6): but both proved fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the Catholics, and particularly of the Parliament of *Toulouse* (7), who caused his head to be struck off at the very time he was come, by the King's Order, to register the Edict of Peace of 1568.

The *French* Historians frequently speak of these two Brothers. Father *Daniel* alone does not mention them, and passes over in silence, this cruel execution (8). The reason does not appear at first, for he cannot say, this Sen-

(1) By the Titles of this Family it appears that the *Rapins* were Noble in the year 1250. The Branches that are in *Savoy* pretend to a greater Antiquity: But of that I can say nothing.

(2) It is known in general, that some of the *Rapins* at several times were *Syndics* of the Nobles of their Country; others were deputed by the Nobility to go in their Name and do Homage to the Duke of *Savoy* their Sovereign.

(3) Between the Years 1525 and 1547.

(4) *Maitre d' Hôtel de sa Maison*, that is, he had the management of the Prince's House in the highest Sense of the Word, and not as we understand the Term *Steward* at present.

(5) *In fine*, *Rapin* was in great Repute amongst his own Party. The Conspirators of *Toulouse* made choice of him to treat in their Name with *Fourquevaux*, which is a clear Evidence that he had a Head to manage, as well as a Hand to act. *Annals of Toulouse*, Ann. 1568. The Conference spoken of in this Passage, was held to see whether there was any way of Accommodation between the two Parties; but it proved fruitless, and only served to exasperate them more than ever. Shortly after a Battle was fought in the City, which lasted some Days, wherein the Protestants, who were numerous there, but however inferior to the Catholics, lost three thousand Men, and were in the end chased out of the City. A solemn Procession was instituted in commemoration of this Event. When Peace was restored, the Reformed complained of this Procession, as a thing which revived the Memory of the Troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future; nevertheless it has been all along continued; only it was removed from the 12th of *May*, to the 17th, on some pretence or other.

(7) *Homo bellis superioribus---clarus ob idque Tolosanis innotuit*. *Thuanus*. lib. 32.

(8) It might be alleged there are no proofs of it. But since *Thuanus* and *Mézerai*, with whom few Writers can be compared for Faithfulness, speak of it, it must be inferred either there were proofs in their Days, or they were warranted by the Notoriness of the Fact. And what puts it out of all question is, that M. de la *Faule*, who writ last at *Toulouse*, the *Annals* of that City, of which he was *Syndic*, though he takes notice that the *Arrêt* against *Rapin* is not to be found (having been doubtless razed out of the Registers for the Parliament's Honour) yet says more of the Matter than all those that went before him.

tence, how unjust soever it may be supposed, is only a private affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleased; since it is visible, on the contrary, that such an Event, rendered memorable (1) by its circumstances and consequences, ought necessarily to have place in History. But when we consider, we find this able Historian has very artfully managed this omission for two uses; first, to extinguish, as far as in him lay, all remembrance of a rage which casts a blemish on the Papists; secondly, to render the Reformed odious, when he comes to speak of the ravages committed by the Admiral's Army, some time after, about *Toulouse*. Mean while, with regard to these ravages, he was not so free as he desired, but was obliged to speak of them in general terms, for he could not descend to particulars, without discovering the connexion between these ravages and RAPIN's death, by which they were both occasioned and justified. But what he slightly mentions, *Thuanus* (2) and *Mezerai* relate more at large, and set in a true light. *Mezerai*, who is more circumstantial, and informs us, there were then in *Toulouse* eight thousand regular Troops, which added to the great number of Inhabitants, deprived the Reformed of all hopes of becoming masters of the City, says expressly, that the *Hugonots*---
set fire to all the Lands and Houses of the Counsellors, on the Ruins whereof the Soldiers writ with smoking Coals, RAPIN'S REVENGE.

Peter de Rapin, Baron of *Mauvers*, Son of *Philibert*, was Governor of *Mas-Granier*, one of the Cautionary-Towns granted to the Reformed in *Guienne*. He was a Soldier from his youth, and attended King *Henry IV* in all his expeditions. Most part of that time, he received not a Farthing from his Estate, which threw him into great straits, as well as many others for the same reason. The King himself was in no better circumstances, as may be inferred from his answer to Mr. DE RAPIN, who having lost his Horse, besought his Majesty to give him wherewithal to buy another: *I would, says he, with all my heart, but see, I have scarce a Shirt to my back.* But Mr. DE RAPIN's sufferings in the religious Wars were not confined to what passed in the Army. He thrice saw his House burnt and battered down in his life, and every thing plundered. It is true, he had amends made him the last time, as far as was possible, and in a manner which must have been very agreeable to him: for the Catholick Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, by whom he was esteemed and beloved, meeting together, resolved to supply him with necessaries to plough and sow his Lands; and as those troubles lasted but eight months, when they were appeased, he found a Crop ready, and all his Estate, except his House, in as good condition as the most diligent Owner could have kept it. On another occasion, he had a pleasure without any alloy: upon a rumour of his death, he read himself a Letter from Queen *Mary de Medici*, expressing her great sorrow to his Family. He married a Daughter of Mr. de *Lupé*, Lord of *Maravat*, Captain of fifty Men at Arms, Governor of *Mauvezin* a Cautionary-Town, and a Major-General.

He left a numerous Issue, of whom his second Son *James*, *Sieur de Thoyras* (3), was the darling of his Parents. His Father left him more than any of the other younger Children, and his Mother gave him moreover that portion of the Estate of *John de la Ferriere*, Vidame (4) of *Chartres*, and one of the Heads of the French Protestants, which fell to her in right of her Mother. He was designed for a Soldier, like his Brothers; but his Mother willing to have him near her, was for breeding him a Scholar, to which the Father consented. After he had finished his Studies, he was admitted Advocate in the Court of the Edict (5) of *Castres*, and, contrary to the custom of the Country, where Persons nobly descended are never of that Profession, he practised it both at *Castres* and at *Castelnaudary*, and *Toulouse*, above fifty years, to the day of his death. It is true, I include the four years he spent at *Paris*, where he went, upon news of Mr. *Pellisson* his Brother-in-law, being arrested with Mr. *Fouquet*. Nothing passed in that famous affair, but what he was privy to, and he was very serviceable in many respects. He was one of the three concerned in the *Fæstum*, and supplied all we find there relating to the *Roman Law*. I saw in *France* a Letter sent to him by Mr. *Fouquet* from the *Bastile*,

thanking him for it in the most affectionate manner. All that knew him, of whom several are now living, have always described him as one of the prime Advocates of his time, and very eminent for his impartiality and integrity. His Wife, who died at *Geneva*, where she was sent by the King's order, for refusing to turn Papist, was Sister of *George* and *Paul Pellisson*, whose Memory is still recent. Her Father and Grandfather were Judges in the Parliament of *Toulouse*, and in the Court of the Edict of *Castres*. *Raymond Pellisson* her Great Grandfather, after having been Master of the Requests, and Ambassador to *Portugal*, was at last first President of the Senate of *Chamberi*, and Commandant in *Savoy*, whilst in possession of the *French*. I say nothing of a very extraordinary affair that befell him, and on which several Authors (6) have enlarged, nor of his Descendants above-named, because I should only copy what is to be found in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary printed at *Amsterdam* in 1716. This Family, from whence have sprung several illustrious Persons (7), is originally *English* (8), and comes from an Attorney-General to the Prince of *Wales* when in *Guienne*.

I proceed now to Mr. DE RAPIN, who is properly the subject of my Letter. PAUL DE RAPIN, *Sieur de Thoyras*, younger Son of *James*, was born at *Castres*, March 25. 1661. He began to study *Latin* under a Tutor, his Father kept in the House, after which he was sent to *Puy-laurens*, and from thence to *Saumur*. At this last place, when about seventeen, he had a quarrel with a Friend, upon a slight occasion, and they immediately challenged each other. But whether they lost time in fetching their Swords, for being Students they seldom wore any, or the Duel held long, Night came whilst they were engaged, and then, Mr. DE RAPIN's Sword broke near the hilt without his perceiving it. His Adversary immediately seeing it, generously told him. Whereupon the Combat ceased, and embracing each other, they returned together to Town. Some time after he had another quarrel with a person much older than himself, who rudely jostled him as he was walking through a narrow and difficult passage. Mr. DE RAPIN fell upon him, but they were quickly parted by the People there present. He ran for his Sword, and speedily returning, found the Person gone, neither could he meet with him, though he carefully sought him several days. Some time after, he heard the Man was gone to *Paris*, where Mr. DE RAPIN followed him. He was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by a Guard of the Marshals of *France*. This accident, which he did not expect, believing his design very secret, because he had not imparted it, was occasioned by the advice his Uncle *Pellisson* received from *Saumur*, from whence he was informed of the supposed cause of his Nephew's journey, which might be of ill consequence; and withal, of the place where his antagonist might be heard of. Mr. *Pellisson* fearing a Duel would ensue, which, however it ended, would ruin his Nephew, acquainted the Marshals of *France* with the matter. Mr. DE RAPIN, who was yet very young, affording them opportunity to secure him, by going directly to his Uncle's. The Marshals having heard both Parties, condemned the aggressor to lie in Prison at *Fort-l'Evêque*, till Mr. DE RAPIN should consent to his discharge, which he did about a month after, at the desire of the Prince of *Furtemberg* Bishop of *Strasburg*, who was then at *Paris*. Mean while, the next day after the sentence, the Prisoner's Brother, who was reckoned a good Sword's-man, meeting Mr. DE RAPIN in the Street, accosted him, and, talking to him so as to renew the quarrel, Mr. DE RAPIN answered him by drawing his Sword, and wounded him before they were parted. But this rencounter was kept secret by the advice of the Friends of both Parties, for fear of incensing the Marshals.

The beginning of the year 1679, Mr. DE RAPIN returned to his Father's, in order to apply himself closely to the study of the Law. But before he had made any progress, he was obliged, with many other young Gentlemen, to commence Advocate, upon notice of an Edict which was published soon after, that a Doctor's Degree should not be given to any person, who had not studied five years in some University.

This same year, the Courts of the Edict were suppressed, by which Mr. DE RAPIN's Family were forced

(1) This Execution of Rapin made a great Noise, and the Prince very justly complained of it to the King and Queen. Their Majesties also expressed great Regretment against the Parliament of Toulouse, in their Letters to them on that occasion. *Annals of Toulouse*. Ann. 1568. It is left to the Reader to judge whether any thing like this would have happened for a private concern.

(2) *Incentis oppidanorum et senatorum, præcipue circa urbem, prædijis, quod eos à publicâ quiete maximè omnium abhorrere dicerent Protestantes, recentibus adhuc oculis obversante Rapin, ante biennium à Rege et Condæo ut Edicti pacificatorum promulgationem urgeret, in urbem missi, & immani perfidia ignominioso supplicio affecti, memoria; cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis et jure belli incontestis vastationibus, ultum ini testabantur.* *Thuanus*. lib. 42.

(3) The Name of a Village belonging to his Family.

(4) That is, Judge of a Bishop's Temporal Jurisdiction.

(5) Les *Chambres de l'Edit* were Courts of Judicature erected in several Towns, in behalf of the *Hugonots*, the Judges being half Reformed, and half Catholics.

(6) *Recueil d'Anecdotes de Papen*, Liv. 19. Art. 9. *Histoires Admirables de Simon Goulart*, Tom. I. p. 6.

(7) See *Recherches des Antiquitez de la Langue Francoise*, ou *Dictionnaire Gaulois*, by *Borel*.

(8) *Borel* in the same place, p. 377.

to remove to *Toulouſe*. Not long after, Mr. DE RAPIN perceiving the ill ſtate of the Reformed, and that, probably, it would daily grow worſe, deſired his Father's conſent to quit the Profeſſion of Advocate for That of Arms. His Father, without abſolutely denying his requeſt, returned ſuch an answer, as only tended to gain time. Not that the Requeſt ſeemed to him unreaſonable and ill-grounded: but he was apprehenſive this new way of life, where ambition is more fired than in any other, would expoſe his Son to great temptation, when he ſhould find by daily experience, that it would not be poſſible to riſe to any tolerable Poſt, ſo long as he adhered to his Religion; whereas that obſtacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the reſt. This ſtate of Uncertainty made him very remiſs in the ſtudy of the Law. He pleaded however one cauſe as Advocate, but ſtopped there, and applied himſelf more cloſely than ever, to the reading of good Authors, to the Mathematicks and Muſick, in which he acquired great ſkill.

In the year 1685 his Father died, and two months after, the Ediſt of *Nantz* was revoked. Whereupon Mr. DE RAPIN retired into the Country with his Mother and Brothers. But as the perfecution, ſhortly after, was at the height, he departed with his youngſt Brother and arrived in *England*, in *March* 1686.

Not long after, there came to *London* a French Abbé of Quality, and Friend of Mr. *Pellifſon*, who made Mr. DE RAPIN frequent viſits, and introduced him to Mr. *de Barillon* the French Ambaſſador, from whom Mr. DE RAPIN received great civilities. Theſe Gentlemen would have perſwaded him to wait upon the King, aſſuring him of a gracious reception. Mr. DE RAPIN, who could not ſee what pretenſions he had to ſuch an honour, and beſides, was apprehenſive that a Propoſal ſeemingly ſo advantageous might tend to his prejudice, excuſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner he could. This affair put him upon ſeriously reflecting on his preſent ſituation, continually teased about his Religion, by the Marquiſ of *Seiſſac* and other French Catholicks then at *London*, but eſpecially by the Abbé, who, though extremely courteous and civil, always turned their Converſation to Controverſy. Perceiving therefore it was not poſſible for him to defend himſelf unprepared, againſt a Man who was maſter of theſe Subjects, and managed them with great art, he returned into the Country, from whence he was come to viſit the Abbé, without taking leave. He knew himſelf guilty of ill manners, but choſe to be ſo, rather than remain any longer expoſed.

As he had then no expectations in *England*, he made but a ſhort ſtay, and going over to *Holland*, where he had relations, he liſted himſelf in a Company of French Volunteers at *Utrecht*, commanded by Mr. *de Rapin* his Couſin German.

The ſame year, Mr. *Pellifſon* publiſhed his *Reflections on Religious Differences*, and ſent them to Mr. DE RAPIN, charging him to tell him his opinion, which he did very largely, as he ſaid himſelf, retorting, in ſeveral places, Mr. *Pellifſon's* expreſſions. But nothing of this appears among his Papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid, but rather believe that out of modeſty he never took a Copy, imagining that what he could ſay on ſuch a Subject was not worth preſerving.

He was ſtill in the Company of Volunteers when they went into *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. But in 1689, the Lord *Kingſton* made him Enſign in his own Regiment, with which he paſſed into *Ireland*. At the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, juſt after his arrival, he had the good fortune to gain the eſteem of the Officers of the Regiment, and eſpecially of Lieutenant Colonel *Fielding*, who, in leſs than a year, procured him a Lieutenantcy.

In the beginning of 1690, the Regiment to which Mr. DE RAPIN belonged, was given to Lieutenant General *Douglas*, who, upon the recommendation of three French Colonels of the Army, took more notice of him than of the reſt of the Subalterns, and afterwards put a very great confidence in him.

After the battle of the *Boyne*, in which Mr. DE RAPIN was preſent, General *Douglas* was detached with his own, and twelve other Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to make a diverſion about *Athlone*, and, if poſſible, ſurprize the Town. He appointed Mr. DE RAPIN and Mr. *Carles*, now Lieutenant General in *Portugal*, to act as Quarter-Maſter General of his little Army. This Siege not proving ſucceſſful, the Town being ſtrongly garriſoned, General *Douglas* was recalled. Mr. DE RAPIN, who was ſent before to receive orders, found the King at the head of a Line, who ſtopping him, asked ſeveral Queſtions, to which Mr. DE RAPIN made ſuch answers, as ſerved to remove ſome ill impreſſions inſuſed into his Majeſty concerning *Douglas's* Conduct.

At the ſiege of *Limerick*, he was ſhot in the Shoulder, and next day the Siege being raiſed, was forced to ride

four miles on Horſeback in great anguiſh. He was left with the reſt of the wounded, (among, whom was his Brother, who was ſhot through the Body) and ſo loſt his Regiment, which was ordered to the North. But ſhortly after, he heard General *Douglas* had procured him a Company, and cauſed him to be admitted, though abſent. It was the ſame Company where he had been Enſign, and where was ſtill the ſame Lieutenant which made Mr. DE RAPIN extremely uneaſy.

The next year, General *Douglas* had orders to go to *Flanders*. Mr. DE RAPIN, whom he deſigned for his *Aid de Camp*, not being in a condition to attend him, by reaſon of his wound, adviſed him to take another, to whom the General ſoon gave a Company in the *Scotch Guards*, of which he was now Colonel. The Campaign opened in *Ireland* with the taking of *Baltimore*, where Mr. DE RAPIN had the ſatisfaction to be ſerviceable to a poor diſtreſſed captive Family, with whom he was acquainted the foregoing year. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Athlone*, and in the aſſault, made through the River that runs under the ſtrongeſt Rampart of the Town, a bold and brave action, and which ſucceeded, as it is thought, contrary to the expectation of the Generals. In this Town were left two Régiments of different Nations, commanded by the Lieutenant Colonels, who underſtood not each other's Language, and were both very jealous of their Power, which might have occaſioned diſputes. Happily, Mr. DE RAPIN belonged to one, and his intimate Friend, a Captain of good ſenſe, to the other, who were both equally eſteemed by their reſpective Commanders; ſo whenever any accident happened that was like to breed a quarrel, theſe two Officers, who were unprejudiced, agreed between them upon what was to be done, and adviſed it each with conſtant ſucceſs.

After that, Mr. DE RAPIN was ſent ſucceſſively to ſeveral Garriſons, and among the reſt to *Kilkenny*, where he frequently waited on the Biſhop, who ſeemed pleaſed with his Converſation. This commerce would have been very agreeable, could he have peaceably enjoyed it, but the warm and daily conteſts between the Mayor and the Officers, ſcarce allowed him a moment's repoſe. He often uſed his endeavours to ſtiſle them, and prevented their proceeding to extremities. Mean while, his fear that things would be brought to a deſperate paſs, made him gladly embrace the opportunity of commanding two Companies in another place. Some time after, he rejoined his Regiment at *Kingsale*, where he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with Sir *James Waller* who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1693, he received an order to repair to *England*, without any reaſon aſſigned; but at the ſame time, a Letter from Mr. *Belcaſtel* informed him, he was to be Governor to the Earl of *Portland's* Son. He could not conceive whence this proceeded, having never had any ſuch thoughts; and it was ſome time before he knew, he was recommended by the Lord *Galloway*. He came therefore to *London* and entered upon his Office. Here was an end of all his hopes of riſing in the Army, to ſuch Poſts as ſeveral younger Officers of his acquaintance have obtained. All the amends he received, was leave to reſign his Company to his Brother, who died in 1719, Lieutenant-Colonel in a Regiment of *Engliſh Dragoons*. It is true, ſome time after, the King granted him a Penſion of a hundred Pounds a year, till he ſhould better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his Penſion ſeveral years, but upon that Prince's death, it ceaſed, and a Place was given him, which brought him in but a moderate income.

His new Employment obliged him to be ſometimes in *Holland*, often in *England*, and alſo in *France*, whiſt the Earl of *Portland* was Ambaſſador, till the young Lord was fixed at the *Hague*, where he learned his Exercices. Whiſt he was there, in the year 1699, Mr. DE RAPIN married *Mariamne Toſart*, an advantageous match, of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, as ſhe is living. This did not hinder him however from minding his Pupil, and attending him in his Travels. He began then with *Germany*, where they made ſome ſtay at ſeveral Courts, and particularly at *Vienna*. From thence they paſſed into *Italy*, by way of *Tyrol*, where they ſaw Marſhal *Killerkey* a Priſoner, who gave Mr. DE RAPIN a Letter for Cardinal *d' Etrées* then at *Venice*.

At his return, his employment ceaſing, he repaired to his Family, who in his abſence lived at the *Hague*, where he ſpent ſome years. During that time, he improved his leiſure Hours, as far as the common duties of Life would allow, in reſuming the ſtudy of Fortification, and eſpecially of Hiſtory, which led him to draw many general and particular Genealogical and Chronological Tables. But what was moſt agreeable to him, and, as he thought, moſt inſtructive, was his being Member of a Society or Club ſtill in being, to the erecting of which he was proud of contributing, where ſeveral Perſons of Learning and

Merit reasoned upon such Subjects as occurred, and spoke their opinion on such questions as were usually proposed. Mean while, as he found his Family increase, he resolved to sacrifice to the good of his Children the pleasures of the *Hague*, by retiring to a cheaper Country. Accordingly, he removed in 1707 to *Wizel* in the Duchy of *Cleves*. He found there a good number of *French Refugees*, among whom were several Officers, Men of Quality, with whom he lived very friendly; and he was also received as kindly as could be expected, by Persons of the highest rank, who were chiefly concerned in the Government of the Country, and who, on all occasions, gave him marks of their favour.

The way of living at *Wizel*, different in many respects from that of the *Hague*, rendered him more than ever master of his time, and allowed him almost as much leisure as he could desire, to study the History of *England*, and the nature of the Government. This was a more extensive design than perhaps it seems at first, for it obliged him, not only to peruse all the *English* Historians, but also those of other Nations, who had any affairs with the *English*, in order to procure light, and be assured of the truth of the facts, by confronting the several Authors. He would have found it very difficult to succeed, or rather would, probably, have miscarried, had he not before qualified himself for reading, in their original Tongue, all the Books he was obliged to consult. Besides *Greek* and *Latin*, which he learnt at the College, and had since improved, he understood *Italian* and *Spanish*, not to mention *High* and *Low-Dutch*, of which indeed he was not so much master. As for *English*, which was the most necessary of all, he had made that his particular Study.

Though he was of a very strong constitution, yet a seventeen years constant application to compose his History, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himself quite spent, and frequently seized with violent pains in his Stomach. He might have recovered if he would have relinquished his Work, and unbent his mind for a time. Of this he was sensible, but could not resolve it, as he ought. All he indulged himself in, was, not to rise before six a-Clock, after which it was

impossible for him to sleep or lie in his bed. As to his diversions, of which walking was the most usual, he was quickly tired of them, and, if his indisposition permitted, returned to his Work, which was the cause of his illness, and properly his sole delight. At last, a violent Fever, attended with an oppression upon his Lungs, carried him off the seventh day, being the 16th of May 1725.

He has left one Son and six Daughters.

From what has been said, it appears that Mr. DE RAPIN was naturally grave. This led him, whilst he was in the service, to seek the conversation of the Serious, which prejudiced not only several of his Comrades, but even some of his Superiors, against him, who would have had him partake of all their diversions. But, on the other hand, it gained him the Esteem and Friendship of many Persons of Merit, who were in considerable Posts. We are not however to imagine, he was an enemy to Mirth: he could be merry on occasion, though not so frequently, nor so immoderately as many are. Nay, he writ several little things in Prose and Verse, with humour and gaiety: but as they were on light or ludicrous Subjects, and designed only for a present amusement with his Friends, he never thought them worth revising, and I question whether there is one to be found among his Papers. What has been said of his application to his Study, and Works, is also to be understood with this limitation, that it never hindered him from embracing all opportunities to serve his Friends, and reconcile their differences.

Thus have I done what lies in my power, to make known Mr. DE RAPIN's Character. I am sensible, that to have a compleat Idea of him, we must, besides what I have said, consider him in his Writings, but this is what I shall not undertake. It belongs to the Publick to declare what opinion he there gives of himself, and to determine whether he shows good Sense and Judgment in his manner of discovering the motives of Actions; and above all, whether he has justly observed an entire Impartiality, so essential to a good History.

This is all I have to say to you concerning Mr. DE RAPIN. I wish it may be satisfactory, and am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.



B R I T A N N I A R O M A N A





INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

CONTAINING

The Extent of Great-Britain or Albion. Whence so called. The First Inhabitants, Customs, and Manners of the Britons. Their Way of Fighting, and Commerce. Their Religion. The Druids. Their Government. Original of the Irish, Scots, and Picts.



GREAT-BRITAIN is, without contradiction, the largest, finest, and most considerable Island in Europe: Nay, one might venture to affirm, *she* holds the first Rank among all the Isles of the known World; and it would be, perhaps, no difficult task to prove, *she* justly deserves this Preference. But not to enter into so needless a Discussion, it suffices to say, very few can be compared to *her* for Temperateness of Air, Number of Inhabitants, and all the Necessaries as well as Comforts of Life. If *she* wants any thing of foreign growth, *her* Wants are easily and plentifully supplied by *her* Commerce, which brings home to *her* whatever is rare and excellent in all Parts of the World.

I shall not undertake to display here all that may be said to the Advantage of this Island, or repeat all the Encomiums bestowed on *her*, as well by the Ancients as Moderns. The present flourishing State of *Great-Britain* sufficiently speaks for *her*. *Her* Fleets, by which she reigns Sovereign of the *British* Seas (1); *her* Troops, whose Valour makes them every where dreaded; *her* illustrious Generals, who have carried the Terror of *her* Arms to the utmost Bounds of *Europe*, exalt *her* much Higher than all I can say in *her* Praise. Besides, every one knows, this truly *fortunate* Isle, by *her* Riches and the excellent Constitution of *her* Government long since established, enjoys a Happiness unknown to the rest of the World.

I don't question but the Figure *England* has made for some time, inspires many Persons with a Curiosity to learn by what Steps *she* is arrived to that Height of Grandeur and Power, which renders *her* so formidable to *her* Neighbours. It was this Imagination that led me to publish the present History in *French*, for the Benefit of those who not understanding the *English* Tongue, cannot satisfy their Curiosity by reading the Histories writ in the Language of the Country. I am apt to believe this Work must needs meet with a

favourable Reception, if the History itself does not suffer by the Historian's Defects. But

As *Great-Britain* has all along been divided into two Parts, namely, *England* and *Scotland*, I must warn the Reader, that my Design is only to write the History of *England* in particular. Though the Neighbourhood of these two States has been productive of several Events common to Both, their Histories are nevertheless distinct from each other. And therefore, I see no sufficient Reason to induce me to imitate sundry Historians who have joined them together, on pretence that the two Kingdoms in the last Century were united under one and the same Sovereign. As for the particular History of *England*, to which I intend to confine myself, I will venture to say, it contains as great Variety, with as many entertaining and remarkable Events, as most Histories hitherto extant. It is true indeed, it has its dry and barren Places, especially in the Beginning; but this is an Imperfection common to it with the Histories of *France*, *Spain*, and all the rest of the Kingdoms founded by the Northern Nations. As there were but few Men of Letters among the Nations, that, like a Deluge, over-ran the *Roman* Empire, there were consequently but few Writers who took care to transmit to Posterity, Memorials of their Histories. This History, like most others, may be compared to a River which swells in proportion to its Distance from the Fountain-Head, and grows immensely great where it falls into the Ocean. But as *England* is a Part, and That the most considerable of *Great-Britain*, it will not be improper to prefix to the History of that Kingdom, a general Account of the Island, of the first Inhabitants, their Customs, Manners, Government and Religion.

THE ISLAND OF ALBION OR BRITAIN was scarce known to the *Romans* till the Time of their Emperors, *Julius Caesar* was properly the first that discover'd it to them, by carrying thither the *Roman* Eagles, and by the Account of his two *British* Expeditions, the Particulars whereof he

(1) Well may the *English* be called Lords of the *British* Seas, since the Royal Navy of *England* consists of 7 Men of War of 100 Guns, 13 of 80, 23 of 70, 19 of 60, 47 of 50, (that is, 125 of the Line of Battle) besides 23 of 40, 9 of 30, and 25 of 20. In all 180. See *Dr. Sturges's Pref. to his History*.

has given in his *Commentaries*. He says, it is an Island in the shape of a Triangle: He sets down the Length of each Side, and tells us, the whole Circuit of the Isle measures about fifteen hundred Miles, or five hundred *French* Leagues. After such a Description, one cannot but wonder at what

Life of Tacitus seems to assert, and *Dion Cassius* positively affirms, that Britain was not discovered to be an Island till the Government of *Julius Agricola*, that is, in the Reign of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, or *Domitian*. Was it possible for *Cæsar's* *Commentaries* to be unknown to these Historians? (1)

Extent of Great Britain.

Great-Britain, as *Cæsar* observed, being almost triangular, if it be considered as bounded by three Right-lines, forming a perfect Triangle, the three Sides together may be reckon'd about fifteen hundred Miles. But allowing for the Windings of the Coast, they are found to make about eighteen hundred Miles, or six hundred *French* Leagues in Compass. The shortest Side, which looks towards *France*, and reaches from the *North-Foreland* in *Kent* (2) to the *Land's-End* (3) in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred Miles. The Western Side, over against *Ireland*, from the *Land's-End* to the northernmost Point of *Scotland*, may be about eight hundred Miles in length, and the third or Eastern Side about seven hundred.

Comd. Dists.

The Names of *Albion* and *Britain*, by which this Isle has been known, are both of so antient a Date, that their Origin is not to be trac'd. To Conjecture only, recourse has been had in this Case. The first of these Names, say some, was received from a certain Giant, Son of *Nep-tune*. Others derive the Name *Albion* from the Greek Word *Alphon*, signifying *White*, because the Coasts, when viewed at a distance, look of that Colour. Some again imagine *Albion* comes from the *Celtick* Word *Alp* or *High*, the Land appearing so as you approach it from the Continent (4).

The Name of the Isle of Albion.

Among the Word Britain.

As for the Origin of the Name *Britain*, we find, among the Antiquaries, variety of Opinions or Conjectures, the Principal of which are these Four. The first, that the Name of *Britain* was given to the Island by *Brutus*, a *Trojan* Prince. The second is *Somner's* a learned *Englishman*, who supposes that because of the violent Motion of the Sea which washes the Coasts of *Great-Britain*, this Name may come from the *British* Word *Brydio* or *Rage*. The third, espoused by *Camden*, *Sir William Temple*, and others, is founded upon the Word *Brith*, signifying in the *British* Tongue, *Wood*, because the ancient *Britons* used to dye their Skins blue with that Plant. The fourth is *Bochart's*: That famous Antiquary believed, the *Phœnicians* coming to buy *Tin* in the Island of *Albion*, gave it the Name of *Barat-Anac*, that is, the Land or Country of *Tin*, which being by the *Greeks* mollified into *Britannia* (5) was adopted by the *Romans*. This Etymology seems to be confirmed by the *Græcians* calling the Isles of *Scilly*, *Cassiterides*, which signifies in Greek the same as *Barat-Anac* in *Phœnician*.

Somner.

But in Canaan.

Strabo, 1. 2.

Examination of the Word Britain.

If I may be allowed to speak my Opinion of these four Etymologies, the First seems to be founded altogether upon a Fable. The Second, deriving the Name, *Britain* from a *British* Word signifying *Rage*, is, I think, unwarrantable; because the Island receiving this Name from Foreigners, as will be shown presently, it is not likely they should take it from the *British* Language, of which probably they were ignorant: Besides, it is not Fact that the Sea rages more on the Coast of *Great-Britain* than in other Places. Consequently its Motion not being uncommon, could not give occasion to derive this Name from a Word signifying *Rage*. The Third, deriving the Name from the Word *Brith* or *Wood*, is the most generally received. But however, it is liable to one Objection, which those that embrace it, ought to remove: and that is, the Name of *Britain* was certainly given to the Island by Foreigners. This is evident from the Natives never styling their Country *Britain*, or themselves *Britons*. Their true Name is *Cumri* or *Cumbri*, from whence *Cambria*, the Name of *Wales* to this Day among the *Welsh*. Now it is by no means probable, that Foreigners should make use of a *British* Word to form the Name of this Island. So, the Fourth Opinion, viz. *Bochart's*, seems to me the most natural. It can't be said to be unlikely that the *Phœnicians*, the first Traders to this Island, should give it the Name of *Baratanac*, or the Land of *Tin*. Supposing this, it is probable the Name passing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Greeks*,

and from these last to the *Romans*, was changed into That of *Britannia* (6). However this be, we have nothing to trust to in this Matter but very doubtful Conjectures. The late Instances of the Names given to new-found Lands are so many Demonstrations, that Caprice has as great a share as Reason in coining these new Names. A *Saint's* Day, the Name of a *Leader* or *Pilot*, the first Object that chanced to present itself to view, an Accident happening at the Time of the Discovery of these new Lands, have usually served for Foundation to the Names assigned them. So that perhaps the Conjectures of *Camden* and *Bochart* are as little to the Purpose with respect to *Britain*, as Ours would be, if ignorant of the Occasion of the Names given to the several Parts of *America*, we should endeavour to trace them from the Language, Custom, or Commerce of the Natives.

We are as much in the Dark concerning the Origin of the first Inhabitants of the Island of *Albion*, for in all likelihood it was peopled by Colonies from different Places, and at different Times. Endeavours therefore have been used

to give us some light into this Matter from their Customs, Manners, Religion, and Form of Government. But before I proceed to what has been conjectured on this Head, it will be necessary just to touch upon the Fabulous Story of *Brutus*, published by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, a Writer of the XIIth Century. Not that it deserves Notice; but being mentioned by almost all the *English* Historians, it seems hardly pardonable to pass it over in Silence. Besides, it is the part of a good Historian not only to relate Matters of Fact, but also to guard his Readers against the Fictions introduced upon the World for Truths.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a *Benedictin* Monk, penned in Latin a History of *Britain*, and dedicated it to *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, natural Son of *Henry I.* King of *England*. In this pretended History *Britain* is said to receive her Name from *Brutus*, the First of her Kings. What the Historian relates is as follows:

Brutus, Son of *Sylvius*, Grandson of *Aeneas*, had the Misfortune to kill his Father as he was shooting at a Deer. As he could not or would not, after this fatal Accident, stay any longer in *Italy*, he retires into *Greece*, where gathering together the Descendants of the *Trojans* that were brought thither after the Destruction of their City, he puts to Sea with them, and after long wandering on the *Mediterranean*, enters the *Atlantick* Ocean, and performs Wonders in several Places, particularly in *Gaul* against *Goffarius* King of *Aquitain*. At length, guided by an Oracle, he comes and lands in the Island of *Albion*, at a Place where *Tetnes* now stands in the County of *Devon*. The Island was at that time inhabited by Giants of the Race of *Cham*, whose Chief or King was *Geg-Mageg*. *Brutus* and his Companions, though few in Number, not only keep their ground, but root out the Giants and get possession of the Island, which *Brutus* with his own Name called *Britain*. Before his Death, he divided his Dominions among his three Sons. *Loegrin* or *Loegrin* had for his Share *Loegrin* so called from him, the same with *England* now, exclusive of *Wales*, which was the Share of *Camber*, *Brutus's* second Son, and from him named *Cambria*. *Albanact* the youngest, had the Country since called *Scotland*, to which he gave the Name of *Albania*. (7)

Having laid these Foundations, the Author continues his History, giving an Account of the various Revolutions that happened in the Island, under the Kings Successors of *Brutus*, whose Names he relates with some of their Actions. But as to the Time of their Reigns he is not so exact, setting down neither when they began, nor how long they lasted. He is contented with saying, *Brutus's* Arrival in *Albion* was twelve hundred Years after the Flood, and sixty-six after the Destruction of *Troy*. This History, published in so dark an Age, was greedily received, particularly by the *Welsh*, the Posterity of the antient *Britons*. But it brings with it so many Marks of Forgery, that it is looked upon by all that have examined it with any Attention, as a Fiction of *Geoffrey's* fancy, or some other Author, whom he has too implicitly followed.

After rejecting this Fable, I wish it were in my Power to give a satisfactory Account of the Origin of the *Britons*. But that is impossible. We must be satisfied with the Conjectures of *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and some more modern Authors: The most probable Account seems to be this:

(1) *Tacitus* say, Hanc enim novissimam, i. e. tam primam Romanæ Classis circumvectam, Island in eâ Britanniam affuerunt. This is *Rapin's* Observation. But after it is so manifestly false, and yet has been *Cæsar's* *Commentaries*. For in *Cæsar's* Time Britain was only supposed to be an Island, but not known to be so by the *Romans*, and *Strabo* does not find it. *Dion Cassius* lived about a hundred Years after *Tacitus*; in the latter end of the 2d. and the beginning of the 3d. Century.

(2) *Col'd* by the *Romans* *Castrum*.

(3) *Belonum*.

(4) *Alphon* in the *Phœnician* Tongue signifies a High Mountain; and *Allen* in the same Language signifies *White*. The Derivation from *Alphon* seems to be countenanced by the *British* Poets, who call *Britain*, *Ins. æven*, i. e. the *White-Island*. See *Steele's* Note on *the British Poets*, p. 20.

(5) The *Trojan* Name -- *Rapin*, signifying in Greek, *Reign*, shews, according to *Camden*, that the Word was taken by the *Greeks*, just as *Mithras*, *Luxurians*, *Agustians*, &c. *Rapin*. It is a question whether there is any such Greek Word as -- *Tania* signifying *Copper*.

(6) A modern Author gives the following Derivation. The *Phœnicians* having sailed the *Strait*, i. e. the narrow Strait in the Ocean comparable to those now called the *English* *Strait*. These therefore by way of Eminence they called *Britann*, that is, *Great* Islands in the Ocean, in Opposition to those in the *Mediterranean*, which they called the *Lesser-Sea*. From *Brutus*, *Britannia* naturally flows. See *Cluver.*

(7) The Name of *Loegrin* is lost; *Cambria* is retained by the *Welsh*, as *Albion* is by the *Scots*. But this is no Proof of the Origin of these Names. See *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* History, *Rapin*.

That Great-Britain was peopled by the *Celtæ* or *Gauls*, descended from *Gomer* Son of *Japhet*, is universally acknowledged. Of This the Name *Cumri* (1), by which the *Welsh* call themselves still in their Language, and several other Reasons, will not suffer us to doubt. Besides, the numerous swarms of *Gauls* that over-ran so great a Part of *Europe* and *Asia*, make it credible, they neglected not to send Colonies into *Great-Britain* which lay so near them. The Affinity, taken notice of by Antiquaries, between the *Gauls* and *Britons* with respect to Religion, is a farther Confirmation of this Opinion. It is true indeed, the *Belgæ* are said by some Writers to settle in the *Eastern*, the *Spaniards* in the *Western*, and the *Hibernians* or *Irish* in the *Northern* Parts of *Great-Britain*. But this is not inconsistent with the common Opinion. The *Belgæ* were no other than *Gauls*, and the *Spaniards*, as well as the *Irish* or *Scots*, were, according to some Writers, Colonies of the *Celtiberian-Gauls* that inhabited along the *Western* Coasts of *Spain*. But supposing it were not very certain, that these *Spaniards* were *Celtiberians*, it can't be denied, that the *Southern* Part, now called *England*, was peopled by the *Gauls*. This is the most probable Account of the Origin of the *Britons*.

Camden.
Brit. p. xii.
&c.

Manners and
Customs of
the Britons.
Cæsar Com.
l. v.
Tacit. vit.
Agricol.

As for their Manners, Customs, Religion, and Government, though mentioned by *Cæsar* in his *Commentaries*, should we confine ourselves to what he has said, our Knowledge would be but very imperfect. A fuller Discovery of these things must be drawn chiefly from the Authors who write after the *Romans* were become Masters of *Britain*. As the *Britons* did not at once, but by degrees, alter their Customs and Manners, what these Authors say of the *Britons* of those Days, may be presumed to agree in many respects with the ancient Inhabitants of the Island.

The *Britons* were generally tall and well-made, and, like most of the *Irish* at this Day, yellow-hair'd. Their Constitution was so good, that, according to *Plutarch*, they frequently liv'd a hundred and twenty Years. This length of Days was probably owing to their Sobriety and Temperance as much or more than to the Wholesomeness of the Air. The use of Cloaths was scarce known in the Island. None but the Inhabitants of the Southern Coasts cover'd their Nakedness with the Skins of wild Beasts carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the Cold, as to avoid giving Offence to the Strangers that came to traffick with them. They were wont by way of Ornament to make Incisions in their Bodies in the Shape of Flowers, Trees and Animals, which with the Juice of *Woad* they painted of a Sky-colour that never wore out. These Scars are by *Tertullian* term'd *Britannorum Stigmata*.

Solinus
Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. xxii.
c. l.

They liv'd in Woods, in Hutts cover'd over with Skins, Boughs or Turf. There are People now in the North of *Scotland* that are said to have no other Houses. I remember also to have seen in *Ireland* poor People living in a Hutt cover'd only with green Turf, and not above three or four times bigger than their Body. I was told, they liv'd quietly in these Habitations, without stirring abroad unless to provide for their Subsistence, and, contented with Milk and *Potatoes*, gave themselves no farther trouble. This may serve to give us an Idea of the way of living as well among the ancient *Britons*, as, perhaps, among many other Nations. Their usual Food was Milk, and Flesh got by Hunting, their Woods and Plains being well stock'd with Game. As for domestick Fowls, Hens and Geese, if they bred any, it was for their pleasure, being strictly forbid by their Religion to eat them, as *Cæsar* expressly observes. Neither did they eat any Fish, though the Rivers and the Sea that surrounded them, were plentifully stor'd with them. Their Towns or rather Villages were only a confus'd parcel of Hutts plac'd at a little distance from each other, without any Order or Distinction of Streets. They generally stood in the Middle of a Wood, the Avenues whereof were defend- ed with slight Ramparts of Earth, or with the Trees that

Cæsar Com.
l. v.

were fell'd to clear the Ground. Notwithstanding this their plain and simple Manner of living, so remote from the Luxury of other Nations, they were as quick of Apprehension as their Neighbours the *Gauls*, and, if *Tacitus* may be credited, of greater Penetration. *Diodorus Siculus* does not scruple to prefer their Honesty and Integrity before That of the *Romans*. One Custom however they had that seem'd detestable to other Nations, though for their part they thought it very innocent: And that was, for ten or a dozen Brothers or Friends to live all together and have their Wives in common. This Custom continued a long time among them, though in other respects they were grown very civiliz'd by their Commerce with the *Romans*, when Masters of this Island. A *British* Lady being upbraided one day by *Julia*, *Severus's* Empress, with a Custom so contrary to the Practice of other Nations, is said, by an Historian, to return this bold Answer, *The Roman Ladies have little Reason to reproach us upon this Account, since we do publicly with the best of our Men no more than what they do privately with the worst of theirs, Freedmen and Slaves*. The *Britons*, without doubt, differ'd from more civiliz'd Nations in many other Customs (2). But their Country being little frequented by Foreigners, we know but few Particulars about them, especially with regard to the Time before the Arrival of the *Romans*. We must therefore be satisfied with what we find scattered here and there in Authors, who it may be, for the most part, knew but little of the Matter.

Dio. l. lxxvi.

Cæsar gives a great Character of the Valour of the *Britons*, and their going to Battle with undaunted Bravery. But it is hard to understand his Description of their way of Fighting. He says, they fought for the most part in Chariots, from whence, furiously driving among their Enemies, they flung their Darts: but when they had to deal with the Horse, they left their Chariots to fight on Foot with Advantage. Now this seems very strange. For my part, I own I can't conceive what Advantage they could have to engage the Horse rather on foot than in their Chariots.

The Britons
manner of
fighting.
Cæsar Com.
l. iv.

As well situated for Trade as the *Britons* were, we don't find they had any large Vessels, or ventur'd to Sea beyond the Coasts of *Gaul*. Their chief Commerce was with the *Phœnician* Merchants (3), who, after the Discovery of the Island, exported every Year great Quantities of Tin, with which they drove a very gainful Trade with distant Nations. But notwithstanding all their Care to conceal the Fountain-Head, the *Greeks* (4) discovered it at length, and came and traded also to the same Place.

Their Trade,

This Commerce being carried on in the furthest Parts of *Cornwall* only, Foreign Merchants had no Opportunity to know exactly the State of the Island. For which reason we are ignorant at this day, of many Particulars, concerning the Religion and Government of the *Britons*, that probably would have been transmitted down to us, if other Nations had met with Information. A full account therefore must not be expected of these Matters, since Here, as well as in many other Cases, Conjectures only are all we have to go upon. Thus much however is known, that the *Britons* had in a manner the same Gods with the *Gauls*. For Instance, *Dis* and *Samothes* were Deities equally worshipped by both Nations. But the *Britons* had a very particular Veneration for *Andate*, Goddess of Victory, to whom they sacrificed their Prisoners of War.

Their Reli-
gions.

We know moreover the *Druids*, as well among the *Britons* as *Gauls*, had the Care and Direction of all Religious Matters (5). The Name *Druid* comes from the Word *Deru*, signifying in the *British* or *Celtic* Language, an Oak, like *Drus* in the *Greek* (6). For the *Mistletoe* that grows on the Oak was looked upon by them as a most sacred Thing, and the greatest Blessing from Heaven (7). The *Druids* were held in such Veneration by the People, that their Authority was almost absolute. No publick Affairs were transacted without their Approbation: not so much as a Malefactor could be put to death without their Consent. Religion not only afforded them a Pretence to

The Druids.
Cæsar, l. vi.
Pliny, l. xvi.
c. 44.

(1) That is, *Indigenæ*, or the first and most antient Inhabitants of *Britain*, in Opposition to those that came over from *Belgium*. *Mag. Brit.* p. 8.

(2) Another Custom they had, viz. If a Wife was found accessory to her Husband's death, she was proceeded against with Fire. Hence, says *Coke*, our present Law of burning Women that have kill'd their Husbands.

(3) The *Phœnicians* first came to *Britain* before the *Trojan* War. *Sam. Brit.* p. 47.

(4) The *Greeks* came hither 160 Years before *Julius Cæsar*. *Sam. Brit.* p. 74.

(5) Et vos, Barbaricos ritus moremque finitimum Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetitis ab armis. Solis nosse deos, &c. *Lucan.*

The *Druids*, now, while Arms are heard no more,
Old Mysteries and barbarous Rites restore:
A Tribe who singular Religion love,
And haunt the lonely Coverts of the Grove,
To these, and these of all Mankind alone,
The Gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.
If dying Mortals Doom they sing aright,
No Ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful Night:
No parting Souls to grisly *Pluto* go,
Nor seek the dreary silent Shades below:
But forth they fly Immortal in their Kind,

And other Bodies in new Worlds they find.
Thus Life for ever runs its endless Race;
And like a Line, Death but divides the Space;
A Stop which can but for a Moment last,
A Point between the Future and the Past.
Thrice happy they beneath their Northern Skies,
Who that worst Fear, the Fear of Death despise:
Hence they no Cares for this frail Being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed Steel;
Provoke approaching Fate, and bravely scorn,
To spare that Life which must so soon return. *Lucan.*

(6) Father *Pezron*, in his Book of the Original of the *Celtic* Language, will have both *Greek* and *Latin* to come from *Celtic*. If so, the *Greek* Word *Drus* must come from the *Celtic* *Deru*. *Rapin.*

(7) *Ad Viseum Druidæ, Druidæ cantare solebant*. *Ovid.* They called the *Mistletoe*, as they still call it in some Part of *Wales*, the *Pren-Awyr*. These Groves where they worshipped were called *Llwyn*, thence probably the Word *Llan* signifying now in *Welsh* a Church. These Groves were Inclosures of spreading Oaks, ever surrounding their sacred Places. In which were 1. *Gorseddau*, or Hillocks where they sat and pronounced their Decrees, and spoke Orations to the People. 2. *Carneddæ*, or Heaps of Stones on which they had a peculiar Mode of Worship. 3. *Cremleste*, or Altars on which they perform'd the Solemnities of Sacrifices. *Rowland*, p. 69.

concern themselves in the Government, but authorized them, as they pretended, to intermeddle in private Affairs. Under colour that there is hardly any Case but where Religion may be concern'd, they claim'd a Power to exclude from the Sacrifices all such as refused to submit to their Determinations. By that means they became very formidable, this sort of Excommunication being deemed to infamous, that the Person on whom it was pronounced, was avoided by All. The Christian Clergy in this Point have but too closely imitated the antient Druids. The Chief of the Druids was a sort of Pontiff or High-Priest, who had Authority over all the rest. This Dignity was Elective: and sometimes when the Candidates were of equal Merit, such Heats and Broils have raged among them, that they have fallen to Blows before the Election was over.

The Bards. The Bards, among both Britons and Gauls, were Priests of an inferior Order to the Druids. Their Business was to celebrate the Praises of their Heroes in Verses and Songs, which they compos'd and sung to their Harps (1). They continued in being a long time. There were some even after the Romans had entirely abandon'd the Island.

The Eubates. A third sort of Priests, as well in Britain as Gaul, were the Eubates (2), who applied themselves chiefly to the Study of Philosophy, and the Contemplation of the wonderful Works of Nature, as Marcellinus informs us.

Religion of the Gauls and Britons. In short, as the Britons and Gauls had properly but one and the same Religion, 'tis very probable one of these Nations received it from the other. Cæsar was of Opinion, that the Gauls had it from Britain, because, as he observes, those that were desirous to have a thorough Knowledge of this Religion, went thither to study it. But this Argument at most serves only to prove, that their religious Mysteries were celebrated with greater Exactness in Britain, it may be by reason of the Revolutions that happened in Gaul, by the Wars raised there by the Romans. Buchanan, not so positive as Cæsar, says, it can't certainly be known which of the two Nations received it from the other. 'Tis very likely however, the Gauls when they peopled Britain, brought their Religion with them. Be that as it will, since the British and Gaulish Druids had the same Notions, and there is nothing certain concerning the First, we can form no Idea of their Religion, but by that of the Gauls, which is a little better known to us. This Knowledge however is of no great Extent, the Druids having left nothing in Writing, it being their Custom to teach their Disciples every thing by heart. A Burgundian Author has been at the Pains to collect some of the Druidical Maxims or Rules, of which the most remarkable are these:

Gallut. Men. de Franch. Comt.

Maxims of the Druids.

None must be instructed but in the Sacred Groves.
Mistletoe must be gather'd with reverence, and if possible in the Sixth Moon. It must be cut with a Golden Bill.

Every thing derives its Origin from Heaven.

The Arcana of the Sciences must not be committed to Writing, but to the Memory.

Great Care is to be taken of the Education of Children.

The Powder of Mistletoe makes Women fruitful.

The Disobedient are to be shut out from the Sacrifices.

Souls are immortal.

The Soul after Death goes into other Bodies.

If the World is destroy'd, it will be by Fire or Water.

Upon extraordinary Emergencies, a Man must be sacrificed;
According as the Body falls, or moves after it is fallen;
according as the Blood flows, or the Wound opens, future Events are foretold.

Prisoners of War are to be slain upon the Altars, or burnt alive inclos'd in Wicker, in honour of the Gods.

All Commerce with Strangers must be prohibited.

He that comes last to the Assembly of the States, ought to be punished with Death.

Children are to be brought up apart from their Parents, 'till they are fourteen Years of Age.

Money lent in this World will be repaid in the next.

There is another World, and They who kill themselves to accompany their Friends thither, will live with them there.

Letters given to dying Persons, or thrown on the funeral Piles of the Dead, will faithfully be deliver'd in the other World.

(1) Vis queque qui feris animas illoque premissas
Laudibus in honorem, vates, distuldis, avum,
Plurima securi iudicis carmina, Bardi. Lucan.

(2) Ouznie, Strals. In Welsh or Bryg, Offeyr or Offyddon. Men. Ant. p. 65.

(3) The present Bishoprick of Lugo.

(4) Rousset in his *Alena Arqueia* imagines the Second Sight (which he seems to believe) call'd *Taish* in Scotland, to be a Relick of Druidism, and build his Conjecture upon this noted Story related by *Vepieus*, who says, *Diolejian*, when a private Soldier in *Gallia*, on his removing thence, reckoning with his Hostess, a Druid Woman, she told him he was too penurious, but that he needed not to be sparing of his Money, for after he should kill a Bear, the ass'd him (looking steadily in his Face) he would be Emperor of *Rome*. These Words made great Impression upon him, and he was afterwards much delighted in hunting and killing Bears, often saying when he saw many made Emperors, and his own Fortune not much mending, *That the Bears must eat the Fleish*. However, many years after, one *Arvus Apo*, Father-in-law of the Emperor *Numerianus*, guiding for the Forest, suddenly slew him, for which Fact being brought by the Soldiers before *Diolejian* (then become a prime Commander in the Army) he ask'd a full name, and being told he was call'd *Apo* (i. e. Bear) without further Paule sheath'd his Sword in his Bowels, saying, *Et tu, Apo, cum ceteris*, which done the Soldiers saluted him Emperor.

The Moon is a Sovereign Remedy for All things, as its name in Celtic implies.

Let the Disobedient be excommunicated; let him be depriv'd of the Benefit of the Law; let him be avoided by All, and render'd incapable of any Employ.

All Masters of Families are Kings in their own Houses, they have a Power of Life and Death over their Wives, Children and Slaves.

These Articles may serve to give us a Specimen of the Principles and Religion of the Druids, which flourish'd a long while in Great-Britain as well as in Gaul. It spread as far as Italy, as appears by *Augustus's* Injunction to the Romans not to celebrate its Mysteries. There were Women, as well as Men, Druids. It was a female Druid of *Tungria* (3), that according to *Vepieus* foretold to *Diolejian* (when a private Soldier in *Gallia*) that he would be Emperor of *Rome* (4).

If the Religion of the Britons may be learnt by That of the Gauls, an Idea of their Government may likewise be formed the same way. As both Nations were of Celtic Extraction, they had, very probably, the same Form of Government. In order therefore to know the Nature of the British Government, recourse may be had to what was in use among the Gauls. From the Time of the founding of *Rome*, the Gauls were divided into several petty States, with a Head or King over each. Some of these being more powerful than the rest, kept their Neighbours in a sort of Dependance, and one of them, upon great and imminent Dangers, was by common Consent chosen chief Commander, whose Power was limited, as well as the Time of his Administration. During his Office, he was consider'd as a Sovereign Magistrate, having Power to put the Laws in Execution, and act as Captain-General of all their Forces. *Livy* (according to the Custom of the Romans) calls this Magistrate, King. But a modern Author, who believed he understood better the Nature of that Dignity, affirms the Title of King not to be at all proper for the Person invest'd with it, and therefore calls him only Paramount, or one superior to the rest. However this be, the Britons may be supposed to have had much the same Form of Government, since we find the whole Country between the *Tine* and the *Channel* was divided into seventeen petty States, with each its Head, dignified by Authors with the Name of King. When *Julius Cæsar* invaded Britain, the Command of their Army was confer'd by the Britons on *Cassibelanus* King or Chief of the *Trinobantes*; and in the Time of *Claudius*, *Caradacus* King of the *Silures* was chosen General. In the Map annex'd, the Names and Situation of these States are laid down. These Nations without doubt, depending on each other no farther than Necessity compell'd them, had frequent Quarrels and Contentions. But we have no certain Knowledge of their Affairs; and therefore the Beginning of their History can be dated no farther back than *Cæsar's* Invasion. From thence to the Time of their being freed from the Dominion of the conquering Romans, the Thread may in some measure be carried on, though several large Gaps occur, which 'tis not possible to fill up, by reason of the Fewness of the Authors that have treated of this Subject. But before I begin, it will be necessary to premise a brief Account of the *Picts* and *Scots*, Inhabitants of North-Britain.

The Government of the Britons.

S. Julian Orig. of the Burgund.

Pomp. Mel. l. i. i.

If the Britons aspire to a very antient Original, by calling themselves Descendants of *Brutus*, Great-Grandson of *Æneas*, the Scots ever jealous of the Glory of their Neighbours, resolve not to yield to them even in this imaginary Honour: Nay, they go beyond them, and lay Claim to a much greater, but withal a no less fabulous Antiquity. Their Histories are full of their Nation being founded by *Gathelus* Son of *Cecrops*, King of *Athens*; or, as some say, Son of *Argus*, fourth King of *Argos*, jointly with *Senta* Daughter of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. This fable is dress'd up in the following Manner:

Gathelus being forced to quit his native Country, to avoid the Persecution of his Enemies, puts to Sea in company with some Friends who would not forsake him. After several Adventures too long to relate, he comes into *Egypt* and serves under *Moses* in *Pharaoh's* War with the *Ethiopians*. At length, upon *Moses* leaving *Egypt*, *Gathelus*

The fable of the Scots being descended from the Athenians, is a fable of the Scots, as is the fable of the Scots being descended from the Ethiopians.

You too, you Bards! seekem sacred Raptures first,
To chaunt your Heroes on your Country's Lyres,
Who associate, in your immortal Strain,
Brave Patrons-Souls in Righteous Battle slain.

having signaliz'd himself by many brave Actions, succeeds him in the Command of *Pharaoh's* Army, who gives him his Daughter *Scota* in marriage. Thirty-nine Years after, *Gathelus*, terrified by an Oracle foretelling the Destruction of *Egypt*, sails from thence with a great Number of *Greeks* and *Egyptians* who adhere to his Fortune. He makes several Attempts to settle in *Africa*, but not succeeding, roves about uncertain of his Fate, and at last lands at a Port on the western Coast of *Spain*, calling the Place *Portus Gatheli*, from whence came the Name of *Portugal*. [Here the Author of this Fable forgot that *Gathelus* spoke Greek and not Latin.] After some stay, *Gathelus* leaving a Colony here, steers his Course farther Northward, and settles in a Country, from his own Name call'd *Gathelicia*, or *Galicia*. Some time after, his Son *Hiberus* embarking with some of his Father's Followers, sails towards the North, and leads a Colony to an Island by him nam'd *Hibernia*, and afterwards *Ireland*. As this Island was not then very populous, the Natives gladly receive the New-comers, and mixing with them, soon became one Nation under the general Name of *Scots*, from *Scota* Mother of *Hiberus*.

It would be lost time to refute a Fable that brings its own Confutation along with it. Neither should I have mention'd it, had not *Buchanan* insert'd it in his History of *Scotland*, and shewn the Absurdities of it to remove the Prejudices of Those of his Countrymen who stood up in its defence. This may be call'd the fabulous Origin of the *Scots*. The Account given for Truth by the Writers that are less prepossess'd in favour of the Antiquity of their Nation, is as follows:

A probable Account of the Origin of the Scots. The Island of *Iren*, called by the *Romans* *Hibernia*, and by the *English* and *Scots*, *Iren-landt* or *Ireland*, had been long possess'd by the *Scots* from *Scythia* in *Europe*, when a Colony of *Spaniards* came with a design to settle there, much about the time that the *Carthaginians* became Masters of *Spain*. The Number of these Foreigners not being very considerable, the Natives, far from being alarmed, willingly admitted them, and assigned them Lands to cultivate. *Buchanan* supposes these *Spaniards* to be descended from a Colony of the *Celtiberians* that were settled in *Spain*. The good Reception these met with in *Ireland*, drew others thither: inasmuch that in the end the Island grew very populous, and the two Nations mixing together became one People under the Name of *Scots*. In process of time, the Land being over-stock'd, abundance of Families threw themselves into the *Hebrides* or *Hebrides*, Islands situated North of *Ireland*, which being small, were likewise in time as well peopled as *Ireland* itself. The *Scythians* or *Scots* are said to land in *Ireland* not long after the Flood, and the *Spaniards* to arrive there in the Year of the World 3380.

Arrival of the Picts in Britain. *Bede*, l. i. c. 1. The *Hebrides* being thus peopled by the *Scots*, certain strange Ships came and offer'd to land. These Ships were fill'd with *Picts*, a German Nation inhabiting the Countries now called *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerania*. They were roving about according to the Custom of the northern Nations, in quest of new Habitations, their Country being too populous to find them a Subsistence (1). They demanded of the *Scots* some part of their Isles to settle in. The *Scots* replied, the Soil was so barren, that it was incapable of supplying them all with Necessaries. But withal inform'd them, that a large Island call'd *Albion* lay not far distant, where the northern Parts being thinly inhabited, they would infallibly find room enough, offering them assistance in case of Opposition. The *Picts* satisfied with this Discovery, steer'd directly to *Albion*, and finding but few Inhabitants where they landed, settled without much trouble in the northern Parts.

Buchan. The *Scots*, having been long desirous to extend their Habitations into *Albion*, where they hoped to find greater Plenty than in their Islands, laid hold of this Opportunity to share in the new Settlement (2). The *Picts* were not displeased to see such Numbers flock over, for besides the Need they stood in of their Assistance against the Attacks of the Natives of *Albion*, they could not possibly have subsisted long in that Country, if the *Scots* had not supplied them with Wives to perpetuate their Colony. But this was done upon condition the Heirs of the Women should have the Preference before those of the Men in the Succession to the Kingdom they were going to establish. This Law, *Bede* says, was in force in his time. The two Nations, being thus united together in one common Interest, compell'd by degrees the ancient Inhabitants of *Albion* to retire to the Southward, and leave them in possession of all the Country lying North of the *Tine*. At length, their Numbers being mightily increas'd, they agreed to separate; whether the Difference of their Laws and Customs occa-

sioned frequent Quarrels, or for some other unknown Reasons. The *Scots* chose the Western Part, as nearest *Ireland*, with the *Hebrides*, and the *Picts* took the Eastern as opposite to *Germany* (3). After the Separation, the two Nations began to be distinguished from one another, and govern'd each by their own Laws. The *Scots* that inhabit-
Distinction between the Scots, and Great and Little Scotland.
Camd. Desc. of Scot. ed *Albion* began to be distinguished from Those that remained in *Ireland* and the adjacent Isles. The Former were called *Albians*, and the Latter, *Irish*. Hence comes likewise the Distinction between *Great Scotland* or *Ireland*, and *Little Scotland* or *North Britain*. The *Albin Scots* of strengthened by continual Supplies from their Brethren the *Irish*, increas'd to such a degree, that in the end growing much more powerful than the *Picts*, they utterly destroy'd them. But this happened not till many Ages after their Separation.

It is difficult for Amity and a good Understanding to remain long between two bordering Nations. Jealousy and opposite Interests furnish them with too frequent Occasions of Quarrel. The *Picts* and *Scots* were no sooner parted, but they began to fall at variance about some trifling Affair. The Contest being inflam'd, they were upon the point of coming to an open rupture by the Instigations of the ancient Inhabitants, who fomented the Division to the utmost of their Power. These last, whom I shall for the future call *Britons*, though I know not when that Name was first given them, began to repent of suffering these Foreigners to settle in the Island. Wherefore, at this so seemingly favourable an Opportunity, they thought it their Interest to kindle a War which could not fail to be fatal to both Parties, and might even prove equally destructive of Both. As the *Britons* were in most danger from the *Scots* by reason of their Neighbourhood to *Ireland*, they offer'd their Assistance to the *Picts* to drive the *Scots* out of the Country, in expectation afterwards to find an opportunity to do the same by those they were now so desirous to side with. The *Scots* being inform'd of this Alliance, turn'd their Thoughts to *Ireland*, and applied for Aid to King *Perchard*, who sent over his Son *Fergus*. This young Prince finding the *Albin-Scots* in a sort of Anarchy, without a Chief or Head but what they chose upon extraordinary Occasions; and representing to them the Inconveniences attending such a State, they resolv'd to invest him with Sovereign Authority. *Fergus* therefore was the first King of *Scotland* properly so call'd, for *Great Scotland* or *Ireland* not only had been govern'd by Kings many Ages before; but if the *Irish* are to be credited, was the most ancient Monarchy in the World. *Fergus* is said to arrive in *Scotland* in the Year of the World 3627, about the Time *Alexander the Great* made his Entrance into *Babylon*. But this Pretension is so strongly contested, it must not be too easily admitted.

Fergus joins with the Picts against the Britons. *Fergus*, as soon as he was seated in his Throne, made great Preparations for the War against the *Picts*, without neglecting however the Means to avoid it. He represented to them by his Ambassadors that the Contest between the two Nations being of little moment, might easily be decided without coming to Blows, would both sides but agree to hearken to reason: That it was to be feared their weakening one another, would afford their Neighbours and common Enemies the *Britons* an opportunity to destroy both Nations, which it was easy to perceive was their Intention. This Remonstrance made such Impression on the *Picts*, that suddenly altering their first Design, they entered into a strict Alliance with the *Scots* against the *Britons*. *Fergus* thus strengthen'd by the Assistance of the *Picts*, march'd against the *Britons*, and gave them Battle, in which their King *Coilus* was slain. After this Defeat, the *Britons* finding themselves too weak to resist the two northern Nations, sue for Peace. *Fergus* shortly after, returning to *Ireland*, was cast away and drowned near the Place where *Carick-Fergus* now stands (4).

This is the Account of the *Scotish* Historians concerning the Settlement of the two Nations that inhabited *North-Britain*. From the Arrival of *Fergus* to the Roman Invasion, they pretend things remained in much the same State without any considerable Alteration in the Island, or of the Inhabitants. From the *Channel* to the *Tine*, the Country was possess'd by the *Britons*, and divided into seventeen petty States or Kingdoms. From the *Tine* to the utmost Bounds of the North, the *Picts* (5) inhabited the Eastern, over against *Germany*, and the *Scots* the Western Parts, opposite to *Ireland*, from which they were parted by a very narrow Channel. The *Scots* count fifteen Kings from *Fergus* to *Ederus*, who reigned in *Scotland* when *Cæsar* invaded *Britain*.

(1) In *St. Kilda* the most western Isle of the *Hebrides*, the Inhabitants now live upon Eggs, which the wild Geese come and lay constantly at a certain Season. *Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda*, printed at London 1698. *Rapin.*

(2) This is strongly contested, for it is pretended by many that the *Scots* did not settle in the northern Parts of *Britain* till the beginning of the Sixth Century. *Buchanan's* Account is followed here. *Rapin.*

(3) They were parted by *Grantslain Hills*, called by *Tacitus* in the Life of *Agricola*, c. 25. *M. J. Grampius.*

(4) This was the first Place besieged by Duke *Schomberg* at his Arrival in *Ireland* in 1689. *Rapin.*

(5) The name of *Picts* is first mention'd by *Eumenius* in his Panegyric to *Maximian*, about the Year 286. *Tyrel*, p. 92.

Dispute
as to the
Scots being
the first
inhabitants
of Great
Britain.

Though one should think the *Scots* best knew the Origin of their own Monarchy, yet this Antiquity of theirs is greatly contested by several famous and learned *English* Writers. Instead of admitting what the *Scots* advance, they pretend to demonstrate that the Nation was not settled in *Great-Britain* till the beginning of the Sixth Century. This Dispute appears at first sight to be of little Consequence, the *Scots* being able to plead too long a Prescription to apprehend their Right of Possession may be called in question. On the other hand, it does not seem to be of much Benefit to the *English* to contest with them the Honour of this Antiquity, supposing it to be imaginary. Notwithstanding, as Religion was concerned in the Case, the Dispute was carried on with great Warmth. The *Presbyterians* among their Objections against *Episcopacy* advance, that the Church of *Scotland* was governed by *Presbyters* only, call'd *Culdees* (1), before there were any Bishops in the Country; whence they would infer that *Episcopacy* is not of divine Institution. The *English* Bishops answered this Objection by denying the Fact, affirming, the Church of *Scotland* was so far from being govern'd by *Presbyters*, that it was not yet in being, the *Scots* not settling in the Island before the Year of our Lord 503. According to the *English* then, eight hundred Years of the Time the *Scots* ascribe to their Settlement in *Great-Britain* must be taken away. This Difference is so considerable, that one can hardly think the *Scots* should be so much mistaken. Is it possible, the forty Kings that are pretended to sit on the Throne of *Scotland*, from *Fergus I.* to *Coran*, who reigned in the Year of *Christ* 501, were imaginary Kings only? On the other side, it is no less difficult to believe that their learned Adversaries would lay so great an Error to their Charge, were they not perswaded they had good Proofs to support their Opinion. As the Generality of my Readers are but little concerned in this Dispute, it is not, I suppose, expected that I should fully relate the Arguments urged on both Sides, they being the Subject of many Volumes. I shall content my self therefore with briefly showing how this Dispute was managed.

Had the *Scots* been obliged to prove directly their Settlement in *Great-Britain* from the Time of *Alexander the Great*, I am afraid their Arguments would not have been altogether satisfactory to unprejudic'd Judges. But they wisely gave the Dispute another Turn. When a Nation, say they, ascribes any thing to itself in an historical Way, it ought not to be denied without sufficient Evidence to the contrary. By this means they put their Adversaries upon proving a *Negative*, which every one knows to be a very difficult Task. However, this is what they have undertaken to do. Their main Argument is drawn from no Writers mentioning the *Scots* as Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* till the Sixth Century. They alledge on the contrary several Passages from *Latin* Authors, wherein you have a List of the Nations that inhabited the northern Parts of the Island, without the least mention of the *Scots*. But the *Scots* maintain that this negative Proof destroys not their Pretensions, for their Nation not being subdued by the *Romans* till the Reign of *Severus*, and remaining but a very short Space under their Dominion, it is no wonder they knew so little of it, and consequently gave so imperfect an Account. They add moreover, tho' the *Deucaledonians*, *Meatae*, *Attacotti*, are mention'd by *Tacitus* and other Historians, as inhabiting the northern Parts of *Great-Britain*, it does not follow that these Nations were not *Picts* or *Scots*, just as the *Iceni*, *Trinobantes*, *Silures*, were truly *Britons*, though distinguish'd by particular Names. Among the

Adversaries of the *Scots* in this Dispute, the most considerable are *Usher*, *Lloyd*, *Stillingfleet*, Authors of great Note. In their Defence the principal Writers are *Hector Boetius*, *Buchanan*, *Mackenzie*, all Three very eminent in *Scotland*.

If the *Picts* were still in being, they would have the like Charge to maintain. For the same *English* Authors affirm, the *Picts* were no other than *Britons*, who to avoid the Tyranny of the *Romans*, retir'd into the northern Parts of the Island; where continuing to paint their Bodies with Wood, the *Romans* gave them the Name of *Picts*, to distinguish them from those that, after their Submission to the *Roman* Power, had left off that Custom. This Opinion is not groundless, since it is certain, many *Britons*, unwilling to submit to the *Roman* Yoke, retir'd northward, as the Conquerors advanc'd in the Island. But as the *Romans* subdued the Seventeen *British* Nations, not all at once, but by degrees, it may be ask'd why they gave the Name of *Picts* to Those only that fled beyond the *Tine*, and not to the other Nations before they were conquer'd, to distinguish them also from such as had submitted. The *Scots* further reply, that the Argument alledg'd by the *English* is more specious than solid, being entirely built upon the Conformity of the Name *Picts* with the *Latin* Word *Picti*: That many *Britons*, it is true, retir'd among the Inhabitants of the North, but to prove *These* to be the same with them that were afterwards call'd *Picts*, it must be shown how they came to be a separate Body, and a distinct People from the other northern Nations, as it is certain the *Picts* were for several Ages, with Laws and Customs different from *These* of the *Britons* and *Scots*: That seeing nothing like this can be shown, it is more natural to think these fugitive *Britons* retiring among the *Picts* were incorporated with them. This Opinion, to which I confess I am inclin'd, may be farther confirmed, by considering that the *Scots*, not being conquered till the Reign of *Severus*, and remaining but a very little time under the Dominion of the *Romans*, called their Neighbours *Pebiti*. Now if this Name be the same with that of the *Picts* from the *Latin* word *Picti*, how can it be conceiv'd that the northern People, whether *Scots* or others, should give their Neighbours a *Roman* Name? But if it be a different Name, it must then be owned, the *Picts* were not *Britons*, nor receiv'd their Name from the Custom of painting their Bodies. *Buchanan*, who takes the Name of the *Picts* to be *Roman*, confesses however his Ignorance of the Name they gave themselves. But on the other Hand, he pretends they came from certain *Gaulish* Colonies settled in *Thrace*, where they painted their Bodies as well as in *Britain*. The *Picts*, continues he, spoke the same Language as the *Britons* and *Scots*, since we don't find in History that these three Nations had occasion for Interpreters to trade together. I own this does not seem to me to be a satisfactory Reason, it being very possible these Nations might speak different Languages, and yet Historians make no mention of Interpreters (2). *Buchanan* however concludes from hence they were originally *Celtæ*. *Verstegan*, an *English* Author, says the Name of the *Picts* comes from a Word in their own Language, signifying *Warrior*. I don't think it necessary to examine any farther the Origin of a Nation that has now been entirely extinct without the least Remains almost Nine Hundred Years.

This is all I could find worth notice concerning the *Picts* and *Scots*, who are to make so considerable a Figure in the following History. It is time now to return to the *Britons*, and show in what manner they were subdued by the *Romans*.

(1) Bishop *Lloyd* says they were call'd *Kelldesi*, or in old Scotch, *Kyldees*, from *Cylle*, a Cell, and *Tee* or *Dec* a House, that is, a House of Cells. But afterwards when it was usual to find out *Latin* Derivations for those Words of which Men did not know the Original, *Kyldees* or *Kyllodes* came to be call'd *Culdees* or *Coldies*, that is, *Worshippers of God*. Either way it appears they were Monks. Now the first Monks among the *Scots* were *St. Martin's* Disciples, who died in 401. Consequently the *Culdees* were not of so antient a Date as pretended by *Selden* and the *Scots* Historians. They are not mentioned by *Bede* or *Nennius*.

(2) *Bede* says, in his time God was served in five several Languages in *Britain*, namely, *Anglorum*, *Britonum*, *Sectorum*, *Pictorum*, & *Latinerum*, l. 2. c. 2. Huntingd. p. 299.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the first Invasion of Britain by the Romans under JULIUS CÆSAR, to the Calling in of the SAXONS. Containing the Space of about Five Hundred Years.

THE Romans were become Masters of almost all *Europe*, of the best Part of *Africa*, and of the richest Countries of *Asia*, before they undertook the Conquest of *Great-Britain*. While so many Kingdoms were by these Conquerors continually added to their Empire, *Great-Britain* preserv'd her Liberty: but it was owing rather to her Situation than Strength. She was consider'd as a separate World by herself, to which the Inhabitants of the Continent seem'd to have no Pretensions, or at least, knew nothing there capable of exciting their Desires. Besides, the Wars with the *Gauls* kept the *Romans* so long employ'd, that they had not leisure or opportunity to think of the *Britons*. *Julius Cæsar* was the first that form'd the Project of that Conquest, during his Government of *Gaul*, where he caus'd the *Roman Arms* to triumph. His frequent Victories over the *Gauls* had extremely increas'd his Fame, and procur'd great Advantages to the Commonwealth. But he was not himself satisfied with the Reputation he had lately acquir'd in *Gaul*. His Thirst of Glory and Desire of enlarging the Bounds of the Empire, inspir'd him with the Design to extend his Conquests, and bring the *Britons* under the Dominion of the *Romans*. Some accuse him of being influenc'd by a more ignoble Motive, and of aiming in this Enterprize at the enriching himself with the Spoils he hoped to find in the Island (1). But this Imputation cannot be said to be well-grounded. However this be, *Great-Britain*, tho' little known in those days, had charms sufficient to raise the Ambition of that renowned Warrior. His Pretence for invading the *Britons* was their assisting the Enemies of the Commonwealth: a Pretence frequently us'd by the *Romans* to carry their Conquests into the most remote Countries. Upon this Ground he made two Expeditions into the Island, the Particulars whereof are thus related in his *Commentaries*.

Cæsar forms the Design to conquer Britain.

Sueton. Mela.

Cæsar, tho' he had spent part of the Summer in making an Irruption into *Germany*, resolv'd to employ the rest in the Execution of his Design upon *Britain*. He was very sensible however, the Season was too far advanc'd to expect to make any great Progress. Nevertheless, he consider'd it would be no small advantage if he could take a View of the Island, almost wholly unknown to all but the Merchants that traded on the Coasts. And these Merchants themselves were so little acquainted with what *Cæsar* wanted to know, that sending for some of them, he could learn neither the Extent of the Island, nor whether it was well-peopled or not. Much less could they give him any Information concerning the Ports and Havens, and whether there were any fit to receive Ships of Burthen. This Uncertainty made him resolve to send *Volusenus* to view the Coasts as far as was possible without danger, whilst his Troops were marching to the Place of Imbarkation (2).

The *Britons*, receiving Intelligence by the Merchants of *Cæsar's* Design, endeavour to divert him from his purpose, by sending Ambassadors with Offers of Obedience to the *Romans*, and the Delivery of Hostages. *Cæsar* gives the Ambassadors a very civil Reception, but exhorting them to persist in their Resolution, dismisses them without Answer, or at least without telling them positively what he intended to do. With them however he sends *Comius* (whom he had a few days before made King of the *Attrebates*) (3) with Instructions to persuade the *Britons* to make an Alliance with the *Romans*, and acquaint him with his Design to come over into their Island. They were by no means pleas'd with the News, for they expected what they had done would have induc'd the *Roman* General to alter his Resolution. So, whether *Comius* spoke to them too haughtily, or they had a mind to let the *Romans* see they did not fear them, they committed the Ambassador to Prison, loading him with Irons.

Mean while *Volusenus* having coasted along the southern Parts of the Island without landing, returns and gives an

(1) *Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus. Sueton. in J. Cæs. c. 47. Rapin.*
(2) *Suetonius says nothing of C. Volusenus being sent to make Discoveries, but rather intimates, that Cæsar undertook to do this in person. Nieue in Britanniam transiit, nisi ante per se portus & navigationem & accessum ad insulam explorasset. Vit. Jul. Cæs. c. 58. But according to Cæsar's own Account Suetonius was mistaken.*

(3) Inhabitants of the Country about *Arras*,

Account of the Discoveries he had made. Whereupon, every thing being ready to begin the Expedition, *Cæsar* im-
bark'd two Legions on board eighty Transports, leaving
orders for the *Horse* to follow with all speed in eighteen
more that could not yet join the Fleet, and were expected
every moment: but his Orders were not timely enough ex-
ecuted. At his Arrival on the Coasts of *Britain*, he sees
the Hills and Cliffs that ran out into the Sea, cover'd
with Troops that could easily with their Darts prevent
his landing (1). Upon which he determines to look out
for some other place, where he may land his Army with
less danger. However, he lies by 'till Three in the After-
noon (2), expecting some Ships that were not yet come
up. Upon their joining the Fleet, he makes a Signal for
the principal Officers, and giving them his last Instructions
concerning their landing, makes sail and comes to an An-
chor about two Leagues farther, near a plain and open
Shore (3). The *Britons* perceiving his Intent, send their
Chariots and Horse that way, whilst the rest of their
Army advance to support them. The main difficulty in
landing proceeded from the Largeness of the Vessels which
hinder'd them from coming near enough to the Shore; so
that the *Roman* Soldiers saw themselves under a Necessity
of leaping into the Sea arm'd as they were, in order to at-
tack their Enemies who stood ready to receive them on
dry Ground. *Cæsar* perceiving his Soldiers did not exert
their usual Bravery on this occasion, orders some Gallies to
get as near the Shore as possible, and set upon the Enemy
in the Flank. This Precaution had the desired Effect.
For the Slings, Engines, and Arrows were so well em-
ploy'd from these Gallies, that the Courage of the *Britons*
began to abate. But the *Romans* still demurr'd upon
throwing themselves into the Water, and it may be would
hardly have done it at all, had not the Standard-Bearer of
the Tenth Legion shewn them the way, by leaping in
first with his Colours in his Hand, crying out aloud, *Follow
me, Fellow-Soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman Eagle
into the Hands of the Enemy. For my part I am resolv'd to
discharge my Duty to Cæsar and the Commonwealth.* Upon
these Words, he leaps into the Sea and advances with his
Eagle towards the Barbarians. Emulation and Shame
causing the Soldiers to forget the Danger, they courageously
follow him and begin the Fight. But their Resolution
was not able to compel the *Britons* to give ground: Nay,
it was to be fear'd that the *Romans* constrain'd thus to
fight in the Water without keeping their Ranks, would in
the End have been repuls'd, had not *Cæsar* caus'd some
armed Boats to ply about with Recruits, which made the
Enemy fall back a little. The *Romans* improving this Ad-
vantage advance with all possible Expedition, and getting
firm footing, press the *Britons* so vigorously, that at length
they put them to rout. They durst not however pursue
them, because the Horse were not yet come. Which
Cæsar says, was the only thing that hinder'd the Victory
from being compleat (4).

*Islands
near coast
Difficult.*

*The Britons
are routed.*

*They sue for
Peace.*

*Cæsar grants
their Request.*

*The Romans
sustain a
great Loss by
a Storm.*

Misfortune, the same night the Tide of Flood rose so high,
(as is usual at the full of the Moon, a thing then unknown
to the *Romans*) that the Gallies, having been drawn ashore
were fill'd with Water. This Accident threw the *Romans*
into great Conternation, for they had not brought with
them wherewithal to repair their shatter'd Vessels, nor any
quantity of Provisions, *Cæsar* having all along intended to
winter in *Gaul*.

The *Britons* that were with *Cæsar* soon perceiv'd his
want of Provisions, Ships and Cavalry. Besides, it was
easy to guess, by the small extent of their Camp, that the
Number of the *Romans* was not considerable. Having
made these Observations, they steal away by degrees, and
represent to their Countrymen, "what a favourable Op-
portunity offer'd to free themselves from Servitude:
"How the *Romans* were few in Number, without Pro-
visions and Horse: How they had just lost their Ships,
"and with them all hopes of retiring." Upon this the
Britons resolve to use all possible means to cut off the *Ro-
mans* Provisions, and amuse them 'till Winter come on.
Cæsar guessing their Intentions by what had happen'd to
him, took all imaginable Care to lay in as great a Stock of
Provisions as he could, and put them under a strong Guard
within the Camp. Then sending to *Gaul* for part of what
he had occasion for to refit his Fleet, he made use of the
Timber and Iron of the broken Vessels to repair the rest.
The Soldiers labour'd with so uncommon a Diligence,
(as their Safety was at stake) that in a few days the Fleet
was in condition to sail, twelve Ships only having been
lost.

*The Britons
break the
Treaty.*

*Cæsar repairs
his Fleet.*

*The seventh
Legion at-
tack'd by the
Britons.*

*They sue for
Peace.*

Mean while, the seventh Legion being sent out to forage,
News was brought to *Cæsar*, that a Cloud of Dust was seen
to rise from that quarter. He suspected immediately what
was the matter; and taking with him two Cohorts (5) that
guarded the Camp, ordered the rest of the Forces to follow
with all expedition. When he came to the Place, he
found the Legion surrounded by the Enemy, and over-
power'd with Numbers. As the Harvest was brought in
every where else, the *Britons* did not question but the *Ro-
mans* would come and forage there, so lay in a Readiness to
fall upon them. It was very easy to put Soldiers in Disor-
der that had quitted their Arms, and were dispers'd up and
down to gather the Corn. They kill'd some at the first
Onset; and to prevent the rest from escaping, began to sur-
round them with their Chariots. *Cæsar* came very season-
ably to the Relief of the Legions, and sav'd them from be-
ing all taken or slain. Having brought them off, he stood
some time in order of Battle in sight of the Enemy, but at
length retreated to his Camp, not deeming it proper to en-
gage, unless compell'd to it.

The *Britons*, flush'd with this Success, drew together a
greater Body of Troops, with a Resolution to attack the
Roman Camp. Tho' *Cæsar* had but thirty (6) Horse in
all, he drew up his Men, that the Enemy might not think
he was afraid of them. They attack'd him as he forefaw.
But instead of forcing the Camp, they were vigorously re-
puls'd and pursu'd for several Miles. The *Britons* were so
dishearten'd at their Loss, that they sent the same Day
Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to sue for Peace. The Posture of
Cæsar's Affairs would not suffer him to improve his Victo-
ry, because he had no Horse to oppose to those of the
Enemy. This Consideration induc'd him to conclude a
Treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver a
greater Number of Hostages, and send them to *Gaul*,
where he intended to go as soon as possible. Tho' the
Passage was not long, the Fear of exposing his Fleet to
another Storm, if he stay'd 'till the Equinox, made him
hasten his Departure (7). The *Britons* neglecting to send
their Hostages, he puts his Troops into Winter Quarters,
and forms the Design of a more important Expedition in
the following Spring. Mean while, the Senate being in-
form'd of *Cæsar's* Exploits in *Britain*, a Procession of
twenty Days is decreed to him, though the Advantages

*The Britons
attack the
Roman
Camp.*

*They sue for
Peace.*

*Cæsar re-
turns to
Gaul.*

(1) This agrees exactly with the Cliff of *Dover* towards the South-fereland, that all Men of Judgment believe this to be the Place.

(2) *Papin*, our mistake, says, Four. See *Cæsar's* Comment.

(3) Such is the Shore at the Mouth of the River that goes up to *Rickborough*, call'd in *Latin*, *Rutupie*, *Rutape*, or *Portus Rutupensis*. Dr. *Cole* calls it *Rutape*, which suits best with the modern Names.

----- Rutupinaque littera fervent,
Unda Caledonies talit turba Britannas. *Lucan*. lib. vi.

Rickborough, or *Portus Rutupensis* is plac'd in the 2d Itin. of *Antonine's* Itinerary at twelve Miles distance from *Durovernum*, or *Canterbury*. Twelve *Roman* are about nine English Miles.

(4) The Time of *Cæsar's* landing in *Britain* is thus known. His first Expedition was, as he says himself, in the Consulate of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, that is, according to Dr. *Hannay*, in the Year of Rome 667. But *Augustus* died in the Year 767, that is, Sixty-eight Years after *Cæsar's* Descent. Upon News of *Augustus's* Death, there was a Mutiny in the *Pannonian* Army, which was quitted by *Drusus*, by help of an Eclipse of the Moon. Now from this Eclipse it is certain that *Augustus* died in the 14th Year of Christ, consequently *Cæsar's* first Descent, which was Sixty-eight Years before, must be in the 56th Year current before the Christian *Æra*. And as the Year, to say the very Day and Hour when he landed, very probably, be fix'd. For *Cæsar* having mention'd the 4th Day after his landing, says, the Night after a new full Moon. Now, the Summer being far spent, this full Moon must have been in July or August. But the full Moon of July was in the beginning of the Month, and of the two full Moons that Year in August, that on the 1st Day was at Noon, wherefore it must be that a little after Midnight of the 3d. Hence it is plain, *Cæsar* landed four Days before, on the 26th of August, about five in the Afternoon. See *Lucan*, *lib. vi.* *Antiquit. Phil. Trans.* Vol. III. p. 402.

(5) It was the Custom of the *Romans* to place whole Cohorts before the Gates of their Camp. Hence our English Phrase, *Court*, or *Cohort* of Guard. A Cohort was the 10th Part of a Legion, about Six hundred Men. The first or chief Cohorts are said to contain sometimes above a Thou- sand Men. *Isidore*, p. 8.

(6) Dr. *Barrow* says, for *Forty*, that 30 is put by mistake for 300. p. 5.

(7) The Equinox, which now falls upon the 21st of September, must in *Cæsar's* Time have been on the 25th of that Month. (This Difference is accounted for by the Earth's Motion in its Orbit about the Sun, which is about 11 Minutes more than it really is.) So that probably *Cæsar* left the Island about the 20th of September, about 10 Days after his landing; and as he says, a little before the Equinox.

he had gain'd were of little Consequence to the Commonwealth (1).

B. C. 54-
Cæsar's second Expedition.
Comm. l. v.

He lands without Opposition.

The Britons are worsted.

The Roman Ships are shattered by a Storm.

Cæsar repairs the Fleet,

and draws the Ships toward the Camp.

Cassibelanus General of the British Forces, attacks the Romans.

He is repuls'd.

Another Skirmish, where the Britons have the Advantage.

Cæsar, according to his Custom, went and pass'd part of the Winter in Italy, leaving Orders with his Officers to repair the old, and build some more new Ships. When he had received Advice that his Orders were executed, he came to *Portus Itius* (2), where he found six Hundred Ships (3), and twenty-eight Gallies, on board of which he put five Legions, and two Thousand Horse. He conducts this numerous Fleet to a Place on the *British-Coast*, mark'd by him the Summer before, and lands his Forces without Opposition. For the *Britons*, as he was told afterwards, at the sight of so mighty an Armament, thought fit to retire into the Country behind some Hills. Cæsar, according to the *Roman* Custom, fortifies his Camp, and leaving a Guard, sets out in the Night in quest of the Enemy. Having marched about twelve Miles, he sees them posted on the other side of a River (4) to oppose his Passage. As resolute as they seem'd at first, they could not withstand the furious Charge of the *Roman* Horse, but were forc'd at length to quit their Post. They retir'd a little farther into a Wood, the Avenues whereof were block'd up with huge Trees laid a-cross one another, and which seem'd to be fortified in some former War. Tho' it appear'd very difficult to force these Intrenchments, the seventh Legion however performed that Service, and oblig'd the *Britons* to betake themselves to flight. But Night coming on, and the Country unknown, Cæsar forbids all Pursuit.

Next Day, he divides his Army into three Bodies, which march at some distance from each other in pursuit of the Enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy News that his Fleet was almost entirely destroyed by a violent Storm, most of the Ships being dash'd in pieces or driven ashore. As this Accident might be attended with ill Consequences, he resolv'd to hasten back to the Sea-side. Here he finds forty of his Ships destroyed, and the rest so damag'd, that they were hardly repairable. However, Necessity compelling him to go about it without loss of time, he sets all the Carpenters in the Fleet and Army to work, sending for others at the same time from *Gaul*. To prevent the like Misfortune again, as soon as the Ships are refitted, he employs his Soldiers, Night and Day, to draw them by Strength of Arms into the midst of the Camp. This Work, notwithstanding the difficulty of it, was finished in ten Days (5). Mean while, he writes to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, to build more Ships and send them over when ready. Then leaving a sufficient Force to guard the Camp, he resumes the Design interrupted by the Misfortune befallen his Fleet.

He had not march'd far, before he was informed that the Enemies Forces were much increas'd, under the Conduct of *Cassibelanus* King of the *Trinobantes*, whose Kingdom lay beyond the *Thames*, about eighty Miles from the Sea (6). This Prince had hitherto wag'd continual Wars with his Neighbours; but upon the *Romans* Approach, they had concluded a Peace with him, and chosen him Commander in Chief. Whilst the *Roman* Army was on the march, they found themselves attacked on a sudden by the *British* Horse and Chariots. But this attack, tho' vigorous, was repuls'd with great loss on their Side. Nevertheless, they were not disheartned. Some Days after, whilst the *Romans* were employed about their Intrenchments, a Body of their Troops that lay conceal'd in the neighbouring Woods, fell furiously upon those that guarded the Camp, and put them into great Disorder. Cæsar seeing this, immediately sends two *Cohorts* to their Assistance, who, surpriz'd at the *British* manner of fighting, are routed at

the first Charge. *Quintus Laberius Pons* a Tribune was slain in the Action. As this Battle was fought in sight of the Camp, Cæsar saw plainly the great Disadvantage the *Romans*, encumber'd with their heavy Armour, lay under, against swift and light-arm'd Enemies that engag'd in small Parties only, with a Body of Reserve in their Rear, from whence they were continually recruited. The *Roman* Horse were no less embaras'd than the Foot. As the *Britons* frequently counterfeited a Retreat, the Horsemen detach'd to pursue them were immediately cut in pieces; so that it was equally dangerous to pursue the Enemy or to retire. The confus'd manner of Cæsar's relating this Affair, is a clear Evidence that the *Romans* were worsted, tho' he does not say it in so many Words. Besides, the Reasons he alleges to excuse his ill Success are very weak; or if they are of any weight, whence is it that he did not meet with the same Difficulties in so many other Actions, wherein he pretends the *Britons* were routed Horse and Foot?

On the morrow, the *Britons* posted themselves on some Hills within sight of the *Roman* Camp. As they appear'd to be but few in Number, 'twas thought they had no Design to engage a second Time. Mean while, Cæsar sending out all the Horse to forage, with three Legions to guard them, the *Britons* fall with great fury upon the Foragers, who were defended by their Guard. The Resistance made by the Legions giving Cæsar time to advance with the rest of the Army, a great Battle ensu'd, wherein the *Britons* were entirely defeated.

After this Victory, Cæsar marches towards the *Thames* with intent to penetrate into *Cassibelanus's* Dominions. When he comes to the River Side, at a very difficult Ford, he sees the Enemy drawn up on the opposite Bank. Besides their great Numbers, they had fortified that Part of the River with sharp Stakes (7), driven so deep that some of them did not appear above the Water, as Deserters said afterwards. Notwithstanding these Obstacles, Cæsar resolves to attack them, and orders the Horse to ride in, and the Foot to follow, the Soldiers being scarce able to hold their Hands above Water to carry their Arms. The Attack was made with such Resolution that the *Britons* at length were forced to quit their Post and leave the *Romans* a free Passage (8). *Cassibelanus* finding he could not hinder Cæsar's passing the *Thames*, dismisses his Army, reserving only Four Thousand Chariots with which he harasses the *Romans* and endeavours to cut them short of Provisions, by carrying off all the Corn and Cattle that lie in their Rout. The *Romans* were great Sufferers in this March; for they did not dare to make the least Excursions in search of Provisions, for fear of Sallies from the Woods and By-places.

Mean while, the *Trinobantes*, upon Cæsar's approaching their Country, send Deputies to him to sue for Peace, praying him withal to take into his Protection *Mandubratius* their King, who fled into *Gaul* upon *Cassibelanus's* murdering his Father *Immanuentius*, and depriving him of his Dominions. Cæsar promises to send back *Mandubratius*, if they will supply him with Provisions and deliver forty Hostages, to which they immediately agree. Several other States following the Example of the *Trinobantes*, Cæsar found himself in condition to attack the Capital City of *Cassibelanus*, where the Country People were retir'd with their Flocks and Herds (9.) What the *Britons* called a City was only a Wood fence'd with a Ditch to defend them against the Incursions of their Enemies. Tho' this Intrenchment seem'd very strong, Cæsar ordered it to be storm'd so briskly at two different Places, that the *Britons* not being able to stand the Assault, fled out at one of their

(1) Cæsar had no great Cause to boast of this his first Expedition, since, according to *Bede*, he lost the greatest Part of his Ships, with many of his Men, and all his Horse. I. l. c. 2. *Orsius* says, the Ships that were to bring the Horse were cast away in the Storm. *Tyr.* p. 30, 35. About Three hundred Soldiers that were in two of the Transports not being able to reach the same Port with the rest, were upon their landing set upon by the *Morini*, but rescu'd by a Party of Horse sent to their Relief. This Passage of Cæsar gives some light into the Number of Men in a Legion. These two Ships are expressly call'd *Onerarie*, or *Ships of Burthen*. Now if these two held Three hundred, the whole Eighty design'd for the Transportation of the Foot of two Legions, would carry Twelve thousand, and consequently there were about Six Thousand Foot in a Legion. And to compute the Number of Horse belonging to a Legion, we may consider that a Transport, sufficient for a Hundred and fifty Foot, will carry between Forty and fifty Horse. Consequently the Eighteen Transports design'd for the Horse had about Eight hundred on board, and so Four hundred will belong to each Legion. The Foot then in a Legion seems generally to have been about fifteen times as many as the Horse.

(2) *Boulogne*, says *Tyrrhel* and *Brady*; about *Calais*, says *Horsley*. *Rowlands* in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 24, derives it from *Porth-eitha*, i. e. the utmost, or furthest Passage, observing that Cæsar only latinized the ancient *Gaulish* or *British* Names, leaving us to seek their Etymons not in the *Roman* but in the *British* Language. *Horsley* observes, that Cæsar calls the Passage the shortest and easiest, being about thirty Miles. Now by an accurate Survey the Distance at *Calais* from Land to Land is twenty-six English Miles, or twenty-eight and a half *Roman*, which shows how near Cæsar came to the Truth.

(3) *Rapin* by mistake says Six-score.

(4) This River could not be the *Thames*, that being too distant, but the *Stour*. So that the Battle very probably was fought on the Banks of the *Stour* to the North of the Town towards *Sturry* or *Fordwich*. The strong Place to which the *Britons* retreated after their Defeat, must have been *Durovernum*, or *Canterbury*, (twelve Miles from the Place of Cæsar's landing) which was taken (and possibly kept 'till Cæsar's Return) by the seventh Legion. This might afterwards be converted by the *Romans* into a Station, as they treated several other Towns of the *Britons*, as *Cameldunum*, *Verulamum*, *Isurium*, and others, the Capital Towns of several States. *Horsley*, p. 14.

(5) Upon the Shore about *Deal*, *Sandon* and *Walmer*, are a long Range of Heaps of Earth, where *Camden* thinks this Ship-Camp was, which, he says, by the People thereabouts was call'd *Rome's-Work*.

(6) *Rapin* by mistake says twenty. Cæsar's Words are, *a mari circiter millia passuum cæloginta*. The Borders of *Cassibelanus's* Territories extended to the *Thames* in *Surry*, over-against *Oatlands*, which lies Eighty Miles from the East Shore of *Kent*, where Cæsar landed. The *Trinobantes* inhabited *Essex* with part of *Hertfordshire*, *Verulam* being the chief Town of their Kingdom.

(7) These Stakes are just above *Walton* in *Surry*, and the Meadow facing them is call'd *Coway*. They are even now to be seen at Low-water, and one of them was pull'd out of the *Thames* last Year, but with great Difficulty: They are of Oak, and tho' they have lain so long in the Water, are as hard as *Iron*, and as black as Jet. At *Shepperton* they have several Knife-handles made of them. See *Camden*, p. 155. *Bede*, l. i. c. 2. *Tyrrhel*, p. 34.

(8) Cæsar does not mention a Stratagem he is said to make use of upon this Occasion. He caus'd an Elephant well-fenced with Iron, with a wooden Tower on his back full of Men, to be forced into the River; the Sight of which monstrous Creature, that look'd like a walking Battery, did not a little contribute to frighten the *Britons* from the opposite Shore. *Polyænus* *Stratag.* l. viii.

(9) This is suppos'd to be *Verulamum*, or the present *St. Albans*. It is certain London was not so considerable in Cæsar's Time as *Verulamum*, this last appearing to have been more ancient, and was a *Municipium* or Colony, when London was not.

Avenues, but not without great Numbers slain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of Cattle.

*Year Ken-
tish men
attacked
Roman
Camp.*
*They are re-
fused, and
one taken
Prisoner.*
While *Cæsar* was advancing into the Enemies Country, the *Kentishmen* inhabiting on the South-Coast over against *Gaul*, drew their Forces together, with design to cut off the *Romans* that were left to guard their Ships. As soon as they were ready, they marched under the Conduct of four Kings, namely, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonus*, and furiously attacked the *Roman Camp*; but after a long and obstinate Fight were repulsed, and King *Cingetorix* taken Prisoner.

*Calpurnius
begins Peace.*
After so frequent Defeats, *Cassibelanus*, considering that most of his Kingdom was now in Subjection to the *Romans*, and several neighbouring States had made, or were ready to make their Submission, treats with them likewise, by the Mediation of *Comius*. He easily obtains a Peace, *Cæsar's* Resolution to return to *Gaul* not permitting him to pursue his Conquests in *Britain*. Besides, he consider'd that the Weather beginning to grow bad, would help *Cassibelanus* to defend himself the rest of the Campaign, as well as the whole ensuing Winter. By the Conditions of the Treaty, the *Britons* are annually to pay the *Romans* a certain Tribute; *Cassibelanus* is to deliver such a Number of Hostages, and leave *Mandubratius* in quiet Possession of his Dominions (1.) Tho' *Cæsar* had scarce Ships enough to transport his Army, he chose rather to stow his Men on board what Vessels he had, than run the hazard of being surpriz'd by the Autumnal Equinox. He embark'd them therefore in the best manner he could, and receiving the Hostages, puts to Sea, and safely arrives in *Gaul* (2).

*Remarks on
Cæsar's Ac-
count of his
two Expedi-
tions.*
This is the Account given by that great General of his two Expeditions into *Britain*. And here we may observe, that tho' out of an affected Modesty, he refrains from all Commendations of himself, yet by the bare Recital of his Actions, he gives himself the highest Praises. For to make a Decent with two Legions only, in an Enemy's Country, in fight of an Army formidable for Number, Bravery, and Way of fighting; to force Enemies intrench'd on the Side of a River, and what is more wonderful, to pass the *Thames* at a Ford guarded by a numerous Army, stuck full of sharp Stakes, and withal so deep as to take the Soldiers up to their Chins; these, I say, are Actions that sufficiently speak their own Praise, and need no amplification. And if *Cæsar* in penning his own History, is charged with turning every thing to his Advantage, this Imputation seems to be no where more justly cast upon him than in the present Case. Indeed, one can't read the Particulars of his two *British* Expeditions, without being sensible that something is wanting, and what is pass'd over in silence was not to his Honour. I forbear to insist upon the great difficulty of knowing where the Ford he mentions could be, since in the very place he is thought to pass the *Thames*, there is no less than six Foot Water. But what I have been saying will appear still more evident, if we consider *Cæsar's* Design in attacking the *Britons*, and the Issue thereof. He sails from *Gaul* with a Resolution to conquer *Great-Britain*, and reduce the whole Island to a *Roman Province*. This is what *Dion Cassius* positively asserts. He every where gets the better of the *Britons*. He passes the *Thames* in spite of all Obstacles. *Cassibelanus*, vanquish'd and routed, disbands his Forces, not believing himself able to stand against him. *Cæsar* becomes Master of his Capital, and the *Britons* submit and sue for Peace. With all these Advantages he is contented to impose an easy Tribute on *Cassibelanus*, and without fortifying any one Place, or leaving any Troops in the Island, drops his first Design, fatished with restoring *Mandubratius*, as if the War had been undertaken purely for his sake. Does not this show that he was forc'd to be satisfied with so inconsiderable an Advantage? *Lucan's* Testimony is a further Confirmation of the Matter, who taxes him plainly with turning his Back to the *Britons* (3). Tho' *Lucan* was no Friend to him, he would not however have ventur'd to upbraid him with running away, without some Ground. *Dion Cassius* says, that in a Battle the *Britons* utterly routed the *Roman Infantry*, but were afterwards put in Disorder by the Cavalry (4). *Horace* and *Tibullus* intimate in several Places of their Works, that in their Days the *Britons* were not consider'd as a conquer'd Nation (5). All which evidently shows that the Fame acquir'd by *Cæsar* in these two Expeditions came far short of the Idea he would give of it in

his *Commentaries*. But however this be, most certainly the Common-wealth reap'd no great Benefit by them; which doubtless was the Reason of *Tacitus* saying, *Cæsar rather shew'd the Romans the way to Britain than put them in Possession of it*.

After *Cæsar's* Death, who had render'd himself Sovereign of that Common-wealth whereof he was born a Subject, the Empire was so torn with Civil Wars that it was not possible for the *Romans* to think of *Britain*. So the Tribute was not paid, nor, it may be demanded for twenty Years. But when, after the Defeat and Death of *Mark Anthony*, *Augustus* was firmly settled in the Possession of the Empire, he undertakes to compel the *Britons* to stand to their Agreement with his Predecessor, and to that end advances as far as *Gaul* twice in order for *Britain* (6), but is prevented the first time, by a Revolt in *Pannonia*, and the second, by the Submission of the *Britons*, who send Ambassadors to sue for Peace, which he very readily grants. *Britain*, consider'd then as a wild uncultivated Country, did not seem to him worth the pains of conquering. Besides, he was determined not to enlarge the Bounds of the Empire, wisely considering that a State, like a Ship, cannot be managed when too vast and unwieldy: Yet as the *Britons* neglected to perform their Promise, he resolves in good earnest to go and subdue them: But hearing of his Design, they find means to appease him. *Tenuantius*, Successor of *Cassibelanus*, sends the same Emperor rich Presents, which were laid up in the Capitol. *Cunobelinus* his Successor, following his Example, keeps fair with the *Romans*. Nay, he order'd Money to be coin'd, some Pieces of which are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious, with the five first Letters of his Name, C. u. n. o. b. or C. a. m. the three first of *Camelodunum*, his capital City on one Side, and on the Reverse, a Man sitting and coining Money with these Letters, T. A. S. C. I. A. by which Antiquaries understand that this Money was designed for the Payment of the Tribute (7).

Tiberius, Successor of *Augustus*, neglected *Britain* as a Country of little Consequence, it being unknown to him. Satisfied with the Respect shewn him by the *Britons* in sending back some of *Germanicus's* Soldiers that were shipwreck'd on their Coast, he left them to enjoy their Liberty.

Caligula, his Successor, would not doubtless have turned his Eyes towards *Britain*, if he had not by a *Briton* himself been drawn into the Project of conquering the Island. *Adminius*, Son of *Cunobelinus*, incurring his Father's Displeasure, and flying to *Rome* for Protection, finds means to persuade the Emperor that nothing was more easy than this Conquest. *Caligula*, whose Folly is well known, imagines, upon what the young Prince tells him, that the Sight of him is sufficient to subdue the *Britons*. Full of this Notion, he advances in Person to the Coast of *Belgick Gaul*, where he had ordered his Army to march. But being told, as he was embarking his Men, that the *Britons* stood ready to receive him on the other Side of the Water, his warlike Ardor cool'd, and he desisted from an Enterprize which began to appear too hazardous. However, as he was led by his Caprice to the most extravagant Actions, he went on board a Galley, ordering the People to row with all speed towards *Britain*, as if he intended to have alone the Glory of conquering the Island. But presently after, he is seen to return back as fast as he went off. As soon as he lands he harangues his Troops, as if he were going to employ them in some important Expedition. Having ended his Speech, a Charge is sounded just as if the Enemy were in view. Upon which, the whole Army, pursuant to an Order given to the principal Officers, fall to gathering of Cockleshells in their Helmets. The Emperor pleas'd with the Alacrity of his Soldiers on this Occasion, liberally rewards them, and sends Letters to *Rome* of his Success, wishing the *Senate* to decree him a *Triumph*. But being informed the *Senate* made some Difficulty to comply with his Order, he resolves to put all the Senators to Death. He would doubtless have executed his barbarous Purpose, had he not been depriv'd of the Power with his Life, by a Conspiracy soon after form'd against him.

After *Julius Cæsar's* second Invasion, to which some very improperly give the Name of *Conquest*, the *Britons* preserv'd their Liberty above ninety Years, during the

(1) *Geoffrey of Monmouth* says, *Mandubratius* was not restor'd to his Kingdom, but leaving *Britain*, betook himself again to *Cæsar*, and attended him to *Rome*. *Cassibelanus* reigned ten Years after *Cæsar's* Departure.

(2) It is conjectur'd that *Cæsar's* 2d Expedition was in *May*, and that he return'd to *Gaul* about the Middle of *September*. For in a Letter to *Cicero* from *Britain*, dated *September 1*, *Cæsar* says, *He was come to the Sea-side in order to embark*.

(3) *Territa questis ostendit terga Britannis. Lucan.*

(4) He says elsewhere, speaking of the *Britons* when pursu'd by *Plautius*, "They fled into Marshes and Woods, in hopes the *Romans*, tir'd with waiting to no purpose, would, like *Julius Cæsar*, retire without effecting any thing."

(5) *Intactus aut Britannus ut descendere*

Sacra catenatus viâ.

Hor. Epod. viii. 7. Rap.

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

Tib. l. iv.

(6) *Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos.*

Her. lib. i. 35. Rap.

(7) The Payments of the *Britons* were usually made in pieces of Brass and Iron Rings, and probably this Coin stamp'd by *Cunobelin* was for Tribute only, which the *Romans* exact'd in Gold and Silver, as may appear by the Word *Taxia*, which in *British* (says *David Perceval*) signifies a *Tribute Penny*, perhaps from th. Lat. n. *Taxatio*. For the *Britons* do not use the Letter *A*. *Brad. p. 11. Tyr. p. 37. Camden, p. 109.*

Reputation. He fought thirty Battles with the Britons, subdued two powerful Nations, and conquered the *Isle of Wight*. As all this was done under *Plautius* the Commander in Chief, he acquir'd great Reputation in this War. At length, being recalled, he goes and receives at *Rome* the Reward of his Services, the Senate having decreed him the Honour of an *Ovation*, or inferior Triumph. He was met by the Emperor without the Gates, who gave him the Right Hand as they walked, in Token of his great Esteem for him (1).

Ostorius Scapula was sent into *Britain* in the room of *Plautius*. He arrives in the midst of Winter, and finds the Britons making continual Inroads into the Roman Conquests. They never imagin'd the new Governor would march his Army at such a Season in an unknown Country. But he does not suffer them long to continue their Ravages. Drawing his Troops together, he forthwith marches against them with all Expedition, and defeating the first that stand their Ground, so disperses the rest in the end, that he has no more to fear from their Incurfions. However, not to be expos'd to continual Alarms, he resolves to confine them between the *Avon* and *Severn*, by means of Forts built between the two Rivers. Before he puts this Resolution in practice, he makes *Camelodunum* a military Colony. Much about the same time *London* was also made a [Trading] Colony, and that Part of *Britain* lying between the *Thames* and the Sea, was reduced into the Form of a Province, and called *Britannia Prima*.

The *Iceni* (2) not yet weakened by the foregoing Wars, having from the beginning been in Alliance with the Romans, were the first that oppos'd *Ostorius's* Design. Some neighbouring Nations followed their Example, and joining their Forces under one General, they encamp'd upon advantageous Ground, throwing up in haste a Breast-work of Flints to prevent the Attempts of the Horse. Tho' *Ostorius* was then without any but the auxiliary Forces (3), he attacked them however, ordering the Horse to dismount and support those that were to charge first. The Resistance of the Britons was more obstinate than expected. Nevertheless their Intrenchments were forced at last with great Slaughter on their Side. After this Victory, *Ostorius* turns his Arms against the *Cangi* (4), who keeping in small Parties, are quickly dispersed. The Roman Army was not far from the Sea that parts *Ireland* from *Great-Britain*, when the General is informed that the *Brigantes* (5) are in Arms. This News obliging him to defer the Execution of his first Design, he marches with all speed against the *Brigantes*, being willing to secure the Old, before he proceeds to new Conquests. The Insurrection is appeas'd by the Death of the chief Revolters. But the *Silures* (6), the bravest and most powerful of all the Britons, could not be tam'd, either by Clemency or Severity. Their Forces were so considerable that the Legions were obliged to march against them. They were headed by their King *Caradacus*, famous for his great Exploits, and universally esteem'd by his Countrymen, being accounted the best General *Britain* had ever produced. This Prince, whom the Nations in Alliance with the *Silures* had made Commander in Chief, was retired into the Country of the *Ordovices* (7), where assembling all his Forces, he resolves to expect the Romans. To that end he chuses an advantageous Post of very difficult Access, and draws up his Army on the Side of a steep Hill, with a little River (8) at the bottom, which tho' fordable in many Places, was of great Service to him. Moreover his Camp being furrounded with a fort of Rampart of Flints and Stones, he seem'd, thus posted, to be out of

all Danger (9). These Difficulties are not sufficient to check the Romans, who appear before their Enemies with their wonted Bravery, and resolved to exert their utmost in Expectation of ending, by a single Battle, a War that kept them, as it were, in another World. The Britons on their part prepare for Battle with all possible Ardor, not questioning but they should free themselves that Day from the Roman Yoke. Their Leaders ride up and down, exhorting them to do their Duty, by all the Motives that could enflame their Courage, and excite them to brave Actions. *Caradacus* tells them, "This is the Day that will give them Liberty or perpetual Slavery; and bids them call to mind the Glory of their Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* out of *Britain*, and freed their Country from the Dominions of the Romans." The Soldiers with loud Acclamations declare, they are ready to shed the last Drop of their Blood in Defence of their Liberty. The Resolution that appear'd in the Looks of the Britons startled the Roman General at first. But finding his Army extremely eager to engage, he makes the Signal of Battle, having first observ'd in what Places the River might best be forded. The Romans pass it without much difficulty, but before they can approach the Enemy's Camp, they are expos'd to a Shower of Darts by which many are kill'd and wounded. In spite of these Difficulties, they make several Breaches in the Rampart, which being nothing but loose Stones, is easily thrown down. As soon as they could use their Swords, it was not possible for the Britons to stand against the warlike and veteran Troops who quickly put them to flight. Besides the Loss sustained by the Britons in the Action, their Defeat was the more considerable by the taking of the Wife, Daughters and Brothers of *Caradacus*. This Victory was followed, in a few days, with an unexpected Happiness to *Ostorius*. *Caradacus* and deliver'd flying for Protection to *Cartimandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, was by her deliver'd up to the Romans, for fear doubtless of drawing a victorious Army into her Country, should she think of protecting the vanquish'd Prince. He had now commanded the confederate Army of the Britons nine Years; and his Fame had reach'd as far as *Rome*, where all were surpris'd at his so long resisting the Roman Power. When the Emperor had notice of the Victory and taking of *Caradacus*, he order'd the Captives to be sent to *Rome*, that he might behold in Chains a Prince that had been talk'd of as a very formidable Enemy. On a Day appointed, the People being all present, and the Emperor seated on his Throne, there came first *Caradacus's* Vassals and Retinue, with the Caparisons and other Spoils of War, then his Wife, Daughters and Brothers, and lastly *Caradacus* himself, walking with a settled Countenance, without holding down his Head, or appearing too much dejected at his Misfortune. When he came near the Emperor, he made the following Speech, if it be true that *Tacitus* did not make it for him.

"If my Moderation had been as great as my Birth or Fortune, *Rome* had seen me this Day her Ally and not Captive, and perhaps she would not have disdain'd to rank in the Number of her Friends a Prince royally descended, and who commanded many Nations. My present Condition is as dishonourable to me, as it is glorious to you. I had Arms, Horses, Riches, and Grandeur. Is it strange I should part with them unwillingly? Does it follow, because you have a mind to rule over All, that therefore every one must tamely submit? Had I sooner been betray'd to you, neither your Glory nor my Misfortunes had been render'd so famous, and my Punishment would have been buried in eternal Oblivion:

it himself from the Palace of *Barberini* at *Rome*. It is as follows:

TI. CLAUDIO. CÆS.
AVGVSTO.
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES. BRITANNIÆ. ABSQ.
VLA. JACTVRA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

(1) From the following Words of *Tacitus*, the Wife of *Plautius* is supposed to be a Christian, and the first in *Britain*. *Pomponia Graecina* insignis Femina, *Plautii*, qui ovum de *Britannis* retulit nupta, ac suspectis sitis externa reâ, mariti judicio permilla. *Annal.* l. 10. c. 37. This *Pomponia Graecina* Wife of *Plautius*, and *Clautia Rufina* a *British* Lady, are supposed to be of the Saints that were in *Cæsar's* Household, mention'd by *St. Paul*. *Clautia* is celebrated by *Marston* for her admirable Beauty and Learning in the following Epigram.

Claudia cæruleis cum sit *Ruffina* Britannis
Edita, cur Latine pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus Formæ! Romanam dicere Matres
Italides possunt, Attides esse suam.

From painted Britains how was *Claudia* born?
The fair Barbarian how do Arts adorn!
When Roman Charms a Grecian Soul commend,
Athens and Rome may for the Damsel contend.

(2) The Inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire* and *Huntingdonshire*. *Rowland* observes, that *Cyn* or *Kyn* signifies in *British*, *Fi* or *Fore* and *King*. Hence *Kyn*, or *Kent*, so called from being the First in Situation from the Continent, and *Ueb-Kyn* (*Uen-ram-regis*) i. e. next to *Kyn* or *Kent*.

(3) Every Legion had so many Auxiliaries, the Number of which is suppos'd, as to the Foot, to be the same with the Legion, but double, as to the Horse. *Hesley*, p. 57. The Auxiliaries were Foreigners, whereas the Legions were Romans.

(4) Generally suppos'd to be Inhabitants of the western Parts of *Wales*, but *Hesley* places them about *Derbyshire*, near the *Brigantes*, p. 35.

(5) Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Durham*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*.

(6) Inhabitants of *Hampshire*, *Radnorshire*, *Brecknockshire*, *Monmouthshire*, *Gloucestershire*.

(7) Inhabitants of *Merionethshire*, *Monmouthshire*, *Caernarvonshire*, *Flintshire*, *Denbighshire*.

(8) *Hesley* takes this River to be the *Severn* rather than the *Dee*.

(9) In the Island of *Shropshire* where the Rivers *Clune* and *Tend* meet, is a Hill to which there is no Access, but at one place call'd *Caer-Canadus*, formerly from *Canadus*, where yet are to be seen the Relicks of these Stone-Ramparts. *Hesley*, p. 31.

"But

"But now if you preserve my Life, I shall be a standing Monument of your Clemency to future Ages." The Emperor moved with these Words generously pardons the Captives, and orders their Chains to be taken off. The first Use they make of their Liberty is to go and fall at the Empress's Feet, who, in all appearance, interceded for them. The Senate being assembled to consider of a due Reward for *Ostorius*, his Victory was spoken of in Terms very much to his Advantage. It was declar'd to equal *Scipio's* over *Syphax*, and *Paulus Æmilius's* over *Perseus*; and therefore it was resolv'd that the same Honours should be decreed him.

52. *The Britons resume their Courage.* Mean while, *Ostorius's* Reputation began to sink, either because he grew remiss after acquiring so great Fame, or because the *Britons* had exerted themselves more vigorously to repair the Disgrace of their late Defeat. They successfully attack'd the Troops that were left to build Forts in the Country of the *Silures*, and had not timely Relief come from the neighbouring Garrisons, would have cut them in pieces. The Commander and eight Captains, with a good Number of Soldiers, were slain. Another time they defeated the *Roman* Foragers, and put the Horse that guarded them in disorder. In this Action they improv'd their Advantage in such manner, that *Ostorius* was obliged to advance with the *Legions*, after having tried in vain to restore the Battle with Supplies of the light-arm'd Troops. The coming of the *Legions* reviv'd the Courage of the *Romans*, and forc'd the *Britons* to retreat tho' with little Loss. After that there were several Conflicts with various Success, according to the Circumstances of Time and Place.

The Silures are intractable. The *Silures*, of all the *British* Nations, were the most obstinate, being exasperated at the Emperor's saying, *Britain* would have no Peace, till, like the *Sicambri*, they were transported into some foreign Country. They surpriz'd two *Cohorts*, that by the Avarice of the Officers and greedy Desire of Pillage, were advanced too far into the Enemy's Quarters. By distributing the Spoil and Prisoners, they endeavour to draw in the rest of the Nations to revolt. *Ostorius* dies about this time with vexation for not being able to put an end to the War. The *Britons* rejoice at his Death, and the more for their ascribing it to his Grief that he could not stop the Progress of their Victories.

53. *Aulus Didius succeeds him.* As it was dangerous, in the present Posture of Affairs, for the Emperor to leave the Army long without a General, *Aulus Didius* is immediately sent over, who finds Matters in a worse Condition than ever, a *Legion* commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated. The Loss however was not so great as reported. Nevertheless *Didius* himself magnified it very much, that he might gain the more Honour in restoring Affairs, or lessen the Disgrace, if the War should continue any time. His Arrival was a Check to the *Silures*, who, exalted with their late Success, were making Inroads into the Frontiers of the *Roman* Province.

The War kindles afresh. Mean while *Venutius* King of the *Brigantes*, Successor of *Caractacus*, in the Command of the Army, is perswaded by the Insinuations of *Cartimandua* his Queen, (the same that betray'd *Caractacus*) to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. As long as this Prince lived in a good understanding with his Queen, he suffered the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy their Conquests. Satisfied with preserving his own Dominions, without troubling himself about the Concerns of the other Nations. A Quarrel arising between him and his Queen, and ending in a domestick War, caused him to take other Measures (1). Tho' hitherto he had no Aversion to the *Romans*, he is now forced to declare against them, they having impolitically espoused the Cause of his Queen. This Partiality of theirs so enrages him that he uses all his Interest with his Countrymen to stir them up to a Revolt. The War is kindled afresh with greater Fury than ever, tho' in the absence of *Didius*, who, being very old, manag'd Affairs by his Lieutenants.

57. *Veraninus succeeds Didius and dies.* *Veraninus* who succeeded him in the Reign of *Nero*, died before he had done any thing remarkable. 'Tis true, his Head was full of vast Projects, and the Fame he had acquir'd in other Posts, gave Occasion to think him capable of executing the greatest Undertakings. But his Will, stuffed with flattering Praises of the Emperor, and full of vain Boasts, that in case he had lived but two Years longer he would have subdued all *Britain*, made him forfeit the good Opinion People had conceived of him.

58. *Suetonius Paulinus* was appointed to fill his Place. Great

Matters were expected from this General, whose Merit was compar'd with *Corbulo's*, who had lately conquer'd *Armenia*. As he himself looked with Emulation on the Glory acquir'd by that great Man, he burn'd with desire to confirm by fresh Exploits, the good Opinion the World had entertain'd of his Experience and Bravery. The Moment he comes to his Government, he forms the Project of conquering the Isle of *Mona* (2), now called *Anglesey*. To that end, he passes the Foot over in flat-bottom'd Boats, the Sea being very shallow in that Place, the Horse following, some swimming, others fording (3). The Islanders are drawn up on the other Side, with the Women running up and down, dress'd like *Furies*, their Hair hanging loose, Firebrands in their Hands, and surrounded with the *Druids*, who with Hands lifted up to Heaven, pour out dreadful Curses and Imprecations. The Horror of this Sight so astonishes the *Romans*, that they stand stock still, exposed to the Enemies Darts. But at length, the Shame of being frightened by a Company of frantick Women and Priests, and the Exhortation of their General bringing them to their Senses and Courage, they fall upon the Enemy Sword in Hand, and become Masters of the Island. The first thing *Paulinus* did was to order all the consecrated Groves to be cut down, where the Islanders sacrificed their Captives, and consulted their Gods, by inspecting the Entrails of Men.

But whilst *Paulinus* is employed in this Expedition, an unexpected Turn obliges him to leave *Mona* in an abrupt manner, to go and settle Affairs of much greater Moment.

Prasutagus King of the *Iceni* dying, leaving by Will the Emperor and his Daughters Co-heirs to his great Treasures, in Expectation to procure by that means *Nero's* Protection for his Family and People. But this Precaution has a quite contrary Effect. *Prasutagus* is no sooner laid in his Grave, but the Emperor's Officers seize upon all his Effects in their Master's Name. *Boadicea* (4) his Widow, a Woman of great Courage and a high Spirit, opposing these unjust Proceedings, meets with fresh Cause of Discontent in the Contempt shown to her Remonstrances. As she is expressing, by her Complaints, her resentment of the Injury done to her Daughters, the brutishness of the Officers is such, that they order her to be publicly whipp'd. And then, not satisfied with so outrageous an Affront, they cause her Daughters to be ravish'd by the Soldiers.

The *Britons* look upon this strange Barbarity with such Indignation, that the whole Island is possessed with a Spirit of Revolt, which quickly breaks out into Action. The *Iceni* lead the Way, and are soon followed by their Neighbours the *Trinobantes*. *Venutius* and his Party join with them, and in short, all the Nations in Subjection to the *Romans* rise in Arms with one Consent, the City of *London* only excepted. The *Roman* Historians themselves own, that the Injustice and Violence of the Emperor's Officers gave the *Britons* but too just Cause to revolt. They were thrust out of their Possessions without any Form of Law, by the *Veterans* that were sent to settle in the Island. *Catus Decianus*, *Nero's* Procurator, without any regard to the Ordinance of *Claudius*, that left the Vanquish'd in Possession of their Goods, confiscated their Estates to the Emperor's use. The *Petitions* presented to him on that Occasion were all rejected, and without alledging any other Reason but his Will, which he made a Law, he minded nothing but his own, and his Master's Profit. *Seneca* himself, with all his noble Sentiments of Moderation and Disinterestedness which shine in his Writings, but were never seen in his Practice, is said to contribute very much to the Insurrection, by rigorously exacting on a sudden the Money he had lent some of the *Britons* upon Usury (5). This Treatment bred in the Minds of the People so great an Aversion to a foreign Yoke, that they were all unanimously determined to shake it off. *Venutius*, mortal Enemy of the *Romans*, cherishes the Rebellion to the utmost of his Power. The very Adherents of the Queen laying aside their domestick Quarrels, and renouncing the Friendship of the *Romans*, join with the rest of their Countrymen for the recovery of their Liberty.

Boadicea, animated with an ardent Desire of Revenge, heads the Revolters, and earnestly exhorts them to take Advantage of the *Roman* General's Absence to free themselves from Slavery, by putting their Oppressors, the Foreigners, all to the Sword. The *Britons* immediately embrace the Proposal, and fall in a sudden and furious manner upon the *Romans* dispersed in their Colonies, which were more carefully embellished than fortified, massacring all

Suetonius Paulinus is sent into Britain. Tacit. Ann. l. 14.

Heaven's

Co. A general Insurrection in Britain. Tacitus, D. Cass. The Cause of it.

General Massacre of the Romans.

(1) She rejected him, and marries his Esquire *Vellocatus*, making him King. Tacit. l. 3.

(2) So call'd from *Men*, signifying in old *British*, the Furthest or End, in respect of its Situation from the Continent of *Gaul*. Rosal. p. 21.

(3) The *Romans* are suppos'd to have pass'd from *Llan-eir-is Gair* in *Caernarvonshire* to *Llan Idan* in *Anglesey*, which is still the shallowest Part of the *Fretum*, and there are remarkable Works yet visible near *Llan Idan*. See *Camden*, p. 675, 676.

(4) This Name is variously written, *Xiphiine Dion's* Epitomizer, has it *Boudica*; *Tacitus* calls her *Voadicea*, and *Boudicea*; *Camden* and others, *Boadicea*, but most usually *Boadicea*.

(5) *Seneca* is said by *Dion Cassius* to have in *Britain* about this time to the value of Three hundred thousand Pounds, as *Camden* computes it. *Xiphil. in Ner. Stillig. Orig. Brit.* p. 5.

*Cruelties ex-
ecuted upon
the Romans.*

without Distinction of Age or Sex. Unheard of Cruelties are acted upon this Occasion, and strange Punishments invented to glut the Fury of the enraged People. Wives are hung up with their Infants at their Breasts, to make them suffer in some measure a double Death. Virgins have their Breasts cut off and cramb'd into their Mouths, to make them seem in the Agonies of Death to eat their own Flesh. The *Veterans* at *Cameldunum* retiring into a Temple for Sanctuary, are sacrilegiously burn'd alive, rather than suffer'd to starve to Death. In a word, the Fury of the *Britons* is carried to that height, that not a single *Roman* escapes. Eighty Thousand (1) are computed to perish in this Massacre.

Let us reflect here a little on the Politicks of those Conquerors of the World, so great Masters in the Art of Government. Upon their subduing a Country, they immediately sent thither numerous Colonies, who by Degrees mixing and intermarrying with the Natives, secured to them their Conquests. Of this *Britain* is a remarkable Instance, where, tho' the Island had been conquered but eighteen Years before by *Claudius*, above eighty Thousand *Romans* were already settled, besides *Paulinus's* Army, and doubtless, some Garrisons in the fortified Places, which the Fury of the *Britons* could not penetrate.

*Paulinus
leaves Mona.*

Paulinus receiving Advice of this Revolution, suddenly quits the Isle of *Mona* to march against the revolted *Britons*, who have now an Army of a Hundred Thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Boadicea*, whose noble Stature and heroic Courage make them hope she may have likewise all the Qualities of a General. This Princess fired with the Affronts she had received, ardently desires to engage with *Paulinus*, whose Army is only Ten thousand strong, in Expectation of completing her Revenge, by the Destruction of so inconsiderable Remains of the Enemy. Mean while, *Paulinus* expecting no Succours from any Place, is in great Straits. The ninth *Legion*, commanded by *Petilius Cerialis*, was just then entirely defeated. *Pænius Posthumus*, with a considerable Detachment of the Second, refused, contrary to the Law of Arms, to obey his General's Orders, to come and join him. Thus *Paulinus* is under a Necessity either of marching against his Enemies with his little Army, or of expecting them in some Town. He chuses the latter, and shuts himself up in *London*, but quickly alters his Resolution. Foreseeing his Endeavours to save that Colony will endanger the whole Province, he marches out notwithstanding the Cries and Intreaties of the Inhabitants not to abandon them to the Fury of the Rebels. However, with his handful of Troops, he seem'd little able to stand against an Army of a Hundred thousand Men. But great Men very often by their Courage and Experience find Means to extricate themselves out of the greatest Difficulties. *Paulinus* plainly sees that in such an Extremity he must either conquer or die, the Relief he might expect being too far off, and the Danger at hand. Therefore, instead of retiring from the *Britons*, now marching towards him, he resolves to meet them. This Resolution inspires his Troops with such Courage, that they readily follow him; so powerful is an Army's good Opinion of their General. *Paulinus* summons all his Experience to balance by his Conduct the Advantage of the Enemy's Numbers. He pitches upon a narrow Piece of Ground for the Field of Battle, with a Forest behind that secures him from Ambuscades in the Rear, and a large Plain before, where the *Britons* are encamp'd. He draws up the *Legions* close together in the Center, the light arm'd are placed round them, and the Horse make the two Wings. The Enemies swarm about the Plain in Battalions and Squadrons, exulting at their Numbers (2), and secure of Victory. Their Wives and Children are brought into the Field in Waggons, which line their Intrenchments, to be Witnesses of their Actions and Partners in the Spoil.

*Boadicea's
leaves the
Army.*

Boadicea, with her Daughters by her Side in the Chariot, rides up and down, addressing herself to the several Nations in the following manner, "That it was not the first time the *Britons* had been victorious under the Conduct of their Queens. That for her part she came not there, as one descended from Royal Progenitors, to fight for Empire or Riches, but as one of the common People, to avenge the Loss of their Liberty, the Wrongs done to her own Person, and the Violation of her Daughter's Chastity. That the *Romans* Luit was grown to that Height, that neither Old nor Young escap'd its Pollutions; but the Gods had already begun to punish them according to their Deserts; for one *Legion* that durst hazard a Battle was cut in Pieces, and the rest skulk'd in their Camp (3), or fled for their Lives; so that instead of being able to stand the Attack of a victo-

rious Army, the very Shouts of so many Thousands would put them to flight. That if the *Britons* would but consider the Number of their Forces, and the Motives of the War, they would resolve to vanquish or die. That it was much better to fall honourably in Defence of their Liberty, than be expos'd again to the Outrages of the *Romans*. This was her Resolution; but as for the Men, they might, if they pleas'd, live and be Slaves." She is said at the end of her Speech to let loose a Hare, she concealed in her Bosom, as a good Omen of Victory.

Whilst *Boadicea* is endeavouring to animate the *Britons*, *Paulinus* is not idle at the Prospect of so great Danger. Tho' he is assured of the Bravery of his Troops, he exhorts them to despise the Clamour and Threats of the Barbarians. He represents to them, that "among the Enemy there were more Women than Soldiers, and that the

greatest Part of them, having neither Arms nor Courage, would immediately take to their Heels, when they came to feel the Force of their victorious Arms. That in the most numerous Armies, the Decision of the Battle depended upon a few, and that their Glory would be so much the greater as it was the less divided. That they should take care only to keep their Ranks close, and fight Sword in Hand, after they had thrown their Darts. And lastly, that they should not lose time about the Spoil, which would be the certain Reward of their Victory." These Words are followed with such loud Acclamations, and the Resolution of the Soldiers appears so great, that the General not doubting of Success, orders a Charge to be sounded. The *Romans* dart their Javelins without quitting the Advantage of their Post. But their Quivers being emptied, they advance Sword in hand, seconded by the Auxiliaries, who fight with equal Bravery, in an Opinion there is no safety but in Victory. Whilst the Fight was carried on with Darts at a Distance, the *Britons* were in hopes the *Romans*, daunted at the Number of their Enemies, would take to flight. But when they see the *Legions* advancing Sword in hand, with short and thick Steps, and no Signs of Fear in their Looks, they fall into Disorder, which continually increases, there being no Leaders or Officers capable of repairing it (4). The *Romans* seeing them thus shaken, fall upon them with great Fury, and put the whole Army into the utmost Confusion, who now think only of saving themselves by Flight. At the same time, the *Roman* Horse in the Wings breaking through the *British* Cavalry, a terrible Rout ensues of the frighted Troops. 'Tis even with Difficulty they run away, by reason of the great Number of Carriages, full of unserviceable Multitudes, which first retiring, become an Obstacle to the Flight of the Army. The *Roman* Soldiers spare neither Age nor Sex, but sacrifice to their Revenge the Women and Children, and even the very Horses. This Victory equalled their most famous ones, if it be true, as *Tacitus* affirms, that Eighty thousand *Britons* were slain, with the Loss only of Four hundred *Romans*, and as many wounded. *Boadicea* escap'd falling into the Hands of the Conquerors, but was touch'd with so deep a Sense of her Shame and Loss, that she ended her Days with Poison. On the other Side, *Pænius Posthumus* who refused to obey his General, either to avoid the Punishment due to his Offence, or for Grief at losing his share of the Glory of the Victory, stabb'd himself.

How advantages to the *Romans* the Consequences of so great a Victory were, may be easily conceived. The *Britons*, in the utmost Conternation, without General or Army, fly before their Enemies without offering the least Resistance. Their Misery is farther increased by a Famine, brought upon themselves by neglecting to sow their Lands. All their hopes are, that the inconsiderable Number of their Enemies must oblige them to keep together, and thereby afford time to form another Army. But these hopes vanish upon the *Romans* receiving a strong Reinforcement from *Germany*. No doubt, as Matters then stood, *Paulinus's* Army would have been sufficient to complete the Conquest of *Britain*, if Dissensions arising among the *Romans* had not prevented them from improving their Advantages.

Julius Clafricanus, who succeeded *Decianus* in the Office of Procurator, disagreeing with *Paulinus*, studied to cross him in all his Designs. Probably the General would not suffer him to continue the Oppressions that occasioned the late Revolt. However this be, *Clafricanus* conceives so violent a Hatred for him, that he declares publicly, and even writes to the Emperor's Ministers at *Rome*, that there is no Prospect of ending the War, as long as the

(1) *Rapin* & *H. W. Den Cassius*. *Tacitus* says only Seventy Thousand, his Words are, ---ed Septuaginta milia Civium & Sacerdotum. *Veneriamus* *Monasterium*. So that *Civium* may refer chiefly to this Place, and *Sacerdotum* to *London*, which was only a Trading Colony.

(2) The Army consisted of 250,000 according to *Den Cassius*.

(3) According to *Pænius Posthumus's* Conduct, who seems to have refused to draw his Legion out of their Station or Camp. *Hofley*, p. 23.

(4) Their last Words are not in *Tacitus*.

Management is left to *Paulinus*. In all his Reports to the Emperor's Ministers, he imputes the good Success to Fortune, and the bad to the Governor's ill Conduct, intimating, that if another General were sent, it would be very easy to appease the Troubles without disobliging the Province. At last, *Nero* hearing of this Dissension, orders his Freedman *Polycletus* to go and learn the Cause. The Respect shown him by *Paulinus* was surprizing to the *Britons*, who could not conceive that such a General and a victorious Army should be accountable to a Freedman. This Respect however was not paid in vain. *Polycletus* in his Report to the Emperor, justifies *Paulinus*, and so manages that he keeps his Command. But in the end, *Clasficius* beginning afresh, prevails by his Friends and secret Practices, to have *Paulinus* relieved by *Petronius Turpilianus*, who being a Person of no Ambition, acted nothing memorable, hiding his Love of Ease and Sloth under the specious Name of the Love of Peace.

To him succeeds *Trebellius Maximus*, as indolent as himself, and famous for nothing during his Government but his Quarrel with *Caelius* Commander of the twentieth Legion. This Quarrel is carried to high, that great Part of the Army deserting their General, he is forced at length to fly to *Vitellius*, who commanded the Roman Army in Germany.

In the mean time *Nero* dying, the *Britons* enjoy some Respite, during the short Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, there being neither Governor nor General. The Roman Army was commanded only by Tribunes, among whom *Caelius* bore the chief Sway. *Vitellius* being come to the Empire, sends *Vestius Bolanus* into Britain, to take upon him the Command of the Army. The new Governor, little skilled in the Art of War, leaves the *Britons* in Quiet, and contents himself with gaining the Affections of the Soldiers, without having the Authority of a General. He continues in the Province till *Vespasian*, who succeeds *Vitellius* in the Imperial Throne, being informed of the Wants of Britain, sends thither *Petilius Cerealis*. *Petilius*, during his Government, attacks and defeats in several Battles the *Brigantes*, the most numerous and considerable of all the British Nations (1.) *Julius Frontinus* succeeds him and acquires no less Glory than his Predecessor. He subdues the warlike *Silures*, whose Country seemed, by its Situation, to screen them from all Attacks.

Towards the End of *Vespasian's* Reign, *Julius Agricola* is sent into Britain to succeed *Frontinus*. Here we begin to have fuller Accounts of the British Wars; for which we are wholly indebted to *Tacitus*, who has taken care to write the Life of his Father-in-law *Agricola*, in order to give that Lustre to his Actions they justly deserved, and which perhaps they would have wanted, had it not been for that illustrious Historian (2.)

Some time before *Agricola* was appointed Governor of Britain, the *Ordovices* had surpris'd and cut in pieces a Body of Roman Horse, quarter'd in their Frontiers. This Accident gave Occasion to apprehend the like again, and caus'd the Romans to expect with great Impatience the Arrival of a new Governor. The News that *Agricola* was to command them, revived their Courage. They did not question but under a General of so established a Reputation, they should quickly put an End to the War. However, he could not come till about the middle of Summer. Tho' he finds no Magazine for the Army, dispers'd in several Places for their better Subsistence, he draws them together without Delay. He immediately attacks the *Ordovices*, and notwithstanding the Difficulty of the Undertaking by reason of the incormodious Places he is forc'd to go thro' in quest of them, makes them pay dear for the Advantage they had lately gained. All the World was surpris'd to see him fighting the Enemies of the Empire upon his first Entrance, a Time usually spent by other Governors in Feasting and Diversions, or in receiving the Compliments of the Province. But there was still greater Reason to admire his Diligence, when he was seen, in this first Campaign, to attack the Isle of *Mona*, which the Romans had been forc'd to abandon, tho' he wanted flat-bottom'd Vessels for the Expedition. He order'd a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the Shallows, to swim over, which they perform'd so dextrously, (being train'd up by the Custom of their native Country to manage in swimming themselves, their Horses and Arms) that the Inhabitants, astonish'd at the Sight, and never

suspecting any such thing, surrender'd the Isle to the Romans without obliging them to draw a Sword.

War was not the only Affair that employ'd the new Governor. Whilst his Arms are triumphant, he carefully enquires about every thing relating to the Government of the Province, and the properest Means to keep the People in Obedience. This Enquiry shows him that the *Britons* are not to be tam'd by Arms alone, but that Lenity is no less necessary than Force. And therefore he spends the whole Winter after his first Campaign, in diligently regulating several Abuses crept in by the Avarice or Negligence of former Governors. He takes care to prevent all kind of Exactions; to cause Justice to be administered punctually and impartially; in a word, to remove every Occasion of Discontent from the *Britons* in Subjection to the Empire. This Proceeding gain'd their Affection to such a Degree, that he had no Cause to fear a Revolt whilst he should be employ'd in making new Conquests. *Vespasian* dying about this time, his Son *Titus* succeeds him, and knowing *Agricola's* great Merit, continues him in his Government.

In the Spring the General takes the Field again, and marches towards the North, where he makes some Conquests. He observ'd the Romans commonly lost in the Winter what they gain'd in the Summer, because they durst not venture to quarter in the conquer'd Countries, which were too much expos'd. To prevent this Inconvenience, he resolv'd to build Forts in proper Places, where Garrisons might be kept in the Winter, always ready to repulse the Enemy. As he was a great Master in the Art of Fortification, these Forts were built and situated in such manner, that the Romans were never under a Necessity to quit them, nor the Enemies ever able to take them (3.)

During the following Winter *Agricola's* chief Business was to soften the rough Manners of the *Britons*, and instill into them a Desire to imitate the Customs of the Romans. His Pains are not bestow'd in vain. Soon after, Britain is adorn'd with stately Temples, noble Porticos, and many fine Structures both publick and private, of a very different Taste from what had been hitherto seen. The British Nobles even pride themselves in speaking the Latin Tongue, to which a little before they were utterly averse. They dress likewise after the Roman manner, and in short, as *Tacitus* observes, are brought to esteem, as Politeness and good Breeding, what was only a Badge of their Slavery.

In his third Campaign, *Agricola* advances as far as the River *Tweed*, fortifying his Conquests with Castles and Fortresses in several Places.

The fourth Summer was spent in subduing the Nations inhabiting between the *Tweed* and the two Friths of *Gloa* and *Bodotria*, now call'd of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*. These two Arms of the East and West Seas shoot so far into the Land, that they are parted only by an Isthmus of between thirty and forty Miles. Upon this Isthmus *Agricola* raises Forts and plants Garrisons for the Security of the Roman Province, which he had extended thus far. By this means the Nations yet unconquer'd, were pent up as it were in a separate Island.

What *Agricola* had done should, one would think, have satisfis'd his Ambition: But he was labouring also for the Glory of the Roman Name; which, as *Tacitus* expresses it, knew no Bounds. During the fifth Campaign, *Agricola* leads his Army beyond the Friths, where he discovers Countries and Nations, whose very Names were unknown to the Romans. Some of them he conquers, and leaves Garrisons in the Western Parts opposite to *Ireland*. His Design was to attempt the Conquest of that Island, that it might be a Check upon Britain, being perfectly inform'd of the State of the Country by a Lord banish'd from thence. *Tacitus* says, he heard his Father-in-law say, that with one Legion and a few Auxiliaries, he could easily become Master of that Island, the Conquest whereof would be of great Service to keep the *Britons* in Awe.

In his sixth Campaign, the Roman General passes *Bodotria*, ordering his Fleet to row along the Coasts, and discover the Creeks and Harbours in those Northern Parts. This was the first Roman Fleet that appear'd on those Seas, the Sight whereof inspir'd the Enemy with Terror, but the Romans with Courage, who having ventur'd upon those unknown Countries with some Dread, were extremely animated by the Communication they had with their Fleet, which always kept near the Shore.

(1) Their Capital was *Isulium*, call'd by *Antonine* *Iflu-Brigantum*, now *Alborough* in *Yorkshire*, which appears to have been a very large Station. It must be observ'd, that Encampments upon a March were by the Romans call'd *Castris*. Winter or Summer Quarters, *Castra*, *Isberna*, aut *ostiva*. The Word *Statio* is us'd by *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, &c. for the Duty of Soldiers upon Guard, or for the Men employ'd in this Duty. But afterwards *Statio* was applied to a Fort or Place where the Soldiers lodg'd, and like *Vegetius's* *Castella*, were often built like Towns in the Borders of the Empire, where they were constant Fences against the Enemy. The Stations here in *England* were strong Fortifications, of no great Extent, adjoining to which were usually other Buildings, forming a sort of Town, to which the Station was in the nature of a Citadel.

(2) *Tacitus's* Life of *Agricola* is justly esteem'd a Master-Piece by the best Judges. The Strength and Vivacity of the Expression, the Beauty and Variety of Thought are almost infinitely. *Horsley*, p. 38.

(3) This Passage of *Tacitus*, (says *Horsley*) is almost incredible, tho' we extend it no farther than to the Time of *Tacitus* writing his History. There is perhaps a good deal of Compliment in it to *Agricola*, the Historian's Father-in-law and favourite Hero. It seems not to be well consistent with another Passage, *perdomita Britannia & statim amissa*. Hist. l. i. c. 2. The Forts built this Year by *Agricola* are suppos'd to be on the Borders, especially on the Western Side of the Island, along which *Agricola* march'd. *Horsley*, p. 40.

But while *Agricola* was advancing towards the North, a Report was spread that the northern Nations had drawn together a formidable Army and attack'd the Forts built on their Frontiers. The News of this Armament being confirm'd a few Days after by Deserters, the principal Officers of the Army advis'd the General to relinquish his Conquests beyond the Friths, and avoid the Shame of being compell'd to it by force. But he reject'd this Advice as injurious to his Master's Honour and Interest. Whilst he was deliberating upon this Affair, he had notice that the Enemies were coming upon him with an Army of numberless Multitudes, according to common Report. Apprehensive of being surrounded, he divided his Army into three Bodies, hearing the Enemy had done the same. This Precaution had like to have cost him dear. For the Enemies having Intelligence of it, alter their Resolution, and with united Forces set upon the ninth Legion in the Night as they lie encamp'd at a good distance from the rest of the Army. They surpriz'd the advanc'd Guard, and attacking the Camp with great fury, had like to become Masters of it. *Agricola*, upon notice of their march, made all possible haste to the Relief of the Legion. But for fear of being too late, he order'd the Horse to go before and maintain the Fight, till the rest of the Army came up. He appear'd at Day-break in Sight of the Enemies, who seeing him advance, would have retreated, but not having time were forc'd to continue the Fight. The Battle was fierce and obstinate. The *Romans*, that were almost defeated in their Camp, vigorously endeavour'd to repair their Disgrace, at the Sight of their Companions who were coming to their Assistance. And these, seeing the ninth Legion in danger, rush furiously upon the Enemy to relieve them. Both fought with such Courage and Bravery, that the Enemy began at last to give ground. The Fens favour'd their Retreat, otherwise the War had been terminated by that single Battle (1).

This Defeat, tho' considerable, dishearten'd not the Islanders. They imputed their Misfortune to Chance and other Circumstances, rather than to the Valour of the *Romans*, and resolv'd to try the Fortune of War once more. Having convey'd their Women and Children into the Towns, they came together from all Parts, and form'd a more numerous Army than the first, with a Resolution stoutly to defend their Liberty.

But whilst the *Romans* are preparing in the Winter to withstand the Efforts of their Enemies, and even to attack them, a Cohort of *Ussippians*, levied in *Germany*, form a Design to return home, and execute it with that Secrecy and Expedition, that it could not be prevented. A Captain and some *Roman* Soldiers, placed among them to discipline them, were killed, lest they should oppose the Design. Which done, these *Germans* seize upon two (2) small Vessels, kill one of the Pilots, and compel the other to conduct them, threatening to serve him as they had done his Companion: After which they set sail before their Intentions could be known. They had laid their Measures so ill that they were quickly in want of Provisions, and reduc'd to the Necessity of eating some of their Comrades. Those that remain'd alive, ignorant of the Art of Navigation, were driven ashore on the Coast of *Friseland* and made Slaves (3).

Upon opening the next Campaign, *Agricola* orders his Fleet to row along the Coast, to keep several Places in awe. At the same time he marches at the Head of his Troops, taking for Guides some Natives of known Fidelity, that were acquainted with the Ways. When he comes near the *Grampian* Mountain, he sees the Enemies drawn up to the Number of Thirty thousand, besides Volunteers, who flock'd together to be at a Battle, of which Liberty or Slavery was to be the Issue. Upon the Armies approaching each other, *Galgacus*, Commander of the Islanders, represents to them, "That being at the Extremity of the Isle, they have no Refuge left if vanquish'd, and therefore nothing but Victory can deliver them from perpetual Bondage." On the other Side, *Agricola* exhorts his Soldiers "to do their Duty, by the Consideration of their past Victories. Particularly he sets before their Eyes their sad Condition, if after being defeated, they are forc'd to seek for Shelter among the *Britons*, who for fifty Years together have felt the Force of their victorious Arms." Whilst the General is yet speaking, the Soldiers by their Looks discover their Eagerness to fight, and

their Hopes of Victory. The Army was drawn up in such manner that the Auxiliary Foot were to bear the first Shock, in order to prevent as much as possible the Effusion of *Roman* Blood. The Legions were plac'd in the Rear to support the Auxiliaries in case of Repulse. *Galgacus* had rang'd his Men on the Side of a Hill, that his whole Army might be visible at once to the *Romans*, and strike them with the greater Terror. The Horse were drawn up on the Plain at the Bottom of the Hill, and the Chariots ran between the two Armies. *Agricola* apprehensive of being surrounded by these Multitudes, widened his Front, though he thereby weakened it, reject'd the Advice given him of ordering the Legions to advance. Then alighting from his Horse, full of Courage and Hopes, he went and headed the Legions. They fought some time with Darts, the Islanders being unwilling to quit the Advantage of their Post. Besides, their little Targets, and unwieldy pointless Swords, were not so proper for close fighting. But *Agricola* found means to compel them to it, by detaching two Cohorts of *Batauvians*, and as many of *Tungrians*, who fell upon them Sword in hand. The Islanders, unused to that Way of fighting, could not long withstand the Charge of these warlike Troops, who pressing them with the Points of their Bucklers, soon broke their foremost Battalions and began even to ascend the Hill. Those that followed them, animated by their Example, fought with the same Bravery, and without giving the Enemies time to rally, overthrew all that withstood them. Mean while, the *British* Horse began also to give Ground, and their Chariots were forc'd to drive up the Hill to assist the Foot that were in extreme Disorder. Tho' the Chariots at first somewhat daunted the *Romans*, yet did they but little Execution by reason of the unevenness of the Ground. The Hill being pretty steep, the Charioteers had no Command of the Horses, and ran without Distinction over Friends and Foes according as they came in their way. The Foot that were posted on the Top of the Hill, and had not yet engaged, seeing the *Romans* hotly pursuing their Victory, now made a Motion to surround them, because of the smallness of their Number. But *Agricola* perceiving it, detach'd four Squadrons of Horse, who not only withstood the Charge of the Foot, but entirely routed them. Then falling upon the Enemies in Flank that were still on the Plain, made great Slaughter of them. This Action completed the Victory. *Galgacus* finding it impossible to renew the Fight, retreated with the remains of his Troops. He lost Ten thousand Men in the Action; but on the side of the *Romans* there fell but Three hundred and forty: Among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, Captain of a Cohort, who by the Heat of Youth, and the Unruliness of his Horse, was carried into the midst of the Enemies. The Conquerors pass the following Night with Joy and Gladness, and the Vanquish'd with Lamentations and Sorrow, taking Advantage of the Darkness to escape the Pursuit of the *Romans*. Far from any Thoughts of rallying, their Flight was so hasty, that when Day appeared it was in vain to pursue them (4). *Agricola* seeing they were entirely dispers'd, the Summer almost spent, and unsafe to send his Army to waste the Enemy's Country, march'd back into the Territories of the *Horosians* (5), from whom he received Hostages. He march'd slowly, to strike Terror into the *Britons*, and in Expectation of his Fleet, which having alarm'd all the northern Coast, returned about the end of the Summer, and anchor'd in the Port of *Trutulum* (6).

Domitian, now Emperor upon the Death of his Brother *Titus*, receives the News of this Victory with a seeming Satisfaction, tho' inwardly he repines at the Reputation *Agricola* gained by it. Envy not suffering him to continue him in his Post where his Fame might still have an additional Lustre, recalls him on pretence of promoting him to the Government of *Syria*. But after causing the Senate to decree him a Statue crown'd with Laurel, he sends him out of the World with a Dose of Poison. In this manner he rewarded the Service that great Man had done the Empire. This unworthy Emperor could not bear the Fame of a General whose noble Actions reproach'd him with the imaginary Triumph decreed him as Conqueror of the *Germans*, in which he had caused Slaves to be disguised like Captives.

Agricola gave the finishing Blow to the Liberty of *Britain* by his Valour and prudent Conduct, all that Part of the Island lying South of the two Friths, was reduced to

(1) This Battle was fought, according to *Gordon*, in the County of *Dorset*; for there is a *Roman* Camp in *Sir John Mordaunt's* Ground at *Leoburn*, two Miles from *Leoburn*, and a large Morass near it, and formerly a Wood. Also near this Place is a small Village call'd *Leoburn*, which in the old Language signifies a Place of Battle. *Horsley*, p. 44.

(2) *Tacitus* says, three. *Vit. Agr.*

(3) *Tacitus* says, after a strange Adventure sailing round *Britannia*, they were taken first by the *Saxons*, then by the *Frisians*. And being bought and sold, some of them at last in Ireland were brought to the Coast where the *Romans* were, who told the Adventure, and were afterwards taken up by the *Romans*.

(4) *Mr. Gordon* supposes this Battle to be fought in *Strathern*, half a Mile from the *Kirk of C. Mervin*, there being a remarkable Encampment in that Place.

(5) *Mr. Gordon* says *Highlanders*. *Camden* places them in *Essex*. But his Annotator thinks they should be placed between *South-Essex* and *North-Essex* in *Anglia*. See *Camden*, p. 845.

(6) Some read *Britannia*, most probably it should be *Rutupensis* for *Rutupensis* or *Ritupensis*. So that when *Agricola's* Fleet, (that lay in the Bay during the Battle) arriv'd there, having gone North about by the *Orkneys*, 'tis plain they had sail'd quite round the Island, because they had sail'd before from *Portus Rutupensis* to *Britannia*. For *Tacitus* says, *Testulenferum Portum tenuit, unde proxima lateri Britannia* &c. *Vit. Agr.* c. 5.

a Roman Province. As for the northern Parts, they were left to the Inhabitants as a wild uncultivated Country, not worth the conquering or keeping. Only strong Garrisons were plac'd in the Fortresses built on this Side the Friths.

The Britons
begin to be
civiliz'd.

Tho' the Loss of their Liberty seem'd to be an irreparable Damage to the Britons, it was in some measure repaired by the great Alteration for the better in their Customs and Manners, after their being subject to the Empire. In a short time they were seen to lay aside their rude and savage ways, and assume the Politeness of the Conquerors. Arts and Sciences, little regarded by the Britons before this Revolution, flourish'd among them as much as in any other Part of the Roman Dominions. In a word, from mere Savages the Britons were become polite and civiliz'd, an Advantage the most northern Parts of the Island have not yet attained. After this Reformation, they made but faint Struggles for the Recovery of their Liberty, being pleas'd, for the most part, with their Servitude. It must however be noted, that a great many chose to lose their Possessions, and retire into the North among the *Picts* and *Scots*, rather than live in Subjection to the Roman Yoke. These were the Men that joining with those that afforded them Refuge, made continual War with the Romans, in maintenance of that precious Liberty their unhappy Country had lost. They spared not even their Countrymen, whom they looked upon with Horror for being pleas'd with their Slavery. These were the Men that with the *Picts* and *Scots* obliged Emperors themselves to come over in Person and oppose the Efforts of their invincible Courage.

Policy of the
Romans
with regard
to conquer'd
Countries.

As for the Subjects of the Empire, they endured all the Hardships that are the usual Lot of the Vanquished. Exorbitant Taxes were laid upon them on numberless Pretences. Their Estates were taken from them and given to the Veterans, that were continually coming to settle in the Island. The Flower of their Youth were made Soldiers, and dispers'd in the other Provinces of the Empire. Such was the Roman Policy. They sent away whole Bodies levied in a conquered Country, into other remote Regions. For Instance, the Britons into *Pannonia*, the Batavians into *Illyria*, the Germans into *Britain*, to keep them at a Distance from their own Country. By thus draining the conquered Nations of their main Strength, they disabled them from revolting, and at the same time made use of them to acquire new Conquests.

85.
Lucullus Go-
vernor of
Britain.

After *Agricola's* Departure from Britain, we have but a slender Account of what pass'd in the Island till the Reign of *Adrian*. We only know that *Sallustius Lucullus* was sent thither by *Domitian*, to whose Suspicions or Jealousy he quickly fell a Sacrifice. 'Tis to be presumed, the Subjects of the Empire were quiet, and the Inhabitants of the North suffer'd to enjoy their Liberty in Peace. The Roman Historians mention also in the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* some Commotions in the Island that were quickly appeas'd; but the Particulars are unknown. It may likewise be observed in this Interval, the Romans after their Conquests, suffer'd Kings to be in Britain; for they gloried in having such for their Subjects. *Juvenal* speaks of King *Arviragus*, who reign'd in some Part of the Island under *Domitian* (1).

Arviragus
King of the
Britons.

Sat. IV.
v. 123.

117.
Julius Se-
verus made
Governor.
Spartian in
Hadrianus.

In the first Year of *Adrian* (2), the northern People, a mixture, as suppos'd, of *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Britains*, but confounded by the Roman Historians under the Name of *Caledonians*, made an Irruption into the Roman Province. Their first Exploit was to demolish some of *Agricola's* For-

treffes between the two Friths. *Adrian* being informed of these Commotions, appoints *Julius Severus* Governor of Britain, but before he has time to perform any thing, he is suddenly recalled and employed elsewhere (3). Mean time, the *Caledonians* continuing to infest the Roman Territories, the Emperor resolves to go over in Person and subdue these fierce and troublesome People. As soon as they hear of his Arrival, they relinquish the Country they were possess'd of, and retire to the North. *Adrian* however advances as far as *York*, where he meets some of *Agricola's* old Soldiers, that had been with him in the northern Parts. The Description these give him of the Country he intend'd to conquer, diverts him from pursuing his Expedition. Besides that the Bogs and Mountains he was to pass, would have engag'd him in a War more laborious than honourable, he easily perceiv'd, that, should his Undertaking be crown'd with Success, it would procure no great Advantages to the Empire. Wherefore he comes to a Resolution to leave to the *Caledonians* all the Country between the two Friths and the *Tine*, in hopes by thus enlarging their Bounds to keep them quiet. But at the same time to secure the Roman Province from their Incursions, he causes a Rampart of Earth to be thrown up, covered with Turf, from the Mouth of the *Tine* to *Solway-Frith*. This Rampart was eighty Miles in length, and ran quite cross the Country from East to West, by which he secur'd the southern Parts, leaving the *Caledonians* all the Lands between the new Rampart and the Isthmus that parts the two Friths (4). Having thus settled Matters in the Island, he returns to Rome, and is honoured with the Title of *Restorer of Britain*, as appears by some Medals.

120
Adrian goes
over in Per-
son.

He parts the
Roman Pro-
vince from
the Northern
Countries by
a Rampart.

Enmity be-
tween the
Northern and
Southern Bri-
ttons.

They grew
more civil-
iz'd.

The Northern
People de-
stroy *Adrian's*
Rampart.

Capitolin in
Antonin.

138.
Lollius Ur-
bicus raises
another
Rampart.

140.

After these last Irruptions of the Northern People, there was all along a mortal Enmity betwixt them and the southern Britons. These last finding themselves entirely separated by Inclination and Interest from the rest of the Inhabitants of the Island, were the more forward to embrace the Customs and Manners of the Romans. Afterwards by means of the Arts and Sciences, they came by degrees capable of being instructed in the Christian Religion, which till then was scarce known in the Island.

How strong soever *Adrian's* Rampart might be, it was not sufficient to prevent the Inroads of the northern People. Indeed, they behaved peaceably as long as there were Roman Troops enough on their Borders to defend the Rampart. But the Moment these were removed, as it sometimes happened, being wanted elsewhere, they began their usual Ravages. Nay, in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* (5), not satisfied with their Booty, they destroy'd the Rampart in several Places. *Antoninus* being informed of it, and fearing their Boldness, if not curb'd, would carry them to greater Undertakings, orders *Lollius Urbicus* to go and quell them. The new Governor, (having first subdued the Brigantes, who endeavour'd to shake off the Roman Yoke) in order to put a stop to the northern Irruptions, raises another Rampart on the Neck of Land between the two Friths, where *Agricola* had formerly built his Fortresses. Thus the Inhabitants of the North were confin'd within narrower Bounds than before. By means of this Rampart and a Camp at a little Distance where Troops were kept ready to march on occasion, he compell'd the *Caledonians* to remain peaceably in their Country. Tho' *Antoninus* was never in Britain himself, this Expedition, as done by his Orders, and under his Auspices, gain'd him the Title of *Britannicus* (6).

Marcus

(1) Under *Pianthus* and *Olanius*, in the Reign of *Claudius*, some Places (say *Taditis*) were given to King *Cogidamus*, who continued faithful to the Romans. Over what People he was King does not appear; Camden thinks the *Regni*; Dr. Gale the *Segnnaei*. However, there was lately found at *Chichester* a very curious Inscription, relating to this *Cogidamus*. The Stone was found in a Cellar under the Corner House of *St. Martin's-Lane*; it is about two Foot nine Inches broad, and very near three Foot long. It is now fix'd in the Wall of the House where it was found. The Inscription, somewhat defac'd, is as follows:

.. EPTVNO. ET MINERVAE
TEMPLVM

.... O. SALVTE. DOMVS. DIVINAE
.... AVCTORITATE TIB. CLAVD.
.... GIDVBN. R. EGA AVG. IN BRIT
.... GIVM. FABOR. ET QVI IN EO
.... D. S. D. DONANTE AREAM
.... ENTE PVVENTINI FIL.

The Stone in digging up was broken in four Parts, of which one is not taken up, lying under the Foundation of the next House. See *Philosophical Transactions*, N. 379.

(2) Here is a Gap of above thirty Years, from the Year 85 to 117, during which it is suppos'd the Romans lost much of their Conquests here.

(3) *Proculus Licinus* succeeds *Severus* in the Government of Britain, in the Year 120. *Severus* was recalled to go against the *Yezes*. *Dion*. l. 69.

(4) *Adrian's* Wall or *Valium* was entirely of Earth. The whole Work consist'd of the following Parts: 1. The North Agger; 2. The Ditch; 3. The principal Vallum; 4. The South Agger. The Ditch at *Hartley-Hill*, where the original Breadth and Depth is very apparent, measures near nine Foot deep and eleven over. The Height and Thickness of the Vallum and Aggers cannot be exactly known. The Distance of the North Agger from the Ditch is about 24 Foot, and That of the South Agger was originally thirty, tho' lessen'd at present by the spreading of the Earth.

(5) Here is another Gap of 18 Years, from 120 to 138.

(6) From *Antoninus's* building his Wall in 140 to 165, we meet with no Occurrences, nor from thence to 183. *Antoninus's* Wall, like *Severus's*, had a Series of Forts or Stations, which are suppos'd (some at least) to be prior to the Wall, and the same that were built by *Agricola*. This Wall reaches from the Frith of *Forth* to the Frith of *Chide*, as appears by Inscriptions. It begins at *Caer-iddon*, and runs through *Mamul*, *Lancry*, *Camelon*, *Rough-Castle*, *Duck's Head*, *Castle-cary-ford*, *Wetherwood-ford*, *Covey-Hill*, *Barhill-ford*, *Auchendary*, *Kirkcaldie*, *Gadder*, *Bennet*, *Near Kirkpatrick*, *Castle-hill-ford*, *Dunrover*, *Old Kirkpatrick*, ending at *Dunlop* near *Dunbarton*, where stood the old City of *Albion*, afterwards *Dunbarton*, i. e. the Town of the Britons. *Hesley* (who had it survey'd) takes the Wall to have been near forty Roman Miles, that is (allowing fourteen Roman to thirteen English) a little above thirty-seven or four Miles. By the Inscriptions showing the Part that was raised by the Cohorts of the *Legio Secunda*, &c. the Number of Paces amount to 39720, that is thirty-nine Roman Miles, and seven Hundred and twenty-six Paces. It was built of Turf, upon a Foundation of Stone, four Yards thick. To this Work is join'd a great Ditch, larger than that of *Severus*, on the South-side of which was the main Agger, Vallum or Rampart, and South of the Vallum a large military Way well pav'd, and in several Places very magnificent and beautiful. How this Work came to be call'd *Grim's Dike* or *Graham's Dike* does not appear. It is said that *Graham* in the *Highland Tongue* signifies *Blue*, then *Graham's Dike* will be the same as the *Black Dike*.

Thus to be read according to Roger Gale, Esq;

Neptuno & Minervae templum pro salute domus divinae ex auctoritate
Titerii Claudi Cogidabni regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegi-
um laborum & qui in eo a factis sunt de suo dedicaverunt donante
aerem Pudente Pudentini filio.

165. *Calphurnius Agricola* his Successor gave the Government of Britain to *Calphurnius Agricola*. This Governor checks the Insolence of the *Caledonians*, and strengthens the Emperor's Dominion over such of the *Britons* as seem to bear their Yoke with the most Reluctance. It was in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, that *Lucius*, a *British* King, embrac'd the *Christian* Religion, which had been long before planted in the Island; but for want of due Cultivation, had taken no deep Root. I shall speak more largely of this King in the State of the *British* Church.

183. *Julius in Britain*. During the Reign of *Commodus*, Successor of *Marcus Aurelius*, there were great Commotions in Britain. The Northern Men taking up Arms, cut in pieces the Roman Army, commanded by an unexperienc'd General, and make great Ravages in the Province. All Britain was in Danger of being lost, if the Emperor had not speedily sent *Ulpus Marcellus*, a General of great Reputation. The new Governor defeats the Rebels in several Encounters, and by his Conduct puts an End, in a very short Space, to this dangerous War, that had made his Master extremely uneasy.

184. *Ulpus Marcellus is Governor*. During his Stay in the Island, he observ'd that the Want of Discipline in the Roman Army, was the sole Foundation of the Boldness of the Northern People, and the chief Cause of the Advantages gain'd by them over the former Governors. He undertakes therefore to bring it to its antient Strictness, which he happily accomplishes. But his Services were repaid with Ingratitude. The Emperor, not content with depriving him of his Government, was upon the Point of putting him to Death. This unworthy Prince, like *Domitian*, could not behold distinguished Merit without Suspicion and Envy.

186. *Marcellus* no sooner leaves Britain, but the Army mutiny upon *Perennis* the Emperor's Favourite, breaking or calling home all the old Officers, and putting his Creatures in their Place. The Mutiny is carried so far, that the Army send a Body of fifteen hundred Men to demand Justice of the Emperor against *Perennis*. This Troop marching to Rome, without any Obstacle, are met by the Emperor without the City, who demands of the Leaders the Cause of their Discontent. "They were come, (they said) to offer him their Assistance against *Perennis*, acquainting him withal how that dangerous Minister had by degrees cashier'd the bravest Officers, and filled the Army with his Creatures, a clear Evidence of his ill Designs." *Commodus* having been jealous of him for some time, delivers him up to the Soldiers, who execute him upon the Spot.

187. *The Army mutiny on a point of Perennis, and send a Detachment to Rome*. Mean while it was necessary to send into Britain some Person of Authority to suppress the mutinous Temper of the Army. *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, being pitch'd upon for this Service, resolves to proceed according to the Rigour of military Discipline. Whereupon the ninth Legion rais'd a Mutiny, which is not appeased without Bloodshed. The General himself is wounded, and saves his Life only by being left for dead among the Slain. However, in spite of all Obstacles he gains his Point, and brings the Army at last to submit. But as he was not beloved by the Soldiers, he desir'd to be dismissed from his Office, and *Clodius Albinus* was sent in his room. *Albinus* being recalled upon a Suspicion conceived of him by *Commodus*, *Junius Severus* was ordered to go and relieve him.

188. *Pertinax made Governor*. *Pertinax* being come to the Empire, after the Death of *Commodus*, makes the same *Clodius Albinus*, lately recalled, Governor of Britain. He was continued in that Post by *Julian*, Successor of *Pertinax*. *Albinus* gains the Affection of the Soldiers by his Liberalities, to such a Degree, that after *Julian's* Death they proclaim him Emperor. At the same time, *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*, and *Pescennius Niger* in *Syria*, receive the same Honour from their respective Armies. *Severus* being nearest Rome, hastens thither to receive from the Senate the Confirmation of the Dignity conferred on him by the Soldiers. But notwithstanding the Senate's Decree, the other two Emperors persisting in their Claims, put *Severus* to a stand. His Rivals

190. *Clodius Albinus is made Governor, and Capitulin*. *Severus* hearing of this Revolt, but not knowing the Cause, orders the Rebels to be all slain

192. *Succeeded by Junius Severus*. After this Treaty Britain remains in Quiet till the fifteenth Year of *Severus*, when the *Caledonians* renew their Incursions into the Roman Province. The Roman Soldiers having enjoyed several Years Peace, were grown so effeminate and negligent, that they seem'd never to have had the least Tincture of Military Discipline. It was this that emboldened the *Caledonians*, and made them think they should not neglect so fair an Opportunity to attack their Neighbours, who till then had appeared so formidable to them.

193. *Albinus is sent again into Britain*. They make such Progress, that the Emperor, tho' Sixty Years of Age, and afflicted with the Gout, resolves to go in Person and chastise their Insolence. His Intent was, once for all, to put an end to the continual Commotions in Britain, by the entire Conquest of the North. To that purpose he draws together a numerous Army, and sets out for Britain, accompanied by his Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians*, when they hear of his Arrival, send Ambassadors to demand Peace upon honourable Terms. But he refuses to hearken to them, unless they will submit to his Mercy; which they not consenting to, he marches towards their Country with his eldest Son *Caracalla*, leaving *Geta* at London to take care of the Southern Parts.

It was with infinite Toil that he penetrated to the utmost Bounds of the North, cutting down Woods, draining Bogs, or filling them with Bains. By this hard Duty, and the continual Ambuscades of the Enemy, he lost fifty thousand Men. (1). However, notwithstanding all Difficulties in his Way, he accomplishes his Design, and subdues these fierce and hitherto unconquer'd People. But as soon as he had executed his Project, he perceived how fruitless it was, since he could not possibly keep the Country in Subjection without a great Army always on the Spot. This Consideration made him sensible, it was better to relinquish these Conquests than to keep them. And therefore, confining himself to *Adrian's* former Project, he only divides the Island into two Parts by a Wall (2), in the Place where *Adrian* threw up his Rampart. This Wall, of which there are still some Remains, was called by the antient *Britons* *Mur Severi*, or *Severus's Wall* (3), and must not be, as it is by some, confounded with the Rampart rais'd by *Lollius Urbicus* between the two Friths. The Emperor having nothing more to do in the North, returns to York, leaving the finishing of the Wall and Command of the Army to his Son *Caracalla*. This Expedition got him, or caused him to assume, the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*. *Caracalla*, no longer refrained by the Emperor his Father's Presence, suffers the Soldiers to commit all manner of Licentiousness. So that the *Caledonians*, unused to the Yoke, take up Arms with one accord. *Severus* hearing of this Revolt, but not knowing the Cause, orders the Rebels to be all slain

were at the two Extremities of the Empire, and consequently, while he marches against one, there was Danger of the other's making too great a Progress. He judges it necessary therefore to use Diffimulation with *Albinus*, making him believe he is willing to share the Empire with him. This Offer being accepted, *Severus* draws all his Forces together, and goes and fights *Pescennius*, who at length is vanquish'd and slain in Battle; after which *Severus* considers how to get rid of *Albinus* likewise. He tries first to assassinate him by Villains hired and sent into Britain for that purpose. But this Way failing, he resolves to employ Force; and causing *Albinus* to be declared Enemy of the State, marches against him. *Albinus* was now with his Army in Gaul, intending to meet him and decide the Quarrel by a Battle. And accordingly it was decided near Lyons, where the two Emperors fought with equal Bravery, tho' not with equal Fortune. *Albinus* is defeated and slain, and by his Death *Severus* remains sole Possessor of the Empire. Shortly after he divided Britain into two Governments. The First containing the Southern Parts, was given to *Heracitus*, and *Virius Lupus* had the Second, consisting of the Northern Provinces bordering upon the *Caledonians*, by whom he was so infested, that he was forced at last to purchase a Peace with Money.

After this Treaty Britain remains in Quiet till the fifteenth Year of *Severus*, when the *Caledonians* renew their Incursions into the Roman Province. The Roman Soldiers having enjoyed several Years Peace, were grown so effeminate and negligent, that they seem'd never to have had the least Tincture of Military Discipline. It was this that emboldened the *Caledonians*, and made them think they should not neglect so fair an Opportunity to attack their Neighbours, who till then had appeared so formidable to them. They make such Progress, that the Emperor, tho' Sixty Years of Age, and afflicted with the Gout, resolves to go in Person and chastise their Insolence. His Intent was, once for all, to put an end to the continual Commotions in Britain, by the entire Conquest of the North. To that purpose he draws together a numerous Army, and sets out for Britain, accompanied by his Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians*, when they hear of his Arrival, send Ambassadors to demand Peace upon honourable Terms. But he refuses to hearken to them, unless they will submit to his Mercy; which they not consenting to, he marches towards their Country with his eldest Son *Caracalla*, leaving *Geta* at London to take care of the Southern Parts.

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Dike. There is a military Way near *Salisbury* in *Hampshire*, call'd now *Grime's Dike*. The's annex'd to *Gratam*, is, doubtless, owing to the Opinion of its being the Name of a Man. The common Story is, that one of this Name broke through the Wall, and to give his own Name to it. Within sight of the Wall stands an antient Building, call'd *Arthur's Oven*, in the Shape of the Pantheon at Rome, twenty-two Feet high, and nineteen and a half in Diameter. *Hervey* takes it to have been a funeral Monument. It stands on the North side of the Wall. See a large Description of these Things in Book I. Chap. 10. of *Horsley's Britan. Rom.*

(1) *Hervey* imagines from this great Loss of Men, that *Severus's* Wall must be reckon'd among these Works, tho' by much the greatest of them, p. 67.

(2) *Severus's* Wall was of Free-Stone, as is certain from what is yet visible. In some Places, where the Foundation was not good, they seem to have made use of oaken Piles. The inner Part of this Wall is filled with pretty large, and mostly broad and thin Stones, always set edge-ways, somewhat oblique. Upon these the running Mortar or Cement was pour'd, and by this Contrivance the whole Wall was bound as firm as a Rock. These Stones are suppos'd to have been brought from *Helbeck* near on the *Gord* and *Leuze-Crag*, as appears from an Inscription on the Rock that hangs over the *Gelt*. The Wall generally measures about eight Foot thick, and twelve high. Upon the Wall were plac'd Castles or *Chefters* sixty Foot square, about six Furlongs and a half from each other, and Turrets four Yards square, about three hundred Yards from each other. There seems to have been four Turrets between every two Castles. The Centinels plac'd in the Turrets being within Call, the Communication quite along the Wall might be kept up, without having Recourse to the Fitches or Poles laid under Ground to convey the Sound; tho' this seems to be credited by *Exbard* and others. The Wall is trac'd from *Cagnon's Haye* through *Ascuta*, *Bezwel-Hell*, *Ratcliffe*, *Halton-Chapels*, *Warwick-Chapels*, *Caracallaburg*, *Huffsteds*, *Great-Chefters*, *Thirlwell-Castle*, *Burdigwald*, *Cambeck-Fort*, *Water-Crest*, *Stancie's*, *Brugh*, *Drumbrugh*, to *Bath*, sixty-eight Miles, three Furlongs. And therefore it is a wonder that such great Men as *Usher*, *Birkton*, *Banman*, Dr. *Smith*, and others, should say the Wall reach'd only to the *Esk*, when the contrary, upon View, is plain to a Demonstration. It was not built exactly upon *Adrian's* Wall, there being a good Distance sometimes between them. It is observable that the Legenary Soldiers were employ'd in building this Wall, as they generally were in Works of this Nature. This is evident from the Centinels Intrenchments on the Stones of the Wall, showing what Part was built by each Centuria. A good Hint how Soldiers may be usefully employ'd in peaceable Times.

(3) The English call it the *Pret-wall*, because it parted the *Picts* from the *Britons*. *Rapin*.

cred (1), which made them fear he intended an utter Extirpation of them. He dies shortly after at *York*, and the two Princes his Sons, succeeding him, conclude a Peace with the *Caledonians*, and return to *Rome*.

As nothing very memorable passed in *Britain* during the Reigns of *Severus's* immediate Successors, I might fill up this Void with an Inquiry, who were these northern People or *Caledonians* (2) so often mentioned? But this is a Subject fitter for a Dissertation than a History. It suffices to inform the Reader, that some maintain these *Caledonians* to be *Picts* and *Scots*, with a mixture of southern *Britons*. Others affirm, the *Scots* settled not in the Island 'till the beginning of the sixth Century, and that the *Caledonians* in *Severus's* Time, were no other than *Britons*, that had all along inhabited those Parts, or fled thither after the *Roman* Invasion. But tho' as to the History, the Name of these People be not very material, I shall add here, that for my part, I think the Reasons alledged in proof of the *Picts* and *Scots* not being yet settled in the Island, to be insufficient, tho' it may be, their Settlement is of a later Date than pretended by the *Scottish* Historians (3).

What is known of the Affairs of *Britain* from the Death of *Severus* to the Reign of *Dioclesian*, is inconsiderable (4), and amounts to no more than this. There is ground to suppose that some of the thirty Tyrants (5) who were in Possession of the Empire for some time, were acknowledged, if not personally present, in *Britain*. This appears the more probable, as the Coins of *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumius*, and others of these pretended Emperors, are commonly found in *England*. *Bonifus*, who attempted to usurp the Empire under *Tacitus* and *Aurelian*, was born in *Britain*. 'Tis known moreover, that a Governor sent hither by *Probus*, assumed the Imperial Purple, and was shortly after killed by *Victorinus*, who had recommended him to the Emperor. Two other Particulars of the Reign of *Probus* with respect to *Britain*, ought to be recorded. This Emperor was the first that permitted the *Britons* (6) to plant Vines as well as the *Gauls* or *Spaniards*. But in all appearance, no great Benefit was reaped by this Permission. The Emperor *Probus* also, after subduing the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, sent over great Number of them into *Britain* (7). These new Colonies are generally thought to have been settled on *Gogmagog-Hill* near *Cambridge*, where there remains to this Day a Fortification, imagined to be the Work of these Foreigners. It is however more probably ascribed to the *Danes*, who were long Masters of *Cambridge*.

In the Beginning of *Dioclesian's* Reign, *Carausius* had the Command of a Fleet, with Orders to scour the Seas of the pyrratical *Franks* and *Saxons*, that perpetually infested the *Belgick*, *Armorican*, and *British* Coasts. *Carausius* finds means to enrich himself immensely, by plundering the Pyrates, or going Shares with them in their Spoils. After which, he begins by degrees to receive the Emperor's Commands with less Respect and Submission. *Maximian* was then Emperor of the West, *Dioclesian* of the East. *Carausius's* Haughtiness breeding in *Maximian's* Suspicions

that were but too well grounded, he resolves to have him assassinated. Upon notice hereof, *Carausius* immediately assumes the Imperial Purple, pursuant to the Scheme he had laid. As his Riches had acquired him a great Interest in the Army, his Authority was readily acknowledged in the Island. *Maximian*, surpris'd at his Boldness, advances as far as *Gaul* with design to chastize him. But finding him too well established, he alters his Resolution, and thinks it more proper to associate him into the Empire, and leave him *Britan* for his Share. There are Silver Coins still found in *England* of these two Emperors, having on the Reverse, two Hands joined together with these Words, *Concordia Augg* (8).

This forced Agreement not removing *Maximian's* desire to be rid of his Associate, he commits the Execution of his Design to *Constantius Chlorus* lately made *Cæsar*, giving him an Army answerable to the greatness of the Undertaking. As *Carausius* was retired into *Britain*, *Constantius* thought it necessary in the first place to become Master of *Boulogne*, that Town being as it were the Door into *Britain* from *Gaul*. Whilst he is employed in the Siege, *Carausius* is slain by *Electus*, who assumes the Title of Emperor. Whereupon, *Constantius* raises the Siege of *Boulogne*, and passes into *Britain* in order to drive the Usurper from thence, before he has time to fortify himself. Shortly after, *Alectus* is killed by *Asclepiodotus*, who assuming likewise the Imperial Dignity, loses his Life afterwards in a Battle.

Whilst these petty Tyrants are contending for the Possession of *Britain*, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, both on a Day, resign the Empire, one in the East, the other in the West. *Galerius* and *Constantius* succeeding them, the last, as Emperor of the West, had *Britain* in his Division. Some Commotions in the Islands obliging him to go thither in Person, he dies at *York* (9), in the beginning of an Expedition against the northern People, now distinguished by the Names of *Deucædonians* and *Vecturians* (10). *Constantius*, before he expired, had the Satisfaction to see his Son *Constantine* succeed him. Some think *Constantine* was born in *Britain*, of *Helena* Daughter of *Coel* King of *Colchester* (11). But this at best is only Conjecture. However, this Prince, at first only Emperor of the West, vanquished his Rivals, and became in the end Master of both Empires.

The *Britons*, as long as *Constantine* ruled, lived in profound Tranquillity. His Reign was remarkable for three Circumstances in which *Britain* was concerned. The first is, the Liberty granted by this Emperor throughout all the *Roman* Empire, of professing the *Christian Religion*, which *Britain* enjoyed as well as the rest of the Provinces. The Second is, the general Regulation made by this same Prince for the better Government of his Dominions. He divided the whole Empire into four large *Præfectures*, namely, *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *East*, and *Illyria*, in which were contained fourteen great *Dioceses* or *Provinces*. *Britain*, one of the fourteen, was subject to the *Præfect* of *Gaul*, and governed by a *Vicarius* or Deputy under him (12). Before *Constantine*

(1) Repeating these Lines of *Homer*—Μῆτις ὑπερβοῦν &c.

—None our Arms shall spare,
None shall escape the Fury of the War;
Children unborn shall die—Il. 2.

(2) That is, *Cillyddion*, *Borders* in the *British* Tongue, whom Bishop *Lloyd* supposes to be first called *Picts*, about the Year of our Lord 300. Tho' at the same time they that liv'd next the *Roman* Frontiers were still called *Caledones* or *Borders*. *Ammianus*, who writ eighty Years after, says there were two Nations of the *Picts* which were called *Diatædones* and *Chæthibædones*, that is, in *British*, the Southern *Caledones*, or *Borders*, and the Northern *Men*. (*Dia* and *Chæth*, right and left, being anciently us'd for *South* and *North*) the same, no doubt, that were afterwards call'd the *South* and *North Picts*, separated (see *Dale* says) by a ledge of high and steep Mountains or *Granit-bain*-Hills; amongst which Hills the Country is called *Bruid-Albin*, i.e. *Hill-of-Albin*, and the highest of them is called *Drum-Albin*, i.e. *Ridge of Albin*. This perhaps is the only Remains of that most ancient Name of this Island. See *Ann. Max.* l. 27. p. 346. *Usser. prim.* p. 80, and 586. *Bede, Hist.* l. 3. c. 4. *Paneg. ad Const.* p. 235. *Eumen. Paneg.* ad *Const.* p. 258.

(3) *Lloyd* seems to have set this Matter in a clear Light in his Proofs of the following Particulars. 1. That the Inhabitants of *Ireland* or the *Scots* were never in *Britain* before the Year 300. 2. About that time they began their Incursions, but settled not here 'till after the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, when the *Saxons* conquer'd the best part of *Britain*, calling it *England*. 3. Then part of the *Scots* or *Irish* seated themselves among the *Picts*, and abut the Year 500 erected the Kingdom of *Argyle*, and held it a long while peaceably. 4. About the Year 850, they conquer'd all that was North of *Graham's Dike*. 5. After the Year 900 they get the rest of the Country, and it came to be called *Scotland*. This seems to be the most probable Account of this much contested Affair, which the Reader may see at large in *Lloyd's* Historical Account, &c. p. 5—46. It may not be amiss to lay before the Reader one Argument alledg'd by *Buchanan* in favour of the Antiquity of the *Scots* in *Britain*. In *Paneg. Maximiano*, A. p. 258. The Orator comparing *Constantius's* Victory over *Carausius*, with that formerly gain'd by *Cæsar* over the *Britons*, says, *Ad hæc, natio etiam tunc rudis & Soli Britanni, Pictis modo & Hibernis affluata hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cessant*. Hence *Buchanan* infers the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Cæsar's* Time, by supposing *Soli Britanni* to be the Genitive Case. For then the Sense will be This: Moreover the Nation (conquer'd by *Cæsar*) being yet rude, and us'd to no other Enemies but *Picts* and *Irish* of the *British* Soil, &c. that is, says he, *Scots* settled in *Britain*. But the *English* Writers seemingly more justly render the Words thus: The Nation being yet rude, and only *Britons*, us'd to no other Enemies but *Picts* and *Irish*, easily yielded to the *Roman Arms* and *Ensigns*. Hence the *Irish* here spoken of are not said to dwell in *British* Soil, as *Buchanan* would have it.

(4) That is, from 211, to 286. But notwithstanding the Silence of the *Roman* Historians, we learn from Inscriptions the Names of three *Præfectors* under *Gordian III.* viz. *Macellus Fufius*, *Cnecus Lucilianus*, (both mentioned in two Inscriptions found at *Lancaster* in the County of *Durham*) and *Nonnius Philippius*, (in one found at *old Carlisle*, dated 242.)

(5) The thirty Tyrants rose up in the Reign of *Gallienus*, about the Year 260.

(6) *Eutropius* has it, *Vinea Gallos & Pannonos* (instead of *Britannos*) *habere permittit*. l. 9. c. 17.

(7) Who are said to be of great use to the *Romans* in quelling Insurrections. *Milt. Hist. Eng.* p. 102.

(8) They have on the Reverse PROVIDENTIA AVGG, or PAX AVGG, shewing there were three Emperors at this time. See *Batt. Antig. Ratup.* p. 65.

(9) *Nennius* says, that in his Time the Tomb of *Constantius* was shewn juxta urbem que vocatur *Caer-Constant*, i.e. *York*, or as others, *Caer-Martben* c. 21. p. 103.

(10) See Note above the Word *Caledonians*.

(11) *Usser*, *Camden* and *Stillingfleet* have endeavour'd to render this Opinion probable, and pretend that *Constantius* was forc'd to put away *Helena*, Mother of *Constantine*, and marry a Daughter of *Maximian*. *Rapin*.

(12) 'Till *Constantine's* Time the Governor of *Britain* was call'd the *Præfect's* *Prætor* or *Lieutenant*. But afterwards (as appears in the *Notitia* of the Empire) the Island was govern'd by a *Vicar* or *Deputy*, under the *Præfect's* *Prætor* of *Gaul*. See *Usser. Hist.* l. 2. p. 688. The *Ensigns* of his Government were, 1. A Draught of the five Provinces of *Britannia* express'd in several Buildings, with their Names on the triangular Form of the Island, as if they comprehended the whole Island. 2. The Book of their Instructions cover'd with Green, and the Commission in a gilt Cover, with several Letters inscribed on the Book. The Letters were, F. L. I. N. T. A. L. L. C. O. M. O. R. D. P. R. i. e. *Fions libri jussu nostro transcripti a laterculis continentis mandata ordinaria principis*. There were two Books call'd the *Laterculum Majus*, and the *Laterculum Minus*. The first contain'd the Names, Instructions, &c. of the higher Officers, as the second did those of the inferior Officers. See *Pancius in Not. Imperii*.

sub. fies int. Ireland.
Poison, swallow the Bait, and readily join with the *Romans* for the sake of the promised Advantage. Presently after, the *Scots* being attacked by these two united Powers, are forced to abandon their Country and fly into *Ireland*, and the adjacent Isles. *Maximus*, according to his Promise, suffers his Allies to take possession of the Lands deserted by the *Scots*. But whilst he is considering of Means to subdue them in their Turn, Affairs of greater Importance relating to himself, oblige him to form new Projects.

378. Whilst this General was employed in enlarging the Bounds of the Empire, *Gratian*, joint Emperor of the West with *Valentinian* his Brother, associates *Theodosius the Younger*, Son of *Theodosius the Elder*, who had commanded in *Britain*. This Choice, tho' universally applauded, displeases *Maximus*, who thinks himself more worthy of the Purple than the Person invested with it. He takes the Preference given by *Gratian* to *Theodosius* as a heinous Affront, and therefore can't bear the Thought of serving so ungrateful a Master, and a young Prince so much in his Opinion beneath him in Merit. The Vexation to see himself thus slighted, throws him into a Resolution to assume the Imperial Dignity, and so put himself upon an Equality with the Person *Gratian* had given him for Sovereign. After forming this Project, he alters his Measures. Instead of making War upon the *Picts*, according to his former Resolution, he thinks only how to gain their Friendship. His Intent was to leave *Britain* in quiet and attached to his Interest, whilst he was elsewhere employed against the three Emperors, from whom he designed to wrest the Empire. But an unexpected War arising in *Britain*, prevented him from discovering his Purpose so soon as he intended. The *Scots*, strengthened with the Assistance of the *Irish*, make an Irruption into the North, and endeavour to recover the Dominions from whence they were chased. *Maximus* therefore is forced to employ against them the Forces prepared for the Execution of his other Projects. He defeats them several times, and at length drives them back into *Ireland*, where he makes a Show of following them, to deprive them of that Refuge, and punish the *Irish*. But the *Irish* dreading to see a *Roman* Army in their Island, send to him to make his own Terms, which he did in a much more favourable manner than they expected, with intent to stifle all Seeds of Division and Discontent, that might any way frustrate his principal Design.

He assumes the Title of Emperor.
Gildas, n. 10. Bede, l. 1. c. 9.
388. Is beheaded by Theodosius.
392. Affairs of the Empire.
After these Troubles are appeased, *Maximus* assumes the Imperial Purple, and quits *Britain* to go and fight *Gratian*. He leads all the *Roman* Forces into *Gaul*, with a considerable Body of such *Britons* as are fit to bear Arms. Thus *Britain* was on a sudden destitute of Soldiers, and consequently so weak that she could not defend herself in case of Attack. The *Roman* Historians inform us, that *Maximus* causing *Gratian* to be assassinated as he was flying into *Italy*, and dethroning *Valentinian* II. was himself vanquished and beheaded by *Theodosius*. This Victory procured the Restoration of *Valentinian*, who was soon after murdered by *Arbogastes*, and *Eugenius* placed on the Throne. *Theodosius* was therefore forced to fight the new Usurper, who met with the same Fate as *Maximus*. *Eugenius* being dead, *Arbogastes* despairing to escape due Punishment, lays violent Hands on himself (1). Thus *Theodosius* remains sole Master of the Empire, and keeps Possession as long as he lives. The Fame of his Victories, and the Mildness of his Government keep his Subjects in Obedience, and his Neighbours in Awe. The *Picts* in particular, lived peaceably in their Country without molesting the *Britons*.

393. Honorius Emperor of the W. Bede, l. 1. c. 4.
Victorinus sent into Britain.
He treats the Picts ill.
After the Death of *Theodosius*, the Empire was divided between his two Sons. *Arcadius* was Emperor of the East, and *Honorius* of the West. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilico*, by the Emperor his Father's Order, was Regent during his Minority. His first Care was to send a Governor into *Britain* with a Legion, to curb the Insolence of the *Picts*, who after *Theodosius's* Death, began to make Inroads into the *Roman* Province. He made choice of *Victorinus*, a Person of a fierce and arrogant Temper, who not satisfied with cooping up the *Picts* in their Country, treated them as Subjects of the Empire. He pretended to stretch his Authority so far as to forbid them to crown another King in the room of *Hengist*, whom Death had just taken out of the World. This Proceeding convinced the *Picts*, *Victorinus* had a Design to attack them, and laid them under Apprehensions that after having helped to drive out the *Scots*, they should be forced to follow them now that they could no longer depend upon the Assistance of their Neighbours, as formerly. They considered, by the Retreat of the *Scots*, they were deprived of an Aid, which in time to come might be to them very necessary. The little Regard the *Roman* Governor had for them making them apprehensive he had form'd some Design against their Liberty, they thought of Means

to avoid their Ruin, by repairing the Error they had committed. In this State of Fear and Uncertainty, they resolved to recall the *Scots*. To which end they send an honorable Embassy to *Fergus*, a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Scotland*, who was retir'd into *Denmark*, and invite him with his Countrymen to come and take possession again of the Country they were forc'd to abandon. As a farther Inducement they promise him the Command of their Army in the War with the *Romans*, which to them seem'd unavoidable. *Fergus* accepts these Offers, and acquaints the fugitive *Scots* that he is ready to lead them back into their Country. There could never be a more favorable Juncture: The *Roman* Empire was not only rent with intestine Troubles by the Discord which reign'd among the Governors, but powerfully attacked by barbarous Nations that ravag'd the Borders. These Disorders had obliged *Stilico* to recall *Victorinus* with his Legion, and employ him in other Parts, where the Occasion was more urgent. At this very Juncture the *Scots* re-enter the Island under the Conduct of *Fergus*, whom they unanimously chuse for their King (2).

As soon as *Fergus* II is seated in the Throne, he meditates Revenge upon the *Romans*, which to him appears the more easy to effect, as they are extremely weaken'd by the Departure of *Victorinus*. Pursuant to this Resolution, he assembles the Forces of both Nations, of which he was invested with the Command, and after taking the Fortresses built by *Theodosius the Elder*, between the two Friths, advances to *Severus's* Wall. The small Number of Troops left by the *Romans* in the Island not being able to defend a Wall of so great Length, the *Picts* and *Scots* enter the *Roman* Province with little or no Difficulty, and lay waste the Country.

After *Britain* had submitted to the *Roman* Yoke, a great Number of Foreign Families removed thither, sprung for the most part from the Veteran Soldiers, settled there. These Families had so mixt with the Natives, that they now made but one People, governed by Officers sent from *Rome*. I shall therefore call this mixt People henceforward by the Name of *Britons*, because the *Romans* and other Foreigners, as well as the Natives, had the same Interest to defend *Britain*, now become their common Country. The *Britons* then finding themselves thus harrassed by their Neighbours, and despairing of Assistance from *Rome*, resolve to elect an Emperor, whose Interest it should be to protect them. Their Choice falls upon one *Marcus* an Officer of great Credit among them; but the new Sovereign not having the good Fortune to please all the World, is quickly slain or dethroned, and another, call'd *Gratian*, chosen in his room. This last being a Man of a cruel and bloody Disposition, meets the same Fate, four Months after his Election.

As these two first Emperors did not answer Expectation, *Constantine* a common Soldier was next raised to the Imperial Dignity purely for the sake of his Name, which was thought to be fortunate. The new Emperor being a Man of Courage, and of a Genius far above his former Condition, beats back the northern People into their Country, and then concludes a Peace with them. This Success inspiring him with a higher Conceit of his Merit and Fortune, he is not content to reign in *Britain* only, but forms a Design to become Master of the whole Empire. To this end he draws together the Remains of those that can bear Arms, as well *Romans* as Islanders, and forming an Army, passes into *Gaul*. His Intention was to improve the present favorable Juncture. *Honorius* was then attacked by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*, who a few Years after, became Master of *Rome*. Whilst *Constantine* is making Preparations, he sends Ambassadors to *Honorius*, to acquaint him with his being chosen Emperor by *Britain*, and to excuse his accepting the Imperial Dignity without his Knowledge. *Honorius*, now pressed by *Alaric*, is forc'd to admit of *Constantine's* Excuses, and own him for his Associate in the Empire. The Emperor's Condescension is not capable of satisfying the ambitious *Constantine*, whose Designs and Hopes are vastly enlarged. At his Arrival in *Gaul*, he associates his Son *Constans*, taken out of the Monastery at *Winchester*; and leaving him an Army to maintain his Authority in these Provinces, marches towards the *Alps* in order to pass into *Italy* and dethrone *Honorius*. *Constans* had for General of his Troops one *Gerontius*, who by his prudent Conduct, not only made his Master respected in *Gaul*, but also put him in possession of *Spain*. The young Emperor was so exalted with this unexpected Success, that for fear the Honour which he thought wholly belonged to himself, should be ascrib'd to *Gerontius*, he removed him from his Post. So ungrateful a Return goes not long unpunished. *Gerontius*, exasperated at the Affront, finds Means to assemble the Army, and causing *Maximus*, and

(1) *Horsley* says he saw a curious Medal of his at *Newcastle*, though he could never learn where it was found, p. 74.

(2) The Scotch Writers are here R.W'd, though accus'd by the English of vending many Fables. *Rapin*. See Note, p. 21.

Friend of his, to be proclaim'd Emperor, gains the Majority to his Side. Then he goes and besieges *Conflans* in *Vienna*, where he was retir'd. That Town not being then in condition to stand a long Siege, *Conflans* in a Sally wilfully rushes upon his Death, for fear of falling into the Hands of his Enemy.

Constantine seeing the Face of Affairs altered by the Revolt of *Gerontius*, and the Death of his Son, lays aside his Design of going into *Italy*, and retires to *Arles*, where he is besieged by *Gerontius*. But while *Gerontius* is pleas'd with the Hopes of having him soon in his own Power, he is forced on a sudden to raise the Siege, and march against a more formidable Enemy. Count *Constantius*, to whom *Honorius* had given the Command of his Armies, upon the Peace lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of the *Goths* (1), was advancing with all speed to curb the Insolence of the Tyrants of *Gaul*. Upon his Approach, *Gerontius* is suddenly deserted by his Army, and forced to fly into *Spain*, where he is slain by his own People. *Constantine* had no better Fortune than *Gerontius*. He was taken at *Arles*, with his Son *Julian* and his Brother *Sebastian*. Tho' before the Surrender of the Town he had taken *Priests Orders*, he was nevertheless sent to the Emperor and beheaded.

The *Britons* thus left to themselves after the Departure of the Roman Soldiers and the Flower of their Youth, are quickly reduced to great Extremities. The *Picts* and *Scots* continue their Ravages without Opposition, by reason of the Weakness of their Enemies. This wretched State held some Years, and the *Romans* were not able to help it. They were too much taken up with their own Affairs to think of *Britain*. The *Goths* had renewed the War under the Conduct of *Alaric*, and having taken and sacked the City of *Rome*, were now in possession of *Gaul* (2). On the other side, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* (3), *Cotti*, and *Alani* (4), had over-run *Spain*. In vain therefore do the *Britons* implore the Emperor's Assistance. He is neither able nor willing to give them any; *Britain*, so carefully preserved by his Predecessors, beginning now to be a Burden. Wherefore to free himself at once from their Importunities, he voluntarily resigns the Sovereignty of the Island, and discharges the Inhabitants of their Allegiance to the Empire. This solemn Renunciation was made in the Year 410, a little after *Alaric's* taking of *Rome*.

The Liberty the *Britons* had thus recovered, served only to render them more miserable. Whereas before they might claim the Protection of the Emperor, they were now destitute of all Hopes of Assistance. However, the Affairs of the *Romans* happening afterwards to be somewhat restored under *Valentinian III*, by the Victories of the famous *Ætius* over the *Wisigoths* and *Burgundians*, this General, out of Pity to the wretched Condition of the *Britons*, sends them a Legion commanded by *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, or as some say, by *Maximian*. This Aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back with ease the Northern Nations, and forced them to retire into the Country. But the Emperor having occasion for the Legion, they were recalled just as the Enemies were preparing to renew their Devastations.

Before his Departure the Roman Commander told the *Britons* plainly, they were to expect no farther Assistance from the Emperor, who was wholly employed elsewhere against the northern Nations of *Europe*, whose Ravages extended to all parts of the Empire. After this Declaration, he advises them to inure themselves to Arms, that they may be able to withstand the continual Attacks of their Enemies; and considering their Weakness, exhorts them to repair the Wall of *Severus* to serve them for a Barrier; offering them the Assistance of his Soldiers and his own Direction in the Work. What could the *Britons* do in this their Extremity? They had no other Method to take, but That propos'd to them by the Roman Captain, and therefore fell to work upon their Wall with all possible Diligence, which as soon as they had finished, the *Romans* took their last Farewel of *Britain* never to return more. The End of the Roman Dominion over *Britain* is to be fix'd to the Time of this Legion leaving the Island, in the Year 426 to 427 (5).

The *Picts* and *Scots*, who lived in strict Union after the Coronation of *Fergus*, began their Hostilities against the *Britons* with more Confidence than ever, when they heard of the Departure of the Roman Forces. The Wall of *Severus* lately repaired, is attacked afresh, and abandon'd at last, being defended only by *Britons* little us'd to War. After

which, the northern People made large Branches in several Places, that it might be no Obstacle to their future Invasions into their Enemies Country. About this Time *Constantine* dies as he is returning to *Ireland*, leaving his young Son *Eugenius II* a Minor, under the Regency of *Graham* his Grandfather by his Mother's Side.

The Weakness of the *Britons* was then so great, that despairing to resist their Enemies, they abandon'd part of their Country, and retired more Southward. Whereupon the *Picts* and *Scots*, grown more bold by their Advantages, form new Projects, and think of Means to drive the *Britons* entirely out of the Island. To this end they resolve to send for Colonies from *Ireland* and the adjacent Isles, to people the Lands forsaken by the *Britons*, as well as those they hope to take from them hereafter. But *Graham* prevents, by his Authority, the Execution of this Project, fearing the Return of the *Romans*, and the making *Scotland* the Scene of the War. It may be, he was not altogether ignorant of the sad Condition then of the Roman Empire; but knew not how low it was; and therefore, thought fit to oppose the Designs of the *Scots*, and prefer a solid Peace, with some real, tho' not great, Advantages, to a War which, as he imagined, might be attended with dangerous Consequences. A Peace then was offer'd to the *Britons* upon honorable Terms, and by them gladly accepted. By the Treaty the Wall of *Severus* was to be the common Boundary of the two Nations. But for this Advantage the *Britons* were oblig'd to pay a considerable Sum of Money. The *Scots* thinking this Peace not advantageous enough, loudly murmur'd at it; but *Graham* took care to see it observ'd during his Administration.

As soon as *Eugenius II* was of Age to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, he resolv'd to break a Treaty, which his Subjects had protested against. He knew the *Romans* were not in condition to assist *Britain*, and the Opportunity appear'd too favourable to be neglected. Pursuant to this Resolution, he sends Ambassadors to the *Britons*, and haughtily demands all the Lands possess'd by the *Scots* before the late Treaty. The Chief of the *Britons*, surpriz'd at this unexpected Demand, convene a general Assembly to consider of an Answer to the King of *Scotland*. The Majority of the Assembly, provok'd at the Haughtiness of their Neighbors, and knowing they only wanted an Excuse to renew the War, were of opinion to reject their Demand. "It is easy (say they) to perceive the *Scots* will not be satisfied hereafter with their present Demands. Their Aim is only to have an Entrance into the Country, that they may with less Difficulty become Masters of the whole; and it will be an easier Task to prevent them from entering, than to drive them out when once they are settled. In short, since a War is unavoidable, it will be very imprudent to grant what they demand, under colour of preserving a Peace which cannot last long." Others not so warm, knowing the extreme Weakness of the Nation, were of another Mind. They were for finding some Expedient to satisfy the *Scots*, and avoid if possible, a War which must prove fatal to the *Britons*. "They desire the Assembly to consider what prodigious Numbers of Soldiers were drawn out of the Island by the *Romans* to supply their Armies abroad; how many *Maximus* carried with him that were settled in *Gaul*; and lastly how the Country was drain'd of all that could bear Arms by *Constantine*. To this they add, the Weakness of the Nation was but too visible in their late War with the *Scots*, when their frequent Defeats oblig'd them to abandon the very Lands now demanded, the Possession of which was entirely owing to the Generosity of *Graham*; it is therefore better for the *Britons* to give up freely what they cannot keep, than for the sake of that, to run the risk of losing their All."

Tho' these Reasons were very weighty, they were overrul'd by the violent Party, and *Conan* one of the wisest and most powerful of the Nation, for dwelling too long upon the Advantages of Peace, was deem'd a Traitor, and torn in pieces by them. After that none daring to oppose it, the Ambassadors were sent back with an insulting Answer. This hasty Resolution was followed with a War more destructive to the *Britons* than their former ones, and which entirely weaken'd them by the Loss of fourteen or fifteen thousand Men in one single Battle. Reduc'd to Extremity, they have no course left but to sue in a suppliant manner for that Peace they so haughtily refused. They obtain it indeed, but upon very hard Terms. By the new Treaty, they are oblig'd to give up all the Country north

(1) In the Year 404 or 405. *Rapin*.

(2) In 404 or 405 *Honorius* made a Treaty with *Alaric*, who retir'd into *Illyria*, from whence he returned in 409 or 410, and then it was he took *Rome*. *Rapin*.

(3) Northern People from *Syria* about the Lake *Mæotis* and River *Tanais* of *Gothic* Original, and call'd *Floods* from the Word *Wald* in *German*, because they often changed their Places of Abode. At last they fix'd near the Mouth of the *Baltic* Sea towards *Germany*, which from them was call'd *Vandania*. The *Scots* were of the same Original, & nam'd from the Word *Scythia*, of the same Import with *Wald*. This was a part of *Germany* beyond the *Danube*, now call'd *Saxonia*. *Boady*, p. 37.

(4) The *Alani* were said not far from the Head of the River *Tanais* or *Dnieper*. *Ibid*.

(5) *Strabo* thinks it was in the Year 413. *Rapin*.

of the *Humber*, of which the *Picts* and *Scots* as waging War in common, take possession (1).

Causes of the Britons Weakness
The extreme Weakness of the *Britons* will not be thought strange, if it be considered in the first Place, they were not used to War. The *Romans*, who had long been Masters of the Island, never suffered them to exercise their Arms; it being their Custom always to employ foreign Troops in their Conquests. For this reason the Soldiers levied in *Britain* were sent into other Provinces, from whence they never return'd. These Levies were so numerous that there were twelve considerable Bodies of *Britons* in the *Roman* Armies dispersed in the several Provinces of the Empire, and always recruited from *Britain*. In the next place, *Maximus* and *Constantine* led such great Armies from thence, as almost drain'd the Island of Men fit to bear Arms. In fine, if to this be added the late Losses sustained by the *Britons* after the Departure of the *Romans*, it is no Wonder they became so easy a Prey to their Enemies.

Confusion in the History of these Days.
From this Time to the coming in of the *Saxons*, the History of *Britain* is very confused, by reason of the Disagreement of the Writers, which makes it very difficult to discover the Truth, and much more so to fix all the Dates. What can be gathered with any certainty is, that the *Britons* elected several Kings, whose Actions are unknown; and that these Kings were establish'd, and afterwards kill'd or dethron'd, according to the Humour and Interest of the leading Men. Probably too, several Kings reign'd at the same time in different Provinces, and by their Discord and Wars contributed to the weakening one another. To complete their Misfortunes, *Britain* was afflicted with a cruel Famine, which rag'd also in most Parts of the World. This terrible Scourge render'd the Country quite desolate, People dying with Hunger by thousands. In this extreme Distress, Multitudes of poor Wretches, to save their Lives, fly into *Armorica*, where great part of *Maximus's* Army was already settled. Others, rather than starve with Hunger, threw themselves upon the *Picts* and *Scots*. Amidst these Desolations, the northern People, their irreconcilable Enemies, taking Advantage of their Misfortunes, break the Treaty, and passing the *Humber*, ravage the Country in a merciless manner.

The Britons Letter to Ætius.
The miserable State of the *Britons* forces them to apply once more to the *Romans* for Assistance. They send upon this Occasion, a very moving Letter to *Ætius* then in *Gaul* (2). We know not (say they) which way to turn us. The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea forces us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two Deaths, either to be swallowed up by the Waves, or butcher'd by the Sword. *Ætius* was then preparing to repulse *Attila*, who was entered *Gaul* with an Army of eighty thousand Men, and therefore not being in condition to grant their Request, sent them word that the Affairs of the Empire would not suffer him to assist them, neither were they to depend upon him (3). So mortifying an Answer threw the miserable *Britons* into the utmost Consternation, not knowing what Measures to take, to free themselves from their unfortunate Circumstances. In this Distress, it is judged proper by the chief Men of the Nation to call a General Assembly, and consider of some possible Remedy for their Calamities, which daily increase. They agreed at last to chuse a Monarch (4) as the only Expedient to save them from Destruction, in expectation, that when united under one Head, their Divisions would cease, and their

Enemies be more strongly resisted. But the Discord that reign'd among the principal Members of the State, prevented the good Effects of this Expedient. Several Great Men, having fortified themselves in diverse Parts, acted like Sovereigns. All these petty Tyrants, jealous of one another, far from owning the Monarch elect, fought only to destroy him, in order to be chosen in his room. It was therefore impossible for these Monarchs to subsist long, since not being agreeable to all, the Male-contents joined together for their Destruction: Thus the *Britons*, whilst they endeavour to unite themselves under one Head, are plung'd the deeper into Anarchy and Confusion.

We know not the Names of any of these Monarchs 'till *Vortigern*, Count or King of the *Dunmonij* (5), elected in the Year 445. This Prince, as he was the most powerful and ambitious, could never brook a Superior, and therefore was all along a profess'd Enemy to the preceding Monarchs, and contributed to their Ruin. Nay, 'tis affirmed by Historians, that he assassinated his Predecessor to make room for himself. Those that imagine *Constantine* Son of *Constantine* kill'd at the Siege of *Vienne*, to be his immediate Predecessor, are certainly mistaken, since there was at least forty Years space between the Death of *Constantine* and the Election of *Vortigern* (6).

The new Monarch was by no means qualified to restore the Affairs of the *Britons*. As he attain'd to the supreme Dignity by Artifice and Cabal, he wholly bent his Thoughts to maintain himself in the Throne by the same wicked Methods, regardless of the general Welfare of his Subjects. He was moreover of a cruel and avaritious Temper, addicted to many Vices; and so lewd, that he debauch'd his own Daughter, by flattering her with Hopes of being a Queen (7). Mean while there was a Necessity to think of repulsing the Enemies, and *Vortigern* knew himself incapable of such an Undertaking, though he had been chosen for that very purpose. But what troubled and perplex'd him most, was, his being so little belov'd by the People, and the continual Fear of being dethron'd. The Examples of the Monarchs his Predecessors being never out of his Mind, he was apprehensive the same Course would be taken with him, since he was so little able to answer the good Opinion conceiv'd of him when rais'd to the Throne. Living thus in equal Dread of the Enemies of the State and of his own Subjects, he fancied he had devised an Expedient to free himself from the Danger of the one, and Plots of the other. But as he could not put his Design in practise without the Consent of the *Britons*, he calls a General-Assembly, and makes a long Speech, before he comes to the Point. "He describes in a strong and lively Manner the extreme Misery of the Nation: Accuses the *Romans* of being the sole Cause of the Misfortunes of the *Britons*, by draining the Island of all her Youth fit to bear Arms, and then leaving her to the Insults of her Neighbours. He enlarges upon the great Losses sustained since by the *Britons*, and the manifest Danger of being either driven out of their Country, or utterly destroy'd, by reason of their Weakness. For his part, he is always ready to hazard his Life for the Service of the Nation: but considering the few Troops in his Power, and the little Union between the principal Members of the State, he has no Hopes that his weak Endeavours will be able to rescue his Subjects from their present Calamities. In this melancholy State of Affairs,

(1) From *Severus's* Wall to the *Humber* is eighty Miles. *Rapin*.

(2) The *Britons* calling, in their Letter, *Ætius* Consul, hath made some call this Fact in question, because his Name is not found in the *Roman Festi*; but, as *Mr. Selden* observes, the Name of Consul was frequently given to illustrious Persons, tho' they were not actually Consuls. Not. on *Poly-Olb.* p. 84.

(3) As this is the last mention of the *Romans*, it may not be amiss to give a brief Account of the Legions that came into the Island. *Julius Cæsar* brought with him the first time the tenth, and tenth his favorite Legion. In his second Descent he brought five Legions, but which they were, except the tenth, is unknown. All three return'd the same Year they came. Under *Claudius* came four Legions (with their proper Auxiliaries, making an Army of about Fifty Thousand Men) namely the second, the ninth, the fourteenth and the twentieth. The second called *Legio secunda Augusta*, came hither under the Command of *Vespasian*, and continued here to the very last. They were concern'd in building the *Roman* Wall in *Scotland*, as appears from the Inscriptions. Their usual Quarters were at *Caerleon*, tho' they were removed from thence at last, being plac'd at *Rutupæ* in the *Notitia*, where they are call'd *Legio secunda Eboracensis* five *Secunda*, i. e. Those of the second Legion, as the *Quartani*, *Quarta-decuma*, &c. are those of the fifth and fourteenth in *Tacitus*. *Ptolemy* places this Legion at *Iffa Dunmonium*, or *Exeter*, which might be mistaken for *Iffa Silurum* or *Caer-leon*. The ninth was cut in pieces by *Boadicea*; it was recruited with two thousand Soldiers, and eight auxiliary Cohorts, but attack'd again, as being the weakest, by the *Caledonians*. After which, being no more heard of, it was either broke or incorporated with the sixth Legion brought over by *Hadrian*. It is suppos'd to have been stationed at *Fork* where an Inscription was found with these Words, *Legio nona Victrix*. The fourteenth was the only Legion, says *Tacitus*, that together with the *Vexillum* of the twentieth (that is, six hundred select Men of a Legion) was entirely engag'd in the Battle with *Boadicea's* Army. This Legion was recalled by *Nero*, order'd back by *Vitellius*, and sent for again by *Vespasian*; after which they seem never to have return'd to Britain any more. As they left *Britain* before the Humour of erecting Inscriptions, it is no Wonder they are not mention'd in any. The twentieth is thus express'd in the *Roman* Inscriptions. J. E. G. XX. V. V. That is, *Legio vicesima Valens* (or *Valeria*) *Victrix*. The stated Quarters of this Legion was *Deva* or *West-Chester*, which probably was therefore honour'd with the Name of a Colony, as in one of *Gata's* Coins with this Legend, *COLONIA DIVANA LEGIO XX VICTRIX*. This Legion was with the second employ'd in building the *Roman* Forts and Walls. It does not appear when they left *Britain*. Between these four Legions, there came with *Hadrian* the sixth, usually thus express'd, L. E. G. VI. V. P. F. that is, *Legio sexta Victrix Pia Fidelis*. This Legion was a long Time in *Britain*. They are frequently mention'd in the Inscriptions on *Severus's* Wall. Their stated Quarters were at *York*. From what has been said it appears, that for twenty five Years (from *Claudius's* Invasion, till the fourteenth was recall'd by *Nero*, and afterwards by *Vespasian*) there were four Legions in *Britain*. From the first Year of *Vespasian* to *Hadrian's* Reign, only three; and from *Hadrian's* time (when the sixth came over) to the lowest Empire, there were still but three; the ninth being broke or incorporated with the sixth. The Reader may see a large Account of these Things in *Hopley*. B. I. c. 6.

(4) By Monarch here is to be understood, one superior to the other Heads, or Kings, on whom they were in some Measure dependent. See *Selden* and *Maltebrun*. *Rapin*.

(5) Inhabitants of *Deven* and *Cornwal*. *Rouland* thinks *Dunmonium* is the true Word for *Devenport*, and *Dunmonium* for *Devenport*, or the *British Dy-fuiri*. The Cornish write and pronounce (d) as (2). He derives both these Words from *Môn*, signifying the utmost or farthest.

(6) *Alford* and others place *Vortigern's* Election between 430 and 436. The common Opinion is followed here, which appears to be most probable. *Rapin*.

(7) This Story of *Vortigern's* incest seems altogether unlikely. At least, the Dialogue between *Vortigern* and *St. German*, and his being condemn'd in a great Council of Clergy and Laity, in which *St. German* presided, is certainly false, that Saint being dead a Year before the *Saxons* arriv'd in *Britain*. And indeed, when is it that he should commit this Crime? Not before he married *Rowena*, for *Nennius* places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his Marriage with her, since, as the same Author relates, she continued his Wife long after, when he was taken Prisoner by *Hengist*, and it is very strange he should fall in Love with his own Daughter, when he had another Wife, whom he is said to love so well, that he was divorc'd from his first for her sake. See *Jyrral*, Vol. I. p. 127, 128.

"he sees but one way to save his Country from the Destructions she is threaten'd with, and That is, to call in to their Assistance a Nation, that by their victorious Arms were settled in Germany, upon the Lands of the Romans. Then tells them, he means the Saxons; adding, they have indeed done some Damage to the Britons by their Pyracies, but are now ready to repair it with Advantage; since they can free them from the continual Irruptions of the Picts and Scots. This People, being parted from Britain by a small Arm of the Sea only, can be as speedy with their Aid as their pressing Occasions require: they are already grown formidable to the northern Nations, and by the Arrival of some of their Troops the Britons will quickly be in condition to resist their Enemies, and perhaps repay them in their own Coin." He concludes with representing, "the thing will hardly admit of Debate; the Britons cannot be without a foreign Aid, and none but the Saxons are in condition to give them Assistance."

His Proposal
is approved.
St. Dunstons.
Ch. Brit.

The Fears all were seiz'd with, and the Hopes of still enjoying their native Country, and recovering their lost Estates, and no doubt the Desire of Revenge, conspired to a joyful Reception of Vortigern's Proposal. But when they came to consider of the Terms to be offer'd the Saxons, great Debates arose. The Monarch, whose secret Purpose was to strengthen himself as well against his own Subjects as foreign Enemies, mov'd, the allotting them some Province, that their own Interest might induce them to wage War more heartily and vigorously. But as no Lands could be assigned them but what belong'd to some of the Assembly, it was no easy Matter to agree on this Point. At length, after great Disputes, it was resolv'd that the Saxons should have the Isle of Thanet in Kent, as being a proper Place to land their Forces, and convenient for them whenever they wanted to return into their own Country. It was farther agreed, that the Saxon Soldiers should be allowed Pay, which should be settled by Agreement on both Sides. After this Resolution, Ambassadors were appointed to negotiate the Affair in Germany. Vortigern, pleas'd with having carried his Point without incurring Suspicion, imagin'd himself out of the Reach of all Danger. But see how blind and short-sighted is human Wisdom! This very Expedient, by the direction of divine Providence, prov'd his own and the Nation's Ruin.

The Isle of
Thanet is
given to
the Saxons.

Ambassadors
are named to
negotiate
the Saxons.
Vortigern's
Policy proves
injurious to
his Country.

But before I proceed to the Effects of this pernicious Advice, it will be necessary to give a more particular Account of these Saxons, who are to be the chief Subject of our History. They were so little known before their coming into Britain, and what is said of their Original so uncertain, that 'tis no wonder this Subject is but very slightly touch'd upon by the Generality of the English Historians. Some barely say, the Saxons were called in to the Assistance of Britain, without any farther Addition concerning them. Others say only, the Saxons were a German People, without mentioning the Parts they inhabited. Some again add, they were Pyrates from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, that came and settled on the Coasts of the German Ocean. But as these Coasts are of a vast Extent, we are not much the wiser for that. In short, the most probable Account I can gather from the several Authors that have writ of this People, is as follows.

Coming of
the Saxons
and their
Conquests in
Germany.
Sharnham.

About this Time the Romans began to extend their Conquests into Germany, the Inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland, leaving their Country, advanced towards the South. They possess'd themselves at first of the northern Parts of Germany, and doubtless spent some Years in settling themselves in those Quarters. But as the Romans had not yet penetrated so far, and we have no antient Histories of the northern Countries, nor even of the western, but what the Romans have left us, there is little known of the first Irruptions made by the northern People into Germany. The Cimbri continually pushing their Conquests to the Southward, and the Romans advancing to the Northward, they at last approach'd one another. Then it was that the Romans had Opportunity to learn in some measure, the State of these hitherto unknown Nations.

Their Historians however speak very confusedly of them, giving sometimes different Names to the same People, and sometimes the same Name to different Nations. The Cimbri that came from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, were divided into three Bands, one taking the Name of Suevi, another of Franks, and a third of Saxons. Some will have the Franks to be a Branch of the Suevi. However that be, these three Nations, continually advancing Southwards, came at length to the Frontiers of the Roman Empire; the Suevi towards Italy, the Franks to the South-West, towards the Coast of Belgic-Gaul, and the Saxons to the

West, towards the German Ocean. The Suevi especially were so terrible to the antient Germans, that they looked upon them as a Match for the Immortal Gods, as Cæsar says in his Commentaries. As for the Franks, they are known to have over-run the whole Province of Gaul, and founded the noble and antient Kingdom of France.

Cæf. 1. 4.
Stillington.

The Saxons possess'd themselves of those Tracts of Land lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their Territories bounded on the West by the German Ocean, extended Eastward to the Borders of Thuringen. Consequently they were Masters of Saxony, Westphalia, and all that part of the Low-Countries lying North of the Rhine. The Nations subdu'd by these Conquerors were in time called Saxons, in like manner as the Inhabitants of Gaul were named Franks or French, after their Subjection to the Franks. But however, whether the Saxons were not so rapid in their Conquests as the Suevi, or the Course they took made it longer before they approach'd the Romans, 'tis certain they were not so soon known. The first Roman Historians that mention them, at least by the Name of Saxons, are Eutropius and Orosius, who inform us that Carausius (as I have elsewhere taken notice) was sent to clear the Seas of the pyratelical Franks and Saxons. From that time they became formidable to the Romans, and oblig'd them to keep standing Forces to guard both the German and British Coasts, with a General Officer filed the Præfect, or Count of the Saxon Coasts. Upon the Decline of the Roman Empire, after the Death of Theodosius, the Saxons taking Advantage of its Weakness, made themselves Masters of the whole Country along the Coast of the German Ocean, and even extended their Conquests as far as the Isles of Zealand. Hence the Frisians, Batavians, and the neighbouring Nations were hardly known by any other Name but that of the Saxons.

Tho' several Authors have writ of the Saxons, we are still in the Dark as to their Original, or how to distinguish the Nations called by that general Name. And therefore the beginning of their History remains very confus'd and intricate, it being almost impossible it should be otherwise, considering, Authors for the most part have made no Distinction of Times or Places. One while, they are consider'd just as they left their own Country, and then are confounded with the Franks and Suevi, under the Name of Cimbri. Another while, they are view'd as beginning their Conquests towards the North-west of the Continent, and then they are represented as seated North of the Frisians, Batavians, Marsians, and other Nations of those Parts subject to the Romans. Some have placed them at once along the Coast of the German Ocean, and Banks of the Rhine, and even in the Isles of Zealand, as if they had from the very first inhabited these Regions. Others again, not considering that all their Conquests were term'd Saxony, and finding Saxons in the eastern Parts of Westphalia, have imagin'd they were a different People from those inhabiting on the Rhine. Just as if speaking of the Franks, I should make different Nations of those that conquered Gaul and those that settled in the Narbonnoise. However this be, it is certain when the Britons sent to desire their Assistance, the Saxons were in Possession of Westphalia, Saxony, East and West-Friseland, Holland and Zealand.

Stillington.
Orig. Brit.
Sheringham.
de Orig. Anglo.

Eyndius,
Chron. 26.

I could wish the Origin of the Saxons were as well known as their Conquests: it would be a Pleasure to give here an Abstract of their History to the Time of their settling in Great-Britain. But the thing is impossible, such Obscurity do we meet with in the Authors that have studied this Subject. Some take up the Saxons at the Tower of Babel, and leading them from Country to Country, settle them at last in Saxony, so called from them. Others derive them from the Sacæ or Saffones of Asia, mentioned by Pliny. There are who will have them to be originally from Persia, because of the Affinity between several Saxon and Persian Words (1). But they that are willing to spare the Pains of so laborious a Search, are content to begin their History from the time of their coming forth from the Cimbrian Chersonesus. It is not impossible, perhaps, to reconcile most of the Opinions concerning this Matter, tho' seemingly very different, if Regard be had to the Times of their several Migrations. But since, in the main, Conjectures only are to be had, it is better to proceed at once to what is more certain.

The Saxons had for some time been in possession of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, when driven thence by the Goths, (from whom that Peninsula was call'd Gothland or Jutland) they came and settled in Germany, in the Parts now called Lower-Saxony. Between that Country and the Chersonesus, were a People known by the Name of Angles, inhabiting about Slefwick in Holstein. Probably the little Country of Anglen in those Parts was so named from them,

Th. A. 26.

(1) Joseph Scaliger says, that Fader, Muder, Brader, Tackter, Band, and the like, are still used in the Persian Language, in the same Sense as Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, Band, are with us.

or they from the Country (1). However this be, the *Angles* joining with the *Saxons* when they came out of the *Gherfonesus* to make Conquests in *Germany*, became in a manner but one Nation with them. Though, doubtless from the major Part, they were generally call'd *Saxons*, yet they had sometimes the compound Name of *Anglo-Saxons* given them. Great Numbers of *Goths* mix'd likewise with them to share in their Conquests. These are call'd *Wites* (2) by *Bede*, and commonly known by the Name of *Jutes*, or (which is the same) *Goths*. It can hardly be doubted that these three Nations were united before their coming into *Britain*, when we consider the good Understanding between them all the while they were employed in establishing themselves in the Island, as will be seen in the Course of this History. It will be found that they acted always in concert; that their Interests were never different, and that the Government settled by them, is a clear Evidence, they look'd upon themselves as one and the same People.

Etymology of the Name of the Saxons.

The true Etymology of the Name *Saxon* is as difficult to be discovered as their Origin. They that derive them from the *Sacæ* of *Asia*, are indeed at no great loss in this Point. But the most common Opinion is, that the Word *Saxon* comes from *Seax*, which in their Language signifies a kind of *Weapon* or *Sword*. They had two sorts, a long one worn by their Side or at their Back; and another shorter, serving for a Bayonet or Dagger. They were both in the Shape of a Cutlance (3).

Manners and Government of the Saxons.

Not to dwell too long upon Conjectures, I shall briefly speak of their Manners, Government and Religion. It suffices to observe, that in their Customs and Manners, they very much resemble the antient *Germans*, as described by *Tacitus*. They were naturally brave and warlike both by Land and Sea, witness their many Conquests. But to their Enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their Prisoners of War, whom they sacrificed to their Gods.

Their Government.

Their Dominions were divided into twelve Governments or Provinces, each of which had a Chief or Head accountable to the General-Assembly of the Nation. In

time of War they chose a General who commanded their Armies, and was invested with almost Sovereign Power: but at the End of the War, his Authority, like that of the *Roman Dictator*, ceased. The Center of their Empire was at *Brunswick*.

As for their Religion, it was the same with that of the other northern Nations, and some Part of *Germany*. The *British Saxons* embraced Christianity about the End of the sixth, or Beginning of the seventh Century. But those that remain'd in *Germany* were not converted 'till the ninth, by the Care or rather Violence of *Charlemain*, by whom they were subdued. Their principal Gods before their Conversion were the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Tuisco*, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Friga* or *Fræa*, and *Seater*. To these were consecrated the seven Days of the Week, as appears by the present names of these Days among the *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *English*. *Tuisco* is said to be the Grandson of *Japhet*, and to have peopled first the North of *Europe*. *Teutch*, as the *Germans* call themselves, is probably derived from *Tuisco*. The God *Thor*, from whence comes the Word *Thunder* or *Dunder*, was the same among the *Saxons* as *Jupiter* among the *Romans*, that is to say, the *Thunderer*. *Woden* was the God of War, because under his Conduct the first *Saxons* came forth from their Country, and made large Conquests. Their chief Families consider'd him as their Founder, and gloried in being descended from him. Probably however there were two of this Name, that are often confounded; one more antient, worshipped as a God, another not so old, from whom sprung the Families of the *Saxon* Leaders. There are still in *England* some Footsteps of the Name of *Woden* in Those of several Places, as *Wansdike*, *Wansborough*, &c. which are Contractions of *Wodens-dike* and *Wodens-borough*. *Fræa* the Wife of *Woden* was the *Venus* of the *Saxons*. She was worshipp'd in the Shape of an *Hermaphrodite*, as being Goddesses of both Sexes. *Ermenfwol*, the same as *Mercury*, was another of their Gods, with others common to them with all the northern Nations. This is the best and clearest Account I could meet with of the *Saxons*, whom the *Britons*, by *Vortigern's* Advice, call'd in to their Assistance.

THE

STATE of the BRITISH-CHURCH,

FROM

The Conversion of the BRITONS, to the Calling in of the SAXONS.

State of the Church.

AFTER Christianity was establish'd in the World, the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* Affairs of Kingdoms were so interwoven, that there was no knowing the one, without being acquainted with the other. It is necessary therefore to add to our History, a general Knowledge of the Progress of the *Christian Religion* in *Great-Britain*. I intend to do this from time to time, by short Abstracts, shewing the Situation of the Affairs of the Church in every Century, and withal their Relation to those of the State. But as I shall not have occasion to speak

of the *English* Church before the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, it will not be improper to represent first the State of the *British* Church under the *Romans*.

Before the Birth of our Saviour, the *Britons*, like the rest of the World, the *Jews* only excepted, were Idolaters. They not only worshipp'd false Gods, but, if their own Historians are to be credited, had as many and as extravagant ones as the *Egyptians* themselves. *Andate* the Goddess of *Victory*, was one of their principal

The State of the British Church. Gildas, n. 2.

(1) This Country (*Camden* observes) reaching into the more inland parts of *Germany*, at so great a Distance from the Sea, we must seek some other Place where to seat our *Angles*; and *Bede* has directed us to look for them between the *Saxons* and *Jutes*. "The *Angles* (says he) come out of that Country, which is called *Angulus*, and is said from that time to lie waste, between the Countries of the *Jutes* and *Saxons*." Seeing between *Jutland* and *Frisland* (the ancient Seat of the *Saxons*) there is a small Province in the Kingdom of *Denmark* under the City of *Flemburg* call'd at this Day *Angel*, which *Lindebergius* in his Epistles terms *Little-England*. I am pretty well assured, says *Camden*, that I have found the ancient Seat of our Forefathers; and that from this very Place the *Angles* came into our Island. "Old *Anglia*, (says *Ethelward* an antient Author) is situated between the *Saxons* and *Grets*, the Capital Town whereof is call'd in *Saxon*, *Sleswick*, but by the *Danes*, *Haitby*." In the very same place, *Petronius* seems to seat the *Saxons*. So that the middle-age Poet is probably in the right.

—Saxonia protulit Anglos;
Hoc patet in lingua, niveoque colore—

Their Rise to Saxony the Angles owe
Their Language, this, and native Whiteness flows.

(2) So it is in the old Edition of *Bede*; but in *Mr. Whelock's*, instead of *Vitis* there is *Jutis*.

(3) This Etymology gave occasion to these Verses in *Engelbustus*,

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur,
Unde sibi Saxo nomen traxisse putatur.

The Saxon People did, as most believe,
Their Names from Saxa, a short Sword, receive.

Camden approves of the Conjecture of those learned *Germans*, who imagine that the *Saxons* are descended from the *Sacæ*, the most considerable People of *Asia*, that they are so call'd, as if one should say, *Sacajones*, that is, *Sons of the Sacæ*; and that out of *Scythia* or *Sarmatia Asatica*, they came by little and little into *Europe* along with the *Getes*, the *Suevi* and the *Daci*, this in my Judgment (says *Camden*) deserves credit the best of any other. But his Annotator observes, This Original of the *Saxons* from the *Sacæ* of *Asia* may be thought too far fetch'd unless there were some fair historical Account, how the *Saxons* came to be propagated by those *Sacæ*, and no such Account being given, it may seem to be little more than a possibility. Nor may that other Original from the short Swords call'd *Sacbs*, seem altogether vain, when it is consider'd, that the *Quirites* had their Name from *Quiris*, a short Spear; and the *Sieghians* from *Segeten*, to shoot with a Bow. *Tacitus* also speaking of some of the Northern *Germans*, says, "That the common Badges they wear, are round Shields and short Swords;" and the Arms of *Saxony* to this Day, as *Pontanus* observes, are two short Swords a-crois. See *Camd. Itin. l. p. CLVI*.

Deities (1). They had also Gods, to whom they attributed the same Powers the Greeks and Romans did to their *Apollo* and *Diana*. But seeing the *Druids*, who had the sole Management of Religious Affairs, never committed any of their Mysteries to Writing, it is no wonder we know nothing more concerning their *Worship* and *Ceremonies*, than what has already been taken notice of in the Introduction.

Though it be difficult to know the precise time, yet all agree the Gospel was preached in Great-Britain soon after our Saviour's Death. But those who place this Event in the Reign of *Tiberius*, don't consider the first *Gentile*, *Cornelius*, was not converted till the year of our Lord 40. that is, three Years after the Death of that Emperor. *Baronius*, upon the questionable Authority of *Simeon Metaphrastes* (2), which he himself justly rejects on several other Occasions, says, *St. Peter* first preached to the *Britons*. This Opinion is the more improbable, because it is certain *St. Peter* performed the Office of an Apostle chiefly in the Eastern Countries. Others affirm, that *Simon Zelotes*, one of the twelve Apostles, undertook the Conversion of the *Britons*. *Nicophorus Callistus* (3), *Dorotheus*, in his *Synopsis*, and the *Greek Calendar* (4) say, this Apostle was crucified and buried in Britain. At the same time we find in the *Roman Martyrology*, and in those of *Bede*, *Adm*, and *Ufuand*, that *St. Simon* suffered Martyrdom in *Perfia*.

The most current Opinion for some time was, that *Joseph of Arimathea* first preached to the *Britons*. Tho' this Tradition, supported by the sole Testimony of *William of Malmshury*, a Writer of the XIIth Century, stands upon no better Foundation than those above-mentioned, it has however been deem'd incontestable. *Malmshury*, in proof of the Antiquity of the Church of *Glaston* or *Glastenbury*, says, after *Freculphus*, that upon the Martyrdom of *St. Stephen*, the Apostles were dispersed throughout the whole World. *St. Philip*, (continues the Historian) at his coming among the *Franks*, sent twelve of his Disciples, with *Joseph of Arimathea* as their Head, to propagate the Gospel in Great-Britain, where they arrived in the Year of our Lord 61. After some Opposition from the Inhabitants, a certain King gave them a little Spot of Ground, surrounded with Fens and Bushes to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring Kings having allowed them twelve Hides of Land for their Subsistence, the Angel *Gabriel* commanded them from God, to build a Church in a Place now call'd *Glaston*, but at that time *Insuitrin* (5). This Church was finished in the Year 63, and as the Historian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himself, as a Mark of Distinction, to the *Virgin Mary*. In proof of this Relation in the first Place, is produced a Manuscript Chronicle in the Abbey of *Glastenbury*, in which it appears that the King's Name, who made the first Present to *Joseph*, was *Arviragus*. To this may be answered that indeed *Juvénal* mentions a *British* King by that Name in the Reign of *Domitian*. But this is nothing to the purpose, unless it can be proved that *Arviragus* lived in the time of *Nero*, since it is supposed the Land the Church stood upon was given to *Joseph* in the Year 61. In the next place is alledged *St. Patrick's Charter*, wherein it is said, that *Glaston* Church was founded by twelve Disciples of *St. James* and *St. Philip* the Apostles. But besides several Marks of Forgery, there is no mention in this Charter of *Joseph of Arimathea*. In the third Place is produced a Charter of *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, who lived in the VIIIth Century, which makes the Church of *Glaston* the most antient of all the *British* Churches. But neither in this Charter, whose authenticity is still more questionable, is there any mention of *Joseph*. To strengthen all these Proofs, a Charter of *Henry II*, King of *England* is produced, wherein King *Henry* assures us, that upon Examination he found it well attested, that the Church of *Glastenbury* was founded by the Disciples of the Apostles, and consecrated to the *Virgin Mary* by *Jesus Christ* himself. But this Assertion of King *Henry*, being grounded only upon the foregoing Proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain, that the *Franks* were unknown, at the time *St. Philip* is said to come into their Country. Besides, *Eusebius* and several others affirm, that this Apostle went and preached in *Phrygia*, and suffered Martyrdom at *Hierapolis*. Then for the *Hydelands* given to the Disciples of the Apostles, the Word *Hyde* alone is a sufficient Refutation of that Story, since it is a *Saxon* Term; and every one knows the *Saxons* came not to Britain till the Year 449. I think it needless to dwell any

longer upon this Subject. Whoever has a Mind to see the Reasons more at large against this Tradition of *Joseph of Arimathea*, will find them in *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*.

Though the exact time of the Conversion of the *Britons* be uncertain, it is very probable the Gospel was preached in the Island not long after the Death of Christ. *Theodoret* assures us, the *Britons* were converted by the Apostles. *Eusebius* speaking of the Dangers the Apostles were exposed to in propagating the Gospel in the most remote Countries, mentions among the rest, the *British* Isles. Now the likeliest time to be assigned for the Conversion of the *Britons*, if it was in the Apostles Days, is that between the Victory of *Claudius* and the Defeat of *Boadicea*. For at the time of the General Revolt, there were in the Island above 80,000 *Romans*, among whom very probably were some *Christians*; the Gospel having now got footing in many places, particularly at *Rome*. Upon this Supposition, there is no Absurdity in asserting with several modern Authors, that *St. Paul* first preach'd the Gospel in Britain. It is certain this Apostle, in the eight Years between his first Imprisonment at *Rome*, and his Return to *Jerusalem*, propagated the *Christian* Religion in several Places, especially in the *Western* Countries. He informs us of his Design of going to *Spain*; and it is not unlikely but his Desire of converting the *Britons* might carry him into their Island. This Opinion may be supported by the Testimony of *Venerabilis Fortunatus* in his Poem upon the Life of *St. Martin*, where he speaks of the Travels of *St. Paul* (6). But after all, these are only Conjectures, and of no other use but to make it more credible that the Gospel was planted in Britain soon after the Death of our Lord.

But supposing this Opinion were proved beyond all Dispute, it may be presum'd the *Christian Faith* had taken no deep Root in the Island; since, according to several Authors, *Lucius* a *British* King, sent Ambassadors to *Pope Eleutherius* to desire him to send over some Missionaries to instruct him in the *Christian* Religion. Now is it likely that *Lucius* should send so far for what he might have had in his own Country, had there been at that time any Churches, or even any considerable number of *Christians*, in Britain? However this be, *Lucius* having some Knowledge of the *Christian* Religion, and desiring to be more fully instructed, sends *Elwan* and *Medwin* to *Eleutherius* the twelfth Bishop of *Rome*, to crave the wanted Assistance. *Eleutherius* very joyfully embraces the Opportunity of replanting Christianity in Great-Britain, where probably it had been rooted out by the Violence of Persecutions. He immediately sets about instructing *Elwan* and *Medwin* the two Ambassadors; and after baptizing and consecrating them Bishops, sends them back to their own Country. By their Means the Gospel flourished again in Britain, where it afterwards spread far and wide. I omit the many things that are said of this *Lucius*, particularly his building great Numbers of Churches in *London*, because it is not likely the *Romans* would suffer it. Neither shall I say any thing of his Travels, wherein he is said to convert several Nations, especially the *Grisons*, in whose Country he was martyred, there being no Grounds for these Things. It is possible however, some *Christian* named *Lucius* might preach the Gospel to the *Grisons*, and suffer Martyrdom at *Coire*.

From the Conversion of *Lucius* to the *Dioclesian* Persecution, the Ecclesiastical History of Britain is intirely unknown. It is very probable however, that during that Interval of eight Years, the *Christian* Religion made great Progress in the Island, as appears from *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas*. But what puts the thing out of all dispute, is, the Multitude of *British* Martyrs that suffered during the dreadful Persecution under *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* his Collegue. Among these Martyrs *St. Alban* converted at *Verulam* (7) by a Priest, whom he had harbored in his House, is reckon'd the first. He was followed by a great many more, as History informs us. How well inclined soever *Constantius Chlorus* might be to favour the Christians, he could not, whilst Governor of Britain, dispense with *Edicts* of the Emperors, having then the Title of *Cesar* only, which gave him no Power to oppose their Laws. But as soon as he came to the Empire, he put a stop to this violent Persecution, and gave the Christians some respite. *Constantine* his Son did yet more, for under him the *Christian* Religion flourish'd throughout the *Roman* Empire, particularly in Great-Britain, where some pretend he was born.

(1) She had a famous Temple at *Camaldunum*. Tyr. p. 24.

(2) A Writer of the Xth Century, is called from writing the Lives of the Saints. He was a Lay-man.

(3) A Greek Historian of the XIVth Century. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, of which there is only extant to the Year 610.

(4) Or Martyrology.

(5) That is, in the *British* Language, The Town of *Glaston*. *Glaston* or *Glaston-town* means the same in English. Rapin.

(6) Transiit & Oceanum, vel quâ facit Insula Portum, Quisque Britannus habet terras, quaque ultima Thule. Rapin.

(7) Call'd afterwards from him *St. Alban*. Rapin.

Progress of
the Christian
Religion in
Britain.
Spelman.
Conc. Vol. I.

Sulp. Sever.
Hist. Ec. l. 2.

The British
falsely charg-
ed with.
Arianism.
Stillingfleet.

Pelagianism
in Britain.
Stillingfleet.
Orig. Brit.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 14.

Id. c. 27.

After this happy Change the Christians multiplied exceedingly, and the Island abounded with Churches. Some affirm there were *British* Bishops at the Council of *Nice* in 325. But though this cannot be sufficiently proved, it is not at all unlikely, since twenty two Years after there were for certain three *British* Bishops at the Council of *Arles* (1); as there were also some at the Council of *Ariminum* in 359, but so poor that their *Charges* were born by their Brethren (2). Their signing at this Council the *Confession of Faith*, wherein the Term *Consubstantial* was omitted, gave Occasion to some to imagine that *Arianism* was spread in *Britain*. But a modern Author has made it appear that the *Faith* of the *British* Church was the same in this Respect both before and after this Council, which had not the Effect the *Hereticks* promised themselves.

The *British* Church was much more justly accused of *Pelagianism*. Certain it is, several Bishops were seduced, not by *Pelagius* himself, who, though a Native of *Britain*, never returned to propagate his Errors, but by *Agricola* one of his Disciples. The *Orthodox* Bishops perceiving the Infection to spread, sent to desire their Brethren in *Gaul* to assist them in confuting this *Heresy*. The *Gaulish* Prelates touch'd with the Danger of the *British* Church, met in Council, and deputed *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Bishop of *Troye* to go and assist their Brethren in *Britain*. At *Verulam*, in a Conference with the *Pelagians*, they defended the Truth with such Strength and Evidence, that they turned many from their Errors. But after their Departure, the *Hereticks* gaining Ground again, *Germanus* was desired once more to come over. Though he was now

very old, he undertook a second Voyage into *Britain*, in Company with *Severus* Bishop of *Troye*. *Germanus* despairing to convince the *Hereticks* by Arguments, because of their Obstinacy, caused the *Edict* of *Valentinian* III, that condemns all *Hereticks* to Banishment, to be put in Execution against them. Before he left *Britain*, he erected Schools, which produced afterwards many Bishops famous for their Learning and Piety.

From this time to the Arrival of the *Saxons* we know but little of the Affairs of the *British* Church. No doubt the frequent Wars with the *Picts* and *Scots*, by destroying their Churches, and what is worse, by introducing a Corruption of Manners among the *Clergy* as well as *Laiety*, were very prejudicial to the Christians. However, if we may believe *Gildas* and *Bede*, it was not so much the Wars as the excessive Plenty immediately after the Famine, that corrupted the Manners of the *Britons*. The People, say these Historians, from a State of extreme Want, being on a sudden surrounded with Plenty, abandoned themselves to all manner of Wickedness. The quiet they enjoyed by their Peace with the northern Nations, was spent only in sinking deeper into Excess and Debauchery. The *Clergy* outdoing even the *Laiety*, became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, Drunkenness, Avarice, Luxury, reigning among the *Ecclesiasticks*, they no longer preached to their Flocks the Precepts of the Gospel, which they themselves so little regarded. To this general Corruption, according to these two Historians, are to be ascribed the Calamities which fell upon the *British* Nation, and which are the Subject of the following Book.

Corruptions
of the Bri-
tons the
Cause of their
Miseries.

Gildas, n. 19.
Bede, l. 1.
c. 14.

(1) The Council of *Arles* was in 314, about twelve Years before the Council of *Nice*. The three Bishops are supposed to be Those of *London*, *York*, and probably *Caerleon*. They had with them a Priest and a Deacon.

(2) *Du Pin* says, the Bishops of *France* and *Britain* chose rather to bear their own Expences than accept of the Emperor's Allowance, which they thought was beneath them. But it is more likely they accepted of the Emperor's Allowance, since they were but poorly endow'd under the *Roman* Emperors. And this perhaps may be the Reason why we find so few of them at any of those Councils that were held beyond the Seas.



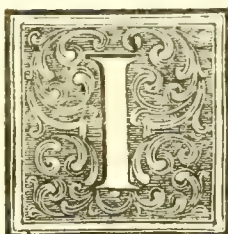


THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

From the Arrival of the SAXONS to the Retreat of the BRITONS into Wales. Containing about the Space of a Hundred and Thirty Years.

The Britons
unadvisedly
call in the
Saxons to
their Aid.



LN a desperate Disease, a desperate Remedy is us'd without scruple, because the Benefit only is consider'd that may be receiv'd by it. The Britons, tho' frequent Sufferers by the Incurfions of the Saxons, fix'd their Thoughts solely on the Valour of that Nation, believing them alone capable of freeing them from their present Calamities. Had there been a Choice to make, perhaps they would have weigh'd the Inconveniences as well as Conveniences of calling in the Saxons to their Aid. But as they had no other Course to take, they never attended to what a just Fear might have suggested to them. Besides, *Vortigern* strove to divert them from the Considerations that might have induc'd them to alter their Resolution, by carefully displaying the Advantages that would be procur'd by the Assistance of the Saxons. By feeding their Hopes with his flattering Speeches, he prevented them from maturely reflecting on the Consequences of their Proceedings. Every Man therefore being wholly intent upon freeing himself from the present Evils, the Ambassadors were sent away in all haste, and the Negotiation strongly recommended to their Care, on the Success whereof entirely depended, as they imagin'd, the Safety of their Country. The Dominion of the Saxons reach'd then to the German Ocean, and their Conquests had been carried even into Zealand. Upon the Arrival of the British Ambassadors, *Witigisl*, General of the Saxons, having called an Assembly to hear what they had to propose, the Head of the Ambassy made the following Speech:

The Ambassadors
are
sent away.

The Speech
to the Saxons.

"Illustrious and Generous Saxons, the Britons, harass'd and oppress'd by the continual Inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, their Neighbours and Enemies, sent us to you to implore your Assistance. The Fame of your Victories has reach'd our Ears. We are sensible your Arms are irresistible, and therefore are come to sue for your Protection. Britain for many Years made a considerable Part of the Roman Empire; but our Masters having abandon'd us, we know no Nation more powerful than

"your selves, or better able to protect us. Grant but our Request, and in return we offer all that a rich and fertile Country, such as ours is, can afford. Put what Price you please on our Protection: We shall submit to what Terms you yourselves shall judge reasonable, provided by your Aid we are enabled to drive the Enemy out of our Country." (1)

The Britons having thus declared the Cause of their coming, the Saxon General return'd this short Answer; "Be assured the Saxons will stand by you in your pressing Necessities." So favorable an Answer inspiring the Ambassadors with hopes of Success in their Negotiation, they us'd their utmost Endeavours to bring it to a speedy Conclusion. At last they had the Satisfaction to obtain an Aid of nine thousand Men, on certain Terms, the principal whereof was, That the Saxons should be put in Possession of the Isle of *Thanet*, adjacent to *Kent*, where they were to land, and their Troops paid, and maintain'd by the Britons.

Britain was not unknown to the Saxons. They had long before begun to render themselves formidable to the Eastern Coasts of the Island, where they had even made several Descents. If they had not yet attempted any Conquests there, it was because Those they had undertaken on the Continent were thought to be of more Importance. It may be too, as they were hitherto ignorant of the Weakness of the Britons, they were afraid of engaging in any great Enterprize. However this be, the present Ambassy, at such a juncture, was extremely proper to raise a Desire to settle in their Country. The Britons were themselves the Discoverers of their Weakness. On the other Hand, the Saxons were now seated along the Coasts of the German Ocean, from whence they might always have an Eye to what pass'd in Britain. It is no wonder therefore, if without much Deliberation, they promis'd their Assistance to the Britons, since they intended to improve so fair an Opportunity of settling in the Island. *Hengist* and *Horsa* (2), both Sons of *Witigisl*, were appointed to command the Troops designed for the Aid of the Britons.

The Saxons
from the Pre-
ject of settling
in Britain.
Geoff. Mon.
Malm.

Hengist and
Horsa com-
mand the
Saxon
Troops.

(1) *Witigisl*, a Saxon Historian, puts these Words in the Mouth of the British Ambassadors, and it can't be denied that they are very natural, considering the deplorable Condition of the Britons. *Rapin*. *Witigisl* liv'd in the IXth Century. The absolute Subjection in this Speech is thought to be more than the Britons promis'd, it not being mention'd by *Bede* or *Ethelward*, both Saxons. Their quarrelling with the Britons afterwards about their Pay, as *Gildas* expressly says, shows they came over as Mercenary Soldiers. See Note below from *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, p. 19.

(2) *Hengist* signifies a Stone-Hill; and *Horsa* a Horse. It was usual with the Saxons to give their Children the Names of Animals. *Rapin*. Hence calling us at this Day, the Name, *Lamb*, *Swine*, *Fox*, *Beast*, &c. The Romans had the same Customs, whence *Catulus*, *Asinus*, &c.

BRITANNIA SAXONICA



Hengist's
Character.
Verteg.

Hengist was about thirty Years old. He first bore Arms under his Father *Witigisl*; after which, for his Improvement in the Art of War, he went and served in the Roman Armies, where the Emperors generally kept some Saxon Troops in their Pay. This young Warrior was endow'd with all the necessary Qualifications for accomplishing the Undertaking committed to his Management. His Valour and Experience, the Solidity of his Judgment, his Address, his easy and engaging Behaviour, warranted in some Measure his Success. All these excellent Qualities determined the Saxon General to procure for his Son so fair an occasion to display his Talents. As for his Brother *Horfa*, nothing particular is said of him.

The Saxons, notwithstanding their Promise, did not think proper to send over at once so considerable a Body of Forces as nine Thousand Men, into a Country but imperfectly known to them. Wherefore, pretending the rest were not ready by reason of their great Distancing from the Place of Imbarkation, they caused only a Part to be put on board three Vessels (1). The very Name of these Vessels plainly enough demonstrates they could hold but a very inconsiderable Number (2). The Historians have not expressly marked the Place of this first Imbarkation. It may very probably be conjectured to have been in *Zealand*, as that Country was then in the Possession of the Saxons. Besides it would have been difficult to chuse a more convenient Place, or one nearer the Isle of *Thanet*, where these Forces were to land.

Vortigern, having his own, much more than the Nation's Interest at Heart, was highly delighted with the Success of his Embassy. He was not ignorant how his Subjects stood affected towards him. And this no less than the Desire of repulsing the common Enemy had moved him to sue for the Assistance of the Saxons, flattering himself that he should easily engage these Foreigners to grant him a particular Protection. With this View and Expectation he goes to the Sea-side, and waits their coming, to prepossess them in his Favour, by his Civility and Respect.

Mean while *Hengist* and *Horfa* setting sail, arrive at *Ebbsfleet* in the Isle of *Thanet*. These first Saxon Troops are said by most Historians to land in the Year 449, though by some this Event is placed a few Years sooner or later. *Vortigern* receives his new Friends with extraordinary Carresses, putting them immediately in possession of the Isle according to Agreement. When they had refreshed themselves a little, he led them against the *Picts* and *Scots* that were advanced as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*. In the first Battle, the Islanders according to Custom, began with throwing their Darts, which made but little Impression on warlike Troops that despised that way of fighting. The Saxons having stood this first Charge without the least Motion, advanced in good Order, and coming to close fight, quickly routed Enemies already terrified by their very Looks. The northern Men frightened at the Sight of these Foreigners, and forc'd to engage in a different Manner from what they were used to, made but a faint Resistance, and soon left their new Enemies in possession of the Field of Battle. Their future Attempts had no better Success, and in all their Encounters with the Saxons, they were continually worsted. Being quite discouraged by these frequent Defeats, they abandon their Conquests by degrees, and retire into their own Country, dreading nothing so much as engaging with the Saxons.

Vortigern was overjoyed to see his Projects succeed thus far so happily. But his main Point, the winning the Saxons to his particular Interest, was yet unexecuted. To that end, he presents the two Saxon Brothers with some Lands in *Lincolnshire*, where they gave the Enemies the first repulse (3). But if *Vortigern* was pursuing his Ends, *Hengist* was no less mindful of his own Interest. The Moment he perceives the Weakness of the Britons, he entertains Hopes of procuring a Settlement in *Britain*, and begins to lay his Measures accordingly. But he must proceed by degrees, and find means to execute his Design, without discovering his Intentions. The Lands given him by *Vortigern*, furnish him with an Opportunity to cause the Britons to fall into the Snare he intends to lay for them. He represents to the King, that the Service he was doing the Britons in the North, keeping him at a Distance from the Isle of *Thanet*, he had no place to secure the Booty taken from the Enemies, and therefore had reason to fear that

whilst he was employed in the northern Wars, he might be deprived of the Fruits of his Labours. For this Cause, he desires leave to build a little Fort somewhere on the Lands lately given him. *Vortigern*, who sought all Occasions to please him, readily complies with his Request. If *Hengist* builds a Thong-caster. most of the Historians may be credited, he only desired to wall in as much Land as an Ox-hide could furround, which being granted, he cut the Hide into small Thongs, and enclosing with them a Space large enough for his purpose, hastily ran up a Fort, before the Britons had time to oppose it. This Circumstance seems to be confirmed by the Name of the Fort it self, *Thong-caster* (4), that is, the Castle of Thongs (5). It may indeed be objected, that the Name of this Castle gave occasion to apply it to the Story *Justin* relates of *Dido* when going to build *Carthage*. But *Justin*, 1. 18. on the other hand, *Hengist* whilst he served in the Roman Armies, might, very possibly, be informed of this Artifice of *Dido's*, and practise it in *Britain*.

The Britons seeing a Castle built in the Heart of their Country, begin to murmur against their King, and suspect him of secretly favoring the Saxons. These Murmurs gave *Hengist* Opportunity, who had now divid'd into *Vortigern's* private Intentions, to make an Advantage of that Prince's Circumstances. He represents to him, "That the Britons are grown so insolent since their Deliverance from their Enemies, that they only wait an Opportunity to rob him of his Crown, and give it to another." "That this Intimation, coming from good Hands, ought to make him sensible that the Rebellion of his Subjects is no less to be feared, than the Invasion of the *Picts* and *Scots*; and therefore advises him to secure himself from the approaching Storm, by sending for more Saxons, and strengthening himself with their Aid against the ill Practices of his Subjects. The rest of the Saxons, (continues he,) design'd for the Assistance of *Britain*, are all ready, and only wait your Orders." *Vortigern* gladly embraces this Advice, which suits so well with his Projects. Instead of raising Objections, he himself presses the Saxon General to execute a Design which to him seems so advantageous. *Hengist* having thus obtain'd *Vortigern's* Consent, desires his Father *Witigisl* to send over the rest of the Forces out of Hand. He acquaints him with the Fruitfulness of the Country, and Effeminacy of the Inhabitants, assuring him, if the Saxons wisely improved this Opportunity, they might hope for a Settlement in *Britain*, no less advantageous and glorious than what they enjoy'd in *Germany*. *Witigisl*, who had great Expectations from his Son's Expedition, sends the desired Supplies without Delay. He equips sixteen large Vessels to transport the Forces, and with them sends *Efcus* and *Rowena*, eldest Son and Niece (6) of *Hengist*. This second Body of Saxons arriv'd in *Britain* in 450, about a Year after the first.

As soon as the British Monarch and the Saxon General saw themselves thus strengthen'd, they behav'd in a very different Manner to the Britons from what they had done before. *Vortigern* grown more powerful, renders himself more absolute. He treats his Subjects with great Haughtiness, and thereby more strongly confirms their Suspicions of him. He even makes no scruple to assign Habitations for the New-comers, without ever advising with his Subjects. From that time a strict Union is form'd between *Vortigern* and *Hengist*. They had need of each other for their mutual Defence against the Britons, who publicly express'd their Discontent.

Mean while, *Hengist* forgot nothing that could promote his Designs. Above all, he studies to know the Humor and Character of *Vortigern*, and easily perceives Love and Pleasure to be his predominant Passion. Accordingly he lays a Snare, which he thinks, the Monarch can hardly escape falling into. Having express'd on several Occasions, his Acknowledgments for the many Favors received at his Hands, he intreats him to honour him with his Company at *Thong-caster*, where he earnestly desires to entertain him, and shew him some Marks of his Respect and Gratitude. *Vortigern* readily accepts of this Invitation, considering it as a fresh Means to strengthen the Friendship contracted with the Heads of the Saxons, and which is so expedient for him. *Hengist* receives him with all the Respect due to a great King, his Friend and Benefactor. A splendid and exquisite Entertainment is prepared for him, but nothing pleases the Royal Guest so much as the young *Rowena*, the

The Britons
complain of
Vortigern's

Hengist offers him Assistance.
Nenn. c. 37.

Vortigern accepts it.

Hengist instills a Desire into the Saxons to settle in Britain.
Malm. l. 1.

Arrival of a fresh Body of Saxons, with Efcus and Rowena.
450.
Malm.

Vortigern and Hengist behave haughtily to the Britons.
Flor. Wig.

Hengist lays a Snare for Vortigern.
Malm.

He invites him to Thong-caster.

Vortigern agrees to it.

Eyndius
Chron. Zel.

449.
The Saxons arrive in Britain.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
p. 39.

First Battle between the Saxons and northern People.

Malm. l. 1.

Vortigern gives Hengist some Lands near Lincoln.
Nenn.
G. Monm.
l. 3. c. 2.
Lough.
Chron. Reg.

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth says, these three Ships, full of armed Men, happen'd to come to Kent by chance, and that the Generals *Hengist* and *Horfa* being brought before *Vortigern*, he retained them and their Troop in his Service, l. 6. c. 10.

(2) They are call'd by the Historians in *Latin*, *Crales*; in *Danish*, *Iols*; in *English*, *Kelds*. *Rapin*. It is said in Camden. p. cxxii. that *Krales* was a general Name for their Ships. — *Cydis*, *nostra lingua*, *longis navibus*. — *Gild.* p. 7. *Malm.* p. 8. *Bede*, l. 1. c. 15. It must be noted, that *ce*, *ci*, in *Saxon*, is pronounced like *ke*, *ki*.

(3) Some say these Lands were in Kent. But Geoffrey of Monmouth affirms, they were in *Landesia* Regione, or rather *Lindesia* in *Lindsey*. *Londum* is *Latin* for *London*, *Geoff. Mon.* l. 6. c. 11. *Rapin* by mistake quotes *Nennius*.

(4) *Acceptum flum factu de nomine Thorum*

Thurmo quantum poterat circumdare tecto.

Epit. of the Hist. of Eng. in Latin Verse. *Rapin*.

(5) *Caster*, (in *Saxon* *Thung-caster*, in *Welsh* *Cuer-Egwy*, both signifying the same Thing,) lies about six Miles from *Grimsby* in *Lincolnshire*.

(6) *Ulfar*, it seems, is the only one who affirms she was *Hengist's* Niece. See *Speed* p. 283. But *Makysburg*, p. 9. *Matt. Westm.* p. 156. *Hanting*, p. 310. *Geoff. Monm.* l. 6. c. 12. all agree in saying she was *Hengist's* Daughter.

and falls in
Love with
Rowena.

Geoff. Mon.
l. 6. c. 12.

He demands
her in Mar-
riage.

Hengist
starts Diffi-
culties.

Vortigern
finds means
to remove
them all.

He promises
Hengist the
Province of
Kent.

Whereupon
the Marriage
is concluded,
and Hengist
takes Posses-
sion.
Nenn.
Geoff. Mon.
l. 3. c. 1.

The Britons
murmur
against
Vortigern.

Hengist
forms new
Projects.
G. Mon. l. 4.
Malm.

greatest Beauty of her time. *Hengist* her Uncle, under colour of doing Honor to *Vortigern*, but in reality that he might, during the Feast, feed his Eyes with so lovely an Object, ordered her to place herself just before the King. The Contrivance succeeded as *Hengist* expected. *Vortigern* keeps his Eyes continually fix'd on *Rowena*, who by her Looks gives him to understand, she is not insensible of the Honor he does her. *Hengist* perceiving with Joy the sudden Effect of *Rowena's* Charms on the King, is unwilling to give his growing Passion time to cool. He makes a Sign to his Niece, who immediately going to the Side-Board, fills a Gold Cup with Wine, and presents it on her Knees to the King, saying in her Language, *Liever Kyning, waß heil*, that is, *Lord King, your Health*. *Vortigern* agreeably surprized, turns to his Interpreter and asks what she said, and how he must answer her after the *Saxon* manner. Being informed, he looks very amorously on *Rowena*, and answers in *Saxon*; *Drinck Heil*, that is, *Do you your self drink the Health*. Whereupon, *Rowena* just putting the Cup to her Lips, presents it to the King, who taking it, rises up immediately and gives her a Salute. *Rowena* receives it in a very respectful manner, as sensible of the great Honour done her, and making a profound Reverence, withdraws, leaving the Monarch full of Love and Desire. This may be called a very fatal Moment for *Britain*, as will be seen hereafter. So true it is, the greatest Events spring sometimes from Things that appear at first of very little Consequence.

From that time *Vortigern's* Thoughts are wholly employed how to secure the Possession of *Rowena*. Tho' he has a Wife, his Passion causing him to overlook all Obstacles, he demands her in Marriage. But *Hengist*, willing by Difficulties to inflame the King's Desires, answers, he cannot, contrary to the Custom of the *Saxons*, give his Niece to a Prince already married, adding, *Rowena* was not entirely in his disposal; and the Princes of his Nation, and particularly his Father, would not perhaps ever consent she should be married to a Christian Prince, how honorable soever the Alliance might be. But the amorous *Vortigern*, who burns with excessive Desire to enjoy *Rowena*, finds Expedients to overcome all these Difficulties. He begins with divorcing his Wife, by whom he had several Children. Then he promises *Rowena* the free Exercise of her Religion, and to stop the Mouths of the *Saxon* Princes, whose Reproaches *Hengist* seems to fear, devises an Expedient, (or perhaps it is suggested to him) by which, as he imagines, he may reconcile Love and Policy. And this was to invest *Hengist* and *Horfa* with the Sovereignty of *Kent*, and give them leave to people it with *Saxons*. The Moment he came to this Resolution, all Obstacles began to vanish, and the politick *Saxon*, who had seem'd backward only to make the better Bargain, thought it time to give his Consent. He delivers therefore his Niece to the amorous Monarch, and takes Possession of *Kent*, magnifying this Proof of his Respect and Gratitude, as if the King were highly obliged to him. *Vortigern* was so blinded by his Passion, that he thought himself a great Gainer by the Exchange (1). This Agreement was made so privately, that *Gorogus* (2), Prince or Governor of *Kent*, was dispossessed before he could take any Measures to oppose it. So impatient was *Vortigern* to conclude this fatal Bargain! In vain did the *Britons* murmur against this Marriage, and complain of the King's Bounty. *Hengist*, regardless of their Murmurs, strengthened himself as much as possible in his new Sovereignty, considering withal of fresh means to aggrandize himself. But before he discovered his Intention, he wanted to be out of danger from the *Britons*, who plainly shewed how they stood affected towards him. Ever since it was known he intended to settle in the Island they could no longer rely on him, or rather, look'd upon him as a professed Enemy.

Whilst the *Britons* were venting their fruitless Complaints against their Monarch and the *Saxons*, *Hengist* was seriously thinking of his Concerns. Tho' he had a good Body of Troops under his Command, that was not sufficient to enable him to execute his vast Projects. He thought it proper therefore to conceal them till he was in condition to declare his Intentions. The Situation *Vortigern* was in, made him hope it was not impossible to make that Prince subservient to his Designs, whilst he should imagine he was labouring only for himself. To that end, he pretended to be more attach'd than ever to his Person and Interest, and endeavoured by sundry means to persuade him he was entirely devoted to his Service. His Aim was to induce him gradually by these Marks of Affection, to be wholly guided by his Counsels. When he thought he had sufficiently gain'd his Confidence, he represented to him, "That his Subjects were displeased

"vorable Opportunity to execute the ill Designs they had form'd: That an Opportunity would infallibly offer when the *Saxon* Troops should be employed in the northern Wars; and then being destitute of the Assistance of his Friends, he would be in danger of being expos'd to the Insults of those that hated him: That he thought himself obliged to acquaint him, his Subjects held Intelligence with *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, who was at the Court of *Aldroen* King of *Armorica*, and probably had conspired to set that Prince on the Throne." There was some ground for *Hengist's* thus artfully hinting the Danger *Vortigern* was in from *Ambrosius*. That Prince was of Roman Extraction, and according to the general Opinion, Son of one of the Monarchs elected by the *Britons* after the Departure of the *Romans* (3). As he was very young when his Father died, his Youth screened him from the Jealousy of those that ascended the Throne immediately or shortly after. But it was otherwise when *Vortigern* came to the Crown. A strong Party being form'd in favor of *Ambrosius*, the new Monarch was so filled with Suspicions, that he sought means to destroy the young Prince. The Danger *Ambrosius* was expos'd to obliging him to quit *Britain*, he retired to *Aldroen* his Relation, where he was waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and head his Party. This being the Case between *Vortigern* and *Ambrosius*, what the *Saxon* Prince said could not but make deep Impression on his Mind.

By these continual Marks of a seemingly disinterested Friendship, *Hengist* led the *British* Monarch by degrees to seek of his own accord, the means he design'd to furnish him with, namely, the sending for a greater Number of *Saxon* Troops. His Aim was to put himself in condition to have nothing to fear from the *Britons*, and withal to be independent of the King; which he could not attain to but by the means he intended. *Vortigern*, despairing ever to regain the Affection of his Subjects, and considering *Ambrosius*, tho' absent, as a very dangerous Rival, saw his whole Refuge lay in the *Saxon* Prince, whom he deemed his best Friend, and accordingly to him it was he applied for Advice and Assistance. *Hengist* tells him, "All the *Saxons* in *Britain* are at his Devotion, but their Number is too inconsiderable to protect him." Adding, "The *Britons*, in all likelihood, will not fail to shew their Discontent, whilst the *Saxons* are in the North, and therefore he sees but one way to secure the King from their Plots, which is, to send for more *Saxons* to be commanded by trusty Leaders, who will implicitly follow his Orders." This Advice being agreeable to *Vortigern's* Intentions, he immediately clothes with it. *Hengist* promises to send the new Troops into the North, against the *Picts* and *Scots*, whilst he stays himself in *Kent* to have an Eye upon the Male-contents. This Precaution seem'd very proper to prevent the Insurrection of the *Britons*, who by that means would be hemm'd in by the *Saxon* Forces.

Hengist having obtained the King's Consent, sent for a Fleet of forty Ships, conducted by *Offa* his Brother, who brought with him his Son *Ebusa*, and a great Number of *Saxon* Troops. These New-Comers begin with ravishing the *Orcaides*, then making a Descent on the Coasts of the *Picts*, oblige the Inhabitants to retire Northwards. As soon as the *Picts* had thus deserted part of their Country, the *Saxons* seated themselves there so strongly, that it was not possible to dispossess them. At first they settled on the North-side of the *Tine* towards the East. Afterwards they advanc'd towards the South, and drove the *Britons* beyond the *Humber*; but this was done by degrees. This third Body of *Saxons* arriv'd in 452, three Years after the First. With these fresh Supplies, *Hengist* found himself strong enough to be in no great fear of any Attempt from the *Britons*: Nay, he began to shew less Respect for *Vortigern*, and under colour of wanting frequent Recruits to keep up the Number of his Forces, sent for continual Supplies from *Germany* without asking his Leave. At length he throws away the Mask, and making bitter Complaints that the *Saxons* were not duly paid according to Agreement, boldly demands the Arrears, threatening, without prompt and full payment, to do himself Justice.

The *Britons*, surprized at these Menaces, and greatly mortified to see *Hengist* in a condition to do as he proudly threatened, began to rouse themselves, and think of means to free themselves from these Foreigners. *Vortimer*, eldest Son of *Vortigern*, had beheld hitherto with extreme Regret, how the *Saxons*, by his Father's Fault, strengthened themselves daily, and had very much dreaded the Consequences thereof. As soon as he saw the *Britons* in Emotion, he improv'd the Opportunity, and represented to the leading Men that it was time to apply an effectual Remedy to the Evils they lay under. He told them, his Father's Cowardice, or perhaps Treachery, had been the Occasion of the *Saxons*

Ambrosius,
not to be war-
st. Lingheet.
Orig. p. 319d
Gild. p. 9.

Brit. Hist.
l. 3. c. 1.

452.
Offa and
Ebusa come
and settle in
the North
with *Saxon*
Troops.
Nenn.
Geoff. Mon.
Cam.

Gild. Bede,
l. 1. c. 15.

453.
Vortimer
encourages
the *Britons*
to drive out
the *Saxons*.
Malm. l. 1.
c. 1.

(1) This Story of *Rowena* is the less authentick, for not being mentioned by *Bede* or *Gildas*, and related by *Nennius* as a Report only.
(2) *Gandon* takes *Gorogus* to be the Name of an Office or Employment. See *Langbain*, *Cleric. Reg. Angl.* *Rapin*.
(3) He is said by several to be Son of *Constantine*, beheaded by *Honorius*.

becoming so powerful; that it was necessary therefore to prevent *Vortigern* from heaping any more Favours on these Foreigners, to the Prejudice of the *British* Nation, which was in danger of being over-run, if Measures were not taken to put a Stop to their growing Power. The *Britons*, convinc'd by these Reasons, awak'd at last out of their Lethargy, and by *Vortimer's* Instigations, the most powerful of them having entered into a private Confederacy, of which *Vortigern* had not the least Notice, suddenly compell'd him to make his Son Partner with him in the Government, and to leave the Administration of Affairs to his Care. The Plot was so well laid, that in an Instant *Vortigern* saw himself without either Fortrefs, or Troops, or Credit, and constrain'd to do whatever was desir'd, he not having time to call the *Saxons* to his Aid. As he had not mistrusted his own Son, he had taken no care to guard against him. Thus *Vortimer* was invested with the whole royal Authority, leaving his Father only the empty Title of King without any Power (1).

The new Monarch found no great Difficulty to persuade the *Britons*, that nothing but Force could drive the *Saxons* out of their Country. It was but too plain, from their Proceedings, that they did not design to go away voluntarily. The War therefore being resolv'd, the *Britons* made Preparations to rid themselves of their Guests, whom they look'd upon as their mortal Enemies. *Hengist*, for his part, finding he was like to have a fierce War upon his Hands, made haste and concluded a Peace with the *Picts*, who were proud of having for Allies Men so formidable for their Arms. This Precaution enabled him to make a powerful Diversion in the North by the Help of the *Picts*, assisted by the *Saxons* lately settled in those Parts. As for *Kent*, *Hengist* look'd upon himself to be strong enough there to make head against *Vortimer*, who was preparing to attack him.

I am now going to enter upon the Recital of a War, which, after numberless Engagements, render'd the *Saxons* Masters of *Britain*. An Event so remote from the Expectations of the *Britons* when they sent for the *Saxons* to assist them, affords Matter of Wonder and Admiration at the Short-sightedness of Men, and the Uncertainty of their Counsels! But before I relate the Issue of this War, it will be proper to acquaint the Reader that he is not to expect a full and particular Account of Matters. Historians have been contented with relating some certain Facts, which just serve to carry on the Thread of the History, but hardly give us a general Idea of that Revolution which peopled *Britain* with new Inhabitants, and introduced a new Face of Things over the whole Island.

The *Britons* and *Saxons* being prepared for War were not long before they came to an Engagement. In the first Campaign, the two Armies met at *Eglesford* (2) in *Kent*, the *Saxons* being commanded by *Hengist* and *Horfa*, and the *Britons* by *Vortimer*. The first Battle, according to the Historians, was very bloody. *Hengist* lost *Horfa*, (3) his Brother, and with his own Hand slew *Catigern* (4), youngest Brother of *Vortimer*. If we may believe the *British* Historians, *Vortimer* not only obtain'd a complete Victory over the *Saxons*, but driving *Hengist* as far as the Isle of *Thanet*, compell'd him to embark and fly into *Germany*. But by what follow'd after this Battle, it is evident, if the *Saxons* were not victorious, at least they were not vanquish'd (5), since all their Historians unanimously affirm, that this very Year 455, immediately after the Battle, *Hengist* first took upon him the Title of King of *Kent*, which doubtless he would not have done, had he been defeated and obliged to fly into *Germany*.

One must not be surpris'd to find so great Contrariety among the Historians concerning Events so remote from our Time; when even the Authors that write of what has pass'd in our Days, very rarely agree in Facts, which by their late Date, might easily be known.

Two Years after, another Battle was fought near *Crecaford* (6) in *Kent*, wherein *Vortimer* was entirely defeated with the Loss of more than 4000 Men and his best Officers. Not being able to keep the Field, he was forced to shut himself up in *London*, till he could draw another Army together. In the mean while *Hengist*, to strike the greater Terror into the *Britons*, ravaged the Country in a merciless manner. They that were most expos'd to the Fury of the *Saxons*, quitted their Houses, and fled to the Woods for Refuge. Some abandon'd their Country, and retir'd into *Armorica*, where they were civilly receiv'd by King *Aldroen*. During these Devastations, the very Churches were not spared, but all that were in the Neighbourhood of the *Saxons* were reduc'd to Ashes. These barbarous *Pagans*, joining to their natural Fierceness a Religious Zeal, thought they honoured their Gods, by inhumanly treating the *Christians*, especially the *Ecclesiastics*, who were most cruelly dealt with.

The *Britons* being reduc'd to this Extremity, their Chiefs assembled themselves to consider of Means to prevent their total Ruin. *Guithelin*, Archbishop of *London*, and Head of *Ambrosius's* Party, advis'd them to apply to the King of *Armorica* for Assistance. He represented to them, "That as *Aldroen* had always shewn great civilities to the *Britons*, there was Room to hope he would not abandon them in this their pressing Necessity." Adding, "that since *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* were no longer to be depended upon, he thought it necessary to invite over *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, who being sprung from Illustrious Ancestors, and having all the Qualifications to be desir'd in a General, would, in all Probability, by his Valour and Conduct, free them from their present Danger." As they had always hated *Vortigern*, and, since his last Defeat, were dissatisfied with *Vortimer*, the common, though unjust Fate of vanquish'd Generals, they readily embrac'd the Archbishop's Advice, and desir'd him to go himself and negotiate the Affair; which he gladly undertook, as enabling him to accomplish a Design he had long been forming. He sets out immediately for *Armorica*, and laying before *Aldroen* the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*, obtain'd with ease the Aid he demanded. *Aldroen*, who had so generously receiv'd all the fugitive *Britons*, was willing to give the Nation a farther Proof of his Friendship, by granting them an Aid of Ten thousand Men. He plac'd *Ambrosius* at their Head, who conducted them safely to *Totness*. This General was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy, being look'd upon as the only Support of the sinking *Britons*. But this Joy was not universal: *Vortimer's* Party, still powerful, consider'd *Ambrosius* as one come to usurp the Crown, under colour of defending it. And *Vortimer* himself threatned to punish severely those that should join him. Thus the miserable *Britons*, always a Prey to their intestine Divisions, instead of uniting against the common Enemy, prepared to destroy one another.

Mean while, *Ambrosius* and *Guithelin* perceiving the Conjunction to be favorable, conspir'd the Ruin of *Vortigern* and *Vortimer*. They began with representing to their Party, "that vain were the Hopes of driving out the *Saxons*, under the Conduct of these two Kings, the Son being a Prince without Courage or Experience, and the Father an Enemy to the Nation, as appear'd by his strict Union with the Enemies of the State; not to mention his excessive Liberalities, which oblig'd his Subjects to take the Administration out of his Hands. That in vain therefore were their Preparations to drive out the Foreigners, if these two domestick Enemies were not first destroy'd, who were in Arms only to favour and assist them." On the other hand, *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* told their Friends, "that *Ambrosius*, under pretence of assisting, was come to subdue them: That the Archbishop was an ambitious Man, who sought to put the Crown on the Head of *Ambrosius*, only to get the Administration of the Government into his own Hands, than which, such was his Arrogance, nothing should more be dreaded by the *Britons*: That they must wilfully shut their Eyes not to see, that the Designs of these two Heads of their Party, were directly opposite to the Good of the Kingdom: That instead of marching their fresh Troops against the *Saxons*, they had done nothing since their Arrival, but caball'd with the People, and taken Measures to oppress those who were in Arms for the Defence of their Country.

The mutual Animosity of the two Parties was so violent, that they soon came to Blows, each preferring his private to the public Interest. The first Battle was fought near *Catwaloph* (7) in *Carmarthenshire*. As it is difficult from the confus'd Accounts of Historians, to know on which side Victory inclin'd in this and several other Engagements, I shall only observe that the civil Wars lasted till the Year 465, to the great weakening of the *Britons*, whilst the *Saxons* had time to strengthen themselves both in *Kent* and beyond the *Humber*. To so wretched a State were the *Britons* at last reduc'd, that numbers of them, harra's'd one while by the Civil War, another while by the *Saxons*, abandon'd their native Country, where they could no longer subsist.

A Dutch Writer informs us, that some of those unfortunate Wretches going on board of a Galley, and rowing toward the mouth of the *Rhine*, landed at *Catwick* near *Leyden*, where they settled by the Sea-side in an old Roman Camp, to which they gave the Name of *Brittenburge*.

Thus *Britain* for seven or eight Years suffer'd all the Calamities of a Civil War. At length the wisest of both Parties, considering their Dissention would be the Cause of their common Ruin, made up the Breach by parting the Kingdom between the contending Princes. The two *British* Kings had the *Eastern*, and *Ambrosius* the *Western* Part, divided from

454.
Vortigern is
compell'd to
effaciate his
Son.

The War
against the
Saxons re-
sulted upon.

455.
The Battle of
Eglesford.
After Me-
nev. Gab.
Aethelwen-
dus. Flor.
Wigorn.
Annal. Sax.
Ranu ph.
Ceiti. Poly-
chron.
G. Malmib.
l. 1. c. 1.

Hengist
takes the
Title of King
of Kent.
Bede.
Ann. Sax.

457.
The Battle
of Creca-
ford.
Gildas.
Bede, l. 1.
Hen. Hun-
tingd. l. 2.
Sax. Ann.

The Britons
desire the
Assistance of
the King of
Armorica,
by the Advice
of Guithelin
Archbishop
of London.
G. Monm.
Hist. l. 6.

458.
Ambrosius
lands with
10,000 Men.
G. Monm.

Ambrosius
and Guithelin
conspire
the Ruin of
the two Bri-
tish Kings.

They accuse
Ambrosius
of aspiring to
the Crown.

Civil Wars
among the
Britons.

458.
Battle of
Catwaloph.
Bede, l. 1.
c. 22.
Hunting-
l. 2.

A Band of
Britons flee
into Holland.
Joh. Leyden.

465.
The End of
the Civil
Wars.
Nennius.

(1) All Historians agree not in this Point. Some will have it that he voluntarily made his Son Partner with him. *Rapin*.

(2) Now *Aylesford*.

(3) He was buried at *Ilsted*, so call'd from him.

(4) He was buried near *Aylesford*, where four great Stones stand end-end, with others across them, like *Stone-enge*. *Camden*.

(5) *R. Huden* expressly says, that *Hengist* got the Victory, p. 223.

(6) Now *Crayford*, from the River *Creca* now *Crece*. See *Camden*. *Rapin*.

(7) Perhaps the Town now call'd *Kydavilly*; Lat. *Catguilia*. *Lambard's Dr. Topogr.*

N. 2. V O L. I.

one another by the *Roman High-way*, called afterwards *Watling street* (1). From hence may be dated the beginning of the Reign of *Ambrosius*.

The *Saxons*, upon the Union of the two Parties, join'd their Forces also. In the first Engagement, *Hengist* lost *Wipped*, one of his principal Officers, from whom the Field of Battle was called *Wipped's-Fleet* (2). Here the *British* and *Saxon* Historians, according to Custom, give us contradictory Accounts. The last say, their Countrymen obtained that Day a signal Victory. Whereas the others affirm, that *Vortimer*, who commanded the Army, routed the *Saxons*, and compelled *Hengist* a second time to fly into *Germany*. But it appears by what followed, that the Advantage was on the Side of the *Saxons*. I will even venture to say, contrary to the Opinion of some noted Historians, that in all likelihood *Hengist* never returned to *Germany*. Not so much as one Author marks either the Time or Place of his second Landing, tho' they were no less necessary to be observ'd than *Those* of his first.

In this War it was, that the famous *Arthur*, at fourteen Years of Age, made his first Appearance in the *British* Armies, under *Ambrosius*. His Inclination for War made him take upon him betimes the Profession of a Soldier, which he never quitted during his Life. He succeeded *Gorlous* his Father in the Kingdom of *Danmonium* (3) in 467. He was no sooner on the Throne, but he had a War to maintain against *Howel* King of *Areclute* (4), in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. This Prince is said, out of Envy to the Glory *Arthur* had acquired, to enter into an Alliance against him with the *Saxons* in the North. But instead of lessening his Reputation, he served to increase it considerably. *Arthur* beating him back to the Isle of *Mona*, gave him Battle, and slew him with his own Hand. He gain'd this Victory in 470, being then about eighteen Years old. We shall see him hereafter signalizing himself by Actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his Country.

The War continuing between the two Nations, a Battle lost by the *Britons* in 473, put their Affairs in extreme Disorder, and gave the *Saxon* Prince Opportunity of enlarging his Territories. At length *Vortimer*, the principal Promoter of the War, died in 475, poisoned, as some say, by *Rowena* his Mother-in-law, thro' the Suggestion of *Hengist* (5). The *British* Historians would fain make, at any rate, a Hero of *Vortimer*, by attributing to him many signal Victories over the *Saxons*. But the Growth of these last in Power and Dominion, notwithstanding their pretended Defeats, is a clear Evidence, that the Advantages of *Vortimer* were neither considerable, nor even real. His Death brought some Quiet to *Britain*, if a deceitful Calm, that prov'd the Ruin of the *Britons*, may be so call'd.

After a Twenty Years War, both Sides began to shew an Inclination for Peace, which *Vortimer* had always strenuously oppos'd, fearing when the War was over with the *Saxons*, he should be oblig'd to begin another with *Ambrosius*, who had the Hearts of the People, and could hardly bear to see *Vortigern*, and his Son on the Throne, though deprived of half their Dominions. The Peace was concluded, on condition each Party should keep what he possess'd. *Hengist*, who had entertain'd Hopes of conquering all *Britain*, was not a little concern'd to find himself so much disappointed. He comforted himself however with the Thoughts of doing by Policy, what he could not effect by Force.

When we reflect on the Weakness and Dispiritedness of the *Britons* before the Arrival of *Hengist*, it must be surprizing to see them able to stand against the *Saxons* in the first War, which lasted so long. Those very *Britons*, who after the Departure of the *Romans*, scarce dared to look the *Picts* and *Scots* in the Face, successfully defended themselves against both *Saxons* and *Picts*: Nay, they even frequently ventur'd to attack the *Saxons* in the Height of their Strength, and put them in fear of losing the Country of *Kent*, delivered to them by *Vortigern*. And if they could not wrest it from them, at least they prevented them from enlarging their Conquests. A long War teaches at length the most unwarlike Nation the Use of Arms, and very often enables them to repair in the End the Losses they sustain'd in the Beginning.

Had the *Saxons* invaded *Britain* at first with a numerous Army, in all Appearance they would have conquered the Whole in a very little Time. But sending over only a small Number of Supplies, they spun the War out to a great Length, and by that Means taught the *Britons* a Trade, which the *Romans* had done all they could to make them forget. Of This, there have been many other Instances. It may be said perhaps, that whilst they defended themselves in the South, they lost Ground in the North. But it must be considered, the Country beyond the *Humber* was lost to them, before the Coming of *Hengist*, and that the *Saxons* took it from the *Picts* and *Scots*, and not from the *Britons*. We are ignorant of what *Oeta* and *Ebuja* did during this long War. It is to be supposed they assisted *Hengist* by frequent Diversions, and even sent him Supplies by Sea, which they could not do by Land, because of marching through the Enemy's Country.

Hengist, After all his Hopes of becoming Master of *Britain*, saw himself with extreme Regret reduc'd to the Kingdom of *Kent*. He had acquainted the *Saxon* Princes in *Germany*, that, provided they sent him Supplies, he could easily procure them a lasting Settlement in the Island. And yet after twenty Years War, he found there was but little Appearance of his being as good as his Word. The falling off of *Vortigern*, and the Valour of *Ambrosius*, join'd to a Conduct which equalled him to the most famous Generals, seem'd to lay invincible Obstacles in his Way. However, he was resolv'd not to give over his Design, but endeavour to do That by Fraud which he could not accomplish by Force. To this end he contriv'd a Plot, that by its Blackness sullied the Glory of all his former Actions. As soon as the Peace was concluded, he pretended to be mighty well pleas'd with it, and behaved in such a manner as shew'd he had no Design of enlarging his Conquests. The *Britons*, charm'd with this seeming Moderation, were easily comforted for the Loss of *Kent*, imagining they knew the worst, and, perhaps, hoping one Day to meet with a favourable Juncture to recover it again. In the mean Time, not to provoke a Prince whose Valour they had so often experienced, they lived in an amicable manner with him. In short, their Animosity against the *Saxons* by degrees entirely vanish'd. *Hengist* omitted nothing to keep them in a Security, which would lead them into the Snare he was preparing for them. He let them know, his Intention being to live in perfect Union with them, he should be glad from Time to Time to keep up the good Understanding between the two Nations by Parties of Pleasure. *Vortigern*, a passionate Lover of such Diversions, joyfully accepted his Proposal, and went so far as to pay him the first Visit, accompanied with 300 of his principal Subjects. *Hengist* receiv'd them seemingly in a very respectful and cordial Manner, which charmed the *British* Lords. His Entertainment was splendid, and nothing was wanting to divert them. But towards the End of the Feast, the Scene was changed. *Hengist* had order'd Matters so, that having artfully rais'd some Subject of Dispute, at a certain Signal given, the *British* Lords were all murder'd (6). *Vortigern*, because *Hengist* had need of him, was only made Prisoner. In vain did he complain of this base Treachery; he could not obtain his Liberty without delivering up to the *Saxons* a great Tract of Land bordering upon *Kent*, with which *Hengist* enlarg'd his narrow Territories. This was afterwards divided into three Provinces, called by the *Saxons*, *Suffex*, *Effex*, and *Middlesex*, which Names they retain to this Day. Moreover, not content with this Acquisition, *Hengist* ravaged the neighbouring Country in a merciless Manner, and became Master of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Winchester*.

The Indignation of the *Britons* at this barbarous Action was so great, that they could not look upon a *Saxon* without Horror. But this fatal Event was attended with farther Consequences. *Vortigern*, as he had given his Subjects, more than once, cause to think him a Friend to the *Saxons*, was reckon'd an Accomplice in the Massacre, since he alone was spar'd. And therefore they all deserted him, and acknowledged *Ambrosius* (7) for their Sovereign, except a few Friends, who were of little Service to him in his sinking Condition.

(1) The *Romans*, for the more convenient going from Colony to Colony, had their publick Highways called *Via Consulares*, *Pratoria*, *Regia*, &c. but by *Ride* and the *Moderns*, *Strata*, or *Streets*. (Hence the many *Strettons*, i. e. *Towns on these Streets*). There were four in *England*, *Watling-Street*, *Icknild-Street*, *Ermin-Street*, and *Foss-way*. Two of these Ways are extended cross the Breadth of the Kingdom, the other two thro' the Length of it. The Tracks of these four Ways, are, and have been, for many Ages, very obscure; and it is not yet sufficiently clear'd, where any one of them distinctly went. *Brady*, p. 41. *Hist. Eng.*

(2) *Wipped*: *flautum*. See *Glossar. Saxon*. In all probability *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*. See *Langborn*. *Camden* thinks it was in the Isle of *Thanet*, but that could not be. *Rapin*.

(3) *Cornwall* and *Devon*. There were several petty Kings dependant on the chief Monarch. *Rapin*.

(4) Or *Alclud*. This Kingdom contain'd Part of *Cumberland* and *Lenox*. *Dunbritton* was afterwards the Name of the Capital. *Camd.* p. 918.

(5) He was buried at *Lincoln*. *Nennius*, c. 46.

(6) The Signal was, *Nimede cure Seaxes*, (i. e.) *Pull out your Daggers*. *Stillingfleet* doubts the Truth of this Fact, because *Witekind* relates one like it that happen'd in *Germany*. But it might be repeated in *Britain*. *Rapin*. This Massacre was committed on the 1st of May. *Higd*. In Memory of it, *Ambrosius* is said to have built *Stonehenge* near *Salisbury*. *G. Monm.* l. 8. As it has been justly wonder'd at how Stones of twenty or thirty Tons could be rais'd so high as they are, it won't be amiss to give the Reader Mr. *Rowland's Hypothesis* in his *Mona Antiqua*. Small Mounts were thrown up with sloping Sides and level at the Top. Up these Sides with great Leavers and Pullies by little and little they roll'd and heav'd up the Stones they design'd to erect; then laying them along on the Top of the Hillock, they dug Holes in the Earth at the End of the Stones, as deep as the Stones were long, into which they let them slip trait on Ends with their Tops level with the Tops of the Mount, then placing other Stones upon these, and taking away the Earth almost to the Bottom of the Supporters, there appear'd what we call *Stone-henge*, *Rollrick* or *Cromlech*.

(7) *Barinius* confounds *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, with another *Aurelian*. *Rapin*.

476. *Ambrosius*, as soon as he saw himself sole Monarch of the Britons, assum'd the Imperial Purple, after the manner of the Roman Emperors, creating at the same Time Prince *Arthur*, who had signaliz'd himself in the War by many brave Actions, a *Patrician* (1). Could Britain have been sav'd, it would doubtless have been so by these two great Princes, who had all the Qualities of the most celebrated Heroes in an eminent Degree. But its Fate was determin'd. This noble Country, was destin'd to undergo an extraordinary Revolution, and become a Prey to the Saxons. All that *Ambrosius* and *Arthur* could do was to put off its Ruin for a Time.

Mean while, *Hengist* was not a little perplex'd to see his Country quite dispeopled; for the Inhabitants refusing to live under a Prince that had given such evident Proofs of his Treachery and Cruelty, retir'd in Crowds into the other Provinces; so that his new Dominions were of no Use to him there not being Hands enough to cultivate the Lands.

In this Perplexity, he resolv'd to send for *Ella*, a Saxon General, from Germany, promising Part of the Territories granted him by *Vortigern*. *Ella* receiv'd the Offer with Joy, and shortly after arriv'd in Britain, with his Sons *Baldulphus*, *Colgrin*, and *Ciffa* an Infant. He landed his Troops at *Whitering* in *Suffex*, but not without Opposition. The Inhabitants of the Country rising to prevent his Entrance, he became not Master of the Shore till after a long Battle. At length he drove the Britons as far as the Forest of *Andredswald* (2), at that Time 65 Miles in Length, and 30 in Breadth. The Retreat of the Britons gave the Saxons Opportunity to settle by degrees along the Coast and towards the *Thames*. During the nine Years they were employ'd in extending their Conquests in those Parts, they had continual Wars with the Britons, the Particulars whereof are unknown. We are only told that the Saxons, settled along the southern Coast, were call'd *Sud* or *South Saxons*, and their Country *Suffex*. *Hengist* took care to strengthen himself, in the best manner he could, in the rest of the Country given him, and planted Colonies of his own Countrymen. Those that were seated to the East were called *East Saxons*, and their Country, *Essex*. The Country between *Essex* and *Suffex*, was term'd *Middlesex*. As for *Kent*, it retained its ancient Name, the only one perhaps the Saxons did not alter.

Hengist having thus settled Matters, gave those Soldiers, that desir'd it, leave to return into Germany. At their Arrival on the Continent, they built the Castle of *Leyden*, which is ascrib'd to *Hengist* himself by a Dutch Poet, as well as by several others, who were of Opinion that he went back into Germany (3).

The Britons were not then in a condition to think of recovering the Provinces usurp'd by the Saxons. Harra's'd by almost continual Wars for 60 Years together, it was time to breathe a while. However, they were griev'd to see the Saxons so firmly settled in the Country, and in a Capacity of strengthening themselves, by the Convenience of sending, whenever they pleas'd, for fresh Supplies from Germany. But they were forc'd to be patient, till their almost quite exhausted Forces were repair'd. Accordingly, without any previous Truce or Treaty of Peace, both Sides lay quiet for nine Years. *Hengist*, no less than the Britons, had need of some Respite, to put the Affairs of his Kingdom in order. During this Interval, *Ella* gain'd Ground, the Britons not daring to oppose him, for fear of giving *Hengist* a Pretence to renew the War, which it was their Design to avoid.

The Britons having had time to recover their Strength, began to solicit *Ambrosius* to take up Arms. They represented to him, "That the longer the Saxons were left in " quiet, the stronger they grew: That since the War " ceas'd, Britain abounded with young Soldiers, fit to " fight for their Country; if this Opportunity therefore " was let slip, they might perhaps expect another in vain." *Ambrosius* told them, "he was convinc'd, as well as " they, of the Necessity to exert their utmost to expel the " Foreigners, but there was no hopes of succeeding as long " as *Vortigern* was alive; That although he was old, and " in appearance incapable of acting, he had a powerful " Party, that would not fail of raising new Disturbances " as soon as the War broke out: That they had found by " fatal Experience, ever since the Arrival of the Saxons, " he had always favour'd them." In fine, "he put them " in mind, that all their Losses were owing to their Divi- " sions, and as these Divisions still prevail'd, it was to no " purpose to expect any better Success." He concluded with saying, "they had but one of these two Ways to

" take, either to let the Saxons remain in quiet till *Vortigern's* Death, or to rid themselves of that domestick " Enemy, and unite their Forces against the Foreigners." Such was the Hatred of the Generality of the Britons against *Vortigern*, that they resolv'd immediately upon the latter of the two Methods, and with one Consent, prepared to put their Resolution in practice with all possible Secrecy and Expedition. *Vortigern* so little expected to be attack'd, that he was like to have fallen into the Hands of *Ambrosius*. He had but just time to throw himself into a Castle in *Wales*, where he was not very secure. *Ambrosius* willing to complete his Work, instantly went and besieg'd him, being resolv'd not to let him escape. During the Siege, the Castle, whether by Accident, or the Engines of the Besiegers, taking Fire, was burnt to Ashes, and the unfortunate *Vortigern* perished in the Flames. This was the End of that Prince, advanced to a great Age, after a troublesome Reign of forty Years. He had, besides a Daughter, three Sons by his first Wife, *Vortimer*, *Catigern* slain in a Battle with the Saxons, and *Pascentius*, of whom I shall speak hereafter. By his Daughter, whom he debauch'd, he had a Son nam'd *Faustus*, who pass'd his Life in a Monastery, where he was distinguished for his Piety.

Ambrosius being thus rid of a very formidable, as he ever thought, and hated Rival, renewed the War against the Saxons, which had been interrupted by the Weakness of both Parties, and the Divisions of the Britons. The Particulars of this War, after its renewal, are very imperfectly known: But considering the Valour and Activity of the two Generals, it may be supposed to have been very sharp. Historians relate but one remarkable Event, namely, the signal Victory obtained by *Ambrosius*, in the Year 487, over *Ella* and his two eldest Sons. This is properly the first Victory the Britons could indisputably boast of, whatever their Historians say to the contrary. This Defeat obliged the Saxon General to retire to his strong Holds, in expectation of fresh Supplies, sent for from Germany.

Hengist lived not to see the End of this War. He died in 488, aged about 69, of which he had pass'd 39 in Britain, and 33 on the Throne of *Kent*, (4). He cannot be denied the Glory of being one of the bravest and most prudent Generals of his Time. It were to be wish'd for the English, that the Founder of their Monarchy had not, as I may say, cemented his Throne with the Blood of so many British Lords, whom he treacherously murdered. An Action that must leave an indelible Stain on his Memory. Had it not been for this, his Reputation would have been uncommon, since by his Conduct and Valour he happily accomplished a Design, the Execution whereof was extremely difficult. Besides *Kent* given him by *Vortigern*, and considerably enlarged by the Acquisition of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, he was in possession of some Lands in *Lincolnshire*, where he built *Thong Castr*. The Saxons beyond the *Humber* acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign. He left two Sons, *Escus* who succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Kent*, and *Andoacer* who staid in Germany.

After the Defeat of *Ella*, about a Year before the Death of *Hengist*, *Escus* had sent him into the North, to assist *Oeta* and *Ebuja* against the Britons. But as soon as he had Notice of his Father's Death he hasten'd to *Kent* to take Possession of the Kingdom. In the mean Time *Ambrosius* improving his Victory, retook *London*, *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, seiz'd by the Saxons, after the Massacre of the British Nobles. *Escus*, wanting the Qualities of his Father, never endeavour'd to recover these Places, but prefer'd his Ease before the Fatigues of War. In all Probability he obtain'd a Truce, since in the three following Years, there is no mention of any Hostilities on either Side.

During this Calm, *Arthur*, who had all along assist'd *Ambrosius*, finding his Presence was not absolutely necessary in his own Country, made a Voyage to Jerusalem. *Ambrosius*, in the mean while, by the Assistance of *Samson* Bishop of *Dol*, whom he had sent for from *Armorica*, and made Archbishop of *York*, regulated the Affairs of the Church, that were in extreme Disorder by reason of the foregoing Wars.

The Truce or Discontinuance of the War lasted but three Years. The Northumbrian Saxons beginning to stir in 491, *Arthur*, who was return'd from his Voyage, march'd against, and defeated them. At the same time *Ella* having receiv'd a strong Reinforcement from Germany, went and besieg'd *Andred-Ceaster* (5), situated in the Forest of *Andred's Wald*. The Resistance of the Besieged, and an Army of the Enemy posted on an advantageous Ground,

(1) P. *Arthur* must have been created a *Patrician* by *Ambrosius*, since there was then no other Emperor in the West. *Odoacer* King of the *Herali* reigning then in Italy, had never any Pretensions to Britain. *Rapin*. See *Nicholson's Histor. Librar.* p. 35.

(2) *Andredswald*, as *Camden* says, was 120 Miles long. It is now called *Wald* or *Wild*. *Camd.* p. 166.

(3) *Quem circumdato, mœnium ut ambitu,
Sic arcuatis fornicibus novum,
Potatur Hengistus, Britanno
Orbe redux, posuisse victor.* *Deusa. Rapin.*

(4) Some British or Welsh Writers tell us, *Hengist* was taken Prisoner and beheaded by the Britons. *G. Monm. M. Westm.* But the Saxons unanimously assure us he died a natural Death. *Rapin.*

(5) In Latin, *Anderida*. In the Reign of *Edw. I.* a little Town called *Newenden* was built in the same Place. *Rapin.* *Sumner* takes *Anderida* to be *Pemsey* or *Hastings*, in *Suffex*. *Hist. of Rom. For.*

made him lose a great deal of Time. But at length, after a vigorous Defence, the Town was carried by Storm, and entirely destroy'd. Immediately after this, *Ella* assum'd the Title of King of *Suffex* or of the *South-Saxons*, which he durst not do while *Hengist* was alive. This Second *Saxon* Kingdom contain'd the present Counties of *Suffex* and *Surrey*. *Ella* was also elected Monarch or General of the *Saxons* in the room of *Hengist*. For it must be observ'd altho' *Hengist* was only King of *Kent*, yet was he consider'd also as Head of all the *Saxons*, according to the Custom of that Nation in *Germany*, where, in time of War, they had always their General in Chief, accountable only to the States. This same Custom the *Saxons* continued in *Britain*, and always elected a General, whom some Writers stile *Monarch*, because, as we shall see hereafter, he was Head over several Kings. In all appearance, *Hengist's* Son thought himself incapable to discharge this High Office, since he suffer'd *Ella* to be invest'd with it.

494. About two Years after, *Arthur* defeated the *Northumbrian Saxons* again, on the Banks of the River *Dugles* (1), where he had routed them three Years before.

495. The Year 495 was very remarkable for the Arrival of *Cerdic*, a *Saxon* General, not only upon the Account of his Conquests, but chiefly because from him the Kings of *England* are descended, in the *Male* Line, down to *Edward the Confessor*, and in the *Female*, down to the illustrious Prince, who now sits on the Throne. If we trace him higher, we find, by the *Saxon* Annals, that he sprung from *Woden*, the Root of all the principal Families of the *Saxons*. He was famous also for founding a Kingdom to which all the rest in the end became subject, and consequently, he is to be look'd upon, if not as the first, at least as one of the principal Founders of the *English* Monarchy. This warlike Prince having acquired great Reputation in *Germany*, and finding no farther Employment there, resolv'd to seek his Fortune in *Britain*, where he knew many Families of his Nation had already establish'd themselves. To that purpose he equip'd five Vessels, and taking his Son *Cenric*, advanc'd to Man's Estate, with him, now sail'd for *Britain*.

Ella, as I said, brought with him his three Sons *Baldulph*, *Colgrin*, and *Cissa* who was very young; and the two Eldest treading in their Father's Steps, bravely assist'd him. They are call'd by some *Cismentius* and *Plentigus* (2). *Oëta*, Commander of the *Saxons* in the North, having been frequently defeated by *Arthur*, and perceiving himself too weak to guard all his Conquests, had divided them into two Parts, of which the Southern was called *Deira*, and the Northern, *Bernicia*. He had committed the Care of the First to *Baldulphus* and *Colgrin*, reserving *Bernicia* to himself to defend it against the continual Attacks of the *Northern* Nations. *Colgrin*, after the last Defeat of the *Northumbrians* by *Arthur*, had shut himself up in *York*, where *Arthur* immediately went and besieg'd him. Nevertheless *Baldulphus* having been inform'd of *Cerdic's* Design of coming to *Britain*, was gone into *Norfolk* to expect his Arrival, and favour his Landing. But *Cerdic's* Arrival being delay'd by some Accident, *Baldulphus* march'd back towards *York*, with intent to relieve it. He was met upon the Way by *Cador*, Nephew to *Arthur* who defeated him, and dispers'd his Army in such a manner, that he was forced to make his Escape all alone, disguis'd like a Peasant (3). In that Dress he safely reach'd the Walls of *York*, and making himself known, was drawn up with a Rope. The News he brought of *Cerdic's* being about to arrive from *Germany* with powerful Supplies, infilling new Life into the Besieg'd, they continued to make a vigorous Defence. *Arthur* push'd the Siege briskly, in Expectation of taking the Town before the Arrival of the *Saxon* Prince. All this while *Cador* was in *Norfolk*, ready to oppose the Landing of the *Saxons*. But before *Arthur* had made any considerable Progress in the Siege, he receiv'd the ill News of *Cerdic's* landing at *Yarmouth* (4), and beating the Forces sent against him. Upon which he raises the Siege, and retires to a Place of Security, till he could learn the exact Number of the *Saxons*, which Fame had exceedingly multiplied. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* marching out of *York*, committed great Devastations in *Lancashire*, whilst the *Britons* were dismay'd and terrify'd at the Arrival of *Cerdic*. So great was their Terror, that *Arthur* thought fit to keep at a Distance from the *Saxons* for some Time, for fear of not being able to inspire his Troops with Resolution enough to look these formidable Enemies in the Face. But this was not All that followed upon the Arrival of *Cerdic*.

Pascentius, Son of *Vortigern*, having long concealed his secret Disgust at not having any of his Father's Dominions assign'd him, laid hold of this Juncture to obtain what he thought his Due. With the Assistance of those that, like *Nennius*, him, were displeased with the Advancement of *Ambrosius*, he drew some Forces together, and being joined by *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, was reinforced by many of his Friends in *Wales*. *Ambrosius* being grown sick and old, *Arthur* took upon him to chastise the Rebel, and marching against him, gave him Battle, and entirely routed him near the little River *Dugles* (5).

The next Year, *Arthur* in the same Place gained another Victory, and so warmly pursued the *British* Prince, that he forced him to submit and sue for Pardon. *Pascentius* got more by his Submission, than by his Arms. For besides his Pardon, it procured him the possession of *Brecknock* and *Radnor* (6) in *Wales*, which being erected into a Kingdom, his Posterity enjoy'd it for many Years. I imagine that his Father *Vortigern's* private Demerits lay in those Parts, and that *Ambrosius* did but give him the Lands belonging to his Family before *Vortigern* was King. If he invest'd him with Sovereignty, it was only to give him some Satisfaction concerning his Pretensions to the Crown of *Britain*.

About this Time the *Saxons* in the North conquered the little Kingdom of *Galway* (7) from *Galvan* Nephew of *Arthur*. This Country, now part of *Scotland*, had remained in the Hands of the *Britons* and withstood the continual Attacks, as well of the *Saxons* as *Picts*. *Galvan* having lost his Dominions, retired to his Uncle *Arthur*, to whom he was very serviceable in his Wars.

Shortly after, *Porta* lands at *Portland* (8), so call'd from him with fresh supplies of *Saxons* from *Germany*. This at a Time the *Saxons* began to be superior, oblig'd *Arthur* to quit the Field and retire to *London*. Tho' he had generally the better of the *Saxons* in all their Encounters, yet his Troops were considerably diminished; whereas the Enemy's Forces were continually increasing by fresh Recruits from *Germany*. Nay whole Bodies, under the Conduct of famous Leaders, came over to *Britain*, in order to procure a Settlement, or for the sake of Plunder only. *Arthur*, who had not the same Supplies, would have been reduced to Extremity, without the Assistance of *Hoel* King of *Armorica* his Nephew. This young Prince, greedy of Glory and glad of an Occasion to signalize himself in the Service of his Uncle, put himself at the Head of 15000 Men, and landed at *Southampton*. With this Aid, *Arthur* went and attacked the *Northumbrians*, grown formidable by the Valour of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, their Leaders, and meeting them in *Deira*, obtained a compleat Victory over them. The two *Saxon* Brothers not being in condition to withstand him after their Defeat, had no other Course to take, but with the Remains of their Army to join *Cerdic*, then besieging *Lincoln*. But *Arthur*, fearing the Loss of that Place, followed them with Speed, and surprized *Cerdic* in so sudden a manner, that not being able to continue the Siege, or raise it, without Danger, he was constrained to hazard a Battle (9), which proved fatal to the *Saxons*. *Cerdic* being defeated, was forced to betake himself to the Forest of *Celidon*, where having suffered great Hardships, he at length found Means, tho' with great Difficulty, to retire towards the Western Coasts. Some Historians assure us, that seeing he must inevitably perish if he staid in a Place where he could neither have Provisions, nor hope for Assistance, oblig'd himself by a Treaty with *Arthur* to return into *Germany* with the Remains of his Troops. They add, that being embark'd with Intent to perform his Promise, he altered his Mind at Sea, and came and landed at *Toston* (10) in the *West*. However this be, *Cerdic* certainly remained in the Island, and lay quiet for some Time, having lost in the Battle above 6000 Men.

After *Cerdic's* Defeat, all the *Saxons* were equally concern'd to oppose the Progress of *Arthur*, who, like an able General, wisely improved his Victories to the utmost. The Dread he struck them with, made them resolve to unite all their Forces, and endeavour to retrieve their Affairs. They were sensible that by dispersing their Forces in several Parts, they endangered in one Place what they had got in another, which was never the Way to procure a lasting Settlement. Wherefore *Efcus* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Suffex*, *Cerdic*, *Porta*, the *Northern Saxons* assembled all their Troops, and conferr'd the Command in Chief on *Cerdic*. The Infirmities and Old Age of *Ella*, who had been Monarch ever since 492, were probably the cause of his not heading the Army at this

(1) In *Lancashire*, near *Wigan*.

(2) So call'd by *British* Writers, but by the *English* ones, *Cymen* and *Plating*, from whom *Cymenestere* in *Suffex*. *Rapin*.

(3) *Idem* in *History*, says *Conf. Mon.* l. 9. c. 1.

(4) He landed at a Place call'd *Cerdic's-Ora*. *Sax. Ann.* which according to *Canden*, was near *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*; but according to others, near *Southampton*. See *Ep. Gild.* Giff. at the end of *Sax. Ann.*

(5) Near *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, or by the River *Dug* or *Due* in *Lancashire*. *Tyrr* p. 135.

(6) In *British* Books, and *Vortigern* Maur.

(7) In Latin, *Galliedia*. *G. Maim.* calls it *Walentia* and *Walentia*.

(8) The *Sax. Ann.* and *Itinerary*, p. 312. and *Max. Wilm.* p. 182. say, he landed at *Portsmouth* with his two Sons, *Bieda* and *Magla*. It does not appear that any Writer says he landed at *Portland*. See *Itiner.*

(9) By the River *Dugles*, which is supposed to run by *Bisfen*. *Tyrr* p. 135.

(10) *Itinerary*, p. 312. *Idem* in *Itiner.* says *Mat. Westm.* p. 186.

time. *Cerdic* having divided his Troops into two Bodies, gave the Command of the least to *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, and headed the other himself with his Son *Cenric*. While the Saxons were employed in making Preparations, the Britons were exerting their utmost to raise an Army capable of withstanding so powerful Enemies. In this pressing an Occasion, where they had need of all their Forces, those that could bear Arms came in Crouds, and lifted themselves under their Generals. So that it was thought on both Sides a decisive Battle would quickly ensue. *Ambrosius* called here by Historians *Nazaleod*, though very old, and almost past the Time of Action, could not see all these Preparations without having his Courage rous'd, which Age seem'd to have lain asleep. He put himself at the Head of his Army, and detaching *Arthur* to follow *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, who were marching towards the West, resolv'd to go in quest of *Cerdic*. *Arthur*, every where victorious, coming to an Engagement with the Saxon Brothers in *Cornwal*, obtain'd a signal Victory over them (1).

580. While this great General was causing the Arms of the Britons to triumph in those Parts, *Ambrosius* advanced towards *Cerdic*, who had no thought of retiring. The two Armies being engag'd, *Ambrosius* broke through the right Wing of the Saxons, commanded by *Cerdic*, and put them to rout. But whilst he was eagerly pursuing his Victory against a Body that made but a faint Resistance, *Cenric* had the same Advantage over the right Wing of the Britons, which he more wisely improv'd. Instead of losing Time in pursuing the Run-aways, he flies to the Assistance of his Father, and falling upon *Ambrosius* in Flank, puts him in irreparable Disorder. By this prudent Conduct, he gave *Cerdic* Time to rally his Troops, and complete the Victory by an entire Defeat of the Britons.

Ambrosius, vex'd to see the Victory snatch'd out of his Hands, did all he could to renew the Fight. In spite of Age and Infirmities, he threw himself among his Enemies in order to animate his Troops by his Example. But all his Efforts serv'd only to crown his glorious Life with an honourable Death. The fall of *Ambrosius* caused an universal Rout among the Britons, who precipitately abandon'd the Field of Battle to their Enemies. The Success of that Day was, by the publick Acknowledgment of his Father, attributed to *Cenric*. This Battle was fought in 508, near a Place call'd by the Saxons, *Cerdic's-Ford* (2).

Before I proceed any farther, it will be proper to observe, that the Name of *Nazaleod*, given by Historians to the British Monarch slain in this Battle, has made some imagine it was not *Ambrosius*. But the Opinion of *Camden* and several other good Writers, who assert the contrary, is doubtless to be prefer'd. All the Historians agree that *Ambrosius* fell in Battle. Now after the beginning of this Prince's Reign, there was no other Battle except this, wherein a British Monarch was slain. Besides, Historians would not have omitted to mark the Time of the Death of so famous a Prince, had it happen'd in some other Action.

Arthur was elected Monarch in the Room of *Ambrosius*. He was doubtless the fittest Person to command the Army, his very Name being terrible to the Saxons (3). Between *Ambrosius* and *Arthur*, some Writers place *Uther Pendragon*, who, they affirm, was *Arthur's* eldest Brother, and both of them Sons of *Ambrosius*. Others will have it that *Arthur* was Son and Successor of *Uther*. But they that are most vers'd in the English History, maintain that *Uther* was only a Surname given to the great *Arthur* on account of his Victories, the Word being capable of that Sense in the old British Language.

Arthur, after his Coronation at *Caerleon*, which he had retaken from the Saxons, march'd against the *Northumbrians*, and defeated them on the Banks of the little River *Ribroyt* that runs through *Lancashire*. This is reckon'd his Tenth Victory over the Saxons. In the mean time *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, invading the Western Parts, made such Devastations, that he was oblig'd to leave *Northumberland*, and march against the two Brothers. However, he left *Hoel* his Nephew in *Bernicia*, to oppose the Saxons there, who, though often beaten, were still formidable. His usual Success attended him. The Saxon Brothers being compell'd by him to come to an Engagement, were routed near *Cadbury* in *Somersetshire* (4).

511. Mean while, *Cerdic* having receiv'd fresh Supplies from the Saxon Princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid Siege to *Bath*. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* having joined him also, with what Troops they could draw together, his Army was

so strong, that he wish'd the Britons would attempt to raise the Siege. His Wishes were accomplish'd. *Arthur*, resolving to hazard All to save that Place, came and gave him Battle, which proved the bloodiest that had ever been fought between the two Nations. It lasted from Noon till Night, without any visible Advantage to either Side. Both Armies kept the Field, waiting for the Day, to renew the Fight. The Saxons, during the Night, posted themselves on a little Hill, call'd *Bannesdown*, which was of great Importance, tho' it had been neglected by both Sides the Day before. As soon as it was light, *Arthur*, perceiving the Advantage the Saxons had gain'd by seizing that Post, was resolv'd to dislodge them, which he effected after a long and obstinate Fight. The Britons, animated by the Presence and Valour of their King, perceiving, the Saxons in retreating down the Hill had put themselves in some Disorder, press'd them still more vigorously, and at last entirely routed them (5). They gained, on this Occasion, a most complete Victory. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* were both slain, and *Cerdic*, with the Remains of his Army, retired to an inaccessible Post.

An unexpected Event gave the Saxons time to breathe, and prevented *Arthur* from improving his Victory. The *Picts*, who were in Alliance with the Saxons, knowing *Arthur* to be at a Distance, and his Nephew *Hoel* sick at *Argente*, resolv'd to besiege that Town, in Expectation of taking it before it could be reliev'd. But *Arthur* was too quick for them. Instead of pursuing his Advantage upon *Cerdic*, he flew to the Assistance of the King of *Armorica*, and compell'd the *Picts* to raise the Siege. The British Monarch was so provok'd with the *Picts* for this Diversion, which came so opportunely for the Saxons, that he ravaged their Country from one End to the other, and would have entirely destroy'd it, had not the Bishops by their Intercession diverted him from his Purpose.

During this Expedition, died *Gueniver* Wife of *Arthur* who was buried in the County of *Angus* (6). As she had no Children, the Women of the Country fancied, All that walk'd over her Grave, would, like her, be barren. For which Reason great Care was taken to hinder the young Damsels from approaching it. *Hoel*, after this Expedition, return'd to his own Country, the Victory of *Badon* having secur'd *Arthur*, for some time, from any Attempts of the Saxons. *Arthur*, in his Return from the Country of the *Picts*, made some Stay at *York*, which the Saxons had just abandon'd since the Battle of *Badon*. His chief Intent was to regulate the Affairs of the Church, which were, from the time the Saxons had been Masters of that City, in great Confusion.

Efus King of *Kent* died in 512, memorable only for leaving his Name to all his Successors, Kings of *Kent*, who from him were call'd *Efcingsians*. He was succeeded by his Son *Oda*.

Two Years after died *Ella* King of *Suffex*, and Monarch of the Saxons, having enlarg'd his narrow Territories at the Expence of the Britons, during a Reign of twenty three Years. His two eldest Sons having been slain at *Badon*, *Cissa* the youngest succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Suffex*; but the Monarchy of the Saxons was conferr'd on *Cerdic*.

Cerdic, ever since the Battle of *Badon*, had lain quiet in his own Country, expecting a Supply from Germany, which arrived in 514, under the Conduct of *Stuff* and *Withgar* his Nephews (7). Upon this he took the Field again, and committed great Devastations in the Country of the Britons (8). *Arthur*, tho' weaken'd by his own Victories, not having the same Recruits as the Saxons, made however powerful Struggles to oppose the Progress of this formidable Enemy. The many and bloody Battles between the two Nations did not decide the Quarrel, since Victory inclin'd sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on the other. But at length in 519, *Cerdic* defeated the Britons in such a manner, as made them despair of ever driving out the Saxons (9). Wherefore, *Arthur* saw himself under a necessity of taking other Measures. As he found his Army irreparably destroy'd, he thought it more prudent to conclude a Peace with *Cerdic*, and grant him a Part, rather than hazard the Whole of his Dominions, by endeavouring to deprive him of All. This Consideration moved him to surrender by Treaty a certain Tract of Land, containing the present Counties of *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*. The Saxon Prince was pleas'd with these Terms, being desirous after so long a War, of enjoying some Repose in his declining Age. As soon as he was in Possession of his new Territories, he founded the Kingdom of *Wessex*, or of the *West-Saxons*, so call'd because it lay West of *Kent* and *Suffex*.

(1) Near *Gainsford*, says Dr. Gale in his Notes upon *Nennius*, p. 131.

(2) Occur'd in *Hampshire*. There were 5000 Britons slain with him. Sax. Ann.

(3) *Arthur* signifies a horrible Bear, or an Iron Hammer, from the British Word *Arth* a Bear. Still. Orig. Brit.

(4) Rightly Mistake, says in *Cornwall*.

(5) *Mainfray* says, *Arthur* slew 400 with his own Hand, p. 7. *Uther* places the Battle of *Badon* in 520; but *Langbeine's* Opinion, who places it in 511.

(6) In *Wessex*.

(7) They landed at *Cerdic's* *Ora* with three Ships. Sax. Ann. In *occidentali parte Britanniæ* with two Ships, says *M. Weslm.* p. 184. So that *Cerdic's* *Ora* was probably *Cupet*, or near it, in *Hampshire*. *Gibson's* *Origines* at the End of the Annals.

(8) *Fortitudo* *Cerdici* *pacta* *et* *terribilis*, *poterat* *Britannos*, *et* *insuetudine* *magna*. H. Huntingd.

(9) At *Chandford* in *Hampshire*. Sax. Ann. Hunt. p. 213.

He was crown'd at *Winchester*, twenty three Years after his Arrival in *Britain* (1). Thus by his Valour and Perseverance, he procur'd himself a Settlement in the Island, as well as his Countrymen *Hengist* and *Ella*.

Arthur took this Opportunity to rebuild some of the Churches destroy'd by the preceding Wars, and to repair, as far as lay in his Power, the Damages Religion had hitherto sustain'd.

From the time *Hengist* had peopled *Essex* and *Middlesex* with Saxons and *Jutes*, they had been govern'd by a Deputy under the King of *Kent*. But in 527 *Erchenwin*, descended from *Hoden*, assum'd the Title of King of *Essex*, or of the *East-Saxons*. This Kingdom lying Eastward of the other three, contain'd the two Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, of which *London* was the Capital. Who *Erchenwin* was, how long he had been in *Britain*, and what Right he had to this new Kingdom, Historians inform us not. I suppose he was Governor under *Ossa* King of *Kent*, and taking advantage of his Weakness, engag'd the People to acknowledge him for King.

About this time Multitudes of *Angles* under the Conduct of twelve Chiefs, all of equal Authority, but whose Names, except *Uffa*, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter,) are unknown; landed at some Port on the Eastern Coast of *Britain*, where, without much difficulty, they possess'd themselves of some Port; those Parts being ill guarded by the *Britons*. In time, as they were continually enlarging their Conquests towards the *West*, they compell'd the *Britons* at length to abandon the Country along the Eastern Shore. The *Angles*, thus situated, had an Opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh Colonies from *Germany*, with which they founded a fifth Kingdom, by the Name of the Kingdom of *East-Anglia*, or of the *East-Angles*. But as their first Chiefs assum'd not the Title of King, the Beginning of this Kingdom is generally brought down to the Year 571.

During the eight Years Peace between *Arthur* and *Cerdic*, the King of *Armorica* being disturb'd by the Rebellion of *Frollon*, one of his Subjects, sent to his Uncle *Arthur* for Aid. As *Britain* was then in a State of Tranquillity, *Arthur* would go in Person, and assist the King his Nephew. To that end he pass'd into *Armorica*, where he revenges *Hoel*, by slaying *Frollon* with his own Hand in the first Battle they fought.

Arthur was still with *Hoel* when the *Angles* arriv'd in *Britain*. His Absence very probably gave them an Opportunity of making greater Progress than they would have done, had he been in the Country. *Cerdic* also taking Advantage of *Arthur's* Absence, and of the *Angles*, broke the Peace, and made some farther Conquests. He was constantly attended by his Son *Cenric*, who bravely seconded him in all his Undertakings, and by his Valour and Conduct caus'd him to gain a signal Victory in *Buckinghamshire*, at a Place call'd *Cerdic's Lega*, now *Cherdsley* (2).

Arthur at his Return found his Affairs in extreme Disorder, by reason of *Cerdic's* new Conquests, and the Arrival of the *Angles*. However, perceiving himself unable to renew the War with his Enemies, whose Number was continually encreasing, he chose to make a new Treaty with *Cerdic*. Immediately after this Treaty, *Arthur* is said to assume the Title of Emperor, of which his Seal found at *Westminster* is pretended to be a Proof. *Leland* says, he saw the Impression of it on red Wax, with these Words round it: *Patr. Arthurius. Britann. Gall. Germ. Dac. Imper.* that is, *Patricius Arthurius; Britannicus. Gallicus. Germanicus. Dacicus. Imperator*. These proud Titles perhaps were the Occasion of ascribing to him so many pretended Victories in foreign Countries, and of styling him Conqueror of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Dacians*. But whether this Seal be genuine or not (3), there is Foundation enough for these Titles from the Exploits now related of this Prince. He might be call'd *Britannicus* from his being Monarch of the *Britons*. The Title of *Gallicus* might be owing to his Expedition into *Gaul*. The Surname of *Germanicus* was no less proper, since he frequently defeated the *Saxons*, who came from *Germany*. Lastly, his being styled *Dacicus* might be founded on his Victory over the *Jutes*, who were mix'd with the *Saxons*, and by some have been confounded with the *Danes* and *Dacians*. Be this as it will, if he assum'd the Title of Emperor, as it is very likely, since *Ambrosius* did the same, the four different Times of his attaining to the four several Dignities, must be carefully distinguish'd. 1. He mounted the Throne of *Danmonium* in 467, at fifteen Years of Age. 2. In 476, he was created *Patrician* by *Ambrosius*. 3. In 508, he was elected Monarch of *Britain*. 4. In 528, he assumed the Imperial Purple. These *Epocha's* thus distinguish'd, remove, in great measure, the Confusion in the History of this great Prince, with respect to *Chronology*.

Hoel, King of *Armorica*, was enjoying the Repose procur'd him by *Arthur*, when he heard that the *Wigath*, then in Possession of Part of *Gaul*, were preparing to invade his Dominions: Wherefore he desired *Arthur* to come, once more, in Person to assist him against so formidable Enemies, that were already Masters of Part of *Gaul*. How necessary soever *Arthur's* Presence might be in his own Kingdom, he readily gave *Hoel* this full Proof of his Affection and Gratitude. As he was like to be detain'd abroad some time by the Affairs of *Armorica*, he left *Modred* his Nephew, whom he design'd for his Successor Regent in his Absence, at the same time entrusting him with the Care of the Queen his Wife.

Arthur was no sooner gone, but *Cerdic*, taking advantage of his Absence, attacks and subdues the *Ile of Wight*, destroying almost all the Inhabitants in a cruel Manner. But this Loss was nothing to *Arthur*, in comparison of what shortly after follow'd by the Treachery of *Modred*, to whose Care he had committed what he held most dear. This Traitor, finding the Wife and Kingdom of *Arthur* in his Power, falls in Love with both, and not satisfied with debauching the Queen in private, publicly marries her. In order to avoid by a second Crime, the Punishment of the first, he resolves moreover to seize the Crown of his Uncle, his King, and Benefactor. The more easily to accomplish his Design, he judges it necessary to make *Cerdic* his Friend, and by his Means to gain all the rest of the Saxon Princes to his Interest. He was very sensible, it would be very difficult to support himself in his Usurpation, if he were immediately forc'd to engage in a War with the Foreigners. Besides, he could not find a readier or more powerful Protection. But the Saxon Prince not being of a Humour to neglect his own, for the sake of another's Affairs, *Modred* could not possibly obtain this Protection, without paying dear for it. However, as he had no other way to support himself, he resigns to *Cerdic* one part of the Dominions, usurp'd upon his Uncle, and enters into a League offensive and defensive with him. What the Saxon Prince got by this Treaty, lay extremely convenient for him, and vastly exceeded what was before given him by *Arthur*. It contain'd, besides Part of *Danmonium*, or *Cornwall*, the present Counties of *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Dorsetshire*. This, with *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*, which he was before possess'd of, render'd his Kingdom much larger and more considerable, than the three other Saxon Kingdoms already establish'd. The Treaty being executed, *Modred* was crown'd at *London*; those who privately abhor'd his treacherous Doings not daring to oppose it, for fear of being oppress'd, before the Return of their lawful Prince.

In the mean time, *Cerdic*, after having much enlarg'd his Dominions, was incumber'd with his Greatness. As most of his Subjects were *Britons*, on whose Loyalty he could not wholly rely, he believ'd it necessary, in order to preserve his new Dominions, to people them with Saxon Colonies. To that end he sent Word into *Germany*, that All who were willing to come and settle in his Kingdom, should meet with great Encouragement. This Invitation induces a great many of the *Saxons* and *Jutes* to embrace the present Opportunity. Soon after, above eight hundred Vessels are seen to arrive, freighted with Families in quest of Settlements, in *Cerdic's* new Kingdom. These Colonies were joyfully receiv'd and planted in Habitations, from whence *Cerdic* took care to drive such *Britons* as he most suspected, especially upon the Frontiers. Thus *Britain* was fill'd by degrees, with new Inhabitants, and began to lose the Superiority in Number she had hitherto had above the Foreigners.

Cerdic having settled these New-Comers, was crown'd a second time at *Winchester*, the Metropolis of his Dominions, by the same Title of King of *Wessex*, or of the *West-Saxons*, that he had before assum'd. This Ceremony was thought necessary, by reason of the great Number of his new Subjects, *Saxons* and *Jutes*, that were lately added to the old. This Kingdom was very advantageously situated, being bounded on the North, by the *Thames*; on the West, by the *Severn*; on the South, by the Sea; and on the East, by the Kingdom of *Sussex*. As for the *Britons* that were still in possession of the greatest Part of *Danmonium*, they could not be very formidable to *Cerdic*, being divided from the rest of their Nation by this new Kingdom and the *Severn*.

Cerdic was but too well acquainted with the Valour and Activity of *Arthur*, to imagine he would sit still at his Retreat; and therefore us'd all his Endeavours to put himself in a Posture of Defence. To that end, he repairs all his strong Holds, adds new Works, and takes all other Precautions his Prudence suggests to him, not to be surpriz'd when he comes to defend his Dominions. Every thing being put in order, he rewarded his Nephews *Stuff* and *Witgar*, who

(1) Some place this Fact sooner, some later. *Rapin*.

(2) *M* confound this with the Battle of *Badon-Hill*. *Rapin*.

(3) There is great Reason to suspect its Genuineness; very probably it was the Impression of some Mark of *Gold*. See *Nichols's Hist. Library* p. 31.

who had faithfully served him ever since their Arrival, with the *Isle of Wight*. As in all likelihood they were *Jutes*, *Cerdic*, in the Distribution of his new Colonies, had taken care beforehand to people that little Island with their own Countrymen (1).

534. Thus *Cerdic* was prepared against the Attacks of *Arthur*, *The Death of* when Death took him out of the World in the Year 534, *Cerdic*, sixteen Years after his first Coronation, and thirty-nine after his Arrival in *Britain*. He must have been of a great Age when he died, for thirty-nine Years before, *Cenric* his Son was able to assist him in his Wars. The Time this Prince passed in *Britain* was a continued Scene of good and bad Success, which serv'd equally to shew his Ability to improve his Advantages, and to repair, with a wonderful Readiness, the Disorder his Affairs were frequently thrown into by the Fortune of War. *Cenric*, his Son, the faithful Companion of all his Labours, succeeded him, both in the Kingdom of *Wessex*, and also in the Monarchy or Generalship of the *Saxons* and *Angles*. *Cerdic's* Successors were surnamed *Gewisians*, from *Gewis*, one of their Ancestors, famous no doubt in his Generation.

The same Year died *Oëta* King of *Kent*, after a Reign of twenty two Years, wherein nothing remarkable occurs but the dismembring of the Kingdom of *Essex*, which he, for some unknown Reason, did not think fit to oppose. He was succeeded by his Son *Hermenrick*.

535. *Arthur*, after a four Years Absence, at length quitted *Armorica*. We are ignorant of the Cause of his long Stay there, so very prejudicial to his Affairs, which at his Arrival were in a desperate Condition. *Modred* was in possession of his Throne, and moreover in strict Alliance with the *Saxons*. On the other hand, these last being now Masters of good part of the Island, were led by their own Interest to support the Usurper, and maintain him on the Throne. However, *Arthur*, tho' broken with Age, and almost destitute of Friends, resolv'd to undertake the Recovery of his Kingdom, and to punish the treacherous *Modred*. This bold Resolution rous'd the Courage of those that dar'd not at first to declare for him. A great Number of Officers and Soldiers, who could not bear the Thoughts of fighting against him that had taught them to conquer, deserted the Usurper, and came and lifted themselves under the Banner of their lawful Prince. Thus *Arthur* saw himself on a sudden at the Head of an Army capable of making *Modred* uneasy, if not by the Number, at least by the Bravery of the Troops, and the Valour and Experience of the Leader. *Modred*, on his part, omitted nothing for his Defence. As he was not ignorant of the People's Inclination to his Uncle, he had reason to apprehend a general Defection; and therefore had strengthen'd himself with the Assistance of the *Saxons*; and upon the same Account made an Alliance with the *Picts* (2). He easily engag'd the *Picts* to his Interest, since they passionately desir'd to be reveng'd of *Arthur*, who had formerly carried Fire and Sword into their Country. Thus *Arthur*, with a handful of Friends, was forc'd to stand against the *Saxons* and *Picts*, in conjunction with the *Britons* that sided with *Modred*. But the want of Numbers was supplied by his Courage and Experience. Tho' his Troops were much inferior to those of his Enemy, he found Means however to engage him in a very disadvantageous Post, and obtain a signal Victory. In this Action he lost *Galvan* and *Angusel*, two Princes of his Blood, who had faithfully serv'd him both in Prosperity and Adversity.

and defeats
Modred.

537. *Arthur* gains a second Victory over *Modred*. nothing material, it will suffice, I believe, to relate the Issue. *Modred*, tho' constantly worsted, found means to prolong the War seven Years, without *Arthur's* being able to destroy the Usurper, much less wrest out of the Hands of the *Saxons*, what had been surrender'd to them. During this War, there happen'd two Eclipses of the Sun, which credulous Historians have expressly remark'd, fancying they were Presages of the utter Ruin of the *Britons*, which fell out soon after.

542. The Superiority of *Modred's* Forces being balance'd by the Valour and Experience of *Arthur*, the War had now lasted seven Years without any thing decisive. *Modred*, tho' several times vanquish'd, was still at the Head of a very numerous Army. On the other hand, *Arthur*, tho' extreme old, and with an Army weaken'd by the several Battles he had given his Enemy, supported himself by his great Experience in the Art of War. At last the fatal Blow was given in the Year 542. *Arthur* pursuing his Enemy from place to place, drove him to the Extremity of *Dannonium*, where he could not avoid fighting. This last Battle was fought by the River *Cambalon* (3), near *Camelford*. It prov'd fatal to

the two Leaders, as well as to all the *Britons*, who having lost their best Troops, were never after able to stand against the *Saxons*. During this bloody Battle, the Uncle and Nephew happening to meet, rushed upon one another so furiously, that nothing but Death could part them. *Modred* was slain upon the Spot, and *Arthur*, mortally wounded, was carried to *Glassenbury*, where he died, aged 90 Years, 76 of which he had spent in the continual Exercise of Arms. Tho' he had reigned but 34 Years, yet before he mounted the Throne, he had long commanded the *British* Armies under *Ambrosius*. Some have put an Interval of several Years between *Ambrosius* and *Arthur*, because they were at a loss where to place their *Uther Pendragon*, whom they will have, at any rate, to be a King different from *Arthur*. But the best Authors are of Opinion, that the Name *Uther*, signifying in *British* a Club, was given to the great *Arthur*, for the same reason that *Charlemain's* Grandfather was call'd *Martel*, or *Hammer*. As to the Surname of *Pendragon*, it owes its Origin, as 'tis pretended, to *Arthur's* wearing a Dragon on the Crest of his Helmet.

Arthur was undoubtedly a great General. It is pity his Actions have serv'd for Foundation to numberless Fables, that have been publish'd concerning him: whereas his Life was worthy of being recorded by the gravest and most able Pen. He is said to have instituted the Order of the *Knights of the Round Table*, so famous in *Romances*. Tho' this Institution has given occasion for many fabulous Relations, it is not therefore to be deem'd altogether chimerical. For where is the Improbability that *Arthur* should institute an Order of Knighthood in *Britain*, when we learn from the Letters of *Cassiodorus*, that *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, instituted one in *Italy* in the same Century?

Such was the Love and Esteem of the *Britons* for this Hero, that many would never believe he was dead. Nay, there were some for several Ages after, that imagining he was travell'd into foreign Parts, expected his Return (4). This would seem incredible, had there not been, in the 10th Century, an Instance of the like Folly with regard to *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal*. It is this perhaps that gave occasion to some Writers, desirous of pleasing the *Britons*, to invent *Arthur's* Travels and numberless Victories in foreign Countries. The Titles of *Germanicus*, *Gallicus*, *Dacicus*, assum'd by that Prince, might serve for Foundation to such Fictions. These pretended Voyages and imaginary Victories, have prov'd an inexhaustible Fountain of absurd and ridiculous Things, ascrib'd to him by the Writers of *Romances*. Hence it is, that his History has been so disfigur'd, as to cause many to doubt, whether there was ever such a Man as *Arthur* in the World; and no wonder, for it is impossible to reconcile all the Contradictions that occur in his fabulous History. But if we distinguish Truth from Falshood, and reject what favours too much of the *Romance*, we meet with nothing in the Life of this Hero, unbecoming the Character of a great Prince. The Times of his Life and Reign are so confounded by these fabulous Writers, that they are very difficult to be clear'd, and therefore Recourse must be had to the four several *Epochs* before-mention'd. He was born at *Tindagol* in *Cornwall* in 452, or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the Monastery at *Glassenbury*, by *Gueniver* his second Wife. He had two others of the same Name, the first died in the Country of the *Picts*, and the third prov'd false to him. By this last he had a Son call'd *Noem*, who died an Infant. *Arthur* when he was about to expire, sent his Crown to *Constantine* his Cousin, Son of *Cador*, and Grandson of *Ambrosius*, declaring him his Successor; which must be understood only of *Dannonium*, for the Monarchy of *Britain* was extinct by his Death. It is pretended, that his Body was found whole and entire in *Glassenbury* Monastery in the Reign of *Henry II*, with the visible Marks of ten Wounds, one whereof only seem'd mortal. But what is said of his Stature is unquestionably fabulous, namely, that the Distance between his Eye-brows was a Span, and the rest of his Body in Proportion. We have the particular Names of his Arms in the antient *Romances*. His Shield was call'd *Pridwin*, his Lance *Ron*, and his Sword *Caliburn*. This last was presented in 1191 to *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, by *Richard I.* King of *England*.

Uther de
Prim. &c.
Giral.
Camb. in
Spec. Eccl.
12. c. 11.

Reg. de
Hovden.

After *Arthur's* Death, by whose Valour and Experience the Affairs of the *Britons* had been supported, they were no longer able to resist the *Saxons*. Indeed, the *Saxons* had been great Sufferers too in the frequent Battles between the two Nations: but the Circumstances of the two Parties were unlike. Whatever Loss the *Saxons* sustained, it was soon retrieved by means of their continual Supplies from *Germany*. But it is easy to perceive, the *Britons*, being destitute of foreign Aid, must have been drained by the incessant Wars they had main-

(1) There were a number of *Jutes* also in *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Suffex*. *Rapin*, who was buried there. *Sax. Ant.*

(2) He engag'd in his Party, the *Saxs*, *Picts*, and *Irish*; so that there was an Army of 80,000 Men to oppose *Arthur's* Landing, according to *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 1. 11. c. 1.

(3) *Cam* signifies according to *Saxon*. It is call'd also *Camel*.

(4) *Historians* assure us, this Nation was not entirely rooted out till his Tomb was found in the Reign of *Henry II*. 600 Years after his Death. *Rapin*, Occultavit se Rex meretriciosus etiam tanto insultant inimici, amicum meliorantur. Unde quoniam de morte *Arthur* vel ejus sepultura nihil reterunt, h. e. tunc, *Gens Britonum* quoniam adhuc vivit pre magnitudine dilectionis contendit. *M. Wefm.* p. 192.

tained since the Departure of the *Romans*. Nay, they could not make use of all the Soldiers *Britain* might have supply'd them with; for many of their Countrymen, seeing no End to their Miseries, were fled for Refuge to the *Picts*, or into *Armorica*. Such Numbers retired to *Armorica*, that by their Junction with the *British* Families long before settled there, they became more numerous at last than the Natives. Hence 'tis pretended, that this Province of *Gaul*, called *Armorica*, that is, *Maritime*, by reason of its Situation, took the Name of *Bretagne* from the great Number of *Britons* that fled thither. *Argentre*, who wrote the History of that Country, pretends, *Armorica* was antiently called *Bretagne*, and that the Inhabitants sending Colonies into *Albion*, gave that Island the Name of their own Country (1). It is probable indeed, the *Armoricans* peopled some part of *Great-Britain*; but in all that this Author alleges in proof of his Assertion, there is no sufficient Reason to shew, that, before these Colonies, *Armorica* was called *Bretagne*, much less, that the *Armoricans* altered the old Name of the Island of *Albion*.

As soon as it was rumoured in *Germany* that *Arthur* was dead, and the dismay'd *Britons* had neither Power nor Courage to defend themselves, great Numbers of People resolv'd to go over and settle in *Britain*. *Ida*, by Nation an *Angle*, and descended from *Woden*, having embark'd on board forty Vessels, abundance of Families of his own Countrymen landed at *Flamborough* in *Yorkshire*, then in Possession of the *Northumberland Saxons*, who received them as Friends. The *Northumbrians*, so called from inhabiting *North* of the *Humber*, had maintained themselves in that Country ever since the time of *Hengist*, and had all along been in some Dependence on the Kings of *Kent*. They had often favour'd the Enterprizes of their Countrymen in the Southern Parts, by frequent Diversions, which had several times drawn into the *North* the Arms of *Ambrosius* and *Arthur*: but tho' frequently defeated, they had however kept Possession of these *Northern* Countries, without its appearing how they were governed from the Death of *Oeta* and *Ebussa* to the Year 547. *Ida*, when he first arrived in their Country, (whether he had made an Agreement with them before he left *Germany*, or they were tired with being in Subjection to the Kings of *Kent*, from whom, by reason of their Distance, they could expect no Assistance) found them ready and willing to obey him. It may be, they were not in condition to oppose *Ida*, who had brought with him a strong Army. However this be, *Ida* was acknowledged for Sovereign of the *Northumbrians*, as well as of the *Angles* his Followers, under the Title of King of *Northumberland* (2). The Readiness of the *Saxons* to mix with the *Angles*, and obey a King of that Nation, confirms what I have elsewhere observed, That the *Saxons* and *Angles* were in *Germany* but one and the same People. The Name of the *Saxons* still remains in *Germany*, whilst that of the *Angles* is entirely lost; and on the contrary, this latter is perpetuated in *Britain* where the former is almost forgotten. *Northumberland* was the fifth Kingdom founded by the *Anglo-Saxons*. *Ida*, the first King, was a Prince of great Fame; and yet as he established himself without any Obstacle, there is but one particular recorded of him in History, and that is, his building the City of *Bebbanburgh*, so called from his Queen *Bebba*. This City, after many Years, was destroy'd: however there still remains the Castle of *Bamborough*.

The Memoirs concerning the Settlement of the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Britain*, are so short and imperfect, that it is impossible to frame a regular History of them. We must therefore be satisfied with a certain Number of Facts transmitted to us; by the Help whereof, the Thread of the History may, in some measure, be pursued.

In the Year 552, notwithstanding their weak Estate, the *Britons* made an Effort to recover part of their Lands from *Cenric* King of the *West Saxons*, but were repuls'd with great Loss near *Salisbury*.

We find also in the *Saxon Annals*, (3) that three Years after two Sons of *Medred*, by the Assistance of the *Saxons*, attempted to dethrone *Constantine*, to whom *Arthur* had bequeath'd the Kingdom of *Danmonium*. But *Constantine*, being better prepared than they expected, not only put them to rout, but pursuing them to *Glaffenbury*, stabb'd them himself in the Arms of the Abbot, who interceded for them in vain (4).

Ida King of *Northumberland* died in 559, having reigned twelve Years. Tho' the profound Peace he enjoyed during his whole Reign, gave him no Opportunity of shewing his Valour, yet all the Historians agree, he was a most accomplished Prince (5). 'Tis pity we have not a fuller Account of his Life. After his Death, *Northumberland*, for some

unknown Reason, was divided into two Kingdoms. *Adda*, Son of *Ida*, was King of *Bernicia*, or the *Northern* Part, and *Alla*, descended from *Woden*, of *Deira* or the *Southern* Part. *Ida* left twelve Sons, half by Wives and half by Concubines, who formed several Branches, as may be seen in the Genealogy of the Kings of *Northumberland*, which the Reader should now and then take a View of, if he desires to understand fully the History of these *Saxon* Kingdoms.

The next Year *Cenric* King of *Wessex*, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, died, after a Reign of twenty-six Years. The Reputation he had gain'd during his Father's Life, made it believ'd he would push his Conquests farther. But when he was on the Throne, he shew'd no Signs of Ambition, and employed himself wholly in promoting Peace and good Order in his Dominions. He took up Arms but once to repel the *Britons*, who came and attack'd him. Of the four Sons he left, *Ceaulin*, the eldest, succeeded him both in the Kingdom of *Wessex*, and the Dignity of Monarch of the *Saxons*.

Ceaulin was no sooner on the Throne, but he formed vast Projects to enlarge his Dominions by new Conquests. He was an ambitious Prince, who, not content with the Privileges he was vested with as Monarch, considered the other *Saxon* Kings as his Vassals, pretending to keep them in a rigorous Dependence. As he was sensible it would be very difficult to obtain the Submission he expected from them, he made extraordinary Preparations, which alarmed both the *Saxon* and *British* Princes. The last especially could not but be in extreme Consternation, by reason of their deplorable State. After the Death of *Arthur*, they lived in a sort of Anarchy. What remained of their Country, was cantled out into little independent States, which weaken'd one another by the Discord that reigned among their respective Princes. The *British* Historians give such a Character of these petty Sovereigns, that the Nation in general could have but small Hopes of Assistance from any one, or all of them together. *Constantine* King of *Cornwall* was a cruel and bloody Prince, polluted also with abominable Lusts. *Aurelius Conan*, whose Kingdom lay eastward of the *Severn*, was guilty of Parricide, and reigned with unheard of Tyranny. *Vortipore* King of *Demetia* [or *South-Wales*] was overgrown with Pride; he gloried also in having no Religion, and persecuting the Clergy. *Cuneglas*, whose Dominions were *North* of *Cambria* (so the Country was called between the *Severn* and the *Western* Sea) was grown old in Vice, and famous for his wicked Deeds. *Maglocun* or *Malgo* (6) King of *Mona* or *Anglesey*, thought of nothing but pillaging his Neighbours and Subjects, and heaping up Riches by Rapine and Violence. In a word, *Britain* was in a terrible Confusion. After *Arthur's* Decease, every one liv'd as he pleas'd, and the Authority of the Tyrants was in Proportion to the License their Subjects were suffered to take. These Sovereigns were divided among themselves, and, as they had no Confidence in one another, could not agree upon proper Means to free themselves from the impending Calamities. Each therefore pursuing only his own Interest, the *Saxons* were left at liberty to establish themselves upon their Ruins.

Ceaulin's Preparations, however, rous'd them a little out of their Lethargy, and obliged them to think of their Disaise. To that end they chose *Malgo* to command them, purely for the Sake of his Giant-like Stature. But what could this unexperienced General have done, if the *Saxons* had united their Forces against him? He would have lost, perhaps, in a single Battle, what the Great *Arthur* had taken so much Pains to preserve. But happily for him and the *Britons*, the *Saxon* Monarch was possess'd with the Project of subduing his Countrymen first, so turned against the *Saxons* the Arms that should have been employed against the common Enemy. He could not discover his Designs, without incurring the Enmity and Jealousy of the neighbouring Princes. But as no one of them in particular was able to withstand him, his Kingdom being much stronger than any of the rest, each dreaded being oppress'd, should he declare against him singly. They were therefore by degrees forced to submit to a much greater Dependence on their Monarch or General, than their Laws and Customs required. Mean while, they grieved in private to be thus kept under, fearing withal that *Ceaulin's* Designs would extend farther.

At length, *Hermenric* King of *Kent*, dying in 564, *Ethelbert*, his Son and Successor, could not bear the proud and haughty Proceedings of the *West-Saxons*, which were the more grievous to *Ethelbert*, as being a Descendant of *Hengist*, he thought he had a better Right to the Dignity of Monarch than any other Prince. Prepossess'd with this Notion, he re-

(1) The first time we find the Name of *Bretagne* given to *Armorica*, is in the Subscription of *Marjactus* to the Council of *Tours* in 461, where he is now called *Britannicus*. After which time it was frequently call'd *Britannia*, *Cornwallia*, *Almer*, *Celtica*, &c. See *Council. Gall.* Tom. I. p. 126.

(2) The *Ida* was the first that took upon him the Title of King; yet there were *Saxon* Princes in that Country many Years before. *Tyr.* p. 142. *Malm.* p. 16.

(3) It is not in the *Saxon Annals*, but *Geograph. Min.* l. 1. c. 3. 4. and *M. Westm.* p. 192.

(4) *Historia de Legatione* l. 1. c. 1. on, or he fled to *Winton*, where taking Shelter in the Church of St. *Amphibalus*, he was slain before the Altar. The other took Refuge in a Monastery in *London*; but being found near the Altar was kill'd. *M. Westm.* p. 192. *Geoff. Mon.* l. 1. c. 4.

(5) *Ida* antea & nunc loci & gentis & divitiarum nobilitas, multum splendore generis contulit natalibus, adeo bello invictus, domi severitatem regiam gerens, omnia imperia sua, pacis, &c. *M. Westm.* l. 1. c. 3.

(6) *Ida's* Sister's Son, who fled with *Medred* against his Uncle. *Gild.*

7. *Ida's* first King of *Northumberland*. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd. C. 1. *M. Westm.*

537. *Ida's* first King of *Northumberland*. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd. C. 1. *M. Westm.*

Ida's first King of *Northumberland*. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd. C. 1. *M. Westm.*

552. *Cenric* King of the *West Saxons*. *Sax. Ann.*

555. *G. Malm.* l. 1. c. 1.

559. *Ida* King of *Northumberland*. *Sax. Ann.*

564. *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*. *G. Malm.*

solves to revive the Pretensions of the Kings of *Kent*, neglected by his Predecessors, and declares War with *Ceaulin*, not considering the Disproportion between his Forces and those of his Enemy. *Ceaulin*, disdainful to be attacked by a young Prince of no Reputation, marched towards *Kent* with design to prevent him, and meeting him at *Wibbandune* (1), entirely routed him. *Ethelbert* being defeated a second time, was totally disabled, and forced to sue for Peace. His Vexation at so unexpected a Disappointment, was increased by the Jefts of the other Princes, who rallied him for his Presumption. He had occasion for his Lesson, to teach him that Courage alone is not sufficient for War, but must be accompanied with Prudence and Strength. He improved so much by it, that he afterwards became one of the wisest and most illustrious Princes of his Nation. This was the first Civil War among the *Saxons*, which was followed by many more, caused by the Restlessness and Ambition of their Princes. As soon as they were out of Danger from the *Britons*, they quarrell'd among themselves, with such Animosity, that if another *Arthur* had appeared, the *Britons* might have recovered all they had lost. But Divine Providence had otherwise decreed.

Uffa, the only Survivor of the Twelve Chiefs of the *Angles* before-mentioned, assumed in 571 the Title of King of the *East-Angles*, and his Kingdom was called *East-Anglia*. As this was forty Years after his Arrival in *Britain*, he must have been of a great Age when crown'd. This was the sixth Kingdom founded by the *Anglo-Saxons* (2).

Ceaulin was so elated with his Success against *Ethelbert*, that he look'd upon the neighbouring *Saxon* Princes as his Subjects and Vassals. Indeed the King of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, being separated from him by a large Tract of Land possessed by the *Britons*, had not much to fear from his Ambition. But the Kings of *Kent*, *Essex* and *Suffex* were forced to submit to him, as superior to each of them in Extent of Dominions. After this he turned his Arms against the *Britons* with design to make new Conquests. I can't possibly relate the Particulars of this War, being very slightly pass'd over by the Historians. They only tell us, that *Cutha*, Brother of *Ceaulin*, frequently defeated the *Britons*, and would, in all probability, have very much enlarged his Brother's Dominions, had not Death snatched him away in the midst of his Victories (3).

Before this War was ended, *Uffa*, first King of the *East-Angles* died in 578, leaving his Crown to his Son *Titilus*.

Such was the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*, that the time of their utter Destruction seemed to approach. Pressed on the South by the *Saxons* of *Wessex*, *Suffex* and *Kent*; on the East, by those of *Essex* or *East-Anglia*; and on the North, by the *Northumbrians*; they were, in a manner, surrounded by their Enemies. There was, however, one Refuge left, which helpt to keep alive, for a while, their faint Expectation of being able to withstand so many Misfortunes. As the Necessity of their Affairs had formerly obliged them to send for the *Saxons* to defend them against the *Scots*, a no less pressing Occasion compelled them at this time, to implore the Assistance of the *Scots* against the *Saxons*. This Resolution being unanimously taken, Ambassadors were sent to *Aidan* King of *Scotland*, to engage him in their Quarrel. "They" represented to him, that their Ruin would infallibly draw "on his; for the *Saxons* had in view no less than the Conquest of the whole Island, great part whereof was now in their possession: That if these Foreigners should at length over-run what remained in the Hands of the *Britons*, the *Scots* were to expect no better Quarter than the *Picts*, who were already dispossessed of part of their Country." To this they added, "That the *Saxon* Monarch was an active and ambitious Prince, capable of forming Designs, the Consequences whereof were to be equally dreaded by all his Neighbours, if care were not taken in time to put a stop to his Progress." *Aidan*, prevailed upon by these Considerations, puts himself at the head of a powerful Army, and joins the *Britons*, in order to attack the common Enemy. *Ceaulin* having notice of his March, made all possible Speed to meet him, with what Troops he could assemble. But as the neighbouring Kings, his Countrymen, were not very forward to lend him Assistance, his Forces were far from being equal to those of the *Britons* and *Scots*. How great soever the Superiority of his Enemies might be, he courageously attacks them: But, after long disputing the Victory, his Army, overpowered by Numbers, is cut in pieces, his Son *Cuthwin* slain, and himself narrowly escapes. The *Britons* were so elevated with their Success, that they began now to form

Projects to drive the *Saxons* entirely out of the Island; but they were far from being able to put them in practice. The *Saxon* Princes, though well enough pleased to see *Ceaulin* humbled, thought it not for their Interest to let the *Britons* and *Scots* enjoy the Advantage they had gain'd by their Victory; and therefore soon put their Monarch at the head of a much more numerous Army than the former. Upon which impatient to be revenged, he goes in quest of his Enemies, and meets them without delay. In a second Battle, he repaid, by a signal Victory, his former Disgrace, and convinced the *Britons* of the Vanity of their Projects. *Aidan* retiring into *Scotland* after his Defeat (4), the *Britons*, who saw all their measures broken, thought only of preserving what they had left, content with dividing their Country with the *Saxons*, since they were unable to expel them. But Divine Justice that had long pursued them, was not yet satisfied. They were still to be reduced to greater Distress, and behold the best and richest part of their Island taken from them by a Nation whom God had chosen for the Instrument of his Vengeance.

Scarce were the unfortunate *Britons* recovered from their late Consternation, when a great Fleet appearing on their Coasts, quite sunk their Courage. This Fleet, the most considerable of any that had come from *Germany*, brought great Numbers of *Angles*, conducted by *Crida* a Leader of the same Nation, of the Race of *Woden*. I have not been able to learn where they landed, but probably it was in *East-Anglia*, and having marched thro' that Kingdom, they advanced towards the middle of the Island, upon the Territories of the *Britons*, who were unable to oppose their Arms. As *Crida* advanced in their Country, Disorder and Consternation increased among the miserable *Britons*. Some vainly projected to defend themselves, whilst others sought only to save their Goods, their Wives and Children, abandoning their Lands to the *Angles*. *Crida* taking advantage of their Terror, spread himself far and wide, and becoming Master of the Field, drove his frightened Enemies before him. In vain did they fly to their wall'd Towns; the want of Provisions for such Multitudes, soon compelled them to surrender at Discretion.

The *Britons* being unable to defend themselves against these new Invaders, supported by their Countrymen already settled in the Island, took the only course left them, and retired into *Cambria* beyond the *Severn*. They had no other Retreat, being pressed on all other Sides by the *Saxons* and *Angles*.

Their Flight put *Crida* in possession of all the Country lying between the *Humber*, the *Severn*, and *Thames*, by which he was bounded on the North, West, and South. To the East of him lay the Kingdoms of *Essex* and *East-Anglia*.

Out of all these Conquests, *Crida* formed a Kingdom larger and more considerable than any of the other six, by the Name of the Kingdom of the middle-*Angles*. This Kingdom was afterwards more generally called *Mercia*. *Crida* the first King was crowned in 584.

Cambria not being sufficient to contain so many Families, Multitudes of miserable *Britons* fled into *Armorica*, where great Numbers of their Countrymen were already settled. Others submitted to the *Saxons* or *Angles*, content to become *Hewers of Wood* and *Drawers of Water* for a wretched Subsistence. Those that remained in *Cambria*, a Country defended by Nature, kept their ground against all the Power of the Conquerors, who could not, till long after, extend their Conquests beyond the Mountains. This little corner of the Island, where the *Britons* were cooped up, was afterward divided into several petty Kingdoms, which were one while separated, another while united, according to the Ambition or Power of their Kings (5). Here I shall leave the *Britons* for the future, as making a State by themselves, and having no relation to the History of *England*, but what is commonly found between two neighbouring Nations. It is true they made from time to time several Attempts to recover what they had lost: But their Efforts proved ineffectual, as did the Endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to force them in these Retreats.

The *Saxons* gave the *Britons* the Name of *Gwallish*, or *Wallish*, that is, *Gauls*; taking them to be, as in all appearance they were, of *Gaulish* Extraction. For this reason *Cambria* was by them termed *Wallish-Land*; from whence came the Name of *Wales*, us'd by the *English* at this day, and chang'd by the *French* into *Galles*, upon account of their being derived from the *Gauls*. The *Walloons* also, and *Wallachians*, have still kept these Names, and in some Places in *Germany*, the *Italian* Tongue is called *Welsh*, because of *Gallia Cisalpina*

(1) *Wimbleton* in *Surry*.

(2) The Kings, his Successors were from him call'd *Uffings*. Hig. p. 224.

(3) Anno 571, *Cutha* defeated the *Britons* at *Bidford* (Bedford), and took from them the Towns of *Lyceanburh* (Layton Buzzard in Bedfordshire), *Avilbury* in Buckinghamshire, and *Reipreyten* and *Fyrbam* in Oxfordshire. Anno 587, *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* defeated the three British Kings, *Conmell*, *Conidan*, and *Furimail* at *Deorham* in Gloucestershire, and took from them *Gloucester*, *Gloucester* and *Bath*. Again, Anno 584, there was another Battle between the *Britons* and *Saxons* at *Fethardugh* (Fethard in Gloucestershire) wherein *Cutha* was slain; but however the *Saxons* got the Victory. *Cimnd.* p. 291, 293. Anno 591, there was another Battle between them, wherein the *Saxons* were beat; it was fought at *Widnesbirne* (Widnesbury or Wansdike in Wiltshire). *Cimnd.* p. 85, 100. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd. p. 315. *Malmsh.* p. 12. *M. Wilm.* p. 197, 198.

(4) Some say he was slain in the Battle. *Scoti-Chron.* Buchan. l. 5.

(5) The *Angles* possess'd the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*; as the *Saxons* the other four Kingdoms on both Sides the *Thames*.

inhabited by the Gauls. As for the Name of *Cambria* given by the native *Britons* to *Wales*, I suppose, that before the Arrival of the *Saxons*, the *Britons*, who called themselves *Cumri* or *Cumbri*, named their Country *Cambria*; and that after their Retreat beyond the *Severn*, the same Name which before was common to all *Britain*, became peculiar to *Wales*.

About the same time, the *Anglo-Saxons* unanimously agreed to call the seven Kingdoms in general by the Name of *England*, that is, the Country of the *Angles*. Whether this was done because the *Angles* were more numerous than the *Saxons* and *Jutes*, and possessed the largest and most considerable of the seven Kingdoms, or for some other reason, is uncertain. Perhaps *Engle-land* is only a Contraction of *Engle-Saxe-land*, a name derived from the two principal Nations that were settled in *Great-Britain*. But the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Irish*, were not fond of this change of Names. They continued to call the new Possessors of *Britain*, *Saxenag* or *Saxons*, and their Country *Saxeneage*. I suppose, as the *Saxons* were first known in *Britain*, the neighbouring Nations, accustomed to that Name, did not think fit to receive the Alteration introduced by the Conquerors.

I am very sensible that the Changing of the Name of *Britain* into that of *England* is generally ascribed to *Egbert* King of *Wessex*, about two hundred and fifty Years after the time I am speaking of. But this Opinion is founded on the Authority of an Historian that is far from being infallible (1). Others, who seem to go on much better Grounds, positively affirm, the Name of *England* was given to that Part of *Britain* conquered by the *Saxons*, a little after their Arrival in the Island; which may very well be understood of the Time immediately following the Arrival and Conquests of *Cerdic*. But how is it possible to extend this little after to the Reign of *Egbert*, which began not till the Year 800 (2)?

After the Death of *Ida*, and the Division of *Northumberland* before-mentioned, *Alla* reigned in *Deira*, and *Adda*, eldest Son of *Ida*, in *Bernicia*; who dying in 563, four Kings, all Sons or Brothers of *Ida*, successively filled the Throne of *Bernicia* till the Year 586, when *Athelric*, *Ida*'s youngest Brother, was placed thereon. But as he was very old, *Adelfrid* his Son held the Reins of the Government by his Father's Authority.

In the Year 587, *Ercenwin*, first King of *Essex*, died, after a Reign of sixty Years, and was succeeded by his Son *Sledda*.

Thus we have run through, in this Second Book, the most remarkable Events that happened in *Great-Britain*, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to their Establishment in the Island, during a War of 130 Years. We have seen the Efforts of the *Britons*, who, after a resolute Defence, were forced at last to give up their Country to the very People they had called to their Assistance. In the following Book, we shall see what passed in the *Heptarchy*, the Name given to the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, when considered as making but one Body under the same Government. The *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*, that conquered the best part of *Britain*, looking upon themselves as one and the same People, as they had been in *Germany*, established a Form of Government, as like as possible to what they had lived under in their own Country. They formed their *Wittena-*

Gemot, or Assembly of *Wise-men*, to settle the common Affairs of the Seven Kingdoms, and conferred the Command of their Armies upon one chosen out of the Seven Kings, to whom, for that reason, no doubt, some have given the Title of *Monarch*, on pretence of his having the Precedence and some Superiority over the rest. But to me that Dignity seems rather to have been like that of *Stadtholder* of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*. There was however some Difference between the *Saxon* Government in *Britain*, and that in *Germany*. For Instance, in *Germany* the Governor of each Province entirely depended on the General Assembly, where the supreme Power was lodged; whereas in *Britain*, each King was *Sovereign* in his own Dominions. But notwithstanding this, all the Kingdoms together were, in some respects, considered as the same State, and every one submitted to the Resolutions of the General Assembly of the Seven Kingdoms, to which he gave his Consent by himself or Representative. And therefore this Form of Government may be very justly compared to that of the *United Provinces*, each whereof is *Sovereign* and *Independent*, tho' they submit to the Determination of the *States-General*. A Free Election, and sometimes Force, gave the *Heptarchy* a Chief or Monarch, whose Authority was more or less, according to their Strength. For tho' the Person invested with this Office, had no Right to an unlimited Authority, there was scarce one of these Monarchs, as will be seen hereafter, but what aspired to an absolute Power.

If we enquire into the Causes of the Revolution that happened in *Great-Britain* by the Conquests of the *Saxons*, it must be own'd, in the first Place, that God was pleas'd by a just Judgment to punish the *Britons* for their enormous Crimes, from which, according to their own Historians, neither *People*, nor *Kings*, nor *Clergy* were free. Tho' the Divine Justice does not always punish, in a visible manner, every Nation guilty of the like Crimes, yet we must perceive the Hand of God, when it manifests itself upon a particular Nation, by such terrible Effects. But as the Divine Justice generally makes use of natural Means to execute its Designs, it is these chiefly we may and ought to look after. And first, it is plain, that the Dissention of the *Britons* was the principal Cause of their Destruction. Had they been more united, they would have better defended themselves against the first *Saxons*, and thereby, no doubt, discourag'd others from attempting to settle in their Island. In the next Place, their long Subjection to the *Romans* had enervated their Courage, and extinguish'd their natural Inclination for War. Lastly, they long wanted a General capable of conducting them and making them sensible they were no less Brave than other Nations. For how different a People did they seem to be under the Conduct of *Ambrosius* and the Great *Arthur*, from what they were when unable to defend themselves against the *Picts* and *Scots*? So great an Influence has the Good or Bad Qualities of Princes upon the Publick Affairs, and the very Manners of their Subjects, as is evident from the Histories of all Nations. We shall find in the Sequel, that the Civil Wars of the *Anglo-Saxons* were no less fatal to them, than Intestine Divisions had been to the *Britons*. They gave occasion to the Strong to oppress the Weak, and at length made way for One to subdue All the rest.

(1) *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*.

(2) *John* Bishop of *Chartres* says, *England* was so call'd from the first coming of the *Angles*; others from the Name *Hengist*, (a Notion probable enough, says *Selden*) whose Reputation, Wars, and Government, being first invested by *Vortigern* in *Kent*, are above all the other *Germans* most notable in the *British* Stories, and *Harding*

—He call'd it *Engestle's Land*,
Which afterwards was shorted, and call'd *England*.

As for the Word *Englismen*, 'tis us'd long before *Egbert's* Time, as may be seen in the *Saxon Laws*. And *Bede*, l. 2, c. 4. and l. 4, c. 1.



THE STATE of the BRITISH-CHURCH, FROM

The Arrival of the SAXONS, to the Retreat of the BRITONS into Wales.

*The History
of the British
Church, little
known.*

AFTER having seen what Calamities Britain was expos'd to by the Saxon Wars of 130 Years, a regular Account of the British Church is not to be expected during that Space. It is easy to perceive, that the Ecclesiastics, who were then the only Writers, were otherwise employ'd than in penning Histories. And tho' some might have found Leisure, it would have been difficult for their Writings to descend to us. We must therefore be satisfied with a few traditional Events, without Order or Connexion, since there is no exact History of the Affairs of the British Church, whilst she was thus grievously afflicted.

*Several
Schools
erected.
Bede, l. 1.
c. 17-21.*

Before the Arrival of the Saxons, Germanus Bishop of Auxerre came twice into Britain, as we have said, to extirpate the Pelagian Heresy, that had taken deep Root. This Prelate perceiv'd, in these his two Voyages, that the Clergy were no less ignorant than corrupted, and that their Corruption was chiefly owing to their Ignorance. To apply some Remedy to this Evil, he believ'd the most beneficial Thing he could do for Britain would be to erect Schools for the Instruction of Youth, and particularly for those that were design'd for the Service of the Church. Pursuant to this pious Resolution, he founded several, among which, those of Dubricius and Illutus were the most famous. Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaff, was made Archbishop of Caerleon, and Metropolitan of all Cambria. He had two Schools, where he taught himself, one at Henland, and another at Mockroft. Illutus taught at Llan-twit, that is, The Church of Illutus. There was also at Bangor in Cambria a famous Monastery where Youth were educated. It is not to be doubted that these Schools of Germanus were of great Benefit to Britain since they afterwards produc'd many illustrious Men, that govern'd the British Churches in the most perillous Times. Amongst the Advantages the Britons receiv'd from the Presence of Germanus, some reckon also the Change he made in the Publick Service of the Church, by introducing the Gaulish Rites and Ceremonies. This is almost all we know concerning the British Church, during the Time the Saxons were employ'd in their Conquests. I can only add a few Particulars relating to some Ecclesiastics famous for their Sanctity who flourish'd then in the Island; with which I shall close my Account of the Church of Britain, till the Conversion of the Saxons give me occasion to speak of the Church of England.

*Schools of
Dubricius
and Illutus.
Bede, l. 1.
c. 24.*

St. Patrick.

Patrick was one of the most remarkable for the Conversion of the Irish, which is generally ascrib'd to him, tho' Anatolius and Palladius preach'd in Ireland before him. In all Probability Patrick made the greatest Progress, and therefore the Irish did, and still do, reverence him as their Apostle and Protector. It is proper to observe, that there were three noted Men of this Name: Patrick the Elder, who died in 449, and is mention'd in the Chronicle of Glasfenbury Church: Patrick the Great, the Converter of the Irish, who died in 493, having govern'd the Church of Ireland 60 Years: Patrick the Younger, his Nephew, who surviv'd his Uncle some Years.

Dubricius.

Dubricius, Bishop, or rather Archbishop of Caerleon, was illustrious for his Piety, Learning, and the abovemention'd Schools; and lastly for his Synod at Brévi in Cardiganshire, against the Pelagians (1).

St. David.

David, Son of a British Prince, and Successor of Dubricius, remov'd the Archbishopial Seat from Caerleon to Menevia, from him call'd St. Davids. He was noted for his austere Life, and his Synod at Vittoria, where the Canons of Brévi were confirm'd. Several Miracles are attributed to

him, particularly his giving to the Bath-Waters the Virtues they still retain. He is said to have lived 146 Years.

Sampson the Elder and Sampson the Younger. The first Sampson being Bishop of Dol in Armorica, was sent for into Britain by Ambrosius, and made Archbishop of York. The second, of Royal Race, was made an Archbishop, without any particular See assigned him, with power to perform the Archbishopial Functions where-ever he came. The Saxon Wars forc'd him to return Home, where he was made Archbishop of Dol. He is said, when he left Great-Britain, to carry with him several Memoirs, that would have given us a more perfect Knowledge of the Affairs of the British Church, had they been carefully preserv'd.

Cadoc, Abbot of Llan-carnan, spent his whole Income, Cadoc which was very considerable, in maintaining 300 Priests. He lived to the Year 570.

Patern, of a noble Family in Armorica, having studied 20 Years in Ireland, came and settled in Cambria, where he usefully employ'd his Time in promoting Peace among the several Princes. He generally resided at Cardigan, where is still to be seen Llan-Badarn-vatur, that is, The Church of great St. Patern, which for some time was a Bishop's Seat. Patern died in his native Country, where he was so distinguish'd for Holiness of Life, that no less than three Festival-days were dedicated to his Memory.

Petroc, a Native of Cornwall, was famous for his Piety, Petroc and gave Name to Petroc-stow or Padstow in the same County (2).

Kentigern, Son to a Princess of the Picts, was Abbot of Kentigern, Glasgow, from whence he went into Cambria, and founding a Religious Society, return'd to his Monastery (3). His Austerities are mightily extoll'd, and particularly his strict Abstinence from Flesh.

Asaph, the Disciple of Kentigern, wrote his Master's Asaph Life, by whom he was made Abbot of the Monastery, founded in Cambria; he liv'd to the Year 590, and left his Name to the City of St. Asaph.

Columba, nobly descend'd in Ireland, founded there a Columba Monastery, call'd Dearmach, that is, The Field of Oaks, because situated in a Forest, some time after he came into Britain, to preach the Gospel in the Highland-Picts, of which they were yet ignorant. God was pleas'd so to bless his Labours, that he had the Satisfaction to see those Savages converted to the Christian Religion, with their King Bridiud, who gave him the little Island of Jona or Hy, call'd since Colchil, where he founded another Monastery that afterwards became very famous (4). These two Monasteries for a long Time supplied the Scotch Churches both in Ireland and Great-Britain, with Bishops and Priests. It is observable, that according to the Institution of Columba, the Abbot of Jona retain'd a Jurisdiction not only over several Monasteries which branch'd forth from that, but also over the Monks that went from thence to be Priests or Bishops. Bede's reason for this, is, because Columba the Founder was himself but a Priest. It might be added, that the Monks who had vow'd Obedience to the Abbot of Jona, when they came to be Bishops, did not think the Episcopal Character freed them from their Vow. This Instance somewhat perplexes the Sticklers for the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, who endeavour to get off, by alledging it was an ill Custom crept into that Country, against the general Practice of the Church throughout Christendom (5).

Gildas of Badon, or Bath, was Scholar to Illutus, and a Gildas Monk of Bangor Monastery. He was born in the Year of the Battle of Badon according to Usher in 520, but accord-

(1) Dubricius died in the Isle of Bardsey, in 522.

(2) He was buried at Bodmin.

(3) And there died in 560. Harps. c. 28.

(4) Jona Ha, Illi, or Columba-cyille, one of the Hebrides, two Miles in Length, and one in Breadth. Camden. "This Island was given by the Picts to the Scotch Monks, because they had received Christianity through their Preaching, about A. D. 565. The Monastery here, was for a long time the Chief of almost all those of the Northern Sects, and all those of the Picts, and had the Direction of their People." (Bede, l. 3. c. 3, 4.) There were in it two Monasteries, one of Monks, dedicated to St. Columba the Apostle of the Picts, (from whom this Island was called Columba-cyille: that was the See of the Bishop of the Isles; and the other of Nuns. (Camd. p. 1071. Buchan l. 1.) This Island is famous for the Burial of the ancient Kings of Scotland, forty-four of whom are said to have been buried there (Buchan. ibid.) This Account seems more authentick than that given by Bede. Bede. According to him this Monastery was founded, A. D. 379. when Maximus, or Maximian, having banished the Scots out of Britain, — Exulabant Christi sacerdotibus ac Monachis, quicunque Scotis erant nominis, quorum magna pars in Hebrides delata, in Jona insula sacrum constituitur Locum, &c.

(5) Bede says, speaking of Jona or Hy "This Island is always went to have for its Governor the Abbot or Presbyter, to whose Authority all the Princes, and even the Bishops themselves, after an unusual Order, ought to be subject, according to the Example of their first Teacher, who was never a Bishop, but a Monk." Bede, l. 3. c. 4. The Saxon Chronicle is more express, and says, "There must be always in Hy an Abbot, and

ing to my Calculation built upon Reasons, too long to be inserted, in 511. *Gildas* wrote a Treatise entitled, *De Excidio Britannie*, Of the Destruction of Britain, wherein he boldly censures the *British* Princes of his Time, that is, those who after the Death of *Arthur*, divided the Country into several petty States. From him chiefly it is, that we know what passed among the *Britons* about the Time he wrote, in 504. There is another History, or rather Romance, under the Name of *Gildas*, who is by some call'd *Albanian*, and suppos'd to be different from him I am speaking of. But the learned *Stillingfleet* asserts, they are Both the Works of one Author, and that there was no other *Gildas* but he of *Badon*.

Columbanus an *Irishman*, Disciple of *Congal* Abbot of *Bangor* in *Ireland*, pass'd great Part of his Life in *Britain* (1). From thence going into *Burgundy*, he founded the Abbey of *Luxeuil*, of which he was the first Abbot. Twenty Years after, *Thierry* King of *Austrasia*, and also of *Burgundy*, banish'd him his Dominions, for too freely censuring his Conduct, and forc'd him to fly to *Agilulph* King of the *Lombards*. At length he founded near *Naples* the Monastery of *Cobio*, where he died (2).

These were the most noted Ecclesiastics in the *British* Church, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to the Retreat of the *Britons* into *Cambria*. It is obvious we have the Names only of those that flourish'd in *Cambria*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*. As for the other Parts of *Britain*, we know nothing of what pass'd, with respect to Church-Affairs. We have not so much as the Names of the Bishops, except *Theon* and *Thadock*, Archbishops of *London* and *York*, who were forc'd also in the end to fly into *Cambria*. It is very likely, all the Monuments of the *British* Churches were destroy'd, where-ever the *Saxons* became Masters; and that it was not possible to preserve any but those of the Churches of *Wales*, where the *Saxons* could never penetrate. It is easy to imagine, that the Church was in a very mournful State, whilst the *Saxons* were exercising their Fury. These merciless Idola-

ters, as well out of Duty as Wantonness, not only trampled upon every thing relating to the Christian Religion, but let loose their Rage against the Christians themselves. *Gildas* and *Bede* have painted out their inhuman Proceedings in such a manner, as shows, their Barbarities were carried to the highest Degree imaginable. From the East to the West, says *Gildas*, nothing was to be seen but Churches burnt and destroy'd to their very Foundations. The Inhabitants were extirpated by the Sword, and buried under the Ruins of their own Houses. The Altars were daily profan'd by the Blood of those slain thereon. *Bede* who was a *Saxon*, and therefore not to be suppos'd to aggravate the Cruelties of his Countrymen, expresses himself thus: By the Hands of the *Saxons* a Fire was lighted up in *Britain*, that serv'd to execute the just Vengeance of God upon the wicked *Britons*, as he had formerly burnt *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. The Island was so ravag'd by the Conquerors or rather by the Hand of God, making use of them as Instruments, that there seem'd to be a continued Flame from Sea to Sea, which burnt up the Cities, and cover'd the Surface of the whole Isle. Publick and private Buildings fell in one common Ruin. The Priests were murder'd on the Altars; the Bishop with his Flock perish'd by Fire and Sword, without any Distinction, no one daring to give their scatter'd Bodies an honorable Burial.

To these mournful Descriptions may be added, that the *Britons*, who escap'd the Fury of their Enemies, not finding wherewithal to subsist in the Woods and Mountains, were forc'd at length to surrender to the Conquerors, deeming themselves happy in being able to purchase their Lives with the Loss of their Liberty. Some fled into foreign Parts, and those whom the Love of their native Country kept at home, and the Dread of Slavery prevented from submitting to the *Saxons*, dragg'd on a wretched Life, in miserable Want and perpetual Fear. It is therefore no wonder that the Accounts of the *British* Church are so imperfect, since the *Saxons* used their utmost Endeavours to destroy all the Monuments, that might have been preserv'd.

"and not a Bishop, and that all the Bishops of *Scotland* ought to be subject to him." Hence some have infer'd, that Bishops were not then thought so necessary, since the Abbot of *Hy*, without being ordain'd Bishop, exercis'd Episcopal Authority over those that were Bishops. To this *Usher* answers, "That this Authority of the Abbots of *Hy*, their exercising Jurisdiction over the Bishops of *Scotland*, was a Superiority of mere Jurisdiction, and not of Order; and cites the Annals of *Usher* to prove that a Bishop always resided in *Hy*." *De Brit. Ecclef. Ant.* c. 16. *Lloyd* proves, that *Columba* was ordain'd by *Finnian*, Bishop of *Meath* c. 5.

(1) He came into *Britain* in the Year 589.

(2) To these may be added, *Tahassin* the famous *British* Poet, whose Verses are preserv'd to this Day. *Tyr. p.* 144.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Concerning the most remarkable Events during the HEPTARCHY of the ANGLO-SAXONS, to its Dissolution, and the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. Containing the Space of Two Hundred and Forty Three Years.



THE Revolution caus'd by the Conquest of the *Anglo-Saxons*, introduc'd a new Face of Things in *Great-Britain*. The Country formerly inhabited by the *Britons* was now possess'd by Strangers. The very Names of the Towns and Provinces were chang'd, and the Country divided in a very different Manner

from what it was by the *Romans*. It will therefore be requisite, before we proceed to the Affairs of the *Anglo-Saxons* (which are to be the Subject of this third Book) briefly to show the State of *Great-Britain* after this Revolution.

Great-Britain, canted out into several Kingdoms, was shar'd among four different Nations, namely, the *Britons* or *Welsh*, the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Anglo-Saxons*. Under the *Britons* were compriz'd all those Foreigners, *Romans* or others, settled in the Island ever since the Reign of *Claudius*, who being incorporated with the Natives, became one People with them. The Descendents of these Foreigners were undoubtedly very numerous, it being the constant Policy of the *Romans* to diminish, as far as lay in their Power, the Natives of a conquer'd Country, and to send thither large Colonies either of *Veterans*, or of People taken from their other Conquests. As *Britain* had been in their possession four hundred Years, very probably they had not neglected, with Regard to that Island, a Custom they practis'd every where else. Before they left *Britain*, their Colonies were distinct from the Natives. But the War, carried by the *Picts* and *Scots* into the *Roman* Province, after *Honorius* had renounc'd his Right, and that of the *Britons* and *Romans* settled in the Island, with the *Anglo-Saxons*, so confounded them, that we don't find from thenceforward in any History the least Signs of Distinction between the *Roman* Colonies and *British* Natives. The *Britons* therefore, now retir'd beyond the *Severn*, are to be consider'd as a People compos'd of the ancient Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* and the *Roman* Colonies. The *Vandals* settled about *Cambridge*, were also reckon'd as *Britons*, and involv'd in the same Ruin with them. After the Establishment of the Seven Kingdoms

of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Britons* had nothing left but *Cambria*, and the *Western* Part of *Danmonium*. *Cambria* (the Name formerly of all *Britain*) was chang'd by the *Saxons* into *Wales*. As for *Danmonium*, it was, in all appearance, a *Roman* Name. The *Britons* call'd that Country *Kernaw*, from *Kern*, that is, in their Language, *Horns*, because of the many Promontories that shoot out into the Sea like Horns. Hence doubtless the *Saxons* gave it the Name of *Cornwall*, that is to say, the Country of *Kernaw*, inhabited by *Gauls* or *Britons*. They seem'd to study to leave neither to the Inhabitants nor Countries, any Sign of the *Roman* Names, since they even stil'd *Welsh*, a People the *Romans* had call'd *Britons* above four hundred Years. The Natives kept their Ground a good while in that Corner of the Island, as well as in *Wales*, till at length they were entirely subdu'd, as we shall see hereafter.

The *North* Part of *Great Britain* was in Possession of the *Picts* and *Scots*, separated from the *English* by the *Esk* and *Tweed*, and the Mountains between these two Rivers. The *Picts* were on the *East*, and the *Scots* on the *West* Side. The *Grampian Mountains* serv'd them for a common Boundary, from the Mouth of the *Nid* to the *Lake of Lomond*. *Abernethy*, now a small Town in the Country of *Strathern*, was the Capital of the *Picts*, from whence the Bishop's Seat was removed to *St. Andrews*. *Edinburgh* belong'd also to the *Picts*, and whatever the *English* possess'd beyond *Severus's Wall* was taken from the same Nation. The Territories of the *Scots* extended towards the *North* and *West*, as far as the Sea that bounds the Island on these two Sides.

The *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, who are all to be consider'd as one People, and comprehended under the Name of *English*, had conquer'd all the *Southern* Part of the Island, from the *Channel* to the Wall of *Severus*, and a little beyond, towards the *East*. This Part of *Great-Britain*, possess'd by these three Nations, was divided into Seven Kingdoms, whereof the *Saxons* and *Jutes* had four, namely, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Wessex*; the *Angles* alone had two, *Mercia* and *East Anglia*; but in *Northumberland* were mix'd with the Descendents of the *Saxons*

that first took possession of the Country beyond the *Humber*, under *Oeta* and *Ebusa*.

The History of these seven Kingdoms is what I am now to give a general Knowledge of. I say general, because it is impossible to be very particular, by Reason of the Barrenness of the Authors that have writ on this Subject. As the greatest Part intended only to write bare Annals, they have omitted what might contribute most to the composing a regular and coherent History of each Kingdom, or of all together. Some, particularly intent upon the History of one of the seven Kingdoms, scarce make any mention of what pass'd in the rest. Hence it is that hardly any thing is known of the Affairs of some of these Kingdoms, the Histories whereof have been neglected, or, it may be, lost by some Accident.

Another greater Difficulty occurs, in the Choice of a Method. If the History of the seven Kingdoms be given at once, by placing the Events, that happened in each, according to the Order of Time, the Thread of the Narration must be continually broken, and Confusion introduc'd, which will be farther increas'd by the Difficulty of

remembering Names now grown barbarous. On the other hand, if the History of each Kingdom be given apart by itself, it will be hardly possible to avoid a tedious Repetition of Facts common to two, and sometimes three of the Kingdoms, by Reason of their Wars with one another. Besides, in this Method, the Reader will lose the Benefit of seeing a perpetual Synchronism of the Affairs of the seven Kingdoms, which is no little Help to the giving a distinct Idea of the State of *England*, during the *Heptarchy*.

After weighing the Conveniencies with the Inconveniencies of these two Methods, I am resolv'd in some measure to follow both. To that End, I shall first make some Remarks on the *Anglo-Saxons* in general. In the next place, I shall give a brief Summary of the History of each of the seven Kingdoms in particular. Lastly, I shall represent, in Synchronical Tables, the principal Events which happen'd in each Kingdom, that the History of all the Kingdoms together may be seen at one View. I hope by this Means to give a compleat Idea, if not of all the Affairs of the *Heptarchy*, at least of what is most material.

Of the HEPTARCHY in General.

BY the *Heptarchy* is meant the Government of the seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, consider'd as making but one Body and one State. The *Anglo-Saxons*, as I said before, establish'd in *England* a Form of Government not unlike what they had lived under in *Germany*; that is, considering themselves as Brethren and Countrymen, and being equally concern'd to support themselves in their Conquests, they conceiv'd it necessary to assist one another, and act in common for the good of All. To that end they judg'd it proper to appoint a *General in Chief*, or, if you please, a *Monarch*, invest'd with certain Prerogatives; the Nature and Number of which we are not fully inform'd of. Upon the Death of this General or Monarch, another was chosen by the unanimous Consent of the seven Kingdoms: But there were sometimes pretty long Interregnums, caus'd by the Wars or Divisions between the Sovereigns, who could not meet or agree upon a Choice.

Besides this *Monarch*, they had also, as the Center of the *Heptarchical* Government, an *Assembly-General*, consisting of the principal Members of the seven Kingdoms, or their Deputies. This is what was call'd the *Wittenagemot*, or general *Parliament*; where the Concerns of the whole Nation only were consider'd. But each Kingdom had a particular Parliament, much after the manner practis'd in the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*. Each Kingdom was Sovereign, and yet they consulted in common, upon the Affairs that concern'd the *Heptarchy*; and the Acts and Resolutions of the *Assembly-General* were to be punctually observ'd since every King and Kingdom had assented thereto. Such was the Form of the *Heptarchical* Government, on which I shall no further insist, designing to speak more fully of it in another Place.

But as *Time* and *Circumstances* often cause Alteration in the best *Constitutions*, it happen'd that the Ambition or Restlessness of their Kings did not suffer the *Anglo-Saxons* to remain long in that Union the Form of their Government suppos'd. The most Powerful often took Advantage of the Weakness of the rest to aggrandize themselves at their Cost. Hence their frequent Wars with one another, which ended in the Destruction of some of the seven Kingdoms that were annex'd to others, and at last in the Union of All under the Government of a single Prince. Herein chiefly consists what is transmitted to us of the History of the seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, I mean their continual Wars from the Beginning to the End of the *Heptarchy*.

Another Cause of their Wars, was the Ambition of their *Monarchs*, who, not content with the Prerogatives annex'd to their Dignity, were for stretching their Rights. Had the Historians that writ of the *Heptarchy* been pleas'd to have given us an exact Account of the *Prerogatives* of the *Monarch*, we should have been able to judge, in some measure, of the Causes of the Wars, so frequently occasion'd by the Disputes on that Head. But as they have only mark'd the Time and Success of these Wars, without letting us know the Reasons and Motives of them, the History is render'd very imperfect, and incapable of being so coherent as one would wish, since the *Annals* give us only

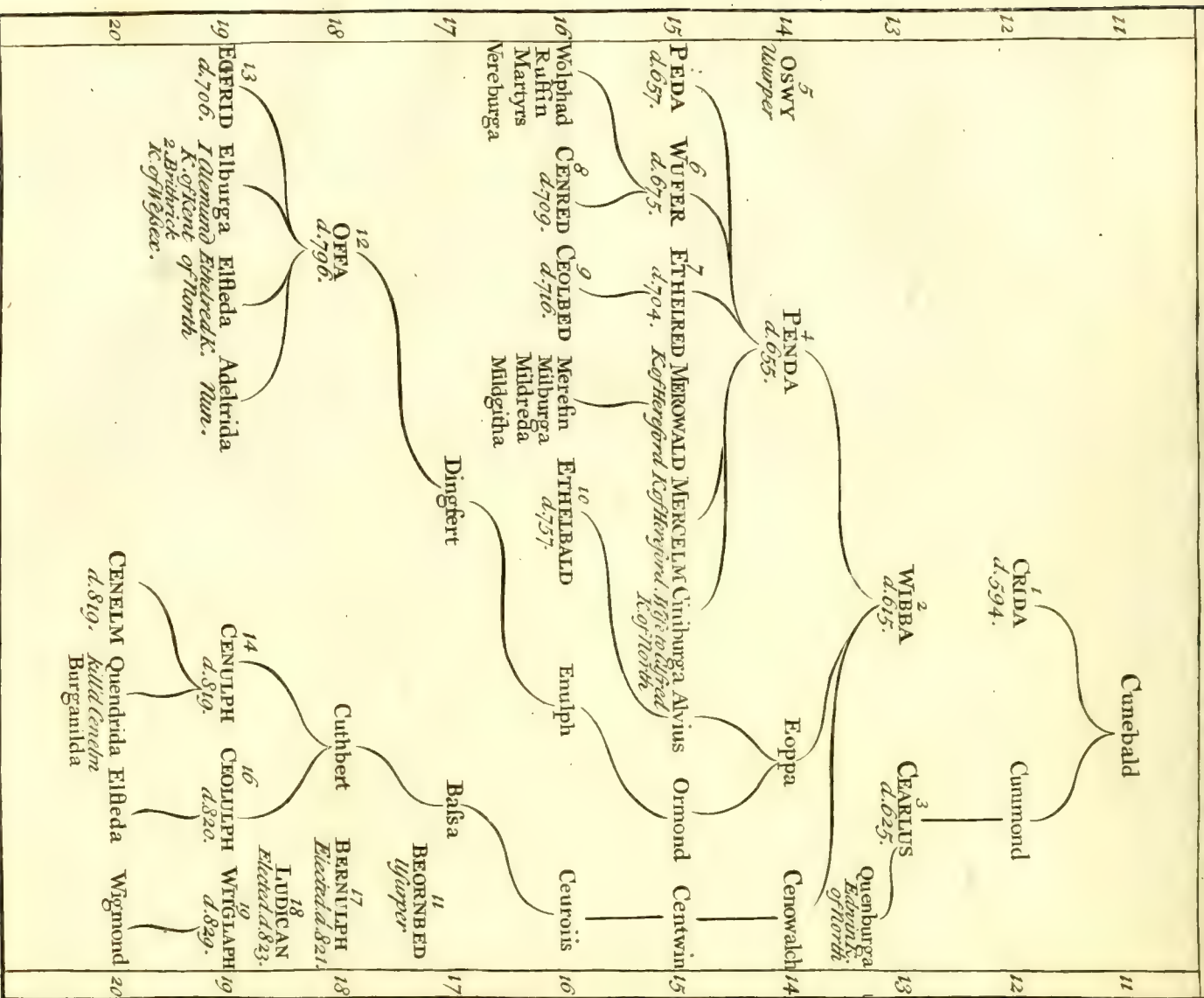
a bare Relation of Facts, without any manner of Connexion. All we can gather from them is, that the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings were naturally very restless, and Enemies to Peace. But this Character is not peculiar to them, since in the following Ages there has been no greater Union among the Princes of *Europe*.

Besides these Wars, to which the *Historians* and *Annalists* have chiefly confin'd themselves, there were, no doubt, many more agreeable and affecting Events, that would have embellish'd and enliven'd their Histories. But unhappily these Writers being all Monks, had not Judgment enough to make Choice of such Matters as would have render'd their Works entertaining. The Affairs of Religion, and especially the Founding of the Monasteries, and the Privileges of the Monks and Clergy, were the only things they enlarg'd upon. As their sole View was to show the Origin of these Foundations, and the Endowments of Monasteries; in doing this, they could not help informing Posterity that there were in *England* seven different Kingdoms; whose Kings founded such and such Monasteries, and granted them such Revenues and Immunities. By this they were led to write a kind of History of the *Heptarchy*, otherwise the Ground of their Rights would not have appear'd. But on the other hand, as their Design requir'd nothing more, they were satisfied with relating the Succession of the Kings in the several Kingdoms, with some of their principal Actions. This is properly all the Assistance we have for the History of the *Heptarchy*, the chief Subject whereof consists of Religious Affairs. Of which therefore it will be necessary to say a few Words.

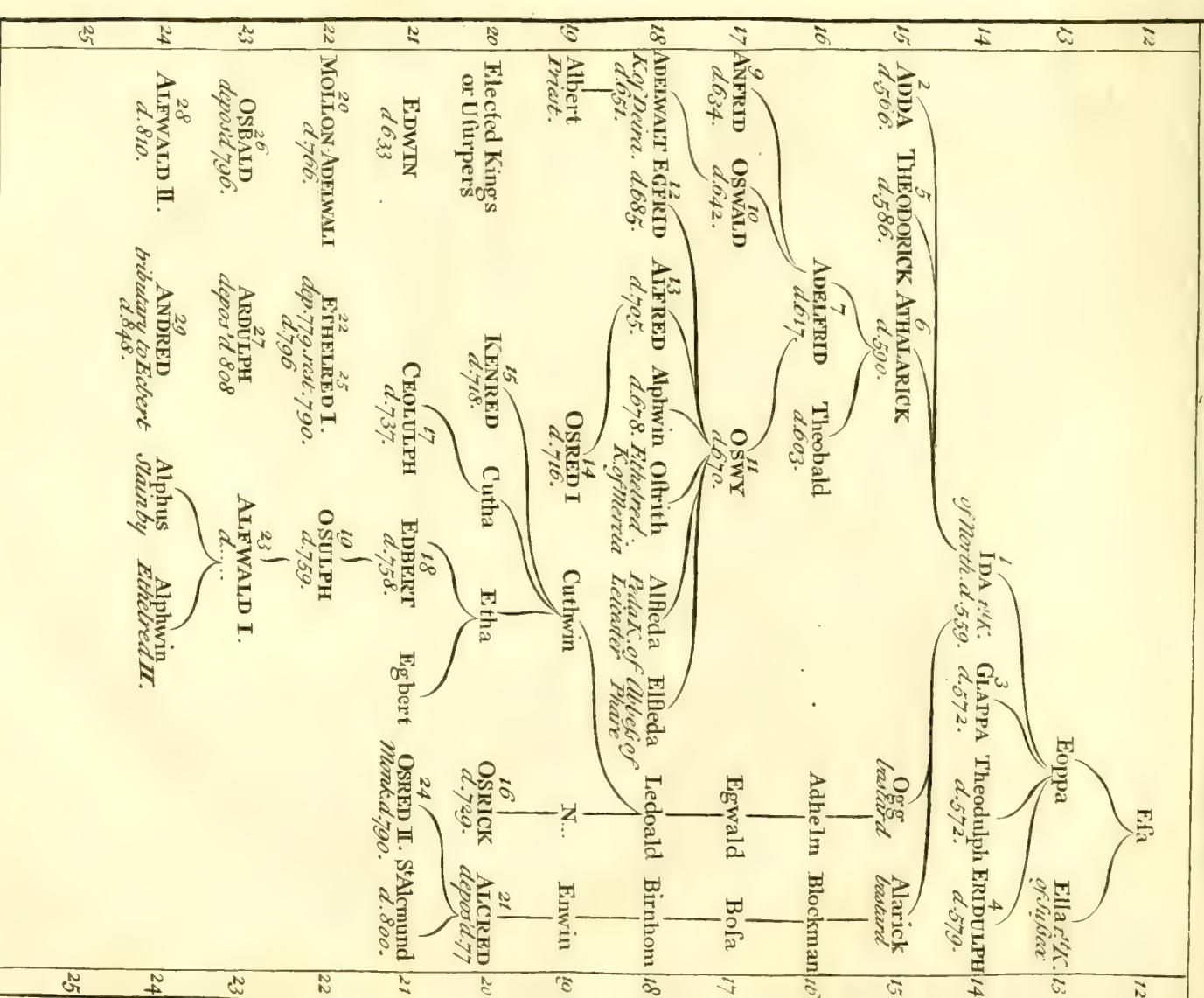
When the *Saxons* arriv'd in *England*, they were all *Pagans* and Idolaters. It was one Hundred and Fifty Years after their Arrival, before they were instructed in the Christian Religion. Their Conversion began in 597, with the Kingdom of *Kent*, by *Austin* a *Benedictine* Monk, sent by Pope *Gregory I.* and ended in 653 with the Kingdom of *Mercia*, by the Ministry of certain Missionaries from *Northumberland*. During these 55 Years spent in propagating the Gospel, Revolutions happen'd in some of the seven Kingdoms, whereby Christianity was so rooted out, that it was again to be planted, as if it had never been heard of. This was the Case of the Kingdom of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*. So from the Beginning of these Conversions to the end, there was in *England* a mixture of *Christians* and *Idolaters*; some of the Kingdoms being converted, whilst others remain'd in *Paganism*; neither were all of the same Kingdom converted at once.

Austin preach'd to the *Saxons* of *Kent*, *Martin* to the *East-Saxons*, *Paulinus* to the *Northumbrians*, *Birinus* to the *West-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* to the *South-Saxons*, *Felix* to the *East-Angles*, and the *Northern Monks* to the *Mercians*. But all these preach'd not with the same Success, because the Conjunctions were not every where alike favourable. However, in the Space of about 60 Years after the coming of *Austin*, all *England* was converted. But no more of this at present, as I intend to speak more largely of the Church of each Kingdom.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MERCA



GENEALOGY OF Y KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND



I have another, and no inconsiderable Remark to make, and that is, the Monks, in converting the *Anglo-Saxons*, took care to inspire them with Reverence for *Monasteries* and the *Monastick* Life. They wrought so upon the Minds of the Kings and Great Men, that it is astonishing what Number of Monasteries from the Conversion of the *English* to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, that is, in 200 Years, were founded in *England*, and what immense Riches the *Monks* had acquired in that Time. Religion seem'd to consist in enriching the *Monks*, and the highest Perfection in embracing a *Monastick* Life. For this Cause Kings, and Queens, Princes and Princesses, stript themselves of all their worldly Grandeur, to pass the Residue of their Days in a Monastery; some to expiate their enormous Crimes, others

as believing it the readiest Way to Heaven. The Monks did not neglect to cherish the Fervour of this Sort of Devotion, extolling to the Skies those that resolv'd to offer such Sacrifices to God, and Sainting all that died in these pious Dispositions. Hence the great Number of Saints of both Sexes, recorded in the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, among whom are several Kings, as being of all the others the best able to purchase a *Sainthood* this Way.

After these general Remarks, I proceed now to the particular History of each of the seven Kingdoms, of which I shall relate only what is material, to avoid as much as possible, the Dryness which usually attends such kind of Summaries.

SUMMARY of the HISTORY

OF

NORTHUMBERLAND.

North-
umberland, its
Bounds.

THE Kingdom of *Northumberland* was situated on the North of the *Humber*, as its Name imports. It was bounded on the South and parted from *Mercia* by that River, on the West by the *Irish* Sea, on the North by the Country of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and on the East by the *German* Ocean. It contained the present Counties of *Lancashire*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Northumberland*, *York* and *Durham*. The principal Cities were *York*, *Dunelm*, (since called *Durham*), *Carlisle*, (named by the *Romans*, *Luguballia*) *Hexham* or *Hagustadt*, *Lancaster*, and some others of less Note. This Country was divided into two Parts, *Deira* and *Bernicia*, each, for some time, a distinct Kingdom of itself. *Bernicia* was partly situated on the North of *Severus's* Wall, and ended in a Point at the Mouth of the *Tweed*. *Deira* contained the Southern Part of *Northumberland*, as far as the *Humber*. The greatest Length of the whole Kingdom, including both Parts, was 160 Miles, and its greatest Breadth 100.

I D A.

547.
Sax. Ann.

Ida, the first King, began his Reign in 547, and died in 559. After his Death *Northumberland* was divided into two Kingdoms, namely *Bernicia* and *Deira*. *Adda*, Son of *Ida*, was King of *Bernicia*, and *Alla* of *Deira*, but the Occasion of this Division is unknown.

In *Bernicia*.

559. ADDA.

566. GLAPPA.

572. FRIDULPH.

579. THEODORIC.

586. ATHELRIC.

In *Deira*,

559. ALLA,

died in 588.

Of all these Kings there is nothing known but the Time of their Death.

Athelric being very old when he came to the Crown, his Son *Adelfrid* governed the Kingdom in his Name, without the Title of King; and having espoused *Acca*, Daughter of *Alla* King of *Deira*, who died in 588, got possession of that Kingdom, tho' *Alla* left a Son of three Years old, named *Edwin*.

ADELFRID.

Adelfrid (1), succeeding his Father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his Neighbours, particularly to the *Welsh*, as well as to the *Scots* and *Picts*. But of his Wars, Historians have related only this remarkable Particular: *Adelfrid* preparing to lay Siege to *Chester*, then in the Hands of the *Welsh*, these last were bent to give him Battle; and to procure the Blessing of God on their Arms, twelve hundred and fifty Monks from the Monastery of *Bangor* were ordered to pray near the Field of Battle, during the Fight. The Monks making too much haste to the Place appointed, were met by *Adelfrid*, who being told the Reason of their leaving their Monastery, put them all to the Sword. This Massacre was followed with a signal Victory over the *Welsh*; after which *Adelfrid* entered *Wales*, and entirely demolished the Monastery of *Bangor* (2), where was still above 1000 Monks, since *Bede* assures us they were divided into seven *Classes*, the least of which consisted of above 300. Two of the Gates of this immense Edifice were above a Mile asunder. As this was a very antient and famous Monastery, in all probability the Monks driven out of *Britain* the *Saxons* had taken refuge there.

Whilst *Adelfrid* was aggrandizing himself by his Conquests, and growing formidable to all his Neighbours, *Edwin*, Son of *Alla* King of *Deira*, wandered from Place to Place, destitute of the necessary Assistance to recover his Father's Dominions. Nay, it was even difficult for him to find where to remain in Safety. *Adelfrid* his Enemy was so powerful and so dreaded, that not one of the *English* Princes cared to hazard his Dominions in Defence of a distressed Orphan. At length *Redowald* King of the *East-Angles*, pitying his Condition, afforded him a Retreat at his Court. He was then about 30 Years old, of a noble Presence, and withal possessed of such good Qualities, as gained him the Love and Esteem of *Redowald* and his Queen. Scarce had he begun to enjoy the Sweets of his Retreat, when he saw himself on the brink of Destruction by *Adelfrid's* Enmity and *Redowald's* timorous Conduct. *Adelfrid* fearing the King of *East-Anglia* was forming some Project for the Restoration of *Edwin* to the Throne of *Deira*, sent Ambassadors to him, to desire him to deliver up *Edwin*, or put him to Death; and in case of Refusal, to proclaim War against him. *Redowald*, surpris'd at this Demand, was some time

(1) *Adel*, *Athel*, *Ethel*, signify Famous or Noble: *Fred*, *Frid*, *Frith*, *Fritb*, signify Peace: *Adelfrid* or *Ethelfrid* (i. e.) famous for Peace: *Athelric*, Nobly Strong; *Ric* signify Power, strong or Powerful.

(2) This Monastery was in *Flintshire*, near the River *Dee*. Camden, p. 556. Tyr. p. 164. One may judge of the Magnificence of this Monastery, by *Margflus*, Bishop of it, *Quoniam inceditulum nostrum detate numerum fuisse, indicio sunt in eodem canebat tot gemelli Partes Ecclesiarum, tot angustias portuum, tanta turba viderem, quantum vix alibi cernat*.

before he could resolve what to do. As his Forces were not equal to the King of *Northumberland's*, he dreaded the exposing his Dominions to the Ravages of that incensed Prince, should he afford him a Pretence for a War. On the other hand, Honour, Honesty, the Laws of Hospitality, *Edwin's* Innocence pleaded against his being deliver'd to an Enemy that demanded him only to take away his Life. *Redwald* consider'd likewise what a Disparagement it would be to submit to the Orders of one that had no Right to command him. These various Reflections made him extremely uneasy, and caus'd him to incline sometimes to the Side of Generosity, and sometimes to that of political Interest.

Whilst *Redwald* was thus in suspense, *Edwin*, inform'd by the Queen of the King's Irresolution, was in great perplexity. For twenty-seven Years he had wander'd thro' divers Kingdoms, without meeting with other Sanctuary than what the King of *East-Anglia* had generously granted him, but which now, by reason of the Neighbourhood of *Northumberland*, was like to prove fatal to him. He saw his Ruin unavoidable, if *Redwald* deliver'd him to his Enemy; but on the other hand, that Prince's Irresolution made him hope for some advantageous Change in his Fortune. He consider'd if *Redwald* resolv'd to protect him, the War that wou'd infallibly attend his Refusal, might prove a means to raise him to his Father's Throne. Besides, he was not sure of avoiding by flight the Danger that threatned him, or of finding another Retreat. He determin'd therefore to wait the Event, and trust to the Generosity of *Redwald*, who as yet, seem'd unresolv'd. *Redwald* was naturally generous: but the fear of engaging in so dangerous a War, made him at last resolve to sacrifice *Edwin* to the Interest of the State. *Edwin* inform'd of this by the Queen, gave himself over for lost; and the more, because the very moment *Redwald* resolv'd to make this Sacrifice to the King of *Northumberland*, he took all possible care to prevent the Victim's Escape.

Hitherto nothing but what is natural has been related of *Edwin*. But in the Days of *Bede*, who hath given us a large Account of this Prince's Adventures, Miracles were so much in vogue, that there was scarce any remarkable Event, in History, but what was season'd with some *Prodigy* or *Apparition*. Accordingly, that Writer, who seems a little too credulous in this Point, wou'd not neglect to embellish his Ecclesiastical History with a miraculous Event told him, as he says, by some *old Men* of his time. Besides, being himself a *Saxon*, And born in *Northumberland*, a Miracle wrought in favour of the first Christian King of that Kingdom, cou'd not but redound to the Honour of his Country. He has related many more, which he was not so much concern'd in, and are no better supported than this on the present Occasion. I would willingly have pass'd it over in silence, as I have many others that occur in his History, if I had not observ'd that later Historians have affected to copy it, so leaving the Reader to believe as he pleases, I shall continue the History of *Edwin*, as related by *Bede*.

Edwin, after his melancholy News from the Queen, went and walk'd in the Palace-Garden during the Night, to consider of his Affairs. Whilst he was deeply buried in Thought, he saw a Man, in a very strange Dress, coming towards him, who ask'd him, *What kept him thus awake, when all the World was asleep?* The Prince answer'd, he was surpris'd to see a stranger so inquisitive about the Affairs of one that was unknown to him. *Think not*, replied the Stranger, *that I am ignorant of what employs your Thoughts: I know all that has befallen you to this Hour, and am come to bring you Consolation in your Misfortunes. What now will you give to him that shall assure you of, one Day, mounting the Throne, and becoming the most powerful and glorious King that has hitherto reign'd in England? If ever that happens, answer'd Edwin, I will liberally reward all that shall have done me any service, as well as the Person that foretells my good Fortune.* He who is able and willing to raise you to this height of Grandeur, continued the Stranger, requires nothing of you but to embrace his Doctrine and obey his Precepts. *I shou'd be a Wretch indeed*, reply'd *Edwin*, *should I refuse to be rul'd by so true a Friend.* Then the Stranger laying his Hand on the Prince's Head, told him, Remember what I am now doing, and when the like shall happen to you, think then of performing your Promise without delay. Upon these Words, the Stranger disappear'd in an extraordinary manner, to convince *Edwin* there was something supernatural in this Adventure (1).

Edwin's Surprise was farther increas'd by the coming of a Messenger from the Queen, to let him know *Redwald* had alter'd his Mind. She had so lively represented to him the Horror of the Action he was about to commit, that he resolv'd to hazard all, rather than be instrumental in destroying the Innocent. *Redwald* having taking this generous Resolution, sent back the Ambassadors, declaring he cou'd not

think of delivering up *Edwin*, much less of putting an innocent Prince to death, that had fled for Refuge to his Palace. He did not question but this Refusal would kindle a bloody War. *Adelfrid* was fierce and powerful, and as he could not but be provok'd, the King of *East-Anglia* rightly judg'd he wou'd do his utmost to be reveng'd. But as usually the Party that thinks himself injur'd, is apt to imagine the Injurer stands only upon the defensive, *Redwald* believ'd *Adelfrid*, not expecting to be attack'd, might be easily surpriz'd before he cou'd draw his Forces together. For this reason, he resolves to prevent him, and carry the War into *Northumberland*.

This Resolution being taken, an Army was levied with all Expedition, and divided into three Bodies, that were to march at some distance from each other. The Command of the first was given to *Reyner* his eldest Son, with Orders to march before and secure a certain Pass. He follow'd himself at the Head of the second, leaving *Edwin* in the Rear with the third. *Reyner*, desirous to signalize himself by some brave Action, before the Arrival of the other two Bodies, advanc'd with more speed than his Orders requir'd. He hop'd to surprize the King of *Northumberland*, who did not expect to be attack'd. And indeed, *Adelfrid* had not yet assembled all his Forces; but finding *Reyner* too far advanc'd to be supported, took advantage of his Rashness, and attack'd him before it was in the power of *Redwald* to join him. As *Reyner's* Conduct was entirely owing to his Excess of Ambition and Courage, he sustain'd the Efforts of *Adelfrid* with great Bravery; but having too much expos'd himself to Danger, was slain, and his Army put to rout.

Redwald, extremely concern'd for the loss of his Son, thought of nothing but Revenge. Having join'd *Edwin* he march'd with all Expedition to attack his Enemy, who, being now too far advanc'd, had not time to retreat. Nay, he could not think of retiring, after all his proud Threats, had it been in his power: and therefore, instead of retreating, he fiercely march'd towards the *East-Angles*. The two Armies soon coming to an Engagement (2) *Adelfrid* perform'd Wonders to preserve his Reputation; but finding he was over-power'd by Numbers, chose rather to die than out-live the Shame of his Defeat. With this Resolution he threw himself among the thickest of his Enemies, and fell in the midst of their Ranks, cover'd with Wounds. The *Northumbrians* immediately threw down their Arms, and betaking themselves to flight, left their Enemies Masters of the Field.

After this great Victory, to which *Edwin* had not a little contributed, *Redwald* march'd into *Northumberland* without Opposition. *Adelfrid* had left three Sons, *Anfrid*, *Ofwald*, and *Ofuy*, who finding themselves unable to resist the Conqueror, fled into *Scotland*. The *Northumbrians*, thus abandon'd, without General or Army, and in the usual Confusion on such Occasions, chose to submit to *Redwald*. This generous Prince would neither punish them for the Insolence of their King, nor make the best for himself of the advantage acquir'd by his Victory. From an uncommon greatness of Soul, he not only gave *Edwin* the Kingdom of *Deira*, for which he had some Pretensions, but likewise that of *Ber-nicia*, reserving to himself only the Glory of so heroic an Action; for which and upon account of his late Victory, he obtain'd the Dignity of *Monarch* then vacant.

EDWIN.

Edwin (3), who a little before was an Object of Pity, by one of those surprising Revolutions that are beyond the reach and foresight of Man, but are ever subservient to the Designs of Providence, saw himself on a sudden at the Head of a powerful Kingdom. One can't help seeing in the Advancement of this Prince, the hand of God, disposing all things, by degrees, for the Execution of his Purposes. It appear'd in the Sequel, that God was pleas'd to make use of *Edwin* to lead the *Northumbrians* to the Knowledge of the Gospel, as he had already made use of *Ethelbert* for the Conversion of the Saxons of *Kent*. This is what we shall see more fully in the History of the Church.

Upon the Death of *Redwald*, in 624, *Edwin* openly aspir'd to the Monarchy; and indeed there was then no *Saxon* or *English* Prince able to dispute that Honour with him, except *Cinigisil*, and *Quicelm*, joint Kings of the *West-Saxons*. *Quicelm* especially oppos'd him to the utmost of his Power, and thereby drew upon himself from that Prince, then in league with the King of *Mercia*, a War that put him in danger of losing his Dominions, and oblig'd him humbly to sue for Peace. The War being thus ended, *Edwin* met with no farther Opposition, and saw himself at length invest'd with the so much desir'd Dignity of Monarch. The very *Welsh*, to prevent an Invasion, threatned by *Edwin*, consented to pay him Tribute,

(1) Ut servavit, repente disparuit. *Bede*.

(2) Near the River *Idon* in *Northumbria*.

(3) *Edwin* had a. c. happy, Blisful. *Win* or *Wine*, *War*, or *Beloved*.

624.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 9.

This Prince carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy higher than any of his Predecessors. He claimed an absolute Power over the other Kings, and treated them with little or no respect. He showed the most regard for *Ebald* King of *Kent*, whose Sister *Ethelburga*, a Princess of great worth, he designed to espouse. He imagined, his being Monarch would cause his proposal to be gladly received; but he met with more difficulty in his Courtship than he expected. *Ethelburga*, being a zealous Christian, would not hear of marrying an idolatrous Prince, tho' otherwise never so much to her advantage. Her Brother was no less averse to the match, and when proposed to him, refused to give his Consent, unless his Sister had free Liberty publicly to profess her Religion. Tho' this Condition was by no means pleasing to the Monarch, yet the desire of possessing a Princess, whose Worth was universally known, induc'd him to agree to whatever was required. On the other hand, *Ethelburga* was prevailed with to consent, in expectation that after the Example of *Bertha* of *France*, her Mother, who had procured the Conversion of the *Saxons* of *Kent*, she should be able likewise to lead her Spouse, and his Subjects, to the knowledge of the Truth. Every thing being settled to the King of *Kent's* satisfaction, *Ethelburga* set out for *Northumberland* accompanied with some Ecclesiasticks, and particularly *Paulinus*, consecrated Bishop by *Justus* Archbishop of *York*. This was the same *Paulinus* that converted *Edwin* and the *Northumbrians* to the Christian Religion, as will be more fully related in the History of the Church.

625.

Bede.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.

Edwin lived several years in profound Peace, both feared and esteemed by all the Kings of the *Heptarchy*. He improved these favourable Junctures, not only in maintaining his Dominion over the other Kings, but also in establishing good Order in the State, and enacting wholesome Laws, which he caused to be strictly observed. Historians remark, that in his reign Justice was administered with that impartiality and rigour, that a Child might have gone over the whole Kingdom of *Northumberland* with a Purse of Gold in his hand, without danger of robbing. But *Edwin's* chief care, after his Conversion, was to spread the Christian Religion where it was yet unknown, and replant it, where it had been abolished. By his Instigation, perhaps by his absolute order, it was, that *Erpwald* King of *East-Anglia*, permitted the Gospel to be preached again in his Dominions, and at length turned Christian himself. *Edwin*, who could but ill brook the least Opposition to his Will, pretended to have an Authority over the rest of the Kings, of which he was extremely jealous. By an Ensign carried before him in the form of a Globe (1), as a symbol of the Union of the *Heptarchical* Government in his Person, he gave them to understand, he would be considered, not only as their Head, but their Master.

633.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 2.

Malmsh.

Of all the *Anglo-Saxon* Princes, *Penda* King of *Mercia* was the most uneasy at *Edwin's* Greatness. This Prince being naturally restless and proud, and looking upon his dependence on the King of *Northumberland* as dishonourable, was extremely desirous to cast off that Badge of Slavery. But as he did not dare to undertake alone so great an Enterprize, he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity to act. At that very time, there was another Prince in the Island, who, being in the same case, no less ardently desired to throw off the *English* Monarch's Yoke. This was *Cadwalla* King of *Wales*, who deemed it a dishonour to him and his Country, to pay tribute to a foreign Prince. These two Princes knowing at length each other's thoughts (2), enter into a League against *Edwin*, and make preparations, which as they could not be concealed, caused *Edwin* to resolve to prevent them if possible. Accordingly he advances as far as *Heathfield* (3), where meeting the confederate Kings, the two Armies came to an Engagement. The Battle was fought on both sides with desperate fury. The *Mercians* and *Welsh* confided in their numbers, and the *Northumbrians* in the valour and prudence of their King. *Edwin*, tho' inferior in number of Troops, supplied that defect by his courage and conduct, and kept the balance even, which made him hope Victory would at last incline to his side. But a fatal Accident robb'd him of that presence of Mind he had all along preserved, and which was then more than ever necessary. *Offrid*, his eldest Son, bravely seconding him, was slain at his feet with an arrow, which threw him into such a rage, that he rushed among the thickest of his Enemies, without minding, whether he was followed by his Soldiers. He was immediately run thro' in many places, and with his Life lost the Victory. Upon *Edwin's* disappearing, the dismayed *Northum-*

Sax. Ann.

brians begin to fall into disorder, and at last relinquish the Field of Battle, and take to flight.

Thus fell *Edwin*, in the forty eighth year of his Age, the sixteenth of his Reign, and the ninth of his Monarchy. By his first Wife, Daughter of *Cearlus* King of *Mercia*, he had two Sons, *Offrid* and *Edfrid*. By his second, *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, he had two other Sons, and two Daughters, who all died in their Infancy, except *Anfleda*, Wife of *Osfric* King of *Northumberland*. *Edwin* resided at *Derwentio*, now *Auldby* (4) in *Yorkshire*.

INTERREGNUM.

The two conquering Kings behaved upon their Victory with all imaginable Cruelty. As the *Northumbrians*, after the Loss of their King and Army were unable to resist them, they entered *Northumberland* and ravaged the Country in a terrible manner. *Cadwalla*, tho' a Christian, carried his Barbarity to that height, that *Edfrid*, Son of *Edwin*, dreading to fall into his Hands, surrendered himself to *Penda*, from whom he expected more favour. He was received at first with some Civility, but was afterwards, by *Penda's* Command, murder'd in his Presence. Queen *Ethelburga* and *Paulinus* fled to the King of *Kent*, who gave his Sister some Lands to found a Manastery, where she passed the residue of her Days. As for *Paulinus*, he was by the same King's means made Bishop of *Rechester*.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 20.
Bede.
Thorn.
Hist. Abb.
Contest.
C. man
Kent.

The *Northumbrians* were so weakened by their defeat; and the cruelty, or rather fury, of the two victorious Kings, that they remained a long time before they recovered themselves. At length, seeing no end to their Misfortunes, they judged it more honourable to die with their swords in their Hands, than perish by the barbarity of the two Tyrants, who breathed nothing but blood and slaughter. Accordingly, being resolved to sell their lives dear, they considered of choosing a Leader. But when they came to the Election, the old jealousies between the *Bernicians* and *Deirians* reviving, they could not agree upon choosing a King in common. The Men of *Deira* chose *Osric*, a relation of *Edwin*; and the *Bernicians* set *Anfrid* on the Throne. This last, after the defeat and death of his Father, retired into *Scotland* with *Osfrid* and *Osfric's* Brothers, where they were all three Baptized.

OSRIC
in Deira.ANFRID
in Bernicia.

These two Kings were no sooner on the Throne, but they abjur'd the Christian Religion, which they had before profess'd. But if their Rebellion against God was sudden, their Punishment was no less so, being both slain in the first year of their reign. *Osric* rashly besieging *Cadwalla* in *York*, with an Army of undisciplin'd Troops, the *Welsh* King, disdainingly to be thus brav'd, sallies out and attacks him so briskly, that his Army is routed, and himself slain on the spot. After which he marched against the King of *Bernicia*, who was at the head of twelve thousand Men, and amusing him some time with propositions of Peace, till he was within distance, fell upon him unexpectedly, and made a terrible slaughter of the *Northumbrians*, *Anfrid* himself being killed in the Battle.

633.
Bede, l. 1.
c. 1.
634.
G. Malm.
l. 1. c. 3.

INTERREGNUM.

It is easy to conceive the wretched condition of *Northumberland*, after so many successive Losses. *Cadwalla's* rage being inflam'd by the efforts of the *Northumbrians*, seem'd incapable of being glutted with less than the entire destruction of the miserable Nation. His barbarities at length oblig'd *Osfrid*, Brother of *Anfrid*, to resolve to hazard all, in order to relieve a People so cruelly oppress'd. In this generous resolution, he assembles a small body of Forces, with which he boldly opposes the Usurper. Tho' the King of *Mercia* was now return'd to his Kingdom, *Cadwalla* looking upon *Osfrid's* Army with the utmost contempt, march'd against him, not doubting of Success (5). *Osfrid* being inform'd of his approach, intrench'd himself in an advantageous Post, where he resolutely expected him. But as he relied more on the assistance of Heaven than his own strength, he erected a Cross before the Camp, and falling down on his knees with the whole Army, humbly implor'd a Blessing on his Arms. In the mean time, *Cadwalla* advanc'd full of Confidence, not questioning in the least but the Superiority of his Forces

Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.
Bede, l. 2.
c. 3.
Polychron.
l. 5. c. 12.(1) In Latin, *Tuffa*; *Lipsius* on *Vegetius* speaks of it.(2) *Cadwalla* (says *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*) being forc'd by King *Edwin* to fly into *Ireland*, soon after return'd with a great Army of *Irish*, and overcame *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, oblig'd him to join his Forces against *Edwin*.(3) Now call'd *Hatfield*, in the West-Riding of *Yorkshire*. *Camden*.(4) Six Miles from *York*.(5) *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, *Penda* was then General of *Cadwalla's* Forces; though *Bede* seems to affirm, the Battle was fought against *Cadwalla*.

would procure him the Victory. In this belief, to encourage his Men by his Example, he attempts in person to force the Enemy's Intrenchments, wholly intent upon satisfying his furious Rage. But whilst he is endeavouring to open a passage to join his Enemies, he is shot thro' the Body with an arrow, which puts an end to his Projects and Life. His Death causes a great disorder among his Troops, who begin by degrees to retreat. Then the *Northumbrians* rushing out of their Reintrenchments, fall upon their Enemies so vigorously, that they are entirely routed. The Victory was so complete, and the protection of Heaven appeared so visibly in favour of the *English*, that the Field of Battle was named *Heofen* or *Heaven-Field*, the same that is now called *Haledon* (1).

O S W A L D.

614.
Flor. Wig.
M. Wulf.

After this great Victory, *Oswald* took possession of the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, to which he was Heir, namely, to *Bernicia* by *Adelfrid* his Father, and to *Deira* by *Acca* his Mother, Sister of *Edwin*. He was the most knowing, as well as most pious Prince of his Age, having been instructed in the Christian Religion whilst in *Scotland*. His strict Virtue, great Humility, and Zeal for the advancement of the true Religion, gained him, to such a degree, the love and esteem of his Subjects, that they revered him as a Saint after his death. He had the happiness and satisfaction to free his Country from the Tyranny of *Cadwalla*, to unite the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland* under his dominion, and moreover to be elected Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. It is even pretended that the *Welsh*, *Scots*, and *Picts* were tributary to him. He took particular care to restore the Christian Religion in his Dominions, from whence the late Troubles after *Edwin's* Death had entirely banished it.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 1, 2.

This Prince spent several Years in this so pious and necessary a work: but at length was obliged to leave off, in order to oppose the designs of the King of *Mercia*, who was preparing to attack him. *Penda*, ever restless and haughty, could not bear to see *Oswald* his superior, as Monarch; and therefore, to free himself from so uneasy a dependence, without any Declaration of War, he suddenly takes up arms to surprize him. *Oswald* being sensible, that it was of the utmost consequence speedily to oppose the King of *Mercia's* Designs, made haste to meet him, before he had assembled all his Forces. *Penda* taking advantage of this Precipitation, which rendered him superior to his Enemy in number of Troops, gave him Battle, and obtained a signal Victory; which would have redounded more to his glory, had he not sullied it by his cruelty. The body of *Oswald*, who was slain in the fight, being found among the dead, the inhuman Conqueror cut it in several Pieces, and fixing them on Stakes, erected them in the field of Battle like so many *Trophies*. This Battle was fought at *Osweestree* (2). *Oswald* left a Son called *Adelwalt*, some time after King of *Deira*.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 9.

Penda, after his Victory, behaved with his usual barbarity. Having ravaged *Northumberland*, he laid siege to *Bamborough*, a strong Town built by *Ida*, where meeting with more resistance than he expected, he resolved to reduce it to ashes. To that end, having laid under the walls a great quantity of Wood, he set fire to it as soon as the wind favoured his design. But hardly was the fire lighted, when the wind came about and blew the flame directly into his Camp, by which the besiegers were great Sufferers. This Stratagem failing, he raised the Siege, and quitting *Northumberland* carried the War into *East-Anglia*. *Penda's* retreat affording the *Northumbrians* a little respite, the *Bernicians* place *Oswy*, Brother of *Oswald*, upon the Throne; and the next year *Oswin*, Son of *Oswic* slain by *Cadwalla*, was crowned King of *Deira*.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 16.

642.
644.
Sax. Ann.

643. O S W Y 644. O S W I N
in *Bernicia*. in *Deira*.

Oswy thought he was very unjustly dealt with, in being deprived of part of his Brother's Dominions; but as he dreaded another Invasion from *Penda*, it was no proper Season to do himself justice. As long therefore as he was under that apprehension, he lived in a good understanding with the King of *Deira*. But the moment he sees *Penda* engaged in other wars, he asserts his claim to *Deira*, and picks a quarrel with *Oswin*; who, after trying several ways

to satisfy his Enemy, is forced at last to take up arms in his own defence. *Oswin* was a mild and peaceable Prince, more devout than brave, and tho' drawn into the war purely by necessity, yet for all that he could not conquer his Scruples. He verily believed, the shedding his Subjects blood in his quarrel, was the greatest of Sins, and therefore withdrawing privately from his army, he retired to a certain Earl's House (3), whom he supposed to be his best Friend, with design to betake himself from thence to some Monastery. But before he could put his project in execution, his treacherous Friend betrayed him to *Oswy*, who ordered him to be inhumanly murdered, in expectation of seizing his Kingdom with the greater ease. This barbarous Action did not however procure him the Advantage he hoped for. The People of *Deira* exasperated against him, and dreading to fall under the dominion of so cruel a Prince, immediately set *Adelwalt*, Son of *Oswald* his Brother, upon the Throne, who was better able to defend himself than his Predecessor. Some time after, *Oswy* touched with remorse, founded a Monastery in the very place where *Oswin* was murdered (4), flattering himself he should atone for his crime by this slight Penance.

O S W Y 652. A D E L W A L T
still in *Bernicia*. in *Deira*.

It was hardly possible for *Oswy* and *Adelwalt*, tho' very near relations, to live in a good understanding. *Oswy* still preserved his claim to the Kingdom of *Deira*, and *Adelwalt* could not be ignorant of it. Consequently it was his interest, not only to suspect his Uncle's Designs, but even to put it out of his power, if possible, from giving him any disturbance. For this reason, he readily listened to the proposal of a League with the Kings of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, against *Oswy*. *Penda*, tho' seventy eight years old, was the Author of this League. *Oswy* being informed of it, did all that lay in his Power to divert the impending Storm, even to the offering Money to *Penda*, to bribe him to desist from his Enterprize. But nothing could appease that Prince, the irreconcilable Enemy of the *Northumbrians*, who seeing himself supported by the Armies of *East-Anglia* and *Deira*, believed, he had now a favourable opportunity to gratify his Passion. *Oswy* therefore found, he was obliged to stand alone against these three Enemies, whose united Forces could not but inspire him with some dread. In this pressing necessity, he made a vow to found a dozen Monasteries, and make his Daughter a Nun, if God would give him the Victory. To this vow it is that Historians ascribe the Success, God was pleased to vouchsafe him in this War.

655.
G. Malm.

Whilst the two armies were advancing towards one another, *Adelwalt* formed new Projects. He considered, to which side soever the Victory inclined, it would prove equally dangerous to him, since he had the same reason to fear his being deprived of his Dominions by *Penda* as by *Oswy*: And therefore he resolved to save his own Troops, and stand neuter during the Battle, that he might be in condition to defend himself against the Conqueror. When the two Armies came in fight, *Penda*, who had not dived into *Adelwalt's* design, boldly attacked the King of *Bernicia*, not doubting of being seconded by the *Deirians* and *East-Anglians*. But when the *Mercians* saw *Adelwalt* draw off his Troops, their ardor abated, and thinking they were betrayed, began to give ground. Mean while, the Kings of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* did their utmost to revive the Courage of the frightened Troops. But being both slain in endeavouring to renew the fight, their Army was put to rout. This Battle was fought in *Yorkshire* on the banks of the *Aire*, and the place was afterwards called *Winwidfield* (5).

Bede, l. 3.
c. 24.

After this Victory, *Oswy*, without loss of time, marched into *Mercia*, and became master of that Kingdom, which he enjoyed but three years. In that Interval, the Monarchy, vacant ever since the death of *Oswald* his Brother, was conferred upon him. *Penda* was properly the only Prince that could justly pretend to it, but withal the most dangerous to be intrusted with it.

Oswy held *Mercia* by right of Conquest, whilst the Sons of *Penda* were forced to seek for refuge among their Friends. Their misfortune would doubtless have been of longer continuance, had not the rigorous proceeding of *Oswy's* Officers compelled the *Mercians* to take up Arms. They concerted their measures so well, that when *Oswy* least expected it, the *Northumbrians* were on a sudden driven out

(1) Bede says, the Battle was fought at *Denishburna*, (suppos'd to be *Difon*) and relates many very incredible and superstitious Miracles concerning this Place and the Cross erected by *Oswald*, whose chief merit with the Monks, was his introducing *Monkery* with the Christian Religion, which makes the Story of the Cross to be consider'd as a monkish Fiction, as well as the Name of *Heaven-field*.

(2) In *Scoppling*, then call'd *Moselfield*. 'Tis incredible to think how many miracles were ascribed to him after his death by his Friends the Monks; particularly the Wonders perform'd by his Right-hand, which Bede says, was preserv'd uncorrupt in the Church of *Peterborough* in his time. It seems he sent one day a large Silver Dish, full of meat to some poor People to his Gate, ordering the Dish to be broken in pieces, and distributed among them. Whereupon *Adrian* taking him by the Right-hand, said, *Let this hand never corrupt*. Which (say the Monks) accordingly happen'd.

(3) He is call'd by Bede, Earl *Hunwald*. *Brompton* says, he was betray'd by one *Cendebera*, a Soldier, p. 787.

(4) *Insutburgham*, according to Bede, l. 13. c. 14, 24; afterwards *Yiding Priory* in *Yorkshire*. Lamb. Top. Dic.

(5) That is, *The Field of Victory*, now *Leeds*. Camden.

of *Mercia*, and *Wulpher*, Son of *Penda*, plac'd on the Throne.

A few Years after, *Ofwy*, in some measure repair'd this Loss, by the acquisition of *Deira*, upon the Death of *Adelwald*, who died without Heirs. Thus *Northumberland* was once more united into one Kingdom.

OSWY alone.

This Re-union however did not hold long. *Ofwy's* tender affection for his natural Son *Alfred*, induc'd him to divide *Northumberland* again, and make him King of *Deira*, tho' contrary to the People's Inclination.

OSWY
in *Bernicia*.

ALFRED
in *Deira*.

Ofwy, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died in 670 (1). The beginning of his Reign was disturb'd with Wars, but his good Fortune prevail'd at last, and procur'd him some Quiet. *Bede*, for reasons taken Notice of in the History of the Church, ranks him among the most illustrious Kings of the *Heptarchy*, and loads him with praises, tho' his Reputation was very much sullied by the Murder of *Ofwin*. By *Ansfleda*, Daughter of *Edwin*, he had two Sons and three Daughters. *Egfrid* his Son succeeded him both in his Kingdom, and in the Monarchy of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The *Deirians*, upon *Ofwy's* death, revolted against *Alfred*, and put themselves under the Dominion of *Egfrid*, who thereby became King of all *Northumberland*. *Alfred* retir'd into *Ireland*, where he applied himself chiefly to his Studies, in expectation of a favourable Opportunity to recover his Dominions.

EGFRID alone.

Egfrid, tho' he came to the Crown young, soon made himself both esteem'd and fear'd. The *Picts* invading his Territories, were defeated several times, and forc'd in the end to purchase a Peace with part of their Country. *Wulpher*, King of *Mercia*, thought likewise to make some Conquests in *Northumberland*; but before the end of the War, was very glad to preserve his own Dominions. *Egfrid's* good Success in the beginning of his Reign, procur'd him the dignity of Monarch, which his Father enjoy'd before him.

In the Year 684. he sends an Army into *Ireland* for the Conquest of that Island, under the Conduct of *Bertfrid*, whose Cruelties to the *Irish*, especially in not sparing their very Churches and Monasteries, cause the Enterprize to miscarry. The *Irish* recovering out of their first Surprize, defend themselves so well, that *Bertfrid* is forc'd to return home with his almost ruin'd Army.

Egfrid not being able to gain any thing from that Quarter, resolves to enlarge his bounds towards the *North*, and to that end carries his Arms into the Country of the *Picts*, who little expected an Invasion. For which reason, they betake themselves to their Morasses and Fens, to avoid the first Attacks of their Enemies. *Egfrid* was so unwise as to follow them, and lead his Men into unknown Defiles, which he could not get clear of. Whereupon, the *Picts*, who were perfectly acquainted with the Country, harass'd his hunger-starv'd Troops in such a manner, that he lost above half his Army. And at last, to open a Passage, he was forc'd to come to a very unequal Engagement, wherein he lost his Life, in the fortieth year of his Age, and fifteenth of his Reign.

Egfrid was twice married; *Adelfrida* his first Wife; Daughter of *Annas* King of the *East-Angles*, and Widow of *Thombert* an *English* Lord, is said to remain a Virgin, tho' she had two Husbands, and at last to be entirely parted from *Egfrid*. She founded a Monastery at *Ely*, and was the first Abbess herself. She was reverenc'd in *England* by the Name of *St. Aldry*.

The Death of *Egfrid*, and loss of his Army, were extremely prejudicial to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which from that time never recovered its former Lustre. The *Picts* improv'd their Victory by the Conquest of part of *Bernicia*, which lay convenient for them. The *Welsh*, on the other hand, possess'd themselves of the two Provinces, that formerly compos'd the Kingdom of *Archeute*, and out of them erected the Kingdoms of *Lenox* and *Cumberland*; the first of which was taken from them some years after.

Egfrid leaving no Issue, the *Northumbrians* recall'd *Alfred* from *Ireland*, and crown'd him King of both Kingdoms, which from thenceforward remain'd always united.

ALFRED.

The *Picts* and *Welsh* having had time to secure their Conquests before *Alfred* was settled in his Throne, it was not possible for him, after *Egfrid's* death, to recover them out of their Hands. All he could do, was to defend, and that with great difficulty, the rest of his Dominions from the frequent attacks of his Neighbours. The Monarchy of the *Anglo-Saxons* went to the Kings of *Wessex*.

Alfred ended his days in 705, having reigned twenty years after his Restoration. He left his Son *Ofred* to succeed him at eight years of Age, under the Guardianship of a Lord nam'd *Brithric*.

OSRED.

The Minorities of Princes being generally attended with G. Malm. Troubles, it happen'd in the beginning of This, that *Edulph*, a certain Lord of the Country, taking advantage of *Ofred's* youth, made an attempt upon the Crown. A powerful Party having own'd him for King, *Ofred* and his Guardian were obliged to retire to *Bamborough-Castle*, where they were immediately besieged by *Edulph*. The length of the Siege giving *Brithric* time to look about him, and his Friends an opportunity of rising in favour of their lawful King, *Edulph* found himself deserted on a sudden, and forc'd to raise the Siege in confusion and hurry. Whereupon, *Brithric* improving this happy Turn, sallied out in pursuit of the Usurper, and taking him Prisoner, ordered him to be beheaded, about two Months after his Revolt.

When *Ofred* came of age, and was master of himself, he fell into a wicked and lewd Course of Life; but especially he had little or no regard for the Monks, which was look'd upon Then as the height of Impiety. He made no scruple, as 'tis pretended, to debauch the Nuns, and even to force them, when fair means would not prevail. Tho' this Imputation cannot be said to be certainly true, yet the Effects of it were great. After *Alfred*, *Ofwy's* natural Son, came to the Crown, all the Bastards of the Kings, or their Descendants, imagin'd they had the same right to aspire to the Throne. This prov'd the occasion of many Troubles in the Kingdom. *Cenred* and *Ofric*, descendants of *Ogga*, natural Son of *Ida*, seeing *Ofred* was neither esteem'd nor belov'd, form'd a Party against him, which was abetted to the utmost of their Power by the Regular and Secular Clergy, whose interest it was to have a new Sovereign. This Party became at length so strong, as to be able to give *Ofred* Battle, wherein he was slain, in the nineteenth year of his Age, and eleventh of his Reign. *Cenred*, the principal Author of the Revolt, was his Successor.

CENRED.

This Prince died in the second year of his Reign, and *Ofric* that assist'd him in obtaining the Crown, mounted the Throne after him.

OSRIC.

He reign'd eleven years, without doing any thing remarkable, and left his Crown to his Cousin *Ceolulph*.

CEOLULPH.

This Prince turning Monk, in the seventh or eighth year of his Reign, pass'd the residue of his days in the Monastery of *Lindisfarn*. *Edbert* ascended the Throne after him.

EDBERT.

The Coronation of *Edbert* was immediately follow'd by an Invasion of the *Picts* in the northern Frontiers. This War obliging him to march all his Forces towards the *North*, the King of *Mercia*, taking advantage of their distance, fell upon the southern parts of *Northumberland*, and carried off a great Booty.

Edbert, towards the end of his Reign, having made a League with *Oengussa* King of the *Picts*, recover'd the City of *Archeute* (2), Capital of the Kingdom of *Lenox*, taken by the *Welsh* in the Reign of *Alfred*. *Deovama*, General or Prince of the *Welsh*, endeavouring to relieve *Archeute*, was defeated by the confederate Kings. Shortly after, *Edbert* retir'd into a Monastery leaving his Crown to his Son *Ofulph*.

(1) And was buried in *Whitby* Monastery in *Yorkshire*, call'd in *Saxon* *Streangheal*, founded by his Daughter *Elfsda*. Malm. p. 20. Bede, l. 3. c. 24.

(2) Or *Alcuith*, the same with *Dunbritton*.

O S U L P II.

73. *Osfulph* was assassinated in the first year of his Reign; and *Mollon-Adelwald*, though not of the Blood-royal, was rais'd to the Throne.

MOLLON-ADELWALD.

759. *Mollon-Adelwald's* Election was a fresh occasion ofundry Calamities that afflicted *Northumberland*, and prov'd in the end the destruction of the Kingdom. The *Northumbrians* having been guilty of the error of placing on the Throne a King not of the Royal Family, all the *Great Men* thought themselves entitled to the Crown, as well as the Princes of the Blood. Hence those many Factions, that ended at last in the entire loss of the publick Liberty. Some of the Nobles finding *Mollon* had rais'd himself to the Throne by help of a powerful Party, believ'd it allowable for them to do the same. *Osfuy*, one of these Lords, led the way, but death freed the King from this Competitor. Afterwards, *Alcred*, descended from *Ida* by *Alaric*, one of his natural Sons, following the example of *Osfuy*, and secretly conspiring against *Mollon*, found means to insnare him and put him to death; after which he was crown'd in his stead.

A L C R E D.

765. *Mollon's* Faction, that was very much humbled by his death, having in time recover'd the superiority they had lost, *Alcred* was forc'd to fly to the King of the *Picts*, for fear of falling into the hands of his Enemies. As soon as he was gone, *Ethelred*, Son of *Mollon*, was plac'd on the Throne by his Father's Party.

E T H E L R E D.

774. As *Ethelred* had been rais'd to the Crown by the interest of his Faction, he judg'd the best way to fix himself in the Throne, would be by the death or banishment of the Heads of the contrary Party. Accordingly, three of the principal opposers of his Election were put to death, for forg'd or slight Crimes. But this method, instead of having the expected Effect, serv'd only to hasten the plots of his Enemies, whom the death of the three innocent Lords furnish'd with a plausible pretence to take up Arms. In a short time, they were able to bring into the Field an Army, that gave the King some Uneasiness. The King however sending his best Troops against them under the Command of a General entirely devoted to his Service, was in hopes of speedily reducing them to obedience. But his Army was overthrown by the Rebels. This Defeat, which was soon follow'd by a second, threw himself into such an ill Situation, that he was oblig'd to fly for refuge to some of the neighbouring Kingdoms. Upon his retiring, *Alfwald*, Son of *Osfulph*, and Grandson of *Egbert*, was plac'd on the Throne by the victorious Party.

A L F W A L D I.

779. *Alfwald I.* reigned eleven years with great Justice and Moderation. But however, it did not prevent his being assassinated by one of the contrary Faction. He was honoured by his Followers as a Saint after his death.

O S R E D II.

806. *Osfred*, Son of King *Alcred*, was chosen in his room, who, very unlike his Predecessor, became so contemptible, that he was confin'd to a Monastery the first year of his Reign. *Ethelred's* Party was deeply concern'd in deposing *Osfred*, and had interest enough to recall and place him again on the Throne, after fifteen years exile.

E T H E L R E D restored.

Ethelred began his new Reign with two acts of Cruelty,

(1) *Simson* of *Durham*, and *Howeden* say, that *Osfred* went from his Monastery into exile. From whence being invited over by some of his Party, but afterwards deserted by them, he was taken by *Ethelred* and put to death. *S. Dunelm.* p. 112. *Howeden.* p. 405. So that he was no Monk, as *Rapin* supposes.

that very much exasperated his Enemies against him. He put *Osfred* his Predecessor to death, who, tho' a Monk, made him uneasy (1): And then dispatch'd out of the way *Alphus* and *Alfwald*, Sons of the good King *Alfwald*.

During this Reign, the *Danes* made a descent into *Northumberland*, and burnt *Lindisfarn* Monastery. Allur'd by the booty, taken in this first Expedition, they came again next year, and pillaged *Tinmouth* Monastery, founded by King *Egfrid*. *Ethelred*, by the assistance of his Father-in-law, *Uffa* King of *Mercia*, prevented them from carrying their Ravages any farther, and drove them back to their Ships, where almost all of them perish'd in a sudden and violent storm on the *English* Coast.

After *Ethelred* was recall'd, his cruel and revengeful temper very much inflam'd the enmity of the opposite Faction towards him. Mean while, regardless of the murmurs of his Enemies, he thought only of glutting his Revenge, and establishing himself in his Throne, by the death or banishment of those he most fear'd. At length, attempting to send *Ardulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country, into exile, he gave the contrary Party an occasion to rebel. After the civil War had lasted two years, the *Malecontents*, finding they had taken a tedious, and uncertain way to get rid of their King, caus'd him to be assassinated. However his Faction was still powerful enough to place *Osbald*, one of their own Party, on the Throne.

Charles the Great, *Ethelred's* Friend, was so incens'd with the *Northumbrians*, that he was going to proclaim war against them, as appears in *Alcuin's* Letter, on this occasion, to *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

O S B A L D or O S R E D.

Whilst people were intent upon the publick rejoicings at the election of the new King, the opposite Party laid their measures so well, that *Osbald* was dethron'd, twenty-seven days after his Election, and *Ardulph* chosen in his room.

A R D U L P H.

The Divisions that prevail'd in *Northumberland*, still continued to rend that unfortunate Kingdom. *Ardulph* was supported in the Throne only by one of the Factions that was then the most powerful. But this did not hinder the other Party from frequently attempting to get uppermost. *Alcred*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, left a Son nam'd *Almund*, who was head of this Party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, *Ardulph* put him to death, judging it necessary to sacrifice him to his Safety. His death being look'd upon by his Friends as a Martyrdom, *Almund* was rank'd in the Number of the *Saints*. But this was not all that follow'd upon his death. It afforded the King's enemies a pretence to rise in arms, and set *Alaric*, a Lord, at their head. But this General being vanquish'd, and slain in battle, the *Malecontents* remain'd quiet for some time, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. And indeed, the face of Affairs was quickly chang'd. For the opposite party became at length so powerful, that the King was glad to escape out of his Enemies hands, by flying to the Court of *Charles the Great*, where the *English* were always welcome.

A L F W A L D II.

After the Retreat of *Ardulph*, *Alfwald II.* who had chac'd him away, was plac'd on the Throne, and reigning about two years, by his Death left the Crown to *Andred*.

A N D R E D.

In *Andred's* Reign it was that *Northumberland* submitted to the dominion of *Ecbert*, King of *Wessex*, who put an end to the *Heptarchy*.

THE

History of the Kingdom of MERCIA.

Kingdom of
Mercia.

THE Kingdom of *Mercia* was bounded on the North by the *Humber*, by which it was separated from *Northumberland*; on the West by the *Severn*, beyond which were the *Britons* or *Welsh*; on the South by the *Thames*, by which it was parted from the Kingdoms of *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Wessex*; on the East by the Kingdoms of *Essex* and *East-Anglia*. Thus *Mercia* was guarded on three Sides by three large Rivers that ran into the Sea, and served for Boundaries to all the other Kingdoms. Hence the Name, *Mercia*, from the *Saxon* Word, *Merc*, signifying a *Bound*, and not, as some fancy, from an imaginary River called *Mercia*. The Inhabitants of this Kingdom are sometimes termed by Historians, *Mediterranei Angli*, or the *Mid-land English*, and sometimes *South-Humbrians*, as being South of the *Humber*; but the most common Name is that of *Mercians*. The principal Cities of *Mercia* were *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, *Coventry*, *Lichfield*, *Northampton*, *Worcester*, *Glocester*, *Derby*, *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Oxford*, *Bristol*. Of all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* this was the finest and most considerable. Its greatest length was a hundred and sixty Miles, and its greatest breadth about one hundred.

CRIDA, first King of *Mercia*, arrived in *England* in 584. He was crown'd the same or the following Year, and died in 594 (1).

INTERREGNUM.

After *Crida's* Death, *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, made himself Master of *Mercia*, and kept it some time, as will be related in the History of the Kingdom of *Kent*. But afterwards he restored it to *Wibba*, Son of *Crida*, reserving however some right of Sovereignty, the nature of which Historians have neglected to explain.

WIBBA.

This Prince reigned nineteen Years, and died in 615. He left a Son called *Penda*, who should have succeeded him, but *Ethelbert* being still alive, and dreading his restless and turbulent Spirit, left *Mercia* about a Year without a King. After that he placed *Cearlus*, Cousin-german of *Wibba*, on the Throne.

CEARLUS.

After the Death of *Ethelbert* in 616, *Cearlus* freed *Mercia* from the Dominion of the Kings of *Kent*, he reigned nine Years, and died in 624. As he left no Children, *Penda* Son of *Wibba* possessed the Throne after him.

PENDA.

This Prince was fifty Years old when he came to the Crown. *Ethelbert* had not without reason passed him by after his Father's Death, he being the most restless and stirring Prince that ever reigned before or since in *England*. He hated Peace worse than Death. I have already, in the History of *Northumberland*, spoken of his Wars with *Edwin*, *Oswald* and *Oswy*. His war with the Kings of *Wessex* and *East-Anglia*, to avoid Repetition, shall be related in the History of these two Kingdoms.

In 653, *Penda* caused *Peda* his eldest Son to be crown'd King of *Leicester*, and then sent him into *Northumberland* to espouse the Daughter of King *Oswy*, where he was converted to Christianity. He brought back with him some *Missionaries*, who preached the Gospel in *Mercia* with good Success. But *Penda* liv'd and dyed a *Pagan*.

At length *Penda* was slain in Battle in the eightieth Year of his Age, as was related in the History of *Northumberland*. He left five Sons, *Peda*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Merwald*, and *Mercelm*, and two Daughters, *Ciniburga*, and *Cinifwintba*.

INTERREGNUM.

After the Defeat and Death of *Penda*, *Oswy* became Master of *Mercia*, and kept it three Years. However he left *Peda* his Son-in-law the little Kingdom of *Leicester*. But *Peda* being soon after poisoned by his Wife, *Oswy* seized that too, and held it with the rest of *Mercia*, till he was driven thence by *Wulfer*, as we have seen in the History of *Northumberland*.

WULFER.

Wulfer was almost as much a Stranger to Peace as his Father *Penda*. He waged War at several times, with all the neighbouring Princes, with various Success, one while Conqueror, another while vanquished. As the Particulars of these Wars are not very material, and besides are but lamely related by the Historians, it is needless to insist upon them. I shall only observe, that he took *Adelwalch* King of *Sussex* Prisoner, and brought him to *Mercia*, after having conquered his Kingdom (2). Some time after, *Adelwalch* turning Christian during his Imprisonment, *Wulfer* gave him the Isle of *Wight*, which he had likewise subdued. There is room to conjecture, that *Wulfer* had also conquered the Kingdom of *Essex*, since it is well known he disposed of the Bishoprick of *London* in favour of one *Wina*.

Wulfer was still an Idolater when he came to the Crown; but shortly after was converted, and his Children were brought up in the Christian Religion (3). *Vereburga*, one of his Daughters, was honoured as a saint. He died in 675, thinking to leave his Crown to his Son *Cenrid*; but his Brother *Ethelred* found means to supplant his Nephew and obtain the Kingdom.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, as soon as he was seated on the Throne, erected *Herefordshire* into a Kingdom, and gave it to *Merwald* his Brother (4), who dying without Heirs, left it to his younger Brother *Mercelm*. But he dying also without Children, this little Kingdom was reunited to *Mercia*.

In 679, *Ethelred* invaded *Kent*, and made great Devastations (5). After that he turned his Arms against *Northumberland* (6), and compelled *Egfrid* to restore certain *Mercian* Towns, taken during the Reign of *Wulfer*. *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, greatly contributed to the Peace concluded between these two Kings.

In 697, *Ostrib*, Wife of *Ethelred*, was assassinated (7), and the little care taken to discover the Murderers, gives room to suspect the King himself was not innocent. However that be, *Ethelred* growing weary of the World, resigned his Crown to *Cenred* his Nephew, Son of *Wulfer*, and turned Monk in *Bardney* Monastery, of which shortly after he was made Abbot.

CENRED.

Nothing remarkable was done by this Prince, during his four Years Reign, but the exchanging his Crown for the *Monkish* Habit, after the Example of *Offa* King of *Essex*, who was come to his Court to demand *Cinifwintba* his Aunt, Daughter of *Penda* in Marriage. By the Persuasions of this Princess, both Kings were prevailed upon to turn Monks, and go to *Rome*, and receive the *Tonsure* at the Pope's Hands. *Cenred*, Son of *Ethelred*, succeeded his Cousin *Cenrid*.

CEOLRED.

Cenred had a terrible War to sustain against *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*. Historians, according to Custom, without relating the Motives or Particulars of this War, only say, the two Kings, at *Wodenburg* in *Wessex* fought a

(1) The *Saxon Annals* say in 593.(2) He also defeated *Cenwald*, King of *Wessex*, at *Aston*, near *Wallingford*, *Sax. Ann. Malm.* *Tyrol*, p. 133.(3) He married *Ermenilda*, the Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*. *Hyd. Polychron.* p. 230.(4) He married the Daughter of *Ermenred* King of *Kent*. *Hyd. Polychron.* p. 240.(5) Particularly, he destroy'd *Worcester*. *Huntingd.* p. 318. p. 134.(6) In this battle was slain *Elfwine*, King *Elfrid's* Brother near the River *Trent*. *Sax. Ann. Malm.* *Huntingd.* p. 124.(7) By the *South-Humbrians*, i. e. the *Mercians*, South of the *Trent*. *Sax. Ann. Tyrol*, p. 210.

bloody Battle with such equal Success, that neither could boast of the Victory.

715. *Ceolred* was far from being of his Predecessor's Mind to prefer the *Monks* Habit before a Crown. He not only disregarded the *Monks* and the rest of the *Clergy*, but, if the Historians are to be credited, violated their Privileges without any scruple. This Behaviour, so contrary to that of all the other *English* Princes, raised great Clamors against him. The *Monks* in particular took all occasions to paint him in the blackest Colours. Their Animosity follow'd him even into the other World. After his Death, which happen'd in 716, they gave out that he resign'd his last Breath, blaspheming and talking with the Devil. Such kind of Reports against those that were not in the Interest of the *Monks*, were not spread without Design. The Histories of those days are full of the like Tales. *Ethelbald*, Grandson of *Eoppa*, Brother of *Penda*, mounted the Throne after *Ceolred*.

ETHEL BALD.

716. This Prince was one of the most illustrious Kings that had hitherto worn the Crown of *Mercia*, to which he added the Dignity of Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, resigned by *Ina* King of *Wessex*, when he turned Monk. This Dignity seems to have consisted originally only in presiding at the general Assemblies, and commanding the Armies of the seven Kingdoms, and some other *Prerogatives*, which conferr'd no Right of Sovereignty over the other Kings. At least, the Electors look'd upon it in this Light. But the *Monarchs* generally consider'd it after a very different manner. They were no sooner invest'd with it, but their first care was to grasp at an unlimited Power, to which they thought themselves intitled by the Examples of the preceding Monarchs. *Ethelbald*, improving some favorable Junctures in his Reign, carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy to the highest degree, and thereby grew very troublesome and formidable to the other Kings (1). For which reason the Kings of *Wessex* and *Northumberland* agreed to attack him from two different Quarters at once. As *Mercia* was situated between these two Kingdoms, *Ethelbald* was oblig'd to send half his Army towards the *North*, whilst with the other half he march'd himself against the *West-Saxons* commanded by *Ethelun*. The Particulars of this War are unknown, except that *Ethelbald* was vanquish'd and his Army put to rout (2).

Bede, l. 5.
c. 24.
H. Hunt.

752.
Ann. Sax.
H. Hunt.

757.
M. Weft.

Four Years after, this Prince was slain (3) in a Mutiny of the Army rais'd by a Lord named *Beornred*, who was proclaim'd King by the Soldiers.

BEORNRED, the Usurper.

757.
C. Malm.
l. 1. c. 2.
Bede, l. 5. p. 1.

Beornred's Election by the Army, who had no right to assume such an Authority, was very displeasing to the *Mercian* Lords, especially as the King elect was no ways related to the Royal Family. And therefore, before *Beornred* had time to establish himself in his Usurpation, they forthwith plac'd on the Throne *Offa* Nephew of the late King. Presently after, *Offa* drawing an Army together, gave the Usurper Battle, and obtained a complete Victory. Some say, *Beornred* was slain, and others, that he maintain'd his Ground for a while in some part of *Mercia*.

O F F A.

757.
C. Malm.
l. 1. c. 2.
H. Wig.
Huntingd.
M. Paris.

Offa was one of the most famous Kings that reigned in *England* during the *Heptarchy*, not only for his being invest'd with the Dignity of Monarch, but for his Victories over the *Welsh* and the neighbouring *Saxon* Princes (4), and for several other things which I shall briefly relate. One of his greatest Victories was that over *Aldric* King of *Kent*, in 774.

Nothing was more common than to see those who were invest'd with the *Monarchy*, aspiring to a sovereign Authority over the other Kings. *Offa*, treading in the Steps of his Predecessors, never ceased to disturb his Neighbours on that occasion, and was engag'd by his Ambition in continual Wars with such Princes as disput'd his pretended Rights.

(1) Anno 715. He took *Somerset*: In 742 defeated the *Welsh*, and made all the Kings and Provinces of *England*, South of the *Humber*, acknowledge him for their Sovereign. Huntingd. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

(2) At *Bugford*, or *Burford*, in *Oxfordshire*. *Byrd*, p. 226. Huntingd. p. 341, says it was at *Hersford*. See *Sax. Ann. Malm. Brompt.*

(3) At *Seaxdane*, now call'd *Seckington*, in *Warwickshire*, *Camden*, p. 507, 515; and was buried at *Respardane*, or *Repton*, in *Derbyshire*, *Camden*, p. 591. See *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Ingulph. Brompt.*

(4) He conquer'd the Kings of *Kent*, *Wessex* and *Northumbria*. Hunting. Sax. Ann. M. Paris. Malm. Anno 778, he defeated the *West-Saxons* at *Wootton Bassett*, in *Oxfordshire*. Huntingd. p. 343. *Byrd*, p. 230.

The *Dike* may be seen on *Brady Hill*, and near *Flyd at Hely* and *Lantern* in *Hesfordshire*: and is continued northwards from *Knighen* a part of *Shropshire* into *Montgomeryshire*, and goes over the long Mountain of *Keen Dyke*, to *Harden-Castle*, crosses the *Severn* and *Lean-Drain* (from whence it passes the *Wynny* again into *Shropshire*, not far from *Oswardby*). In *Denbighshire* it is visible along the Road between *Kewston* and *Wrexham*, and being continued thro' *Flinth*, ends a little below *Holywell*, a place formerly the site of the Castle of *Bajungwerk*. See *Camden*, p. 698.

(5) *Matt. Paris* says, that he shut her up, and would never let her come nigh him again, p. 981.

(6) He was murder'd at *Mordon*, about three Miles from *Hersford*. *Leavis's Hist. of Gr. Brit. Introd.* p. 43.

(7) It was in all upon twenty-three of our present Counties, but far his Dominions extended.

(8) *Adrian*.

(9) *Arch. Bæon* in his historical and political Discourses, c. 9. makes it appear it was far from being a Tribute. *Rupin*.

But these Wars are so confusedly and tamely related by the Historians, that all I could say would not suffice to give a clear Notion of them. We must therefore be contented with what has been said of him in general, which may serve to discover the Character of King *Offa*.

Whilst *Offa* was employ'd in subduing the *Saxon* Kings, the *Welsh*, always upon the Watch to improve the Advantages afforded them by the frequent Dissentions of the *English*, thought they had now a fair Opportunity to attack him. This unexpected War, wherein the *Welsh* at first were successful, caus'd *Offa* to conclude a Peace with the *English*, in order to turn his Arms against the *Welsh*. He quickly reduc'd them to such a Condition that they were forced to abandon not only their late Conquests in *Mercia*, but also part of their own Country beyond the *Severn*, which *Offa* seiz'd and peopled with *English* Colonies. But to prevent the *Welsh* from ever retaking it, he threw up a Rampart, defended by a large Ditch, by means of which he parted his Conquests from the rest of *Wales*. This Rampart, in length twenty four Miles, reaching from the Mouth of the *Dee*, to the place where the *Wye* runs into the *Severn*, was call'd *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offa's Dyke* (5).

In 786, *Offa* made his Son *Egfrid* Partner with him in the Government, and gave his Daughter *Edburg* in Marriage to *Britric* King of *Wessex*.

What cast the greatest Blemish on *Offa*'s Reputation was his Treachery to *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*. This young Prince desirous to marry, came to the Court of *Offa* and demanded his Daughter *Adelfrida* in Marriage. He was receiv'd at first with great Marks of Affection and Esteem. But soon after the Scene was changed, *Offa*, by the pressing and repeated Intigations of *Quendrida* his Wife (6), who represent'd to him that he ought by all means to embrace so fair an Opportunity of becoming Master of *East-Anglia*, was perswaded to break the most sacred Laws of Honor and Hospitality, by the Murder of *Ethelbert* (7). Which done he marches into *East-Anglia* with a numerous Army, before the *East-Angles* had time to prepare for their Defence, and meeting with no Opposition, seizes the Kingdom, and unites it to *Mercia*.

He had no sooner committed this Horrid Fact, but he was tormented with cruel Remorse. His Crime was continually before his Eyes, and tortured him to such a Degree, that he could not enjoy a Moment's Ease. To appease his raging Conscience, he resolv'd upon a Journey to *Rome*, (which he perform'd in 794) to obtain a Pardon from the *Pope*, and secure himself from the Punishment due to his Crime. The *Pope* (8) granted his Request, on condition he would be liberal to the Churches and Monasteries: for that was the only way then of atoning for Sins. It were to be wish'd that Restitution had also been enjoined as a necessary and previous Condition.

Among the Liberalities of *Offa* to the Churches of *Rome*, we must not omit one of great Consequence for *England*. *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, had now founded at *Rome* a College for the Education of *English* Youth; for the Maintenance whereof the Founder order'd a Penny to be collected yearly of every Family in his Dominions (9). This kind of Charity was term'd *Romefcot*, that is, *Tribute of Rome*, or *sent to Rome*. *Offa* extended this Tax throughout *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, the Lands belonging to the Monastery of *St. Albans* only excepted: And because this Money was paid at *Rome* on a Holy-day, call'd *St. Peter's ad vincula* (10), this Tax was nam'd *Peter-Pence*, instead of *Romefcot*. By this Means the Directors of the College were abundantly supplied wherewithal to defray the Expence they were at from the great Concourse of the *English*, who came to study at *Rome*. In process of Time, the *Popes* pretending it was a Tribute paid by the *English* to *St. Peter* and his Successors, convert'd it to their own use, 'till it was entirely abolish'd by *Henry VIII* (11).

Before *Offa* left *Rome*, he obtain'd of the *Pope* the Canonization of *St. Alban*, the first *British* Martyr, whose Relicks were pretended to be found at *Verulam*. At his return, he built there a fine Church and a stately Monastery, to which he granted great Privileges and a large Revenue. From that time *Verulam* was call'd *St. Albans*. *Offa* was also very munificent to the Church of *Hereford*, where the Body of the King of *East-Anglia* lay buried, that Prayers

795.

Bede, l. 1.

7.

might be incessantly made for the *Murdered and Murderer*.

William of Malmsbury, speaking of King *Offa*, doubts whether he should rank him among the good or bad Princes (1). The Canonization of St. *Alban*, procured by his means, and the founding a noble Monastery in Honour of that Saint, being put in the Balance against the Murder of *Ethelbert*, is the Ground of that Historian's Uncertainty.

The Reign of *Offa* is memorable upon several Accounts: His *Dike*: The Union of *East-Anglia* to *Mercia*: The erecting of *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick (2), of which I shall speak elsewhere: *Peter-Pence*: A Body of Laws publish'd under the Title of *Mercens Leaga*, (i. e.) *Laws of the Mercians* (3), which serv'd for Pattern to his Successors, and the greatest part whereof were insert'd in King *Alfred's* Laws, published about the end of the next Century (4).

Offa had contracted a close Friendship with *Charles the Great*. We meet with some of their Letters in the *Life of Offa* at the end of *Matthew Paris's* History: A *Life* wherein are almost as many *Fables* as *Truths*.

This Prince died in 796, after a Reign of thirty nine Years. *Egfrid* who had already been crowned as his Partner succeeded him both in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and Dignity of Monarch.

E G F R I D.

Egfrid, who survived his Father but four or five Months, employed that time in enriching the *Monks*, and particularly those of St. *Albans*. *Cenulph*, descended from *Wibba* by another Branch, succeeded him in both his Dignities.

C E N U L P H.

Cenulph was no sooner on the Throne, but he declared

War against *Edbert-Pren* King of *Kent*, the motive whereof is unknown (5). We are only told, it proved fatal to the King of *Kent*, who being taken Prisoner, was carried to *Mercia*, where *Cenulph* ordered his Eyes to be put out (6), after he had placed another King (7) on the Throne of *Kent* (8).

Cenulph died in 819, after a glorious Reign of twenty G. Malm. four Years. He left a Son very young, named *Cenelm*, P. 4. and two Daughters, *Quendrida* and *Burganilda*.

C E N E L M.

Quendrida, eldest Sister of *Cenelm*, hoping to mount the Throne, if her brother was out of the way, caused him to be assassinated by one *Ascobert*, who threw his Body into a Well, where it was found as it is pretended by a Miracle. *Quendrida* did not reap that Benefit from her Crime, she expected; for the *Mercians* placed on the Throne *Cenulph* Uncle of the late King.

C E O L U P H.

This Prince after a Year's Reign was deposed by *Bernulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country. 819. An. Sax.

BERNULPH, 821. LUDICAN, 823.

WITGLAPH, 825.

I shall say nothing here of these three last Kings of *Mercia*, because I shall have occasion to mention them in the History of the Kings of *Wessex*.

THE

History of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE Kingdom of the *East-Angles* was bounded on the North by the *Humber* and the *German Ocean*: On the East by the same *Ocean*, which surrounded it almost on two sides: On the South by the Kingdom of *Essex*; and on the West by *Mercia*. Its greatest length was eighty, and its greatest breadth fifty five miles. It contained the two Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with part of *Cambridgeshire*. The chief Towns were *Norwich*, *Thetford*, *Ely*, and *Cambridge*. I have already related, how this Kingdom was founded by the *Angles* that landed on the eastern Coasts of *Britain*, under twelve Chiefs, the Survivor of whom, *Uffa*, assumed the Title of King of the *East-Angles*.

U F F A.

571. We don't find this Prince acted any thing remarkable after his being King. He died in 578, leaving his Son *Titilus* to succeed him.

T I T I L U S.

578. All we know of this King is, that he died in 599, and had for Successor his Son *Redowald*.

R E D O W A L D.

599. This Prince was the most illustrious of all the Kings of *East-Anglia*, if not of the whole *Heptarchy*. As I have had occasion to speak of him largely in the History of *Northumberland*, I shall only observe here that he died in 624, leaving his Crown to his Son *Erpwald*.

E R P W A L D.

624. *Erpwald* made but a very indifferent Figure in the *Heptarchy*, being all along in Subjection to *Edwin* King of

Northumberland, who might have depriv'd him of his Kingdom, with the Consent of the *East-Angles*, if the Obligations he had received from *Redowald* his Father would have suffered him to have been guilty of so black an Ingratitude. However he was in reality the Sovereign of *East-Anglia*, tho' he left *Erpwald* the Title of King. *Erpwald* was assassinated in 633, after he had reign'd about nine Years. Bede, l. 2. c. 15.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

After his Death, *East-Anglia* had no King for three Years, the Reason whereof is unknown. In 636 the *East-Angles* placed on the Throne *Sigebert*, half Brother of their last King. 633.

S I G E B E R T.

This Prince who was banished by *Erpwald* his Brother by the Mother's Side, on suspicion of aspiring to the Crown, had retired into *France*, where he became a Christian. As soon as he was King of *East-Anglia*, he made it his chief Business to bring his Subjects to the Knowledge of the true God; which indeed was planted among them in the Reign of *Redowald*, but having made no great Progress, was now almost extinguished. After he had effected this Work by the Assistance of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Priest, he retired into a Monastery, resigning his Crown to *Egric* his Cousin. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 5. FL. Wig. Bede, l. 3. c. 18. H. Hunt. l. 3.

E G R I C.

Egric soon after his Coronation, being attacked by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, the *East-Angles* having no great Confidence in their new King, petition *Sigebert* to quit his Monastery, and put himself at the Head of their Army. He stood out a good while against their Intreaties: But possess'd with a Notion that Heaven must crown so pious a Prince 644. Bede.

(1) Probably the true Reason why *W. Malmsbury* gives him an indifferent Character, is, because he seized the Lands of several Monasteries, particularly that at *Malmsbury*. See *W. Malmsb.* p. 30.

(2) Upon his conquering *Kent* he remov'd the Archbishopric from *Canterbury* to *Lichfield*. See *M. Paris*, p. 978, 979. *Malmsb. de Pontif.* p. 199.

(3) Concerning this Matter, see *Nicholson's Hist. Libr.* p. 45. and his Preface to *Dr Wilkins's Saxon-Laws*.

(4) *Gosfrid* of *Monmouth*, l. 1. c. 20; and *Ranulph* of *Chester*, l. 1. c. 50. confound these *Mercian* Laws with the Laws of one *Marcia*, Wife of *Guthred* a *British* King. *Alfred the Great* says in his Preface to his Laws, That he had taken them from the Laws of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, *Ina* King of *Wessex* and *Offa* King of *Mercia*. *Rapin*.

(5) *Malmsbury* assigns no other Reason for it, but that he was push'd on by an inveterate Animosity against them, which he inherited from *Offa*, p. 33.

(6) *W. Malmsbury* says, that he ordered him to be set at Liberty soon after, p. 33.

(7) *Guthred*. *Malmsbury*.

(8) He restored *Adelard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Dignity of Metropolitan. *Malmsb. ibid.*

with Victory, they press him so earnestly, that at length he yields to their request, and heads the Army with *Egric*, carrying nothing but a Switch in his Hand. God, who is not directed by the Imaginations of Men, gave the Victory to the *Mercians*, both the *East-Anglian* Kings being slain on the spot. They were succeeded by *Annas*, Son of *Ennius*, Nephew of *Redwald*.

A N N A S.

644. *Annas* was one of the most illustrious Kings of *East-Anglia*. By his Aid it was, that *Cenwalch* King of *Wessex*, who fled to him for Refuge, was restored to his Kingdom, of which he had been depriv'd by *Penda* in 645.

654. This Action drew upon him the Hatred of *Penda*, who, out of Revenge, resolv'd to carry Fire and Sword into *East-Anglia*. *Annas* died whilst he was preparing for his Defence, leaving the Management of this dangerous War to *Ethelric*, his Brother and Successor (1).

E T H E L R I C.

654. *Ethelric* dreading the Valour and Power of *Penda*, bribes him with a Sum of Money to desist from his War with the *East-Anglians*, and to induce him to invade *Northumberland*, offers to accompany him with all his Forces. I have already related how they were both slain in an Engagement with *Osfric*. *Adekwald*, Brother of *Ethelric*, mounted the Throne after him.

A D E L W A L D.

655. We know nothing more of this Prince, but that he died

in 664, leaving his Crown to *Aldulph* his Nephew, Son of *Ethelric*.

A L D U L P H.

Of this Prince all we can learn is, that he was alive in 680, and assisted at the Council of *Hatfield*. His Successor was *Alfwald*.

A L F W A L D.

Alfwald died in 749, and was succeeded by *Beorna* and *Ethelbert*, who divided the Kingdom. ^{Flor. M. West.}

B E O R N A and E T H E L B E R T.

Ethelbert dying before the Year 758, *Beorna* reign'd alone. But we know nothing more of him, but that he was succeeded by *Ethelred*. 749.

E T H E L R E D.

Ethelred dying about the Year 790, left the Crown to *Ethelbert*.

E T H E L B E R T.

This is the Prince that *Offa* King of *Mercia* put to death in order to seize his Kingdom in 792 (3). From that time *East-Anglia* and *Mercia* made but one Kingdom.

T H E .

History of the Kingdom *E S S E X*.

Kingdom of
Essex.

TH E Kingdom of *Essex* or the *East-Saxons* was bounded on the North by *East-Anglia*, on the East by the *German Ocean*, on the South by the *Thames*, and on the West by *Mercia*. Its greatest length was seventy five Miles, and its breadth thirty eight. It contain'd the Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. The principal Cities were *London* and *Colechester*; the first of which became afterwards the *Metropolis* of all *England*. It had formerly been very considerable, by reason of its Situation, in the time of the *Romans*, who made it a *Colony*. But in all Probability it was reduc'd very low after the Arrival of the *Saxons*.

This Country having been extorted from *Vortigern* by *Hengist*, after the Massacre of the *British* Lords, was erected into a Kingdom by *Erchenwin* the first King. Historians have neglected to inform us of the occasion and manner of founding this Kingdom, by which the Successors of *Hengist* were depriv'd of almost as large a Tract of Land as the Kingdom of *Kent*. Had a Monastery been in the case, we should have had all the Particulars.

E R C H E N W I N.

527. *Erchenwin* began his Reign in 527, and died in 587, after he had reign'd sixty Years. He was succeeded by his Son *Sledda*. ^{G. Malmsh. l. 1. c. 6.}

S L E D D A.

587. It is not known in what Year this Prince died, but only that his Son *Sabert* or *Saba* reign'd in 599.

S A B E R T.

604. *Sabert* was the first Christian King of *Essex*, being converted by the preaching of *Mellitus*, and Solicitation of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, his Uncle by his Mother's Side (4). He was noted for his Piety and Zeal for the true Religion. He died in 616, and was succeeded by his three Sons (5). ^{Bede, l. 2. c. 3.}

S A X R E D, S E W A R D, and S I G E B E R T.

616. These three Princes reigning together, forsook with one Consent the Christian Religion, which they had profess'd ^{Br. mpt. M. West.}

during their Father's Life. After they had reign'd seven Years, they rashly came to an unequal Engagement with *Cinigisil* and *Quicelm* Kings of *Wessex*, and were all three cut off, with their whole Army. Their Successor was *Sigebert the Little*. ^{Bede, l. 2. c. 15. M. West.}

S I G E B E R T the Little.

Sigebert the Little. Nothing particular is known concerning this Prince, not so much as the time of his Death, but only that he was succeeded by *Sigebert the Good*, Grandson of a Brother of pious King *Sabert*, and was on the Throne in the Year 653. 623.

S I G E B E R T the Good.

Sigebert restor'd the Christian Religion in his Dominions, from whence it had been expell'd ever since the Death of *Sabert*. He was assisted therein by *Cedd*, a *Northumbrian* Priest, consecrated Bishop of the *East-Saxons*. This Prince was assassinated in 655, by two Counts his Relations, who, having been excommunicated by *Cedd*, complain'd that the King, instead of avenging their Quarrel, had cast himself at the Feet of the Bishop, begging pardon for conversing with them after their Excommunication. His Successor was *Swithelm* his Brother. ^{Fl. Wig. G. Malmsh. l. 1. c. 6. Bede, l. 3. c. 22.}

S W I T H E L M.

There is nothing particular concerning this Prince except that *Sebba* and *Siger* succeeded him. 655. ^{Fl. Wig. G. Malmsh.}

S E B B A and S I G E R.

Sebba was Son of *Seward*, and *Siger* of *Sigebert the Little*, Son of the same *Seward*. *Siger* return'd to Idolatry; but *Sebba* stedfastly adhered to the Christian Religion. They were Vassals to the King of *Mercia*, as was before observ'd in the Reign of *Wulfher*. *Siger* dying in 683, *Sebba* remain'd sole King of *Essex*.

S E B B A alone.

Sebba reign'd about eleven Years longer, and then, 683.

(1) The Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 317. and Malmsh. say, that he was slain in a Battle with *Penda*.
(2) *Byssop* says, he saw in a Chronicle of *Maurice*, a King nam'd *Switbeard*, who reign'd in 749. He might have succeeded *Alfwald*, *Rafin*.
(3) He was buried after his Death. *Malmsh. Exempt*.
(4) *Rædla*, Sister to *Ethelbert*, was *Sabert's* Mother. *Rafin*.
(5) He was buried in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, which, according to some, he built. *Higd. Pely. l. p. 228.*

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ESSEX.

9		¹ ENCHENMENT ¹⁹ K. of Exeter d. 1087.	
10		² STEPH ¹ Widow of Kent. d. 1100.	
11		³ SAREPT d. 1110.	Saxbald
12	⁴ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁴ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁴ SAREPT d. 1110.
13	⁵ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁵ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁵ SAREPT d. 1110.
14	⁶ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁶ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁶ SAREPT d. 1110.
15	⁷ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁷ SAREPT d. 1110.	⁷ SAREPT d. 1110.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SUSSEX.

Abbreviations	
12	<i>d. died</i> K. King ———— Efa ————
13	<i>1</i> <i>ENLA</i> <i>101</i> K. of <i>Sigow</i> ———— <i>d. 514.</i> ———— <i>Eoppa</i> ———— From whom spring the K. of North.
14	Batalph ———— <i>2</i> Colotim ———— <i>1584</i> d. 590 ————
15	<i>or</i> Cifeneus ———— <i>3</i> Planigus ———— <i>5th.</i> <i>4th.</i> <i>ANONYMUS</i> d. 648. ————
16	<i>4</i> <i>ADENIACHI</i> <i>101</i> <i>11</i> <i>12</i> <i>13</i> <i>14</i> <i>15</i> <i>16</i> <i>17</i> <i>18</i> <i>19</i> <i>20</i> <i>21</i> <i>22</i> <i>23</i> <i>24</i> <i>25</i> <i>26</i> <i>27</i> <i>28</i> <i>29</i> <i>30</i> <i>31</i> <i>32</i> <i>33</i> <i>34</i> <i>35</i> <i>36</i> <i>37</i> <i>38</i> <i>39</i> <i>40</i> <i>41</i> <i>42</i> <i>43</i> <i>44</i> <i>45</i> <i>46</i> <i>47</i> <i>48</i> <i>49</i> <i>50</i> <i>51</i> <i>52</i> <i>53</i> <i>54</i> <i>55</i> <i>56</i> <i>57</i> <i>58</i> <i>59</i> <i>60</i> <i>61</i> <i>62</i> <i>63</i> <i>64</i> <i>65</i> <i>66</i> <i>67</i> <i>68</i> <i>69</i> <i>70</i> <i>71</i> <i>72</i> <i>73</i> <i>74</i> <i>75</i> <i>76</i> <i>77</i> <i>78</i> <i>79</i> <i>80</i> <i>81</i> <i>82</i> <i>83</i> <i>84</i> <i>85</i> <i>86</i> <i>87</i> <i>88</i> <i>89</i> <i>90</i> <i>91</i> <i>92</i> <i>93</i> <i>94</i> <i>95</i> <i>96</i> <i>97</i> <i>98</i> <i>99</i> <i>100</i> <i>101</i> <i>102</i> <i>103</i> <i>104</i> <i>105</i> <i>106</i> <i>107</i> <i>108</i> <i>109</i> <i>110</i> <i>111</i> <i>112</i> <i>113</i> <i>114</i> <i>115</i> <i>116</i> <i>117</i> <i>118</i> <i>119</i> <i>120</i> <i>121</i> <i>122</i> <i>123</i> <i>124</i> <i>125</i> <i>126</i> <i>127</i> <i>128</i> <i>129</i> <i>130</i> <i>131</i> <i>132</i> <i>133</i> <i>134</i> <i>135</i> <i>136</i> <i>137</i> <i>138</i> <i>139</i> <i>140</i> <i>141</i> <i>142</i> <i>143</i> <i>144</i> <i>145</i> <i>146</i> <i>147</i> <i>148</i> <i>149</i> <i>150</i> <i>151</i> <i>152</i> <i>153</i> <i>154</i> <i>155</i> <i>156</i> <i>157</i> <i>158</i> <i>159</i> <i>160</i> <i>161</i> <i>162</i> <i>163</i> <i>164</i> <i>165</i> <i>166</i> <i>167</i> <i>168</i> <i>169</i> <i>170</i> <i>171</i> <i>172</i> <i>173</i> <i>174</i> <i>175</i> <i>176</i> <i>177</i> <i>178</i> <i>179</i> <i>180</i> <i>181</i> <i>182</i> <i>183</i> <i>184</i> <i>185</i> <i>186</i> <i>187</i> <i>188</i> <i>189</i> <i>190</i> <i>191</i> <i>192</i> <i>193</i> <i>194</i> <i>195</i> <i>196</i> <i>197</i> <i>198</i> <i>199</i> <i>200</i> <i>201</i> <i>202</i> <i>203</i> <i>204</i> <i>205</i> <i>206</i> <i>207</i> <i>208</i> <i>209</i> <i>210</i> <i>211</i> <i>212</i> <i>213</i> <i>214</i> <i>215</i> <i>216</i> <i>217</i> <i>218</i> <i>219</i> <i>220</i> <i>221</i> <i>222</i> <i>223</i> <i>224</i> <i>225</i> <i>226</i> <i>227</i> <i>228</i> <i>229</i> <i>230</i> <i>231</i> <i>232</i> <i>233</i> <i>234</i> <i>235</i> <i>236</i> <i>237</i> <i>238</i> <i>239</i> <i>240</i> <i>241</i> <i>242</i> <i>243</i> <i>244</i> <i>245</i> <i>246</i> <i>247</i> <i>248</i> <i>249</i> <i>250</i> <i>251</i> <i>252</i> <i>253</i> <i>254</i> <i>255</i> <i>256</i> <i>257</i> <i>258</i> <i>259</i> <i>260</i> <i>261</i> <i>262</i> <i>263</i> <i>264</i> <i>265</i> <i>266</i> <i>267</i> <i>268</i> <i>269</i> <i>270</i> <i>271</i> <i>272</i> <i>273</i> <i>274</i> <i>275</i> <i>276</i> <i>277</i> <i>278</i> <i>279</i> <i>280</i> <i>281</i> <i>282</i> <i>283</i> <i>284</i> <i>285</i> <i>286</i> <i>287</i> <i>288</i> <i>289</i> <i>290</i> <i>291</i> <i>292</i> <i>293</i> <i>294</i> <i>295</i> <i>296</i> <i>297</i> <i>298</i> <i>299</i> <i>300</i> <i>301</i> <i>302</i> <i>303</i> <i>304</i> <i>305</i> <i>306</i> <i>307</i> <i>308</i> <i>309</i> <i>310</i> <i>311</i> <i>312</i> <i>313</i> <i>314</i> <i>315</i> <i>316</i> <i>317</i> <i>318</i> <i>319</i> <i>320</i> <i>321</i> <i>322</i> <i>323</i> <i>324</i> <i>325</i> <i>326</i> <i>327</i> <i>328</i> <i>329</i> <i>330</i> <i>331</i> <i>332</i> <i>333</i> <i>334</i> <i>335</i> <i>336</i> <i>337</i> <i>338</i> <i>339</i> <i>340</i> <i>341</i> <i>342</i> <i>343</i> <i>344</i> <i>345</i> <i>346</i> <i>347</i> <i>348</i> <i>349</i> <i>350</i> <i>351</i> <i>352</i> <i>353</i> <i>354</i> <i>355</i> <i>356</i> <i>357</i> <i>358</i> <i>359</i> <i>360</i> <i>361</i> <i>362</i> <i>363</i> <i>364</i> <i>365</i> <i>366</i> <i>367</i> <i>368</i> <i>369</i> <i>370</i> <i>371</i> <i>372</i> <i>373</i> <i>374</i> <i>375</i> <i>376</i> <i>377</i> <i>378</i> <i>379</i> <i>380</i> <i>381</i> <i>382</i> <i>383</i> <i>384</i> <i>385</i> <i>386</i> <i>387</i> <i>388</i> <i>389</i> <i>390</i> <i>391</i> <i>392</i> <i>393</i> <i>394</i> <i>395</i> <i>396</i> <i>397</i> <i>398</i> <i>399</i> <i>400</i> <i>401</i> <i>402</i> <i>403</i> <i>404</i> <i>405</i> <i>406</i> <i>407</i> <i>408</i> <i>409</i> <i>410</i> <i>411</i> <i>412</i> <i>413</i> <i>414</i> <i>415</i> <i>416</i> <i>417</i> <i>418</i> <i>419</i> <i>420</i> <i>421</i> <i>422</i> <i>423</i> <i>424</i> <i>425</i> <i>426</i> <i>427</i> <i>428</i> <i>429</i> <i>430</i> <i>431</i> <i>432</i> <i>433</i> <i>434</i> <i>435</i> <i>436</i>

being very old, turn'd Monk in 694. He left his Crown to *Sighard* and *Senofrid* his Sons.

Pope's Hands. *Offa* is said by some to be succeeded by *Seolred* or *Selred*, Son of *Sigebert the Good*.

SIGHARD and SENOFRID.

SEOLRED.

694. These two Brothers reigned, and very probably died, together about the Year 705. *Offa*, Son of *Siger*, mounted the Throne after them.

Seolred reigned thirty eight Years, and was killed at last, 707. but by whom, or in what manner, is unknown. *Swi-* G. Malm. H. Hunt. *thred* his Son succeeded him, as some say.

OFFA.

SWITHRED.

705. This Prince desiring to marry, and casting his Eyes on *Cinifwintha*, Daughter of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, goes to the Court of *Cenred* to demand this Princess his Aunt in Marriage. But *Cinifwintha*, being very religious and not young, persuades her Lover to turn Monk, as she does likewise her Nephew King of *Mercia*. These two Princes went to *Rome* together, and received the *Tonsure* at the

This is the last King of *Essex*, whose Name occurs in History or the *Saxon Annals*. He began his Reign in 746, and in case he was alive at the time of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, must have reigned seventy eight Years.

Of all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, there is none whose History is so imperfect as that of the Kingdom of *Essex*.

THE

History of the Kingdom of KENT.

Kingdom of Kent.

THE Kingdom of *Kent*, the first that was founded by the *Saxons*, being neither large nor very considerable, made no Figure in the *Heptarchy*, only during the Reigns of *Hengist* and *Ethelbert*. It was very advantageously situated, having the Sea on the South and East; the *Thames* on the North; and the little Kingdom of *Sussex* on the West. As long as this last subsisted, it served as a Bulwark to the Kings of *Kent*, against the Ambition of the Kings of *Wessex*. But after it was subdued by the *West-Saxons*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was in continual Danger of falling under the Domination of these powerful Neighbours. The Truth is, the Jealousy between the Kings of *Wessex* and *Mercia*, and the Equality of their Forces, were the only things that long prevented this little Kingdom from becoming a Prey to one or other of them. It was not above sixty Miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief Towns were *Dorobern* or *Canterbury* the Capital, *Dover*, *Rocheſter*, and some others not so large indeed, but considerable however for their Situation and Harbours, as *Sandwich*, *Deal*, *Folkstone*, *Reculver*, &c.

HENGIST, first King.

455. *Hengist* arrived in *Great Britain* in 449. He assumed the Title of *King of Kent* in 455, and died in 488. He was succeeded by his Son *Efcus*.

ESCUS.

488. As the *Saxons*, after the Death of *Hengist*, conferred the Command of their Armies on *Ella* King of *Sussex*, *Efcus* very likely was not in so great Esteem as his Father. I know of nothing remarkable concerning his Reign (1), which lasted to the Year 512. His Successor was *Oeta* his Son.

OCTA.

512. This Prince suffered, or at least could not prevent the dismembring of *Essex* and *Middlesex* from the Kingdom of *Kent*, to form the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*. This is the only Particular we meet with during this twenty two Years Reign. After *Oeta*, his Father *Hermenric* ascended the Throne of *Kent*.

HERMENRIC.

534. There is nothing particular concerning this Prince, who reigned however thirty Years. Before his Death he associated *Ethelbert* his Son and Successor.

ETHELBERT.

568. *Ethelbert* was one of the most celebrated Kings, not only of *Kent*, but of the whole *Heptarchy*. He was famous upon many Accounts, particularly for his being the first Christian King of his Nation. But as I intend to speak elsewhere of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, I

shall relate here only such of *Ethelbert's* Actions as respect not Religion.

This Prince, who had a great and an aspiring *Genius*, beheld with regret, that his Predecessors had lost the Dignity of Monarch and the Superiority *Hengist* had over all the *Saxons*, settled in his time in *Great-Britain*. At his coming to the Crown, he finds *Ceaulin* King of *Wessex* in possession of this Superiority as Monarch. He resolves to dispute it with him, but is twice worsted. For this cause he remains quiet till the Year 593, when he takes up Arms again, not singly as before, but in conjunction with all the other Kings, who are displeased with *Ceaulin's* seizing the Kingdom of *Sussex*. *Ethelbert* being declared General, defeated *Ceaulin*, who died soon after.

After *Ceaulin's* Death, *Ethelbert* being elected Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and forgetting the Fall of *Ceaulin*, of which he himself was the cause, exercised an almost absolute Power over all the Kingdoms lying South of the *Humber*, the *Northumbrians* alone having found means to keep themselves independent. All the rest chose rather to submit than contend with him (2).

Besides his being formidable to his Neighbours for his great Accomplishments, he had moreover the Advantage of being allied to *France* by means of his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter of *Cherebert* King of *Paris*. This Alliance procured him great Respect, the Kings his Neighbours having reason to dread the introducing the *French* into *England*, as he might easily have done. But though the Haughtiness wherewith *Ethelbert* treated them, after several Victories, made them exceeding uneasy, they had still a much greater Occasion to be alarmed.

Upon the Death of *Crida* King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* seized that Kingdom, though the deceased King had left a Son of fit Age to succeed him. In this *Ethelbert* trod exactly in the Steps of *Ceaulin*, though he had himself stirred up the other Kings against that Monarch, on account of his Ambition. Thus Men, for the most part, condemn in others what they approve in themselves. *Ethelbert* it seems pretended that he had a Right as Monarch, or as Descendent of *Hengist*, to succeed to all the vacant Thrones in the *Heptarchy*. For when Fortune smiles on a Man, he easily finds Reasons, good or bad, to support the most exorbitant Pretensions. However this be, the *Anglo-Saxon* Princes, alarmed at this open Usurpation, began to stir and take Measures to put a stop to this formidable Power, before it grew to a greater Height. The Monarch dreading they would all join in a league against him, and serve him as they did *Ceaulin*, thought it not Prudence to expose himself to the same Danger. Accordingly, to make them easy, he restored the Kingdom of *Mercia* to *Wibba*, Son of *Crida*, reserving however such an Authority over him, that he durst not undertake any thing without his Order or Leave. Satisfied with this kind of Moderation, the *Englisch* Princes laid aside all thoughts of a War, which Necessity alone had driven them to.

Nothing very remarkable happened in the rest of *Ethelbert's* Reign, except what relates to Religion, of which I shall speak in the History of the Church. This Prince had two Wives, the first was *Bertha* of *France*

(1) *H. Huntingd.* says, that he enlarged his Dominions, by conquering the Kingdoms of the *Britons*, p. 312.

(2) *Malmſbury* observes, that King *Ethelbert*, in the beginning of his Reign, was a Scorn to the neighbouring Princes; for being beaten in one or two Battles, he could scarce defend his own Territories: but when in his riper Years he had learned more Experience in War, he soon brought under his Subjection all the Nations of the *Anglo-Saxons*, except the *Northumbrians*. *Rapin*.

by whom he had *Edbald* his Successor, and *Ethelburga*, married to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. The Name of his second Wife is unknown. He died in 616 (1), after he had reigned fifty two Years.

EDBALD.

916. *Edbald* was very unlike his Father. As soon as he became his own Master, he forsook the Christian Religion and turned Heathen. He is even said to have married the Queen his Mother-in-law. His Vices rendering him slothful and unactive, all the *English* Sovereigns cast off the Yoke they had worn during the Life of *Ethelbert*. The King of *Mercia* in particular having freed himself from the Servitude *Ethelbert* had kept him in, *Edbald* had neither the Power nor Courage to maintain what the King his Father thought he had so firmly established. I don't know whether Historians are not agreed in giving this Prince an exceeding bad Character, in order to set off his Conversion the more. However this be, they assure us, that by the Pains of *Laurentius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was brought to a sense of his Errors, and returning to the Profession of the Gospel, spent the remainder of his Days in the Practice of its Precepts. He left two Sons (2), *Ermenfred* and *Ercombert*, which last succeeded him, and a Daughter named *Enfwith*, Foundress of the Abby of *Folkstone*.

ERCOMBERT.

640. *Ercombert*, though the youngest of *Edbald*'s Sons, found means to ascend the Throne, in prejudice of his elder Brother (3). This Prince ordered the Temples of the false Gods to be razed to the Ground, and the Idols broken in Pieces, lest they should prove a Snare to the People. *Ermenfred* his Brother being seized with a Distemper that brought him to his Grave, he promis'd to leave the Crown, which of right belonged to him, to his Children. But he was not so good as his Word: Perhaps it was too late when he came to think of it just before his Death, in the Year 664 (4). He left two Sons, *Egbert* and *Lothair*, and two Daughters; *Ermenilda* the eldest was Wife of *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*: The other was a Nun.

EGBERT.

664. *Egbert* was no sooner on the Throne, but he put two Sons of his Uncle *Ermenfred* to Death; for fear they should disturb him in the Possession of the Crown. He presented their Sister *Domnena* with some Lands in the Isle of *Thanet*, where she founded a Monastery. This Prince died in 673; leaving two Sons, *Edric* and *Widred*, who were not his immediate Successors, the Crown being seized by their Uncle *Lothair*.

LOTHAIR.

673. After *Lothair* had reigned ten Years unmolested (5), to secure the Succession in his Family, he made his Son *Richard* Partner with him in the Government. This Proceeding obliges his Nephew *Edric*, Son of his Brother *Egbert*, to withdraw from Court, and apply to *Edelwalch* King of *Sussex* for Aid, who puts him at the Head of an Army; with which entering *Kent*, he vanquished *Lothair*, who died of the Wounds he received in Battle. After this Victory, *Edric* was crowned without Opposition. *Richard* Son of *Lothair* fled into *Germany*, where *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, an *Englishman*, gave him his Sister in Marriage, and caused him to be elected King of *Suabia*, if we may believe some Historians. I don't know how he came to die at *Lucca* in *Tuscany*, where his Tomb is still to be seen. They stile him King of *England*, though at most he was but King of *Kent*.

EDRIC.

This Prince reigned but two Years (6), and as he had no Children, left the Crown to his Brother *Widred*, who was forced to make *Swabert* his Partner, whose Extraction is unknown.

WIDRED and SWABERT.

686. After *Edric*'s Death, Troubles and Commotions arose in

the Kingdom of *Kent*, occasioned by the Ambition of some Nobles who fortified themselves, and refused to acknowledge *Widred* for King. In all probability *Swabert* was one of the principal of the Rebels, since he was associated into the Government. It is not known whether he was any way related to the Royal Family.

In the Reign of these two Kings, *Cadwalla* King of the *West-Saxons* imagining the intestine Divisions of *Kent* would render the Kingdom an easy Conquest, sent an Army thither under the Command of his Brother *Mollon*, who overran great part of the Country. But at length, the two Kings joining Forces, vanquish him in Battle. *Mollon* perceiving he was closely pursued, took shelter with twelve others in a House which they valiantly defended: But the *Kentish* Soldiers setting fire to it, they all miserably perished in the Flames. *Cadwalla* soon revenged the Death of his Brother, whom he tenderly loved. He entered *Kent* with a formidable Army, and never left till he had destroyed the whole Country with Fire and Sword. After this Invasion, *Kent* was reduced so low, that it never more made any Figure in the *Heptarchy*.

The two Kings enjoyed no Repose till the Year 691. This perhaps is the reason of *Bede*'s placing the beginning of *Widred*'s Reign in this Year, tho' he was crowned five Years before. *Swabert* died in 695, and *Widred* remained sole King of *Kent*.

WIDRED alone.

He reigned twelve Years alone, and died in 725 (7), leaving three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Edbert* and *Aldric*: The two eldest jointly succeeded him.

ETHELBERT and EDBERT.

These two Brothers reigned together till the Year 748, when *Edbert* died.

ETHELBERT alone.

This Prince reigned ten or twelve Years alone, and after a Reign of thirty six Years, left his Crown to his Brother *Aldric*. He had associated his Son *Arduolph*, who died before him (8).

ALDRIC.

Aldric was frequently attacked by his Neighbours, who seeing the weak Estate of the Kingdom of *Kent*, improv'd the Opportunity to subdue it. *Offa* King of *Mercia* was one of the most forward. He gained a Battle upon *Aldric*, which sunk the Affairs of *Kent* very low, but however the Jealousy of the other Kings would not suffer *Offa* to become Master of the Kingdom. Beside, he was diverted from the War by a *Welsh* Invasion in *Mercia*, as hath been related in the History of that Prince. Had it not been for this, he would in all likelihood have united *Kent* to *Mercia*. *Aldric* had associated his Son *Almund*, but that Prince dying before him, he left no Heirs, and with him ended the Race of *Hengist*. After his Death, *Edbert*, surnamed *Pren*, was placed on the Throne.

EDBERT-PREN.

The Kingdom of *Kent* being extremely weakned, *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, making use of so fair an Opportunity, ravaged it from one end to the other; and at last having defeated and taken *Edbert* Prisoner, carried him into *Mercia*, where he ordered his Eyes to be put out. After that he placed on the Throne *Cudred*, who was in absolute Dependence upon him, and paid him Tribute.

CUDRED.

This tributary King reigned eight Years as Vassal of the King of *Mercia*, who permitted, after his Death in 803, his Son *Baldred* to succeed him.

BALDRED.

In the Reign of *Baldred* it was that the *Heptarchy* was dissolv'd. The Dissolution began with the Conquest of *Kent* by *Ecbert* King of *Wessex*; as will be seen hereafter.

(1) *Bede* places his Death in 613. Feb. 24.
(2) By *Emma* Daughter of the King of the *Franks*. *Malmsh.* He reigned twenty-three Years: *Humingd.* p. 317.
(3) Through the Assistance and Appointment of his Father. *S. Dunelm.* p. 36.
(4) *Malmsh.* p. 10. gives this Character of him, "That he was famous both for his Piety towards God, and his Love to his Country."
(5) This could not be, if *Malmsh.*'s Account be true, viz. That he was molested for eleven Years by *Edric* the Son of *Egbert*, and that they had several Engagements, with various Success, p. 11.
(6) For he was deprived both of his Kingdom and Life, says *Malmsh.* p. 11. but how, he does not mention.
(7) According to this Computation, he must have reigned forty Years, whereas *Malmsh.* says he reigned but thirty three, p. 11.
(8) In this Reign *Canterbury* was burnt. *Malmsh.* p. 11.

THE

History of the Kingdom of S U S S E X.

The Kingdom of Susssex.

THE Kingdom of *Sussex* was one of the most inconsiderable of the *Heptarchy*. It contained only the two Counties of *Sussex* and *Surry*, the greatest part of which consisted of the large Forest of *Andredswald*, so called by the *Saxons* from *Anderida*, the Name it had in the time of the *Romans*. As this Forest stood untouched when *Ella* conquered *Sussex*, we may suppose it was cleared by degrees. This Kingdom was not above fifty Miles long and forty broad. It was bounded on the North by the *Thames*, on the South by the Sea, on the East by the Kingdom of *Kent*, and on the West by *Wessex*. The capital City was *Chichester*, built by *Cissa* the second King of this Kingdom. He built also *Cisbury*, whose Ruins are still to be seen.

E L L A first King.

491. *Ella* arrived in *Britain* in 476, and was crowned King of *Sussex* in 491. He was a Prince of so great Reputation among the *Saxons*, that they judged him worthy to succeed *Hengist* in the Command of their Armies. He met with some ill Success, having to deal with so experienced a General as *Arthur*. But however it did not hinder him from settling in the Country where he first landed, and founding there the Kingdom of *Sussex* or of the *South-Saxons*. I have largely spoken of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* his Sons, slain in the Battle of *Badon*. This Prince dying in 514, left the Crown to his only surviving Son *Cissa*.

B. II.

C I S S A.

514. *Cissa* was memorable only for his long Reign of seventy six Years, and, I may add, his great Age. For supposing him but a Year or two old when his Father brought him over in 476, he must have been at least one hundred and fifteen, or one hundred and sixteen Years of Age when he died in 590. But it is not very likely *Ella* should bring with him a Child of a Year old.

M. West.

590. *Cissa* leaving no Issue, *Ceaulin* King of *Wessex* and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons* seized the Kingdom of *Sussex*. This occasioned the League against him. But notwithstanding his being vanquished, *Ceolric* his Nephew and Successor remained in Possession of *Sussex*.

Flor. Wig. H. Hunt. l. 2.

From that time the *South-Saxons* made several Attempts to shake off the Yoke of the Kings of *Wessex*. And herein properly consists the History of *Sussex*, till the Kingdom was entirely subdued.

In 607 they revolted against *Ceolric* King of *Wessex*, but were reduced to Obedience.

In 648 they made another Struggle with better Success. *Cenowalch* King of *Wessex* continuing still in *East-Anglia*, and *Penda* King of *Mercia* being Master of *Wessex* the *South-Saxons* took that Opportunity to place on their Throne a King named *Adelwalch*.

A D E L W A L C H.

684. The Kingdom of *Wessex* having suffered much by *Pen-*

da's Invasion, who seized and kept it three Years, *Cenowalch* was little able, after his Restoration, to dethrone the new King of *Sussex*. But *Adelwalch* however was not left in quiet. *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, having attacked *Cenowalch* and worsted him in several Encounters, penetrated as far as *Sussex*, where vanquishing *Adelwalch* in Battle, he took him Prisoner, and after that, became Master of his Kingdom, and the *Isle of Wight*. *Adelwalch* having embraced the Christian Religion in *Mercia*, where he was Prisoner, *Wulpher* set him at Liberty, and made him a Present of the *Isle of Wight* (1).

It is very probable *Adelwalch*, after the Death of *Wulpher*, recovered the Kingdom of *Sussex*, since we find in the *Saxon Annals*, that he was on the Throne in 686.

The same Year *Cedwalla*, a *West-Saxon* fugitive Prince, entered *Sussex* with an Army, and *Adelwalch* endeavouring to drive him thence was slain in Battle.

After the Death of *Adelwalch*, *Cedwalla* would have made himself Master of *Sussex*, but was opposed by *Authun* and *Berthun*, who were returned with an Army from an Expedition in the Kingdom of *Kent*. At the same time, *Cedwalla*, hearing of the Death of the King of *Wessex*, who had expell'd him his Dominions, returned thither, where he was placed on the Throne. Mean while *Authun* and *Berthun* were crowned Kings of *Sussex*. They are said by some to be Sons of *Adelwalch*, and by others, his Generals only.

A U T H U N and B E R T H U N.

These two Kings did not live long undisturbed. *Cedwalla* now become King of *Wessex*, made war upon them, and gained a Battle, wherein *Berthun* was slain.

A U T H U N alone.

Authun very probably preserved the Crown of *Sussex*, by an entire Dependence on the King of *Wessex*, who, after the Death of *Authun*, would not even suffer the vacant Throne to be filled.

The *South-Saxons* made several Attempts to recover their Liberty. They took up Arms in 722: But having taken wrong Measures, *Ina* King of *Wessex* reduced them to Obedience.

Three Years after, taking Advantage of some Troubles that broke out in *Wessex*, they placed on the Throne a King named *Albert*. But *Ina* having defeated and slain the new King, united their Kingdom to his own.

However, this prevented them not in 754, in the Reign of *Sigebert* King of *Wessex*, afterwards depos'd, from revolting once more, and chusing one *Osmond* for their King. In all likelihood *Cenulph*, Successor of *Sigebert*, found means to reduce them again to a state of Dependence. From that time the *South-Saxons*, as far as appears, never attempted to recover their Liberty, their Country being considered ever after as a Province of *Wessex*.

The Kingdom of Wessex or West-Saxons.

THERE were in the *Heptarchy* three Kingdoms, two of *Angles*, and one of *Saxons*, that greatly surpassed the rest in Grandeur and Power. The two Kingdoms of *Angles* were *Northumberland* situated beyond the *Humber*, and *Mercia* containing all that lay between the *Humber*, the *Thames* and the *Severn*, with the two Kingdoms of *Essex* and *East-Anglia*. *Wessex* the third great Kingdom, inhabited by *Saxons* and *Jutes*, was situated South of the *Thames*, in breadth about Seventy Miles, from the *Thames* to the *Bri-*

tish Channel; and in length one hundred and Fifty, from the Frontiers of *Sussex*, to the River *Tamar*, which parted it from *Cornwal*. The principal Cities were *Winchester*, the Capital, *Southampton*, *Portsmouth*, *Salisbury*, *Dorchester*, *Sherborn*, *Exeter*, where a great many Britons were mixt with the *Saxons*. The *Isle of Wight*, inhabited by *Jutes*, was also dependent on this Kingdom.

As each Kingdom of the *Heptarchy* derived its Name from the Inhabitants and Situation, the Kingdom of *Wessex* or of the *West-Saxons* was so called, because it lay

(1) And of the Country of the *Meanevori* in *Wessex*. Bede, l. 4. c. 13. which is suppos'd to be that part of *Hampshire*, that is now divided into the Hundreds of *Meaneborow*, *East-mean*, and *West-mean*. Camden in *Hampshire*.
(2) And after a Reign of eighteen Years. Huntingd. p. 314.

West of *Suffex*, *Kent*, and *Effex*. Besides the Extent, the Situation of this Kingdom made it also very considerable, since it was guarded on the North by the *Thames*, and on the South by the Sea; on the East it was bounded by the little Kingdom of *Suffex*, not at all formidable to its Neighbours, and on the West by the *Britons* of *Cornwall*, divided so from the rest of their Countrymen the *Welsh*, by the Mouth of the *Severn*, that it was almost impossible for them to assist one another.

C E R D I C.

519. This Prince, of whom I have largely spoken in the second Book, arrived in *Britain* in the Year 495, and was crowned the first time King of the *West-Saxons* in 519, after *Arthur* had surrendered to him the two Counties of *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*, the whole then of this Kingdom. He was crowned a second time at *Winchester* in 532 or 533, by the same Title, upon the Delivery of *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Dorsetshire* by *Mordred*. He died in 534 leaving his Crown to his Son *Cenric*.

C E N R I C.

534. *Cenric*, who during his Father's Life was renowned for his Valour and Conduct, after he was King, preferred a quiet Life to the Noise and Hurry of Arms. We don't find he acted any thing memorable during his Reign, except defeating the *Britons*, who ventured to attack him in 552. He died in 560, and was succeeded by *Ceaulin* his eldest Son.

C E A U L I N.

560. *Ceaulin*, being elected Monarch after his Father's Death, carried the Prerogatives of that Dignity to a very great Height. Having brought the neighbouring Princes into subjection, he made them apprehensive, by seizing the Kingdom of *Suffex* after *Cissa's* Death, that he intended to reduce all *England* into one Kingdom. The better to secure *Suffex*, he went and kept his Court at *Chichester*, leaving the Government of *Wessex* to *Ceolric* his Nephew, whom he designed for his Successor. His Ambition caused all the other Kings, *Ceolric* himself not excepted, to enter into a League against him. He was vanquished by the King of *Kent*, who commanded the confederate Army (1), and forced to fly to some unknown Corner, where he ended his Days soon after. His Wars with the *Britons* and *Aidan* King of *Scotland*, were related in the second Book.

C E O L R I C.

594. Nothing particular occurs concerning this Prince after his Accession to the Throne upon the Death of his Uncle *Ceaulin*. He died in 598 and was succeeded by his Brother *Ceolulph*.

C E O L U L P H.

598. All we know of this Prince is, that in 607 he reduced to Obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted (2). He died in 611, and had for his Successor *Cinigisil* his Nephew, Son of *Ceolric*.

C I N I G I S I L.

611. A Year after his Coronation *Cinigisil* associated *Quicelm* his Brother, or rather divided with him the Kingdom of *Wessex*.

C I N I G I S I L and Q U I C E L M.

612. These two Brothers obtained in 614 a signal Victory over the *Britons* (3).
614. I have already given an Account of *Quicelm's* Wars with *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, and shall have further Occasion to mention him in the History of the Church; and therefore shall say no more of him here.

(1) This Battle was fought at *Wodenstike*. *Malmsb.* p. 12 now call'd *Wansdike* in *Wiltshire*. See *Camden* in *Wiltshire*.
(2) *Huntingd.* says, that during his whole Reign, he was engaged in Wars either with the *English*, the *Scots*, or the *Picts*, p. 315. And *Malmsb.* that he spent his whole Life in Wars, and was never idle, being always employed, either in defending or enlarging his Dominions, p. 12.
(3) At *Beamdune*, *Sax. Ann.* which Mr. *Camden* takes to be *Bampton* in *Devonshire*, or *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, p. 54, 56. They had also a Battle with *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who attempted to take *Cenestor* from them. *Malmsb.* p. 12.
(4) At *Witgeornesbrugg*, says *Malmsb.* p. 13. The *Saxon Annals* say at *Bradenford*, now *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*. See *Camden*.
(5) Near the Hill call'd *Pene*, in *Somersetshire*; the *Welsh* were driven back as far as the River *Parret*. *Huntingd.* p. 317. *Malmsb.*
(6) *Malmsbury* says, that *Cenowalch* depriv'd *Wulpher* of the greatest part of his Kingdom, p. 13. But *Huntingd.* affirms, that *Cenowalch* was defeated p. 317.
(7) *M. Westminster* says, she was expell'd the Kingdom by the Nobles, who despis'd female Government. But what Authority he had for This does not appear. *Malmsbury* gives her a great Character.
(8) For about the Space of ten Years. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 12.
(9) At a Place call'd in the *Sax. Ann.* *Bedanbeafde*, now *Bedwin* in *Wiltshire*. *Camden*.
(10) He ravag'd that County, and pursued them as far as the Sea, or St. George's Channel. *Huntingd.* p. 318. *Malmsb.* p. 14.
(11) According to *Malmsbury*, he carried away all that were able to bear Arms, that he might leave the Country defenceless, p. 14.

Quicelm turned Christian a little before his Death, which happened in 635.

C I N I G I S I L alone.

This Prince who had embraced the Christian Religion sometime before his Brother, in 636, reigned alone till his Death. He left his Crown to his Son *Cenowalch*.

C E N O W A L C H.

The Reign of *Cenowalch* was much troubled with his Wars with the Kings of *Mercia*. *Penda*, whose Sister he had married and divorced, attacked him when he least expected it, and compelled him to abandon his Kingdom, and fly for Refuge to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, where he remained the three Years *Penda* kept possession of *Wessex*. *Cenowalch* was converted in *East-Anglia*, and at length restored to his Kingdom by the Assistance of *Anna*.

In 652 he obtained a signal Victory over the *Britons* (4), which was followed by another in 658 (5).

Some Years after, he was engaged in war with *Wulpher*, Successor of *Penda*: but which was the Aggressor, or what was the Success of the War is unknown. *Wulpher* was defeated and taken Prisoner. Others affirm he had entirely the Advantage, which to me seems most likely (6). It is certain *Wulpher* conquered *Suffex* and the *Isle of Wight*, which he could not have done, if *Cenowalch* had been in condition to oppose him. However this be, *Cenowalch* died in 672, and left his Crown to his Queen *Sexburga*.

S E X B U R G A.

She was a Princess of great Courage, of a very sublime and extensive Genius, and possessed all the Qualifications necessary for well-governing a Kingdom. She reigned but one Year, and then died, as some say; but according to others, was deposed by the *West-Saxons*, who thought it a Dishonour to obey a Woman (7).

After the Death or Expulsion of *Sexburga*, the Kingdom was divided among several of the *Great Men* (8), of whom *Cenfus*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, descended from *Cerdic*, was the chief. Nothing more particular is known concerning this dismembering of the Kingdom, which however was united again into one Body, after these petty Tyrants were either Dead or expelled.

C E N F U S, E S C W I N, and C E N T W I N.

In 674, *Cenfus* associated his Son *Escwin*, and probably was forced to let *Centwin* Brother to the late King *Cenowalch* reign also over some part of the Kingdom.

The next Year *Wulpher* attacked the Kings of *Wessex*, whose Army was commanded by *Escwin*. A bloody Battle was fought, in which *Wulpher* had the Advantage; though the Loss on both sides was very great (9).

Cenfus died two Years after, and *Escwin* his Son did not long survive him. Thus *Centwin* remained sole King of *Wessex*.

C E N T W I N alone.

History inform us, that in 682 *Centwin* obtained a signal Victory over the *Welsh* (10), upon which *Cadwallader* their King was forced to go and sue for Assistance from the King of *Armorica*: The *Welsh* Prince afterwards took a Journey to *Rome*, where he died.

About the end of *Centwin's* Reign, *Cedwalla* a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Wessex* had so gained the People's Affection, that the King being jealous of him ordered him to depart the Kingdom. As *Cedwalla* could not dispute the King's Command, he retired into *Suffex*, and being well beloved, a great many young People chose to accompany him, and follow his Fortune, inasmuch that he entered *Suffex* with a sort of Army (11). *Adelwalch*, then King of *Suffex*, angry at *Cedwalla's* presuming to enter his Dominions in a warlike Manner, and without his Permission,

would have driven him thence, but was slain in the fight. After this Victory, *Cedwalla* would have seized the Kingdom, but was prevented by *Authun* and *Berthun*, as before related in the history of *Suffex*. Mean while, *Centwin* happening to die, *Cedwalla* returned to *Wessex*, and was plac'd on the Throne.

C E D W A L L A.

686. *Cedwalla* was not only King of *Wessex* but likewise Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. His first war was with *Authun* and *Berthun* Kings of *Suffex*, spoken of before.

Having ended this war to his advantage, he turn'd his Arms against *Kent* (1), from whence he carried off a great Booty. Then he attack'd the Isle of *Wight*, which belonged to the King of *Suffex* ever since *Wulpher's* Grant to *Adelwalch*. *Arwald*, Brother to *Authun*, being then Governor of the Isle, undertook its defence; but as *Cedwalla's* Forces were much superior to his, he was forc'd at last to abandon the Isle to the Mercy of the Conqueror. The Inhabitants being yet Idolaters, *Cedwalla* thro' a false Zeal for Religion, resolv'd to root them out, and people the Island with Christians. He would have executed this barbarous Resolution, had not *Wilfrid*, formerly Bishop of *York*, and then Bishop of *Selsey* in *Suffex*, represented to him that it would be much better to endeavour to convert them. Upon the Bishop's Remonstrances, *Cedwalla* relented, but on condition the Inhabitants would be instantly baptiz'd. The poor Wretches, who had no time to deliberate, embraced the Christian Religion at the first preaching of *Birwin* a Priest, Nephew of *Wilfrid*, who was entrusted with their Conversion, if the bare Declaration of People threatned with death in case of refusal, may be called by that Name.

687. Some time after *Cedwalla* sent his Brother *Mollon* with an Army into *Kent*. The miserable death of *Mollon* there, and the terrible manner *Cedwalla* reveng'd it, have already been related in the history of that Kingdom.

At length, *Cedwalla* resolv'd to take a Journey to *Rome* to receive Baptism at the hands of the Pope; for altho' he was a Christian and a great zealot, he had never been baptized. He performed this Journey in 688. As he travel'd thro' *France* and *Lombardy*, he was every where very honourably received. *Cunibert* King of the *Lombards* was particularly remarkable for the noble Entertainment he gave him. When he came to *Rome*, he was baptiz'd by Pope *Sergius II*, who gave him the name of *Peter*. He had all along wish'd to die soon after his Baptism, and he had his desire, for he died a few weeks after at *Rome*. He was buried in St. *Peter's* Church, where a stately Tomb was erected to his Memory, with an *Epitaph* showing his name, quality, age, and time of his death (2). He left, by *Cendriht* his Queen, two Sons, who did not succeed him by reason of their tender age. *Ina* his Cousin mounted the Throne after him.

I N A.

688. Of all the Kings that reign'd in *England* during the *Hep-tarchy*, *Ina* was one of the most famous and illustrious: He must needs have been of great repute, since the same year he was crowned he was declared Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons* in a General Assembly, where *Sebba* King of *Essex*, his Friend, served him effectually.

Ina's Wars with the *Britons* in *Cornwal*, the Kings of *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and King of *Mercia*, rendred his valour, merit, and abilities, more and more conspicuous. But as Historians have only told us the Success, without mentioning the motives and circumstances of these Wars, it is impossible to give a particular account of them. They only inform us that he carried his Arms into *Kent*, from whence nothing could drive him but the bribing him with a large Sum of Money (3); that in 710, he conquered part of *Cornwal*: That in 715, *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought a bloody Battle at *Wodensburgh* in *Wiltshire*, with equal loss on both sides. That lastly, he reduced to obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted, and plac'd one *Albert* on their Throne (4).

These are the military Exploits that gained *Ina* his Reputation for War. But the *Panegyrics* bestowed on him

by Historians, were not owing to these so much as to four other particulars, which to them seem'd of greater importance, and which they have chiefly dwelt on. First, he rebuilt *Glassenbury* Monastery, and augmented the Revenues and Privileges in such a manner, that it became one of the most considerable in all *England* (5). In the second place, he published a Body of Laws, entitled, *West-Saxon Leaga* (6), that is, *Laws of the West-Saxons*, which served for foundation to that published in the next Century by *Alfred the Great* his Successor. Thirdly, *Ina* signalized his Piety by quitting his Crown and turning Monk, which was then looked upon as an undoubted mark of Religion. This resolution was taken by the persuasions of his Queen *Ethelburga*, who had prepared him for it, by frequently representing to him the Examples of so many Kings his Predecessors, that had run the same Race before, and were honoured as *Saints*. But lastly what contributed most to *Ina's* Fame, was this: before he shut himself up in a Monastery, he went to *Rome*, where after conferring with Pope *Gregory II*, he built a large College, for the Instruction and Reception of the *English* Ecclesiastics that should come to study at *Rome*, and for the Entertainment and Lodging of the Kings and Princes of the same Nation, that should visit the Tombs of the Apostles. Adjoining to the College, he built also a stately Church, and appointed a certain number of Priests to officiate. Besides the charge of the buildings, of the ornaments of the Church, and of the necessities of the College, there was an absolute necessity of settling a standing Fund for their maintenance, according to the intent of the Founder. Now *Ina* had taken care of this, by laying a Tax of a Penny on every Family in the Kingdom of *Wessex* and *Suffex*, which was to be sent yearly to *Rome*, under the name of *Romescot*. Some time after *Offa* King of *Mercia* impos'd the same Tax on the Kingdom of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, and term'd it *Peter-Pence*. Some say, *Ina* returned into *England* to have this Tax settled by the General Assembly, or Parliament of *Wessex*, and to get the Charter signed by all the Nobility of the Kingdom (7). After which he return'd to *Rome*, where he took upon him the *Monkish* Habit (8). *Ethelburga*, who advis'd him to it only because she had a mind to become a *Nun* herself, put on the Veil in the Monastery of *Barking*.

Malmsbury is mistaken in saying *Ina* was sixty two years on the Throne of *Wessex*, since it is certain he had reigned but thirty seven, or at most but thirty nine years when he resign'd his Crown to his Cousin *Adelard*.

A D E L A R D.

Though *Adelard* was placed on the Throne with the consent of the *Assembly-General*, *Oswald*, one of the Royal Family (9), disputed the possession of it with him. Their quarrel was decided by a Battle, wherein the King was victorious over his Rival, whose Death, which happened shortly after, restor'd peace and tranquillity to the Kingdom. *Adelard* died in 740, and was succeeded by *Cudred* his Brother or Cousin.

C U D R E D.

We have only the following particulars of the Reign of *Cudred*: for we must not expect to find any connexion between the Facts related by the Historians, or Annalists.

In 743, this Prince obtained a signal Victory over the *Cornish* Men. Two years after, *Ethelun* a *West-Saxon* Lord, dissatisfied with the King, rais'd a sedition among the Soldiers, in which *Cenric* Son of *Cudred* was slain. This action was followed by a *Civil War*, which lasted some time. *Ethelun* being at the Head of the Rebels, dared to give his sovereign Battle, wherein the King, though not without great danger of being vanquished, gained the victory. During the Fight, *Ethelun* gave such notable proofs of an undaunted Courage, and extraordinary Conduct, that the King chose rather to receive him into favour, than destroy a Subject that might be serviceable to him. And indeed, it was the same *Ethelun*, that in 752 vanquished *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, in a Battle mentioned in the History of that Kingdom (10).

Bede, l. 4. c. 15.
Sax. An. Fl. Wig.
686. Fl. Wig.
687. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 1.
Brompt. Polychr.
688. Bede, l. 5. c. 7.
Id. 688.

An. Men.

694. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2.
Polychr. l. 5. c. 20.
An. Sax. H. Hunt. l. 4.
An. Sax. Fl. Wig. H. Hunt. l. 4.

G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2.
727. M. Well.
727. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 2.
740.
743. An. Sax. H. Hunt. l. 4.
750. Bed. Ep. contin.

(1) For which no other Reason is assign'd but his inveterate Hatred against the Inhabitants of that Kingdom. *Malm. p. 11.*
(2) Hic depositus est *Cedwalla*, qui & *Petrus*, Rex Saxonum. Sub. xii. Cal. Maii Indictione Secunda qui vixit annos plus minus triginta, imperante Domino Justiniano Pissimo Augusto, Anno ejus consulatus quarto, Pontificante Apostolico viro Sergio Papa Secundo. *Rapin.*
(3) Thirty thousand Pounds, says the *Sax. Ann.* And according to *Malm.* thirty thousand Marks of Gold, p. 14.
(4) He also drove all the Nobility of *East-Anglia* out of their Possessions, and afterwards defeated them in Battle. *Malm. p. 14.*
(5) By *Malmsbury's* Account one would be inclin'd to think that he was the first Founder of it. See *Malm. p. 14.* The Charter, confirm'd by a great Council of the whole *West-Saxon* Kingdom, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred* King of *Kent*, with other Bishops and Great Men, is in Manuscript in the Library of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, and also published by Sir *H. Spelman*, in his first Volume of *British* Councils. But after all this Charter seems to be the Forgery of the *Benedictine* Monks.
(6) See Bishop *Nicholson's* Historical Library, p. 45.
(7) There is no History for this. *Polidore Virgil* (who was the Pope's Collector of the Tax) allows it indeed, but it is not confirm'd by any ancient Author or Council.
(8) Placuit cultu amictus inter mendicos convenerit. *Hiden. Polychron. p. 248.*
(9) He was the Son of *Ethelbald*, of *Cuthwin*, of *Ceaulid*. *Malm. p. 15. Huntingd. p. 338.*
(10) This Battle was fought at *Bergford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*. *Camden.*

753.
Ann. Sax.

Cudred turned his victorious Troops against the Britons of Cornwall (1), and conquer'd Part of their Country, which he united to *Wessex*. He died shortly after, and left his Crown to his Nephew *Sigebert*.

SIGEBERT.

754.
H. Hunt.
l. 4.
Fl. Wig.

Sigebert, very unlike his Predecessor, by his Vices and Cruelties (2), drew on himself the hatred and contempt of his Subjects. A certain Count (3) having expostulated with him concerning his Conduct, he ordered him to be put to Death in his Presence. This Action made the *West-Saxons* lose all Patience; they publicly depose him, and place on the Throne *Cenulph*, Son of *Adelard*. *Sigebert* finding he could have no Redress, was forced to submit to the sentence of the States, and betake himself to a Forest (4), where he was killed by a Swineherd (5).

CENULPH.

754.
Ann. Sax.
G. Malm.
l. 1. c. 2.
H. Hunt.
l. 4.
R. de Hav.

Cenulph became very famous for his frequent victories over the Britons (6).

After he had reigned thirty Years, he grew jealous of *Cunehard*, Brother of *Sigebert*, and perhaps not without Reason. *Cunehard* having notice of the King's suspicions, and knowing he intended to dispatch him out of the way, resolv'd to prevent him. To this End, discovering him one Day, as he went alone (7) to visit a certain Lady whom he admired, he followed him, with some of his Friends (8), into the House and attacked him. *Cenulph* defended himself furiously, and even wounded his Enemy, but at last, overpowered with Numbers, sunk down with his Wounds. The King's officers and domesticks running in at the Noise, and finding him dead, fell upon *Cunehard* and slew him, not regarding the large offers he made them, to spare his Life, and place him on the Throne (9). *Brithric*, Son of *Cenulph*, succeeded his Father.

BRITHRIC.

784.
787.
Fl. Wig.

Brithric, three years after he was on the Throne, married *Edburga*, Daughter of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and about the same time banished *Egbert* the Kingdom. *Egbert*, a Prince of the Royal Family (10), by his noble Qualities had gained the Affection of the *West-Saxons* to such a degree, that the King could not help being jealous. This was a sufficient inducement to *Brithric* to free himself from the Uneasiness occasioned by that Prince, by removing him from his Presence (11). *Egbert* retired at first to the Court of *Offa* King of *Mercia*: but did not meet there with the Reception he expected, *Offa* being unwilling to disoblige his Son-in-law *Brithric* by harbouring a Prince that was hateful to him. Whereupon *Egbert* resolv'd to retire into *France*, where he was very civilly received by *Charles the Great*, who shew'd him, on several Occasions, marks of his Esteem. During *Egbert's* twelve years abode at this Prince's Court, he very much improved his natural Abilities (12), and rendered himself capable of executing the grand Design of uniting the seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons* into one Monarchy, as will be seen presently.

During the Reign of *Brithric*, the Danes made their first descent in the Kingdom of *Wessex* (13). They began then to be formidable, not only at Sea, but on the Coasts of several *European* Kingdoms. As in process of time, they did the *English* incredible Damage, it is not without reason that Historians have been very exact in marking the time of their first Descent.

799,
800.
G. Malm.
l. 2. c. 1.
Ant. Men.

Brithric in 799 was poisoned by *Edburga* his Wife (14). The *West-Saxons* were so provoked at this Action, that before they proceeded to the Election of a new King, they made a Law prohibiting the Wives of their future Kings

from taking the Title of *Queen*, and sitting on the Throne with their Husbands. And left the complaisance of the Kings to their Wives might occasion the breaking of this Law, it was further enacted, that hereafter, if any King of *Wessex* should dispence with the Observance of it, he should, *ipso facto*, be deprived of his Royal Rights, and his Subjects absolved from their Oath of Allegiance.

This affair being ended, an honourable Ambassy was sent by the *West-Saxons* to *Egbert*, to offer him the Crown. *Egbert* was then at *Rome* with *Charles the Great*, who received there, soon after, the Imperial Crown. Here he took his leave of that great Prince, who had been a Father to him, and at his departure gave him fresh marks of his Affection.

Queen *Edburga* having left *Wessex* upon poisoning her Husband, fled also to *Charles the Great*, who, in consideration of the Friendship between him and her Father *Offa*, gave her a rich Abbey, where she might have spent the remainder of her Days in Peace (15). But that way of Life not being agreeable to her Constitution, she behaved so ill in it, that being surpris'd in an intrigue with a young *English* Gentleman, the Emperor was forced to send her away. She wandred about from place to place for some time, and at last went and ended her Days at *Pavia* in great want.

EGBERT.

Egbert, besides the Valour natural to all the *Saxon* Princes, had one qualification that gave him a superiority above the other Kings his Contemporaries, which was, his great Knowledge in *Politics*, acquired during his abode at the Court of *Charles the Great*, whose Example and Instructions, no doubt, had greatly contributed towards it. He was no sooner on the Throne of *Wessex*, but he perceived himself superior to the other Kings, and resolv'd to make the best Use of it (16). But like an able Politician, he judg'd it necessary to proceed by degrees in the execution of his Projects. Accordingly, he spent the first seven years of his Reign in settling the affairs of his Kingdom, and in gaining the love and esteem of his own Subjects, in which he succeeded to his Wish.

The Kingdom of *Wessex* being bounded on the South by the Sea, and on the North by the *Thames*, *Egbert* must of course begin the extending his borders either Eastwards or Westwards. To the East lay the Kingdom of *Kent*, which would have been very convenient for him; but as this Kingdom was then in subjection to *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, a Prince of distinguished worth, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to begin with *Kent* would have been the ready way to ruin his Designs. And therefore, in expectation of a more favourable juncture, *Egbert* thought it proper to carry his Arms first towards the West, against the Britons of *Cornwall*. His success was so great in a war undertaken in 809, that in one Campaign he reduced all *Cornwall* to his Obedience (17).

The *Welsh* intending to assist their Brethren in *Cornwall*, gave *Egbert* a pretence to attack them the next Year. He defeated them several times, and at last subdued the Kingdom of *Venedocia* (18), one of the three, *Wales* was then divided into (19). The struggles of the *Welsh* afterwards to shake off their Yoke, serv'd only to make it the heavier. *Egbert* re-entering their Country, destroy'd all with Fire and Sword, which made them take care how they provoked him a third time to come among them.

At length the death of *Cenulph* in the year 819, gave *Egbert* room seriously to consider of executing his designs. He was immediately invest'd with the dignity of Monarch, to which none had a better claim than himself. His Kingdom was in a flourishing condition, whilst the rest, weakened by intestine divisions, daily lost somewhat of their lustre and power. The *Heptarchy* was reduced to five Kingdoms,

(1) He and *Ethelbald* being reconcil'd, join'd their Forces against the Britons. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

(2) Put up with his Predecessor's Victories, he became intolerant to his Subjects. Particularly he altered the Laws according to his own Pleasure. Huntingd. p. 341. Sax. Ann.

(3) *Cunbra*--- pree totius populi quærimonias eorum [i.e. subditorum] Regi fero intimavit. Hunting. p. 341. Tjr. p. 226.

(4) The Forest of *Andredswald*. Hunting. p. 342.

(5) Belonging to the late Count *Cunbra*. Hunting. p. 342.

(6) Anno 758, *Cenulph* fought a Battle with *Offa* King of *Mercia*, at *Bensington* in *Oxfordshire*; in which *Offa* got the Victory. Brimf. p. 770. Malmsh. p. 15.

(7) To *Merton* in *Surrey*. Huntingd. p. 343.

(8) With twenty, says *Higden*, p. 251.

(9) *Cenulph* was buried at *Winchester*, and *Cunehard* at *Axminster*. Huntingd. p. 343; or at *Repton*, according to *Malmsh.* p. 16.

(10) He was the Son of *Almund*, *Ella*, *Egppa*, *Ingeþil*, *Cenred*, who was the fourth from *Cenulph*. See the Geneal. Table of the Kings of *Wessex*.

(11) *Brithric* had form'd a Design of removing him out of the way; which *Egbert* being aware of, he fled to *Offa*; where Messengers soon came from *Brithric* to demand him; but he escap'd into *France*. Malmsh.

(12) *Higden* says that there---*Sociam militarem exercuit*, p. 251, 252.

(13) At *Portland*. Aff. Ann. Malmsh.

(14) He was buried at *Warham* in *Dorsetshire*. Malmsh. p. 16.

(15) At her Arrival she made the Emperor many great Presents, and he bidding her chuse whom she would have for a Husband, *Winefrid*, or his Son, she toothily chose his Son; whereupon the Emperor laughing, said, *If thou hadst chosen me, thou shouldst have had my son, but now thou shalt have neither*. Aff. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 118.

(16) He took a particular Care to train up his Subjects, in the first place, into that Skill in military Affairs, which he had learnt at the Court of *France*. Higden, p. 252. Malmsh. p. 36.

(17) One of the Battles was fought at *Camelford* in *Cornwall*; several thousands fell on both sides. Huntingd. p. 345.

(18) In *British*, *Guymdb*. The three Principalities *Wales* was divided into, were *Deheubarth* or South *Wales*, *Gwynedd* or North *Wales*, and *Powys* or *Powysland*. *Venedotia* was so named from the *Venti* in *Angeraco*, as some imagine. Camden, Vol. II. p. 770.

(19) He also took *Chester* from them. Higden, p. 252.

of which he possessed one of the most considerable. In the other four, the race of their antient Kings being extinct, nothing ensued but quarrels and dissensions among the principal Lords, who all thought they had a right to aspire to the Crown. And therefore so far were they from consulting in common the publick good, that they regarded only their own Interests, and the forming of Parties to support them in their ambitious Pretensions. On the contrary, the Kingdom of *Wessex* became every day more powerful by the weakness of the rest, and the prudent administration of the Person that governed it, whose valour was equal to his Judgment and Ability, to set in motion the Springs of the most refined Politicks. Wherefore *Egbert* resolved to hasten the execution of his Project of reducing *England* into one Kingdom. Almost all the preceding Monarchs had form'd the same design, and their not succeeding was entirely owing to unseasonable junctures. But soon after *Egbert's* being declared Monarch, every thing conspired to favour him. *Northumberland* had been long rent by two Factions, who, little attentive to what passed abroad, were only watching opportunities to supplant one another. *Mercia* was in no better condition. *Bernulph*, who had depos'd *Ceolwulph*, reigned only by the support of a powerful Party, who indeed had Interest enough to raise him to the Throne, but found it difficult to uphold him, by reason of the envy of the nobles at his advancement. For which cause, tho' that Kingdom was considerably enlarged by the Acquisition of *East-Anglia*, and tho' the King of *Kent* was become its tributary, it was far from being so powerful as *Wessex*. The *East-Angles*, not yet thoroughly settled in the state of subjection *Offa* had reduced them to, were waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw off the *Mercian* Yoke, which to them was intolerable. The wars of the Kings of *Kent* with the *West-Saxons* and *Mercians*, had brought them so low, that they could not avoid being tributary to the King of *Mercia*, and consequently were not in condition to stand against *Egbert*. As for the Kingdom of *Essex*, besides the probability of its being in Subjection to *Mercia*, it had long made but a very inconsiderable figure, and if it was still governed by *Switbred*, which is uncertain, that Prince must have been of an extreme old Age.

These considerations inflaming *Egbert's* Ambition, he began his Preparations, which raising suspicions in the King of *Mercia*, he thought betimes of providing for his safety. Tho' he was ignorant that *Egbert* intended the Conquest of all *England*, he could hardly doubt but he design'd to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his Neighbours. And therefore, dreading the Storm might suddenly fall on him, he believed that by attacking him before he was ready, he should break his measures and compel him to be quiet. To this end, he advanc'd with his Army as far as *Ellandunum* near *Salisbury* (1), where contrary to his expectation he met his Enemy, whom he thought to have surpriz'd unawares. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, the *Mercians* were routed with so great Loss, that it was not possible for *Bernulph* ever to retrieve it.

This Victory procur'd *Egbert* two great Advantages. First, As it very much weakened the King of *Mercia*, who alone was able to withstand him. Secondly, As it opened the way to the Conquest of *Kent*, for which *Bernulph* himself had given a pretence, by attacking him first. This Conquest was absolutely necessary to his becoming master of all the Country between the *Thames* and the Sea. Besides, by beginning the execution of his Designs with the Kingdom of *Kent*, he was the less apprehensive of alarming the *Northumbrians*, who were too remote to concern themselves with what was transacting beyond the *Thames*.

Pursuant to this Resolution, *Egbert* sent his Son *Ethelwulph* with a powerful army into *Kent*. *Baldred*, unprepared against an Invasion, pressed in vain the King of *Mercia* to come and assist him. *Bernulph* was disabled, by his late defeat, from bringing an army so soon into the field. Besides, *Egbert* had so posted himself, that it was not possible to relieve *Kent* without overcoming his Army, which as *Bernulph* could not pretend to attempt, the burden of the war, notwithstanding his weakness, was to be sustained by *Baldred* alone. However he hazarded a Battle; but being vanquished, retired into *Mercia*, leaving his Kingdom to the young *West-Saxon* Prince, who became master of it without any difficulty. Thus the Kingdom of *Kent* was united to those of *Wessex* and *Sussex*, and by that means *Egbert* saw himself in possession of the whole Country lying South of the *Thames*.

This first step being taken, *Egbert* rendred himself also master of the Kingdom of *Essex*, which is all Historians say of it, without mentioning any one Circumstance: So imperfect is the History of that Kingdom.

Tho' the Conquest of these two Kingdoms was a great step towards subduing the rest, yet the most difficult Task was still behind; namely, the Conquest of *Northumberland*,

Mercia, and *East-Anglia*. Had these three Kingdoms been in their former splendor, each of them in particular would have kept *Egbert* fully employed. Nay, had they but entered into a strict Alliance for their common defence, when they were going to be attacked, they would perhaps have caused that ambitious Prince to despair of subduing them. But their divisions prevented them from making so necessary an Alliance. The *East-Angles* were waiting for an opportunity to revolt against the King of *Mercia*. The *Northumbrians* for some time had lived in a sort of Anarchy, which disabled them from taking any measures with regard to foreign Affairs. So far were they from any thoughts of assisting their neighbours, that they were wholly intent upon destroying one another, in which they were but too successful. *Mercia* indeed seemed still very powerful, but the *Mercians* were in no greater Union among themselves than the *Northumbrians*, and besides, the battle of *Ellandunum* had considerably weakened them; whereas *Wessex* was grown stronger by the Conquest of two Kingdoms.

Egbert beholding with pleasure how all things conspired to favour his designs, resolved to invade *Mercia* in the first place, plainly foreseeing, could he conquer that Kingdom, the rest would make no long resistance. *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* made but one body ever since their union by *Offa*. But as this union was not cemented by the mutual Affections of the two Nations, it was rather destructive than advantageous to the State. The *East-Angles* looked upon the *Mercians* as their hateful masters; whilst the *Mercians* on their part, treated the *East-Angles* with haughtiness, as a conquered Nation. This being the Case, it was much more easy for *Egbert* to foment their mutual Enmity, than for them to reap the benefit of their Union. For this reason *Egbert*, to accomplish his ends with the more ease, increased their animosity to the utmost of his power, not doubting but, could he once bring them to an open rupture, they would so weaken one another, as never more to be able to resist him. It is strange, since this maxim is universally known, *We must divide those whom we would destroy*, it should so frequently happen that they against whom it is practised, should attend so little to it. That the *East-Angles*, blinded by their extreme desire of freeing themselves from the *Mercian* Yoke, without a moment's consideration followed the advice secretly given them by *Egbert*, of taking up Arms for the recovery of their Liberty. Their attention to their present Interest, prevented them from reflecting, that after they had been subservient to *Egbert's* design, they would be still less able to withstand him than the *Mercians*. It is true, *Egbert*, pretending to have no other view but their Interest, caused whatever was most capable to excite them to a revolt, to be laid before them. His emissaries told them, there never was so favourable an opportunity of recovering their Liberty: That the *Mercians* were so extremely weakened since the battle of *Ellandunum*, that they were hardly able to maintain their tyranny over the *East-Angles*: That besides, *Egbert* was so incensed against *Bernulph* that he would readily assist them, having publicly declared as much. This was sufficient to induce the *East-Angles* to revolt. The pleasure of thinking they should be freed from their dependance on the *Mercians*, banished from their thoughts the fear of becoming subject to the *West-Saxons*. Thus resolved, they took up Arms, and chose a General, whose name Historians have neglected to relate. *Bernulph* informed of their motions, thought he could not be too speedy in putting a stop to an evil that seemed of so dangerous a consequence. With the first Troops he could draw together, he marched against the *East-Angles*, but instead of chastising them, as he vainly hoped, was defeated and slain.

The *East-Angles* were mightily encouraged by this Success, without disheartning however the *Mercians*, who made fresh attempts to reduce the Rebels. They forthwith elect a King, named *Ludican*, who endeavours to continue the War, whilst the *East-Angles* are preparing to receive him, in expectation the King of *Wessex* would not fail them upon occasion according to his Promise. *Ludican* actually entered *East-Anglia* with a numerous Army; but Death prevented him from making any Progress, and rendered his preparations for that Campaign of no Effect. Some say, he was slain in a Battle: Others affirm, the *East-Angles* found means to free themselves from the dread of this Prince, by causing him to be assassinated.

Whether the *Mercians* discovered that *Egbert* privately assisted the *East-Angles*, or the Conquests already made by that Prince, opened their Eyes, they were sensible at length, the maintaining their dominion over *East-Anglia*, was not so much the business of the present War, as the preservation of their own Liberties. In this belief, they resolved to exert their utmost, and chuse a King of known valour, without regarding the Interests of the several Factions, which till then had kept them divided. Their choice

Malmsh.

Ant. Ann.

(1) Higden says, that *Elinden* (as he calls it) was in *Hamptunenshire*, p. 257. The Annotator upon Camden thinks it was *Elindon*, near *Highbury* See *Camden* in *Wiltshire*. Mr. *Lambard's* Supposition is most probable. That it was *Ell' field* near *Wimbor'.* *Diction. Topograph.*

fell upon *Witglaph*, a Lord of great Merit, whose Son had married a Daughter of King *Cenulph*. If the new King had been to deal with the *East-Angles*, probably he would have ended the war to his advantage. But instead of aiming at the reduction of *East-Anglia*, he was very much embarrassed to defend his own dominions. *Egbert* fearing the state of affairs might be changed under a new Prince, whose valour he was no stranger to, no longer delayed to declare openly for the *East-Angles*. Hitherto he had only assisted them privately, at least he had not appeared as a party in the war, raised by him between them and the *Mercians*, with the sole aim that they might weaken one another. But as soon as the preparations of the *Mercians* gave him room to fear the balance would incline too much on their side, he thought himself obliged to take other measures, by publicly assisting the *East-Angles*, and declaring war with the *Mercians*. *Witglaph* used his utmost endeavours to withstand the united Forces of the *East-Angles* and *West-Saxons*. He even frequently tried the fortune of his Arms in skirmishes and conflicts, but always with ill success. At length, having lost a great battle, and finding his case desperate, he fled to the Abby of *Croyland*, where he lay concealed three Months. In the mean time, *Egbert* pursuing his victory, became master of *Mercia*, without any opposition. He designed to unite it to the rest of his dominions, but by the mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Croyland*, *Witglaph* was restored to his Kingdom, on condition of paying homage, and becoming tributary to the Conqueror.

Ingulph.
Sax. Ann.

After the *East-Angles* had been subservient to *Egbert's* Designs, they were glad to be received into his Protection, on almost the same Terms with the *Mercians*, so that all the advantages procured them by the War, was the change of one Master for another.

Northumberland alone remained as yet free from the dominion of *Egbert*. But that Kingdom was little able to preserve her Liberty, considering the ill situation of her Affairs. *Andred*, who then reigned, was a King in name only. His Faction had placed him on the Throne, not that he, but themselves might reign in his Name. Besides, the Kingdom was all along rent by Parties, and frequently invaded by the *Scots*, who had over-run great part of its Territories. It was not possible therefore for the *Northumbrians* to withstand the victorious Arms of the King of *Wessex*, or rather, of all the rest of *England*, which was in that Prince's Power. Accordingly, when *Egbert* approached with an Army that had already conquered four Kingdoms, *Andred* and the *Northumbrians* in great Consternation, and unable to make head against him, submitted, and accepted of the same Terms granted the *Mercians* and *East-Anglians*.

Malmsh.

Thus ended the *Heptarchy* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the reduction of the seven Kingdoms, under the Dominion of the King of *Wessex*. Indeed *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, still preserved a Shadow of Liberty; but

very probably *Egbert* would not have suffered other Kings to be chosen, after the Death of those who were then on the Throne, if the *Danes*, who shortly after began their Invasions, had given him time to take other Measures.

The Government of the *Heptarchy*, reckoning from the founding of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, the last of the seven *Anglo-Saxon* Kingdoms, held two hundred and forty three Years. But if the time spent by the *Saxons* in their Conquests, be added, from the Arrival of *Hengist* to that of *Crida*, the *Heptarchy* will be found to have lasted three hundred and seventy eight, from its beginning to its Dissolution.

If we enquire into the Causes of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, they will very readily occur. It is easy to perceive one of the principal was, the great Inequality amongst the seven Kingdoms, three whereof vastly surpassed the rest in Extent and Power. Hardly was the *Heptarchy* founded, when the Kings of *Wessex* looked upon *Sussex* and *Kent* as extremely convenient for them, and accordingly both the one and the other were subdued by them at different times. The Kings of *Mercia* had all along an Eye on the Kingdom of *Essex*. Nay, it appears they were Masters of it for some time, and in all likelihood it was not entirely free, when conquered and united to his other Dominions by *Egbert*. *East-Anglia* was an Object that continually inflamed the Desires of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, the first of whom carried it at length.

Another Cause of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, was the default of the Male-Heirs in the Royal Families of all the Kingdoms, *Wessex* excepted. Hence arose those Dissentions among the *Great Men*, which exceedingly weakened their respective States. We may assign moreover as another Cause, the Concurrence of various Circumstances, which never met but in the time of *Egbert*. But chiefly this Dissolution was owing to the Direction of the Providence of God, whose good Pleasure it was to raise *England* by degrees, and after several Revolutions, to her present height of Grandeur and Power.

The Conquests of *Great-Britain*, and the relinquishing of the same by the *Romans*, is the Subject of the first Book of this History. In the second the largest and noblest Part of the Island is represented struggling with the *Anglo-Saxons*, and at last obliged to submit to their Yoke. In the third, I have related, though in a very general Manner, the Affairs of the *Heptarchy* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, their Wars, the Succession of their Kings in each of the seven Kingdoms, and have concluded with showing this same *Heptarchy* turned into a real Monarchy.

It remains now that I speak of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons* to the Christian Religion, and give a Representation of the Church of *England* in her Primitive State, wherein consists the principal part of the *English* History during the *Heptarchy*.



THE

STATE of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Conversion of the English, to the Dissolution of the Heptarchy.

WE have seen, in the second Book, the horrid Defolation of the *British* Church, whilst expos'd to the Barbarity of the *Saxons*, who thought it their Duty to persecute the *Christians*. We shall now behold these very *Saxons* from Persecutors grown Christians, by the Direction of divine Providence, which incessantly watches for the Welfare of Mankind, forming a flourishing Church in the same Places where they had exercis'd their Cruelties. 'Tis not our Business to dive into the Reasons of God's assigning different Periods to the several Nations of the World, for leading them into the way of Salvation. It is sufficient for us to know and admire, that when the happy time is come, not only no Obstacle can obstruct the Execution of his Designs, but on the contrary, every thing helps to accomplish them: Nay, the weakest Instruments, in the hands of the Almighty acquire an irresistible Force.

In order to have a clear and distinct Knowledge of the manner of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and of the most remarkable Occurrences from the Foundation of their Churches, to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, *England* must be consider'd not, as it is at present, one Realm, but as divided into seven distinct Kingdoms. These Kingdoms being converted at different times, it will be necessary to treat of each of them by itself. And therefore, I am now about to relate how the Gospel was received by every one of them in particular, with the most memorable transactions in respect to Religion, from their Conversion to their being reduced under the Dominion of *Egbert*, the first real Monarch of *England*.

The CHURCH of KENT.

AS *Kent* was first converted, I shall begin with that Kingdom. But because several Accidents conspir'd to this Event, it will be proper, in order to have a just Notion of the Thing, to set them all in one View before the Reader.

I have spoken in the History of *Kent*, of *Ethelbert's* Power over the rest of the Kings of the *Heptarchy*, and intimated, that his Neighbourhood to, and Alliance with *France*, did not a little contribute towards it. For this Reason he omitted nothing to cultivate a strict Friendship with the *French*, well knowing how much it might turn to his Advantage. The Means he judg'd most proper to this End, was the demanding a *French* Princess in Marriage; accordingly he cast his Eyes on *Bertha*, Daughter of *Cherebert* King of *Paris*. He at first met with some Obstacle. *Chilperic*, who, after his Brother *Cherebert's* Death, had been as a Father to this Princess, would not hear a word of the Match, on account of *Ethelbert's* being an *Idolater*; and this for some time put a stop to the Matter. But *Ethelbert* found Means to remove this Difficulty, by promising to let *Bertha* have the free Exercise of her Religion, and bring over with her a certain Number of Ecclesiasticks. Upon these Terms the Princess was given him in Marriage. *Chilperic* her Uncle, was in hopes that as she was thoroughly grounded in her Religion, she would be so far from turning Heathen herself, that she would contribute to the Conversion of the *English* Monarch. And in this his Expectations were answered. As soon as they came together, she spared no pains to gain his Love and Esteem by her affable and condescending Behaviour. *Ethelbert*, charm'd with the good Qualities of his Spouse, had all the Value and Affection for her she could desire. In this agreeable Situation *Bertha* justly hoped to bring the

King at length to have favourable Thoughts of the Christian Religion, and therefore took all Occasions to display the Gospel Truths in the most affecting Manner. Besides, the Conversations *Ethelbert* had from time to time with *Luidhard* Bishop of *Soissons*, who came over with the Queen, contributed very much to her Design. In a short time, *Ethelbert* was so wrought upon, that if he had not yet Respect enough for the Christian Religion to embrace it, at least he had no Aversion to the Gospel or those that profess'd it.

In this favourable Juncture it was that Pope *Gregory I.* sent Missionaries into *England* to instruct the *English* in the Knowledge of the Gospel. *Gildas* and *Bede* reproach the *Britons* bitterly for suffering their Neighbours to live so long in *Paganism* without offering them their Assistance to free them from their Errors. But they blame them without Cause. It is easy to see, that whilst the *Saxons* oppress'd the Natives with all imaginable Cruelties, these last were very unfit Instruments to instruct their Persecutors. Besides their continual Wars gave the *Saxons* no time to turn their Thoughts to religious Affairs. But when they came to be settled, Assistance was not wanting, and though it came from far, it was no less effectual than if it had flow'd from their Neighbours. As this here is a very remarkable Epocha in the *English* History, it will be proper to show the secret Ways made use of by Providence in the Execution of its Designs in favour of this Nation. In order to this, it will be necessary to look back a little to what happened before.

About eighteen or twenty Years before the Arrival of the *Roman* Missionaries, in the Reign of *Alla* King of *Deira*, some young Children were sent from thence to *Rome* to be sold. That sort of Trade was then commonly drove by the *English*, who made no scruple of selling their Children, when over-stocked. These young Slaves, being expos'd to sale in the publick Market, drew the Eyes of vast Numbers of People upon them, who could not admire them enough. Among the rest, *Gregory*, Archdeacon of *Rome*, beheld them very attentively. He enquir'd particularly after the place of their Birth, and the Religion there profess'd. As soon as he knew they were *English* (1), and born of idolatrous Parents, he resolv'd to go and preach the Gospel to that Nation; and having obtained the *Pope's* License, prepared for his Journey. But the *Romans*, who had a great Veneration for him, petitioned the *Pope* not to deprive them of so useful a Pastor; and the *Pope* complied with their Request. Thus *Gregory's* Design remained unexecuted. The time appointed by God for the Conversion of the *English* was not yet come; and probably, such were then the Circumstances of the Nation, *Gregory's* Undertaking would have met with great Difficulties. All *England* was troubled with Wars and Commotions, which broke out afresh continually. *Ethelbert* had not yet espous'd *Bertha*; his Mind as yet was unprepared for the Reception of the Gospel, and being Vassal to *Ceaulin*, he had but little Power to encourage *Gregory's* Design. But afterwards, all Circumstances were equally favourable, and helped to promote it. *Gregory*, now become Bishop of *Rome*, call'd to mind his former Project of converting the *English*; and though by reason of his Dignity, which oblig'd him to reside at *Rome*, he could not go in Person, he sent those whom he thought capable of inspiring the People with a Relish for the Gospel. He chose for this Purpose forty *Benedictine* Monks, with *Austin* at their Head, in quality of Abbot (2). In all appearance, *Bertha* had acquainted the *Pope* how well affected the King her Husband stood

The State of the Church of Kent.

Thorn. Bede, l. 1. c. 25.

Thorn.

(1) Bede has rather invented or else heard that Pope Gregory made divers Latin Allusions upon the Answers to his Questions concerning those Boys. Particularly being told they were *English*, he replied, *Bene, nam Angli amabant fidem*. Hence I may have imagin'd (particularly *Verhegar*) that the Name of *Angli* came from *Angelen*. Whereas it is plain, their being call'd *Angli* is owing to their being of the *Angles* Race.

(2) He was then Abbot of St. Gregory's at Rome. *Spelman's Conc.* Vol. I. p. 92. *Rapin.*

596.

Bede, l. 1. c. 22.

Bede, l. 2. c. 1.

Brompton. Malmfb.

Thorn.

with regard to Religion, since they were ordered to land in *Kent*. *Austin* and his Companions (1) having passed through *France*, where they were supplied with Interpreters, arrived at the Isle of *Thanet* (2), in the year of our Lord 597. As soon as they were landed, he sent the King word, that he was come into his Dominions with a Company of very honest Men, to bring him a message of the greatest Importance, and instruct him in what would procure him everlasting Happiness. Upon this Information, *Ethelbert* ordered them to stay where they were, desiring to go himself and hear from their own Mouths the occasion of their Journey. Some few Days after, he went to the Isle of *Thanet*, in company with the Queen, who, in all likelihood, was not ignorant of the Reason of *Austin*'s coming. As soon as the King arrived, he seated himself in the open Air, being apprehensive, as *Bede* says, of *Charms* or *Spells*, which in the open Field, he thought, could have no Power over him. Then ordering the Strangers to be called before him, he asked them what they had to propose. *Austin*, who was the Spokesman, made a long Harangue, preaching the Gospel in a forcible and zealous manner, says the same Historian, though he relates not one word of his Sermon. *Ethelbert*, inform'd by the Interpreters what *Austin* had said, return'd him this Answer: "Your Proposals are noble, and your Promises inviting. But I cannot resolve upon quitting the Religion of my Ancestors, for one that appears to me supported only by the Testimony of Persons that are entire Strangers to me. However, since, as I perceive, you have undertaken so long a Journey on purpose to impart to us what you deem most important and valuable, you shall not be sent away without some Satisfaction. I will take care you are treated civilly in my Dominions, and supplied with all Things necessary and convenient. And if any of my Subjects, convinced by what you shall say to them, desire to embrace your Religion, I shall not be against it."

This first Step being taken, the Queen got leave for the *Missionaries* to settle at *Canterbury*, the Capital of *Kent*, where she took care to provide them with convenient Lodgings, and procure them the liberty of preaching to as many as had the Curiosity to hear them. They made so good use of this favourable Juncture, that in a short time several of the principal *Saxons* embraced the Christian Faith. The swift Progress of the Gospel at *Canterbury*, raised the King's Curiosity to be more particularly instructed in the nature of the Religion those Strangers preached. At length by the Persuasions of the Queen, and frequent Conferences with *Austin*, he received Baptism, about a year after the arrival of the *Missionaries*. The Conversion of the King being followed by that of Multitudes of his Subjects, the Queen's Chapel, which stood without the City (3), soon became too little to hold them. And therefore they were obliged to turn one of the Heathen Temples into a Church, which was dedicated to *St. Pancrace*. Shortly after several other Temples were served in the same manner by *Ethelbert*'s Order, and the Foundations of *Canterbury* Cathedral were laid; which was dedicated to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and was afterwards called *St. Thomas*. *Austin* began also a Monastery which he had not the Satisfaction to see finish'd. *Peter* one of his Companions, was the first Abbot. It was called the Monastery of *St. Augustin*, from its Founder. *Ethelbert* at length leaving *Canterbury* to the *Italian* Monks, went and kept his Court at *Reculver*.

Thus began the Conversion of the *Saxons* in *England*. *Austin* and his Fellow-labourers were the Instruments made use of by Divine Providence to turn them from their idolatrous Superstitions to the Light of the Gospel; a Blessing their Brethren in *Germany* enjoyed not till Two hundred years after, in the reign of *Charles the Great*. *Ethelbert* promoted to his utmost the Conversion of his Subjects, but without using the least Violence or Compulsion, having learnt of his Instructors, as *Bede* expressly observes, that God requires none to serve him, but those who do it with a willing Mind. It were to be wish'd, all Christian Princes would follow his Example! The *Saxons* were so eager to embrace the Gospel, that, if Historians may be credited, *Austin* in one day baptized Ten thousand in the River *Swale*, which runs into the *Thames*.

This swift Progress of the Gospel in *Kent* making *Austin* believe he should meet with the same Success every where, he looked upon all *England* as already converted. Possess'd with this Notion, he hasten'd to *Arles*, to get himself consecrated Archbishop of the *Saxons*, by *Etherius* [or *Vigilius*,] then Archbishop of that Place. Had he been contented with the bare Title of *Bishop*, one should not have wonder'd at it (4). But it is really surprizing, that he should aspire to the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity, at a time when he had no Bishop under his Jurisdiction. It is true the Pope had promised to make him an Archbishop, in case his *Mission* met with Success. But in all appearance, *Gregory*, by Success, meant the Conversion of the *English* Nation in general, and not of a part only of one of the least Kingdoms in the *Heptarchy*. How great Progress soever *Austin* had made for the time he had been in *England*, yet was it nothing in comparison of what remained to be done. His haste therefore to be made Archbishop and *Primate* of *England*, when there was but one single Church there, does not redound much to his Credit. All that can be said in his Justification, is, that the Progress of Christianity at *Canterbury*, made him imagine the Conversion of all *England* was at hand. And indeed, not long after his return from *Arles*, he erected an *Episcopal* See at *Rocheſter*, of which *Justus*, one of his Companions, was the first Bishop. Hence it is plain, the Gospel had also been preached in that City, and made some Progress there.

Austin must needs have entertained great Hopes of his *Mission*, since fearing he should want Labourers in the approaching *Harvest*, he sends *Peter* and *Laurence*, with two others of his Companions, before-hand to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with his Wants, and inform him how Matters stood. He took this Opportunity also to desire the Pope's Resolution of certain Questions, which appeared to him difficult, and might, he foresaw, puzzle him in the Government of the new Church.

The Letters of *Austin*, and the Accounts of those he had sent, inspir'd *Gregory* with so high a Conceit of this *Mission*, that looking upon the Conversion of the *English* as accomplished, though it was but just begun, he sent the *Pall* (5) to *Austin*, as a Mark of Distinction and Honour to this new *Apostle*. He ordered him also to erect Bishops Sees in several Places, particularly at *York*, where was to be a Metropolitan with twelve *Suffragans*, and that after the Death of one of the two Archbishops, the Survivor should consecrate another in his Place, and have the Precedence of him (6). The reason of this Preference with regard to *York*, was, because it had formerly, under the *Romans*, been an Archbishoprick as well as *London* and *Caerleon*. As for this last, it being then in the Hands of the *Britons*, and already an Archbishop's See, though not under the Pope's Jurisdiction, there was no occasion to mention it. *Gregory*'s Intent therefore in making *London* an Archbishoprick, was to restore Things to their former State. But however, he afterwards alter'd his Measures at the instance of *Austin*, who was desirous of procuring that Honour for *Canterbury*, the *Metropolis* of *Kent*, where he had begun to exercise his Ministerial Functions. The Pope's View then, was only to put Things upon an antient foot, when in his Answer to *Austin*, he told him he meant, that the two Archbishops of *London* and *York* should be independent of one another, however, that *Austin* during Life, should have Jurisdiction, as well over them, as all the rest of the Bishops of *Great-Britain*.

But all the Pains *Gregory* was at, came to nothing for the present, since the *Christian* Religion was far enough from extending to *Northumberland*. However, the great Hopes he had conceived from the Letters and Messengers of *Austin*, induced him to give Directions concerning the *English* Churches, just as if they had been really formed. Besides these general Orders, he exhorted *Austin*, in the same Letter (7), not to be elated at his having received from Heaven the Gift of Miracles, which makes it probable, word had been sent him, that several Miracles had been wrought by *Austin*. He charged him also, not to pull down such *Idol* Temples as were fit to be converted into Churches, but to consecrate them by sprinkling *Holy-Water*, and placing *Relicks* under the Altars. And since the *Saxons* had been accustomed to offer Sacrifices to their

(1) After they were got some way on their Journey, reflecting upon the Difficulties and Dangers of their Undertaking, they unanimously resolved to return home. And accordingly sent *Austin* to the Pope, to desire him to excuse them from so fatiguing and dangerous a Journey. But *Gregory* sent them a Letter, wherein he exhorted them to go on, which they accordingly did. *Bede*, l. i. c. 25.

(2) And landed in a Place called *Receſborough*. *Thorn*, p. 1759. *X. Script.*

(3) It was dedicated to *St. Martin*, and had formerly been a Church in the time of the *Romans*. *Bede*, l. i. c. 26.

(4) *Bede* says, that he was appointed by *Gregory* to be only Bishop, l. i. c. 23; but afterwards he informs us, that he was consecrated Archbishop, c. 27. *Collier* says, he was consecrated Bishop by the German Prelates, before he came over to *England*. This he grounds on *Gregory*'s Epist. l. vi. Ep. 30. Which see in *Speiman* Concil. Vol. I. p. 80.

(5) The *Pall* is a white piece of Wollen Cloth, about the breadth of a Border, made round, and thrown over the Shoulders. Upon this are two others of the same Matter and Form, one of which falls down on the Breast, and the other on the Back, with each of them a red Crest, several Crosses, and the Colour being likewise upon the upper part of it about the Shoulders. This *Pall* is laid upon *St. Peter*'s Tomb by the Pope, and then sent away to the respective *Metropolitans*, which till they have received from the See of *Rome*, they can't call a *Canvass*, but the *Chrym*, consecrate *Chrymes*, or a *Byscop*, consecrate *Byscops*. At the delivery of it they are to swear Fealty to the Pope. The antient *Pall*, from the *Latin* *Pallium*, was an antient and magnificent Habit, which the Bishop in mind that his Life should answer up to the Dignity of his Appointment. *Pet. de Marca*.

(6) How was it that the Bishop in mind that his Life should answer up to the Dignity of his Appointment. *Pet. de Marca*.

(7) In another. See *Bede*, l. i. c. 21. *Speiman* Concil. p. 83, 90. *Brompton*, p. 230.

Gods on their festival Days, he advises that [upon the Anniversary of the Saints, whose *Relicks* were lodged there, or upon the return of the Day of the Church's Consecration] they should kill some Cattle, and provide an Entertainment, to which they were to invite the *Poor*. At the same time he writ to *Ethelbert* and *Bertha*, exhorting them to persevere in the true Religion, and promote the great Work undertaken by *Austin*. *Peter* and *Laurence*, accompanied with *Mellitus*, *Paulinus*, *Ruffinianus*, and some other new *Missionaries*, brought back these Letters, together with *Sacred Vessels*, and *Ornaments* for the *Altars*, *Vestments* for the *Priests*, *Relicks*, *Books*, and other Things necessary for celebrating *Divine Service*. *Austin* received also the Resolution of the Questions he had sent to the *Pope*, which, with their Answers, were to this Effect.

Greg. Ep.
1. 9. Ep. 59,
60.

601.
Bede.

I. *Question*. How are Bishops to behave with respect to their *Clergy*? Into how many Portions are the *Offerings* at the Altar to be divided? And how ought a Bishop to act in the Church?

For Satisfaction in the first Point, the *Pope* refers him to *St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy*. To the second, he answers, That it was the Custom of the Church to divide the *Offerings* into four Parts, one for the Bishop; another for the Clergy; a third for the Poor; and a fourth for the Repairs of the Churches. As to the last Article, which would have been very obscure, had not the *Pope* cleared it in his Answer, he replies, That *Austin* being a *Monk*, ought not to live apart from the rest of the *Clergy*, but according to the Practice of the *Primitive Christians*, should have all things in common (1). He adds, if there were any *Clerks* not admitted into *Holy Orders*, who could not live continently, they were to marry, and receive the Stipends at their own Houses, according to the words of Scripture, *Distribution was made to each of them according to every one's Wants*. As for other Christians, he says, there was no need to prescribe any Rules in relation to their *Alms-giving*, since our Saviour himself says, *Give Alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you*.

Act. iv. 32.

II. *Question*. Since there is but one Faith, how comes it that there are different Customs in Churches, one manner of saying *Mass* in the *Roman*, and another in the *Gallican Church*?

The *Pope* advises him to select from each Church, what he thought most convenient for the Church of *England*.

III. *Question*. What Punishment ought to be inflicted on him that has stole any thing from the Church?

Gregory replies, The Motives of the Theft must be consider'd, whether it was done out of Necessity or Covetousness, and the Punishment to be proportion'd accordingly, with Charity and Temper. As for Restitution, God forbid the Church should receive more than she lost.

IV. *Question*. Whether two Brothers may marry two Sisters, that are no way related to them?

Gregory answers, This may be done very lawfully.

V. *Question*. To what Degree of Consanguinity are Marriages forbid?

The *Pope* answers, To the second Degree inclusively and no farther. He would not however have those separated who have married within the prohibited Degrees before their Conversion, because they did it out of Ignorance. But he would have all the new *Converts* charged not to presume to do any such thing, and in case they did, to be debarred the *Communion*.

VI. *Question*. Whether a single Bishop may ordain another, without the Assistance of other Bishops, when the Length of the Journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet?

Gregory replies, That since *Austin* was now the only Bishop in *England*, he might consecrate others without any Assistance. But in order to avoid the like Inconvenience for the future, he would have him place Bishops so, as that they might not be at too great a Distance from one another.

VII. *Question*. How ought I to manage with the Bishops of *Gaul*?

The *Pope* tells him, That he allows him no manner of Jurisdiction over them, because he had no design to deprive the Archbishop of *Arles* of the Authority he was in possession of.

VIII. *Question*. Whether a Woman with Child ought to be baptized?

The *Pope* answers, He saw no Inconvenience attending it.

IX. *Question*. How long after her lying in, ought a Woman to come into the Church?

Answer. If she comes into the Church the minute after her Delivery, she sins not.

X. *Question*. How long after the Birth, ought the baptizing of an Infant to be deferr'd?

Answer. A Child may be baptiz'd the Moment he is born.

XI. *Question*. How long, after a lying-in, must it be before a Man and his Wife come together again?

Gregory is very large in his Answer, and takes occasion to blame Mothers for not suckling their own Children, attributing the Rise of so ill a Custom to their Incontinency. And therefore he decides, that the Husband ought not to have to do with his Wife till the Child is wean'd (2).

XII. *Question*. May a Woman, during some certain times, come into the Church?

The *Pope* says a great deal on this head, and concludes, *Womens Infirmities* ought to be no Obstacle to their going to Church and praying to God.

XIII. *Question*. May a Man that has lain with his Wife, come into the Church or receive the Sacrament, before he has wash'd himself?

The *Pope* here, as usual, makes a great many Distinctions, and concludes, such a Man had better abstain from both for some time.

XIV. *Question*. May a Man after an *Impure Dream*, receive the Communion, or if he be a Priest, administer it?

The *Pope's* Answer is full of Distinctions about what is, and what is not Sin: And concludes at last, a Man in the Case mention'd ought not to communicate. He gives leave however, for a Priest in the same Case, to administer the Sacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

These are the Difficulties *Austin* wanted the *Pope* to resolve, which don't serve to give us any great Idea of the Abilities of this famous Apostle. However, *Gregory* thought fit to answer them fully and distinctly, as if they had been of the utmost Importance. He had the Conversion of the *English* so much at heart, that instead of giving *Austin* the least Discouragement, he extoll'd him mightily.

Austin's Care was not confin'd to the Conversion of the *Saxons* only. He undertook also, what seem'd to him no less worthy of his Zeal, the bringing the *British* Bishops to a conformity with the *Roman Church* (3), and the making them acknowledge the *Pope's* Jurisdiction. As this is a remarkable Circumstance of *Austin's* Life, it will be necessary to enlarge upon it a little. This Design of his was not easy to be executed. The *Britons* thought they could justify their adhering to the same Rites and Customs they had practis'd ever since the Conversion of *Britain*. Besides, they could not conceive, upon what grounds they were oblig'd to conform to a Church so remote, or what Advantage the owning the *Pope's* Authority would be to them. These Difficulties did not discourage *Austin*. He had, besides his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, another, and perhaps no less powerful Motive, to induce him to this Undertaking, which was his Claim to the *Primacy* of all *Britain*, by virtue of the *Pope's* Grant. Now, this he could never hope to attain, whilst the *British* Churches were independent of the *Pope*. He applied therefore all his Endeavours to accomplish this Enterprize, which cost him more Pains and Trouble than the Conversion of the *Saxons*, without having after all the Satisfaction of reaping the Fruits of his Labour.

The Gospel, as I before observ'd, was preach'd in *Britain*, either by the Apostles themselves, or by some of their Disciples. From those early Days, the *Britons* had constantly adher'd to the Customs and Rules prescrib'd to them by their first Teachers. But the Church of *Rome* had made several Innovations in the *Divine Service*, to which they pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The opposition the Bishops of *Rome* every where met with, was not capable to make them drop their Pretensions. Altho' this Difference was of no great consequence, it caus'd however, towards the end of the second Century, a most scandalous Quarrel between *Pope Victor I.* and the Churches of *Asia*; which rose to that Height, that the *Pope* for no other reason excommunicated them All. This Affair had never been judicially decided: yet for all that the Bishops of *Rome* stuck to their Claims, and did all that lay in their power to compass their Ends. The *Western* Churches, as nearest *Rome*, were least difficult to be prevailed with. Almost All, except the Churches of *Gaul* and *Milan*, conform'd at length to the *Roman Ritual*.

(1) Here in some Books is the second Question inserted, which runs thus: *I desire to know, whether Clergymen that cannot contain, may marry; and if they marry, whether they must return to a secular Life?* See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 96.

(2) However, he allows those that do not suckle their Children, to come together after the usual time of Purgation.

(3) *Viz.* about the Celebration of *Easter*, *Bede*, l. 2. c. 2. *Huntingd.* p. 325. The *Britons* used, for finding *Easter*, the Cycle of eighty-four years, which was called the *Roman Account*. But about eighty years after the renting of the *Roman Empire*, the *Romans* left off the use of that Cycle, and took up another of nineteen years; and when they had used this about eighteen years, coming then to have to do with these northern Nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a Condition of their Communion; and this was what *Austin* attempted to do. See *Bp Lloyd's Histor. Account*, p. 67, &c.

But *Britain*, being still as it were out of the World, had, since the Embassy of *Lucius* to Pope *Eleutherius*, held very little Communication with the Bishops of *Rome*. The *Britons* consider'd them only as Bishops of a particular *Diocese*, or at most but as *Patriarchs*, on whom the *British Church* had not the least Dependence. So far were they from owning the Pope's Authority, that they did not so much as know, he pretended to have any over them. But *Austin*, out of the abundance of his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, took upon him to bring them to acknowledge the Pope as *Head* of the Church in general. It is a difficult matter to know how far *Austin's* Designs reach'd, since it does not appear he had any Instructions from *Gregory I.* who aspir'd not to that exorbitant Power attributed afterwards to his Successors. It must however be own'd, that *Gregory* laid claim to a Superiority over the *British Churches*, since in his Letter to *Austin*, he put the whole Island entirely under the Jurisdiction of the new Archbishop. Indeed it is not to be suppos'd *Austin* would have insisted so much upon that Point, had he not been sure of being supported in it. However this be, he left no Stone unturn'd to attain his Ends.

The best way, as he thought, of proceeding in this Affair, was to get the *British Bishops* to meet him in a *Synod*, in order to debate upon what he had to propose to them. This being agreed to, he omitted nothing that might win them to do as he desired. But neither Promises nor Threats could prevail with the *British Prelates*, to admit of the least Change in their antient Customs. *Bede* tells us that *Austin*, finding no good was to be done by Arguments, caus'd a *Saxon* blind Man to be brought into the Assembly, and when the *Britons* had tried in vain to cure him, he restor'd him to his Sight by his Prayers. But, whether the Miracle admitted of some Dispute, because the blind Man was a *Saxon*; or *Bede*, who lived long after the Fact, was wrong inform'd; the *Britons* stood out against this Evidence. All *Austin* could obtain, was, that they would meet again and determine the Matter in a more numerous *Synod* (1). At this second Council were present seven *British Bishops* (2), accompanied with *Dinoth* Abbot of *Bangor*, who brought several of his Monks along with him. Before they came to the *Synod*, they advis'd with a *Hermit* of great Repute among them, how they should behave in this Affair. The good old Man told them, he saw no reason to admit of any Alterations in their *Divine Service* upon the bare Request of a Man to them entirely unknown: But however, as the Essence of Religion consisted in Union and Charity, it would not be amiss to comply in some measure with *Austin*, provided he was a *Holy Man*, and one sent from God. Whereupon the Bishops desired to be inform'd, how they should know whether he was such a Person or not. He replied, they should know it by his *Humility*, the most unquestionable Mark of a true Christian: and they would see whether he was endued with this Virtue, by his respectful rising up to salute them at their coming into the Council-Room; for if he paid them not that Civility, it was a sure Token of his Pride. Pursuant to this Advice, they took care to come last upon the Place. And upon *Austin's* not stirring from his Seat to salute them, they conceived an invincible Prejudice against him. Thus for a Default in point of Civility, his whole Scheme that had cost him so much Pains and Trouble, fell to the Ground.

As *Austin* in the *Synod* was earnestly pressing the *Britons* to submit to the Pope, and carrying the Papal Prerogatives to a great height, *Dinoth*, Abbot of *Bangor*, made him this Answer: "You propose to us Obedience to the Church of *Rome*; are you ignorant that we already owe a Deference to the Church of God, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to all Christians, of Love and Charity, which obliges us to endeavour by all possible means to assist and do them all the good we can? Other Obedience than this to him you call *Pope*, we know not of, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a *Superior*, what need have we to go so far as *Rome*, when we are governed, under God, by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who hath Authority to take care of our Churches and Spiritual Affairs? (3)." It is said, *Au-*

stin despairing to overcome their Obstinacy, after a long Dispute, cried out, full of Indignation, *Since you refuse Peace from your Brethren, you shall have War from your Enemies; and since you will not join with us in preaching the Word of eternal Life to your Neighbours, you shall receive Death at their Hands.* Hence it appears, that *Austin* had not only press'd the *Britons* to a Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, and Obedience to the *Papal* Authority, but also had reproach'd them for their Negligence and want of Zeal, in not promoting the Conversion of the *Saxons*. Perhaps he design'd to intimate to them, that the Conversion of all *England* stuck only at the Union he propos'd to them. However this be, these Words of *Austin* were looked upon as a Prediction of the Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor*, mentioned in the History of *Northumberland*. I leave the Reader to judge whether the Non-compliance of the Abbot of *Bangor* to *Austin's* Proposal, was a Crime of such a Nature as to deserve so severe a Punishment.

Austin not having the Success he expected in this Affair, confin'd himself within the true Bounds of his Mission, and caus'd the Gospel to be preached to the *East-Saxons* by *Mellitus*, one of the *Missionaries* sent him by the Pope, of whom I shall speak more fully, when I come to the Conversion of that Nation.

These, in short, are the Transactions of *Austin*, commonly called the *Apostle of the English*, during the eight Years he lived in *England*. He arrived in 597, and died in 605, according to the generally-received Opinion. Some affirm he died sooner, and others, though without grounds, bring his Death down to 613 (4). He was buried at *Canterbury* near the Cathedral, which was not then finished, with this Inscription on his Tomb (5):

Here lies Augustin, the first Archbishop of Dorobern, who having been sent hither by Gregory Pontiff of Rome, and supported by the Co-operation of God with Miracles, converted King Ethelbert and his Nation to the Faith; and having accomplished the Days of his Ministry, departed this Life the 7th of the Calends of June, in the Reign of the said King.

Austin was succeeded by *Laurentius* (6), who was as *Malmsh.* solicitous to reduce the *Britons* to the Obedience of the Pope, and a Conformity to the *Roman Church* in the Celebration of *Easter*. He wrote very pressing Letters to them, wherein he upbraided them for their Obstinacy, bitterly complaining, that a *Scotch Bishop*, *Dagham* by name, passing through *Canterbury*, had refused to eat with him, on account of their difference of Opinion concerning *Easter-Day*. But his Letters proved of no Effect.

Gregory I. pretended not to a Jurisdiction over the *British Churches*, as *Universal Bishop*; a Title he was so far from assuming, that he had declaim'd against it with great Dislike. However, in all appearance, he believed he might as *Patriarch* of the West, claim the Obedience of the *British* as well as *English Bishops*, to his spiritual Jurisdiction. But *Boniface IV.*, who not long after *Gregory I.* was promoted to the *See of Rome*, being supported by the Emperor *Phocas*, took upon him the Title of *Universal Bishop*. This was a fresh Motive for the *Missionaries* in *England* to renew their Endeavours to bring the *Britons* to own his Authority; but they could not prevail with them. And therefore *Mellitus* was sent to *Rome* for Instructions from the Pope upon this Head. But the Death of *Ethelbert* (7), which happened in the mean time, caus'd them to lay aside all Thoughts of this Matter, and reduced the Christians to a deplorable Condition. *Eadwald* Son and Successor of *Ethelbert*, being turn'd Pagan again, the *Missionaries* lost that powerful Protection they had till then so prosperously enjoyed. To compleat their Misfortunes, *Sebert* King of *Essex*, who had been converted by *Mellitus*, dying also a little after (8), his three Sons who jointly succeeded him, apostatiz'd from Christianity, and forbad *Mellitus*, who was come back from *Rome*, to remain in their Dominions. He fled to *Laurentius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as did also *Justus* Bishop of *Ro-*

Inclutus Anglorum præful, piur, & decus altum,
Hic Augustinus requiescit corpore sanctus.

His Body was after the finishing of the Cathedral, remov'd by his Successor *Laurentius*, into the North Porch of it; and the other Inscription put upon his Monument. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 3. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. 1. p. 93.

(6) Whom he had consecrated Archbishop before his Death. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 3.

(7) *Rapin* places *Ethelbert's* Death several Years sooner here than he did before in the History of *Kert*. He died in 613, says *Bede*, l. 2. c. 5. *Rapin* places it above in 616. See *Joeth Brompton*, p. 737, 738.

(8) *Brompton* says, that he died about the same time as King *Ethelbert*; which, according to him, was *Anno Dom.* 616. p. 737, 738.

ance abandoned the Faith. These three Prelates, having consulted together, resolved upon going into *France*, and leaving the reprobate *Saxons* to themselves. This shows either that the people of *Kent* and *Essex* went all back to *Paganism*, or that there were not so many converts as *Gregory* was made to believe. *Mellitus* and *Justus* went off, according to their Resolution; but *Laurentius* staid behind, though with intent to follow them in a short time. When he was ready to depart, it is affirm'd, that lying one night in his Church, *St. Peter* appeared to him, and scourged him severely, as a punishment for offering to abandon his *Mission*. The day after he went to *Edbald*, and having shewn him the marks of the scourge, he converted him, and persuaded him to disengage himself from his unlawful marriage; he having taken his Father's widow to wife. So far is certain, *Edbald* was converted: All Historians are unanimous in That: but I cannot warrant the truth of *St. Peter's* apparition. *Edbald* being thus returned to the Faith, recalled *Justus* and *Mellitus*, and restored them to their respective Dioceses of *Rocheſter* and *London*. But the *East-Saxons* at *London* refusing to admit *Mellitus*, he returned to *Kent*, where he soon after succeeded *Laurentius* in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* (1). He is said by his prayers to have put a stop to a great fire, that in all probability would have reduced the City to ashes, and to have wrought several other miracles, with which I intend not to swell this abridgment.

Mellitus was succeeded by *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter* (2), to whom the Pope sent the *Pall*. After him came *Honorius*, whose successor was *Deusdedit*. After his death, there was a vacancy for four years (3). *Egbert* and *Offa*, Kings of *Kent* and *Northumberland*, having held a conference together about the affairs of the Church, resolved to send *Wighard* a *Kentish* Priest to be consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* at *Rome*. *Wighard* dying there, *Vitalian* the Pope cast his eyes upon *Adrian* and *Andrew*, two Monks, who both refused the Archbishoprick, as too great a burden for them. *Theodorus* a *Greek*, Native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, to whom it was also offered, not having the same scruples, was consecrated at *Rome*, and departed for *England*. The Pope ordered *Adrian* to go with him, left, says a Historian, *Theodorus*, being a *Greek*, might introduce customs in *Britain* contrary to those of the Church of *Rome*. As this Prelate was the most famous that in those early times filled the *See* of *Canterbury*, it will not be amiss to take a fuller view of him.

Theodorus was a Prelate of distinguished worth, as well for learning, as greatness of mind, and solidity of Judgment. But he was of a warm and imperious temper, a lover of power, and could ill brook any opposition to his Will. Whilst he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he had frequent opportunities of extending his jurisdiction over all *England*, which he never neglected, as we shall see hereafter in the account of the ecclesiastical affairs of the other kingdoms, particularly of *Northumberland*. I shall only observe here, that during his Life, he alone exercised the archiepiscopal functions, which gave him an opportunity of incroaching upon the rights of the *See* of *York*; though *Gregory I.* had ordered, that after the death of *Austin*, the two Archbishopricks should be independent of each other. As soon as he came into *England*, he made a Visitation of all the Churches in his jurisdiction, and brought the People to a thorough conformity in the divine Service, to the usage of the Church of *Rome*.

As the *English* were yet very ignorant, *Theodorus* endeavoured to the utmost of his power to instruct them, by erecting a School or Seminary at *Crecklade* (4), where he and *Adrian*, besides *Divinity*, taught *Arithmetick*, *Musick*, *Astronomy*, *Greek* and *Latin*. *Bede* assures us, he knew several of their Scholars, that could express themselves as readily in *Greek* and *Latin* as in their own Language. *Theodorus* was not satisfied with promoting the love of learning among the *English*, by Exhortations and Instructions only, but also by the Books he brought, and sent for, into *England*; some of which are still extant in Manuscript, as *David's Psalms*, *St. Chrysostom's Homilies*, and *Homer*, all written in a beautiful Hand. He composed himself a large work called *Pœnitentiale*, which remained not long since entire at *Cambridge* (5), but is not to be found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with some other of his treatises, were published at *Paris*, with notes by *Jacobus Petitus* (6).

Theodorus died in 690; but the *See* was not filled till two years after, by *Berthwald* Abbot of *Reculver* (7), who, having been Archbishop thirty eight years (8), gave place by his death to *Tatwine* a person of great Learning and probity. He exercised his archiepiscopal functions near two years before he received the *Pall*; which is a clear evidence it was not yet thought an absolutely necessary qualification for an Archbishop. *Tatwine* dying in 735, *Nothelm*, a priest of the Diocese of *London*, succeeded him, and went and received the *Pall* at *Rome*, where he was consecrated by *Gregory III.* He died in 741, and the year following, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, was chosen in his room. To him succeeded *Bregwin* of a noble family in *Germany*. This Prelate was exemplary for his religious and holy life, during the two years he held the *See*. *Jambert* [or *Lambert*] Abbot of *St. Austin's*, was his successor. He had the mortification to see the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* wrested from his jurisdiction, by the erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbishop's *See*, in the reign of *Offa*. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. *Athelard* his successor was more fortunate, for he obtained what his predecessor had sued for in vain. So the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were again subject to the jurisdiction of the *See* of *Canterbury*. *Wulfrid* who succeeded him in 804, was living at the time the *Heptarchy* was reduced to a Monarchy.

Before we leave the Church of *Kent*, it will be proper to observe, that *Gregory's* scheme, who had ordered *Canterbury* and *York* should be both Archbishop's *Sees*, and independent of one another, remained unexecuted, upon several accounts. In the first place, the *Northumbrians* did not receive the Gospel so soon as that *Pope* expected. Again, They all deserted the Faith, after the retreat of *Paulinus*, who had received the *Pall*. Lastly, the troubles *Northumberland* was continually disturbed with, prevented the first Bishops of *York*, from taking advantage of the *Pope's* regulation, which besides they did not much regard. This was the reason *Theodorus* became possessed of all the Authority, as well over the northern, as southern Churches, and that his successors making him their precedent, laid claim to the Primacy of all *England*, exclusive of the Archbishop of *York*. This proved, in process of time, the ground of great disputes between the two Archbishops.

The Church of NORTHUMBERLAND.

HAVING already given an account of *Edwin's* marriage with *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, I shall only add, that *Paulinus*, who accompanied her into *Northumberland* as Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, spent a whole year at *Edwin's* court, without making any great progress among people not yet disposed to receive his Instructions. But at length several accidents concurred to encourage his zeal and promote his designs, of which I shall give a particular relation.

Quicelm, one of the Kings of *Wessex*, bore the yoke of *Edwin* with that impatience, that he resolved to free himself from it, by means of an Assassin, whom he sent to him on some pretence, privately armed with a poisoned dagger. The Russian being introduced into the presence-chamber, took his opportunity, and made so furious a Pass at the King, that he was wounded through the body of *Lilla* his Favourite, who interposed himself, and received the Blow. *Paulinus* being informed of this accident, hastily ran into the room, and finding *Edwin* in a great rage with the King of *Wessex*, told him, God, to whom such wretches were an abomination, would not fail to punish so horrid a villany. It is said that *Edwin*, whom the Queen had hitherto solicited in vain, promised at the same time to renounce Idolatry, if the God of the Christians would revenge him of his enemy. At the same instant, news was brought him, that the Queen, after a hard labour, was brought to bed of a Princess, for which he returned thanks to his Gods. *Paulinus* for his part, having been in great fears for the Queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her deliverance. The Prelate's zeal was so pleasing to the King, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the Christian Religion, he consented *Paulinus* should baptize the newborn infant. The young Princess, who was named

(1) According to *Malmſb.* *Laurentius* was Archbishop five years, p. 196. So *Gervafius* also says. But *Brompton* makes him to have been Archbishop sixteen Years, p. 739.

(2) *Mellitus* was Archbishop five years; *Justus* three, and, according to others ten; *Honorius* twenty-six; and *Deusdedit* ten. *Malmſb.* p. 196. *Brompt.* *Gervafius*.

(3) *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, who reigned from 642 to 664, ordered *Lent* to be kept throughout his Kingdom; which, as far as appears, was the first Institution of it in *England*. *Malmſb.* p. 11. *Brompt.* p. 740.

(4) About twenty Miles from *Oxford*, in *Wiltshire*, from whence that University might be afterwards supplied.

(5) In *Bennet College Library*, in Sir Henry Spelman's time. *Conc.* Vol. I. p. 154.

(6) *Theodore* is said to have been the first that divided the Province of *Canterbury* into *Parishes*. See *Bede*, Edit. *Whelock*, p. 399. *Spelman's Conc.* Vol. I. p. 152.

(7) *Berthwald* was the first Saxon Archbishop, all the rest having been sent from *Rome*. *Brompt.* p. 742.

(8) *Malmſb.* says, thirty-seven, (p. 196) and *Gervafius*, thirty-seven years and six months, (p. 1640.)

Anfleda was the first that received baptism in *Northumberland* (1).

Edwin however, not forgetting the perfidiousness of the King of *Wessex*, marched with an army into his dominions, and, after defeating him several times, compell'd him humbly to sue for peace, and make him ample satisfaction. But tho' he return'd with victory according to his wish, he deferr'd the performance of his Promises (2). When the Queen and *Paulinus* press'd him upon that head, he told them, the quitting his religion seem'd to him to be of that importance, that he could not resolve upon it without a thorough examination of matters. And indeed he heartily set about it, and frequently conferr'd with *Coifi* the Pagan high-priest, upon the reasons alledg'd by *Paulinus* in favour of Christianity. *Coifi*, perceiving the King was very near turning Christian, resolv'd with himself to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his will. It would not perhaps be impossible in the like case, to find some of this character among the Christian Clergy.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 10.
626.

l. 2. c. 12.

Mean time, the Queen and *Paulinus* continued to solicit the King to perform his promise; and to give the greater weight to what they said to him, they got the Pope to write him a Letter. But all would not do; *Edwin* still demurr'd, and could not come to a resolution. At last the circumstances of the *Vision* he had formerly seen in the Garden of *Redowald*, being, as it is pretended, revealed to *Paulinus*, the work was accomplish'd in an extraordinary way. *Bede* relates, how that one day as the King was surrounded with a croud of Courtiers (3), *Paulinus* came in suddenly, and laying his hand on *Edwin's* head, ask'd him whether he understood the meaning of that *Taken*? At these words, *Edwin* recollecting what had pass'd between him and the Stranger in *Redowald's* garden, threw himself at *Paulinus's* feet, who, with an air of authority, said to him thus: *My Lord, you have escaped the hands of your Enemies, and are become a great King. All that was foretold you is come to pass; it is your duty now to make good your promise.* Upon hearing this, *Edwin* is said to reply, He was fully satisfied, and ready to receive the Christian Faith. From that moment he strove not only to be better inform'd himself, but also to prevail with his subjects to follow his example, and embrace the Gospel. To that end, he believed the best way would be, before he publickly declar'd his intent, to gain some of his principal courtiers, whose example he did not question, would have a great influence on the rest of the nation.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 13.

The greatest opposition was most likely to come from *Coifi*, because it was his interest to keep the people attach'd to the worship of Idols. But the King was agreeably surpriz'd to find, that instead of opposing, he was ready to comply with his desire. One day as the King was discoursing with him (4) upon this subject, the High-Priest, like a good Courtier, said to him: "I have for a good while been seriously reflecting on our religion, and on the nature of our Gods, and must own I am not at all satisfied in these points, neither can I forbear calling in question their goodness, justice, or power. Never perhaps did any person serve them with greater zeal, respect and assiduity than myself. You, Sir, are a witness with what devotion and care I have all along perform'd the functions of my office; and yet I never got any thing by it: Neither is there a Man in your court but what is better prefer'd than I am. Now, can I help concluding, that since our Gods take so little care of their most sincere worshippers, they must be either unjust, or weak, or rather no Gods at all?"

Bede, l. 2.
c. 13.

Edwin, extremely well pleas'd with this answer of the High-Priest, had a mind likewise to know the sentiments of another Priest (5) that was next in dignity to *Coifi*; who, encourag'd by the example of his Superior, told the King: "Sir, the more we reflect on the nature of our Soul, the less we know of it; it is with our Soul, as with the little Bird that came in the other day at one of the windows in the room where you sat at dinner, and flew out immediately at the other. Whilst it was

"in the room, we knew something about it; but as soon as it was gone, we could not say whence it came, or whither it was flown. Thus our Soul whilst it animates our Body, we may know some of its properties, but when once separated, we know not whither it goes, or from whence it came. Since then *Paulinus* pretends to give us clearer notions of these matters, it is my opinion that we give him the hearing, and laying aside all passion and prejudice, follow that which shall appear most conformable to right reason."

This advice, that agreed so well with the King's intentions, being approv'd of, it was resolv'd *Paulinus* should explain himself upon the subject of Religion, in the presence of the Pontiff and other Priests, which was accordingly done. As soon as *Coifi* had heard the Bishop out, he declar'd aloud, He could see no manner of reason to doubt of the truth of the Christian Religion. *Edwin* being thus sure of the concurrence of the High-Priest and some of his principal courtiers, call'd a *Wittenagemot* or parliament, to debate, whether the Christian Religion should be receiv'd or not. But the majority being determin'd already for the affirmative, it pass'd without any opposition. *Coifi* was one of the most forward to attack the Pagan worship; and being desirous to show some marks of the sincerity of his conversion, put himself at the head of his Priests, and marching toward the Heathen temple, darted his Javelin against the Idol: After which it was broke in pieces by the King's order, and the temple burnt to the ground (6). The same day *Edwin* was baptized (7), with his niece *Hilda* (8) afterwards abbess of *Whitby*.

627.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 14.

The Northumbrians following the example of their King, *Paulinus*, who till then had lain idle, on a sudden found himself fully employed, by the prodigious crowds that daily came to be taught and baptiz'd (9). But if it be true, as some affirm, that he baptized in one day ten thousand, his instructions must needs have been very concise (10). A Church of timber was hastily run up at *York* for the new converts, who were very numerous. Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the foundation of a Church of free-stone round the former, which stood till the other of stone was built. He had not the satisfaction to finish it, which was done by *Oswald* his successor. *Paulinus* is said to have preached also at *Lincoln*, where he converted *Blecca* the Saxon Governor.

628.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 16.

Thus was *Northumberland* converted to the Faith of Christ. But some time after, *Edwin* being slain in battle, such desolation ensued, that *Paulinus* being compell'd to leave the kingdom, the Northumbrians fell back again to idolatry. *Anfrid* and *Osfic*, Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, followed the example of their subjects, though they had been instructed in the Christian Religion in *Scotland*, where they had lived in exile. The apostatizing of these two princes, and the barbarity of *Cadwalla* after their death, almost quite rooted out Christianity in *Northumberland*. During these calamities, neither Priest nor Monk had the courage to attempt the restoring the Northumbrians to the Faith. *James* the deacon, whom *Paulinus* left at *York*, was not able alone to put a stop to the general revolt (11). Things remained in this sad state, till *Oswald* ascended the throne, who, as soon as he had restor'd peace and tranquillity, laboured with all his power to make religion flourish again. To that end, he desired the King of *Scotland* to send some Persons of learning to instruct his subjects. Accordingly *Corman*, a Monk of *Jona*, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, was sent with some others; but he being a Man of a rugged temper, and disliked by the English, returned to his monastery; and making his report of his Mission in a full Chapter, *Aidan*, one of the Brotherhood, found by what he said, that he had not used that condescension to the English their circumstances required, and therefore told him, "It is my opinion, Brother, that you have dealt a little too roughly with those you designed to convert; not remembering that the Christian Religion ought to be infused in the Mind, not by violent, but mild and gentle methods." Upon these words, the Monks unanimously declared *Aidan* was the fittest person

633.
Id. c. 20.

634.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 1, 3.
S. Dunelm.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 5.

(1) She was baptized on *Whituesday*, with twelve other persons belonging to the Court. Bede, l. 2. c. 9.

(2) *Bede* says, the reason of it was, because he would not embrace Christianity without due and mature deliberation, and without being sufficiently instructed in the grounds of his Faith. *Ibid.*

(3) *Bede* says, he was sitting alone seriously pondering with himself. *Rapin.*

(4) In a General Assembly. *Habito enim cum Sapientibus Consilio, tractabatur sigillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina hæc catenus inaudita, & novus divinitatis qui prædicabatur cultus videretur.* Bede, l. 2. c. 13.

(5) *Bede* says, it was one of the King's Grandees:—*alii Optimatum Regis.* Bede, l. 2. c. 13.

(6) The Temple was a very famous one, it stood at *Gedmanlam*, i. e. a receptacle for Gods, in *Wiltshire*: Near it is *Wigton*, that is, a place of Idols. *Camden*, p. 738.

(7) Which was on *Easter-Day*, April 12. Shortly after his two Sons *Offid* and *Eadfrid*, and several of the nobility, were baptized. *Paulinus* preached six years together in *Northumbria*. Bede, l. 2. c. 14.

(8) She was daughter to *Hereric*, *Edwin's* nephew. Bede.

(9) *Bede* says, that *Paulinus* coming one time with the King and Queen to a place called *Adregin*, spent there thirty-six days from morning till night, in instructing and baptizing (in the River *Glen*) the people that flock'd to him from all quarters, l. 2. c. 14. This *Adregin*, as *Bede* observes, it is destroyed in his time: but *Camden* affirms, that it was where *Teverin* in *Northumberland* now stands.

(10) The same is said of *Austin*; and both the rivers are call'd *Swale*. *Rapin.* It may seem incredible, that *Paulinus* should baptize so many in one day. But this Difficulty is remov'd in an antient Fragment quoted by Mr. *Camden*. "The Archbishop, after he had consecrated the River *Swale*, commanded, by the Cryers and principal Men, that they should with Faith go in two by two, and in the Name of the Holy Trinity, baptize each other." *Introduç. p. clxvi. 2d Edit.*

(11) And yet *Ped. lxx*, that—*magnas antiquo hosti prædas docendo & baptizando eripuit.* l. 2. c. 20.

635. to be sent to the *Northumbrians*. He undertook the affair, and being consecrated Bishop, set out for *Northumberland*. *Bede* gives *Aidan* the character of a pious and religious person, but adds, his zeal was without knowledge, because he kept *Easter* after the manner of the *Eastern* Christians, and not according to the custom of the *Church of Rome*. However, as much a *Schismatick* as he was in *Bede's* opinion, nothing can be added to his commendation of him for holiness of life. He not only, *l. 3. c. 5.* says he, instructed Christians in their duty, but also gave them an example of a good life, and fervent charity, which charmed the very *Heathens*, and allured them to the *Faith*. His success was so great among the *Northumbrians*, that they returned in crowds to the profession of Christ. *Oswald*, who was extremely desirous of the conversion of his Subjects, did all he could to promote the Work, even to the becoming *Aidan's* Interpreter, in explaining his discourses to the people. It may perhaps seem strange, that *Oswald* should not recall *Paulinus*, who was then Bishop of *Rocheſter*, or make use of the ministry of *James*, who was left by *Paulinus* in *Northumberland*. But it must be remembered, that *Oswald*, having been instructed in the Christian Religion in *Scotland*, had an aversion for the *Roman Missionaries*, on account of the difference between the *Romanists* and *Scots* about *Easter*, and the *Ecclesiastical Tonsure*. *Aidan* dying after he had governed the Church of *Northumberland* seventeen years; *Finan*, another Monk of *Iona* was sent to supply his place. He fixt the *Episcopal See* in the little Island of *Lindisfarn* (1), contrary to *Gregory's* regulation, who ordered that the principal *See* for the northern parts should be settled at *York*.

652. This was not the only thing wherein *Finan* and the other *Scotch Ecclesiasticks* showed their independance on the *Church of Rome*. Their obstinate refusal to conform to the *Roman* custom of keeping *Easter*, was an article of much more importance, at least in the opinion of the *Italian Priests*, by whom it was considered as a principal point. *England* was then divided into two *Parties* or *Seſts*, who firmly adhered to their respective opinions. All the *Scotch Priests* and *Monks*, who were very numerous in *Northumberland*, and all their converts, followed the *Eastern Churches*; but the *French* and *Italian Ecclesiasticks*, in that and all other points, stuck to the *Church of Rome*, branding with the name of *Schismaticks* those who refused to do the like. And therefore they used their utmost endeavours to bring the *English Churches* to a conformity with them, which they thought might easily be done, could they but once gain over *Finan* to their side. To this end they sent to him a *Scotch Priest*, that had been educated in *France*, to lay before him the reasons alledged by the *Church of Rome* upon that head. But so far was *Finan* from being prevailed upon, that he became a more professed and open opposer of the *Roman* customs.

This dispute was then carried on with great vehemence, not only among the *Clergy*, but even among the most ignorant of the *Laity*, as it usually happens in *Religious Differences*. As long as *Aidan* and *Finan* lived, the *Romanists*, says *Bede*, on account of the veneration all Men had for these two holy Bishops, bore with patience this diversity of opinion. But when *Colman*, another *Scotch Monk*, succeeded *Finan* in the reign of *Oswy*, the dispute was renewed with more warmth than ever. The *Romanists*, desirous of bringing over their adversaries to their opinion at any rate, never left till they had got *Oswy* to call a *Synod* [in the Nunnery of *Hilda*] at *Streanes-halh* or *Whitby*, in order to decide this affair. The *Synod* being met, each party endeavoured to procure as many votes as they could; but, as it appears from the accounts of *Historians*, the *Romanists* were much more active and zealous than the others; and managed so, that *Agilbert* Bishop of *Paris*, formerly Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, came to the *Synod* on some pretence, with *Agathon* one of his Priests. At the head of the *Scotch Party* were King *Oswy*, *Colman* Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, and the rest of the *Scotch Priests* and *Monks* (2), with all that had received their ordination from them. On the other side appeared *Anſteda*, *Oswy's* Queen, *Alfred* King of *Deira*, *Oswy's* natural Son, *Wilfrid* a Priest his preceptor, who had studied at *Rome*, *Agilbert* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Agathon* a Priest of the same Church, *Roman* a *Scotch Priest*, *James* the Deacon, and all who had been disciples of the *Italian Priests* and *Monks*.

To see with what eagerness this dispute was managed, one would have thought the very Essence of Religion had been at stake. And indeed the *Romanists* were of that opinion, as appears from the words of *Bede*, it was not with-

out reason, says he, that this question disturbed the minds of a great number of Christians, who were apprehensive, lest after they had begun the race of Salvation, they should be found to have run in vain. However, this *Historian*, tho' he thought all did run in vain who conformed not to the *Church of Rome*, gives *Aidan* and *Finan* who were of that number, the highest praises for holiness of life. He attributes to them the gift of miracles, which leaves no room to doubt, but that he looked upon them as Saints; notwithstanding they were, according to his notion, actually involved in *Schism*. *Baronius* treads in the steps of *Bede*. When he mentions the *Scots* and *Britons* of those days, he calls them *Schismaticks*, for refusing to obey the Pope: But when he speaks of *Aidan* and *Finan*, he makes no scruple of joining them, though they strenuously asserted the independency of their Churches. Hence it follows, either these two Bishops were not really *Schismaticks*, or if they were so, their *Schism* hindered them not from being great Saints, from being assisted by God in working miracles, and converting nations. But to return to the *Synod* of *Whitby*; since the dispute about *Easter* was the occasion of their meeting, and the cause of great commotions in *England*, it will not be amiss briefly to relate the first rise of it.

Towards the end of the second Century, a controversy arose in the *Church*, concerning the day on which the *Easter Festival* was to be celebrated. The Churches of *Asia* were of opinion, it was to be kept on the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the custom of the *Jews*, on what day of the week soever it should chance to fall. The *Western Churches* on the contrary, put it off till the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day, because our Saviour's resurrection was on that day. Several councils were held about this matter, as well in the East as in the West; but neither party would recede from their opinion, each pleading apostolical tradition in their behalf, the *Eastern Bishops* from *St. John*, and the *Western* from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. Supposing the truth of both these traditions, the inference was plain, that either of them might indifferently be followed, and that it was no material point, since the Apostles had not settled it among themselves. And in fact, this diversity of custom, prevented not the two parties from holding communion with each other, till *Victor I.* Bishop of *Rome* made a rupture, by excommunicating the *Quartodecimans*, or those that keep *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon. This Proceeding of *Victor* gave so great offence, that *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, tho' of the same opinion with *Victor*, severely reprimanded him for breach of charity, on account of a thing of so little moment. He alledged the example of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telephorus*, *Xistus*, predecessors of *Victor*, who notwithstanding this difference, brake not communion with the Churches of *Asia*. Adding, he would have acted much better in imitating *Anicetus*, who gave the Eucharist with his own hand to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, though of a different opinion from him in this very point.

Victor's haughty treatment of the Churches of *Asia*, instead of bringing them to his opinion, only made them adhere still more firmly to their own. They believed, they were so much the less obliged to conform to the practice of *Rome*, as the Pope, after all, could produce no authentick proof of his tradition from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; as the *Asiaticks*, on their part, would have been as hard put to it to make out *Theirs* from *St. John*. What *Socrates* the *Historian* says upon this subject is very remarkable: Neither Christ nor his Apostles have ordered any thing concerning the *Paschal Feast*, as *Moses* did to the *Jews*, their design being not to determine circumstances about Holy-Days, but to instruct Christians in the precepts of piety and a good life. It is my opinion therefore, that as certain customs have been introduced in each country, this of the paschal Solemnity was one of them, and not built upon the authority of the Apostles. The *Quartodecimans* tell us, the keeping the fourteenth day was instituted by *St. John*. The *Romanists* maintain, they had their practice from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: But neither of them have proved by any authentick record their assertion: Whence it is clear, the *Easter Festival* may be kept in every place according to the custom first introduced there.

From this passage it is evident, that they who were no lovers of wrangling, looked upon this controversy as of little importance to religion. However, to avoid a diversity even in the smallest matters, the council of *Arles* in 314, ordered that *Easter* should every where be kept on the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the Moon, which happened next after the *Vernal Equinox* or 21st of *March*. This Canon was confirmed by the council of *Nice* in 325, and the Emperor sent orders throughout all the *Roman Empire* to have it put in practice. His letter upon this occasion to the Governors and other Magistrates, showed that

(1) Or *Holy-Island*, on the Coast of *Northumberland*. It was not *Finan* that fixed the *Episcopal See* there, but his predecessor *Aidan*. What *Finan* did, was to erect there a Cathedral Church; which was built after the *Scotch* fashion, not of Stone, but of Timber, and thatched. *Edbert*, one of *Finan's* Successors, covered the Walls and Roof with Lead. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 3, and 25. *S. Dunelm. Hist.* p. 333.

(2) Particularly *Credada*, or *Cedd*, Bishop of the *East-Saxons*. *Bayly*, p. 778. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 25.

the reasons the Council went upon, were, that the *Quartodecimans* were fewest in number, and stood too near the *Jewish* custom. Upon the same account it was, that the Council ordered, *Easter* should be the *Sunday* after the full Moon in *March*. But it is uncertain whether it was meant, people should reckon from the beginning of the fourteenth of the Moon, or from the evening and beginning of the fifteenth (1). Pursuant to this determination, all the Churches kept *Easter-Day* on a *Sunday*. One thing however, namely, what was to be done when the full Moon fell out on a *Sunday*, not being settled, caused some diversity. In this case, some Churches, among which was that of *Scotland*, began their *Easter* that very day, and consequently at the same time with the *Jews*. But the Church of *Rome* deferred it till the *Sunday* following. Since that time, there have been some alterations which produced different customs in the Churches. Whereas for a long while a *Cycle* of eighty-four years was every where made use of to find the precise time of *Easter*, the Church of *Rome* invented a *Cycle* of nineteen years, much more proper for that purpose, and obliged all the Churches under her jurisdiction to conform to the same. Altho' without doubt this was the best method, and calculated nearest the truth; yet as it was unknown to the *Britons* and *Scots*, who held but little correspondence with *Rome*, they stuck to their old way.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 25.

By these various manners of finding *Easter-Day*, it sometimes happened in *Oswy's* court, that whilst the King was celebrating the *Paschal Feast*, the Queen, who followed the custom of the Church of *Rome*, was still keeping *Lent*. This confusion made *Oswy* desirous of fixing *Easter-Day* so, as all should keep it at the same time. At the opening of the Council, having made a short speech upon that head, he ordered *Coleman* to alledge what he had to say in defence of the custom of the *Scotch* Church. *Colman* said, it had been all along the practice of his predecessors, and of those by whom he was ordained in *Scotland*: That *Columba*, *Aidan*, and *Finan* had always kept to the old way; but if their Authority was not sufficient, he could alledge that of *St. John* the beloved Apostle. After he had enlarged upon this Argument, *Agilbert*, Bishop of *Paris*, was desired to set forth what was to be said against *Colman's* assertion. But the Bishop having excused himself on account of his unskilfulness in the *English* tongue, requested that *Wilfrid* might be allowed to speak the sense of the Church of *Rome*. *Wilfrid*, having the King's permission, answered *Colman* with great warmth. He explained the manner of fixing *Easter* practised by the Church of *Rome*, and affirmed that all the Churches in the World conformed to it, except only the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons*, who still persisted in their foolish obstinacy. *Colman* replied, Talking in that manner very much reflected on the memory of *St. John*, who would never have established a custom that was chargeable with folly. *Wilfrid*, being sensible he had spoke a little too freely, endeavoured to justify *St. John*, by saying he was obliged to retain something of *Judaism*, for fear of giving offence to the *Asiatick Jews*, as *St. Paul* upon the like account had circumcised *Timothy*. He concluded with asserting, that the Church of *Rome* exactly followed what was prescribed by *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* in this matter.

It appears from the fore-cited passage of *Socrates*, that it was as difficult for *Wilfrid* to prove that the custom of the Church of *Rome* had its rise from *St. Peter*, as for *Colman* to make out, that the practice of the Church of *Scotland* came from *St. John*. Besides, the *Cycle* of nineteen years then made use of by the *Romanists*, was most assuredly invented after the time of *St. Peter*. But as *Colman* and the rest of the *Scotch* party knew little of what passed abroad, and as their aim was not so much to bring the *Romanists* to their customs, as to persuade them to let them go on peaceably in their own way, they persisted in appealing to the authority of *St. John* and *Columba*. But *Wilfrid*, after justifying *St. John* in the manner above-mentioned, demanded of *Colman*, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to compare *Columba* with *St. Peter* the prince of the Apostles, to whom our Saviour said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*? History informs us not what answer *Colman* made; for it must be remembered, we know nothing of this Council, but what we have from the Partisans of *Rome*. However this be, *Oswy* seemed to be convinced *St. Peter* had some prerogative above the other Apostles, since he declared at last for the custom established by *St. Peter* at *Rome*, before that of *St. John*. *Bede* says, he was brought to it by being told, that as *St. Peter* had the Keys of heaven, he would refuse him entrance if he obstinately held out against the Apostle's own institution. *Oswy's* declaration immediately gained a majority of *Voices* for the

Romanists. Thus *Colman* and his party lost their cause in this Point.

In the same Synod was debated also the controversy about the *Ecclesiastical Tonsure*. The *Romanists* maintained, that the head ought to be shaved round just in the place where our Saviour wore the *Crown of Thorns*, of which it was the Emblem. But the *Scotch* Priests shaved the fore-part of the head from ear to ear. *Bede* does not tell us how this matter was decided; but very probably it was determined in favour of the *Romanists*.

The dispute about *Easter* being thus ended to the disadvantage of the *Scots*, *Colman* and all his adherents retired into *Scotland*, not being able to prevail with themselves to submit to a decision that appeared to them so unjust. Thus is it in matters of religion, things that seem at first perfectly indifferent, become at last of the greatest consequence by the pride and uncharitableness of the Clergy. *Cedd* Bishop of the *East-Saxons*, who had been interpreter to both parties in the Synod, was the only one of the *Scotch* party, that thought it his duty not to leave his flock for a thing of so little moment, though he was of a contrary opinion to the *Romanists*. *Tuda* succeeded to *Colman's* See, and *Eatta* was made Abbot of *Lindisfarn* in the room of him that went off with *Colman*.

Thus was the storm raised by this controversy appeased at last, to the great satisfaction of the Pope and his party, who were very sensible, that their success in this affair would greatly contribute to the establishing the *Papal* authority over the northern Churches, as it really did. The Church of *Northumberland* had been governed for thirty years by *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, whom their adversaries could charge with nothing, but their firm adherence to the customs of their ancestors in relation to *Easter*. After *Colman's* retiring into *Scotland*, the government of the Church of *Northumberland* was always put into the hands either of *Saxons* or foreigners bred up in the principles of the Church of *Rome*, the *Scots* being entirely excluded.

Tuda dying soon after, *Alfred* King of *Deira* was desirous of having *Wilfrid* his preceptor made Bishop of *York*, the See whereof was then at *Lindisfarn*. To that end he ordered him to go into *France* to be consecrated by *Agilbert* Bishop of *Paris*. But *Wilfrid* making a long stay in *France*, *Chad* then Abbot of *Lestingham* was made Bishop of the *Northumbrians* (2). *Chad* being gone into *Kent* to be consecrated by *Deusdedit* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and finding he was lately dead, applied to *Wina*, Bishop of *Winchester* for consecration, and then returned into *Northumberland*. *Bede* tells us, he was a very religious person, without pride or ambition, and one that accepted of the episcopal dignity purely in obedience to the King's order.

Eddius.
Bede.
S. Dunelm.
Malmst.

In the mean while, *Wilfrid* being returned into *England*, remained some time at *Canterbury*, to take care of that *Diocese* till the arrival of *Theodorus*, whom the Pope had made Archbishop. After a few months stay at *Canterbury*, he went on to *Northumberland*; where finding *Chad* was made Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, and not daring to complain of the inconstancy of the King of *Deira*, he retired to his monastery at *Rippon* (3). Some time after, *Theodorus* in his visitation of all the Churches in *England* coming to *York*, severely reprimanded *Chad* for being consecrated by the Bishop of *Winchester*. *Chad* humbly submitted to his censure, and without endeavouring to justify himself, did all the Archbishop required of him. *Theodorus*, charmed with his modest Behaviour, consecrated him anew; but ordered him to return to his Monastery (4), and make room for *Wilfrid* whom the two Kings of *Northumberland* had designed for the Bishoprick of *York* or *Lindisfarn*. Though *Bede* does not say for what reason *Chad* was sent back to his Monastery after his second consecration, yet it is plain *Theodorus* was gained by the two Kings, who were for *Wilfrid*. And indeed there seems to be no reason for deposing of *Chad*, since all the defects of his former ordination, supposing there were any, were removed by the latter.

Wilfrid was a Man of a very proud and haughty temper, one of those that are for domineering where-ever they come, and cannot bring themselves to use towards others that condescension they expect from all the world. His pride for some time was supported by his interest with the two Kings of *Northumberland*. But at length *Oswy* being dead, *Alfred* his Son deposed, and *Egfrid* who had no opinion of this prelate, in possession of the throne, *Wilfrid* found he had not that respect shown him, as in the reign of *Oswy*. This gave him great uneasiness, and not being able to forbear showing it, perhaps in too in-

(1) An *Ecclesiastical Day* begins at six a-clock the Evening before.

(2) *Eddius* says, he was made Bishop at the request of the *Quartodecimans*, c. 14. *Malmst.* p. 250.

(3) Where he remained three years. *Eddius*, p. 58.

(4) *Malmst.* 135, that he retired to *Lichfield*. *De Pontif.* p. 261.

folent a manner, he incurred the King's displeasure. Some time after, *Theodorus* coming again into *Northumberland*, *Egfrid* complained to him of *Wilfrid* (1), and let him know, that instead of edifying the People, he brought a great scandal on religion by his pride and arrogance. The King did not accuse him without ground. Historians are all agreed, that *Wilfrid* was excessive proud; that he affected to live in a royal manner; that he never went abroad without a numerous retinue; and that he was serv'd in *Gold*. *Theodorus*, finding this a fit opportunity to improve the rights of his *See*, and lessen those of *York*, which had been dignified with the title of an Archbishoprick in the time of *Paulinus*, was resolv'd not to let it slip. Accordingly, without hearing what *Wilfrid* had to say for himself, he deposed him, and obtained the King's leave to divide *Northumberland* into two Dioceses. *Bofa*, who resided at *York*, was Bishop of the first, containing the Churches of *Deira*. Over the other *See*, which continued fixed at *Lindisfarn*, and consisted of the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, was placed *Eatta*. As *Egfrid* had for some time conquered *Lincolnshire* from the King of *Mercia*, he made a third Bishoprick of it, of which *Ethelred* was the first Bishop.

Wilfrid enraged at his disgrace, set out immediately for *Rome*, to lay his case before the Pope. *Theodorus* not liking his going thither, sent a Monk to inform the Pope of the reasons of his deposing him. However, fearing *Wilfrid* might gain the Pope to his side, on account of the service he had done the Church of *Rome* at the council of *Whitby*, he wrote to *Ebroine*, Mayor of the Palace to the King of *France*, to stop him in his journey. *Wilfrid*, informed of this, resolv'd to go by the way of *Friesland* (2), where *Adalgisus* the King hospitably received him, and discovered to him that *Ebroine* had desired him to detain or murder him. He is said, whilst he staid in *Friesland*, to make a great many converts. At length, taking his leave, he went on to *Strasbourg*, from whence he was safely conducted to *Rome* by the King of *Austrasia*.

Agatho, who was then Pope, having heard *Wilfrid's* complaints, held a *Synod* upon them, who unanimously declared that *Wilfrid* should be restored to his Bishoprick. *Wilfrid* having thus succeeded in his Suit, returned home, and presented to the King the decree of the *Synod* at *Rome*, with a letter from the Pope. But *Egfrid* had so little regard to this decree, that after he had upbraided the Bishop for procuring it by bribery, he put him in prison, where he kept him a whole year, and would not then have releas'd him, had it not been for the pressing instances of his Aunt *Ebba*, and upon condition he would never more set foot in *Northumberland*.

Wilfrid, meeting with all these discouraging circumstances, withdrew to the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, where *Berthwald* the Abbot gave him a safe retreat; but it lasted not long, for *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, and Uncle to *Berthwald*, desired him to dismiss him, on account of the King of *Northumberland*. In this perplexity *Wilfrid* fled for refuge to *Adelwalch* King of *Suffex*, who was converted during his imprisonment in *Mercia*, but his subjects were still idolaters. This Prince having granted him his protection, desired him to endeavour the conversion of the people, in which he happily succeeded. In a little time the *South-Saxons*, as well as the inhabitants of the Isle of *Wight*, embraced the Christian Faith, by the pains and instructions of *Wilfrid*. At least this is what the writer of his Life relates, though to speak the truth, it is very difficult to clear up the *Chronology* of these facts. *Wilfrid* remained some years in *Suffex*, where he was made Bishop of *Selsey*, as will be seen hereafter.

During his absence, *Theodorus* having taken a third journey to *Northumberland*, erected a new Bishoprick at *Hagulfstad* [or *Hexham*], of which *Thumbert* was the first Bishop. This he did to make amends for *Lincoln* now in the hands of the *Mercians*. Some time after *Theodorus* went thither once more, and called a council, wherein he got *Thumbert* to be deposed, for daring to take it ill that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should exercise his jurisdiction over the Churches of the North. It was indeed contrary to the regulations of *Gregory I*; who the *Pall* sent to *Paulinus* first Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, plainly shewed, it was not the intent of the court of *Rome* that the Churches of the North should have any dependance on *Canterbury*. But *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, not having vouchsafed to demand the *Pall* of the Pope, *York* or *Lindisfarn* had only the bare title of a Bishoprick, which these three *Scotch* Prelates never minded, the lording it over the Church being what was far from their thoughts. And therefore *Theodorus* finding he was the sole Archbishop in *England*, embraced the opportunity to extend his jurisdiction over the North. For that purpose probably it was that he deposed *Wilfrid*, from whose temper and character he ex-

pected opposition, that he divided *York* into three Bishopricks, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and lastly, that he deposed *Thumbert*, who had openly censured his usurpations.

The same Council that deposed *Thumbert*, chose in his room *Cuthbert* a Monk of *Lindisfarn*, who was the only person that opposed his own election, out of an excess of modesty and humility. The Bishops, who all judged him worthy of the *Episcopal* character, found it a very difficult matter to bring him to a compliance; and at last were forced to consent he should remain at *Lindisfarn*, where he had liv'd a long time; for which reason *Eatta* was translated to *Hagulfstad*.

Some time after, *Theodorus* being grown very old, and finding he had not long to live, was touched with remorse for what he had done to *Wilfrid*, and wanted to be reconciled to him. To this purpose he interceded for him so earnestly with *Alfred*, successor to *Egfrid*, that he was recalled. The Bishoprick of *Lindisfarn* being then vacant by the voluntary resignation of *Cuthbert*, *Bofa* was translated thither, and *Wilfrid* restored to *York*.

Cuthbert being return'd to his Monastery at *Lindisfarn*, died soon after. In process of time, his body being removed to *Durham*, became so famous for miracles, that among all the *English* Saints he had the greatest veneration paid him.

Wilfrid was no sooner settled in his *See*, but he undertook the annulling all that had been done during his disgrace. He attempted the uniting again to *York* the Bishoprick of *Hagulfstad*, and claimed the revenues that had been taken from his Church, and appropriated to that Bishoprick. In fine, he pretended that all the regulations of *Theodorus* were null and void; and perhaps he was in the right; but his haughty way of proceeding made him meet with opposition from all quarters. Even *Alfred* his Pupil and Sovereign, not being able to bear any longer his imperious temper, drove him once more from his Church. Thus this restless Prelate was reduced to seek for shelter from *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, formerly his enemy, but now his friend. *Mercia* being then divided into four Bishopricks, and *Leicester*, one of them, happening to be vacant, *Ethelred* promoted *Wilfrid* to that *See*, which however he enjoyed but a very little while. His haughty temper was so displeasing to the King of *Mercia*, that he dispossessed him of it in a few months. Not content with incurring the displeasure of the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, he took occasion also to fall out with *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by that means forfeited his protection, which he then stood in great need of. The two Kings his enemies laid hold of this opportunity to humble him. They requested *Berthwald* to call a council, in order to examine into the life and actions of *Wilfrid*. The Archbishop, as matters stood between him and *Wilfrid*, readily complied with their desire. Accordingly a council was held at *Onsfild* in *Northumberland*, where *Wilfrid* was obliged to appear, and was charged with crimes that deserved degradation. However, the Bishops unwilling to carry matters to that extremity, endeavoured by intreaties and threats to induce him to resign his Bishoprick of his own accord. But nothing could bring him to that; he told them, it was a great piece of ingratitude in the *English* to use him in that manner, after all the services he had done the Church. The Services he boasted of were, his contributing the most of any towards fixing *Easter-Day*, according to the usage of *Rome*, his introducing the *Roman Ritual* into the Churches of the North, and his bringing the *Scotch* Monks to conform to the Rules of the Order of *St. Benedict*. Upon these accounts, said he, you ought to reward me, instead of threatening to depose me unjustly for imaginary crimes. But if you will dare to go on, know I'll appeal to the Pope against your proceedings. None other has power to condemn me, and he it is alone I acknowledge for my Judge. The Council not regarding his appeal, unanimously depos'd him. However, this did not in the least humble him. Tho' he was seventy years of age, he resolv'd to go to *Rome* for redress. The Pope, always favourable to those that appealed to him, convened a *Synod* of the neighbouring Bishops, wherein *Wilfrid*, upon his single representation of matters, was fully acquitted. After which, the Pope gave him commendatory letters to *Berthwald*, and the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, requiring them to restore *Wilfrid* in pursuance to the decree of the *Synod*.

As soon as *Wilfrid* was returned to *England*, he waited on the Archbishop, who finding he came with the Pope's recommendation, began to relent, and promise his friendship. On the other hand, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, who was now turned Monk, promised *Wilfrid* his intercession: But *Alfred* at first seem'd inflexible. He said he could see

(1) By the instigation of his Queen *Ermenburga*, says *Eddius*, p. 63.

(2) *Eddius*, in *Vit. Wilf.* says he went first to *France*, where he was way-laid, and his company and equipage plunder'd.

no manner of reason for restoring, upon the Pope's letter; and the sentence of a foreign Council that knew but little of the matter, a man that had caused so many disturbances, and after having been banished several times, had at length been lawfully deposed by a *Synod*. But he was not long of this mind. Soon after taking sick, it was put into his head, that his distemper was a punishment from God, for his disobedience to the Pope's orders; and this made so deep an impression upon him, that he vowed to restore *Wilfrid*, in case he recovered. Death prevented him from performing his vow; however, he ordered *Brithric*, whom he left Guardian to his Son *Osfred*, to see it put in execution out of hand.

Altho' *Alfred* had been positively promised, the affair of *Wilfrid* should be soon ended, it was not possible to think of it immediately, by reason of a civil war raised by *Eadulph*, who had usurped the crown. *Wilfrid* behaved upon this occasion in such a manner, as seemed to deprive him of all hopes of ever being restored. As he did not doubt but *Eadulph*, who was then besieging the King and *Brithric* in *Bamborough* Castle, would succeed in his designs, he went in all haste to him, in order to make him his friend betimes, and secure his protection. This proceeding had like to have proved his ruin. *Eadulph*, knowing he was hated by the *Northumbrians*, to do them a pleasure, gave him a very ill reception, forbidding him ever to appear in his presence. On the other side, *Brithric* informed of *Wilfrid's* conduct, lost all kindness for him. However, after the war was ended by the death of the Usurper, *Brithric* was prevailed upon, tho' with some difficulty, to consent *Wilfrid* should be restored. To this end a council was held near the river *Nydd*, where it was agreed *Wilfrid* should be Bishop of *Hagulfstad*, with which he was obliged to be satisfied. *John*, then Bishop of that *See*, was removed to *York*, vacant by the death of *Bosa*.

Edm. 1.
c. 58.
708.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 6.

l. 5. c. 21.

Thus *Wilfrid's* affair, after many difficulties, was at length determined. *John* in 721 resigned his Bishoprick, and retired to the monastery of *Beverly*, of which he was Abbot. He was canonized after his death, and became very famous, by the name of St. *John of Beverly*. He was succeeded in the *See* of *York* by *Wilfrid the Younger*, his chaplain. To *Wilfrid the Elder*, succeeded in his *See* of *Hagulfstad*, *Acca* one of the Priests that had attended him in his journey to *Rome*, where he became a great proficient in *Church-Musick*, which, says *Bede*, 'twas impracticable for him to learn in his own country. *Wilfrid the Younger* was succeeded in the *See* of *York* by *Egbert*, Brother to *Edbert* King of *Northumberland*.

It was necessary to be thus particular about the establishment of the northern Bishopricks, the succession of the first Bishops, and the alterations occasioned by *Wilfrid*; without all which, it would be difficult to give a distinct notion of the Churches of these parts. Hence also may be seen, how the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had opportunity of exercising his jurisdiction over all *England*, contrary to the regulation of *Gregory I.* To which, the enterprising genius of *Theodorus*, and the deposing of *Wilfrid*, likewise contributed. Had this last continued in the *See* of *York*, he would doubtless have obtained the *Pall*, and by that means put a stop to *Theodorus's* proceedings.

The dignity of Archbishop of *York*, and Metropolitan of the North, vanished with *Paulinus*. After that Prelate left *Northumberland*, and the *Northumbrians* deserted the *Faith*, the Monks sent for from *Scotland* by *Oswald* to instruct the people, were contented with the bare title of Bishop, without applying to the Pope for the *Pall*, whose jurisdiction they did not acknowledge. Afterwards *Wilfrid*, successor to *Colman*, having been deposed, the Bishoprick of the *Northumbrians* was divided into four, namely, *York*, *Whithern*, *Lindisfarn*, and *Hagulfstad*. This division was a fresh obstacle to the Bishop of *York's* desiring the *Pall*, his *See* being so considerably lessened by it. Besides, *Bosa*, *John* and *Wilfrid the Younger*, who were successively Bishops of *York*, were pious and good Men, who thought of nothing less than aspiring to more honourable titles. But *Egbert*, who was Bishop of *York*, whilst his Brother sat on the throne of *Northumberland*, having more ambition than his predecessors, improved the respect they had for him at *Rome* on account of his birth, and procured the *Pall* with the Archiepiscopal dignity: By which means he acquired a jurisdiction over the three other northern Bishops, who became his *Suffragans*. From that time the Archbishops of *York* began to be upon a Level with those of *Canterbury*, and to insist on *Gregory's* regulation, whereby it was ordered, there should be an entire equality and independency between the two Archbishops. On the other hand, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* pleaded the jurisdiction exercised by *Theodorus* over

Malmib.
l. 1. c. 3.
744.

the North, and all the rest of *England*. Hence arose a contest between the two *Metropolitans*, which was not decided 'till many ages after. *Alcuinus* gives *Egbert*, whom he calls his master, the character of an able and learned Prelate, and takes notice of his building a library at *York*, and furnishing it with a noble collection of Books. *Eanbald*, who succeeded *Egbert*, was living at the time of the dissolution of the *Heptarchy*.

The CHURCH of WESSEX.

IT does not appear, that *Austin* sent any of his companions to preach the Gospel in the kingdom of *Wessex*. It was not 'till forty years after his arrival in *Britain* that the *West-Saxons* were converted by the ministry of *Birinus*. This Priest, zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of *Christ*, being informed there were still in *England* nations to whom the Gospel was unpreached, desired Pope *Honorius* to send him thither (1). His request being granted, he received the episcopal character, and set out for *England*, not knowing for certain on what nation providence would throw him, or on whom in particular he designed to lay out his charitable care. He accidentally arrived in the kingdom of *Wessex*; and finding the inhabitants Idolaters, resolved to stay among them and endeavour their conversion. After some time he had the satisfaction to baptize *Cinigisil* the King, and *Quicelm* his Brother (2). Soon after *Birinus* found his Audience very numerous, multitudes following the example of their Kings. He continued for fourteen years to edify his converts by his discourses and example, and at length, after a considerable progress, died at *Dorchester*, where he had built a Church and fixed his episcopal See.

634.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 7.

635.
Atter. Ann.
636.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 7.

After *Birinus's* death, *Wessex* was involved in fresh troubles. *Cenowalch*, who succeeded his father *Cinigisil*, being as yet a Pagan, was no favourer of the Christians. But what was still worse, *Penda* King of *Mercia* became master of the kingdom and kept it three years, *Cenowalch* being forced to fly into *East-Anglia*. It may be easily judged Christianity, during these three years, made no great progress. Besides *Penda's* being an Idolater, it is unlikely religion should flourish in the midst of wars and commotions. *Cenowalch* had the good fortune to be converted during his retreat in *East-Anglia*, and afterwards to be restored to his dominions. The peaceable times that ensued afforded him means to promote religion again in *Wessex*, where, after *Birinus's* death, none had been very forward to go and strengthen the new Christians. Whilst the King was looking out for some fit person to preach to his subjects, *Agilbert* a French Man, who was just come from his studies in *Ireland*, passed through *Winchester* in his way home. *Cenowalch* having seen him, invited him to stay with him, and instruct the people. *Agilbert* complied with his request; and being consecrated Bishop, went and resided at *Dorchester*. But as he had not the gift of languages, he made but little progress. *Cenowalch* perceiving he could not learn the *English* tongue, and that it was impossible his subjects should edify by the instructions of one who spoke to them in a foreign dialect, began to grow weary of him. At length he divided his kingdom into two *Dioceses*, and leaving *Agilbert* at *Dorchester*, made one *Wina* a Saxon that had been bred and consecrated in *France*, Bishop of *Winchester* (3). *Agilbert* could not bear the King should make this partition without consulting him, much less that he should give the preference to the new Bishop by placing him in his capital. His complaints upon this occasion not being much regarded, he took his leave and retired into *France*, where he was made Bishop of *Paris*. He returned afterwards into *England*, to assist at the council of *Whitby*. In the mean time, *Cenowalch* not agreeing with *Wina*, dismissed him also.

635.

Atter. Ann.

636.

Bede, l. 3.

c. 7.

630.

660.

666.

Wessex remaining thus without a Bishop (4), and Ecclesiasticks fit for such an employment not being very common in *England*, *Cenowalch* would have recalled *Agilbert*, who did not think proper to quit *Paris* for *Winchester*. However, he made an offer to the King of his Nephew *Eleutherius*, a Priest, whom he recommended, as well qualified for the episcopal function. *Eleutherius* being accepted of, and consecrated by *Theodorus*, became sole Bishop of the *West-Saxons*.

670.

After the death of *Cenowalch*, *Wessex* was troubled with civil wars for ten years. *Eleutherius* dying during the troubles, was succeeded by *Heda*; after whose death, the number of Christians being very much increased in *Wessex*, it was found necessary to divide the kingdom

Bede, l. 5.
c. 19.

(1) *Bede* says, he undertook their Conversion by the Advice of Pope *Honorius*, l. 3. c. 7.
(2) *Hgeden* relates from some ancient Chronicles, that King *Cinigisil* gave all the Lands seven Miles round *Winchester* for the erecting an Episcopal See in that City, and for the Maintenance of the Persons that were to officiate in the Cathedral, l. 237.
(3) Where *Cenowalch* built a fine Cathedral. *W. Malmib.* p. 13.
(4) And that for a considerable time. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 7.

again into two *Dioceses*, the *Sees* whereof were fixed at *Winchester* and *Sherborn*. *Daniel* was made *Bishop* of the first, and *Aldhelm* of the last, who was nephew to King *Ina*, and the first *Englishman* that wrote in *Latin*, a language he was better skilled in than any of his countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his *Bishoprick*, he was abbot of the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, so named from *Maidulph* a Scotch-man the first abbot, and *Aldhelm*, his successor (1). *Forthere*, who, according to *Bede*, was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, was *Bishop* of *Sherborn* after *Aldhelm*, and to *Daniel* succeeded *Almund* in the *Bishoprick* of *Winchester*. From that time to the dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, I meet with nothing in the Ecclesiastical History of *Wessex* worth notice.

The CHURCH of MERCIA.

IT was above fifty years after the conversion of *Kent*, that the *Mercians* embraced the *Christian Faith*. *Penda*, who sat on the throne of *Mercia* above thirty years, was of a too haughty and turbulent spirit to embrace a religion so contrary to his temper and character. However, divine providence so ordered matters, that this Prince was induced, though not to profess, yet at least to tolerate the *Christian Religion* in his dominions. *Penda* his eldest Son, whom he had made King of *Leicester*, being gone to *Northumberland* to demand *Alfreda* King *Oswy's* daughter in marriage, could obtain her upon no other terms but his turning *Christian* (2). Whether the young Prince was apprehensive of the same obstruction to his marriage in all the other kingdoms, which were already converted, or had a favourable opinion of *Christianity*, he received baptism before he left *Northumberland* (3). At his return, he brought with him four Priests, *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Beti* and *Diurna*, to preach the Gospel to the *Mercians*: Which the King his father opposed not, either out of complaisance to his Son, or because all religions were indifferent to him (4). *Diurna*, who was a Scotch-man, and the only *Bishop* of the four, governed the *Mercian Church* prosperously for some years; he and his companions having met with a plentiful harvest in *Mercia*, the largest of the seven kingdoms, and the last that was converted. *Cellach* succeeded *Diurna*.

After the death of *Penda*, *Mercia* was subject three years to *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*: but he being a *Christian*, religion received no detriment from that revolution. But when *Wulpher* ascended the throne, being yet an idolater, he was carried by a false zeal to persecute his *Christian Subjects*, even to the putting to death two of his own Sons, who refused to renounce their *Faith*, if they may be credited who relate this fact, which does not seem to be well supported. Happily for the *Christians* this storm was soon blown over, *Wulpher* being converted presently after.

During the persecution, *Cellach* retired into *Scotland*: So that *Mercia* being without a *Bishop* when *Wulpher* embraced the Gospel, he sent for an *English Priest*, named *Trumbere*, who had been educated in *Scotland*, and caused him to be consecrated *Bishop* of *Mercia*. To him succeeded *Jaruman*, who had the honour of replanting the *Christian Religion* in the kingdom of *Essex*, as will be related hereafter. Upon *Jaruman's* death *Wulpher* desired *Theodorus* to send him a *Bishop*. *Theodorus* gladly complied with his request, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting *Chad* (5), whom he had deprived of the *See* of *York*, in the manner before related in the history of the Church of *Northumberland*. *Chad* being come to *Mercia*, fixed his *See* at *Lichfield* (6), where he died, after he had governed the Church prudently and happily for many years. I am persuaded it will not be taken amiss, that I refer those to *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, who are desirous of seeing a list of *St. Chad's* miracles, and the hymns the Angels sung in the air over his house when he lay a dying.

Upon the death of *Chad*, *Theodorus* promoted to the *See* of *Lichfield* *Winfred* a Priest, whom he deposed soon after for daring to exultate with him for attaining too great authority over the other *Bishops*. He had served another in the same manner in *Northumberland* upon the like account. *Saxulph*, Abbot of *Mildes-hampten* (7), was made *Bishop* in *Winfred's* room. But as the *Christians* daily increased in *Mercia*, *Ethelred*, successor to *Wulfer*, finding, one *Bishop* was not sufficient for so large a flock, divided his kingdom into four *Dioceses*, the *Sees* whereof were established at *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Leicester* (8). *Saxulph* continued at *Lichfield*. *Faddric* was sent to *Worcester*, but dying before he was consecrated, *Boselus* was put in his place. *Cuthwin* was *Bishop* of *Leicester*, and *Putta* of *Hereford*. After *Cuthwin's* death *Leicester* was united to *Lichfield*; but some time after they were separated again upon *Winfred's* account, who was dispossessed of the *See* of *York*, and held not this long. *Hedda* succeeded *Saxulph* in the *Bishoprick* of *Lichfield* (9).

I pass over in silence the particulars of no moment relating to the *Mercian Churches*, with the succession of their *Bishops* (10), to come at the change that happened in the reign of *Offa*, by the erecting of *Lichfield* into an *Archbishoprick*. *Offa*, jealous of the authority exercised by the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* over the Churches of *Mercia*, and having besides a particular quarrel to *Lambert* who then filled the *Archiepiscopal See*, resolved to withdraw the Churches of *Mercia* from his jurisdiction. To this end, he privately solicited *Pope Adrian I.* to make the *Bishop* of *Lichfield* an *Archbishop*, and the *Bishops* of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* his *Suffragans*. The *Pope* willingly consented to his request, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this Prince, to extend over the Church of *England* his jurisdiction, which was not yet thoroughly submitted to, or at least not to that degree he desired. With this view he sent *Gregory Bishop* of *Osia*, and *Theophylact Bishop* of *Todi*, with the character of *Legates* to transact this affair. To prevent *Lambert* from taking measures to avoid the blow that was aiming at him, the sending of these *Legates* was pretended to be on account of calling *Synods* in *England* for confirming the Churches in the Faith. Upon the arrival of the *Legates*, *Theophylact* stayed some time with *Offa* to concert measures how to accomplish their designs, whilst *Gregory* went on to *Northumberland*, where he convened a *Synod*, of which I shall speak in another place. At his return to *Mercia*, the two *Legates* summoned a national council of the seven kingdoms at *Calcuith*, where King *Offa* was present. After ratifying the Canons of the *Northumberland-Synod*, the erecting of *Lichfield* into an *Archiepiscopal See* was proposed. *Lambert* opposed it to the utmost of his power, but all in vain. The matter having been settled before-hand, the authority of *Offa* and the *Legates* bore down all opposition. *Higbert*, then *Bishop* of *Lichfield* was declared an *Archbishop*, and the *Bishops* of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were made his *Suffragans* (11). He was prevented by death from receiving the *Pall*, but *Adulph* his successor, had that honour from the *Pope*, who ratified what the council had done. Some are of opinion *Offa* purchased this favour with the tax of the *Peter-Pence* levied on *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*: but this is only a groundless conjecture. *Lichfield* enjoyed the title of an *Archbishoprick* not above fourteen years. After the death of *Offa* and *Egfrid* his Son, *Cenulph* was so far prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the *Archbishops* of *Canterbury* and *York*, who represented to him, that according to the regulation of *Gregory I.* there ought to be but two *Archbishops* in *England*, that he wrote to the *Pope* with his own hand, to desire him to put things upon the ancient foot again. *Adelard*, *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, took upon him the management of this affair at *Rome*, where (after a nine years solicitation) he obtained of *Pope Leo III.* that *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* should again be under the jurisdiction of the *See* of *Canterbury*. From that time to the reign of *Egbert* nothing remarkable relating to the Church happened in *Mercia*, except the Councils, of which I intend to speak elsewhere.

(1) *Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury*, by contraction *Malmesbury*, i. e. the tomb of *Maidulph* and *Aldhelm*. *Rapin*. *Aldhelm* was alive in *Bede's* time. l. 5. c. 19.
(2) *Bede* says, that upon his having preach'd to him the doctrines of a heavenly Kingdom, of a Resurrection, and future Immortality, he declared he would embrace the *Christian Religion*, even though he were not to have the young Princess in marriage. *Bede*, l. 5. c. 21.
(3) With all his Attendants. *Bede*, *ibid*.
(4) He seems to have acted upon another principle, if what *Bede* relates be true, that he hated and despised those, who, after they had embraced *Christianity*, lived in a manner unbecoming their pretension; saying, They were despicable wretches, who would not obey their God in whom they believed. l. 3. c. 21.
(5) Or *Ceadda*. *Bede*.
(6) This was a very large Diocese, comprehending the country of the *Mercians*, *Middle-Angles*, and what was afterwards called *Lincoln*. For so far King *Wulfer's* dominions extended. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 3.
(7) Afterwards *Peterborough*.
(8) Or rather *Chester*.
(9) *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, discharged all the Monasteries and Churches of his kingdom from all publick Taxes, Impositions, &c. except *Pontage*, and the Tax for building of Forts. *Ingulph*, p. 5. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 257.
(10) See them in *Malmesbury de Gestis Pontif. Gerwasi*, &c.
(11) *Viz.* the *Bishops* of *Worcester*, *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Helmham*, *Dommuc*, *Vit*. *Offa* apud *Mat. Paris*. See also *Spelm. Conc.* Vol. I. p. 302. and *Camden*.

The CHURCH of ESSEX.

MELLITUS one of the *Missionaries* sent over to *Austin*, was the first that preached the Gospel to the *East-Saxons*, particularly at *London*. As far as can be judg'd, he made no great progress among the people. Probably what success he met with was entirely owing to the authority of *Sebert* King of *Essex*, and *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (1); since upon their deaths, all the *East-Saxon* Christians fell back to *Paganism*, and expelled *Mellitus* (2), without ever admitting him any more. The conversion therefore of the *East-Saxons* is not properly to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of *Sigebert the Good*. This Prince living in strict friendship with *Osuy* King of *Northumberland*, and paying him frequent visits, had the good fortune to be instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel at his court, where he was baptized. He brought home with him *Cedd*, a *Northumbrian* Priest, of whom I have spoken before, and who being consecrated Bishop, heartily set about instructing the *East-Saxons*, among whom in a short time he made a very great progress (3). He was the only *Scotch* Man that after the council of *Whitby* was unwilling to leave his flock, tho' the controversy about *Easter* was decided contrary to his opinion. Nay, he went so far as to blame *Colman* and the rest of his countrymen, for deserting their flocks for a matter of so little moment. His strict adherence to *ecclesiastical discipline* was the occasion of *Sigebert's* death, or at least was pretended to be so, as was said in the history of the kingdom of *Essex*. As *Cedd* went often to *Northumberland*, where he had spent great part of his life, *Adelwald* King of *Deira*, made him a present of certain lands lying near *Lejningham*, where he founded a monastery. Thither he used to retire and practise the greatest *Austerities*. Here also it was that he died of the plague after he had governed the Church of *Essex* several years. *Bede*, who gives *Cedd* great encomiums, and mentions his austere way of living, takes occasion from thence to say, that *Fasting* was religiously practised by all who pretended to any thing of a regular life, and adds, that some fasted every *Wednesday* and *Friday* 'till three o'clock in the afternoon. The *Saxon Homilies* also most earnestly recommend *Fasting*; but withal take care to warn Christians against over-acting their part in this respect, as some did, and talk very rationally upon this article.

After the death of *Sigebert the Good*, and *Swiðhelm* his brother, it happened that in the reign of *Sebba* and *Siger* the plague raged terribly in the kingdom of *Essex*, particularly at *London*. *Siger* being persuaded that the plague was sent upon the *East-Saxons*, as a punishment from the Gods for abandoning the religion of their ancestors, returned to idolatry, and drew after him those of his subjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But *Sebba* steadfastly adhered to the Christian Religion. *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, on whom these two Princes were then in dependance, having been informed of what passed in *Essex*, sent thither *Jaruman* his Bishop to endeavour to restore the *East-Saxons* to the way of truth. *Jaruman's* pains were crowned with so good success, that the people at length returned to the Faith. Shortly after *Wulpher*, who acted as he pleased in the Kingdom of *Essex*, gave the first instance of *Simony* in *England*, by selling the Bishoprick of *London* to *Wina*, who had been driven from *Winchester*. He governed the Church of *Essex* 'till his death in 675. His successor was *Erkenwald*, famous for his great affection to the city of *London*, as well as for the holiness of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the Saints. After his death a great contest arose between the Canons of *St. Paul's* at *London*, and the Monks of *Barking*, who should bury him. The first carried their point, and interred him in their Cathedral, where it is affirmed he

wrought several miracles (4). It will be needless to carry down the succession of the Bishops of *London* to the dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, since nothing remarkable happened concerning them (5).

The CHURCH of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE first conversion of the *East-Angles* is said to *Bede*, 1. 2. be in the reign of *Redwald*; but by whom is not known. There is reason to believe, that during this Prince's life the Christian Religion made no great progress in *East-Anglia*. All that can be probably conjectur'd is, that *Redwald*, out of respect for *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (at whose court some say he was baptized) gave leave to some of *Austin's* companions to preach in his dominions, and persecuted not those who had a mind to embrace the Gospel. What is said of his suffering the true God and the *Pagan* deities to be worshipped in the same temple, seems to infer that he was not himself a Christian (6), and that the number of converts in *East-Anglia* was very inconsiderable. Thus much at least is certain, Christianity flourish'd not in that kingdom, in his or his Son *Erpwald's* reign (7). And therefore we can't be greatly mistaken in placing the conversion of the *East-Angles* in the reign of *Sigebert*, successor to *Erpwald*. *Bede*, *ibid.* c. 18.

Sigebert, who had spent great part of his time in *France*, where he had been baptized, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion. When he returned to *England* to take possession of the crown, he brought along with him a *Burgundian* Priest, named *Felix*, whom he got to be consecrated Bishop of *Canterbury*. *Felix*, upon his arrival in *East-Anglia*, used his utmost endeavours to bring back to the right way such as were gone astray, and instruct those that had not yet any knowledge of the truth. His endeavours met with such success, that in a short time he had the pleasure to see the *East-Angles* come in crowds to be baptized. In the mean time, *Sigebert* knowing nothing would make more for the benefit of his subjects, than permanent and continual instructions to confirm them in the Faith, erected schools, after the manner of those he had seen in *France* (8). Some will have it (9) that the University of *Cambridge* owes its original to these schools; but this opinion seems not to be well grounded.

Whilst *Sigebert* was thus employed in works of piety, he received farther assistance from one *Furseus* an *Irish* Monk, who preached to the *East-Angles* with good success. *Bede* gives him an extraordinary commendation; 1. 3. c. 10. attributes several miracles to him, and assures us he was, like *St. Paul*, *wrapt up into Heaven*. This same *Furseus* built a monastery at *Cnobersburgh* (10), which was largely endowed at several times by the Kings of *East-Anglia*. The troubles that arose after *Sigebert's* resigning the crown, obliged *Furseus* to retire into *France*, where he founded the monastery of *Lagny* in the jurisdiction of *Meaux*.

Felix was Bishop of the *East-Angles* seventeen years; *Malmsh.* his See was fixed at *Dummac*, a little town by the Sea-side, *G. Pontif.* now called *Dunwich* (11). Here it was he had the satisfaction to convert and baptize *Enowalch* King of *Wessex*, who had fled for refuge into *East-Anglia*. *Felix* was succeeded by *Thomas* a deacon of his Church; after him came *Berchtigisus*, surnamed *Boniface*, whom *Bisus* succeeded. *Bisus* being grown old and infirm, *Becca* and *Badwin* were made his assistants, and *East-Anglia* divided into two *Dioceses*. *Becca* resided at *Dummac*, and *Badwin* at *Elmham*, a poor village now in *Norfolk*. These two Bishopricks continued in being, 'till the *Danes* becoming masters of *East-Anglia*, they both lay vacant for above one hundred years. After which the *Diocese* of *Dummac* was united to that of *Elmham*: From whence the *Episcopal See* was removed to *Thetford* (12), and afterwards to *Norwich* (13), where it remains to this day.

(1) This King *Ethelbert* founded the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's*, about the year 610. See *Stowe's Survey*, 1. 3. p. 141. *Bede*, 1. 2. c. 5. *Malmsh.* p. 255. Tho' others say it was done by King *Sebert*. See *Higdon's Pelicton*, p. 227, 228.

(2) In the year 614, *Mellitus*, with the assistance of King *Ethelbert*, founded a Church and Monastery near *London*, in a place called *Thorney*; which he dedicated to *St. Peter*: As it lay West of *London*, it came afterwards to be called *Westminster*. *Malmsh.* p. 256. See *Stowe's Survey*, 1. 1.

(3) He built several Churches, *Bede*, 1. 3. c. 22. He taught and baptized chiefly at *Itchenester*, near the river *Pent*, supposed to be about *St. Peter's*, on the *Wall* in *Dorset*; and at *Triburg*, or *Tisbury*, near the *Trames*. One may infer from *Bede's* words, that he erected some kind of Monasteries, or rather Schools, there. See *Bede*, 1. 3. c. 22. *Canden*, in *Essex*. *Huntingd.* p. 353. *Brompton*, &c.

(4) In regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb, so was generally believed, the Corpse was enclosed in a very rich Shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year 1586, *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London*, made a Constitution for the revival of *St. Erkenwald's* holy-day, which at late had been neglected. The solemnity was kept upon the last day of *April*. *Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 20, 181.

(5) De gestis vel sepulchris ne verbum quidem. *Malmsh.* p. 256.

(6) Some say he was baptized in the court of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*. *Rapin*.

(7) *Erpwald* embraced Christianity at the persuasion of King *Edwyn*. *Bede*, 1. 2. c. 15.

(8) And put masters in them, as there was in those of *Kent*. *Bede*, 1. 3. c. 18.

(9) *Polydore Virgil*, *Leland*, *Bayle*, &c. are of this opinion: But their authority is much weaken'd by the silence of *Bede*, *Flavence of Worcester*, *Malmsh.* and *Huntingdon*, who make no mention of *Cambridge*.

(10) Now *Burgh-Castle* in *Suffolk*.

(11) It is in *Suffolk*, and is said to have had fifty Churches. *Canden*.

(12) *Thetford*, i. e. the Ford of the People, in *Norfolk*.

(13) *Norwich*, i. e. the North-Castle. *Wic* signifying among other things a Castle.

The CHURCH of SUSSEX.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 13.

Yddius.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 13.

686.

Malm'sb.
G. Pontif.
l. 2.

IT is no wonder the kingdom of *Sussex* continued so long after the rest in an idolatrous state, since it was in subjection to *Wessex*, where the Gospel was not preached till forty years after the arrival of *Austin*. If we may credit the author of the *Life of Wilfrid Bishop of York*, the conversion of the *South Saxons* about the year 686, was owing to the disgrace of that Prelate, who fled for refuge into their country. *Adelwalch* King of *Sussex*, who received him into his protection, had already attempted the conversion of his Subjects, by founding a Monastery in his little kingdom (1); but his endeavours answered not expectation. Perhaps *Wilfrid* himself would have found it a difficult matter to have made any impression upon them, had not a favourable juncture unexpectedly paved the way for him. Not long after his arrival, the country being miserably distressed for want of provisions, he taught the inhabitants the art of fishing in the Sea, their skill before going no farther than the catching of Eels. This improvement greatly relieving them, wrought so upon their minds, that they listened with the same attention to his instructions about their spiritual, as they had before to those about their bodily wants. But to compleat the matter, seasonable showers, after a three years drought, restoring to the earth its former fruitfulness, they were thoroughly convinced that *Wilfrid* was an extraordinary person, and highly favoured by *Heaven*. At least this is what the writer of his *Life* would fain make us believe. *Wilfrid* perceiving the Christians daily to encrease, established his episcopal See at *Selfey* (2), a small Peninsula given him by *Adelwalch*. He founded there a Monastery also, which he furnished with the Monks he had brought with him from *Northumberland*. Here he usually resided during the time of his banishment. At length being recalled into his own country, *Selfey* remained a long while without a Bishop, because the *South-Saxons*, after their becoming subject to the King of *Wessex*, were put under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the *West-Saxons*. Some time after *Wessex* being divided into two *Dioceses*, *Sussex* was annexed to the See of *Winchester*; where it continued till a Synod held in *Wessex*, in the time of *Daniel*, decreed *Sussex* should be a distinct *Diocese* again, and the See fixed at *Selfey* as formerly. *Edbert* was the first Bishop. His successors resided at the same place, down to the year 1070, when the See was removed to *Chichester* (3), where it continues to this day.

As for the *Isle of Wight*, after it was converted by the furious zeal of *Cedwalla*, it remained all along under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Winchester*.

After this account of the most remarkable particulars relating to the conversion of the *Seven Kingdoms*, it will be necessary to take a general view of the Councils held in *England*, during those early times of the Church.

COUNCILS.

l. 2. c. 2.

I Have already spoken of the two Synods convened upon *Austin's* request, in order to endeavour to bring the *Britons* to the obedience of the Pope. Though these were not properly *English*, but rather *British* Councils, I shall not however pass them over without making this one observation. *Bede*, in his *Ecclesiastical History* tells us, that *Austin* required of the *British* Bishops these four things (4): That they would celebrate the *Paschal Feast* the same day with the *Romanists*: That they would conform to the ceremonies practised by the *Church of Rome* in administering *Baptism*: That they would assist the *Roman Missionaries* in converting the *Saxons*: That they would submit to the *Papal Authority*. Had *Austin* equally insisted on these four Articles, *Bede* would naturally have related the sentiments of the *British*, concerning the three first, and yet we find he speaks only of the last. Hence we may conclude, that this was the main point, and what *Austin* chiefly dwelt upon. For the same reason also the Abbot of *Bangor* answered only to this point, being very sensible, that was the principal thing in dispute.

There is no occasion to add any thing to what has already been said of the Council of *Whitby* or *Streanshalh*, and the other Synods that were held upon *Wilfrid's* account.

In 673, *Theodorus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, convened a national Synod at *Hertford*, at which were present all the *English* Bishops, with a great number of other Ecclesiasticks. The Archbishop, who was president, put the question to the Bishops, whether they were willing, the *Church of England* should be governed by the *Canons* of the ancient Councils. To which they all having agreed, he produced a list of the *Canons*, and pitching upon ten of them, ordered them to be read before the Council, and asked their consent to each of them.

I. That the *Festival of Easter* might be uniformly kept in all the *English* Churches, on the first Sunday after the full Moon in *March*.

II. That no Bishop should encroach upon the jurisdiction of another.

III. That Bishops should not meddle with the temporal concerns of the Monasteries.

IV. That no Monk should have the liberty to quit his monastery, without leave from the Abbot.

V. That it should not be lawful for any of the Clergy to abandon their *Diocese*, without the Bishop's leave, and that they should not be received into another *Diocese*, without a recommendation under the Bishop's own hand.

VI. That Bishops and Clergy, who are out of their *Diocese*, ought not to execute any part of their function, but should be contented with an hospitable reception.

VII. That a Synod should be convened twice a year. This Canon was altered to once a year.

VIII. That the Bishops should take their places at Councils according to their seniority.

IX. That new Sees should be erected, as the number of Christians increased. This was thrown out.

X. That no marriage should be annulled but on account of adultery. That if a Man put off his wife, he ought not to marry another, but either be reconciled or live single.

Nine of these *Canons* being agreed to, the Council denounced *Excommunication* and *Degradation* upon all that should infringe them, and then broke up.

Baronius pretends, This Council was convened by the Pope's order, and that *Theodorus* presided as *Legate* of the *Holy See*. But when we examine the grounds of his assertion, we find he builds it only upon *Theodorus's* saying in his harangue, at the opening of the council, that he was consecrated by the Pope (5), as if that were equivalent to his being made *Legate*. *Bede*, *Malm'sbury*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, who speak of this council, say not a word to support the *Cardinal's* notion.

Theodorus summoned another Council or Synod at *Hatfield* (6) in 680, at the request of the Pope, who wanted to know the sentiments of the *Church of England* with reference to the *Herefy* of the *Monothelites* (7), which then made a great noise in the world. The Pope had all the satisfaction he desired, the *English* being entirely free from that error. This Synod received the five first general Councils (8), together with the Synod held just before at *Rome*, against the *Monothelites*.

The next council was convened at *Becanceld* in 694 (9), by *Witred* King of *Kent*, who presided himself, the council being composed of the Clergy and Nobility. The Constitutions were all drawn up in the form of a Charter, wherein the King granted several privileges to the Church, particularly an exemption from the payment of taxes and other Services and Incumbrances incident to a *Lay-fee*. He declares moreover that the Church has power to govern her own body, the *Prerogative Royal* not reaching to religious matters. This article has given occasion to some to call in question the genuineness of this council (10). They object, for instance, that the five Abbesses, who subscribed this charter, not only signed before all the Priests, but also before *Botred* a Bishop, contrary to all precedent. On the other hand, others (11) are as zealous in the defence of it, as making for the independency of the Church. It

(1) At *Bosenham*, where *Bede* says, one *Dicul* a Scotchman with five or six Monks liv'd, but could not prevail with the *South Saxons* to turn Christians.
(2) i. e. *Seahs*. The ruins of this City are still to be seen at *Low-water*. It contained, when it was given to *Wilfrid*, eighty-seven families. *Bede*, l. 4. c. 13.
(3) *Cissan Cester*, i. e. the City of *Cissa*, the Son of *Ella*, first King of *Sussex*.
(4) *Bede* mentions only the three first: But that there was another required of the *British* Bishops is evident from hence, that *Bede* relates only the Answer that was given to the fourth article, by these Bishops. See *Bede*, l. 2. c. 2.
(5) *Ego quidem Theodorus, quatuor-indignus, ab Apostolica sede destinatus Dorovernenfis Ecclesie Episcopus*,---are *Bede's* words, l. 4. c. 5.
(6) Now *Bishop's-Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*.
(7) They held that *Christ* had but one Will.
(8) The Council of *Nice* in 325, of *Constantinople* in 381, of *Ephesus* in 431, of *Chalcedon* in 451, and of *Constantinople* in 553.
(9) Supposed to be *Beckenham* in *Kent*. See *Jyn*, Vol. I. p. 209.
(10) Dr. *Wake*, our present Archbishop, has wrote against it. *State of the Church*, &c. p. 149.
(11) *Collier* defends it, p. 114. *Ecc. Hist.*

would carry me too far from my present design to examine the reasons *pro* and *con*. It is sufficient to acquaint the Reader there is such a dispute.

The next year the *Synod of Berghamsted* (1) was held in the reign of the same King. It was composed, like the foregoing one, of Clergy and Laity. Its canons related chiefly to the sin of adultery, and the privileges of the Clergy. As for adultery, it was enacted, that the offender should be put under penance; and if he refused to submit to that discipline, he should be excommunicated. If he was a stranger, he was to forfeit one hundred shillings.

As for the Clergy, it was decreed, that the Church should be free and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the Church's peace should be punished with a fine of fifty shillings (2).

That the bare affirmation of the King or a Bishop should be equivalent to their oath.

That if a Bishop, Abbot, or Deacon, is charged with any crime, and being brought to the altar he declares solemnly, *he speaks the truth*: This declaration shall be the same as his oath.

That if any Clergyman should be prosecuted, the *cognisance* of the cause belongs to the Church.

Thus by degrees the Clergy obtain'd their privileges, which they have but too often abused (3).

The two Councils that are pretended to be held at London and Aine (4) in 714, being looked upon by the best authorities as forged, it would be lost time to say any thing of them.

In 747 was held at *Cloveshoe* or *Cliff* (5) in the kingdom of Kent a national Synod, at which *Ethelbald* King of Mercia was present, with twelve Bishops, and a great number of Lords. *Cuthbert* Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, read Pope *Zachary's* letter, wherein the Pope admonished the English to reform their lives, and threatened those with excommunication that continued in their wicked courses. They drew up a body of twenty-eight Canons, most of them relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Government of Monasteries, the Duties of Bishops, and other Clergymen, the Publick Service, Singing Psalms, Keeping the Sabbath, and other Holidays. I shall mention the three following ones, as containing something particular.

The Xth orders the Priests to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, and to teach the people the *Apostles Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer* in English. Agreeable to this was *Bede's* advice to *Egbert* Archbishop of York; that it was absolutely necessary Christians should know what they said when they prayed to God; and that they should be instructed in their own native tongue, and therefore that he himself had translated the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer* into English for the benefit of those that did not understand Latin.

The XXVth warns Christians from vainly imagining that by giving Alms they can compound for their sins, or dispense with the Discipline of the Church.

The XXVIIth was made upon the account of a rich Layman, who having been excommunicated, requested to be admitted again into the Church, upon his having procured several Persons to fast in his stead; alledging that the Penance they had undergone in his name, was more than he could have done himself in three hundred years. The Canon declares with great indignation against this intolerable presumption, since at that rate, the Rich might much more easily get to heaven than the Poor, contrary to the express declaration of our Saviour.

In this Canon we have the form of a Prayer for the Dead, which runs thus: *O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the Soul of such a Person may be secured in a state of repose, and admitted, with the rest of thy Saints, into the regions of Light and Bliss.*

The Council of *Calcuth* or *Calchite*, held in 785, or according to others in 787, on account of erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick, ratified the Canons of a Synod that had been convened just before in Northumberland. *Gregory* and *Theophylact*, who presided as the Pope's Legates, acknowledged in their letter to the Pope, that they were the first that had been sent into England with that character.

These are some of the Canons of the Synod of Northumberland, ratified by the council of *Calcuth*.

I. That all in holy orders strictly adhere to the council of *Nice*.

II. That Baptism is only to be administered at *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, unless in case of necessity. That it is the duty of Godfathers to teach their God-children the *Credo* and the *Lord's Prayer*, both which all Christians are oblig'd to have by heart.

VIII. The antient privileges of the Church are carefully to be preserv'd.

This was a never-failing Canon in all the Councils.

IX. The Priests are not to eat in private, unless indisposed. By this one would think the Clergy were not dispersed in Parishes, but lived all in the Capital of the Diocese in common.

The Xth forbids the Clergy to perform the divine Service without Stockings, and to use a Chalice or Patten of Horn.

The XIth exhorts Princes to govern their kingdoms by the directions of the Bishops, to whom the power of binding and loosing is delivered.

The XIIth excludes Bastards from succeeding to the Crown.

The XVth condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The XVIth makes Bastards, particularly the children of Nuns, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth urges the payment of tithes from the authority of the law of *Moses*.

The XVIIIth prescribes a strict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the Subscription List in the several copies of the Canons of this council (6), have caused the council itself to be called in question. But I doubt whether these irregularities are sufficient to render the whole questionable (7).

In 798 a Synod was held at *Finchale* in Northumberland (8), by *Eanbald* Archbishop of York. The design of this meeting was to make some regulations with regard to discipline: but here occasionally the Archbishop ordered the canons of the first five General Councils to be read, which were unanimously received.

The council held at *Cloveshoe* or *Cliff* in 800, under *Adelard* Archbishop of Canterbury, was convened for the recovery of certain Church-Lands usurped by the Kings of Mercia.

Three years after, another council was held at the same place, wherein, according to Pope *Leo's* constitution, and with the consent of *Cenulph* King of Mercia, the Archbishoprick of *Lichfield* was reduced to a Bishoprick, as formerly.

In 816, *Wilfrid* Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a council at *Calcuth*, at which *Cenulph* King of Mercia and Monarch, was present, with all the English Bishops except those of Northumberland. There are eleven canons drawn up by this Synod, whereof the II^d and Vth seem to be the most remarkable.

The II^d orders all Churches to be consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocese, with the following Formalities. The Bishop shall bless the Holy Water, and sprinkle the Church with it, according to the directions of the Ritual. Then having consecrated the Eucharist, he shall put it in a Box with some Relicks to be laid up in the Church. In case there are no Relicks, the consecrated Elements, being the Body and Blood of our Lord, shall be sufficient. Every Bishop shall be obliged to have drawn upon the Altar, or upon the Wall, the Figure of the Saint to whom the Church is dedicated.

The Vth declares against allowing all Scotchmen to baptize, or read the divine service in England.

There is mention of two Councils more convened in Mercia in the reign of *Bernulph*, one in 822, and the other in 824. Probably the first is a forgery; but they are both of so little consequence, as not to be worth taking notice of.

(1) This was not *Berkhamsted* in Hertfordshire, as some have imagined, but *Berghamsted*, a Place in Kent. See *Tyrr.* Vol. I. p. 210. and *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 194.

(2) The same as the King's. See *Spelman.*

(3) The Xth, XXVth, and XXVIIth Articles, having something particular in them, it will not be amiss to lay them before the Reader. The Xth runs thus: If, on Saturday Evening, after Sun-set; or Sunday Evening after the same time, a Servant or Slave (*seruus*) shall do any servile work, let his Master be fined eighty Shillings.

XXVth. If a Lay-man kill a Thief, let him lie without any *Wergild*, that is, without any satisfaction being made to the Thief's relations.

XXVIIth. If a Stranger wanders about, and does neither hollow nor found a Horn, he is to be accounted as a Thief, and to be either slain or banish'd.

Spelman Conc. Tom. I. p. 194.---197.

(4) Supposed to be *Ashgater* in Worcestershire. See *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 212.

(5) *Cliff at Har*, is a Town on a Rock near *Rockester*. But the presence of the King of Mercia at this, and some other Councils, held at *Cloveshoe*, makes it supposed that it is the same with *Abington* in *Berkshire*, about the middle of the Nation, antiently written *Storogum* by mistake for *Clavogum* or *Cloveshoe*.

(6) *Dulbert* Bishop *Augustadensis* (or *Hagustadensis*) *Euchæria*, signs before *Eanbald* his Metropolitan of York.

(7) About the year 757, the Monks of *Lindisfarne*, who, from the first time of their institution were allowed to drink nothing but Milk or Water, obtained (through the means of King *Ceolwulf* who was become a Monk of that House) permission to drink Wine or Beer. See *Lindisf.* p. 159. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 289.

(8) Now called *Finstley* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*. *Spelman Conc.* Vol. I. p. 305.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Primitive State of the ENGLISH CHURCH.

I SHALL close my account of the *Primitive State* of the *English Church*, with a few remarks that may serve to give a just notion of the thing. It is a great mistake to imagine, the *Primitive Church* of the *English* corresponded in all points with the Church founded by the Apostles immediately after our Saviour's death. The *Christian Church*, in her infancy, was perfect, without spot or wrinkle; but in process of time, she lost by degrees something of her *primitive purity*. From the days of the *Apostles* to the *VIIIth century*, errors and abuses crept in, which strangely disfigured her, and which daily increased during the *VIIIth* and *IXth centuries*, so that true religion by little and little degenerated into superstition. Our idea therefore of the *primitive Church* of *England* must be conformable to the state of the *Christian Church* at that time. I shall not here undertake to show wherein those *innovations* in the doctrines and services of the Church consisted; but content my self with observing the *Christian Church*, at the time of the conversion of the *English*, was far gone from its original purity. It can't, for instance, be denied, that the Monks, who were grown exceeding numerous all over *Christendom*, had introduced several *religious practices* that were not of *divine* or *apostolical* institution, as if our Saviour and his Apostles had forgot or neglected to give mankind *full instructions* in these matters. These voluntary acts of devotion, tho' introduced with a good intent, were now carried to so great a height, that the generality of Christians looked upon them as the life and soul of religion. I shall not insist any farther on this subject, since I have no design to enter into the controversy, but only to make this observation, That the *English* converted in the *VIIIth century*, are to be considered as in the same *State* with the rest of the *Christian World* at that time, seeing it was not in their power to know more than their masters taught them.

Austin and his companions were the first that preached the *Gospel* to the *Anglo-Saxons*. However the honour of their conversion ought not to be ascribed to them alone. The *Scotch Monks* of *St. Columba* had at least as great a share in it as the *Italians*. For after these last had begun to make *Converts*, the *new Christians* being sunk again into idolatry, the *Scotch Monks* were the persons that set them right again, or rather that converted them anew. This was the case in the kingdoms of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*, as hath been related. As for the conversion of the *Mercians*, the *Italian Missionaries* had no hand in it at all. And yet *Austin* had run away with the honour of converting the *English*, when in the main the progress he made was not very considerable. 'Tis true he preached to the *Saxons* of *Kent*, as *Mellitus* did to those of *Essex*, and that with good success. But then very probably this work was already begun, and even in great forwardness, when *Austin* arrived in *England*. It is hard to conceive how these Monks, who were forc'd to make use of *interpreters*, could possibly have converted such numbers of *Pagans*, even to the baptizing ten thousand in one day, in a few months after their arrival, if the *Saxons* had not been prepared before-hand. This conjecture is farther confirmed by the letters of *Gregory I.* to *Theodoric King of Austrasia*, to *Theodbert* his brother, and to *Queen Brunichild*, to desire them to assist *Austin* in his journey to *England*. The Pope tells them, he was informed for certain that the *English* earnestly desired to turn *Christians*. Now is it not evident, that, if they had a strong desire to embrace the gospel, they were as good as half converted? There is great reason to presume, *King Ethelbert* had already some liking to the *Christian Religion* infused into him by his Queen, and especially by *Luidhard*, Bishop of *Soysons*, who had attended her into *England*. This is what the author of *The History of St. Au-*

stin's Monastery positively affirms; and *Malmsbury* says little less, when he tells us, that *Ethelbert* was very desirous to hear what *Austin* had to propose. Besides, if the person, character and conduct of *Austin*, are considered, it will be hard to believe, he made the progress ascribed to him. *Bede*, who does not seem willing to lessen his reputation, says nothing that is very apt to raise in us an esteem for his *preaching*. Instead of embellishing his history with the heads of *Austin's* first discourse before *Ethelbert*, he is contented with relating only the King's answer. This gives occasion to suspect, he was not over-satisfied with that *harangue*. Moreover, the questions which *Austin* wanted the Pope to solve, do not much redound to his honour. This, no doubt, was the reason why *Bede* abridged them as much as possible, even to the rendering them sometimes so obscure, that the meaning of the question must be learnt by the answer.

To these considerations may be added, that *Austin* in the height of his success, for which he is so greatly honoured, established but two Bishops only, *Justus* at *Rocheſter*, and *Mellitus* at *London*, though the Pope had expressly ordered him to settle Bishops where-ever there should be occasion. This is a clear evidence, that the progress ascribed to him was not so considerable as *Gregory* imagines. But what can one think of this same *Austin*, who the very first year deserts his mission, and goes to *Arles* to get himself consecrated Archbishop, when as yet there was but a handful of Christians in *England*, or rather in the alone kingdom of *Kent*? To what end the title of *Archbishop* and *Primate*, at a time when there was not so much as one Bishop in being? What can one think moreover of the Pope's answer to him concerning the Bishops of *Gaul*, That he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over them? May it not be presumed, that *Austin*, not content with the *Primacy of Great-Britain* wherewith the Pope had honoured him, wanted to extend his jurisdiction over *Gaul* too? In fine, what can one think of *Gregory's* letter to him, exhorting him not to be elated at the Gift of *Miracles* God had bestowed on him, unless *Austin* had sent him word he had wrought several? But what were these miracles? Would *Bede*, who has carefully related those of *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Furseus*, and the other *Scotch Monks*, whom he looked upon as *Schismaticks*, have omitted those of *Austin*? And yet he gives us only one, and that of a later date than *Gregory's* letter, and the most suspicious that ever was, since by the confession of the same historian, it was wrought in order to bring the *Britons* to the obedience of the Pope? What opinion can one have of *Austin*, when it is considered with what zeal he laboured to reduce the *Britons* under the jurisdiction of the *See of Rome*, whilst five *Saxon* kingdoms were suffered to grovel in *darkness* and *idolatry*? To what purpose did he complain to the Pope of the want of labourers in so plentiful an harvest, if he did not employ those he already had? And if he did employ them, where are the fruits of their labours? What were their names? Where did they preach the gospel? No historian says a word of these things; and except *Justus* and *Mellitus*, who preached at *Rocheſter* and *London*, it is not known where he sent his companions, who according to the general opinion, were forty in number.

Again, the *Converts* made by these *Italian Monks* were not, 'tis to be feared, well grounded in their religion. This is a natural inference from the apostacy of the people of *Essex*, *East-Anglia*, *Northumberland*, and *Kent* itself, at a time when, had they been true Christians, they would have given marks of the highest zeal. This makes one think, their conversion was without any previous instruction, and rather the effect of fear, or complaisance to their Kings, than of a thorough persuasion

persuasion and knowledge of the truth. It is therefore surprizingly strange, that the *Conversion of the English* should be ascribed to *Austin*, rather than to *Aidan*, to *Finnan*, to *Colman*, to *Cedd*, to *Diuna* and the other *Scotch Monks*, who undoubtedly laboured much more abundantly than he. But here lies the case. These last had not their *Orders from Rome*, and therefore must not be allowed any share in the glory of this work.

Let us now reflect a little on the manner of the conversion of the *English*. In the beginning of *Christianity*, and even for the first three hundred years, the converts generally consisted of people of the lowest rank, and we hear of nothing but *Persecution and Death* from the Princes and Magistrates. Whereas in *England*, the Kings were the first that embraced the Faith, and by their authority and example induced their subjects to do the same. In the beginning of the Church of *England*, we meet with no *Martyrs*, except the two Sons of *Wulpher King of Mercia*, whose story is of very doubtful authority. Whence could proceed this difference between the Church founded by the *Apostles* themselves, in so many parts of the world, and That founded in *England* in the VIIth Century? What is the reason the Devil less vigorously obstructed the conversion of the *English*, than That of so many other nations, during the life and after the death of the *Apostles*? These things afford matter for many reflections, which I shall not here enter into, but leave to the consideration of the reader. I shall only remark, that the ease wherewith the conversion of the *English* was brought about, extremely weakens the force of the argument drawn in favour of the *Christian Religion*, from the persecutions of the *Roman Emperors*.

Penfolds de
Patch.

Let a Man consider, says a famous writer, the establishment of *Christianity*, that a religion so contrary to nature (1), should make its way in the world, by such mild and gentle means, without any violence or constraint, and yet should be so firmly rooted withal, that it was not in the power of the most barbarous torments to compell the Martyrs to renounce their Faith; and that all this should be done not only without the assistance of any Prince, but in direct opposition to all the Kings of the Earth, &c. It is easy to see this argument loses much of its strength when applied to the conversion of the *English*.

What still affords further matter for our wonder is this: The *Ecclesiastical History* speaks of several Saints in different parts of the world; but withal tells us, that scarce one of them escaped being terribly persecuted, or even losing his life in the cause of Truth. Whereas in *England* alone, we find in the space of two hundred years an incredible number of Men and Women Saints, who never knew what *Persecution* meant. Moreover, if Historians may be credited, these Saints, for the most part, were endued with the gift of Miracles, though the swift progress of the Gospel seemed to render them of little use. But what is more; a considerable number of these same Saints were Kings, Queens, Princes, Princesses, or persons of the highest birth and stations. In the Period above-mentioned we have seven Kings and seven Queens, together with eight Princes, and sixteen Princesses, distinguished with the title of Saints: Besides ten Kings and eleven Queens, who resigned their Crowns to turn Monks, and who, according to the notions of those days, might well be ranked in the number of the Saints. If it be asked, whence is it that in the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries it was so easy for the Great to procure a Saintship, I can alledge no other reason, but that Sanctity consisted then in enriching the Churches and Monasteries, which the Rich were much better able to do than the Poor.

The *English* were no sooner converted, but innumerable miracles were wrought among them. They were so much in vogue during the two forementioned Centuries, that one or other happened (if I may so say) every day. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is full of them; for he was exceeding credulous in such matters, as well as Gregory I. whose Foible in that respect is visible in his works. It is no wonder therefore the Missionaries he sent into *England* should take after him, or that the *English* should be as easy of belief as their Teachers. The *Benedictine Monks* were the persons that set all these Miracles on foot: Some out of pure simplicity, others with design to attract to the Monasteries the liberalities both of High and Low. Before the *Benedictines* were spread over the Island, the Monks of *St. Columba*, less given to gain and worldly views, attended wholly to the service of God in the places where they lived in common. But the *Benedictines* never rested till they had procured great numbers of Monasteries with large revenues, and caused the Papal Authority to be recognized throughout the seven kingdoms.

It was not however without great difficulty that the Popes extended their jurisdiction over the *Northumbrians, Picts and Scots*, tho' the *Roman Priests and Monks* laboured at it incessantly. The northern nations could not conceive the necessity of owning the Bishop of *Rome* for universal Bishop; and it is certain, before the Synod of *Whitby*, the *Britons, Picts, Scots, Irish and Northumbrians* unanimously declared against the Pope's authority. Bede says as much, when he tells us, speaking of King *Oswy*; He was at length convinced, that the Church of *Rome* was the true catholic and apostolical Church, tho' he had been educated in *Scotland*. As soon as this Prince was prevailed with, he did all he could to establish the Papal Authority in his dominions; and *Scotland* at last was carried away with the torrent, after *Egbert* an *English Priest* had gained the Monks of *Jona*.

Upon the *English* submitting to the jurisdiction of the Pope, all imaginable care was taken to keep them from falling off. One of the most effectual means made use of for that purpose, was, the not admitting into the government of the Church any but *Italian Priests or Monks*, or *English* ones educated at *Rome* or in *France*. This is evident from the Vth Canon of the second Council of *Calcuith*, which forbids the allowing any *Scotch Man* to perform divine service in *England*. Bede plainly discovers the policy of *Rome*, when he says, the Pope ordered Abbot *Adrian* to attend *Theodorus* into *England*, that he might have an eye over him, for fear that Prelate, being a native of *Cilicia*, should introduce into the Church of *England* any thing contrary to the customs of *Rome*.

I have but one remark more to make relating to the doctrine of the Church of *England* in the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries, and the beginning of the IXth. It is a great mistake to think the Articles of Faith in the *English Church* were the same with those in the *Roman* at this day. For instance, it would be very wrong to imagine the *English* believed, at that time, the absolute necessity of Baptism as the *Romans* do at this present. If this doctrine had been received among them, the Council of *Calcuith* would not have ordered that sacrament to be administered only at *Easter* and *Whitsontide*. As far from the truth is it to believe the *English* worshipped Images. The contrary is evident from a letter the famous *Alcuin* an *Englishman* wrote to *Charles the Great* concerning the second Council of *Nice*, where Image-worship was carried to a monstrous height. The necessity of Priests living single, is also a doctrine unknown to the Church of *England* in those days, since it was not received there till at least five hundred years after their conversion. To these I might add several other instances; but as they are not peculiar to *England*, I shall only observe in general, that all the innovations in the doctrines of the Church of *England*, from the conversion of the *English* to the Reformation, owe their original to *Rome*.

I don't find the Church of *England* had any thing to do in the controversies that were on foot in the Church during the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries. Among all the Councils convened in *England* within that space, not one decreed any thing relating to the doctrines of Religion, except the Synod of *Calcuith*, where the condemning the *Monothelites*, was ratified. Their way was to read the *Canons* of the General Councils, and agree to them. Thus during these two centuries, it does not appear that the Church of *England* was troubled with Heresies or Disputes on the fundamental doctrines of religion. In those days, the Bishops, Priests and Monks were more intent upon the ways and means of augmenting their revenues, than upon the study of divinity. There were some also that were distinguished for holiness of life, or for zeal in propagating the Gospel. I have already mentioned some few; but as I had not an opportunity of making them all known, I shall here subjoin a brief account of three or four that make a considerable figure in the *Ecclesiastical History* of *England*.

Egbert, an *English Priest*, retiring into *Ireland* to follow his studies, passed some time after into *Scotland*, where he prevailed with the Monks of *Jona* to receive the rules of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and acknowledge the papal authority. Perhaps to this service done the See of *Rome*, a good part of the encomiums bestowed upon him are owing. However this be, it is said that having a design to go and preach the Gospel to the *German Saxons*, he was diverted from his purpose by an express order from heaven. But, as he had the conversion of that Nation very much at heart, he pitched upon *Wilbrod* to go in his place.

Wilbrod being arrived in *Germany*, *Pipin*, Mayor of the Palace of *France*, sent him into *Friesland*, which he had lately subdued, to preach the Gospel. After *Wilbrod* had

(1) This by the By supposes the *Christian Religion* in its primitive State, to be clogg'd with all those Aburdities it now labours under, particularly among the *Romans*. For surely nothing worse can be said of *Revel'd Religion*, than that it is contrary to Nature, Sense or Reason.

made some stay there, he took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was consecrated by Pope *Sergius I*, Bishop of the *Friesland*. He fixed his See at *Utrecht*, of which he was the first Bishop.

Winfrid. *Winfrid*, an *English Benedictine Monk*, was sent into *Germany*, where he assumed the Name of *Boniface*. His preaching having met with great Success, he was made the first Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Pope's Legate for all Ger-

many. It is said he was the Son of a *Cartwright*, and that the Archbishops of *Mentz* for that reason bear *Wheels* in their Arms. *Boniface* was barbarously murdered by the Pagans in *Friesland* in 754 (1).

Guthlack (2) was the first *Anchoret* in *England*. He made choice, for his Retirement, of a Fenny Place in *Mercia*, called *Croyland*, where the famous Monastery of that name was afterwards built (3).

754.

Guthlack.

754.

Ingulph.

(1) *Pitt* says, he was of Royal Extraction. There is a Collection of his Letters extant, particularly his Letter to *Ethelred King of Mercia*, publish'd at *Mentz* by *Serrarius*. *Du Pin*. Cent. VIII.

(2) He had been a Soldier seven Years, and out of Humanity us'd to return the Enemy a third part of the Plunder taken from them.

(3) As the Translator designs to take notice of all the Historians omitted by *Rapin*, he begins with *NENNIUS*, Abbot of *Bangor*, suppos'd to be one of the fifty Monks that escap'd, when twelve hundred of their Brethren were slain by *Adelfrid King of Northumberland*. He flourish'd about the Year 620; tho' it is said in the best Copies of his Book, that he wrote in 850, in 24 *Meruini Regis*. There is nothing published of his but his *Historia Britonum*.

Next after him comes *BEDE*, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History of *England*, from *Julius Cæsar's Invasion*, to the year of our Lord 731, at the Request of *Ceolulph King of Northumberland*, to whom it was dedicated. He was born in 673, in the Precincts of the Monastery of *Jarrow*, near the Mouth of the *Tine* in *Northumberland*. He was bred up from his Childhood in the said Monastery, where he lived all his Life. He was ordained at nineteen a *Deacon*, and at thirty a Priest; from which time, till the fifty-ninth of his Age, he never ceas'd writing. His Works are printed in eight *Tomes*, besides his *Opuscula*. He died in 735, aged sixty-two. His Body was removed from *Jarrow* to *Durham*, and placed in the same Coffin with *St. Cuthbert's*.

Cotemporary with *Bede* liv'd *Stephen EDDI*, *Heddi*, or *Eddius*, in the Reign of *Osric King of Northumberland*, he died in 720. *Bede* says, he was the best singer in the North; on which account he was invited to *York* by *Wilfrid the Bishop*, whose Life he wrote in *Latin*, in somewhat a better Style than could be expected from that Age. This Treatise, which contains several material Passages relating to the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil State, having continued in Manuscript in the Library of Sir *John Cotton*, and also that of *Salisbury*, was published by *Dr. Gale* in his last Volume of *English Writers*.

In the VIIIth Century liv'd *ALCUIN*, or *Albin*, a famous *Northumbrian*. He was bred a *Benedictine*, and was made Abbot of *St. Augustine's Canterbury*. He was Disciple to *Egbert Archbishop of York*. Being sent Ambassador by *Offa* to *Charles the Great*, that Prince got leave for him to stay at his Court, and was taught by him *Logick*, *Astronomy*, and *Mathematics*. By his Persuasion the Emperor founded the University of *Paris*, and likewise of *Pavia*. He wrote a great many Books, as says *Pitt*. He died in 804.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Origin of the Danes. Their continual Irruptions from the Reign of Egbert to Edward the Martyr, with whose Reign this Book concludes. A particular and curious Account of the Laws and Customs introduc'd by Alfred the Great, which are the Basis of the present Laws of England. The State of the Church and Religion, from Egbert to Edward the Martyr inclusive.



H. Hunt.
l. 5.

ENGLAND now grown more powerful by the Union of the seven Kingdoms, seemed to be better secured than ever from foreign Invasions. And yet, presently after this Union it was, that the *Danes* began their Descents with a Fury, equal to that wherewith the *English* themselves had formerly attacked the *Britons*. For above two hundred Years these new Enemies were so obstinately bent upon the ruin of the Island, that it can't be conceived, either how their Country could supply them with Troops sufficient for so long and bloody a War, or the *English* hold out against so many reiterated Attacks. This War is to be the chief subject of our fourth Book, and of great part of the fifth. But before I enter upon particulars, it will be necessary to premise some account of these *Danes*, who in the IXth Century became so formidable to all Europe, and especially to England.

Origin of the
Danes.

Scandia or *Scandinavia* (1), situated in the North of Europe, contains a Tract of Land in length from North to South about four hundred Leagues, and in breadth from East to West about one hundred and fifty. If the northern Historians are to be credited in what they say of the Origin of their Ancestors, this Country was peopled soon after the Flood, by two Nations, or rather two branches of the same Nation, I mean, the *Goths* and *Swedes*, who founded two large Kingdoms in this part of the World. From these two Nations, who were sometimes united and sometimes divided, sprung, as they say, all those Colonies, which after the decline of the *Roman Empire*, over-ran the rest of Europe. But without staying to examine, whether all they advance concerning the Conquests of these Adventurers is built on good Authority, I shall take them for Guides in what they say of those that remained in the northern Countries.

In the reign of *Eric* the sixth King of the *Goths* (2) *Gothland* was become so exceeding populous, that the Country was unable to maintain its Inhabitants. To remedy this Inconvenience, which daily increased, *Eric* was compelled to send away part of his Subjects to seek their fortune in the neighbouring Isles (3). These Colonies at length not only peopled the Islands, but also *Jutland* on the Continent, formerly known by the name of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. The People thus spread over the Isles and the *Chersonese*, acknowledged above seven hundred Years the Kings of *Gothland* for their Sovereigns. *Humel* the sixteenth King of the *Goths*, first made them independent, by letting them have for their King, *Dan* his Son, from whom *Denmark* received its name (4). *Norway* also very probably was peopled by *Gothic* Colonies, since it remained a long while under the Dominion of the Kings of *Gothland*. In process of time, and after many Revolutions, *Norway* was governed by Judges independent of *Gothland*, till about the end of the IXth Century, when it became subject to a King.

Janus
Kelding.

Suaningius.
Chron. Dan.

The *Danes* and *Norwegians*, being thus separated from their Ancestors the *Goths* and *Swedes*, became so powerful as to be in condition to make head against them both in several Wars. The situation of their Country, and the great plenty of all things necessary for building and equipping a Fleet, soon made them superior at Sea to all their Neighbours. In time, they employed all their naval Forces in plundering of Ships, and ravaging the Coasts of Europe. *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, were most exposed to their Robberies. For above one hundred and fifty Years the Sea was covered with *Danish* Pyrates. They were grown so powerful, that *Charles the Great* could never subdue the *Saxons*, whilst assisted by the *Danes*. History observes, that this Emperor having sent his Son *Peppin* to make War upon the *Saxons*, this Prince was prevented in his designs by *Gothic* King of *Denmark's* sending a

Meursius
Hist. Dan.

(1) It contained *Mexaria*, with as much of *Aranda* as lay West of the *Gulf of Botnia*. It was also called *Baltia*, whence the *Baltick Sea*.

(2) They probably were contemporary with *Isaac*, *Abraham's* Father, *Rapin*.

(3) As in those days none had a permanent Interest in Land, which was canton'd out to the People to be possessed for one Year only, it was decided by Lot, who were to leave their Country to go in quest of new Habitations. *Cas. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 20. & P. Hænsingi. de Gotis Longobard. c. 2.*

(4) *Dan*, according to northern Historians, was contemporary with *Gideon*, *Rapin*.

reinforcement of *Danes* on board three hundred Vessels. A northern Historian affirms, that *Charles the Great* was never better pleased than at the news of *Gothric's* death, having despaired of accomplishing his ends, as long as that Prince was alive.

As People encrease and multiply exceedingly in cold Countries, it often happened that *Denmark* and *Norway* were overstocked with Inhabitants, and therefore forced, in order to make room for the rest, to send away large Colonies. Their natural Inclination to a *Sea-faring* Life made these Colonies readily abandon their Country, as it procured them greater Liberty of roving and playing the Pirate, on pretence of looking out new Habitations. This was chiefly the rise of those Piracies committed by the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, in the IXth Century, in *France*, *England*, the *Low-Countries* and *Germany*. The great Booty the first Adventurers brought off, tempted the richest and most powerful of their Countrymen to try their Fortune in the same manner. They entered into Associations, and fitted out large Fleets to go and ravage foreign Countries. These Associations were much of the same nature with those entered into now a-days in time of war, by the inhabitants of the Sea-port Towns in *France* and *Flanders*, and always by the *Corfairs* of *Barbary*. In short, they were so used to this gainful way of trading, that very considerable Fleets were put to Sea. They had the Authority of their Kings for what they did, who, having always a share in the spoils, provided them with Admirals and Generals, and when a considerable Booty was in view, made no scruple even to command them in Person. These are the Fleets that made such devastations in several parts of *Europe*, and caused the Inhabitants of *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, to make sad Lamentation for the miseries brought upon them by the northern Nations (1). They were called in *France*, *Normans*, that is to say, *Men of the North*; but in *England*, they were generally stiled *Danes* or *Goths*. There is no doubt but the *Suedes* and *Goths* very often joined with the *Danes* in order to go shares in the Booty. Nay, it appears that the *Frieslanders* were concerned with the *Danes* in ravaging the Coasts of *France* and *England*. This doubtless is the reason the *English* Historians call them indifferently, *Gotes*, *Goths*, *Futes*, *Norwegians*, *Dacians*, *Danes*, *Suedes*, *Vandals*, *Frieslanders*, their Armies being composed of these several Nations.

Rog. de Hov. It is easy to see, from what has been said of the *Danes*, that their Intent, when first they invaded the Coasts of *England*, was only to plunder. And therefore they made War, not like regular Troops, with some fixed and settled Design, but like Pirates, sacking and destroying what they could not carry away. As they were divided

into several independent bands, it frequently happened that no sooner was *One* gone, but *Another* came; by which means the Inhabitants had scarce any respite from their Incursions. This way of making War was very inconvenient for the *English*, it obliging them to be upon their guard at all Times and in all Places, since the Island was liable to be attacked on every Side. On the other hand, their Enemies, whose numbers were continually increasing, being headed by leaders who had no authority over each other, there was no entering into Treaty with them, one Band not looking upon it self bound by what another did. Thus the *English* having nothing to gain, but much to lose, were at a loss what measures to take against these Enemies, who carried desolation wherever they came. I am very sensible the *Danish* Historians set these matters in quite another Light. They express the advantages the *Danes* had over the *English* in their first Incursions, by the name of *Conquests*, and stile the struggles of the *English* to free themselves from Oppression, so many revolts.

But notwithstanding their giving things these specious Names, their advantages are to be considered as before represented, at least for the first hundred years after they began their ravages.

Before I leave this Subject it will be proper to observe that the *English* and *Danish* Historians give very contradictory accounts of these Wars. Each endeavours to the utmost of his Power, to magnify the advantages of his own Nation, and lessen those of the opposite Party. However it is but too visible that the *Danes* could not have got such footing in *England*, had not victory generally inclined to their Side. But this is not all wherein Historians disagree. They differ chiefly in *Chronological* Matters, and in the names of the Persons of whom they are speaking, which must of necessity breed the greatest confusion in History.

Through all these difficulties am I obliged to steer my Course, with all imaginable circumspection and wariness, lest I should be put to a stand by the obstacles that every Moment occur. If the Readers do not find that Connection, and those other Embellishments they could wish for, it must be remembered, that the narration of a War, carried on for the sake of plunder only, is hardly capable of Connection or Embellishment.

After these Remarks, which seemed to me necessary for the better understanding of the Sequel, it is time to return to the Reign of *Egbert*, which was left unfinished in the foregoing Book, where he appeared only as King of *Wessex*. He is now to make his appearance as King of all *England*, and as real Monarch of the seven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

E G B E R T, first King of ENGLAND.

EGBERT, who began his Reign over the *West-Saxons* in 800, finished not his Conquests till 827 or 828, from which time his Title of *King of England* is to be dated. But to avoid mistakes, it must be remembered, that the Kingdom this Prince was in actual possession of, consisted of the ancient Kingdoms of *Wessex*, *Suffex*, *Kent* and *Essex*, that were peopled by *Saxons* and *Futes*. As for the other three Kingdoms, whose Inhabitants were *Angles*, he was contented with reserving the Sovereignty over them, permitting them to be governed by Kings who were his Vassals and Tributaries (2).

It has been seen how this Prince, before he turned his Arms against his Countrymen, attacked and subdued the *Britons* of *Cornwal* and *Wales*. Though his Power, after that, was exceedingly encreased, yet the *Welsh* by their proceedings plainly showed they designed to shake off his Yoke. *Egbert* informed of their Intent, gave them no time to put it in Execution. He marched into their Country with so numerous an Army, that they were forced to submit, without offering to come to a Battle.

Whilst *Egbert* was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, the *Danes*, who had before made two descents on *England* (3), arrived at *Charmouth* (4) with thirty five Vessels.

As they met with no Opposition, they landed and fell to ravaging the Country. *Egbert*, upon the first news of this Descent, marched against them with what Troops he could hastily draw together, verily believing at his approach they would repair to their Ships; which though he found they did not do, but on the contrary firmly stood their Ground, he resolved to attack them. But he soon experienced he had to deal with much more formidable Enemies than he imagined. After a long and bloody Battle (5), he had the vexation to see them victorious, and his own Army entirely routed. Nay, he found himself so very hard pressed, that he was forced at length to follow his flying Troops; being indebted to the darkness of the night for his very Life. This mortification, very grievous to a Prince hitherto ever victorious, caused him to take other measures for his defence against these new Invaders. In the mean time the *Danes*, having no design to make Conquests, were satisfied with plundering the Country, and returning to their Ships.

Two years after, another band of *Danish* Pirates, having been informed by their Spies, that the *Cornish* *Britons* (6) were extremely desirous of throwing off the yoke of the *English*, went and landed in their Territories, where they were received with Joy. Being reinforced with some *British* Troops, they began their march in or-

EGBERT, first King of England. 828. Tyrrel. p. 254.

The *Danes* make a Descent. 833. Ann. Sax. Malmsh. l. 2.

(1) A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine. *Rapin.*

(2) It is to be observed, he was not perfectly absolute, though he became Monarch of *England*; for some, if not all the petty Kings, notwithstanding they were Tributaries, held their Titles for many years, and some Successions of Monarchs after him; as *Witlaf* King of *Mercia* under *Egbert*; and *Bertrich* under *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Berred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*; and so they continued, at least until *Edward the Elder*. See *Ingulp.* p. 8, 11, &c. *Brady*, p. 111.

(3) Viz. in 789, at *Portland*; and in 832, in the Isle of *Sheppey*, which they laid waste. *Affer. Ann.* p. 154. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd.

(4) In *Dorsetshire*.

(5) There were slain in this Battle, among others, the two Bishops of *Winchester* and *Sherborne*, *Harsfert* and *Wigferth*, and the two Earls *Dudda* and *Osmond*. *Huntingd.* p. 345. *Sax. Ann.*

(6) For they still inhabited *Cornwal*, paying Tribute to *Egbert*. *Rapin.*

der to give the *English* Monarch Battle. They were in hopes to surprize him, but were themselves astonished to hear he was marching directly towards them with the same Intent. His former Misfortune having made him more cautious, he had kept his Army in readiness to march upon the first notice of their Arrival. Accordingly being informed they were landed in the *West*, he hastened thither with all his Forces. He engaged them near *Hengist-dun* (1) in *Cornwal*, and obtained a signal Victory, which quite effaced the dishonour of his former Defeat.

After this fortunate Blow, which delivered the *English* for a short space from the *Danish* Invasions, we find but one remarkable particular in *Egbert's* Reign. It is said that this Prince, by a publick Edict, approved by the general Assembly of the Nation, ordered, That for the future the name of *England* should be given to that part of *Great-Britain*, conquered by the *Anglo-Saxons*, and erected into seven Kingdoms (2). But it is much more likely, he only confirmed or revived this Name, which certainly is older than the Reign of *Egbert*. We find in *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, that before that time the three Nations settled in *Great-Britain*, are indifferently called *Angli* or *Engliffi*. And indeed *Bede* himself, who wrote long before *Egbert*, gives his History the title of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, though it much more relates to the Churches of *Kent*, *Wessex*, *Sussex* and *Essex*, than to those of *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*. I have already said, that the change of the name of *Britain* into that of *England*, ought to be carried back to the Year 585 or 586. In confirmation of which, and to shew the improbability of *Egbert's* being the Author of this Change, I shall alledge the following Proofs, which to me seem very strong. In the first place, *Egbert* had no reason to call the seven Kingdoms *England*, since he himself was a *Saxon*, and the Provinces, his own Kingdom consisted of, were peopled with *Saxons* and *Jutes*. Besides, the *Angles* or *English*, inhabiting *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, were his Vassals and Tributaries. Now is it at all likely, that the Conqueror should impose on his victorious Subjects the Name of those they had subdued? This might indeed be done insensibly, but it is not probable a Conqueror should enjoin it by an Edict; but as this amounts to no more than Conjecture, I shall proceed to more substantial Proofs. An Historian positively affirms, that a little after the founding of the seven Kingdoms, the name of *England* was given to *Britain* by the unanimous consent of the seven Kings. But this can by no means be applied to the time of *Egbert* (above two hundred and fifty Years after) since that Prince could not have published this Edict till after the dissolution of the

Heptarchy. Besides, how came *Bede*, who lived one hundred and fifty Years before *Egbert*, to call the three Nations settled in *Britain*, *Engliffmen*, if that Monarch was the Author of that Name? But what is still more convincing, though the Subjects of *Ina*, King of *Wessex*, were *Saxons* or *Jutes*, that Prince however, in his Laws enacted for the *West-Saxons*, only styles them *Engliffmen*. If an *Engliffman*, says he, commits Theft. — Again, If a *Welsh Slave* shall kill an *Engliffman*. — Is it not plain that unless this name had been common to the three Nations, *Ina* would not have called his Subjects *Engliffmen*, but *Saxons*? In short, it is not at all strange that immediately after founding the seven Kingdoms, the *Anglo-Saxons* should term their Conquest, *England*, since the *Angles* were in Possession of a larger and more considerable Tract of Land than both the *Saxons* and *Jutes*. But it was not natural this Name should be introduced in the Reign of *Egbert*, when the three Kingdoms of the *Angles* were gone to decay, and the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* in a flourishing Condition.

Egbert died in 838 (3), after he had reigned thirty seven Years, twenty Years as King of *Wessex* only, seven Years with the dignity of Monarch, and ten Years as real Sovereign of all *England*. *Redburg* his Spouse had never assumed the Title and Port of a Queen, because of the Law made in *Wessex*, on account of the death of *Brithric*. She is said to have persuaded the King to forbid the *Welsh* on pain of Death to come beyond *Offa's Dike*, the Boundary of *Mercia* and *Wales*.

Egbert left but one Son, named *Ethelwulph*, who succeeded him both as King of *Wessex*, *Essex*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, and as Sovereign of the other three Kingdoms. *Egbert* had doubtless another Son, since this was designed for the Church. A modern Author gives the name of *Ethelbert* to *Egbert's* eldest Son; but I know not whence he had his Information. Some say he had also a Daughter called *Edgith*, who founded the Abbey of *Pollesworth* (4), but this is uncertain.

By all that has been said of *Egbert*, it is easy to see this Prince had all the Qualifications of a great Warrior. He accomplished his Ends, not by such methods as *Hengist* and *Offa* had taken, but by way of Arms, which tho' no less Criminal, tarnishes not the Reputation of those that make use of it, especially when crowned with Success. It is a lamentable thing that Ambition, by which Princes are led to invade the Property of others, should pass in the World for a Virtue, and that an Historian, by reason of Men's depraved Notions, should not dare to represent it in its true colours, since, generally speaking, they are your ambitious Princes that are honoured with the Sirname of *Great*.

2. ETHELWULPH.

ETHELWULPH, *Egbert's* only Son came to the Crown after his Father's Death. Some say he was forced to have a Dispensation from the Pope, because he was in *Holy-Orders*. But it is not very likely, that after the Death of his elder Brother, *Egbert* would suffer him to be bred a *Churchman*, since he had no other Son to succeed him (5).

Ethelwulph was hardly warm in his Throne, when a Fleet of *Danes* (6) appeared near *Southampton*. After they had roved up and down for some time, they landed and ravaged the flat Country. *Ethelwulph*, a lover of Peace and his Ease, sent *Wulfberd* his General against them, who beat them back to their Ships. But the King had not reason long to rejoice at this Victory. Before his Army returned, News was brought him, that more *Danish* Forces, having landed at *Portland*, were plundering and destroying the Country. Though he had no reason to be displeased with *Wulfberd* (7), he sent *Earl Ethelhelm* to command the Army,

who was shamefully beaten and put to flight (8). *Herbert* the succeeding General was still more unfortunate, for he was not only vanquished, but lost his Life in the Battle. These two Victories gave the *Danes* opportunity to overrun several Counties, particularly *Kent* and *Middlesex* (9). *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, and *London* were great sufferers on this occasion, the Enemy committing unheard-of Cruelties before they returned to their Ships.

Some make *Witglaph* King of *Mercia* die this Year 839. Others place his Death two Years sooner in 837. But this difference is of little moment, this Prince making but a very mean Figure after he became Vassal to the King of *Wessex* (10). *Berthulph* his Brother succeeded him.

The next Year *Ethelwulph*, not at all satisfied with his two last Generals, were resolved to go in Person against a Body of *Danes* that were arrived in thirty five Ships, and landed on the Coast of *Wessex*. The two Armies engaging at *Charmouth*, the *English* were worsted, and thought

(1) Now called *Hengston-bill*. *Rapin*.

(2) The whole account of this Matter is thus; " *Egbert* having subdued the Six *Saxon* Kingdoms, and forced them to submit to his Dominions, called a Great Council at *Winchester*, whereto were summoned all the Great Men of the whole Kingdom; and there, by the general Consent of the Clergy and Laity, *Egbert* was crowned King of *Great-Britain*: And, at the same time, he enacted, That it should be for ever after called *England*; and that those who before were named *Jutes* or *Saxons*, should now be styled *Engliffmen*." *Annals of the Cathedral Church of Westminster in Monastic Anglican*. Vol. I. p. 32. *R. de Dixto*. p. 449. *Chronol. St. Augustin's Monast. Cant. in X. Script.* p. 2238; and after them all our modern Chroniclers. *Egbert* may indeed have published an Edict for the confirming or reviving of that Name; but that it was in use long before this time, is evident (as *Rapin* observes) from the Laws of King *Ina*; from *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History; from *Matt. Westm.* p. 200, &c.

(3) Some place his death in 836 or 837. He was buried at *Winchester*. *Malmfb.* p. 37. *Brompt.*

(4) In *Warwickshire*.

(5) *Brompton* and *Huntingdon* say, that he had been consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*; but, upon his Father's death, other Heirs failing, he took upon him the Reins of the Government, p. 802, 348.

(6) Of thirty three Sail. *Sax. Ann.*

(7) *Wulfberd* was probably then dead; for he died in 837, according to the *Saxon Annals*, which place *Egbert's* death in 836.

(8) In this Battle *Earl Ethelhelm* was slain. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 347.

(9) They killed abundance of People in *Lindsey*, *East-Anglia*, and *Kent*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 347.

(10) He was buried at *Rependum*, or *Repton* in *Derbyshire*. *Flor. Wig.*

themselves happy that the Enemies, after their Victory, were contented with carrying off their Booty, the only end of these *Danish* Expeditions.

Defeat of the Picts.

Boeth. Boeth. Hollingh.

This year (or as some say the year before) was very remarkable for the entire destruction of the *Picts*. After a long War with the *Scots* their neighbours, they lost two successive Battles, which disabled them from making any farther Resistance. *Keneth II.* King of *Scotland*, exasperated against them for having slain his Father, and inhumanly mangling his Corps, told the *Scots* they ought not to lose the present opportunity of rooting out a Nation that had been their perpetual Enemies. His advice was approved of, and executed with such a barbarous Fury, that from that time nothing remains but the bare memory of

that miserable Nation, which had so long flourished in *Great-Britain*. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating the *Picts*, that *Keneth II.* was looked upon by the *Scots* as an illustrious Prince, and one of the Founders of their Monarchy.

The *Danes* continuing their Incursions, *Ethelwulph*, who was naturally slothful, thought himself unable to govern alone all his dominions, exposed as they were to the perpetual Insults of Foreigners. This consideration, and perhaps his tender Affection for *Athelstan* his natural Son (1), made him resolve to resign to him the Kingdoms of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Sussex* (2), with the Title of *King of Kent*, reserving to himself the Sovereignty of all *England*, with the Kingdom of *Wessex*.

Ethelwulph's natural Son.

ETHELWULPH in Wessex. ATHELSTAN in Kent.

841. Ethelred King of Northumberland. S. Dunelm. M. West.

ANDRED King of *Northumberland* died in 841, and was succeeded by *Ethelred* his Son.

Roderic, surnamed *Mawr*, (i. e.) the Great, was then King of *Wales*. This Prince, to whom the *British* Historians give the highest Commendations, attacked *Berthulph* King of *Mercia* with great success. As little inclined to War as *Ethelwulph* was, he was obliged to march in person into *Mercia*, to stop the progress of the *Welsh* Prince. He easily saw the dangerous consequence of suffering the *Welsh* to recover any part of the country taken from them by the *English*. And therefore, without staying to be solicited, he went and joined Forces with the King of *Mercia*. Whilst *Roderic* had to deal with *Berthulph* alone, he imagined he was powerful enough to dispossess him, if not of the whole, yet at least of good part of his Kingdom. But when he found *Ethelwulph* engaged in the quarrel, he desisted from his Enterprize and sued for Peace, which he obtained without any difficulty, both the Sovereign and his Vassal desiring only to live in peace and quiet. This same *Roderic* left three Sons, among whom he shared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three Kingdoms of *Venedotia*, *Demetia*, and *Powis*.

Ethelred King of Northumberland expelled and restored. M. West.

Ethelred, who ascended the Throne of *Northumberland* in 841, was driven out of the Country three years after, by one of the Factions that for a long time prevailed by turns in that Kingdom, and *Redwald* put in his place. The new King being slain shortly after by the *Danes*, in a descent made on *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* was recalled by his Party, who were now become powerful enough to support him in the Throne.

845. The Danes defeated. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.

The *Danes* never failed to visit *England* once a year, purely for the sake of plunder. In 845 the Earls *Enulph* and *Osfic*, with Bishop *Afstan*, gave them battle near the River *Parret* (3), and obtained a signal Victory, which probably was the reason the *English* remained unmolested for some years.

Osbert King of Northumbria. 848. S. Duncim. Fl. Wig.

The King of *Northumberland* reigned but three years after his Restoration. The opposite Party having put him to death, a Lord, named *Osbert*, was placed on the Throne. The troubles and divisions in that Kingdom gave the *Danes* opportunity of making frequent Incursions. Whenever they came, they were sure of being welcome to the weakest Party. Neither of the Factions scrupling to join with the *Danes* in order to get uppermost.

851. The Danes land in Wessex, and are defeated. Sax. Ann.

Whilst the *Danes* were thus employed in the North, the Southern Provinces enjoyed some Tranquillity. But at length, in 851, they landed on the Coast of *Wessex*, where they committed unspeakable Cruelties. After ravaging the Country, they were met as they were returning to their Ships with their Booty, by Earl *Ceorle*, *Ethelwulph's* Ge-

neral (4), who waited for them at *Wenbury* (5). Being incumbered with their Spoils, they fought in such disorder, that they were entirely routed. Some time after, King *Athelstan* going on board his Fleet, fought the *Danes* near *Sandwich*, and took nine of their Ships. He could not however prevent another Band from wintering in the Island of *Shepey*.

The ill Success the *Danes* met with, did not in the least discourage them. The next Spring they came up the *Thames* with three hundred Sail (6), and nothing being able to oppose them, landed near *London*, where they began their usual Ravages. The two Kings, not expecting this sudden Invasion, did not dare to take the Field, till they had an Army capable of withstanding them, which they endeavoured to have with all possible expedition.

Whilst the two Princes were making preparations, the *Danes* made use of their time to plunder: They were not content with ravaging the Country, but attacked the Towns, which, for the most part, not being in condition to stand a Siege, were forced to open their Gates to their merciless Enemies. *London* and *Canterbury* were great sufferers on this occasion. Having pillaged these two Cities, they marched into *Mercia*, and overthrew an army led against them by *Berthulph*, in defence of his Country (7). Nothing more opposing their progress, they would have over-run all *England*, if the news that *Ethelwulph* and *Athelstan* designed to intercept them in their return, had not made them halt. They repassed the *Thames*, with design to give the two Kings battle, now encamped at *Okely* in *Surrey*. They committed in their march such barbarities, that the very mention of them would strike one with horror. In short, they engaged the two Kings in the very place where they had encamped in expectation of the Enemy. Here a bloody Battle was fought, wherein the *English* at length were victorious, and made so terrible a slaughter of the *Danes*, that very few escaped.

Berthulph King of *Mercia* died this year, and was succeeded by *Buthred*, with the consent of *Ethelwulph*, whose Daughter he had married.

After the Battle of *Okely* we hear no more of *Athelstan*, and therefore presume he did not long survive that great Victory, to which his Valour greatly contributed. Although *Ethelwulph* had several Sons born in wedlock, that were old enough to assist him in the administration of Affairs, yet he would not give *Ethelbald* his eldest, *Athelstan's* Kingdom. Besides his having no great Affection for him, he dreaded his restless and turbulent Spirit. The young Prince, who thought himself no less worthy of a Crown than *Athelstan* his Bastard-brother, was very much disgusted at this pretended Injustice.

852. Another Defeat of the Danes. After Huntingd.

Battle of Okely. Fl. Wig. Huntingd. l. 5.

Buthred King of Mercia. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Fl. Wig. Athelstan's Death. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 24.

(1) The *Sax. Ann. W. Malm.* and *Ethelwulph*, call him only the Son of *Athelwulph*, p. 37, and 841. *Chron. de Mailros* styles him *Ethelwulph's* Brother, p. 37. and *Mat. Westm.* says, that he was his natural Son, p. 301. So little Agreement is there between the ancient Historians in this and other Matters.

(2) Together with *Surrey*. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) In *Somersetshire*.

(4) He was Earl of *Dammoniam*, or *Devonshire*. *Sax. Ann. After. S. Duncim. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I.*

(5) In *Devonshire*, not far from *Plimouth*. It is called in *Saxon Wicganbeche*. See *Sax. Ann.* and *Camden*.

(6) *After. and Sax. Ann.* say with three hundred and fifty, *Ann.* p. 155. and *Huntingd.* only with two hundred and fifty, p. 348.

(7) After which he never made any Figure. *Huntingd.* p. 348.

ETHELWULPH alone.

Chron. of
Ethelwulph,
855-856
P. 100.

ETHELWULPH was extremely addicted to Religion, both by Temper and Education. He would willingly, if permitted, have spent whole Days together in conversation with the Monks, whilst the Danes were ransacking his Kingdom in a merciless manner. The Victory of *Okely* procuring him some respite from these formidable Enemies, he was at liberty to follow his natural Inclination. He had two Favourites who equally shared his Affection and Confidence. They were both Bishops, but of very different Characters. The first named *Swithin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was continually entertaining the King upon the Vanity of all worldly Glory, and the Joys of Heaven. The second, called *Alstan*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, was not at all pleased with the King's giving himself up wholly to his Devotions. He could have wished he would have exerted himself more vigorously in repelling the Danes, and employed his time in making preparations against their next return. To that end he never ceased animating him, by laying before him the glorious Deeds of his Ancestors, particularly those of his Father *Egbert*, in which he was most nearly concerned. He was not satisfied with stirring him up by lively Exhortations, but furnished him also with Money to hasten his warlike Preparations.

These two Prelates bore an absolute sway over the King, who was naturally of a slothful and indolent Temper. The one had the ascendant in Peace, the other in War. *Alstan* kept his ground a long while, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the Danes, which robbed the King of great part of the time he would have employed in his Devotions. But as soon as he found he was like to enjoy some Quiet, he was entirely guided by the Bishop of *Winchester*. This Prelate, taking advantage of the King's religious Disposition, so engrossed him to himself, that *Alstan*, whose advice was not so conformable to the King's Inclination, found his credit by degrees to diminish. *Swithin*, all in all with the King, confirmed him more and more in his natural Bias to a religious Life. Above all, he instilled into him an extreme affection for the Church and Clergy, wherein the main of Religion was then made to consist. By his advice it was, that this Prince, as it is pretended, granted to the Church the Tithes of all his Dominions (1). Hitherto the revenues of the Church were not very considerable; but by this new grant they were increased to that degree, that *Ethelwulph's* successors had frequent occasion to wish, he had left the Clergy in their former State. To this zeal for Religion it was owing also that he sent to Rome his youngest Son *Alfred*, then about five Years of Age. As he was very fond of this Child, he imagined no doubt, the Pope's Blessing would be ratified in Heaven, and procure him great Happiness. If we may believe certain Historians, *Leo IV*, did not only bless the young Prince, but gave him also the ceremony of the *Royal Unction* (2). But this appears to have no foundation, unless it is pretended the Pope knew by Revelation, that *Alfred* should one Day come to the Crown, though the youngest of four Brothers. Besides, *Alfred* had not the Title of King till long after, when the Crown was devolved to him by the Death of his three elder Brothers. There are some who, on supposition of this same *Unction*, maintain that the Pope only anointed him with *Chrism* at the ceremony of his Confirmation, which gave occasion for some to imagine that *Alfred* received the *Royal Unction* before-hand, because he was one Day to ascend the Throne of England (3).

Ethelwulph's great zeal for Religion would not let him be easy, without the satisfaction of paying a visit to the Pope in person, and receiving his Benediction. As England was then in profound Peace, he resolved upon going to Rome, and accordingly did so in 855 (4). At his arrival, *Leo* gave him an honourable Reception, and in return met with all the respect and submission that could be expected from so devout a Prince. During his stay at Rome, he diligently visited the Churches, Chapels, Holy Relics

and every thing capable of feeding his Devotion. The English College founded by *Ina* and enlarged by *Offa*, having been burnt down [the Year before] he caused it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before; and desiring to endow the College with greater revenues than his Predecessors had done, extended the Tax of *Peter-Pence* all over his Dominions, which till then had been levied only in *Wessex* and *Mercia*. He obliged himself moreover to send to Rome yearly the Sum of three hundred *Mancus's* [or Marks] (5), two hundred whereof were to be expended in Wax Tapers for the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining one hundred for the Pope's private use. These are the Liberalities, that gave occasion to certain Historians to assert, that *Ethelwulph* made his Kingdom tributary to the Holy See. But what wrong uses soever might be made of them in Time, it is certain they were no more originally than charitable Donations to the Churches and English College.

Ethelwulph having satisfied his Devotion and Curiosity by a twelve Months stay at Rome, returned home through France, where he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald* (6), a young Princess of twelve Years of Age (7). This unfuitable as well as unseasonable Match, he having already several Children, was made another pretence for the Conspiracy forming against him in England.

Whilst *Ethelwulph* was busied at Rome in Acts of Devotion, *Alstan* Bishop of *Sherborn*, formerly his Favourite, but since the loss of his Credit, his Enemy, took advantage of his absence to seduce *Ethelbald* his eldest Son, by way of Revenge (8). This young Prince, being of an evil Disposition, was already very angry with his Father, for not investing him with the Kingdom of *Kent* after *Ethelstan's* Death; and therefore very readily closed with *Alstan's* pernicious Counsels. The Prelate represented to him, that *Ethelwulph* lived more like a Monk than a King, and by his negligence would, it was to be feared, expose his Kingdom to Dangers and Ruin; that since he delighted so much in conversing with the Monks, it was fit he should pass the residue of his Days in a Monastery, and leave his Kingdom to a Son, more capable than himself of governing it. The young Prince, burning with desire and impatience to enjoy the Crown, was shaken with this Discourse. As his Heart was not found, there was no need of repeating it often in order to gain him. The news of *Ethelwulph's* Marriage coming just at that very time, put the finishing stroke to the Matter. He thought he had reason to fear that, if there should be any Children by this second Marriage, they would be able to dispute with him the succession to the Crown, by help of the King of France. These considerations moved him to cabal with the Nobles how to prevent the King's return. *Alstan*, author of the Plot, did all that lay in his power to gain the Nobles and People to the Prince's Interest, and it was not long before he formed a powerful Party in his favour. *Ethelwulph*, informed of these Proceedings, immediately left France, and arrived in England, before his Son had taken all necessary measures to hinder his landing. However, *Ethelbald* pursued his Design, and openly declared his Intent to dethrone his Father. As *Ethelwulph* had dignified his new Wife with the Title of Queen, in consideration of her illustrious Birth, *Ethelbald* made use of that pretence to give some colour to his Revolt. He alledged, that by the express terms of the Law made upon the account of *Brithric's* Murder, the *West-Saxons* were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance to the King. All things now tended to a Civil War, which could not but prove fatal to England, since, besides other Mischiefs, it would undoubtedly bring on fresh Invasions from the Danes. But some of the wisest of the Nobility of both Parties, foreseeing the Calamities that might ensue, by their mediation endeavoured to bring matters to an Accommodation. Though right and justice were entirely on the King's side, yet he consented to peaceable Measures. But as he was old and easy-natured, and his

A Grant of
the Tithes to
the Clergy.
Ingulph.
p. 17.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.

855
Alfred sent
to Rome
El. W. g.
Alfr.

Ty. 1.

855
H. 1.
S. D. 1.
Malmsh.

(1) In the Law of *Offa*, Tithes are settled on the Clergy. But in all likelihood these Laws were not observed, or perhaps *Ethelwulph* extended the Law of *Offa* to the whole of England. This Chapter is at length in the Statute of the Church.

(2) The Words of the *Unction* are: *Unctionem ordinis nostri in Regem, & in p. adoptionis fibmet accepit confirmavit.* St. Dunelm. p. 120.

(3) This time year 855, *Ethelwulph* with the Inhabitants of Kent, and Earl *Hada* with the Saxons, fought with an Army of Danes in the Isle of Thanet. The English got at first some Advantage, but great Numbers were killed on both Sides; and the two English Generals at length lost their Lives. *Saxo* *Angl.* p. 125. *Hamm.* p. 348. The next year they warred, for the first time, in the Isle of *Shetley*.

(4) *Chron.* in *Sen. Alfred* along with him. *Alfr.* p. 2.

(5) *John* *Ingulph* is mistaken in calling them three hundred Talents, p. 8. *Rapin.*

(6) She is called a *German* in the *Saxo* *Angl.* *Rapin.*

(7) This does not appear from our English Historians. *R. Higdon* says she married her in the 12th year of his Reign, p. 202. *Ethelwulph's* first Wife was *Offa's* Daughter, the Daughter of *Offa* his Capitan, who was deposed from *Staff* and *Wiltshire*. *Alfr.* p. 1.

(8) With them joined *Enulph* Earl of *Somerset*. *Malmsh.* p. 40.

Son highly threatned his opposers, the Balance very much inclined to *Ethelwald's* side. By the Treaty, which was managed by the Umpires, *Ethelwulf* was obliged to resign to his Son the ancient Kingdom of *Wessex*, and to sit down contented with that of *Kent* for himself, under which were comprised also *Essex* and *Suffex*. Some of his Courtiers ad-

vised him not to sign so partial and unequal a Treaty; but he would not hearken to them. He told them, he did not set so high a value on the Dominions allotted to his Son, as to purchase them at the Price of a Civil War; and though it might be in his Power to recover them, yet his death would soon put his Son in possession again.

ETHELWULPH in Kent. ETHELBALD in Wessex.

Ethelwald's Character.

ONE would think *Ethelwulf* foresaw his death was not far off, since he out-liv'd this Partition but two years, which he spent in a manner worthy of a Christian Prince, in doing acts of Charity, administering Justice to his Subjects, and endeavouring, by the force of his Example, to induce them to lead Lives conformable to the Precepts of the Gospel. *Ethelwald*, on the contrary, depending upon many years to come, thought only of spending his days in licentiousness and debauchery.

Edmund King of East-Angla Ann. Sax. P. W. G. J. Tinnmouth in Sanctis.

The *Saxon Annals* tell us, that about this time, *Edmund*, a youth of fifteen years of Age, was crowned King of *East-Anglia*. He was Son to *Alcmund*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, who fled into *Germany* when *Offa* seized upon *East-Anglia*. It is not said whether this was done with the consent of *Ethelwulf* and *Ethelwald*, or whether taking advantage of the dissension between the Father and Son, the *East-Angles* resolved to have a King of their own. *Edmund* was guided, during his Youth, by the advice of Bishop *Humbert*, who took care to form him to a virtuous Life, and instil into him Sentiments of Justice and Equity of which his Subjects reaped the benefit. I pass over in silence all the Miracles that are said to attend his Birth, and shall speak elsewhere of his tragical end, honoured with the name of Martyrdom.

Ethelwulf, finding death approaching, made his Will (1), wherein he disposed of his dominions to *Ethelbert* his second Son, and after his decease to *Ethelred* his third Son, and after him to *Alfred* his youngest. I am not sure, whether it was customary then for the Kings to dispose of their Dominions by Will, or whether *Ethelwulf* was the first that did so. However this be, it is certain *Ethelwulf's* Sons succeeded one another by virtue of this Will. Wherein he also order'd his Heirs to maintain one poor Person for every Tithing in his Hereditary Lands. He died soon after in 857, having reigned twenty years (2), leaving behind him four Sons and one Daughter, who was married to *Buthred* King of *Mercia*, and died at *Pavia* in 888. *Ethelwald*, eldest Son of *Ethelwulf*, being already in possession of the Kingdom of *Wessex*, *Ethelbert* his Brother had only for his share *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Suffex*, comprised under the name of *The Kingdom of Kent*. As for *Ethelred* and *Alfred*, his other Sons, they were at first but ill provided for; but in the end they mounted the Throne also. Besides *Ethelstan* spoken of before, some give *Ethelwulf* another natural Son called *Neot*, who was afterwards Professor at *Oxford*. But I very much doubt whether *Neot* was his Son. It is more likely he was only his Relation, of the Blood-Royal of *Wessex*.

Malmsh. M. Weilm. II. d. 11. 857.

3. ETHELBALD in Wessex. ETHELBERT in Kent.

Malmsh. J. 2. c. 3. After Ann. Ingulph.

ETHELBALD's Reign was remarkable neither for any Event of Moment, nor for any Action of his own, worth recording. All Historians agree, that he was a Prince of little Merit, and of an evil Disposition. He is said by the *English* Historians to make no scruple of marrying *Judith of France* his Father's Widow. But the *French* Writers mention not this Marriage. They tell us her Marriage with *Ethelwulf* not being consummated by reason of her Youth, she returned to *France*, from whence she was carried away by *Baldwin Iron-hand* Earl of *Flanders*. Perhaps they knew nothing of her second Marriage, or, it may be, did not think proper to mention it, as reflecting on the Family of *Charles the*

Great. Be this as it will, the *English* Historians speak of it as certain. And one of them adds (4), *Ethelwald* was brought to a Sense of his Fault, by *Swithin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and underwent a severe Penance for it. This Penance, which probably consisted in some Grants or Donations to the Monasteries, made an Historian (5) say, his Death which happened in 860, was exceedingly lamented. He had reigned two Years in *Wessex* during his Father's Life, and about two Years and a half after his Decease. *Ethelbert* his Brother, already in possession of the Kingdom of *Kent*, succeeding to *Wessex*, by virtue of their Father's Will re-united the two Kingdoms.

He dies in 860.

(1) — Hereditariam, immo commendatariam, scribere imperavit Epistolam — *After. vit. Alf. p. 4.*

(2) The *Saxon Annals* allow *Ethelwulf* to have reign'd but eighteen years, and yet tell us his Father began to reign in 800, and that he reigned thirty-seven years seven months, and that *Ethelwulf* died in 857. *Rapin*. The *Saxon Annals* say he reigned eighteen years and a half. He was buried at *Winchester* with his Father *Egbert*. *Sax. Ann.* *After*, in the Life of *Alfred*, says he was buried at *Stemrugan*; and in his *Annals*, he calls the place *Steningham*, which *Mr. Camden* takes to be *Stening* in *Suffex*, p. 205.

(3) Here the *Saxon Ann.* inform us, that when the Pope heard of *Ethelwulf's* Death, he anointed *Alfred* King, and presented him to a Bishop to be confirmed, as his Father, when he sent him thither, had ordered, p. 77.

(4) *Thomas Rudbourne* in his History of *Winchester* — *M.* and also *Mattbeo of Westminster*. But *After*, who liv'd in those days, says no such thing.

(5) *Huntingdon*, who tells us he was buried at *Sherborn*. See *Sax. Ann.* *Malmsh. p. 42.*

ETHELBERT alone.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

7. Domes.
1. 2. c. 3.
1. 2. c. 3.

THE *Danes*, having left *England* for some years unmolested, immediately after *Ethelbert's* Coronation renew'd their Invasions (1). As they had not been heard of for some time, they were almost forgotten, and consequently no preparations were made to repulse their Attacks. This neglect gave them great advantages, and helped them to penetrate as far as *Winchester*, the Metropolis of *Wessex*, which they reduced to ashes. They would have proceeded to much greater Mischiefs, had not *Osric* and *Ethelwulph*, two *Hast-Saxon* Earls, with some Troops drawn together in haste, beat them back to their Ships.

Another time they came in Autumn, and landed in the Isle of *Thanet*, where they winter'd in order to begin their Incurfions in the Spring. *Ethelbert*, very uneasy at their being so near him, but not knowing how to help it, offer'd

them a Sum of Money to go off quietly (2). They accepted of his offer; but when they had finger'd the Money, they rushed into *Kent* and destroyed all (3) with Fire and Sword, *Ethelbert* not being in condition to be reveng'd of them. However, having learnt by this Treachery, that nothing but Force could free him from his Enemies, he set about levying an Army, to intercept them in their retreat, and prevent them from carrying off their Booty. The dread of these preparations made them embark with their plunder so hastily, that it was not possible to hinder them.

Ethelbert's Reign, which lasted but six years, affords little matter for History. He died in 866 (4), leaving two Sons, *Adhelm* and *Ethelward*, who did not succeed him, his younger Brother *Ethelred* ascending the Throne by virtue of *Ethelwulph's* Will.

5. ETHELRED I.

THE Reign of *Ethelred* was short and troublesome. From his Coronation to his Death, he had one continued Conflict with the *Danes*. They began with attacking *Northumberland*, which at length they became Masters of. They proceeded next to *East-Anglia*, which they also subdued. And after extorting Money from the *Mercians*, they enter'd *Wessex*. Notwithstanding the valour of *Ethelred*, and the many battles he fought, he had the vexation at his Death to leave them in the heart of his Kingdom, and in condition of soon completing the Conquest of the whole. These are the principal Events during this Reign, the most remarkable Circumstances whereof I am going to relate.

The Authority reserved by *Egbert* over the Kingdoms of *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, and enjoyed also by his Son *Ethelwulph*, was now much weakened, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*. Whilst the Kings of *Wessex* were employed in the defence of their own dominions, it was hardly possible for them to think of improving their Sovereignty over the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, to whom *Egbert* was willing to leave a shadow of Liberty. And therefore, by degrees, the *Northumbrians*, as most remote from *Wessex*, had freed themselves from Servitude. The Factions that had long reign'd among them were grown cooler, and so far agreed at last, as with unanimous consent to place *Osbert* on the Throne. This happy Union would have restored *Northumberland* to its ancient splendor, if an unexpected Accident had not revived their Dissensions, and plunged the Country into a gulph of remediless Misery. The occasion of these new Troubles, which proved not only destructive of *Northumberland*, but fatal to all *England*, was this (5).

Osbert, who kept his Court at *York*, returning one day from hunting, had a mind to refresh himself at the House of a certain Earl named *Bruern-Bocard*, Guardian of the Coasts against the Irruptions of the *Danes*. The Earl happening to be from home, his Lady, to whose charming Beauty was joined the most engaging Behaviour, entertained her Sovereign with the respect due to his Quality. *Osbert*, ravish'd at the sight of so much Beauty, became in an Instant desperately in Love with her, and resolv'd, let the Consequence be what it would, to gratify his Passion without delay. Accordingly, on pretence of having some matters of Importance to communicate to her, in the Absence of the Earl, he led her insensibly into a private Room, where after several attempts to bring her to comply by fair means, he fell at length to downright Force. Entreaties,

Tears, Cries, Reproaches, were ineffectual to put a stop to his raging Passion. After the commission of this infamous Deed, he left the Countess in that excess of Grief and Vexation, that it was not possible for her to hide the cause from her Husband. So outrageous an Affront is hardly ever forgiven. Though *Osbert* was King, and *Earl Bruern* his Subject, he resent'd so highly this Injury, that he resolv'd not to stick at any means to be revenged. He had a great Interest with the *Northumbrians*, and the base Action of *Osbert* was naturally apt to alienate the minds of his Subjects from him. Accordingly, by the management of the Earl, the *Bernicians* in a little time revolted; and looking upon *Osbert* as unworthy to govern them, elected another King named *Ella*, whom they placed on the Throne, with resolution to support him in it. Thus the old Divisions, which seem'd to be quite extinguished, were kindled afresh; and *Northumberland* once more divided between two Kings and two Factions, who continually aiming at each other's Destruction, were but too successful in their Endeavours.

A Civil War was the fatal consequence of this discord. The two Kings frequently strove to decide their Quarrel by Arms; but the equality of their Forces preventing the scale from inclining to either side, they both maintained themselves in the Throne. The injured Earl, one would think, should have been satisfied with *Osbert's* losing half his Dominions. But his revenge seem'd to him incomplete, whilst he saw him on the Throne of *Deira*. Mean while, deeming it very difficult to carry it any farther, without a foreign Aid, he fatally resolv'd to go and procure the Assistance of the *Danes*. This was not the first time the like Injury had produced the like Effect. *Spain*, under the Dominion of the *Moors*, felt at that very time the mischiefs an affair of this nature had occasioned. As soon as the Earl arriv'd in *Denmark*, he immediately applied to King *Ivar* [or *Hingwar*] (6), and giving him a particular Account of the distracted State of *Northumberland*, intimated to him, that if he would improve the present Juncture, he might with ease become Master of the Kingdom. *Ivar* very readily came into an Enterprize, to which he was prompted by the desire of Revenge as well as Ambition. *Regnerus*, his Father, having been taken Prisoner in *England*, was thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perished. So barbarous a treatment having inspir'd *Ivar* with a furious hatred against the *English*, he embraced, without hesitation, the present opportunity of being revenged.

(1) This is the first Invasion of the Danes into England, p. 148.

(2) This is the first time that the Danes Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Power with them.

(3) This is the first time that the Danes Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Power with them.

(4) This is the first time that the Danes Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Power with them.

(5) This is the first time that the Danes Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Power with them.

(6) This is the first time that the Danes Men that offer'd them Money, and made a Power with them.

Ivar makes
a Descent on
Northum-
berland.
S. Dunelm.

867.

Osbert ap-
plies to Ella
for Aid.
Athen.

Malmfb.
Sax. Ann.

Osbert de-
feated and
slain.

Mearhus.
Hist. Dan.

Defeat and
Death of
Ella.

868.

Ivar enters
Mercia.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

Ethelred
assists the
King of
Mercia.

Buthred
buys the
Danes off
with a Sum
of Money.

With this view he concerted with Earl *Bruern* all necessary measures to put their design in execution. In the Spring he entered the *Humber* with a numerous Fleet, which spread a Terror all over *England*. He was conducted by *Bruern*, and attended by his Brother *Hubba*, the most valiant Person of his Time. As the *Northumbrians* had received no Intelligence of this Invasion, they were in no readiness to dispute his landing. So *Ivar* without any difficulty became master of the northern side of the *Humber* (1). From whence he marched directly (2) to *York*, where *Osbert* was preparing an Army to oppose him.

In this great extremity *Osbert* applied to *Ella*, though his Enemy, for Assistance. *Ella*, conscious of his cruel Treatment of *Ivar's* Father, and dreading the Son's revenge, very willingly agreed to suspend their private Quarrel, and join their Forces against the common Enemy. Accordingly, he proceeded with all possible Expedition to bring him a powerful Reinforcement. If *Osbert* could have resolved to stay in *York* till *Ella's* Arrival, who was upon the March, he would doubtless have embarrassed the King of *Denmark*, who by that means would have been forced to oppose the Enemy in two Places at once. But his great courage would not suffer him to take to good a Resolution. Perhaps it was with regret that he saw himself constrained to have recourse to his Enemy, or it may be, was afraid of some Treachery. However this be, without expecting *Ella's* approach, he sallied out of *York*, and attacked the *Danes* so vigorously, that they could hardly stand the shock, and were very near being put in disorder. But their obstinate resistance having at length cooled the Ardour of their Enemies, they pressed them in their turn, and compelled them at last to retire in confusion into the Town (3). *Osbert* enraged to see a certain Victory, as he thought, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his Troops, but was slain in the retreat with abundance of his Men.

This Victory having opened the Gates of *York* to the *Danes*, they entered the Town to refresh themselves, whilst *Ella* was advancing in hopes to repair the loss occasioned by *Osbert's* Precipitation. *Ivar* having just triumphed over one of the Kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, saved him some trouble, by going to meet him. This Battle was no less bloody than the first, nor less fatal to the *English*. *Ella* lost his Life, and his Army was entirely routed. Some say, this Prince was not slain in the Battle; but being taken Prisoner, *Ivar* ordered him to be freed alive, in revenge for his Father's Death. The Field of Battle was called *Ellef-croft*, that is, *Ella's* Overthrow.

After those two signal Victories, *Ivar* without any difficulty, took possession of all *Northumberland*. But this not satisfying his Ambition, he marched into *Mercia*, plundering and ravaging without mercy, whatever came in his way. *Buthred* King of *Mercia*, having had time to prepare, had called to his assistance *Ethelred* his Brother-in-law, who was come to join him with all the Forces of *Wessex*. *Ivar* was now advanced as far as *Nottingham* (4), in expectation to surprize the King of *Mercia*; but when he was informed *Ethelred* had joined him, he stopp'd short, being surprized to find his Forces inferior to those of the *English* Princes. The two Armies stood near one another for some time, expecting every moment to engage. But the consequence of a Battle, which in all likelihood would determine the Fate of both sides, kept them in suspense. At last, having faced one another a good while, they parted without fighting. *Buthred* chose rather to bribe the Enemy to retire, than hazard a battle, the success whereof was doubtful. Besides, he was sensible there was nothing to be got by the

Danes, though Fortune favoured him, whereas his all was at stake in Case of a Defeat (5).

Ivar, from the time he arrived in *England*, had cruelly ravaged all the Places wherever he came, particularly the Monasteries, where the *English* endeavoured to conceal the most valuable Effects. It may easily be conceived, the idolatrous *Danes* had no great regard for the *Nuns*, and that Multitudes of them were exposed to their brutal Lust. We have a remarkable Story upon this Subject: The Abbess of *Coldingham* (6), upon the Approach of the *Danish* Army, prevailed with her *Nuns*, to cut off their Noses and Upper-Lips, in order to screen themselves from the outrages they were threatened with. This notable Expedient, it is true, preserved their Honor, but cost them their Lives. The Soldiers beholding, contrary to their Expectations, such monstrous Visages, set fire to the Monastery, causing them in the Flames to compleat the Sacrifice of their Persons, which they had already begun offering to God.

Ivar not having all the Success he expected in *Mercia*, turned his Arms another way, where in all likelihood he should meet with less Opposition. He left *Hubba* his Brother in *Northumberland*, and embarking with the flower of his Troops, made a Descent on *East-Anglia* (7), where *Edmund* was King, of whom I have already spoken. This young Prince, more used to Acts of Devotion, than to the exercise of Arms, having given the *Danes* Battle, was easily overthrown and compelled to save himself by Flight. He thought of concealing himself in a Church, but being discovered, was brought before *Ivar* at *Hegilsdon* (8). The Conqueror offered to leave him in possession of his Kingdom, provided he would acknowledge him for Sovereign, and pay him Tribute. *Edmund* refusing these Terms, *Ivar* ordered him to be tied to a Tree, and shot at with Arrows, and then to have his Head cut off. *Humbert* Bishop of the *East-Angles* was also put to Death by *Ivar's* Order. *Edmund's* Head being found some time after, was interred with his Body at *St. Edmund's* Bury, so called from him. Whilst the *Roman Catholic* Religion flourished in *England*, great Numbers of Miracles were pretended to be wrought at his Tomb. I do not know by what accident his Corps came to be at *Toulouse*, where it is said to be discovered in 1667.

Ivar being thus Master of *East-Anglia*, appointed a *Danish* Captain, one *Godrim* or *Gotburn*, Governor of it. Afterwards, having recalled his Brother *Hubba* from *Northumberland*, to be near his Person, he made *Egbert*, by birth an *Englishman*, but entirely at his devotion, King of that Kingdom.

The good success the *Danes* had met with, during this War, inspiring them with hopes of becoming Masters of all *England*, they began to form new Projects. *Ivar* (9), having perfect Information of the State of the Island, found he must begin with *Wessex*, in order to accomplish his designs. He was in hopes, could he once subdue that Kingdom, the rest would follow of course. On the other hand, he was sensible that all his Conquests elsewhere would be unfecure, as long as the King of *Wessex* was in condition to assist his Neighbours. These Considerations having determined him to attack *Ethelred*, he embarked his Troops and sailed for the Coast of *Wessex*, where landing his Army, he advanced as far as *Reading*. *Ethelred*, who had foreseen his design, marched his Army towards that quarter, accompanied by *Alfred* his Brother. It would be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the particulars of this War (10). It is sufficient to say in few words, that within the compass of one Year, *Ethelred* fought nine pitched Battles, and upon all occasions gave signal proofs of his Courage and Conduct, tho' Fortune did not always prove favourable. In the last Battle, which

(1) They came over the Autumn before, and wintered in *East-Anglia*, (Sax. Ann. After. vit. Alfr. S. Dunelm.) Entering into a Treaty with the *East-Angles*, they got Horses from them; which put them into a Capacity to over-run the neighbouring Counties. Huntingd. p. 348. Sax. Ann.

(2) By all the Accounts of the ancient Historians, it appears, that in the Spring of the Year 867, *Ivar* marching from *East-Anglia*, passed the *Humber*, and ravaged all the Country northwards, &c. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Hoved. Flor. Wig. M. Wilm. &c.

(3) Into which the *English* shut themselves up; but the *Danes* setting that City on fire, most of the *English* perished in the Flames. Malmfb. p. 42.

(4) Where the *Danes* took up their Quarters, and wintered: Here they were besieged by the *English*, but neither side being very forward to come to an Engagement, they struck up a Peace. Sax. Ann. After. Ingulph. &c.

(5) After the Conclusion of the Peace, the *Danes* went back to *York*, where they remained one Year. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 124.

(6) A famous Nunnery in the County of *Mercia* in *Scotland*.

(7) The *Danes* passed through *Mercia*, and wintered at *Thetford*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. But the fullest Account of this and other Matters within this Period, being given by *Ingulph*, it will not be improper to give an Abstract of his Relation. In the Spring of the Year 869, the *Danish* Army putting out to Sea, landed at *Halesham*, and destroyed the whole Country, and *Bardney* Monastery in particular, killing every one of the Monks. Then, about *Michaelmas*, they passed into *Kesteven*, and there destroyed every thing that came in their way. About a Year after, Earl *Algar*, and some others, assembled an Army, and coming to an Engagement with the Heathens, defeated them, and slew three of their Kings [or Chiefs] but *Algar* himself was soon after slain. Whereupon the *Danes* continued their Ravages, and plundered and burnt the Monasteries of *Croyland*, *Peterburgh*, and *Ely*; killing every Person they met there. From thence passing into *East-Anglia*, they cut off, with all his Forces, Earl *Ulfketill*, who was come out against them, and so taking possession of that Kingdom, wintered there. Ingulph. p. 14-24. Brompt. p. 807.

(8) Now called *Hoxon* in *Suffolk*.

(9) *Huntingd.* calls the two *Danish* Generals *Eafeg* and *Aldene*, p. 349. The Sax. Ann. *Basæg*, and *Healfden*.

(10) The Particulars, delivered by *Huntingd.* and the *Saxon Annals*, are as follows:—The first Battle in these Parts, between the *English* and *Danes*, (three Days after the coming of these) was fought at *Inglesfield* in *Berkshire*; in which the *English* got the Victory. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. Four Days after, there was another Fight at *Reading*, in which *Ethelred* and *Alfred* were overcome. But, four Days after, they defeated the *Danes* at *Aston* near *Wallingford*; and *Basæg*, [so in the Originals] the two *Saxons*, and several thousands of *Danes* were then slain. A fortnight after, the *English* were beat at *Basing* in *Hampshire*; and again, two Months after, at *Marden* in *Wiltshire*, in which last Battle *Ethelred* received his death's wound. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. *Spelman's* Life of *Alfred*, p. 43.

After the Battle of *Basing*, there came a fresh Army of *Danes* from beyond Sea, and joined those that were already in *England*. After. vit. Alfr. p. 7.

872. was fought near *Wittingham*, he received a mortal Wound, whereof he died in 872 (1), after a reign of five Years (2).

Ethelred's
Death.
Brompton.

Ethelred seems not to be entirely free from blame, for suffering the *Danes* to over-run *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, without endeavouring to stop their progress. But probably this Prince, surprized at the defeat of the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the swift progress of *Ivar's* Arms, did not think himself in condition to repair the misfortunes caused by the dissensions of the *Northumbrians*. Besides, he did not care, doubtless, to expose in the defence of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, the Forces he foresaw he should want for the preservation of his own Kingdom. It may be farther said in his Justification, that the Terror, spread over all *England*, put it out of his Power perhaps, to dispose of his Army as he could have wished. This Terror was so great, that it was no easy matter to prevail with the *English* to march against so formidable Enemies, till compelled to it in their own necessary defence.

Tho' *Ethelred* was noted for his great Bravery, yet his

Ethelred's
Piety.
After de
Alfr. Reb.
C. 1. p. 7.

Piety is said to surpass even his Valour. An Historian tells us, that being at Prayers on a Day of Battle (3), he resolved not to move till the Service was over, tho' the Fight was begun, and the *Danes* had some Advantage. He adds, God rewarded his Piety with a signal Victory that Day.

Ethelred left several Children, of whom *Alfred*, the great Grandfather of *Ethelwerd* the Historian, was one. Some say also he had a Daughter called *Thyra*, married to *Trotho* VI. King of *Denmark*. *Ethelred's* Sons were deprived of the Crown for the same reasons the Sons of his elder Brother *Ethelbert* was set aside, I mean, *Ethelwulph's* Will. After his death, *Alfred* his Brother was placed on the Throne without any one's questioning his Title.

During *Ethelred's* reign, the *Danes* demolished the famous Monasteries of *Croyland*, *Ely*, *Peterborough* or *Medeshamsted*, besides that of *Coldingham* before mentioned. It is chiefly on the description of what befel the Abbies that Historians have enlarged, whilst doubtless, they omitted Events more remarkable, and more worthy the notice of a curious Reader.

Several Mo-
nasteries de-
stroyed.
Ingulph.
S. Dunelm.

6. ALFRED the Great.

ALFRED
the Great.

ALFRÉD was no less infested with the *Danes* than his Predecessor. This Prince, as well as his Brother *Ethelred*, had frequent occasion of exercising his Valour, Firmness, and all the other Virtues Heaven hath adorned him with. Their Fortune however was different; as *Ethelred* was never reduced to so deplorable a Condition as *Alfred*, so on the other hand, he was never raised to that height of Glory. Divine Providence seems to have shown in the Person of *Alfred*, with what ease God casts down and sets up Princes, according to his good Pleasure. This is what I am going to show in the Life of *Alfred*, taking for my principal Guide a celebrated Historian, who has given an exact account of his Actions.

Spelman.

The State of
the Kingdom.

Ethelred had left the Affairs of his Kingdom in a deplorable Condition. The *Danes*, already masters of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, were in the very heart of the Kingdom of *Wessex*. Notwithstanding the many Battles *Ethelred* had fought with them, they were in possession of several Towns, and not only kept their footing in the Country, but had reason to hope they should soon go thro' with the Conquest of it. *Alfred* had scarce been a Month on the Throne (4), when he found himself obliged to take the Field (5) against these formidable Enemies, who were advanced as far as *Wilton* (6). Thither it was that he marched to attack them the first time, after his Brother's death (7). He flattered himself for some time that Victory would incline to his side; but the Scene changing on a sudden in favour of the *Danes*, he was forced at length to leave them masters of the field of Battle. However, his loss was not so considerable, as to make him despair of being revenged. As the *Danes* had also lost abundance of Men, he laboured incessantly to put his Army in condition to give them Battle again, before they should be reinforced. They were astonished at his Expedition, and tho' victorious, sued for Peace, finding they were unable to continue the War. How much soever *Alfred* confided in his Troops, who appeared eager to engage, he thought proper to embrace the present opportunity of getting rid of his Enemies, without hazarding a second Battle. As they offered to march out of his dominions, on condition he would molest them in no other part of *England*, he gladly accepted their offer, looking upon it as very advantageous, in his present Circumstances. And indeed, this Treaty gave him time to prepare against a fresh Invasion, which he had all the rea-

son in the World to expect. But had he been bent upon engaging again and lost the day, his whole Kingdom would infallibly have fallen into the hands of his Enemies.

The *Danes* quitting *Wessex* retired to *London* (8), which they had taken during the late War. *Ivar* was gone back to *Denmark* having left the Command of the Army to his Brother *Hubba*, who being tied up from attacking *Wessex*, turned his Arms against *Mercia*. *Buthred* knowing he was unable to resist, since *Alfred* was bound not to send him any Succours (9), thought it his wisest course to buy off the *Danes* with a sum of Money, and save his Country from their Depredations. Upon the receipt of the Money, they marched towards *Northumberland*, designing to take up their Quarters with their Countrymen. But Provisions running short, by reason of the Devastations themselves had made there, they were under a sort of necessity to return into *Mercia* (10). Before they left *Northumberland*, they deposed *Egbert* whom they had placed on the Throne, and put *Ricige*, a *Danish* Earl, in his room (11). *Buthred* finding they were come again into his Dominions, complained of their breach of Faith; but without minding his Complaints, they obliged him to give them another considerable sum to save his Country from the Destruction it was threatened with. But no sooner was the Money paid, but they fell to plundering and ravaging, and let *Buthred* know that even his own Person was in Danger. The fear of falling into their hands obliged him to abandon his Kingdom, and retire to *Rome*, where he spent the residue of his Days in the *English* College. *Mercia* being thus left without a King, and *Alfred* under an obligation to send no Assistance, the *Danes* without difficulty became masters of that spacious Kingdom. However, not to frighten the *Mercians* too much, they set over them for King, *Ceolulph* one of *Buthred's* Domesticks. Tho' the new King was an *Englishman*, yet holding the Kingdom in trust only, till his masters should otherwise dispose of it, he resolved to make use of his time to fill his Coffers: So that the *Mercians* suffered as much by the continual Rapines and Extortion of their Countryman, as they would perhaps have done by the hands of a Foreigner.

Tho' the *Danes* were masters of *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, they were not yet contented. They could not forbear looking upon *Wessex*, which contained the other four Kingdoms, with a greedy Eye. But as they had always met there with Princes that disputed every

The Death
of Wilton,
wherein
Alfred is
wounded.
Sax. Ann.
After.

He makes a
Treaty with
the Danes.
After.

872.
The Danes
enter Mercia,
and are
bought off
with Money;
Sax. Ann.
After.

873.
Sax. Ann.
After-
but return
again.

S. Dunelm.
Buthred flies
his Country,
and goes to
Rome.
After.
Sax. Ann.

Ingulph.

The Danes
masters of
half Eng-
land.

(1) The *Sax. Ann.* place his Death under the Year 871, after *Easter*. Neither they, nor *After*, *Ingulph*, or *S. Dunelm.* mention of what Death he died.

(2) He lies buried at *Winton* in *Dorsetshire*, where this Inscription was formerly to be read on his Tomb: In hoc loco quiescit Corpus S. Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonum, Martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCLXXII. xxiii. Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit. *Cumb.* This Inscription was taken away in the late Civil Wars. See *Spelman's Life of Alfr.* p. 43. Note. Some call this Epitaph in question, and say he died of the Plague which happened at that time.

(3) The Battle of *Alton* just now mentioned. This thing is also mention'd by *S. Dunelm.* p. 125, 126. *Brompt.* p. 808, 809. *Hoved.* p. 255.

(4) *Spelman* says, that *Alfred* (who had been crowned at *Rome*, as related above), was crowned a second time at *Winton*. *Life of Alfr.* p. 45.

(5) He marched against them with too few Forces, and that bore no manner of Proportion to those of the Enemy; which undoubtedly was the Cause of his overthrow. *Alfr. Ann.* p. 164, & *ant. Alfr.* p. 7. *S. Dunelm.* p. 127.

(6) *Brompton* says *Wilton* in *Suffex*, p. 809.

(7) *Ethelred* seems to intimate that *Alfred* was not in this Battle in Person, being busied about his Brother's Funeral, l. 4. c. 3.

(8) Though *London* lay within the Precincts of the Kingdom of *Essex*, yet it was then in Subjection to *Mercia*, where it has continued ever since as part of *Middlesex*.

(9) *After* affirms, that *Buthred* applied to King *Alfred* for Succours; who accordingly sent him a very considerable Army, that went and besieged the *Danes* in *Nottingham*, and forced them to make Peace. *vit. Alfr.* p. 6.

(10) They wintered at *York* in *Lincolnshire*; which, according to *Spelman*, was within the Kingdom of *Northumbria*. *Spelman*, p. 46. *Sax. Ann.* *Huntingd.* *S. Dunelm.* *Ingulph.*

(11) *S. Dunelm.* says, that *Ricige* reigned three Years, and was succeeded by *Egbert*, p. 145. See *Hoved.* p. 417, and *Chron. de Manes.* p. 144.

inch of ground with them, they were forc'd to make an Alliance with *Alfred*, till a favorable opportunity presented itself of executing their designs upon that Kingdom. Mean while, they fell to manuring their Lands, and began to consider the Country, they had so often and so terribly laid waste, as their own. *England* being thus divided between the *English* and *Danes*, Peace and Tranquillity seem'd to be going at last to be restored. The *Danes* appear'd satisfied with their Lot, and *Alfred* thought himself happy in the preservation of his paternal Dominions. But the Calamities *England* was afflicted with, were far from being at an end.

Whilst *Alfred* flatter'd himself with the enjoyment of some quiet, new troubles were preparing for him in *Denmark*. *Halsden*, a *Danish* General, had fitted out a Fleet, with which he came and made a descent on *East-Anglia* (1). The Season being far advanced, he lay still all the Winter, expecting the Spring in order to invade *Wessex*. The Arrival of *Halsden* with fresh *Danish* Troops, ought to have put *Alfred* upon his guard, since it was but too plain they were design'd against him. However, trusting to the Treaty he had lately made with the *Danes*, he remained unconcern'd, of which *Halsden* did not fail to take the Advantage. In the beginning of the Spring, he put to Sea, and went and took by surprize *Warham-Castle* (2), the strongest Place in all *Wessex*. The *English* hitherto seem'd not to know what sort of Enemies they had to deal with. They consider'd the *Danish* Irruptions as a regular War, wherein the whole Nation was concern'd. Accordingly they imagin'd that a Treaty concluded with one Band or Party, was obligatory to all the rest. But the *Danes* had other Thoughts of these Matters. They enter'd, with the consent of their Kings, into private Associations to man out Fleets and go shares in what Booty they could get in *England* and other Countries. For this reason, the several Bands were independent of one another, each thinking themselves bound by no other Treaty but what they enter'd into themselves. *Alfred* had made an Agreement with *Hubba*; but *Halsden* did not look upon himself as included in it. However, the *English* considering the surprize of *Warham* as a real Treachery, call'd Heaven and Earth to witness the Violation of the Treaty. But *Halsden*, regardless of their Complaints, was about to penetrate farther into *Wessex*, had not *Alfred* prevented him by entering into a particular Treaty with him (3). The Author of his Life says, the *Danes* swore by the *Holy Relicks* of the Church, that they would never set foot again in *Wessex* (4). Probably it cost the King dear to bring them to these Terms. It is something strange that *Alfred* should insist upon Mens swearing by the *Holy Relicks*, who being yet *Pagans*, could not think themselves more strongly bound by this, than their usual Oath, by their *Bracelets*. Perhaps his Reason was, that in case they should break their Oath, he thought Heaven would the more assuredly punish them for it. However this be, they made no more conscience of this, than of their former Oaths, but broke it even before they were out of *Wessex*. As they were marching towards *Mercia*, they met a Body of *English* Horse, who were riding in a careless Manner, by reason of the Treaty's being concluded, and unexpectedly setting upon them, slew the greatest Part of them (5). The Horses they took upon this occasion, were of service to carry them with the more speed towards the *Western* Parts of *Wessex*, where they laid Siege to *Exeter* (6).

Alfred finding it was in vain to conclude Treaties with such perfidious People, resolv'd to take more effectual measures to secure himself from their Treachery. To this purpose, he conven'd a general Assembly, and in a pathetick Speech plainly shew'd them, they had nothing to trust to but their Valour and Courage, to deliver them from their Miseries; that upon so urgent an occasion there was a necessity of venturing their Lives in defence of their Country, and of sacrificing Part of their Estates to preserve the rest; in fine, that a generous Resolution was the only means left to avoid the Calamities their Neighbours were fallen under. These remonstrances having produced the Effect he expected, an Army was

levied, with which he engaged the Enemy seven times in one Campaign. But as fortune was not equally favorable to him in all these Engagements, he was once more constrained to treat with the *Danes*. Though he could have no great dependence upon their Promises, it was the best way he could take to put an end to this dangerous War. The new Treaty, by which the *Danes* were obliged to return no more into *Wessex*, was better kept than the former.

The *West-Saxons* looked upon the Retreat of these formidable Enemies as a great Deliverance. But they were not yet at the end of their Miseries. This band, that had struck them with such Terror, were scarce gone, when a new swarm arriv'd under the command of *Rollo*, the famous *Norman* General, that became afterwards the scourge of *France*. By good fortune, *Alfred* was prepared to receive them. After some attempts, *Rollo* despairing of procuring a settlement in *England*, resolv'd to go in quest of one in *France*. In all probability, finding the best Part of *England* in possession of his Countrymen, and *Alfred* ready to dispute the rest with him, he imagin'd he had a better prospect in *France*. Some affirm, it was revealed to him in a dream what great Success he should meet with on the other side of the Water.

After *Rollo's* departure, *Alfred* enjoy'd some Repose, which afforded him leisure to think of means to prevent these frequent Invasions. He found no better or readier way than to equip a good Fleet, and engage the *Danes* before they came to land, where they generally had the Advantage. As hitherto, the ingaging them at Sea had not been thought of, their Ships were only fit for *Transports*, whereas those, now built by *Alfred*, were contriv'd on purpose for Service. It was not long before he reaped the Fruit of this wise Precaution. His Fleet meeting with six (7) *Danish* Vessels, gave chase to them, and one of the largest being taken, the Soldiers and Mariners were thrown overboard. This first Engagement was followed by a much more considerable one. An hundred and twenty Sail of *Danish* transport Ships making to the Shore in order to land their Men, the King's Fleet attacked them, and sunk the greatest Part of them. The next year another *Danish* Fleet sailing *Westward*, met with so violent a Storm, that all the Ships perished, except a few which fell into the hands of the *English*.

Alfred encouraged by these Successes, resolv'd to attack the *Danes* in the *West*, where they had fortified themselves by the taking of *Exeter*. Besides, the *Cornish* Mer- had all along sided with them. He executed this resolution with that Courage and Success, that in the end he oblig'd the *Danes* to give him Hostages, and entirely abandon *Wessex*. They retir'd into *Mercia* (8), where being weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their Countrymen, who were in possession of that Kingdom. After that, they depos'd, with one consent, *Coeluf*, and divided the Land among themselves (9). What kind of Government they established we know not; the *English* Historians, passing over in silence the Civil Affairs of the *Danes*, relate only their Wars. Thus an end was put to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, after having subsisted near three hundred Years.

The year before (10), the Kingdom of *Northumberland* and of had met with the same Fate. *Halsden*, who was gone thither, made *Egbert* King in the room of *Ricfige*, who died in 876. The new King or Vice-Roy was of no long Continuance. In the first year of his Reign, *Halsden* dethron'd him, and divid'd the Land among his Countrymen: Which no doubt gave occasion to the *Danes* in *Mercia* to do the same thing. Thus the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which had lasted three hundred and thirty years from the time of *Ida* the first King, was canted out among the *Danish* Officers. It prov'd a very difficult matter to drive them thence, as will be seen hereafter.

Though the *Danes* were in possession of three of the ancient Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, yet was there not room enough for all those that were already in *England*, and for those which were continually coming over with intent to settle. The new-comers beheld *Wessex* with a

(1) This does not appear from the ancient Historians: On the contrary they affirm, That Anno 875, the *Danes* left *Repton*, and dividing themselves into two Bands, one part went along with *Halsden* to *Northumberland*, and wintered there near the *Tine*: These plundered the *Picts* and *Strathclydes*, i. e. the Inhabitants of *Galloway*; and *Halsden* making himself Master of *Northumberland*, divid'd it amongst his Followers, who began to cultivate it. The other Body of *Danes*, with their three Generals *Godeson*, *Osbyr*, and *Anand*, went and winter'd at *Cambridge*, where they staid about a twelve month; and the next year went out privately from *Cambridge*, and seiz'd *Warham-Castle*; without any mention of *Halsden's* being concern'd in that Expedition. See *Sax. Ann.* *Huntingd.* p. 349. *S. Dunelm.* What *Rapun* says here of *Halsden*, *Huntingd.* relates it of *Halsden's* Brother, p. 350.

(2) In *Dejense*.
(3) *Alfred* and *Huntingd.* say, this Treaty was made with the *Danish* Army. *vit. Alf.* p. 8. *Hunt.* p. 350; and the *Sax. Ann.* that it was with the *Heathens*; without the least mention of *Halsden*.

(4) The most solemn manner of Swearing among the *Danes* and other northern Nations was by their Arms. *Olaus Mag.* l. 8. c. 2.

(5) *Alfred* and *Flor. of Worcester.* say, they slew all *Alfred's* Horse.

(6) *Huntingd.* and *Saxon Annals* tell us that they who had Horse, breaking the Treaty, rode to *Exeter* in the Night (by which, it seems probable, it was only the *Danish* Cavalry that went and seiz'd *Exeter*, where they winter'd.) The next year, part of the Foot that remained at *Warham*, march'd to *Exeter*, and were pursued by *Alfred*, but got into *Exeter* before he could come up with them; the other part, going by Sea, were shipwreck'd near *Swanwick* in *Hampshire*, and a hundred and twenty of their Ships lost. *Huntingd.* p. 350. *Alfred. vit. Alf.*

(7) The *Sax. Ann.* say Seven.

(8) *Ingulph* says, *Alfred* annex'd it to his Dominions.

(9) This is plac'd by *Alfred*, and *Sax. Ann.* under the year 875. *Alfred. vit. Alf.* p. 8.

greedy eye. On the other hand, they, who had shared the Lands of the other Kingdoms among them, perceiving their Countrymen envied their good Fortune, were apprehensive they might think of dispossessing them, if they were not otherwise provided for. This made them all agree to invade *Wessex*, and exert their utmost to conquer that Kingdom, which hitherto had so bravely withstood their Attacks. They carried on their design with all possible Secrecy and Expedition. On a sudden appeared in the Field a more formidable Army of *Danes* than had yet been seen (1), advancing towards *Wessex* (2) before *Alfred* could possibly put himself in a posture of Defence. They marched directly to *Chippenham* (3), one of the finest and strongest Cities of the Kingdom. The taking of this Place, which the *Danes* made themselves masters of in few Days, inspired the *West-Saxons* with such a Terror, that they had no longer the Courage to defend themselves. Some fled into *Wales* or beyond Sea, whilst others ran over to the *Danes*, and swore Allegiance to them. In this so general a Revolt, *Alfred* was left alone with a few Domesticks, who, out of Duty and Affection, were unwilling to abandon him in his Adversity. But as they were chargeable to him, and could do him little Service, he dismissed them all, that he might with more ease shift for himself. Such was his Distress, that he was forced to go and conceal himself at a *Neat-herd's* (4) in the Isle of *Athelney* in *Somersetshire* (5). This place was surrounded with a large Morass, through which there was but one narrow *Foot-Path* leading to the *Neat-herd's* Cottage, that was hid by Bushes and Briars. In this place the King lay concealed for some time, from his Friends as well as Enemies, without being so much as known by the *Neat-herd's* Wife, who employed him about her little household Affairs (6). This was a wretched Situation for a Prince. But God, who designed only to exercise his Patience, left him not long in these Circumstances. He had not been six Months in his Retreat, when the Scene was shifted by a lucky and unexpected Turn in his Affairs. It is pretended that this happy Change was revealed to him in a Dream by *St. Cuthbert*, formerly Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, who appeared to him and told him, he should suddenly be raised to an infinitely more glorious State than that from whence he was fallen. But without insisting on these idle Tales of the Monks, who could not find in their Hearts to pass over an extraordinary Event without introducing some Apparition or Miracle, I shall relate how this great Revolution was brought about by means of a desperate Undertaking.

Hubba, who commanded the *Danish* Troops in the absence of his Brother *Ivar* (7), had invaded *Wales*, and destroyed all with Fire and Sword. After which he entered *Devonshire* in the Kingdom of *Wessex*, with the same Intent. At his Approach, the Earl of *Devon* (8) with a handful of brave Men, retired into *Kinwith Castle* (9) to avoid the first Shock of the *Danish* Fury. *Hubba* was not long before he laid Siege to the Castle, not doubting but the Garrison, being few in Number, would soon be obliged to surrender. The Earl of *Devon*, finding all the Defence he could make would be to no purpose, took a sudden Resolution. He represented to the Besieged the Danger they were in of falling into the hands of their merciless Enemies, and assured them they had but one way to escape, which was, by opening themselves a passage with their Swords thro' the Enemy's Army. He told them the Enterprize was not so rash and desperate as they might imagine; that undoubtedly the *Danes* were very negligent and secure, not regarding a handful of Men pent up within Walls; that therefore what he proposed was far from being impracticable, provided they gave the Enemy no time to

prevent it; that after all they ventured only their Lives and Liberties, which would be in much greater danger by standing a Siege. This Remonstrance had such an effect upon the Besieged, that without farther deliberation, they sallied out Sword in hand upon the *Danes*, and by their sudden and furious attack put them immediately in extreme disorder. This happy beginning made them forget their first design, and inspired them with a resolution to pursue their Advantage. They continued therefore to press the *Danes* with a fresh Impetuosity, without giving them time to recover themselves, and having at length entirely dispersed them, made a dreadful slaughter of them (10). *Hubba* was slain (11), and his famous Standard, called *Reafan*, or the *Raven*, fell into the hands of the *English*. The *Danes* had a Notion, there was a secret virtue in this Standard, which *Ivar's* Sisters had wrought with their own hands (12). By the help of a strong fancy, or the delusion of the devil, they imagined they saw this *Raven* before a Battle, clap his Wings in token of Victory, or hang down his Head, as a preface of their Defeat. This at least is what Historians tell us, adding, that the loss of their Standard did not a little contribute to dishearten them afterwards.

The news of this defeat, and the death of the *Danish* General, having reached *Alfred* in his Retreat (13), he immediately considered how to turn this seasonable Defeat to his Advantage. He sent word to his Friends, where he was, to the end they might come and consult what was to be done in this Juncture. After he had conferred with them, he gave them orders to draw together in several Parts of the Kingdom, small Bodies of Troops, which at a minute's Warning might be ready to join one another (14). The most difficult as well as most important Point was, to know exactly the posture of the Enemy, that measures might be concerted accordingly. *Alfred*, not knowing who to pitch upon for this necessary Service, took the boldest Resolution that ever entered into the thoughts of a Prince, which was, to go himself into the *Danish* Camp, and be informed by his own Eyes of the condition of the Enemy. To this end, having disguised himself and taken a Harp in his hand, as if he had got his livelihood by playing on that Instrument, he entered the *Danish* Camp, and stay'd there several days, observing, to the utmost of his power, every thing he wanted to know. Among other things, he took notice, that whereas generally the *Danes* were wont to encamp and intrench themselves on a Hill, they had neglected to do so now. They had not so much as placed any advanc'd Guards to secure the Avenues to their Camp, as having nothing to fear, since the Enemy had no Army in the Field (15). Having observ'd every thing, he returned to his Friends at *Athelney*, and appointed *Selwood Forests* (16) for the general Rendezvous of all their Troops. This Affair was transacted so secretly and expeditiously, that in a little time the King at the head of an Army (17) appeared near the *Danes* before they had the least Intelligence of the matter. They were in the utmost Consternation when they saw on a sudden the *English* Army approaching to attack them. *Alfred* was unwilling to give them time to come to themselves; and therefore briefly exhorting his Troops not to have the least dread of an Army already vanquish'd by their Fears, gave the Signal of Battle. The *Danes*, tho' assaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themselves however with a great deal of Courage. But whether they had not time to draw up their Troops in order, or the loss of their Standard had possessed them with a notion that their Gods were averse to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almost their whole Army cut in pieces: The few that escaped betook themselves to a Castle, where they were immediately besieged. *Alfred* taking advantage of their Conster-

(1) *Alfred* says, it was the Army that left *Exeter*. *vit. Alfr.*

(2) It was about *Christinas*. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) In *Wiltshire*, by the Saxons called *Cyppanham*, now only famous for its Market, whence it had its Name; for *Cyppan* signifies to traffic, and *Cyppan* a Merchant; and we still retain *Chapen* and *Chapman*. *Camb.* Of the same Original is *Chenyside*, *London*.

(4) One belonging to him. *Alfr.*

(5) Formerly called *Athelney*, i. e. the Island of Nobles. It lies near *Taunton*, where the *Tbone* and *Parret* join. The firm ground is not above two Acres.

(6) She having one day set a Cake on the Coals, and being busied about something else, the Cake happen'd to be burnt; upon which she fell a tending at the King for his Carelessness in not looking after the Cake, which she told him he could eat fast enough. *Alfred* was then sitting in the Chimney-corner, making Bows and Arrows, and other warlike Instruments. *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 9.

(7) The *Sax. Ann.* *Alfr.* Huntingd. *Flor. Wor.* Sec. say, it was the Brother of *Ivar* and *Halfdene*: But *S. Dunelm.* and *Cbron. de Mailros* affirm, it was *Ivar* and *Halfdene* themselves, with twenty three Ships, p. 144, 146.

(8) *Odda*. See *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. I. p. 12.

(9) Which stood on the River *Tar* below *Ralegh*. There are at present no footsteps of it. *Camb.* p. 35. See *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 10.

(10) There were twelve hundred slain. *Alfr. Ann.* 167. *Flor. Wor.* p. 590. Twelve hundred and twenty. *Cbron. Mailros*, p. 144. The *Sax. Ann.* and *Huntingd.* say, but eight hundred and forty. The Place was afterwards called *Habbeforce* or *Habbelow*, from the Mount raised on the place where *Hubba* was buried. For it was the common way of burial among the *Danes* to raise Mounts upon the Bodies of the famous Men, which were called *Loues*. See *Spekman's Life*. *Alfr.* p. 61. note. *Brompt.* p. 809. *Camb.* n.

(11) *S. Dunelm.* says, that *Ivar* and *Halfdene* were also slain in this Battle, p. 146.

(12) They pretend it was work'd magically in almost an instant, in one Forenoon. *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 10.

(13) *Brompton* affirms, that *Alfred* was in the Battle, p. 809.

(14) In 848, about *Easter*, *Alfred* erected a Fortification at *Athelney*, from whence he often sallied out, with a Body of *Somersetshire-men*, and defeated the Enemy. *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*

(15) This Relation is not in *Alfr.* or *Ethelward*, but in *Ingulph.* *Malmsh.* and most of the modern Historians.

(16) That is, the *Great Wood* in *Somersetshire*. This was done seven Weeks after *Easter*, and the *Rendezvous* was *Petra Fibranti*, supposed to be *Exetan* in *Somersetshire*: saying there one Night, he marched away the next Morning to *Begles*, or *Okeley*, where he encamped one Night: The next day he came to *Edendun*, or *Edington* in *Somersetshire*, where the Battle was fought. *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*

(17) Consisting of the Inhabitants of *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Hampshire*, that had not fled beyond Sea. *Alfr. vit. Alfr.* p. 10.

Grants the
Danes ad-
vantageous
Terms.

nation, press'd them so briskly, that they were soon brought to capitulate (1). The Terms, he granted them, were more advantageous than they had room to expect in their Circumstances (2). He articked to give up the Lands of *East-Anglia* to those that were willing to turn Christians, but required the rest immediately to quit the Island, never more to set foot in *England*, and to give Hostages for the performance of the Articles. *Guthurm*, Governor of *East-Anglia*, who since the Death of *Hubba* commanded the *Danish Army*, agreed to these Conditions, and came to *Alfred*, with thirty of his chief Officers, having embarked all those that refus'd to be baptiz'd (3).

He confirms
to the Danes
the possession
of East-An-
glia, and
presents them
Guthurm
for King.

This great Victory set *Alfred* at the height of his wishes. He had, by one single Battle, driven out the *Danes*, and recovered his Kingdom, and saw every day his Subjects flock to him, whom fear had dispers'd or constrain'd to submit to the Enemy. He gave *Guthurm* and his Officers a very civil Reception, and kept his Word faithfully with them. All the Historians agree, that he invested the *Danish General* with the Title of *King of East-Anglia* (4). But it is not known, whether he did this by virtue of some private Treaty made before with him, or designed by it to gain his Affection to that degree that he might entirely confide in him. However this be, it is certain *Guthurm* held with the Title of King, the Kingdom of *East-Anglia*, which was wholly inhabited by *Danes*, and whereof *Ivar* had made him Governor. He divided the Lands among his Countrymen, and exercised the Regal Authority, as long as he lived. Some, particularly *Aferius*, add, that *Alfred* gave *Guthurm* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* also. But this is very improbable, since the *Danes* had long been Masters of *Northumberland*, and had shared the Lands among themselves (5). The case was not the same with respect to *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* had no fix'd abode, and which was still consider'd as part of the *English Monarchy*, tho' the *Danes* were most powerful there. So that *Alfred* did nothing more than confirm them in the possession of that Kingdom, by granting them a King of their own Nation, who was to be his Vassal (6).

Malmsh.

In all that has hitherto been said it may be observ'd, that at the time of the last Battle, there were in *England* two sorts of *Danes*, those that were already settled, and those that were endeavouring to procure themselves Habitations. With these last it was properly that *Alfred* treated. As for the others, having seen their Brethren so roughly handled, they thought themselves happy in the enjoyment of their Possessions. As the Event was uncertain, they chose rather to sit down contented, and acknowledge *Alfred* for their Sovereign, than run the risk of losing their all, by continuing the War. Accordingly, the *Danes* settled in the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, submitted to *Alfred*, and swore Allegiance to him. It was however next to impossible that all should be equally satisfied with their Lot. Several accepted of the Terms of the last Treaty, only because they knew not where to go, having elsewhere neither House nor Home. If they seemed desirous to turn Christians, it was to procure a Subsistence, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to return to their old course of Life: That this was the case, evidently appeared from what followed. When it was least expected, the most considerable among them, headed by one *Hastings*, earnestly solicited *Guthurm* to renew the War in *Wessex* (7); but not prevailing (8), they put to Sea, and went and ravaged the Coast of *Flanders*. Shortly after, another and no less numerous Troop, informed of the great Booty the first Ravagers had met with at *Gant*, embarked to join them. These two Bands thus united over-ran *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Picardy*, and *Artois*, acting unheard-of Cruelties. After which, being again divided into two Bodies, one of them failed back for *England*, in hopes of

All the
Danes run
After for
their Sovereigns.

879.

Affer.
S. Dunelm.

The Danes
return to
England,
and are re-
pulsed.

plundering the Country, where they imagined they should come unexpected. Having landed in *Kent*, they marched towards *Rocheſter*, with design to surprize the City. But *Alfred*, who, contrary to their expectation, had his Army in a readiness, speedily marching that way upon the first notice of their arrival, his approach made them fly to their Ships in such haste, that they left their Plunder behind them (9). The vigilance of this Prince having prevented their designs upon *England*, they returned to *France*, and rejoining their Companions, continued their Devastations in that Kingdom.

Hitherto the *English* had been only upon the *Defensive*. Exposed to the continual Invasions of the *Danes*, and uncertain where the Enemy would land, they were generally surprized, before it was in their power to defend themselves. The Sea-Coast remaining uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder these Rovers from landing where they pleased, *Alfred* being in Peace, which he had never enjoyed 'till now, resolved to put his Affairs in better order. His first care was to equip a considerable Fleet, the advantage of which he had already experienc'd. As soon as his Fleet was in condition to sail, the Admiral had orders to cruise along the Coasts, and attack all the *Danish Ships* in what place soever he should meet them. He surprized sixteen in the Port of *Harwich* (10) in *East-Anglia*, of which taking some and sinking the rest, he brought off a considerable Booty (11). *Guthurm* incensed at this act of Hostility in one of his Harbours, and as it were before his Face, suffered the Parties concerned to endeavour to retrieve their Losses, and even furnish'd them with means. It was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking in the night the King's Ships (12), and had some advantage over them. However, the Fleet kept the Rovers in awe; and freed *England* from their ravages.

Alfred having thus secured the Sea-Coasts, diligently set about fortifying the rest of the Kingdom with Castles and walled Towns, which he stood in great need of. He repaired those that were gone to ruin (13), and built others in so strong a manner, that they could not easily be assaulted. In a word, there was not a *Pass* or *Avenue* capable of being fortified, but what was defended by some Works, to prevent the sudden Incurſions of the *Danes*. But however, he could not be entirely guarded against them, without one important Place, the possession whereof would be of great consequence to him in all respects. This was the City of *London*, considerable both for largeness and situation, and which being in the hands of the *Danes* would give them a free passage into *Wessex*, whenever they had a mind to invade his Dominions. This consideration made him resolve to invest it, knowing the Garrison to be weak and unable to stand a long Siege. Accordingly, the Besieged were in a little time obliged to capitulate. He was no sooner master of this great City, but he very much added both to its strength and beauty (14). He committed the Government of it to *Ethelred*, who had married his Daughter *Eſſeda*, or rather gave it him in *Fee*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia* (15). Some will have it he conferred on him the Title of King; but I doubt they have no ground for what they advance. By creating *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, he did not invest him with power over any part of *Mercia*, but only over *London*. All the rest of *Mercia* was in possession of the *Danes*, over whom he asserted no other right but that of Sovereignty, to which they had lately consented. *Ethelred* therefore was honour'd with an empty Title, 'till such time as by his Valour he became master of good part of that Province.

The great number of Towns repaired and fortified by *Alfred*, found him employment some years. These Fortifications served equally to defend the Kingdom against the foreign *Danes*, and to keep those in awe that were settled

(1) In fourteen days time. *Affer.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) See the Treaty between *Alfred* and *Guthurm*, among *Alfred's Laws*, in *Dr. Wilkins's* and *Lambard's Leg. Sax.* and in *Brompt.* p. 828, 829.

(3) *Alfred* took a Godfather to *Guthurm*, and named him *Ethelstan*. He was baptized about three Weeks after the Conclusion of the Treaty at *Atchney*, with thirty of his Officers. *Affer.* p. 10. *Sax. Ann.*— And with almost all his People. *Malmsh.* p. 43. *Hoved.* p. 418. *Alfred* made him very considerable Presents, and also to his People. See *Affer.* p. 11. *S. Dunelm.* p. 129. *Huntingd.* p. 350. *Sax. Ann.*

(4) In which *Essex* was also included. See the Treaty in *Wilkins* and *Lambard.* Tit. 1.

(5) In the year 883, *Alfred* having slain the two *Danish* Generals, *Hingwar* and *Hastings*, causing the wasted parts of *Northumberland* to be again inhabited, and *Guthred*, a youth, Son of *Ardenen*, who had been sold to a Widow at *Whittingham*, being redeemed by Abbot *Edred*, was made King of *York*, and *Egbert* of *Northumberland*. *Circe de Mailles.* p. 145. *S. Dunelm.* 147.

(6) Anno 879, the *Danes* removed, in pursuance of the Treaty, from *Chippenham* to *Canterbury*, where they staid one year; and from thence went away to *East-Anglia* where they settled. *Sax. Ann.* *Affer.* p. 11.

(7) They came up the *Thames*, and wintered at *Fulham*. *Affer.* *Sax. Ann.*

(8) The *Danish Army* here, was not so scrupulous; for they joined them, notwithstanding their Oaths and Engagements to *Alfred*. *Affer.* p. 11. *S. Dunelm.* p. 129. *Brompt.* p. 812.

(9) Consisting of the Prisoners they had taken, and abundance of Horses they had brought over from *France* or *Flanders*. *Affer.* p. 11.

(10) In *Essex*, famous for its Harbour, its name importing in *Haven* where an Army may lie. The Walls are built and the Street pitch'd with a sort of petrified Clay falling from the Cliffs thereabouts. From the Side of the Cliff between the Beacon and the Town, issues a Spring that petrifies Wood as well as Clay: A large piece sent from hence is retained in the Repository of the Royal Society. *Cand. Addit. to Essex.*

(11) *Affer.* says, that all their Ships, and Booty were taken, and *Alfred* ordered all the men to be put to death. *Var. Affr.* p. 11. *Flor. Warr.* p. 592.

(12) They attacked them in the Mouth of the *Thames*, when the Soldiers were asleep and detenteled. *S. Dunelm.* p. 130. *Huntingd.* p. 350.

(13) Particularly *Wapping*. *Spelman.* p. 161.

(14) We have no certain Account of the Original of this famous City. But as it is not evident there was any such Place in *Cæsar's* Time, and yet a great Town in *Nero's*, it is probable it was founded in the Reign of *Claudius*, and inhabited by the *Britons* and *Romans* together, being a *Trading*, though not a *Manufacturing* Colony from the very beginning. The Walls are said to be built by *Constantine the Great*, at the Request of *Helena* his Mother, containing within them an oblong Space of three Miles in Circumference. That part which ran along the Side of the *Thames* is quite wash'd away, the rest remains to this day. There are seven Gates, *Ludgate*, *Norwiche*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripplegate*, *Moorgate*, *Bishopsgate*, and *Aldgate*. The Origin of its Name is unknown. *Cæsar's* saying, the *Britons* called the Places fence'd round with Woods and Groves, Cities or Towns, made *Cædmon* conjecture *London* was so named from *Litana*, which signifies in *British* such a Town, as if we should say by way of Eminence, *The City*. *Cand. Addit. to Midd.* See *Strut's Survey*, B. 1.

(15) See *Dugdale's Barons*, Vol. I. p. 7. *Affer.* *Malmsh.*

in the Island; who seeing all the Precautions taken by this wise Prince, were much more disposed to remain in submission. They even permitted several of the *English*, whom they had driven from their Habitations, to return and live among them under the King's Protection (1).

England is in
quiet twelve
years.

Then it was that *Alfred* had the satisfaction to see Peace and Tranquillity restored, after so many years of Troubles. This happy calm lasted twelve years (2), during which this Monarch had leisure to rectify the disorders introduced by so long a war both in Church and State. As I design hereafter to give a particular account of the Regulations made by this Prince during the Peace, I shall pass over these twelve years, and finish the relation of his Wars. It suffices at present to say, that in this Interval he laid out his constant Endeavours in procuring the good and benefit of his Subjects, till he was interrupted by fresh Invasions, of which I am now going to speak.

893.
The Danes
renew their
Invasions;
Sax. Ann.
Flor. Wig.
Huntingd.

The *Danes*, who, under the conduct of *Hastings*, ravag'd for twelve or thirteen years together *France* and the *Low-Countries*, were not satisfied with the prodigious Booty they had gained. According to the custom of Pyrates, as they prodigally squandered away what they had acquired without pains or labour, they were always under a necessity of renewing their Ravages in order to have wherewithal to subsist. However, disheartened by two terrible checks given them by *Eudes* and *Arnulph* Kings of *France* and *Germany*, they resolv'd to return into *England*, not so much for the sake of settling there, as plundering the Island. To that purpose, they fitted out three hundred Ships, which they divided into two Fleets. With the first, consisting of two hundred Sail (3), they arrived on the Coast of *Kent* (4), and took *Appledore* (5). This place, which was then very considerable, made them masters not only of that Province, but also of *Suffex* and *Surrey*. The other Fleet commanded by *Hastings* (6), entered the *Thames* and landed at *Middleton* (7). It would be difficult to describe the Miseries inflicted on the Inhabitants of these unfortunate Provinces by the Barbarians. But when we consider, they were idolatrous *Rovers* and *Pyrates*, we shall easily conceive they made no scruple of committing the most enormous Crimes. *Alfred* was then in *East-Anglia*, on account of *Guthurm's* death (8). As he had received no Intelligence of their designs, he had made no Preparations for his defence.

and take
Appledore
and Middle-
ton.

The Danes of
East-Anglia
join them.

All he could do for the present was to take a new Oath of Fidelity from the *East-Anglian Danes*, which they regarded only whilst he stay'd with them. After his departure, being no longer restrained by his presence, they went and joined *Hastings*, in order to go shares in the Plunder. *Alfred*, amidst all these dangers was not however discouraged. He drew together what Troops he could, and march'd against the *Danes* who were pillaging *Kent*. But being informed by the way, that another Body of *Danes* had entered *Wessex*, he alter'd his course, and advanced towards these last, as judging them most dangerous. The *Danes*, who were now before *Exeter*, hastily rais'd the Siege, and went and vented their Fury in some other Place.

Confusion in
the History of
these Wars.

It is impossible to give the particulars of this War, so confusedly are they related by the Historians. The Reason no doubt was, because there were several Bands of *Danes* ravaging *England*, one in *Kent*, and another in *Wessex*, and roving continually from place to place. This is what the *English* Historians could not have a very distinct knowledge of, since a War undertaken solely for Plunder, must needs be very irregular. Accordingly we find in their Histories, the same Leaders, sometimes in one Province, sometimes in another, without being able to perceive when or how they got thither.

Alfred is
freed on a sud-
den.

We are ignorant also by what fortunate Accident *Alfred* saw himself freed on a sudden from his cruel Enemies, who were spread over his whole Kingdom. Thus much however is certain, after they had reduced *England* to a deplorable State, the last comers retired, though Historians

have not been pleas'd to tell us the cause of their retreat. I am apt to believe their sudden departure was owing to the Plague, which rag'd then in *England*, and swept away great numbers of *Danes* as well as *English*. To this may be added, their having plundered the Country in such a manner, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greatest part of the *Danish* Rovers returned to *France*, under the command of *Hastings*; but they did not stay there long. Presently after, *Hastings* had new Projects on foot. The Terror he had every where spread along the Sea-Coasts having put all upon their Guard, he resolv'd to steer his Course where he was not expected, and sail'd for the *Mediterranean*. Whilst there, he found means, by an impious and perfidious Stratagem, to become master of *Luna*, situated on the Coast of *Tuscany*. He pretended to be mighty desirous of turning Christian, and was actually baptized by the Bishop, whom he had sent for. Some days after, the Bishop was told, his new Convert was departed this Life, and died like a good Christian, earnestly desiring to be buried in the Church of *Luna*, to which he had bequeathed a considerable Legacy. By this Device, a great number of *Danes*, on pretence of attending the Corpse, entered the City, and immediately fell to murdering and plundering the Inhabitants.

Hastings, after so much mischief done to *England*, chose at length for his Retreat, the City of *Chartres* (9), which *Charles the Simple* presented him with, on purpose to keep him quiet. Here it was he ended in Peace, a Life almost wholly spent in plundering the maritime Countries of *Europe*. The *Danes*, that refus'd to follow him when he left *England*, put themselves under the command of one *Sigefert* settled in *Northumberland*. For some time, these likewise committed ravages on the Coast of *Wessex* (10), without venturing however to advance into the Country, by reason of their small Number, and at last they retir'd to seek their Fortune elsewhere.

Alfred, being at length freed from his Enemies, pass'd the rest of his days in profound Tranquillity. Hitherto I have consider'd this Prince as a Warrior only, sometimes victorious, and sometimes vanquish'd, but, whether prosperous or unfortunate, shewing on all occasions signal marks of valour and military Conduct (11). It is now time to display his other Virtues, and set him in another Light. Henceforward he is to appear as a just, learned, and religious Prince, a lover of his Subjects, and an indefatigable promoter of Arts, Sciences, Justice and Religion. But, not to confound his Political with his Moral Virtues, I shall begin with what he did for the good of his People, as Sovereign, and then speak of his private Life, and manner of regulating his domestick Affairs.

As soon as the *Danes*, settled in *England*, found they were deprived of the assistance of their Countrymen, they bethought themselves how to secure their present Possessions. The continuation of the War was so far from being likely to encrease their Advantages, that they had reason to fear they should by that means lose what they already possess'd. But supposing they were able to maintain their ground by force of Arms, yet a War, which oblig'd them to have always their Swords drawn, and prevented them from manuring their Lands, could not but be very prejudicial to them. These considerations induc'd them at length to submit to the Dominion of *Alfred*, and acknowledge him for Sovereign of all *England*. Historians do not inform us whether he was oblig'd to use Force to bring them to this: But it is certain, his authority was acknowledged, as well in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, as in *Wessex* (12). The *Welsh* themselves, who had been terribly plundered by the *Danes*, finding they were in no condition to resist, became his Tributaries (13). It is further added, the King of *Scotland* paid him Homage also. But this is too disputable a Point to be affirm'd for Truth (14).

The Kingdom
is freed from
the Danes.

The Danes
acknowledge
Alfred for
their Sovereign.

(1) In the year 890, or 891, died *Guthurm* King of *East-Anglia*, and was buried at *Headleaga* (perhaps *Hadley* in *Suffolk*.) *Affr. Ann.* p. 171. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig.* p. 595.

(2) *Spelman* says it lasted ten or twelve years, p. 77. But he, *Milton*, and others, say, the *Danes* infested *England* in 885, and in 893 they came again. So there could be but eight years peace.

(3) Of two hundred and fifty, say the *Saxon Annals*, and *Flor. Wig.*

(4) In the Mouth of the River *Limine*, suppos'd by *Spelman* to be the *Rother*, p. 78. See *Camden*.

(5) Where they built a strong Castle. *Affr. Ann.* p. 172. See *Huntingd.* p. 351. *Sax. Ann.*

(6) And consisting of eighty Sail. *Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. Mat. Westm.*

(7) Now *Milton* in *Kent*. The *Danes* built a Castle here, part whereof is still remaining at *Kemsley-Downs*. They now call it *Castle-Ruff*. On the other side of the Water, the Ditches of *Alfred's* Fortifications, with some Stone-work, remain also by the Name of *Baword-Castle*, near *Sittingbourne*. *Camd. Ant. to Kent*.

(8) And upon some Complaints of his Subjects against the inland *Danes*. *Spelman*, p. 79.

(9) Forty two Miles from *Paris*.

(10) But *Alfred* having caus'd Ships, twice longer, taller, swifter, and more steady than those the *English* or *Danes* us'd to have; and of forty-Oars, and above, he put to Sea, with nine of them, took twenty or more of the Enemies Ships, and order'd the Men to be hung up along the Sea-coasts, for a Terror to the rest. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 351. *S. Dunelm.* p. 151. *Spelman*, p. 90.

(11) He is said to have fought fifty-six pitch'd Battles with the *Danes*.

(12) And *Egfric*, which was part of the Kingdom of *East-Anglia*, was taken into *Alfred's* hands; who created *Berthelf*, a *Saxon*, Duke or Earl of it. *Spelman*, p. 91. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 16.

(13) This is to be understood of the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*, who, though they had been reduc'd before, observing *Alfred* engag'd in other Wars, had thrown off their Obedience. As for *North-Wales*, the *Ordovices*, People of a fierce and troublesome Spirit, are scarce to be reckon'd entirely subdu'd before *Edward the First's* Time, two hundred years after the *Norman Conquest*. *Spelman*.

(14) It is said that *Griogur* King of the *Scots* obey'd him and serv'd him in all his Wars, and that *Donald* his Successor aided him with five thousand Men and died in his Service. *Spelman, Hollingb.* p. 121. See *Buchan.*

Alfred makes a Body of Laws. The first thing *Alfred* had in his thoughts, the moment he saw himself thus peaceful and absolute, was to make use of his power for the good and benefit of his Subjects. As the Laws, during the Wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almost unknown to the People, he laid out his pains for some time, in making a Collection of the best Laws he could find. He inserted some of the *Judicial Laws* (1) of the *Old Testament*, and several of those formerly enacted by *Ina* King of *Wessex*, and *Offa* King of *Mercia* (2) in their respective Kingdoms. To these he added many of his own, adapted to the Circumstances of his People. Throughout these Laws may easily be observed, an ardent zeal for Justice, and a sincere desire of rooting out Oppression and Violence (3). They were indeed *mild*, if compared to those of later Ages, seeing they punished most Offences by *Mulcts* and *Fines* (4). But the strictness wherewith *Alfred* caused them to be observed, counterbalanced their Lenity. If with respect to *private* Persons the rigour of the Law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt Magistrates; to such *Alfred* was ever inexorable. He was very sensible it would be in vain to oblige his Subjects to an exact observance of the Laws, if care were not taken that the Magistrates should give them a good Example. History takes notice of his executing four and forty Judges within the space of a Year, for not doing Justice (5).

Institution of Juries. These precautions seemed to be sufficient to hinder the *Poor* and *Low*, from being oppressed by the *Rich* and *Great*. But as *Alfred* was sensible, the Spirit of oppression naturally grew upon Men in Authority, he studied to prevent that Inconvenience. To that end, he ordered, that in all *Criminal Actions*, twelve Men, chosen for that purpose, should determine concerning the Fact, and the Judge give sentence according to their *Verdict*. This Privilege, enjoyed by the *English* to this day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable, that Subjects can have. An *Englishman* accused of any Crime, is to be tried only by his *Peers*, that is, by Persons of his own Rank. By this means, he is out of all danger of being oppressed, how powerful soever his accusers may be. These twelve Men, chosen out of many others, with the approbation of the Person accused, are called by the collective name of *Jury*. These are properly the Persons, by whom the life or death of the party accused is determined. Happy the People that enjoy so glorious a Privilege!

Division of the Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings. The Wars had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the Kingdom, that *Vagabonds* and *Vagrants* every where abounded, who committed all manner of Crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from Justice. As they had no settled abode, upon committing any Offence they shifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to discover them. *Alfred* beholding with Indignation honest Men thus exposed to the insults of Villains, was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great Mischief. Having consulted those whom he judged capable of giving him good Advice, he took the following method to prevent any Person from living in his Dominions, without being obliged to give an Account of his Actions. He divided all *England* into *Shires* (6) or *Counties*, the *Counties* into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings*. This being done, all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom were obliged to belong to some *Tything*; whoever did not, were looked upon as *Vagabonds*, and as such denied the protection of the Law. Every Householder was to answer for his Wife, his Children under fifteen years of Age, and his Domesticicks. If any one by his way of living fell under

suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good Behaviour: In case he could find none, the *Tything* threw him into Prison, to prevent their being liable to the penalty he should incur by any Offence (7). Thus the *Householders* being responsible for their Families, the *Tything* for the *Householders*, the *Hundreds* for the *Tythings*, and the *Counties* for the *Hundreds*, every one was watchful over his Neighbours Actions. If a Stranger guilty of any Crime made his Escape, information was taken of the House where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the Master of the Family was condemned to pay his *Fine*. But in case he had not stayed so long as three days, the Householder was acquitted upon making Oath he was not privy to his Crime. I might add here abundance of particulars not so entertaining to *Foreigners*, as to the *English*, who behold with pleasure in these regulations, the origin of those Laws they so happily live under at this present Time. But it suffices to say, these wise Institutions produced such good Order and Tranquillity as the like had never before been known in *England* (8).

In short, to prevent the Kingdom from being infested any more by foreign *Enemies*, *Alfred* disposed the *Militia* in such manner as enabled him to make head against an Invasion, in case the *Danes* should renew their Incursions. He kept in each County a body of Troops always ready to march under the conduct of the Earl or Governor. Upon the first notice of an Invasion, the Earl had orders to join Forces at certain Places, under the command of a *Generalissimo* appointed by the King. By this means, together with a numerous Fleet which was always either ready to put to Sea, or cruising round the Island, he kept the foreign *Danes* so in awe, that during the rest of his Reign, they durst not attempt to make a Descent. And for the same reason, those that were settled in the Island, found themselves constrained to be quiet.

When by these wise regulations *Alfred* had provided for the safety of the State, he endeavoured to make the People relish the Fruits of Peace, by introducing Trade and Commerce. He ordered a good number of Merchant-ships to be built, which he let out to the principal Merchants, for the encouragement of Traffick. So that by degrees the *English* were in a condition to repair by this means the losses occasion'd by so long a War. It is affirmed that some of these Merchants traded as far as the *East-Indies*, from whence they imported several things, before unknown to the *English* (9).

After this great Prince had thus regulated Matters, he turned his thoughts to the *Arts* and *Sciences*, which the Wars had almost entirely frightened from the Land. To this end he invited over from foreign Countries learned Men, to whom he gave Pensions, and dispersed them in the several *Dioceses*, to instruct the People. But not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own Kingdom a *Nursery* of Learning, he founded four *Schools*, or *Colleges* at *Oxford*. In the first, the Abbot *Neots* and *Grimbald* read *Divinity*. In the second, *Ajferius*, a Benedictine Monk, taught *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*. In the third, *John*, a Monk of *St. David's*, set up a Chair for *Logick*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*. In the fourth, *Johannes Scotus* professed *Geometry* and *Astronomy*. This last was surnamed *Erigena*, that is, the *Irishman*, from the word *Erin* or *Irin*, the true name of *Ireland*. He was also called *Scotus* no doubt upon the same Account, the Inhabitants of *Ireland* being then termed *Scots*. It is related of this *Johannes Scotus*, so famous in the republick of *Letters*, that he was stabbed to death by his Pupils with Pen-knives. But some say, he taught in *Malmesbury-Abby*, and not at

(1) With the *Dialogue* at their Head. See them in *Wilkins Leg. Saxon.* and *Lambard*. These *Laws* of *Alfred* were used at *Higimynster*, as low as the Reign of *Edward IV.* *Spelman* p. 99. Note.

(2) And likewise *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who was the first that reduced the *Saxon Laws* into *Writing*.

(3) If King *Alfred*, as is supposed, drew up a complete *Body of Laws*, 'tis now lost; for those lately publish'd by *Dr. Wilkins*, (who has given us all the *Laws* extant from *Ethelbert*, the first Christian Lawgiver in *England*, down to the *Magna Charta* of *Henry III.*) tell short of an entire System of *Laws*. *Alfred's Laws* are rank'd under two Heads, 1. *The Laws of Alfred*, forty in Number. 2. *The League between Alfred and Guthrum*, which seems to be no more than Articles of *Pacification*, and Conditions on which *Guthrum* was to hold *East-Anglia*. The 37th Law secures the *Entail* of Estates, and enacts, That those who have *Back-Land* (or Estates in Land) left them by their Parents, should not annul it from their Heirs, provided there could be proof made that he that first granted the Estate, settled it upon condition of *Non-alienation*. Another Law forbids the buying a *Man*, a *Horse*, or an *Ox*, without a *Voucher* to warrant the Sale. The Occasion of this Law was this: When the *Danes* first settled in *England*, it was a common Practice between the two Nations, not only to steal Horses and Oxen, but also Men and Women, and sell them to one another. By which means, Owners not only lost their Cattle, but Men were wrongfully made Slaves. To remedy which this Law was enacted. Afterwards *Towns* and *Markets* obtained the same Privilege, of *Vouchers*. But as to Horses, the Frauds were so common, that the Statute of 31 *Eliz.* 12, reviv'd the express Law of *Alfred*.

(4) The 40th Law sets a certain Value upon every Limb and Member, as well as upon every Person, from a King to a Bond-Slave.

(5) He us'd to re-examine 'the Causes tried in his Absence, and in case he found any Injustice done out of *Favour* or *Interest*, he punished the Judges severely. If they pleaded Ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and ask'd how they durst presume to take a Commission to determine about *Life* and *Property*, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their Post. Thus the *Earls* and *Great Men*, rather than be turn'd out of their Office with Disgrace, applied themselves to Study. See *Mirror of Justice*, c. 20. and *Malm. l. 2. p. 201*. *Hampden* says, Justice was so strictly administr'd in *Alfred's* Reign, that though there were gold Bracelets hanging up at the parting of several Highways, no Man durst touch them, p. 818.

(6) From the *Saxon* Word *Scyre*, i. e. to branch or divide. *Spelman* says, that *Alfred* was not the first that divided the Kingdom into *Shires*, but only fix'd their Number and Limits. *Rapin*.

(7) There is much the same Regulation in *China*. See *Hist. of Monacca. Rapin*.

(8) *Spelman* ascribes also to *Alfred* the Institution of *Sheriffs*, *Under-sheriffs*, and *Original Writs*, &c. p. 113, 114.

(9) It is not likely they traded to the *Indies* by Sea, at a time the *Mariner's Compass* was not found out. *Repp.* You have a large Account of this Matter in *Spelman's* Life of *Alfred*, l. 2. c. 23. *Malmesbury* says, he sent a Present to the *Indies* in honour of *St. Thomas*. *Angelin* Bishop of *Shetburn* was employ'd to deliver it, who performed the Voyage successfully, and brought back precious Stones, Perfumes and other Commodities, which were then great Curiosities in *England*. It was thought *Alfred* caus'd with these Diamonds a more *August* and *Imperial* sort of Crown than had been used before to be compos'd. For in the arched Roof in the Cloisters of *Westminster-Abby*, where the ancient *Regalia* of the Kingdom are kept, upon a Box, the Cabinet of the most ancient Crown, there are these Words, *Hic est principalis Corona cum qua coronabantur Reges Aliredus, Edwardus, &c.* This Crown is of a very ancient Work, with Flowers adorned with Stones of somewhat a plain Setting. *Spelman*.

Oxford (1). We find moreover among the learned Men encouraged by *Alfred*, *Plegmund* a *Mercian*, who became Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some others, whose Names, as they will not serve to make them more known, it is needless to repeat. It is also unnecessary to stay to examine, whether the *Colleges* founded by *Alfred* were the first Foundations of the University of *Oxford*, or whether before that, there were at a Place called *Greeklade* the like Schools, which were removed from thence to this City. Besides that the dispute would lead me too far, it would be of little use to examine it thoroughly, considering how few are concerned in it. It is enough to observe, that from these small beginnings, the *University of Oxford*, famous throughout all *Europe*, has grown up to its present Height.

Though *Alfred* was very capable himself of knowing the best means of promoting his Designs for the good of his People, yet he consulted others, eminent for their Abilities, and paid a great deference to their Opinions. He had ordered matters so that all resolutions relating to the publick were to pass thro' three several Councils. The first was a Cabinet Council, to which none but those the King had a particular Esteem for, were admitted. Here all Affairs were first debated that were to be laid before the second Council, which consisted of *Bishops*, *Earls*, *Viscounts*, *Judges*, and some of the principal *Thanes*, called afterwards *Barons*. This resembled the present *Privy-Council*. None belonged to it but those the King was pleased to appoint. The third was a general Council or Assembly of the Nation, called in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot*, to which *Quality* and *Offices* gave a right to sit, independent of the King. This Assembly, stiled at present the *Parliament*, a name taken from the *French*, was composed of the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the *Bishops*, *Earls*, *Viscounts* or *High-Sheriffs* of the Counties, and the *Thanes* of the first rank or *Barons*. It is now disputed with great warmth, whether the People had a right to send *Representatives* to this Assembly. But this point shall be discussed in another Place. However this be, we behold in these three Councils the original of the *Cabinet* and *Privy Councils*, as well as the Antiquity of *Parliaments*. These Councils, and particularly the *Wittena-Gemot*, which was conven'd generally once a Year, being for the most part held at *London*, it is easy to conceive that the City received by it a greater air of splendor than before. The *Danes*, who had been Masters of it for some time, had demolished it in such manner that it was hardly to be known. It was a pleasure to *Alfred* to beautify it and augment its Privileges. The Figure it afterwards made, and still continues to make, is in some measure owing to the care of this Prince (2).

Matters of greater moment being settled as well as could be desired, *Alfred*, ever mindful of what might be advantageous to his People, believed he ought not to be forgetful of one thing in itself useful and to the Kingdom very ornamental; and that was to induce the *English* to build their Houses for the future in a stronger and more regular manner, than they had been used to. At that time, there were scarce any but *Timber-Houses*. It was a rarity to see a House built with other Materials. *Alfred* having raised his Palaces with Stone or Brick, the Nobility by degrees began to follow his Example. But this Custom did not become general 'till several ages after. The Monasteries, we may believe, that were destroyed by the *Danes*, and afterwards rebuilt, had their share of this Improvement, as places that were held in still greater veneration in the following than in the present Century. The religious Houses however did not begin to be inhabited again 'till the following Reigns. At the time I am speaking of they were almost forsaken, for the Lands designed for the maintenance of the Monks being waisted by the *Danish Wars*, there was scarce a Man to be found willing to embrace a monastick Life; which is a clear Evidence, that it was not so much Devotion, as the hopes of being maintained without Labour, that filled the religious Houses. During the Reign of *Alfred*, the backwardness to a monkish Life was so great, that the King was forced to stock the Monasteries with Foreigners, there being scarce such a thing as a Monk in the Kingdom. But after his Death, when the Lands were restored to the

Monasteries, the zeal for that way of Life began to rekindle. Whereas in *Alfred's Days*, there were more Monasteries than Monks, in a few years after the Monks were grown so numerous, and encreased daily in such a manner, that there were not religious Houses enough to contain them.

Hitherto we have considered *Alfred* so taken up with the care of the publick, that he seems to have had no time or leisure for his own private concerns. But we must have a very different Idea of this Prince. He was one of those happy Geniuses that seem born for whatever they do, and are continually employed, without appearing to be so. He knew too well the value of time, to lose any part of it. So far was he from being like most Princes, who imagine their high Station gives them a Privilege of spending all their time in diversions and trifles, that he endeavoured to improve every moment. Whilst he lay concealed in the Isle of *Athelney*, he made a vow to dedicate to the Service of God, the third part of his time, as soon as he should be restored to a State of Tranquillity. Accordingly he was punctual to his Vow, and allotted eight hours every day to acts of Devotion, eight hours to publick Affairs, and as many to sleep, study, and necessary refreshment. As the use of *Clocks* and *Hour-Glasses* was not as yet introduced into *England*, he measured the time by means of Wax-Candles, marked with circular lines of divers Colours, which served as so many *Hour-lines* (3). And to prevent the wind from making them burn unsteadily, it is said he invented the expedient of enclosing them in *Lan-thorns* (4). But it is a question whether this Invention be of so modern a date.

His Charities were very extraordinary considering his Revenues, and so much the more praise-worthy, as they were done privately, or at least without Ostentation. He educated, at Court or at *Oxford*, a great many young Noblemen, who were instructed in all things necessary to render them one day serviceable to their Country. But this was not his only method to cause the Arts and Sciences to flourish: His own Example greatly contributed towards it, for never was Prince more given to his Studies. The progress he made in Learning, notwithstanding his being so long employed in his Wars and the administration of the Government, demonstrate how well he improved his Intervals from publick Business. The Author of his Life assures us, he was the best *Saxon Poet* of his time, an excellent *Grammatician*, *Orator*, *Philosopher*, *Architect*, *Geometrician*, and *Historian*. He composed several Works, that were in great Esteem. Among others, he translated into *Saxon*, *Gregory's Pastoral*, *Boetius de Consolatione* (5), and *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (6). What a shame and reproach was it for the *English Nation* to be so ignorant, when they had so learned a King at their Head? This excellent Prince complained bitterly (7) that from the *Humber* to the *Thames* there was not a Priest that understood the *Liturgy* in his Mother Tongue, and that from the *Thames* to the *Sea*, there was not one that knew how to translate the easiest Piece of *Latin*. This universal Ignorance, and the little relish the *English* had then for the Arts and Sciences, caused the King to seek all occasions, of earnestly inviting into his Dominions Foreigners that were eminent in their Professions. He took particular care to have always about him the most noted Workmen and Architects, and to keep them employed, with the sole view of improving their Skill. He placed in the *Chairs* at *Oxford*, Men famous for their Learning, and allowed them handsome Salaries. His aim was to stir up the Emulation of the *English*, and provoke them to use their Endeavours to come out of that state of gross ignorance they were in. The Fame of his great Wisdom and Piety reaching as far as *Rome*, the Pope sent him a large Quantity of Relicks, and upon his account granted some new privileges to the *English College*. *Abel* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, willing also to show him marks of his Esteem, sent him a present of Relicks, which the King received with great Satisfaction.

It is time now to take a view of the manner of his ordering his Domestic Concerns, where his Prudence was no less conspicuous than in his Management of State Affairs. He made three Divisions of his Attendants, who were to

(1) Camden says, *Alfred* founded but three *Halls* or *Schools*; the first at the end of *High-street* for *Grammarians*, was called *Little-University-Hall*; the second in *School-street* for *Theologians*, was stiled *Leys University-Hall*; and the third in *High-street*, more to the West than the first, for *Divinity*, was named *Great University-Hall*, now *University-College*.

(2) He repaired also, or rebuilt *Winchester* and *Norwich*, *Spelman*, p. 162, 164.

(3) He ordered just such a quantity of Wax to be made into six Candles, each twelve Inches long, with the Division of the Inches mark'd out distinctly. These being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four Hours apiece, that is, every three Inches an Hour, so that the whole six Candles lasted just twenty four Hours, the watching of which was committed to the Keepers of his Chapel, whose Office it was to put him in mind how each Hour passed.

(4) Glass was then a great Rarity in *England*, so that the King was forc'd to order some fine white Horn to be scraped so thin as to become transparent, and put into glass Frames of Wood, which defended the Candles from the injury of the Wind. Thus *Lan-thorns*, tho' of vulgar Use and Estimation, were the Invention of a King. *Spelman*, *Affor. vet. Alf.* p. 20.

(5) Published at *Oxford*, An. 1698, 8vo. by *Christopher Rævelin*, Gentleman-Commoner of *Queen's College*. Some say it was translated by *Wenefrid*, Bishop of *Worcester*; but Dr. Plot tells us *Alfred* did it at *Woodstock*. *Alfred* was so delighted with this Book, that he always carried it about him in his Bosom.

(6) Published at *Cambridge* in 1644, by Mr. *Whelock*, who observes, 'tis rather a *Paraphrase* than a *Translation*. He is likewise said to have translated the *Old and New Testament*. However 'tis on all Hands agreed he undertook a *Version* of the *Psalms*, but died when it was about half finished. See *Spelman's Life of Alfred*, l. 3. c. 130. For an account of the rest of his Works, see the same Author, p. 210, 211, 212.

(7) In his Preface to *Gregory's Pastoral*; which see in *Spelman*, p. 141, &c. and at the end of *Affor's Life of Alfred*.

wait monthly by turns: A Custom, which tho' not practised then in other Courts, was afterwards followed by other Princes. As for his Revenues, he divided them in two Parts, one whereof was wholly assigned for charitable uses, and subdivided into four Portions. The first for Alms to the Poor: The second for the maintenance of the Monasteries he had founded: The third for the Subsistence of the Professors and Scholars at *Oxford*: The fourth for poor Monks, as well Foreigners as *English* (1). The other half was thrown into three divisions; one was expended in his Family; another in paying his *Archbishops*, and other curious Workmen; and the rest was bestowed in Pensions upon Strangers, invited to his Court for the encouragement and instruction of his Subjects. When I speak of his Revenues, I mean his own hereditary Estate. It was not customary in those days, for Princes to levy Taxes upon the People, in order to squander the Money in Luxury and Extravagancies.

What has been said of this illustrious Prince, may suffice to make known the principal events in his Reign, and to give an Idea of his personal Qualities. I might add many more particulars, since his *Life* alone affords matter for a large Volume. But I believe I may venture to stop here, without injuring the memory of this Monarch, who is justly distinguished with the Surname of *Great*. No Historian charges him with any Vice, but all unanimously agree to represent him

as one of the most glorious Princes that ever wore the Crown (2).

He died in 900, and in the 52d year of his Age, after a reign of twenty-eight years and six months (3), the greatest part whereof was spent in wars and troubles, and the rest in peace (4). His History shews, that both in War and Peace, he govern'd with prudence and steadiness. But what chiefly distinguishes him from the generality of Princes, was his sincere and constant love for his People. Of this he gave demonstration, not by words only, as is too commonly the case, but by real and substantial deeds. Accordingly never was Prince better beloved by his Subjects. No doubt this mutual Affection contributed to destroy in the *Danes*, settled in *England*, all hopes of shaking off his Yoke, when once they had submitted to it.

Alfred had several Children by *Alswitha* his Queen: Some of them, particularly *Edmund* his eldest Son, whom he designed for his Successor, died before him. Of those that survived him, *Edward* mounted the Throne after him. *Ethelward*, who was bred a Scholar at *Oxford*, was a very learned Man, and died in the fortieth year of his Age, in 922. *Elfreda*, his eldest Daughter, Wife to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, became very famous in her Brother *Edward's* Reign. *Alswitha* or *Ethelswitha*, called also *Eltrude* by the *Flemish* Writers, married *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. *Ethelgitha*, who chose to be a Nun, was made *Abbess* of *Shaftsbury* Nunnery, founded by the King her Father (5).

7. EDWARD the Elder.

WHEN *Edward* ascended the Throne, *England* was almost equally divided between the *English* and *Danes*. The *Danes* inhabited *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, from whence they had driven the *English* during the wars. The *English* were still in possession of *Wessex*, containing the ancient Kingdom of *Essex*, and all the Country lying South of the *Thames*. As for *Mercia*, it was peopled with a mixture of *Danes* and *English*, but in such manner, that the *English* were superior in the South and West Parts, and the *Danes* in the East and North. During the latter part of *Alfred's* Reign, the *Danes* had remained very quiet, out of fear of provoking that Prince to invade their Possessions. Besides, they were very well pleased to enjoy some repose, in order to fortify their Settlements in *England*. For this reason, the retreat of their Countrymen was to them rather an occasion of Joy than Sorrow. Indeed, they could never have attained to their ends, if the War had been continually renewed by the arrival of other *Danes*, who under the name of Friends, would have been as incommodious to them as to the *English* themselves. The retreat of these dangerous Guests, and the profound Tranquillity spread over the whole Kingdom, by *Alfred's* just Administration, having given them time to cultivate their Lands, and augment their Riches by Commerce, they began to entertain thoughts of shaking off the *English* Yoke. Accordingly, they embraced the first favorable occasion to excite new Troubles in *England*, not doubting in the least but they would prove the means of putting their design in Execution.

I have observed that King *Ethelbert*, elder Brother to *Alfred*, left two Infant Sons. *Ethelward*, the eldest, being grown, at the death of *Alfred*, to Man's Estate, thought it time to assert his right to the Crown. He pretended, that *Ethelwulf* his Grandfather could not with Justice settle the Kingdom upon all his Sons successively, to the prejudice of the Children of the eldest. That granting he had a power to do this, there was no reason the Succession, after the death of the four Brothers, should continue in the Family of the youngest, when the Heirs of the second were alive. That besides, at most he could but entail the Kingdom of *Kent*, which he was in possession of, and not the Kingdom of *Wessex*, which belonged not to him when he made his Will. These reasons appeared very plausible; yet *Ethelward* could meet with no encour-

agement from the *English*. Doubtless, the great Veneration they had for *Alfred's* Memory, made them adhere to his Son, or it may be, they did not question *Ethelwulf's* power of settling the Succession as he pleased. The ancient Historians not having expressed themselves clearly upon this point, it would be difficult to decide the matter by the publick Laws of the *Saxons*, which are not sufficiently known. And therefore, to confine my self to the bare relation of Facts, I shall only say, that *Ethelward*, finding his Countrymen unwilling to support his Title, was forc'd to apply to the *Danes*, who probably had put him upon this undertaking.

Ethelward began his design upon the Crown, with seizing *Winburn*, a fortified Town in *Dorsetshire* (6). He expected to be attacked; but hoped, if that place made never so little Resistance, the *Danes* would keep *Edward* so much employed in other parts, that it would not be possible for him to retake it (7). But his hopes were all in vain. *Edward* came upon him with such Expedition, that he was like to have surprized him in *Winburn*, before he had taken necessary measures for his defence. He had hardly time to get out of the Town (8) and fly to the *Danes* (9), who were now up in Arms. Upon this Prince's coming among them, they proclaimed him King of *England*, pretending, as they were in possession of half the Kingdom, they had as much right to make a King, as the *West-Saxons*.

The retreat of *Ethelward* among the *Danes*, made the King sensible he was going to be involved in a troublesome War, the consequences whereof were to be dreaded. Not that he thought himself unable to withstand the *Danes* settled in *England*, but was apprehensive the foreign *Danes* would take this opportunity to plunge the Kingdom again into its former Calamities. This Consideration made him resolve to do his utmost to put an end to the War, before the *Danes* had time to send for their Countrymen to their Assistance. Immediately after the taking of *Winburn*, he marched towards *Northumberland* (10), at the head of his Army, which daily encreased, by Troops coming in from all Parts. The *Danes* were astonished at this Expedition, and finding themselves in no condition to resist him, were constrained to abandon and banish from their Country, the Prince they had undertaken to protect. They had soon reason to repent of espousing his Cause, or not defending it better. This fruitless attempt of

(1) He sent Money to the Monasteries throughout his Dominions; and also in *Wales*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Armenia*, &c. *Alfred*. p. 20.

(2) We have the Sum of his Character given us by a great Man, to the following Effect: O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Admiration of all Ages! If we reflect on the devout part of him, he seems to have lived always in a *Chaplain*. If on his Conduct and Exploits in the Field, one would think he had spent his Days in a Camp. If on his Writings and Studies, one would conclude the *University* had engrossed him. And lastly, if we regard his Prudence and Skill in the Administration of Government, he seems to have made *Law* and *Politics* his whole Study.

(3) *Alfred*. Sax. Ann. *Floer*. *Wigorn*. &c. say, he reigned twenty-nine years and a half; and the two last place his death under the year 901.

(4) He was born at *Wantage*, now *Wantage* in *Berkshire*, which was formerly a Royal Manor. His Body was buried first at *Winton*, next removed into the Church of the *New Monastery*; and lastly, his Body, Monument, Church and Monastery were all removed (about two hundred years after) without the North Gate of the City, since call'd the *Hide*.

(5) Besides this Nunnery, *Alfred* built two Monasteries, one at *Athelney*, and another at *Winchester*. *Alfred*.

(6) Besides *Winburn*, *Ethelward* seized upon *Tewkesham*, i. e. *Christ Church* in *Hampshire*. Sax. Ann. *Camd*.

(7) *Ethelward* shut himself up in the Town, and swore he would either conquer or die. Sax. Ann. *Huntingd*. p. 352. *Brompt*. p. 838.

(8) He escaped in the night. *Huntingd*. p. 352. *Brompt*. p. 832. *Floer*. *Wigorn*.

(9) That is, the *Danes* in *Northumbria*. Sax. Ann. *Huntingd*. p. 352. *Alfred*. Ann. p. 174.

(10) The Sax. Ann. and *Floer*, *Wern*, say only, that the King ordered his Men to pursue *Ethelward*, but they could not overtake him.

Edward I.
Edward II.
Edward III.
Edward IV.
Edward V.
Edward VI.
Edward VII.
Edward VIII.
Edward IX.
Edward X.

Matt. West.

903.

The Council
of the
King
of the
Danes
in
Mercia.

904.

The Council
of the
King
of the
Danes
in
Mercia.

905.

Ethelward
flourishes
in
Sax. Ann.
Flor. Worc.
Dunelm.

907.

Ethelward
makes a
Peace with
the Danes.

The War is
renewed.

910.

912.

Ethelred
Earl of
Mercia dies.
Sax. Ann.

theirs cost them several strong-holds in *Mercia*, which *Edward* deemed necessary to secure. He did not think proper to chastise them more severely at this time, lest the War, which seemed to be over, should break out afresh, if he reduced them to a necessity of sending for Succours from *Denmark*. He was satisfied with repairing some Fortresses in *Mercia*, in order to confine them within narrower Bounds (1). *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, and the Princess *Elfreda* his Wife, were very serviceable to the King in this War, by making head against the *Mercian Danes*, and preventing the *Welsh* from coming to their Aid. It is related of *Elfreda*, that having had a very hard Labour with her first Child, she made a resolution never to come into the like Case again, and was as good as her Word. From thenceforward she wholly devoted herself to Arms, and like a true *Amazon*, gave proofs of her courage in all the King her Brother's Wars with the *Danes*. She was generally styled [not only *Lady* and *Queen*, but] *King*, in admiration of her *Manlike* and *Royal* Abilities.

Mean while, *Ethelward*, though absent, was not idle. Upon leaving *England*, he applied to *France*, and obtained a powerful aid of *Normans*. With these forces he landed in *Essex* (2), and easily became Master of that Kingdom. *Edward*, not expecting his Enemy could have been so soon ready to make a fresh attempt, had taken care only to guard *Mercia* against the *Northumbrian-Danes*, imagining *Essex* to be in no danger. The arrival of the *Normans* roused the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, and caused them to resolve to make a diversion in favor of *Ethelward*. Accordingly they take up arms again, and throwing themselves into *Mercia*, ravage the Country inhabited by the *English* in a merciless manner (3). *Edward*, not without extreme regret, saw himself forced to bear their Insults, till he could draw his Troops together, which he had dismissed, as believing he should not want them so soon. The moment he was at the head of his Army, he made the *Danes* pay dear for the mischief they had done the *English*. In this War he gained so many Victories, that the *Danes* lost all hopes of throwing off the *English* yoke, and his Cousin of mounting the Throne. At length *Ethelward* being slain in Battle (4), and the *Danish* forces considerably diminished, they were not able to carry on the War with that vigour they begun it. However, they continued it two years after *Ethelward's* Death. But having in vain endeavoured to repair their Losses, they sued for Peace (5); which *Edward* readily granted them, on condition they would acknowledge him for Sovereign as they had done his Father, and the *Normans* forthwith return to *France*.

This Peace could not hold long between two neighbouring Nations so exasperated against one another. Accordingly after three years, the War was renewed (6). It proved fatal to the *Danes*, who lost in a very little time two Battles (7). *Edward*, who knew how to improve his Victories, took from them several Towns in *Mercia*, and at length drove them quite out of that Kingdom. Then it was that *Ethelred*, who had all along bravely seconded the King his Brother-in-law, became in reality *Earl of Mercia*; but was not long so. He was taken out of the World by Death, almost as soon as that whole Province was united under his Government. This *Earl* was not barely *Governor* or *Viceroy* of *Mercia*: He had some particular Power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the Historians that speak of it.

Malmshury says he held the Country as a *Fief* of the Crown, much in the same manner as the *German Princes* hold their Territories of the Empire (8). Of this, *Elfreda* his Widow's cession to the King her Brother of the Cities of *London* and *Oxford*, is a farther Proof. If *Ethelred*, had been only *Governor* or *Viceroy*, *Elfreda* would have had no right to resign these two Places, since they would not have belonged to her (9).

Elfreda having taken upon her the Government of *Mercia*, after *Ethelred's* Death, followed the example of her Father and Brother, in fortifying Towns, to take away from the *Danes* all hopes of settling in *Mercia* again. Among the Places she repaired, or fortified, these are the Chief, *Warwick*, *Tamworth*, *Wedensbury*, *Charbury*, *Eadsbury*, and *Chester* (10). This last had lain in ruins for some Time (11). When *Elfreda* had taken these Precautions, she carried her Arms into *Wales* (12), and after several victories, obliged the *Welsh* to become her Tributaries.

The year 915, as some affirm, is memorable for the founding of the *University of Cambridge* by King *Edward*. But all agree not in this Matter. Some maintain the Origin of this famous University is of a much later date. Others, on the contrary, carry its Antiquity a great deal higher, and attribute the founding of it to one *Cantaber*, a *Spaniard*, three hundred and fifteen years before the birth of our Saviour. Some again, cutting off almost a thousand years of this Antiquity, are contented with asserting, that *Sebert*, who reigned in *Essex* in the beginning of the *VIIIth Century*, was the first Founder. I shall not take upon me to decide this Dispute, rendered very warm by the emulation between *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. It is sufficient to have briefly mentioned the diversity of opinions in this matter. However, I cannot forbear observing, that if the *University of Cambridge* was in being in King *Sebert's* Time, or even in *Alfred's*, it is very surprising, that neither *Bede* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, nor *Affterius* in his *Life of Alfred*, should take the least notice of it.

From the year 910, when the War between the *English* and *Danes* was rekindled, to the year 922, we find in History nothing but a long series of Battles, the relation whereof must be unpleasant to the Reader (13). I shall therefore without any scruple pass them over in Silence, and mention only the most remarkable Consequences.

The Princess *Elfreda*, Sister to King *Edward*, died during this War (14), leaving an only Daughter, named *Elfrida*, then marriageable. *Elfreda*, as was said, succeeded her Husband in the Sovereignty of *Mercia*: I say Sovereignty, because it was certainly more than a bare Government. But not to give wrong notions of this matter, it will be proper to consider the state of *Mercia* at the Time I am speaking of. Historians not having clearly expressed themselves, have left us very much in the dark as to this Point. It must be remembered, that *Ethelred*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia*, was in possession only of *London* and its Territory, or at most of the County of *Middlesex*, and that *London*, the Capital formerly of the Kingdom of *Essex*, was become the Metropolis of *Mercia*. Afterwards, *Ethelred's* narrow territories being much enlarged by his conquests upon the *Mercian-Danes*, *Alfred's* present to his Son-in-law was become so considerable, as to raise the jealousy of the new King, and make him apprehensive of *Ethelred's* successors growing too power-

(1) This year, 903, a Battle was fought between the *Kentishmen* and the *Danes* at *Hulme*, or *Hulmwood* in *Suffex*. Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. places it under the year 904, and inserting in the 12th year of King *Edward*. p. 353.

(2) *Præmyst* says, he landed in *Northumbria*, the same year he went away, and came the next year by Sea to *Essex*. p. 332.

(3) They over-ran and spoiled all *Mercia*, as far as *Creekelede* in *Wiltshire*, and there passing the *Thames*, carried away whatever they could find in *Bedford* Forest in the same County. In the mean time King *Edward* pursued them, and waited all the Country that lies between the *Devil's Ditch* upon *Newmarket* Heath, and the *Ouse*. *Edward* recalled his Forces from thence, but the *Kentishmen* staying behind, were surrounded by the *Danes*; whereupon there followed a smart Engagement, in which several were killed on both Sides, and among the rest *Ethelward*; but the *Danes* got the Victory. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 332.

(4) The *Sax. Ann.* tells us, the Battle was obstinate and bloody on both Sides; the King left the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many more of his Nobles. On the *Danes* part was slain *Ethelred* their King, with a greater number than of the *English*, though they had the honour of keeping the Field and burying their dead. Sax. Ann. 903.

(5) *S. Dunelm.* says, that *Edward* was forced to make Peace, p. 133. This Peace was concluded at *Ytingesford*, supposed to be *Iford* near *Chrift-Church* in *Hampshire*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352. Hoved. p. 421. Brompt. p. 832.

(6) The *Annals* say not by whom the Treaty was broken; but *Hoveden* lays it to the Charge of the *Danes*, p. 421. Upon the renewing of the War, King *Edward* sent, Ann. 910, an Army of *West-Saxons* and *Mercians* into *Northumbria*, who plundered that Kingdom for five weeks, and slew many of the *Danes*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352.

(7) The first was in 911, at *Widnospeld*. For the *Danish* Army in *Northumberland* not regarding the Peace which King *Edward* and his Son had made with them, wasted again the Province of *Mercia*. In this Battle were slain several thousands of the *Danes*, with their Kings *Eowils* and *Healfden*. They were succeeded by one *Regnold*. The second Battle was fought at *Totenale*, or *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*. Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Huntingd. p. 352. Brompt. p. 832.

(8) *Ethelred* bore the Title of *Subregulus Merciorum*. *Selden* affirms, *Subregulus* is the same with *Feldman* or *Count*. *Du Cange* says, it signifies sometimes *Emil*, sometimes *Sen-Rex* or *De-Rex*. In this last Sense, it must be understood with respect to *Ethelred*, according to this Passage of *Malmshury*, *Ethelredus duo Regna Merciorum & Vin-Saxonum conjunxit*, *Merciorum nomine tenet, quippe commendatum Duci Ethelredo*. *Ropin*.

(9) Ann. 915, in November, King *Edward* built a Castle at *Horsford*.—The next Summer he built *Witbam* in *Essex*, and lay encamped at the same time with his Forces at *Malden*: And the greatest part of *Essex*, which then belonged to the *Danes*, came in to him. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 353. Brompt. p. 833.

(10) She also built or repaired Castles at *Stafford*, *Bridgeforth*, *Runcerne* in *Cheshire*, and at *Secriate* or *Scargate*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Hoved. These Castles were built to secure the *Mercian* Frontiers against the *Danish* and *Welsh* Incursions. Tyr. p. 316.

(11) It was demolished by *E. filius* King of *Northumberland*, and afterwards by the *Danes*.

(12) And took *Breconshire* (supposed to be *Brecknock*). She also took, in 913, *Dorset*, and, in 920, *Lincoln*, *York*, &c. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

(13) Ann. 917, the *Danes* slew many of the *English* at *Honerton* in *Oxfordshire*; but a Body of them was defeated the same year at *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*. Ann. 921, the *Danes* besieged *Twickenham* in *Northamptonshire*, and *Wigmore* in *Herefordshire*, but were repuls'd. The same year they took *Colchester*, and killed all the People in it; but making an attempt upon *Malden*, they were beaten back and lost several hundreds of Men. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 353. Brompt.

(14) *Regin* says, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortified, and the Arms she managed, it might have been thought she had changed her Sex. She died at *Canterbury* in *Staffordshire*, and was buried in the Pouch of the Monastery of *St. Peter* in *Glaugher*, which she and her Husband had built. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. l. 5. c. 5.

ful. However, whilst *Elfreda* lived, *Edward* seemed not to be jealous of her Prosperity, and had no thoughts of dispossessing her of what she had gained in great measure by her own Valour. But after her Death, he did not think fit to leave her daughter *Elfwina* in possession of a *Demesne*, which put it in her power to raise new troubles in *England* by some ill-contrived Match. And indeed, there are Historians who affirm, the young Prince had resolved upon marrying a *Danish* Prince (1), and that therefore her Uncle deprived her of her Dominions. He was afraid no doubt, she would introduce the Enemies of the Kingdom into those very Places, that with so much difficulty had been wrested out of their Hands. However this be, after *Elfreda's* Death, he seized upon *Mercia*, and carried his Niece with him into *Wessex*. In all likelihood she passed the rest of her days in a *Nunnery*. Whether *Elfwina's* design of marrying a *Dane* was matter of fact, or an invention to vindicate the King's proceedings against his Niece, it equally proves what was before observed, that *Ethelred* and *Elfreda* were proprietors of *Mercia*. If they had been no more than Governors, *Edward* would have had no occasion to alledge her intended marriage as a reason to deprive her of the Government; as, on the other hand, there would have been no necessity of inventing such a Pretence, supposing there was no Foundation for it. I have enlarged a little on this Subject, because of the great variety of opinions concerning the Right of Earl *Ethelred*.

In their wars with *Edward*, the *Danes* daily lost ground, whilst the King, who knew how to improve his Advantages, pushed them incessantly without giving them time to breathe. By which means he at length compelled them to submit, and own him once more for their Sovereign. The *Mercian-Danes* were the first that threw down their Arms. The *East-Angles* followed soon after, and submitted without Terms. The *Northumbrians* were the last, as being the most powerful, almost all *Northumberland* being inhabited by *Danes*. The progress *Edward* had made in the other Provinces, convinced them, it would be better to submit than continue a war, which must end in their ruin. They were then governed by three Kings. *Sithric* and *Nigel* his Brother reigned beyond the *Tine*, and *Reginald*, who resided at *York*, ruled all the Country between the *Tine* and the *Humber*. Some time after, *Sithric* having slain his Brother *Nigel*, became sole King of the North.

The state of the *Welsh* depended in some measure on that of the *Danes*. As long as the *Danes* were in Arms, the Kings of *England* left the *Welsh* peaceably to enjoy their Liberty. But as soon as they had nothing to fear from the North, they seldom failed to attack them. At such a juncture it was, that *Elfreda*, assisted by the Troops of the King her Brother, compelled them to become her Tributaries. After her death the *Welsh* endeavoured to free themselves from the Tribute she had laid upon them, and to keep *Edward* employed, sent a powerful Aid to the *Danes*. *Edward*, having then other affairs upon his hands, took no notice of it; but as soon as he had concluded a Peace with the *Danes*, marched against *Rees ap Madoc* (2) King of *Wales*, who was assisted by *Leoffreth* a *Danish* General. After several indecisive Skirmishes, *Edward* at last obtained a signal Victory, which reduced the *Welsh* King to a necessity of suing for Peace, with a promise of paying the usual Tribute. In fine, the *Britons* of *Cumberland*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the *Danes*, submitted also to *Edward*. Some Historians pretend, the King of *Scotland* following their Example, did Homage for his Kingdom to the King of *England*. But the *Scots* not only deny the Fact, but maintain it could not possibly be, since the word Homage was never used in *Great-Britain* till after the *Norman Conquest*. But this reason is not decisive, for the thing signified by that Term might be in use under another name. And indeed, the Sovereignty of *Alfred* and *Edward* over the *Northumbrian Danes* and the *Mercians* in the time of *Ethelred* and *Elfreda*, was nothing else but a right of Homage from those Countries, though perhaps the word was not then in use.

Edward was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, feared and respected by all that could give him any umbrage at home, and greatly esteemed by all Princes abroad, when death took him out of the World in 925, after a reign of twenty four years (3). He gained as great a Reputation by his Arms as the King his Father, since, like him, he gave Law to all *England*, and procured the Kingdom a

repose. But if he equalled the great *Alfred* in military Virtues, it must be owned he was far short of his illustrious Father in all other respects (4).

He had Children by three Wives, the first named *Elfwina*, a Shepherd's Daughter, was only a Concubine. An Historian relates concerning this Woman, a sort of *Romance*, which, on account of the Sequel, it will be necessary to insert. I call it a *Romance*, since by the Author's own confession, it has no better Foundation than some old Songs handed down to his time (5); much the same with your *Spanish Romances*, wherein are related several Stories of their ancient Kings. The Historian says, *Egwina*, a Shepherd's Daughter, as she lay asleep in the Fields, dreamt that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright that all *England* was enlightened by the Splendor. Some time after, she took occasion to relate her Dream to an old Woman that had been King *Edward's* Nurse. This Woman, who pretended to interpret Dreams, imagining there was something extraordinary in this, took *Egwina* into her House, and educated her not as a Country Wench, but as a Person of Quality. *Egwina* answered all the old Nurse's care and pains about her, and in time became an accomplished Beauty. Whilst she was in the House of her Benefactress, Prince *Edward*, before he was King, happening to pass by the place where his Nurse lived, made her a Visit. He cast his Eyes on *Egwina*, and immediately fell desperately in Love with her. His passion was so violent, that in the most moving and affecting manner he solicited the Nurse to put him in possession of the charming *Egwina*. The old Woman, who had a great affection for *Edward*, and had always the Dream in her Thoughts, yielded to his request, and brought *Egwina* to consent to what he desired so passionately. From that Time, *Edward* was extremely fond of *Egwina*, and had by her three Children, of whom *Athelstan*, the eldest, succeeded him. *Alfred* the second died before his Father. The third was a Daughter, called by some *Editha*, by others *Beatrix*.

By another Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and six Daughters, *Elfwald* the eldest Son died at *Oxford* a few Days after his Father; so that he had no time to taste the sweets of a Crown. *Edwin* the second was deprived of his just Rights, and came to a tragical End, as shall be related hereafter. Of the six Daughters, some were married to powerful Princes, by the care of their Brother *Athelstan*, and others became Nuns. *Elfreda* the eldest was Abbess of *Ramsey* (6). *Ogina* was married to *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, and was Mother of *Lewis d'Outre Mer*. *Edilda* passed her Days in a Monastery. The fourth, of the same Name, was married to *Hugh the Great*, Earl of *Paris*, Father of *Hugh Capet*. *Edgitha* was Wife of *Otho* Emperor of *Germany*. *Edgiva* the youngest espoused *Lewis the Blind*, King of *Provence*, who had a Son by her, named *Constantine*.

By *Edgiva* his third Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and two Daughters. *Edmund* and *Eddred* the two Sons were both Kings of *England*. *Edburga* was a Nun, and her Sister *Edgiva* was married to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain*.

It is very probable, this *Edgiva* was confounded with her Sister of the same name by the second Wife, who was married to *Lewis* King of *Provence*, because there was then no Prince of *Aquitain* mentioned in History.

The *Danish* Historians give *Edward* another Daughter named *Thyra*, who, as they affirm, was Wife of *Gormon III*, one of their Kings. It is strange they should speak so positively of a Princess of *England*, unknown to all the *English* Historians.

During the reign of *Edward the Elder*, *Rollo* chief of the *Normans* in *France*, had gotten such firm footing in *Neustria*, that it was not in the Power of the *French* to drive him thence; *Charles the Simple*, then King of *France*, was forced, in order to free himself from the continual fears of so troublesome a Neighbour, to give him a grant of that part of *Neustria* he was possessed of, lying between the *Seine* and the *Epte*, with the Title of Duke of *Normandy*. The conditions were, that *Rollo* should do Homage to the Crown of *France*, be baptized and marry *Giselle* the King's Daughter. *Rollo* died, according to *Mezerai*, in 917. Some place his death in 924, and others with still less reason in 928. *William* his Son, by *Peppa* Daughter of the Earl of *Bayeux*, was his Successor.

(1) *Reginald* King of the *Danes*. See *Tyrrel*.

(2) He died at *Farringdon* in *Berkshire*, and was buried at *Winchester* by his Father. *Sax. Ann. Malmsh.*

(3) He built and repaired several Castles and Towns; viz. *Ann. 918*, he built two Castles at *Buckingham*, one on each Side the River *Ouse*. *Ann. 919*, he built one at *Bedford*, on the South Side of the River. *Ann. 920*, he repaired and fortified *Maiden* in *Essex*. *Ann. 921*, he did the same at *Tewkesbury* in *Northamptonshire*, *Wigmore* in *Herefordshire*, *Colchester* in *Essex*, and *Huntingdon*. *Ann. 922*, He built a Castle at *Stratford*. *Ann. 923*, he repaired *Tutbury* in *Leicestershire* and *Mancheſter*. *Ann. 924*, he built a new Town at *Nottingham*, on the South Side of the *Trent*; and also one near *Bakewell* in *Derbyshire*. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.*

(4) *Magis ex cantilenis, quam ex libris*, says *Malmſbury*. The Story is told at large in *Brompton*, p. 331.

(5) In *Hampſhire*.

8. A T H E L S T A N.

925.
Athelstan
is elected
King of
England.
Sax. Ann.

Malmsh.
1. 2. c. 6.

ELSWARD, Edward's eldest Son, surviving his Father but a few Days, and the rest of the legitimate Children being all under Age, *Athelstan*, Son of *Egwin*, was placed on the Throne, with the Consent of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. Though this Prince had a mixture of *Base* and *Royal* Blood in his Veins, the last had so far the ascendant, that the blemish of his Birth was entirely effaced by his noble Qualities. *Alfred* his Grandfather had conferred the honour of *Knighthood* upon him, by girding him with a Sword according to the Custom of those days. *Edward* his Father had committed the care of his Education to Earl *Ethelred* his Brother-in-law, and the Princess *Elfleda* his Sister, who did their utmost to train him up to Virtue. As he had been present at all their Councils, and attended them in all their warlike Expeditions, he had acquired so great experience both in *Military* and *Political* Affairs, as joined to his natural Parts, gained him the esteem of all the World. So that when he mounted the Throne, he was not only of a fit age, being then in his thirtieth year, but also very capable to govern. History does not inform us what determined the *English* to give the Crown to this Prince, notwithstanding his illegitimate Birth (1). However, his Father thought this defect a sufficient Reason to set him by, and name for his Successor another of his Sons born in *Wedlock*, though younger than *Athelstan*. In all likelihood, after the death of *Elfwald*, *Athelstan*'s mature Age and noble Qualities gained him the preference before *Edwin*, the eldest of the legitimate Sons, but too young to govern (2).

A Plot
against the
King.
Malmsh.

This Election however was not pleasing to all. Some of the principal Lords disdaining to be governed by a Bastard conspired to dethrone *Athelstan*, and place *Edwin* in his room. *Alfred*, chief of the Conspirators, had even taken private measures to seize *Athelstan* at *Winchester*, and put out his Eyes. This Plot being discovered, he was apprehended by the King's Order, but would confess nothing. He obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and offered to purge himself by Oath in the presence of the Pope. Although this way of justifying himself was far from being a proof of his Innocence, *Athelstan* was satisfied with it, and sent him to *Rome*, to take his Oath before Pope *John*. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his Reign with Blood, or it may be, was apprehensive, the treating too severely a person of the first Rank, would draw upon him the ill-will of the Nobles. Shortly after, word was sent him from *Rome*, that *Alfred* having sworn his Innocence before the Pope, suddenly fell into a fainting fit, which lasting three days, ended with his Life; and that the Pope, convinced by this accident of *Alfred*'s Perjury, had ordered his Body to remain in the *English* College 'till the King's pleasure should be known. *Athelstan*, pleased with being thus rid of his Enemy without having directly contributed to his death, consented he should have Christian burial. However, his Lands were confiscated, and given to *Malmshury-Monastery*. The King took care to insert in the Grant the whole Conspiracy, to testify to the world that he dedicated to God what was his own.

The Danes
begin to stir.

Athelstan
marches into
Northum-
berland.

They are
forced to
submit.
Malmsh.
Fl. Wig.

In the mean time, new troubles were preparing for the King. As the *Danes*, settled in *England*, had been subdued by force, they thought it lawful to make use of the same means to shake off their yoke. The death of *Edward*, and the conspiracy of *Alfred*, affording them, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take such measures as obliged *Athelstan* to march into their Country. He would doubtless have met with more resistance, had he given them time to make greater Preparations. But as they had not yet drawn their Forces together, they were so surprised by the arrival of the King on their Frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their Allegiance. *Sithric*, one of their Kings (3), went and sued for Peace, upon what terms the King was pleased to impose. *Athel-*

stan being desirous to live in Peace with the *Danes*, that he might have time to establish himself in the Throne, not only pardoned his Revolt, but gave him his Sister *Edithe* in Marriage, on condition he would receive Baptism (4).

The troubles in the North being thus appeased, *Athelstan* marched back to *Wessex*, where advice was brought him soon after of *Sithric*'s Death, who by a former Marriage had left two Sons (5), *Anlaff* and *Godfrid*. As the Histories of those times are not very particular, we are ignorant of the reason of *Athelstan*'s resolving to deprive these two Princes of their Father's Dominions. However that be, as soon as he heard of *Sithric*'s Death, he returned at the head of his Army into *Northumberland*. His march was so expeditious, that *Anlaff* and *Godfrid* (6), as well as *Reginald*, another *Danish* King residing at *York*, had scarce time to escape falling into his hands. Their hasty flight gave him opportunity of becoming master of all *Northumberland*, except the Castle of *York*.

Athelstan's
second expedi-
tion to the
North.

Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.
Kewd.

He seizes all
Northum-
berland.

Though he had taken care to secure his Conquest, by placing strong Garrisons in all the Towns, he was uneasy at the escape of the three *Danish* Princes. He would have been very glad to have them in his power, but, with regard to two, the thing was impossible. It was not known what was become of *Reginald*, and *Anlaff* was fled into *Ireland*, where it was no easy matter to come at him. *Athelstan* therefore was forced to be satisfied with requiring *Constantine* King of *Scotland* to deliver up *Godfrid*, who had retired into his Dominions. *Constantine* being sensible, he was not in condition to deny any thing to a Prince at the head of so powerful an Army, promised to deliver the Prince into his hands, and give him a meeting at *Dacor* (7). But whilst he was preparing for his Journey, *Godfrid* made his escape, either through the negligence or connivance of *Constantine*, who however went to meet *Athelstan* accompanied with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*. *Athelstan* admitted *Constantine*'s excuses for the *Danish* Prince's escape. But if the *English* Historians are to be credited, he obliged both the Kings to do Homage for their Kingdoms (8). However, the *Scots* positively deny that *England* had ever any right of Sovereignty over *Scotland* 'till the twelfth Century. But this dispute, which was never decided, will for the future be dropt, since *England* and *Scotland* make now but one Kingdom.

An interview
of the Kings
of England
and Scotland.
Malmsh.

Remarks on
the pretended
homage of
Constantine.
Buchanan.

Before *Athelstan* quitted the North, *Godfrid* made an Attempt upon *York*, by means of the Castle, where he had still some Friends (9). But missing his aim, he put to Sea, where for some time he exercised Piracy. At length, tired with that way of Life, he surrendered himself to the King of *England*, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handsome Pension. Some time after, upon some disgust or ill-grounded suspicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Godfrid's
defiance.

Anlaff, a Prince of greater Abilities than his Brother, took better measures for his Restoration. He had retired into *Ireland*, where being informed that the King of *Scotland* was displeased with *Athelstan*, believed he might make use of this opportunity to persuade him to espouse his Cause. To that end, he came into *Scotland* and intimated to *Constantine*, that he had reason to fear the worst from the King of *England*. He represented to him, that *Athelstan* having by surprise seized upon *Northumberland*, without any the least Pretence, might proceed in the same manner with regard to *Scotland*, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to prevent him. To this he added the offer of a powerful aid from *Ireland*, assuring him, with that increase of strength he might easily drive *Athelstan* out of *Northumberland*, and free himself from a troublesome and dangerous Neighbour, by restoring that Kingdom to the *Danes*, who would serve as a barrier against *England*. *Anlaff* found no great difficulty to prevail with the King of *Scotland*, who, besides his being secretly exasperated at the haughty reception he met with at the late Interview, was grown uneasy at *Athelstan*'s Successes, and apprehensive of being invaded himself. He resolved there-

Anlaff and
Constantine
join against
Athelstan.

Malmsh.
Hoveda.

(1) *Malmshury* says, that there was no other Objection against him but this, if it was true, p. 48.
(2) *Athelstan* was crowned at *Kingston upon Thames* by *Athelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Ceremony of Crowning and Anointing the *English* Kings was, in all probability, first used in the Reign of *Alfred*.
(3) King of the *Northumbrians*. *Malmshury*, p. 48.
(4) She was Daughter to *Edward* and *Egwinna*. After *Sithric*'s Death, (who lived but one year after his Marriage,) she became a Nun at *Polesworth* in *Warwickshire*. *Flor. Wor.* *Malmsh. Jo. Wallingford* says, that *Sithric* upon his Marriage with *Edithe*, was advanced by *Athelstan* to the Title of King, and that he gave him for his Kingdom all the Country from the River *Tees*, as far as *Edinburgh*; from which time the *Danes* began to settle in those Parts, who before rambled about all over *England*. See *Tyrrel*, p. 330.
(5) *Flor. Wor.* more probably supposes *Anlaff* not to have been the Son of *Sithric* King of *Northumberland*, but of another of that name, King of *Ireland*, and who had married the Daughter of *Constantine*, p. 603. *Brompt.* 839.
(6) *Huntingden* and *Brompton* call him the Father of *Reginald*, p. 354, 838. *Malmshury* calls him *Aldulph*, p. 48.
(7) *Dacor* in *Cumberland*. *Camd.*
(8) This Homage is mentioned neither in the *Saxon Annals*, nor in *Marianus Scotus*, or *Florus* of *Worcester*.
(9) But *Athelstan* took it and pulled it down. *Malmshury*, p. 50.

fore to embark in this Enterprize; and having concerted Measures with *Anlaff*, they parted in order to go and prepare what each had engaged to provide.

Mean while *Athelstan*, having viewed his Garrisons, and taken all the Precautions he thought proper to secure his late Conquests, was returned into *Wessex*, where he remained in Peace, not knowing what his Enemies had plotted against him. Shortly after, he was engaged in a War with *Howel* King of *Wales*. This new Enemy was raised by *Constantine*, to keep him employed against the *Welsh*, whilst he and *Anlaff* should invade *Northumberland*. *Athelstan*, by his expedition, broke all the measures of the King of *Scotland*. The moment he was informed of the Motions of the *Welsh*, and the Aid sent them by *Constantine*, he marched into *Wales*, and giving *Howel* Battle obtained a complete Victory (1). After this happy Success, he augmented the Tribute paid by that Prince to *England* (2).

This War being thus ended, *Athelstan* approached the Borders of *Scotland*, to make *Constantine* repent of his assisting the *Welsh*. As soon as he entered the Enemy's Country, he took some Towns, and gave the *Scots* reason to dread more considerable Losses. As *Anlaff* was not yet arrived with the promised Supplies, *Constantine* durst not venture to engage alone in this War against so powerful an Enemy, who was already in his Dominions, and in condition to carry on his Conquests much further. Wherefore, to gain time till the *Irish* joined him, he sued for Peace. *Athelstan* readily granted his request, being extremely desirous to make that Prince his Friend, for fear he should countenance the Insurrections of the *Northumbrians*. For this reason he restored to him all the Places he had conquered in *Scotland*, in expectation of gaining by this Generosity a Prince whose Friendship it was his Interest to cultivate. Some Historians however affirm, *Athelstan* obliged *Constantine* to do him Homage for *Scotland*. But this is what the *Scots* will never allow.

Athelstan's Generosity was not sufficient to hinder *Constantine* from pursuing the Execution of his first Projects. He rather hastened his Preparations the more, being extremely vexed, he should be forced to receive Obligations from a Prince whom he always considered as his Enemy. Mean while, *Athelstan* was returned to *Wessex*, where he hoped to enjoy some Repose, as he saw nothing about him likely to give him any Disturbance. But he met at home in his own Family with what troubled him more than any thing the War could occasion.

A certain Court-Lord, Enemy to Prince *Edwin* the King's Brother, accused the young Prince of being concerned in *Alfred's* Conspiracy. The King too readily gave Ear to this Accusation. He was easily induced to believe that a Prince in whose favour the Conspiracy was formed was not innocent. It may be too, he was not forry to find him guilty, as it gave him an Opportunity to dispatch him out of the way. However, he would not put him to death publicly, but ordered him to be exposed to the Fury of the Waves in a Vessel without Sails or Rudder. The young Prince went on board protesting his Innocence, but finding the King inexorable, he cast himself headlong into the Sea (3). *Athelstan* at first was secretly pleased with this Occasion to destroy his Brother; but the moment he had gratified his Passion, was seized with grievous Remorse. To quiet his Conscience he was advised to atone for his Crime by some meritorious Act. With this View he founded the Abby of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire* (4), where Prayers were offered to Heaven, Day and Night, for him and his Brother's Soul. The Historians add (5), that, not content with this, he submitted to a seven Years Penance, but do not inform us wherein it consisted. *Edwin's* Accuser had not reason long to rejoice at the Success of his malicious Calumnies. One day as he waited at Table with the King's Cup, one of his Feet slipping, he would certainly have fallen, had he not by the Nimbleness of the other recovered himself. Whereupon he jokingly says, *See how one Brother helps another*. This

jest cost him his Life. *Athelstan*, who overheard what he said, taking it for a Reproach or Banter upon him, ordered him to be executed immediately, and thus revenged his Brother's Death by That of his false Accuser (6).

Whilst these things passed at Court, *Constantine* continued his Preparations for the execution of the Project concerted between him and *Anlaff*. This last, whom some groundlessly stile King of *Ireland*, had found means to engage in the League, the *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *Northumbrian Danes*, who ardently desired to have a King of their own Nation on the Throne. *Anlaff* appeared as head of this League, though *Constantine* was no less concerned in it, the War being carried on chiefly at his Expence. This Project was managed so privately, that *Anlaff* entered the *Humber* with a Fleet of six hundred Sail, and invaded *Northumberland* before *Athelstan* had any Intelligence of his Motions. With so considerable Forces, and the Assistance of the *Danes* settled in those Parts, he easily became Master of several small ill-guarded Towns. But the fortified Places that were well garrisoned by the *English*, stopped his Progress, and gave *Athelstan* time to draw his Army together. He used so great expedition, that he surprised the two confederate Princes. They were now upon the March towards *Bernicia*, in order to conquer it for the King of *Scotland*, but found they were obliged to turn back and oppose King *Athelstan*, who was very near them, when they imagined him as yet employed in his Preparations. The two Armies met at *Brunanburgh* (7), where a bloody Battle was fought. Victory declared for *Athelstan*, and the Allies lost *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, six other *Irish* or *Welsh* Kings, and twelve Earls and General Officers. This Victory was chiefly owing to the Valour of *Turketul*, the King's Cousin, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. *Athelstan* after winning this Battle, easily extended his Conquests farther into *Scotland*, and chastised the *Welsh* by raising their Tribute to twenty Pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and twenty five thousand Head of Cattle. Besides, they were pent up beyond the *Wye*, and lost all the Country between that River and the *Severn*. As for the *Northumbrian Danes*, who had openly sided with the Allies, *Athelstan* for a Punishment encreased their Yoke, and kept for the future a stricter hand over them. After he had settled the Affairs of the North, he marched against the *Cornish Britons*, who had likewise assisted the Confederates. He took *Exeter*, formerly destroyed by the *Danes*, and caused it to be carefully repaired and fortified. From that time, the *Britons* were forced to retire beyond the *Tamar*, which served for a Boundary to the two Nations. They were, before this Expedition, mixed with the *English* in some of the *Western* Counties.

In almost every page of the Histories of those Days, we meet with Miracles wrought in favour of the Friends and Protectors of the Monks. *Athelstan* who had been a good Benefactor to them, with intent to atone for the murder of his Brother, was a great favourite with them. Accordingly they have not failed to give him the usual marks of their Gratitude. They say, at the word of *St. John of Beverly*, he struck his Sword three Yards deep in a solid Rock, which yielded like Butter. They tell us also, that having lost his Sword in the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, another from Heaven came and sheathed itself in his Scabbard. But it would be lost time to relate all the Miracles the Monks have thought fit to stuff their Histories with. It will not be amiss however to note, that the Custom of embellishing all remarkable Events with Miracles, was in fashion for several Ages.

I shall conclude the Reign of *Athelstan* with an Incident, the best Historians have thought worth their Notice. A few days before the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, *Anlaff* wanting to know the Posture of the Enemy, went into the *English* Camp disguised like a Harper, as *Alfred* the Great had formerly done. But notwithstanding his Disguise, he was known by a Soldier, who however suffered him to go away

(1) But he restored Peace (and *Constantine*) to their Kingdoms, saying, *It was more glorious to make a King, than to be one* Malm. p. 48. Brompt. 833.

(2) *Malmbury* intimates it was he who first laid it on. See him p. 50.

(3) With the Prince was put on board his Equire, who after the Prince had cast himself into the Sea, was resolved to save himself if he could, and meeting with better Fortune, was driven on Shore at a Place call'd *Whitland*, on the Coast of *Picardy*. Malm. Brompt.

(4) Now call'd *Marm-Aby*; it lies three Miles North of the *Piddle*. The greatest Part of it is still standing, as having been the Seat of the *Monks* ever since its Dissolution; from whom it is lately come to the *Latterels of Dunfer-Castle*, by the Marriage of the Heiress of Sir *John Tregunell*. Camden.

(5) *Brompton* and *Malm.*

(6) As the Affair of *Edwin* is the only thing that falsifies the Memory of *Athelstan*, *Malmbury*, who relates it, disbelieves the whole Story, because of his great Kindness to his other Brothers and Sisters, and owns it was grounded only on some Old Ballads. *Huntingdon* speaks of the Letter *Edwin* wrote, but mentions it as a sad Accident, and a great Misfortune to *Athelstan*. *Brompton* indeed delivers it as a certain Truth. But *Baillan* the Saxon Historian, such was his Malice to this King's Memory makes *Athelstan* not only to have procured the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, but also of his Father King *Edward*, whom he therefore takes to have been call'd the Martyr; and not content with this neither, adds, that he put to Death his Brother *Edward* also. More Mistakes can scarce be committed in so few Lines; for in the first Place, it is agreed by all our Historians, that King *Edward* died a natural Death; and as for him whom he calls the Martyr, he was Son of King *Edgar*, nor did he begin to reign till above a hundred and fifty Years after. But as for what *Baillan* objects against some of our late Historians for making *Constantine* to do Homage for *Scotland* to *Athelstan*, he seems to be in the right. See Note above.

(7) Suppos'd to be *Bromford*, near *Bromwich*, in *Northumberland*; though some think it was somewhere nearer the *Humber*. In the Description of this Battle, the Historians and Poets of that Age are extraordinary full of Rapture and Bombast. The Saxon *Annals*, went to be febrile and sweet, launches out blazon upon this Occasion. Sax. Ann. 938. *Ascanster* in the Borders of *Deorshire* is famous for the Torments of the Saxon Prince slain in this Battle at *Brunanburgh*, and brought hither after their Death. Camden, Vol. I. p. 44. After this Victory, *Athelstan* took *Cumberland* and *Wesmerland* from the *Danes*, and recovered *Northumberland* from the *Danes*.

Athelstan
defeats
Howel King
of *Wales*.
Malm.

Brompt.

934.
He marches
into *Scot-*
land.
Sax. Ann.
Fordun. l. 4.
c. 22.

and makes a
Peace with
Constantine.

938.
Constantine
renovates the
War.

Athelstan
puts his Bro-
ther *Edwin*
to Death.
Brompt.
Malm.

and repents
of it.

Constantine
and *Anlaff*
invade *North-*
umberland.
Sax. Ann.

Irish
History

Malm.

Miracles
done in fa-
vour of
Athelstan.
Brompt.
Fordun. l. 4.
c. 23.

He, and his
being slain
by *Athelstan*.
Malm.
l. 2. c. 6.

undiscovered. As soon as the Soldier thought him safe, he told *Athelstan* what had happened, and advised him to remove his Tent, judging *Anlaf* had some design upon that Quarter. He excused himself for not having discovered this Secret sooner, by saying, *he had formerly given his Military Oath to Anlaf, and therefore could not resolve to betray him.* *Athelstan* forgave him, and followed his Advice, which he soon found to be of great consequence. The next Night the *Danish* Prince, with a Body of chosen Troops, attacked the *English* Camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had seen the King's Tent. A Bishop (coming to the Camp that Night, and) accidentally pitching his Tent in the same place, was slain with all his Followers.

941. *Athelstan* out-lived the Victory of *Brunanburgh* but three Years. He died a natural Death in 941, in the forty sixth year of his Age, and the sixteenth of his Reign (1). Historians have dilated on the glorious Success of his Arms, but much more on the Miracles Heaven wrought in his favour. But without insisting on the wonders his History abounds with, I shall content myself with giving him this Commendation: His Merits made him to be equally feared by his Neighbours, beloved by his Subjects, and respected by the greatest Princes in *Europe* (2). The Emperor *Otho*, and *Hugh the Great* his Brothers-in-law, gave him frequent demonstrations of their Esteem, by making him considerable Presents. The noble Matches he made for those of his Sisters who preferred the Marriage-state to a *Cloyster*, are clear Evidences of his great Reputation in the World. His Sister *Ogina*, Widow of *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, being obliged to fly for refuge into *England* with her Son *Lothar*, who from thence had the Sir-

name of *Outremer*, he gave them an honourable Reception and furnished them with all things necessary during their *Exile*. It is even affirmed, his Application and Credit did not a little contribute to the restoring the King his Nephew to the Throne of his Ancestors. Tho' he seemed to be intirely engrossed by military Affairs, he found time however to cause Justice and Civil Government to flourish in his Dominions; witness the excellent Laws he from time to time added to those of *Alfred* his Grandfather. It appears from these Laws, several whereof are still extant, that his Intent was, all Persons, *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Civil*, should be subject to them. He was no Friend to those *Privileges* and *Immunities*, the Clergy have so much improved, and which very often serve only to authorize Wickedness, and prove a *Sanctuary* to Criminals.

Amongst all the Monuments of his Piety, which for the most part consisted only in building and endowing Monasteries, according to the Custom of those Days, the Translation of the Scriptures into *Saxon*, the then vulgar Tongue, is one, the Usefulness whereof appears to be least dubious. He took particular care to have it well done, employing those that were deemed the most learned Persons in the Kingdom. Hence it is evident, how much the State of Learning had been improved by the wise regulations of the Great *Alfred*, since in his time it would have been impossible to find any *Englishman* capable of undertaking a Work of that nature.

The famous *Dunstan*, so often mentioned hereafter, was born in the first Year of this Reign.

Athelstan having no Issue, *Edmund*, the eldest of the legitimate Sons of *Edward the Elder*, was unanimously placed on the Throne.

He gets the Bible translated into Saxon.

Birth of Dunstan.

Edmund made King.

9. EDMUND I.

Edmund I.

ATHELSTAN left *England* in profound Tranquillity. The *Welsh* paid their Tribute regularly. *Anlaf*, after his Defeat, was retired into *Ireland*, where he seemed to lay aside all Thoughts of any further Projects; and the *Danes* remained in subjection. But as soon as this Prince was laid in his grave, these last prepared for a Revolt. *Edmund's* Youth made them hope, they should at length be able to accomplish their long projected Design of having a King of their own Nation, and throwing off the *English* Yoke. *Anlaf* having perfect Intelligence how they stood inclined, resolved to make use of this Juncture to recover the Crown of *Northumberland*. But as he was sensible this grand Undertaking could not be executed without a foreign Aid, he found means to persuade *Olaus*, King of *Norway*, to espouse his Cause, who promised to assist him to the utmost of his power. With the Troops lent him by this Prince, he once more entered *Northumberland*, and appearing before *York*, the Gates were opened to him, by means of the good understanding between him and the principal Inhabitants. The Example of the Metropolis was followed by most of the other Towns, whose Garrisons were either expelled, or cut in pieces by the Citizens, who were generally of *Danish* race. *Anlaf*, not content with being master of *Northumberland*, marched into *Mercia* (3), where his Countrymen received him with open Arms, and assisted him in recovering several places which *Edward the Elder* had formerly taken from them.

Tho' *Edmund* was not above seventeen or eighteen Years of age, the Progress of the Enemy was so far from daunting him, that it rather made him more eager to decide by a battle, to whom a Country, so often and so long contended for, should belong. As soon as he had drawn all his Forces together, he resolutely marched towards the North, though he well knew the Superiority of his Enemy. On the other hand, *Anlaf* hearing *Edmund* was advancing with long Marches to give him Battle, went to meet him with the same Resolution. The two Armies meeting near *Chesler* (4), came to an Engagement, wherein Victory held the Balance so even, that when Night came, neither could boast of the least Advantage. Both Sides prepared to renew the Fight as soon as Day should appear. But the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* (5), who were in the two Armies, laboured so earnestly to make Peace, that a Treaty was begun that very Evening, and con-

cluded by break of Day. This Peace was the more easily made, as neither of the Parties could insist upon any Advantage gained in that Day's Action, since neither of them could know either their own or the Enemy's Loss. By this Treaty, *Edmund* was obliged to deliver up to the *Danes* all the Country lying North of the *Roman* High-way, called *Watlingstreet*, which divided *England* into almost two equal parts, running from *North Wales* to the most southern parts of *Kent*, quite to the Sea. *Edmund* was not at all pleased with these Terms, but was in a manner forced to accept them by the Nobles that were in his Army. These Lords, weighing the hopes of recovering what was lost, with the Apprehension of being still greater Losers, judged it better to end the War on these Conditions, than continue it with the Hazard of what might happen. Doubtless the Remembrance of the Calamities *England* was formerly exposed to, made them the more willing to come to this Resolution. Accordingly, *Anlaf* was put in possession of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, whose Bounds by this Treaty were enlarged with several Counties which his Father *Sithric* had never enjoyed.

The *Northumbrian* *Danes* had not reason long to rejoice at the Restoration of *Anlaf*, which they had so ardently desired. This Prince having contracted a large Debt with the King of *Norway* for the Troops he had lent him, was willing to pay it. To this end, he laid heavy Taxes on the People, by which he forfeited their Affection. The Inhabitants of the ancient Kingdom of *Deira* were the first that revolted, and having sent for *Reginald*, his Brother *Godfrid's* Son, crowned him King at *York*. *Reginald* was no sooner on the Throne, but he made Preparations for the War against his Uncle, who was also preparing to dispossess him. The Quarrel between these two Kings, put *Edmund* upon marching towards the North, at the head of an Army, as well to improve the present Opportunity, if there was any Appearance of Success, as to appease the Troubles there, being apprehensive they might give occasion to the foreign *Danes* to return into *England*. He arrived upon the Borders of *Northumberland* when the Uncle and Nephew, wholly intent upon their private Quarrel, thought of nothing less than repulsing the *English*. Probably, he might with ease have made himself master of that Kingdom; however, he was satisfied with procuring Peace between the two Kings, in such a manner that *Reginald* was to keep the Crown he had lately received,

Edmund and Anlaf divide England between them.

944. Divisions in Northumberland.

Edmund marches thither.

and subjects the two Kings who are baptised.

(1) He was buried with a great many Trophies at *Malsbury*.

(2) See the Character of *Athelstan* with this Sentence: His Life was little in Time, but great in Action, lib. 2.

(3) When he landed at *Winton*; from thence he went to *Tamworth*, and ravag'd all the Country round about. S. Dunelm. p. 134. Hoved. Cbron. de Mercia.

(4) Ancient *Chester*, call'd by the Romans, *Urb Legionis*. Rapin. It was so nam'd from the twentieth Legion, who were encamp'd here to keep the *Ordovices* in awe: for the same Reason it was call'd by the Britons or *Welsh*, *Caer-lyon*, and by the Saxons, *Legion-caester*, suppos'd to be built about that time. Rapin. Cbron. de Mercia.

But at the same time, *Edmund* obliged them both to swear Allegiance to him, and be baptized, himself standing Godfather.

The Wars
breaks out
again.
Sax. Ann.
Huntin. l. 5.

This forced Peace lasted not long, *Edmund* was hardly return'd into *Wessex*, when the two *Danish* Princes took up arms with one consent to free themselves from his Yoke, having engaged the *Mercian* *Danes* and the King of *Cumberland* to espouse their Quarrel. Whereupon, *Edmund* immediately marched into *Mercia*, and before the *Danes* there could be joined by the *Northumbrians*, took from them *Leicester*, *Stafford*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and some other places of less note. Then advancing with the same expedition towards *Northumberland*, he surpris'd the two Kings before they had drawn their Forces together. This sudden Attack threw the *Northumbrians* into such disorder, that the two Kings fearing to fall into the hands of *Edmund*, believed it their only Refuge to abandon the Island, where they could not possibly remain in safety, so closely were they pursued. Their Flight depriving the *Danes* of all Hopes of withstanding *Edmund* they threw down their Arms, and swore Allegiance.

The two
Danish Kings
fly out of
England.

945.
Edmund
subdues
Cumberland
and gives it
to the King
of Scotland.
Sax. Ann.
Fordun. l. 4.
b. 24.

Before he returned to *Wessex*, *Edmund* resolv'd to punish the King of *Cumberland*, who, without cause, had sided with the *Danes*. He easily subdued that little Kingdom, whose Forces bore no proportion to his. However, he kept it not for himself, but thought it more for his Advantage to present it to the King of *Scotland*, in order to attach him to his Interest, and prevent him from assisting the *Northumbrians* (1). However, he reserv'd the Sovereignty of it, and oblig'd that Prince to do him Homage, and appear at the King of *England's* Court, at the time of the solemn Festivals, if summoned. This perhaps is what gave occasion to say, that from thenceforward the Kings of *Scotland* were Vassals to the Kings of *England*. They were certainly so with regard to *Cumberland*; but it does not follow from hence they did Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Edmund's Successes, his Valour and Abilities, rendered him famous both at Home and Abroad. The King of *Denmark*, tho' frequently sollicit'd by the *Danes* in *England*, did not think proper to assist them against a Prince of so great Reputation, and from whom there was so little to be got.

Edmund was not wholly employ'd in military Affairs; *The Laws of* there are some of his Laws still in being, which demon- *Edmund's* strate how desirous he was of his People's Welfare and *Homage*. Happiness. Having observ'd, *Pecuniary* Punishments were not sufficient to put a stop to Robberies, which were generally committed by People who had nothing to lose, he order'd, that in Gangs of Robbers, the oldest of them should be condemn'd to the Gallows. This was the first Law in *England* that made it Death to rob or steal.

Probably this Prince would have render'd his People happy, had his Reign been longer; but a fatal Accident robb'd him of his Life, when he began to enjoy the Fruits of his Victories. One day, as he was solemnizing a Festival (2) at *Pucklekirk* in *Gloucestershire* (3), he spied *Loth*, a notorious Robber, who, though banish'd the Kingdom for his Crimes, had the Impudence to come and sit at one of the Tables in the Hall where the King was at Dinner. Enrag'd at his Insolence, he command'd him to be apprehended (4). But perceiving he was drawing his Dagger to defend himself, the King leapt up in great fury, and catching hold of him by the Hair, dragg'd him out of the Hall. This imprudent Action cost him his Life. Whilst he was wholly intent upon venting his furious Passion, *Loth* stabbed him in the Breast with his Dagger, so that he immediately expired upon the Body of his Murderer. This was the tragical End of King *Edmund* in 948, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age, and the eighth of his Reign (5). By *Elgiva* his Wife he had two Sons, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, who did not succeed him by reason of their Minority. *Edred* his Brother was placed on the Throne by the unanimous Consent of the Clergy and Nobility (6).

948.
The tragical
End of *Ed-*
mund.
G. Malm.
S. Dunelm.
Br. Hist.
Malm.

During this Reign *Dunstan* began to appear in the World. He was in great Favour with *Edmund*, who made him Abbot of *Glaffenbury*.

H. W. f. and
Children.

About this time *William Long-Sword*, second Duke of *Normandy*, was assassinated by *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, in a little Island of the *Somme* over against *Pequigni*. *Richard* I. his Son, a Minor, succeeded him. As the Affairs of *Normandy* will hereafter be often mix'd with those of *England*, it is necessary to give an Account beforehand of the Succession of the Dukes in that Dukedom.

Dunstan.

The Affairs
of *Norman-*
dy.

10. E D R E D.

EDRED.
War of
Northum-
berland.

THE *Northumbrian* *Danes* bore the *English* Yoke with extreme Impatience. Nothing but Force was sufficient to keep them in Subjection. Whenever they thought they had a favourable Opportunity to revolt, they seldom failed to embrace it. Tho' during *Edmund's* Reign they had not been very successful, yet upon news of his Death, they began to think of means to recover their Liberty. They hop'd his Successor, whom as yet they knew not, would not have his Bravery, or at least wanting his Experience, would not have the same advantage over them. The better to execute their Designs, they gain'd to their Side *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who look'd upon all Obligations to be cancelled by the Death of *Edmund*. This Prince, as well as the *Danes*, was persuaded, *Edred*, by reason of his Youth, would be so embarrassed at this unexpected Attack, that it would not be possible for him to make any Resistance. But the Success was not answerable to their Expectations, *Edred*, not being inferior to his Predecessor, either in Conduct or Courage, was so very expeditious, that he was in the Heart of *Northumberland*, before the *Danes* were ready to oppose him. They were extremely surpris'd to find themselves thus attacked, when as yet they had hardly discover'd their Intention to revolt. However, as *Edred* was in the midst of their Country, they were forced to submit and sue for Peace upon what Terms he pleas'd (7).

Sax. Ann.
Huntin. l. 5.

Edred chas-
ses the
Danes.
S. Dunelm.

He punishes
the *Danes*.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

After having chastiz'd the *Danes*, by fining some, and punishing others of the principal Authors of the Revolt, *Edred* advanced towards *Scotland*, to be revenged of the

ungrateful *Malcolm*. But *Malcolm* seeing the *Northumbrians* subdued, and himself destitute of Assistance from that Quarter, concluded a Peace with *Edred*, paying him the Homage due to him.

This Expedition being ended, *Edred* returned into *Wessex*, imagining he had nothing more to fear from the North. But he was unacquainted with the *Danes*. He had scarce begun to enjoy some Repose, when they revolted again and recalled *Anlaf*. Their Measures were so just, and *Anlaf's* Expedition so great that he made himself master of the most considerable Places before *Edred* could draw his Army together. Whilst he was preparing to save *Northumberland*, *Anlaf* continued his Conquests and put his Affairs in such condition, that his Enemy saw no Possibility of recovering that Kingdom out of his hands. But the turbulent and tyrannical Temper of the new King would not suffer him to treat his Subjects more gently than formerly. In a little time so strong a Party was formed against him, that he was forced once more to retire to *Ireland*, and one *Eric* was placed on the Throne.

949.
Anlaf is re-
called, and
recovers
Northum-
berland;
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

is driven out
by his Sub-
jects.

952.

Mean while, part of the *Northumbrians* still adhering to *Anlaf*, *Northumberland* was divided into two Factions, who endeavouring to destroy one another, gave *Edred* an Opportunity, he very well knew how to improve. He march'd his Army without loss of time into the North, whilst all was in confusion there, and before the *Northumbrians* had taken any Measures to resist him (8). At his Approach, *Eric* fled into *Scotland*, leaving his People to the Mercy of *Edred*, who threatn'd utterly to destroy their Country. Though they had no room to expect a second

Edred sub-
dues *North-*
umber-
land, and
reduces it to
a Province.
Ann. Sax.

950.

S. Dunelm.

(1) He had it, upon condition of assisting *Edmund* in his Wars both by Sea and Land. Sax. Ann. Malm. p. 53. Huntingd. p. 355.

(2) In Memory of St. *Augustin*, who first preach'd the Gospel to the *Anglo-Saxons*. Malm.

(3) Now *Puckle-Church*, a small Village only, the Seat of the *Deans's*, whose Family have been eighteen times Sheriffs of that County. Camd.

(4) Malm. and *Brompton* say, that the rest of the *Gueils* being drunk, he was the only one that spied him, and flying upon him in a violent Passion, was stabb'd, p. 54. 858. But *Hoved. Chron. de Maîtres*, &c. say, that he received the Wound as he was endeavouring to rescue *Len* his Sewer out of *Loth's* Hands. *Brompton* relates, that, according to some, *Loth* escap'd during the Confusion and Hurry occasion'd by this tragical Action, p. 838.

(5) He was buried at *Glaffenbury*, where *Dunstan* was Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was bestow'd upon the same Monastery to sing Masses for his Soul.

(6) And crown'd at *Kings-ten*, by *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. S. Dunelm. p. 156. *Hoved.*

(7) Accordingly, Ann. 947. *Wulfstan*, Archbishop of *York*, and all the *Northumbrian* Archbishops swore fealty to him in a Town call'd *Tadenclyff*. S. Dunelm. p. 156. This Submission of theirs was brought about by means of *Turketul*, Chancellor to *Edred*, who was sent to reduce the *Northumbrians* to their Duty. See *Inguib.* p. 30.

(8) And destroy'd all the Rebels in a merciless manner. He wast'd the Country so that it remained uncultivated for many Miles a long while after. In this general Devastation, *Rippon* Monastery was burnt. Malm. p. 155. *Inguib.* p. 41. S. Dunelm. p. 156.

Pardon, after so notorious an Abuse of the first, yet as they had no Refuge left, they cast themselves upon *Edred's* Mercy, and amused him with the strongest Protestations and most solemn Oaths. As this Prince was naturally of a generous Disposition, he was moved with their submissive Behaviour, and replaced *Eric* on the Throne, satisfied with imposing a Tribute, and making him swear Allegiance, when he had, as he thought, allayed these Commotions, and he returned towards *Wessex*, marching in a careless manner, not mistrusting any Treachery from a People that had just received such sensible Marks of his Clemency. But the *Danes*, who had been rather compelled by his Arms than gained by his Mildness, laid hold of the present Opportunity to attack him with Advantage. They privately came together, and laying an ambush in his way, suddenly fell upon his Rear, and put them in extreme Disorder. Had it not been for the Valour, Conduct, and Resolution of the King, his Army had infallibly been cut in pieces; and it was not without great difficulty, that he escaped the present Danger. Enraged at their Perfidiousness, he returned to *Northumberland*, with a resolution to punish them without mercy. His Return caused an universal Conternment. They beheld him ready to take Vengeance on them for their breach of Faith, without being able to make the least Resistance. Their Ruin was unavoidable, if they offered to defend themselves. In this extremity, Submission was their only Refuge (1). But being very sensible *Edred* would not be imposed upon any more by general Protestations and Oaths, they humbly implored his Pardon upon what Terms he should please to enjoin them. And to convince him further of their Sincerity, they solemnly renounced their Allegiance to *Eric*, and put *Amac*, Son of *Anlaff* to death; charging them with being the principal Authors of their Treachery (2). *Edred* was appeased by these Submissions. However, to prevent the like Revolts, he secured all their Towns, and garrisoned them with *English*. After that, having entirely divested it of its Royalty, he reduced *Northumberland* to a Province, and made *Earl Osluf*, an *Englishman*, the first Governor. From thenceforward the *Northumbrians*, kept in awe by strong Garrisons and the *English* Earls or Governors, gave *England* no further Disturbance, till such time as the foreign *Danes* once more became masters of *Northumberland*, as we shall see hereafter.

After the *Northumbrians* were thus quelled, *Edred* lived in profound Peace. Absolute Lord of all *England*, and dreaded by the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales* his Neighbours, he governed his Dominions in perfect Tranquillity. This great Calm was the Occasion of his turning his Thoughts entirely to religious Affairs, being guided by the Advice of *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glassenbury*, who had great Influence over him. The Abbot knew so well how to improve his Credit with the King, that he became master of his Confidence, and consequently of all State-Matters. When once a Prince suffers his Conscience to be governed by his *Ghostly Father*, he will find it very difficult to withhold from him the Management of his temporal Concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to Religion in some respect or other. The Trust *Edred* placed in *Dunstan* was so great, that not content with being advis'd by him in all things, and making him *Treasurer*, he submitted sometimes even to received Discipline from his Hands. He was persuaded, this blind Submission to *Dunstan* was the

readiest way to Heaven. To gratify this Favourite it was that he undertook the rebuilding of *Glassenbury Church* and Monastery, in a very sumptuous and magnificent manner. He laid out immense Sums upon this Work, without having the Satisfaction however to see it finished (3).

The Monks made use also of *Dunstan* their Protector's Interest, to get into the *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, which they could never have done without him. Though *Dunstan's* Proceedings in this affair raised the Clamours of the *secular* Clergy, he gave himself no trouble about them so long as he could obtain his Ends. However, his haughty manner of acting procured him many Enemies, who in the following Reign made him feel the Effects of their Hatred, which they had taken care to conceal during *Edred's* Life. If *Dunstan* favoured the Monks, they were no less zealous upon all Occasions to promote his Glory. They every where proclaimed that *Dunstan* was a great Saint, that Heaven daily wrought Miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured with *divine Revelations*. In their account, neither the *Saints* of the first rank, nor the *Apostles* themselves, were Partakers of so many *Graces* as he. Though all they said of this Prelate was aggravated to the last degree, it failed not however to make impression on the Minds of the generality of the People, who were more easily confirmed in their Belief of what they were told; as they who knew better things, durst not contradict the Monks, for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the King and his Favourite.

Had *Edred* lived any time, *Dunstan* and the Monks would doubtless have carried all before them. But this Prince died when the Monks were but just beginning to creep into the *Benefices*. Those Historians who have made it their business to extol the *Merits* and *Sanctity* of *Dunstan*, tell us, that *Edred's* Death was revealed to him by a Voice from Heaven, as he was coming to see him. They add, his Horse fell down dead under him, at the prodigious Noise, the Voice made (4). But judicious Authors have taken care not to stuff their Writings with *Tales* of this Nature.

Edred reigned but ten Years (5). *Elfrid* and *Bedfrid*, his two Sons, whom he left very young, did not succeed him. His Nephew *Edwy*, Son of *Edmund* his elder Brother, was placed on the Throne after him. This Election, by the way, seems equally to favour those who are of Opinion, that in the *Saxon* times the Succession to the Crown depended entirely on the Suffrages of the Clergy and Nobility, and those who maintain it belonged of right to the next Heir. On one hand, we find *Edred's* Sons deprived by the great Men of the King their Father's Inheritance, and at the same time, the Crown given to the Son of the elder Brother, in prejudice of those of the younger.

We find in one of *Edred's* Charters, that he took the Title of *Monarch of Albion*; and in another, that he styled himself *King of Great-Britain* (6), in which he was followed by *Edgar* his Nephew. If these Charters were not forged, it may be inferred from thence, that *Edred* subdued *Scotland*. But this is no proper place to examine this matter, which has caused such warm Disputes between the *English* and *Scots*. However this be, the Title *Edred* and *Edgar* affected to use, was neglected by their Successors, till the time of *James I*, about the end of the sixteenth Century.

II. EDWY.

EDWY (7) came to the Crown at fourteen Years of age, with very different Notions of *Dunstan* from those of his Predecessor. Whether he was prepossessed by the Enemies of that Minister, or had some particular cause of Complaint against him, he was no sooner on the Throne, but he ordered him to give an account of the Sums the late King had entrusted him with. *Dunstan* replied, the Money that had passed thro' his Hands, having been laid out in *pious Uses*, he was not accountable for an administration solely relating to Reli-

gion. As he urged the building of *Glassenbury*, which the late King had so much at heart, *Edwy's* Council thought it not proper to push the affair any farther, lest the People should espouse the Abbot's Cause. The founding and repairing of Monasteries were at that time such sacred things, that there was no speaking against them, without being branded with the Name of impious and prophane. And therefore the King's Council finding there was no attacking *Dunstan* on that head, without running some risk, took another Course to undermine his Credit, which was

(1) They made him also very considerable Presents. *Hoved.* p. 413.

(2) *Wulfstan*, Archbishop of *York*, was taken into custody for abetting this Rebellion. But after he had been in Prison some time, *Edred* set him at Liberty in respect to his Character. However, he is said to take his Disgrace so to heart, that it occasioned his Death soon after. *Malm.* l. 2. *Mat. West.* l. 1. He was imprisoned for causing several of the Inhabitants of *Thetford* to be put to Death, in revenge for their having murdered Abbot *Alwin*, p. 189.

(3) He also rebuilt *Greyland*, and *Abingdon* Monasteries. *Ingulph.* p. 41. The last was founded by *Ina*, and had been destroyed by the *Danes*. *Speed.* p. 346. *Heddingh.* Vol. I. p. 188.

(4) Some think this was a Contrivance of *Dunstan's*, to keep the Treasure *Edred* had committed to his Trust. See *Hollingsh.* Vol. I. p. 158. Col. 2.

(5) He was buried in the old Minster at *Winchester*. *S. Dunelm.* His Bones, with those of other Kings, are preserved in a gilt Coffin fixed upon the Wall, in the south Side of the Quire. *Speed.* p. 346.

(6) *Buchanan* says, that by *Great Britain* is meant, that part of *Britain* lying on the South of *Adrian's Wall*, which the *Britons* inhabited.

(7) He was so extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtained the Surname of *Pancalus*, or, *The Fair*. *Ethelwerd.* l. 4. c. 8. He was crowned at *Winton* by *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 157. *Brompt.* p. 86.

He makes
Eric swear
Allegiance.

He is sud-
denly attack-
ed by the
Danes, and
in great
Danger.

He returns
into Nor-
thumber-
land.

The Danes
submit to his
Mercy.
Huntingd.

Northum-
berland is
made a Pro-
vince.
S. Dunelm.
Ch. Mail-
box.

Edred turns
his Thoughts
to Religious
Affairs,
Is guided by
the Advice of
Dunstan.
Malm.

Dunstan's
great Credit.

955.
EDWY.
Dunstan's
Disgrace.

955.
Edred's
Death.

Edwy his
Nephew suc-
ceeds him.

Ingulph.
Dugdale's
Monast.
Vol. I.

Malm.

to reverse whatever had been done in favour of the Monks. Accordingly, the Monks were turned out of their Benefices, and the secular Priests put in their room. By this notable Proceeding, three things were intended: First, to mortify *Dunstan*, which it must do in a very sensible manner. Secondly, to lessen the People's Esteem for him, since the pulling down what he had set up, was a clear Evidence, the Court had no very great Opinion of his Sanctity. Besides, the restoring the Benefices to the secular Clergy, plainly intimated it was wrong to dispossess them. Lastly, as *Dunstan* and the Monks were in strict Union. Their Disgrace could not but reflect upon him. The Persecutions of the most cruel Tyrants against the Church, never extorted from the primitive Christians such bitter Invectives, as this pretended Persecution did from the Monks. As they represent the matter, Religion was never in so great danger. The most pernicious Heresies were nothing in comparison of what was then acted. The Monks of *Malmesbury*, who were the most concerned, made the greatest Noise of all, and for that reason were turned out of their Monastery, which was given to the secular Priests. *William of Malmesbury* upon this occasion says, that after it had been inhabited by Monks two hundred and seventy Years, it was made a Stable of Clerks (1) Whether *Dunstan* stirred up the Monks to make these Complaints, or the charging him with it was made a Pretence to punish him, he was banished the Kingdom. Some say he voluntarily went into Exile, without any previous Condemnation. However this be, he retired to a Monastery in *Flanders* (2), where he lived in expectation of being recalled by some favourable turn of Affairs.

Dunstan's Enemies gloried in his Disgrace. The King himself was highly delighted with being freed from a Man whom he hated, and who, in the former Reign, had shown him Marks of Disrespect. But he soon learnt how dangerous such kind of Enemies are. He found, by fatal Experience, there is no giving Offence to Ecclesiastics with Impunity, and to Saints least of all others. The Monks, enraged to the last degree for the Loss of their Benefices, cried down, to the utmost of their power, the Administration of the young King, whom they looked upon as the principal Author of their Disgrace. By their Lies and Calumnies which they every where spread, they at length persuaded their *Votaries*, he was the most impious of Men. The Consequence of which was, that great Numbers of *Malecontents* appeared in *Mercia*, of whom *Edgar*, the King's Brother, was declared Head and Protector. Per-

haps he was made to believe, by the Suggestions of the Monks, that he would do God service in deposing his wicked Brother: Or rather he used that Pretence to mount the Throne, of which he had yet but a very distant Prospect. However this be, having secured *Mercia*, he went into *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, where he found the *Danes* ready to join him. They desired nothing more than to see the *English* involved in Trouble and Confusion. This Insurrection was the more surprising to *Edwy*, as he had never given his People, much less his Brother, any just Cause of Complaint. Besides, he never imagined the Monks could have Interest enough to raise so great Disturbances. However, it was but too true, and as he was taken unprepared, he was not in condition to extinguish the Flame already kindled. In this Extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had lost, he chose to reduce himself to the sole Kingdom of *Wessex*, which continued faithful to him, and deliver up all the rest.

In the mean time, the Rebels dreading to fall again under the Dominion of *Edwy*, came to a resolution of having a King of their own, whose Interest would oblige him to protect and defend them. But as they were a mixture of *English* and *Danes*, each Nation was desirous the Choice should fall on one of their Countrymen. The *Danes*, to attain their Ends, endeavoured to make it be believed, that the only way to be safe from *Edwy's* Attacks, was to call in the Assistance of *Denmark*. But in truth, their Aim was only to carry the Election. The *English*, on the contrary, perceiving their Intent, did all they could to hasten the Election, representing how fatal their present State of *Anarchy* might prove. But the more forward the *English* appeared to be, the more full of Delays were the *Danes*, who daily raised fresh Obstacles, in hopes there would be a Necessity at last of sending for Aid from *Denmark*. At length, after a year spent in Debates, *Edwy* making no Efforts for the Recovery of his Dominions, and consequently the Assistance of *Denmark* becoming unnecessary, Prince *Edgar* was chosen with the Title of King of *Mercia*, by which was meant all the Country lying North of the *Thames*, except the ancient Kingdom of *Essex*. To heighten the Merit of the new King, it was given out, that whilst the great Men were deliberating on the Choice of a King, a Voice was heard from Heaven, commanding them to elect *Edgar*. The Revelation was easily swallowed by the People, at a time when it was the general Opinion, that every the least remarkable Event was attended by some Miracle.

EDWY in Essex. EDGAR in Mercia.

THIS Partition of England lasted not long. The being deprived of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the seeing the Monks triumphing over his Misfortunes, sat so heavy upon *Edwy's* Mind, that he fell into an excess of Melancholy, which brought him to his Grave, after he had reigned four Years and some Months (3).

If we believe the *Monkish* Writers, *Edwy* was a very wicked Prince. Indeed, how was it possible for a King that did not please them, to be reckoned otherwise? However, when we examine all they say to blacken his Reputation, we find but One thing which can have any foundation, and which after all has very much the Air of a Fiction, or at least, is greatly aggravated. They say, he kept the Wife of one of his *Courtiers* for his *Mistress*, and on the very Day of the Coronation, whilst the great Men were debating the Affairs of the Kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the Apartment of this Woman, from whence he was brought back by *Dunstan*, who alone had the Boldness to reprimand him for this infamous Action (4). From that time, if we may believe them, the King and his *Mistress* were so incensed against this holy Man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his Life, had he not prevented their wicked Design by voluntary Exile. But to give still a more convincing Proof

of the Dissoluteness of *Edwy*, and the Holiness of *Dunstan*, they have vented a Thing which plainly shows what Spirit they were of. They say, after *Edwy's* Death, his Soul being dragged into Hell by a Legion of Devils, one of them was dispatched with the good News to *Dunstan*. But far from rejoicing at it, the Saint prayed so intensely for the Soul that was going to be eternally miserable, that God, moved by his Zeal, snatched it from the Devils, and translated it into Paradise. This last Instance of the Animosity of the Monks against *Edwy*, renders their charge of Adultery very suspicious, especially if we consider he was not above fourteen Years of Age when he ascended the Throne. Moreover, there are Historians who assure us, this pretended *Mistress* was his lawful Wife (5). However this be, we may be certain *Edwy* might have had one or more *Mistresses*, without all that Clamour against him, had he been a Favourer of the Monks. For they were not at all offended at the *Amours* of his Brother *Edgar*, who was much more guilty than he in that respect. But the one was their Friend, and the other their Enemy. All Historians however have not been guilty of this Injustice to *Edwy*. Some have been more favourable to him, either passing over in silence these frivolous Accusations, or giving him the Commendation he deserved (6).

(1) Malmesburienſe Cœnobium plus quam 270 annis a Monachis habitatum Clericorum ſtabulum fecit. *Malm.* l. 2. c. 7.

(2) *S. Dunelm.* and *Hoved.* call it the Monastery of *Blandinum*, or *Blandinum*, p. 157, 425. *Hallingsf.* and *Brompt.* say, it was the Monastery of *St. Amande* at *Gant*. p. 863, 159.

(3) He was buried at *Wincheſter*, in the new Monastery. *Hoved.* p. 425.

(4) Some, to make the matter worſe, ſay, he kept not only the Daughter, whoſe Name was *Elgyva*, but the Mother too, and that he was on the Bed between them both when *Dunſtan* came to fetch him. *M. W.*

(5) Some ſay ſhe was his Wife, but too near a-kin, and therefore, that *Osdo* the Archbiſhop ſecending *Dunſtan*, put the King under the leſſer Excommunication, and branded *Elgyva* in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and then baniſhed her to *Ireland*. After her Return, his Heat againſt her continuing, he baniſhing'd her, ſays *Malmſbury*; but *Osbern* lays it upon the Revolters. *Vit. Dunſt.* l. 2. *Hoved.*

(6) *Huntingdon*, who was no Party in the Quarrel, gives him a handſome Character, and ſays, the Country flouriſhed under his Government, and ſeems to lament he liv'd no longer. *Hunt.* l. 5. p. 204.

12. EDGAR the Peaceable.

957.
Qualities of
Edgar.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsb.

EDWY dying without Issue, his Brother *Edgar* succeeded him, and united the two Kingdoms that were lately divided. Though he was not above sixteen Years old, his great *Genius* and solid Judgment rendered him more capable of governing than many other Princes of a more advanced Age. It cannot be denied, there are some Men born with so good natural Parts, that their Judgment is ripe before the usual time. *Edgar* was one of this number. If he had given proof of his Ability in depriving his Brother of the half of his Kingdom, he continued to do the same when he came to reign alone. He knew how to make himself obeyed by his Subjects, and feared by his Enemies, two things that undoubtedly demonstrate the great Capacity of a crowned Head.

Sax. Ann.

The first thing *Edgar* did, after he was elected King of *Mercia*, was to recall *Dunstan* from Banishment, and promote him to the See of *Worcester*, then vacant (1). The Suddenness wherewith this Prelate was recalled, gives room to suspect, he was, though absent, concerned in the Insurrection that placed *Edgar* on the Throne of *Mercia*. His great Interest at Court during this Prince's Reign, strengthens this Suspicion.

Edgar's great
Preparations
procured him
a constant
Peace.

The Reign of *Edgar* is chiefly remarkable for the continual Peace the Kingdom enjoyed; from whence he was surnamed the *Peaceable*. This uninterrupted Calm was owing neither to his Victories nor Slothfulness, but to his extraordinary Preparations for his Defence, in case he should ever be engaged in a War. By this means he became so formidable, that no one durst venture to attack him. He always kept a standing Army in the northern Provinces, as well for a Terror to the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*, as to keep in awe his own Subjects, particularly the *Danes*. This Precaution was so much the more necessary, as he was very sensible they were always ready to take advantage of any Troubles and Commotions in the State. His own Experience had taught him so much, since by their Assistance it was, that he triumphed over his Brother. On the other hand, to prevent the Invasions of the foreign *Danes*, who were no less to be feared, he took the most effectual Method. He is said to have fitted out, great and small, four thousand Ships. Some have even raised the number to four thousand eight hundred (2). It is probable, this thing has been very much magnified:—However, it shews at least the number of his Ships was extraordinary. This numerous Fleet, being distributed in all the Ports of the Kingdom, and cruising incessantly round the Island, made the Pyrates beware of making Descents, and suffered no Ship to come upon the Coast unexamined. These Precautions produced the Effect intended by *Edgar*. They prevented Invasions from abroad, and kept all quiet at home, by cutting off all hopes of foreign Assistance. With such an Army and Fleet, this Prince, without once drawing his Sword, obliged the Kings of *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the *Isle of Man*, to swear Allegiance to him, and acknowledge him for Sovereign. As a Proof of his Superiority over the Kings his Neighbours, the *English* Historians relate a very extraordinary Fact, which, if true, fully makes good what they assert. They tell us this Prince keeping his Court at *Chester*, and having a mind to go by Water to the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*, was rowed down the *Dee* in a Barge by eight Kings, himself sitting at the Helm (3).

His prodigious
Fleet.
Flor. Wig.
Malmsb.
M. West.
Ethelred.
Rievall.
Hoved.

Sax. Ann.

Edgar's great
Fleet.
Angl.
Malmsb.
I. 2. c. 6.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.
961.
H. Hist.
England
from H. Hist.
Brompt.

Edgar, not content with having secured *England* from all foreign Assaults, thought it necessary, for the further repose of his Subjects, to free them from two domestick Plagues, by which they were infested. The one was a horrible multitude of Wolves, which coming down in droves from the Mountains in *Wales*, made such a terrible Havock among their Flocks and Herds, that the Country was in a continual Alarm. Hitherto they could find no Remedy for this Evil: but *Edgar* bethought himself of an Expedient, which quickly cleared the Country of them. In the first place he converted the Tribute of Gold, Silver, and Cattle, paid him yearly by the *Welsh*, into three hundred Wolves-Heads. In the next place he published

throughout all *England*, a general Pardon for all past Offences on condition each Criminal brought him by such a time a certain number of Wolves-Tongues, in proportion to his Crimes. Upon publishing this *Act of Grace*, the Wolves were hunted and destroyed in such a manner, that in three Years there was not one left in the Kingdom.

The other Plague that infested *England* was no less grievous, it was another sort of Wolves, who, not satisfied with eating up Flocks and Herds, devoured Houses and Families. I mean the Magistrates appointed in the Cities and Provinces to administer Justice to the People. These mercenary Judges, abusing the exorbitant Power *Edgar's* Predecessors had suffered them to usurp during the Wars, were become intolerable to the Nation. Without any regard to Law or Justice, they consulted only their own Interest. They who made them the largest Presents, were sure to be favoured; and though by that means the Poor were most oppressed, the Rich were not entirely screened from their partial Proceedings. *Alfred the Great* endeavoured, by an extraordinary Act of Severity, to put a stop to this Evil; but the ensuing Wars prevented his Successors from executing his Laws. *Edgar*, undertaking to reform this Abuse, set about it himself with great application. To this end he took a Progress every Year through some part of the Kingdom, on purpose to hear the Complaints that were made against those Judges who abused their Authority. He was not satisfied with inspecting himself into their Misdemeanors, but thought it farther necessary to redress them for the future, by making a Law, that every Judge convicted of giving Sentence contrary to the Laws, should be fined twenty six Shillings (4), if he did it ignorantly; but if knowingly, should be cashiered for ever. It cannot be denied, that in this he acted as became a great Prince, and that Subjects, who enjoy the double Privilege, of being guarded against Invasions from abroad, and Oppression at home, are perfectly happy. Such is the State of the *English* at this Day under the present Government.

Edgar's
Severity to
corrupt Ma-
gistrates.
Malmsb.
S. Dunelm.

If *Edgar* was a Lover of Peace, it was not for want of Courage; That was never laid to his charge. There is a Story related of him, which, though it has the Air of a Fiction, proves at least, he was reckoned a courageous Prince. It is said, that being informed, *Keneth III.* King of *Scotland* had jested on the Littleness of his Stature, he sent for him to Court, and walking with him in a certain Place where he had ordered two Swords to be hid, he bid him take his Choice, telling him withal, he should see if he pleased, what a little Man could do. *Keneth*, as the Story goes, was so far from accepting the Challenge, that he threw himself at his feet and begged his Pardon. I observe this Relation is very improbable. In the first place, it is generally referred to the beginning of *Edgar's* Reign; whereas *Keneth III.* came not to the Crown of *Scotland* till five or six Years before that Prince's Death. In the second place, the Character the *Scotch* Historians give *Keneth*, will not suffer us to think him capable of such a piece of Cowardice. Lastly, this Adventure seems to have been confounded with one of the same nature, between a King of *Scotland*, and one of the Lords of his Court, related by *Buchanan*.

Ethelred
Rievall.
Lex. 8.
apud Brompt.

Proof of
Edgar's being
thought a
courageous
Prince.
Malmsb.
I. 2. c. 8.

Edgar's noble Qualities, and the Tranquillity *England* enjoyed during his Reign, render him, no doubt, very praise-worthy. But perhaps they would have been buried in eternal Oblivion, had not his extraordinary Attachment to the Monks engaged them to proclaim his Praises, even to an extravagant degree. His Bigotry to them, which pass'd then for the most sublime Virtue, was the principal reason of the Commendations given him by Historians, and of his being honoured with the Title of *Saint* after his Death. He is said to have founded forty Monasteries (5), and repaired and beautified many more, particularly that of *Glasfenbury* built by his Uncle *Edred*. In short, he was so very liberal to the Monks, that it was hardly in his power to do more for them than he did. *Ingulphus*, in his History of the Abby of *Croyland* (6) says, that in the Reign of *Edgar*, the Treasure of that Monastery amounted to ten

Edgar's At-
tachment to
the Monks
contributed to
his great
Fame.
Malmsb.
Ingulph.
S. Dunelm.

(1) A great Council being held at *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, *Dunstan* was, by the general Consent of all there present, chosen Bishop. *Vit. Dunstan.*
(2) *S. Dunstan* and *Gen. Malmsb.* have three Thousand six Hundred, p. 150, 160. *W. Thorn* says, the whole number was but three Hundred, which is most probable. See also p. 33. To maintain the Charge of this Fleet, besides the Contributions of his Subjects, he enter'd into a Treaty at *Chester* with six Kings, who engag'd to assist him both by Sea and Land. *Sax. Ann.* With this Fleet he used to sail round *England* every Year after *Epiph.* *Flor. Wig.* p. 600.
(3) These might be the Kings of the several Kingdoms in *Wales*, of *Anglesey*, *Man* and *Ireland*. Some reckon among them *Keneth III.* of *Scotland*, who was vassal to *Edgar* for *Cumberland*. *Hoved.* *Rapin.* There was no such Man as *Keneth* cotemporary with *Edgar*. See *Andreas's Tables*. These eight Kings were *Malcolm*, King of *Cumberland*; *Mackus*, Lord of the Isles; and these six *Welsh* Princes, *Deifnal*, *Syffert*, *Hawel*, *Jago*, *Indell*, *Jocast*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 159. *Malmsb.* p. 56. *Brompt.* *Isid.* p. 8, 9.
(4) *H. Hist.* Law 1. y. 1. hundred and twenty. See in *Brompt.* *Lex.* 8. And in *Wilkins*.
(5) Above forty eight. *Ingulph.* p. 4.
(6) He says that in 944, in *Edgar's* Reign, one *Swanling* a Monk of *Croyland* died in the hundred and sixty second Year of his Age, another in the hundred and fiftieth, which is the more remarkable, because that Abby was situated in a fenney and watery place in *Lincolnshire*. p. 51.

thousand Pounds, besides *Holy-Vessels, Shrines, Relicks*, and the like. This was a very great Sum, considering that House had been rebuilt but thirty Years. Hence may be gueſs'd the immense Riches of the Monasteries in those Days.

Edgar, not content with being thus liberal to the Monks, undertook to put them in possession again of the *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, which he performed with a high hand. *Dunstan*, whom he had made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the principal Author of this Project. This Prelate was so much in his Favour, that *Edred's* Affection to him was nothing in comparison of *Edgar's*. As he made a very considerable Figure both in this and the following Reign, it will not be improper to take a nearer View of him. Besides he pass'd for a Saint of the first Class, and nothing can be added to the Praises bestowed on him by Historians.

Dunstan, Son of *Herstan*, and Nephew of *Athelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was born at *Glaſſenbury* in 925. He spent his youthful Years with his Uncle the Archbishop, who took care to have him instructed in all the Sciences, as far as that Age of Ignorance would permit. He excelled particularly in *Musick, Painting, and Engraving*, in which he took great delight all his Life. As soon as he had finished his Studies, the Archbishop recommended him to King *Athelstan*, who sent for him to Court, but however gave him no Preferment. The Author of his Life (1) pretends, the Courtiers envying his *Virtue and Learning*, maliciously represented him to the King as a dissolute and scandalous Liver: Which the King believing, forbid him the Court, without examining the Truth. Some time after the Archbishop finding means to undeceive the King, *Dunstan* was restored to Favour, and presented with some Lands near *Glaſſenbury*. Here he spent several Years in Retirement, with certain devout Men, whom he had drawn thither, living with them a sort of monastick Life. *Glaſton* or *Glaſſenbury* was antiently a small Church, founded, according to the vulgar Opinion, by *Joseph of Arimathea*, as hath been observed elsewhere. This Church having been destroyed, *Devy* Bishop of *St. David's* built another in the same Place. This being also gone to ruin, was repaired by twelve Devout Persons, who coming from *Armorica*, settled in this Place. *Ina* King of *Wessex*, having pulled it down to the ground, raised a stately Church, and dedicated it to *Christ, St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. Several Persons famous for their Piety, most of them *Irish*, retired to this Church, where they were maintained by *Edgar's* Bounty. From that time there were always Devout Persons, who made choice of this Place for their Retreat (2).

After *Dunstan* had been some time at *Glaſſenbury*, *Edmund*, Successor of *Athelstan*, having conceived an Esteem for him, built there a Monastery (3), and made him Abbot. As *Dunstan* was a Person of great Address, he knew how to manage this Prince so dexterously, that he was very much in Favour all his Reign. His Interest at Court still encreased under *Edred*, to whom he was *Prime Minister, Favourite* and *Father Confessor*. *Dunstan's* extreme fondness for a monastick Life, made him use, without any caution, all his Interest to restore the Monks to the *Benefices* and eject the *Secular Priests*, whom he heartily despised and at length mortally hated. This Attachment to the Monks, added to his haughty carriage, procured him abundance of Enemies, and drew upon him the Displeasure of *Edwy*, Successor of *Edmund*, as we have seen. The haste *Edgar* was in to recall this Abbot from *Flanders*, is a clear Evidence, he was indebted to him for the Crown of *Mercia*. Upon *Dunstan's* return to *England*, *Edgar* promoted him to the *See of Worcester*. Some time after, the *Bishoprick of London* being vacant, he was entrusted with the Management of it. This has led some Writers into the Mistake, of imagining he was Bishop of *Worcester* and *London* at the same time. *Edgar* never ceased to give him fresh marks of his Esteem; and his high conceit of him was the more confirmed by the Miracles attributed to him. The Monks took all imaginable care to spread the Fame of these Miracles every where, and were so very particular in their Circumstances, that one must have been much freer from Prejudice than they generally were in those Days, not to have believed them. It is however very unlikely, that *Edgar* himself, who was not of the number

of those weak People that suffer themselves to be so easily deceived, was thoroughly convinced of the Truth of all those Miracles. But perhaps he was of opinion, those *Pious Frauds* were no detriment to Religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great opinion of *Dunstan's* Sanctity. After *Athelm's* Death, *Odo*, by Birth a *Dane*, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but lived not long after his Installation. To him succeeded *Elfin*, who died as he was going to *Rome* for his *Pall* (4). This happening in the beginning of *Edgar's* Reign, *Brithelm* Bishop of *Bath* was elected to the vacant *See*. But *Edgar* being desirous of having *Dunstan* Archbishop, called a general Council, where he represented *Brithelm* as unqualified for so great a Post; whereupon he was ordered to return to his old *Dioceſe*, and *Dunstan* was chosen in his room. This Election not being exactly Canonical, it was thought fit *Dunstan* should go to *Rome*, on pretence of receiving his *Pall*, that he might at the same time justify these Proceedings. The Pope, who was not ignorant how great a Sway *Dunstan* bore at the Court of *England*, and with what Zeal he had espoused the Interest of the *Church of Rome* and the Monks, readily confirmed his Election, constituting him moreover his *Legate for England*, with a very extensive Authority. At his Return, *Oswald* his Relation was through his means made Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Ethelwald* his intimate Friend, of *Winchester*. These three Prelates, by holding together intirely governed the *Church* during this Reign. *Edgar* committing to them the Management of all *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, was not contented with granting whatever they desired, but even took a pleasure in doing them Favours, unasked.

As soon as *Dunstan* saw his Credit firmly established, he returned to his grand Project in favour of the Monks, which he had been forced to lay aside during the Reign of *Edwy*. This Affair was not without its Difficulties. The great Men of the Nation look'd upon it as a Misfortune, that the guidance of the *Churches* should be wrested out of the Hands of the antient and lawful Governors. They were still less pleased with its being committed to the Monks, who, by the Rules of their Order, and according to the Custom hitherto observed, were excluded from the *Pastoral Functions*, in order to employ themselves wholly in Prayer within the Walls of their Monasteries. Besides, they were of opinion, that instead of encouraging and enriching the Monks, it would be much better to put a stop to the People's Zeal, who were perpetually bequeathing to them considerable *Legacies*, whereby Estates were passed away in *Mortmain*, to the great Prejudice of the Nation. It was easy therefore to see this Project would meet with great Opposition from the Nobles. But on the other hand, the People, who did not look so far before them, were intirely in the Interest of the Monks, and extremely offended at the scandalous Lives of the *Secular Clergy*, who applied the Revenues of the Church to uses directly contrary to the intent of the *Donors* (5). It must be confessed, the *Clergy*, at that time were very ill Livers, and that Pride, Avarice, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Luxury, openly reigned among them. *Dunstan* and his Party did all that lay in their power to expose these Irregularities, in order to irritate the People against their *Pastors*. They succeeded so well in their Design, that Multitudes espoused the Cause of the Monks, purely out of contempt of the *Secular Clergy*. But what did the Monks most Service, was the King's being so vigorous a Champion for them. His good Opinion of them was still increased by comparing them with the *Seculars*, who indeed observed no Measures in their Excesses. And therefore this Prince thought to do the *Church* signal service in putting it under the Government of the Monks, whom he looked upon as so many *Saints*. *Edgar* being thus inclined, *Dunstan* found no Difficulty to persuade him to countenance a Reformation he believed so advantageous to the Church. To give the finishing stroke to this Work, he caused a Council to be assembled, in hopes their Authority, together with the King's, would surmount all Obstacles. *Edgar* was pleased to assist in Person at this Council, and made a Speech, which plainly showed how greatly he was prejudiced in his favour. As this *Harangue* manifestly discovers the Disposition of the King, of *Dunstan*, and of the other *Directors* of the Affairs of the Church, with regard to the *Secular Clergy*, it

(1) Osborn.

(2) They are said to teach here the *Liberal Sciences, Musick, Engraving*, and the like.

(3) Mr Camden says *Dunstan* introduc'd into this Monastery a new Order of Monks, viz. *Benedictines*, who by the Bounty of Princes got so much Wealth as exceeded that of Kings. After they had as it were reign'd here for above six hundred Years (for all their Neighbours were at their Beck) they were driven out by Henry VIII, and the Monastery, which was environ'd with a Wall of a Mile in compass, and replenish'd with stately Buildings, was by Degrees entirely demolish'd. In his time there was a *Wall-nut Tree* in the Church-yard (but it is now gone, and a young one in its Place) that was said never to bud before *Barnabas Day 11 of June* and always to shoot out its Leaves on that very Day. And also a *Haw-Thorn-Tree* in *Wigorn Park* bred by that budded on *Christmas Day* as if it were in May. This Tree has been cut down many Years; but there are some still growing in the County from Branches of the old Tree, particularly one in the Garden of *William Street Esq*; Possessor of the Ground where the other stood, and another in the Garden of the *White-Hart Inn* in *Glaſſenbury*. These Things seem to be Relicks of an old Monks.

(4) He was frozen to Death on the *Alps*, which the *Monkish* Historians interpret as a Judgment for his Disrespect to *Odo's* Grave. *Maimsb. l. 1. de Gift. Port. Angl.* Others for his *Simony*. *M. Welf.*

(5) It must be observed, that after the dissolving of the Abbeys in *Alfred's* Time, the *Secular Clergy* repair'd some of the Monasteries, took Possession of them, were incorporated under certain Regulations, perform'd *Divine Service* in their respective Churches, liv'd single or married as they thought fit, and stood in the same Condition with our present *Prebendaries*.

will not perhaps be amiss to give the Reader the whole of it; and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal Events of this Reign.

Edgar's
Harangue to
the Council
Ethelred,
Rievallensis,
p. 360.

" Almighty God having vouchsafed of his infinite
" Mercy to shew his Goodness to us in a remarkable
" manner, 'tis most reasonable, *Reverend Fathers*, we
" should exert our Endeavours to make a suitable Re-
" turn. That we are in possession of this plentiful
" Country is not owing to any Strength of our own,
" but to the help of his all-powerful Arm, who has
" been pleased to manifest his Loving-kindness towards
" us. 'Tis but just therefore we should bring our selves,
" our Souls, and Bodies, in Subjection to him, who has
" subdued all things for us, and should take care that
" all that are under us should be obedient to his Laws.
" It is my Office, *Reverend Fathers*, to administer
" Justice without respect of Persons; suppress the Re-
" bellious; to punish the sacrilegious; to protect the
" Poor and Weak from the hand of the Oppressor.
" It is my Business also to take care that the Church
" and her Ministers, the holy Fraternities of the Reli-
" gious, have all things necessary to their Subsistence and
" well being. But it is your Duty to examine into
" the Life and Conversation of the *Clergy*. To you it
" belongs to see that they live agreeably to their Pro-
" fession: That they are sober, temperate, chaste, hos-
" pitable to the *Poor* and the *Stranger*: That they are
" careful in the Administration of their Office, constant
" in their Instructions to the People. In a word, that
" they are worthy of the glorious Character of the Mi-
" nisters of Jesus Christ. With submission be it spoken,
" *Reverend Fathers*, had you taken due care of these
" things, I should not have had the Dissatisfaction of
" hearing from all hands the enormous Crimes daily
" committed by the *Clergy* of this Land. I insist not
" on the Smallness of their *Tonsure*, contrary to the
" Canons of the Church, or their Effeminacy in their
" Habits, or their Haughtiness in their Gestures, on their
" immodest Discourses, which plainly shew all is not right
" within. I omit their Negligence with regard to *Di-
" vine Service*: Hardly will they vouchsafe their Com-
" pany at the publick *Prayers*, and when they come to
" Church to celebrate the *Holy Mysteries*, one would think
" they are going to *act à Play*. But the chief Subject of
" my Complaint, I speak it with extreme Regret, is what
" ministers occasion of Grief to the *Good*, and of Joy to
" the *Prophane*, I mean the lewd and scandalous Lives of
" the *Clergy*. They spend their Days in Diversions, En-
" tertainments, Drunkenness and Debauchery. Their
" Habits may be said to be so many *Sinks* of Lewdness,
" *Perils* of Sin, and *Obstacles* of Libertines. There
" they have *Gaming*, *Dancing* and *obscene Singing*. There
" they pass the Night in Rioting and Drunkenness. 'Tis
" thus, *Reverend Fathers*, 'tis thus the Bounty of my Pre-
" decessors to the Church, and their Charities for the
" Maintenance of the Poor, and what is more the ador-
" able Blood of our Saviour, are consumed. Was it for
" this that our Ancestors exhausted their Treasures? Was
" it for this they were so liberal of their Estates? Was it
" to deck the Concubines of their Priests, to provide for
" them splendid Entertainments, to furnish them with
" *Dogs* and *Hawks*, that our Forefathers display'd their
" Munificence to the Church? these are the Crimes
" which the People complain of in private, and the Sol-
" diers in publick; which are sung in the Streets, and
" acted on the Stage; and yet they are forgiven, they are
" overlook'd, they are conniv'd at by you! Where is
" now the Sword of *Levi*, and the Zeal of *Simeon*?
" Where is the wrath of *Moses* against the Worshipers of
" the *Golden Calf*? Where is the Indignation of *St. Peter*
" against *Simon the Magician*? Imitate, *Reverend Fa-
" thers*, imitate the Zeal of these holy Persons, and fol-
" low the way of Righteousness, shewn you by the
" Lord. It is high time for you to draw the Sword of
" *St. Peter*, whilst I make use of the great *Constantine's*.
" Let us join our Forces to expel the *Lepers* out of the
" Temple, to cleanse the Sanctuary and to cause the
" Lord to be served by the true Sons of *Levi*, who said
" to his Father, and to his Mother, I know you not, and
" to his Brethren, I know not who you are? Let the Dis-
" respect to the *Relicks* of the *Saints*, and the daily Pro-
" phaning of the holy Altars, rouse you up. Be moved
" at the great Abuse of the Piety of our Forefathers. One
" of my Ancestors, you all know, dedicated to the
" Church the *Tithes* of the Kingdom: The glorious *Al-
" fred*, my great Grandfather, laid out his Revenues in
" religious Uses. You are not ignorant of the great Be-

" nefactions of my Father and Uncle, which it would be
" highly dishonourable so soon to forget, seeing the Al-
" tars are still adorned with them. You, O *Dunstan*,
" Father of Fathers, raise your Imagination a little I pray
" you, and fancy you behold my Father looking down
" from Heaven, and expostulating with you in this Man-
" ner: It was you that advised me to the Building of so many
" Churches and Monasteries, It was you I made Choice of
" for my spiritual Guide, and the Inspector of my Beha-
" viour. Did not I always obey your Advice? Did I not
" always prefer your Advice before Wealth? How frankly
" did I lay out my Treasures, when you said the Word?
" My Charities were always ready when you called for them.
" Whatever was desired for the Churches was immediately
" granted. If you complained the Monks were short in their
" Conveniences, they were forthwith supplied. You used to
" tell me, such Liberalities brought forth immortal Fruit,
" and were highly meritorious, since they were expended in
" supporting the Servants of God, and maintaining the Poor.
" And is it not an intolerable Shame they should be laid out
" in adorning and decking a Pack of Prostitutes? Are these
" the Fruits of my Benefactions? Are these the Effects of
" your glorious Promises? These, O *Dunstan*, are the
" Complaints of the King my Father. What can you an-
" swer to this Charge? I am convinced that you have
" hitherto been unblameable, when you saw a Thief you
" consented not to him, neither have you been partaker with
" the Adulterer. No, you have endeavoured to cor-
" rect these Abuses. You have argued, exhorted, threat-
" ned. But since these means have proved in vain, 'tis
" time to apply more effectual Remedies. You have here
" ready to assist you the Reverend Father *Ethelwold* Bishop
" of *Winchester*, and the venerable *Oswald* Bishop of *Wor-
" cester*. To you three I refer the Management of this
" important Affair. Exert the Episcopal in Conjunction
" with the Regal Authority, to expel from the Church of
" God the disorderly Clergy, and put in such as live regu-
" larly in their Room (1).

After the King had made so full a Declaration of his
Mind, the Friends of the *Seculars* durst no longer oppose
Dunstan's Designs, perceiving it would be to no purpose.
Shortly after, the *secular Priests* were expelled from the
Monasteries, and the *Regulars* put in their place. *Ethel-*
wold Bishop of *Winchester* leading the way in his Diocese,
was quickly followed by *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, and all the
other Bishops, who being Monks, without much solici-
tation, imitated these three Prelates. The antient Histo-
rians, for the most part, represent those Days as the *Golden
Age*, and as the happiest *England* ever knew.

Perhaps it will seem strange that the *secular Clergy* should
at this time be more bitterly inveighed against than in the
following Centuries, when the Lives of the Priests were
no less scandalous. To account for this, it must be ob-
served, the Popes had for some time prohibited the Clergy
from marrying, and were very severe to all who refused to
comply with their Decrees. This Prohibition, which at
present is a fundamental Article in the Church of *Rome*,
met at first with great Opposition, especially in *England*,
which set the *Popes* upon using all means to bring the *Eng-
lish Priests* to a Compliance. *Dunstan's* Interest, and his
Address to ingage *Edgar* in the Project, were mighty Helps
to them. We must therefore carry in our Minds this
Prohibition against the Clergy's marrying, in order to com-
prehend the Occasion of the Complaints of the Monks and
their Favourers against the *Seculars*, and to judge how far
they are to be credited. Though it is but too true, the
Priests at that time led very disorderly Lives, yet that was
not the thing that drew this Storm upon them. It was
their Marriage which gave the Offence, and which their
Enemies would fain have to be thought a more heinous
Crime than *Concubinage*, or any other they could lay to
their Charge. Their Wives were always called *Concubines*,
or by a more opprobrious Name. But notwithstanding all
the Endeavours of the Court of *Rome*, this pretended Abuse
could not be reformed till the End of the twelfth Century,
when the *Celibacy* of the Clergy was established after a
three hundred Years Struggle.

The Monks were bound in Gratitude to make a suitable
Return for the service *Edgar* had done them. Accordingly,
the *Monkish* Historians have endeavoured by their excessive
Commendations, to make him pass for a real Saint. But
whether for want of Attention, or some other reason,
they have related some Particulars of his Life, which beget
not that Idea they intended to give of him. Indeed, to
consider only his *Political* Actions, it must be confessed, he
was a great Prince. But a great King and a great Saint,
are two very different Characters. For instance, it is dif-

964.
Ann. Sax.
Malmbs.
1. 2. c. 8.
S. Dunelm.

Remarks on
the Invec-
tives against
the secular
Clergy.

Deut. xxxvi.
9.

(1) *Collier* observes this Speech is raised and polished in the Original above
poet's *Figures* might have worked the Matter ne found into a brighter Form,
1. 3. p. 190.

ficult to justify, by the Rules of the Gospel, a bloody Execution (1) done by *Edgar's* Order in the *Isle of Thanet*, upon a very slight Occasion, as Historians do allow. What might not these same Historians have said of his *unruly* Lust, and *vicious* Inclination to Women (2), of which I am now going to give a few Instances, who publish'd to the World that the Soul of his Brother *Edwy* was about to be dragged into Hell, for having had but a single Mistress?

It was easy to see if *Edgar* had not purchased the good Opinion of the Monks by his excessive Complaisance, they would have given him no better Quarter than his Predecessor, who was much less faulty in that respect.

To conclude the Reign of *Edgar*, which was disturbed neither by foreign nor domestick Wars, it remains only that I give an account of his Amours, which are something uncommon, and shew his good Qualities were not without a great mixture of Failings. His first Mistress was a Nun (3), whom he took by Force out of a Convent, and could not be prevail'd with to set back again by the Solicitations of *Dunstan*. He had a Daughter by her nam'd *Editha*, who was greatly celebrated for her Sanctity. It is true, he aton'd for his Crime by not wearing his Crown during the space of seven Years. A severe Penance indeed for a fault his Confessor ought to have looked upon as a *Sacrilege*! But this is not the first time the Sins of Princes have been extenuated, and the rigour of their Penance magnified. His second Mistress, whom some however call his lawful Wife, was *Elfreda* firman'd the *Fair*, from her Complexion. By her he had a Son call'd *Edward*, who succeeded him. An extraordinary Adventure gain'd him a third Mistress. Going one day by *Andover*, he took up his lodging at a Lord's House, who had a very beautiful Daughter, with whom he fell passionately in love at first Sight. As he was very violent in his Passions, he resolv'd to gratify his Love without delay, so commanded the young Lady to be brought to his bed, without troubling himself to obtain her Consent. The Mother of the Lady being utterly against her Daughter's being the King's Concubine; but withal, dreading by her Denial, to draw down his Displeasure upon herself and Family, devis'd this Expedient. She prevail'd upon one of her waiting Women to lie with the King instead of her Daughter. At break of Day the King perceiving his Bedfellow was going to rise, would not let her, by which means she was forc'd to discover the Cheat. He was at first very angry at being thus deceiv'd. But the good-liking he had taken to the Girl, moderating his Anger, and giving him time to reflect on the Dishonour he intended his Host, he readily forgave the Trick he had been serv'd. He kept this Girl as his Mistress till he married.

As all *Edgar's* Amours, it seems, were to have something particular in them, so his very Marriage was not to be in the common way. He was informed that *Ordang*, Earl of *Devonshire*, had a Daughter the greatest Beauty in *England*, upon which he resolv'd to marry her, if she answered the description given of her. However, as he was unwilling to make any advances he might have reason to repent of, he communicated his Design to Earl *Ethelwold* his Favourite, and ordered him to go upon some pretence, and see whether the Lady's Beauty was as great as Fame reported. *Ethelwold* being arrived at the Earl of *Devonshire's*, had no sooner cast his Eyes on *Elfrida* his Daughter, but he fell desperately in love with her. His Passion was so sudden and violent, that forgetting all the King his Master's Favours, he demanded *Elfrida* for himself. His Suit being granted, he was married as privately as possible, making his Father-in-Law believe he had important reasons for not divulging his Marriage. Returning soon after to Court, he told the King there was nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida*; that he was amazed the World should talk so much of her Charms; that probably, the Fame of her Beauty was owing more to her Father's riches than any thing else. This report, which was far from inflaming the King's Love, had the Effect *Ethelwold* expected. *Edgar*, growing out of conceit with the Match, laid aside all thoughts of it. *Ethelwold* perceiving the King was grown perfectly cool upon the matter, represented to him one day, that though the Fortune of the Earl of *Devonshire's* Daughter was nothing to a King, yet it would be the making of a Subject; and therefore humbly desired his

Leave to make his addresses to her, as being the greatest Heiress in the Kingdom. *Edgar* who had lost all Inclination to *Elfrida*, very willingly granted his Favourite's request, and even appeared extremely well pleased that he was likely to marry to so great an advantage. *Ethelwold*, as soon as he had obtain'd the King's consent, return'd to his Wife, and publickly solemniz'd his Wedding. But fearing his Spouse should appear too beautiful in the King's eyes, he kept her on some pretence at his Country Seat, without suffering her to come to Court.

How cautious soever *Ethelwold* had been, it was not possible his Treachery should be long a Secret. Favourites are seldom without private Enemies, who desire nothing more than to have an opportunity of ruining them. *Edgar* at length was informed of the Truth; but doubting his Repentment, he was willing, before he shew'd it, to be satisfied with his own eyes of the Truth of what had been told him. To that end, he took occasion to go into those Parts where *Ethelwold* kept his Wife, and when he came near the place, told him he had a mind to visit his Lady, of whom he had formerly heard so many fine things. *Ethelwold* was thunder-struck at this, and did all he could to divert the King from his purpose; but his Artifices were all in vain, and served only to confirm the King the more in his Resolution. All he could obtain, was Leave to go before, on pretence of preparing for the King's reception. As soon as he came home, he threw himself at his Lady's feet, and confessing what he had done for the sake of possessing her, conjur'd her to use all her endeavours to conceal her Charms from the amorous King. *Elfrida* promised him whatever he desired, but was bent however to break her Word. No sooner was he gone to meet the King, but she set off her natural Beauty with all the Art she was mistress of. The event answered her expectation. The moment *Edgar* cast his eyes on her, he fell desperately in love, and from that instant was resolv'd to make her his own. The better to effect his design, he pretended to see nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida's* Beauty; at which the Husband was overjoyed. Accordingly he took his Leave of her with a seeming indifference, but at the same time in his Heart rag'd Love and Revenge; which of all the Passions raise the most violent emotions in the Soul of Man. Quickly after, he ordered *Ethelwold* to go for *Northumberland*, on pretence of some urgent Affairs. But the unfortunate Earl never performed his Journey. He was found dead in a Wood, where he was thought at first to be murdered by Robbers. But people's Eyes were soon opened, when they saw that the King, instead of making inquiry after the Murderers, married the Widow. Some say, that *Edgar* slew *Ethelwold* with his own hand at a hunting Match (4).

After what has been said, it is easy to see, there was a great mixture of good and bad Qualities in this Prince, and that the Commendations given him, are in many respects carried too far. This was the effect of the Prejudice of the Monks in his favour, for his so vigorous espousing their Cause. This Prejudice was so great that one of them makes no scruple to say, *Edgar* was to the English, what *Romulus* was to the Romans, *Cyrus* to the Persians, *Alexander* to the Macedonians, *Arfaces* to the Parthians, and *Charlemain* to the French. But one plainly perceives, this Encomium raises his Character too high, since he came infinitely short of the great Men he is compared with. Accordingly, After-Ages less prepossessed in his favour, have ranked him among more suitable Company, in a much lower class. Very judicious Historians have taken him from among the Saints, where his Flatterers placed him, and have not scrupled to rank him in the number of the vilest of Princes (5). This Notion of him may be grounded on what is related of *Canutus the Great*, who upon mention of the Sanctity of *Editha*, *Edgar's* Daughter, said, *He could never believe it possible for the Daughter of so wicked a Father to be a Saint*. This leaves room to suspect, the Monkish Historians have passed over in silence several of *Edgar's* Actions, which would have made us conceive a very different Idea of their Hero, from what they have given us.

Edgar reigned sixteen Years from the death of his Brother *Edwy*. He died in 975, in the thirty second Year of his Age, leaving two Sons and a Daughter. *Edward*, his eldest Son, was born of a Concubine, or at least of a very doubt-

(1) *Edgar* in the *Saxon Annals*, Anno 969, is said to have ordered all *Thanet* to be laid waste. *Brompton* says, it was for insulting his Laws. *M. Welfin* affirms, it was for seeing and plundering some *Nick Men* that touched upon the Island.

(2) *Malmibury* owns, that he was reported to have been *Lascivious* and *Cruel*, p. 59.

(3) *Wulfilda*.

(4) *Malmibury* says, he took *Ethelwold* into a Wood (*Harwood Forest*) upon pretence of Hunting, and killed him there with his Lance. The natural Son of this Nobleman, happening to come in at this Accident, and viewing the dead Body of his Father, the King sternly asked him, *How behav'd the Game?* The Youth reply'd calmly, that what he pleas'd the King, ought not to be displeasing to him. This courtly Answer, on to moving an Occasion, surpris'd the King, and gave him a strong Affection for the young Man ever after. *Elfrida* built a Nunnery in the place where her Husband was slain. *Malmib.* 2. de *Gest. Reg. Angl.*

(5) *Dr. Burnet* in his Preface to the History of the Reformation, places *Edgar* in the same Class with *Brunchild* and *Irene*. *Rapin.*

Edgar's
Character.

S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Brompt.
p. 969.

975.
Edgar's
Wife and
Children.

ful Marriage, *Ethelred*, his youngest, was the Son of the beautiful *Elfrida*. *Editba* his Daughter by his first Mistress passed her days in a Nunnery, and after her Death was honour'd with the Title of *Saint* (1).

Edgar had too well deserved of Them, who looked upon themselves as authorized to reward their *Votaries* with a *Sainthood*, not to have a place in the *Calendar*. But as there are no other Proofs of his *Sanctity* during his Life, but his Affection to the *Monks*, and his founding Monasteries (2), it is pretended, he gave more substantial ones

after his Death. It was reported, when his Body was taken out of the Coffin, to be put into a stately *Shrine*, it was as fresh as when he resign'd his last Breath. It was further affirmed, that the *Shrine* being made too short, tho' he was very little of *Stature* (3), and some Body daring to sever his Head from his Body, the Blood gush'd out in great abundance. After such convincing Proofs as these of the *Sanctity* of this Prince, his Body was placed near the *High Altar* of *Glassenbury Church*, where it was said to work afterwards several Miracles.

13. EDWARD II. the Martyr.

Disensions on account of the Monks.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
l. 2. c. 6.
Hunt. i. 1.
S. Dunelm.

UPON *Edgar's* Decease, they who had with impatience born the great Power of the Monks, thought it a fair Opportunity to reduce them to their primitive state. *Elfer*, Duke of *Mercia*, their sworn Enemy, (4), turn'd them out of all the Benefices they possess'd in that Province, and replac'd the Seculars in their room. Some other Lords did the like in other places. But the Duke of *East-Anglia* (5), and several other great Men, firmly adher'd to *Dunstan* and his Party. This diversity of opinion, on account of the Monks, caus'd such Heart-burnings among the Nobles, that they were upon the point of coming to Blows. The Breach still grew wider, when they came to chuse a Successor to the deceas'd King. That Prince had left two Sons who had both their Adherents, though their Age would not permit them to prosecute their respective Titles to the Crown. Many believ'd it was devolv'd to *Ethelred*, pretending there was a Flaw in *Edward's* Birth, and that his Mother was never lawfully married to *Edgar*. But *Dunstan* and all the Bishops were for *Edward*, pleading his being nam'd his Successor by *Edgar* in his last Will and Testament. To this was added another and no less powerful Motive to them that espoused his Interest, namely, their Expectation of governing the Kingdom under this young Prince, which they could not hope for, if they plac'd his Brother on the Throne, because his Mother *Elfrida* did not seem much inclined to be guided by their Counsels.

In the mean time *Ethelred's* Party being most numerous, *Edward* was in danger of being excluded, if *Dunstan* his Supporter did not find means to break their Measures. As he saw himself favour'd by the People from their high Conceit of his Sanctity, he made use of their Inclination to execute his Designs. In the midst of the publick Debates which of the two Princes should succeed, *Dunstan* suddenly rising up, and taking Prince *Edward* by the hand, leads him towards the Church, attended by the other Bishops and a great crowd of People. As soon as he comes there, he anoints the young Prince King, without regarding the Opposition of the contrary Party. The Nobles bemoan'd their falling once more under the Government of that imperious Prelate. But as they saw the People ready to support him, they were forced to submit.

Edward was but fourteen Years old when he began to reign under the Guardianship of *Dunstan*, who immediately took all the Power into his hands. As soon as he was fix'd in the Regency, he us'd all possible Endeavours to keep the Monks in possession of the Benefices, they had acquir'd in the last Reign, and made use of the King's Authority to that end. But he met with greater opposition than he imagin'd. As the King was but a Minor, the Orders given in his name were not so readily complied with. *Dunstan* assembled several Councils about this Affair (6). But perhaps his Endeavours would have all prov'd ineffectual, if by means of several Miracles, which were never wanting upon occasion, he had not brought

the People to believe that Heaven interpos'd in the Affair.

In one of these Councils held at *Winchester*, the majority being against the Monks, they would have infallibly lost their Cause, if, on a sudden, a Crucifix that hung aloft in the Room had not pronounc'd these Words with an audible Voice; *It shan't be done, it shan't be done: You have decided the Matter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change*. Astonish'd at this Oracle, the most obstinate came in and voted for the Monks.

Another time at an Assembly in the same place, *Dunstan* us'd all his Endeavours to have one *Elphegus* a Monk chosen Dean of that Church; but the People were for having that Dignity conferr'd on a secular Priest. The Contest ran so high, that there was like to be a Sedition which might have been of dangerous consequence. But St. *Andrew* the Apostle on a sudden revealing to St. *Dunstan* in the audience of all the People, that the Monk ought to be elected, he was immediately install'd. These and several other Miracles, too many to be inserted here, not being however sufficient to unite all Men in favour of the Monks, there was one at last that stopp'd the Mouths of their most strenuous Opposers.

Dunstan had called a Council at *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, to decree that the Monks should keep possession of their Benefices. This was one of those mixt Councils spoken of hereafter, where the King and all the Nobility were present, as well as the Bishops and Abbots. Probably the Affair would have been decided against the Monks, considering the great number of their Opposers in this Assembly. But whilst they were warmly disputing on both sides, the floor of the Room happened to break under the Company, and crush'd several to Death. The Beam on which *Dunstan's* Chair was plac'd, was the only one that did not give way, so that he came off unhurt (7), whilst scarce a Man besides himself in this numerous Assembly escap'd being either kill'd or bruist. This was sufficient to convince the People, the Monks were the Favourites of Heaven, since their Head and Protector was so wonderfully preserv'd. There were some malicious People however, who insinuated that *Dunstan* prevented the King, contrary to custom, from being in the Council that Day. After this seasonable Accident the Monks were left unmolested; whether the miraculous preservation of *Dunstan* had made an Impression upon the minds of his Enemies, or their most potent Opposers perish'd in their Fall.

Besides these Ecclesiastical Matters, we find nothing remarkable in the Reign of *Edward*, but his tragical Death in 979, four Years after he ascended the Throne. The Story is thus related by the greatest part of Historians: *Edward* passing one Day, as he was returning from hunting, near *Corf-Castle*, (8), where his Mother-in-law *Elfrida* resided with her Son *Ethelred*, rid off from his Company in order to pay her a visit. *Elfrida* being told the King was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urg'd him very earnestly to unlight, and come in to

(1) By *Elfrida* whether his Wife or Concubine is uncertain he had *Edward* who succeeded him. *Howel*. p. 426.—By *Wilfrida*, a Nun, he had *Editha*. *Monast.* p. 60.—And by *Elfrida*, Earl *Ordgan's* Daughter, he had *Edmund*, who died in his Infancy in 971. and *Ethelred*. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) It is observed that his building to many Monasteries (twenty eight, says *Iugulphus*, p. 45.) proved one great Occasion of the Danes conquering *England*; for by these means he exhausted the Treasury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refused his Son *Ethelred* Assistance according to his Necessity. *Brady*. p. 122.

(3) Tho' *Edgar* as to his Person was both low and slender, yet was he so well proportioned, that he is said to contend often with such as were thought strong in his Court; and disliked nothing more than that they should spare him out of Respect, or Fear of hurting him.

(4) And several others of the great Men. *S. Dunelm.* p. 160.

(5) *Fritelstan*. He, and Others, attracted an Army, and protected the Monasteries in *East-Anglia*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 160.

(6) Particularly one in 977 at *Kendry*, in *East-Anglia*. Says *S. Dunelm.* p. 160. and *Claren. Mart.* p. 161. (now *Killing or Catlidge*, in *Cambridgeshire*.) The *Sax. Ann.* call the Place *Kyringstane*, which is supposed to be *Kyrington* in *Oxfordshire*. *Tyriel*. p. 16. Another of these Synods was held at *Andisbury*. *Flor. Vener.*

(7) *Howel* relates, he saved himself by taking hold of a Beam. p. 357.

(8) In the Island *Paulsk in Dorsetshire*. This Castle is a considerable Piece of Antiquity; the Foundation whereof is not cleared by History. After the strength and safety of the Realm began to consist in Castles, this was one of the most principal belonging to the Crown. It was repaired by *Henry VII.* and in the Civil Wars was a Canton for the King, defended by the Owner, Lord Chief Justice *Banks*. *Camd. Antiq. de Dorset.*

Dunstan excites *Edward* by his own Authority. *S. Dunelm.* *Brompt.*

The Contest between the Priests and the People increased.

Several Councils about it

Miracles in favour of the Monks.
Malmsh. l. 2. c. 9.
Eadmer.
J. Pike.

978.
A remarkable Accident at the Council of Calne.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.

Eadmer.

979.
The tragical End of King Edward.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
l. 2. c. 9.

refresh himself. But as the King's Design was only to pay his Respects to his Mother-in-law as he went by her Castle, he only desired a Glass of Wine to drink her Health. Whether *Elfrida* had already form'd a Design of destroying the King, to make way for her Son to the Crown, or that favourable Opportunity put the thought in her head, the young King had no sooner lifted the Glass to his mouth, but a Russian stabb'd him in the Back with a Dagger (1). Perceiving himself wounded, he set spurs to his Horse, which soon carried him out of sight. But not being able to keep his Saddle by reason of the Loss of Blood, he fell off his Horse. To complete his Misfortunes, his Foot hung in the Stirrup, and by that means he was dragged a good way before his Horse stoped, just by a poor blind Woman's House that stood in the road. To this House, the People sent after him by *Elfrida* tracing him by his Blood, found him dead, and his Body miserably torn. *Elfrida* imagining she could conceal this horrid Deed, known only to her Domesticks, ordered the Corps to be thrown into a Well. But it was found there a few days after, and carried to *Warham* (2), from whence it was removed to *Skeftsbury*, and laid in a Monastery founded by King *Alfred*. It is pretended to have worked many Miracles there; that a blind Man was restored to his Sight, and a Cripple to his Limbs, by only touching the Body. The poor Woman also, in whose

Brompton.

House his Body lay one night, is said to be cured by his Intercession; and the Well into which he was thrown, endued with the virtue of healing several sorts of Distempers. In fine, it is reported that *Elfrida*, curious to know herself the truth of these Miracles, resolved to go to the place, but her Horse, in spite of all her Endeavours, would not stir one Step forward. With such Prodiges as these do the Histories of those Times abound. Thus far is certain, *Elfrida*, willing to atone for her Crime, founded two Nunneries, one at *Ambresbury* (3), and another at *Whorwel* near *Andover*. In this last she shut herself up, ^{Malmste.} in order to do Penance the residue of her days. She is said to have frequently covered her Body all over with little Crosses to keep off the Devil, whom she had but too much reason to fear.

I do not know upon what foundation *Edward* was made both a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, unless it was pretended, he was murdered out of Revenge for his great Affection to *Dunstan* and the Monks. Indeed that was sufficient then to procure him these glorious Titles: It is certain, in those days all the Favourers of the Monks pass'd for so many Saints, and their Enemies for the Objects of God's Wrath. However this be, the young Prince, whose Reign I have gone through, is generally known by the Name of *Edward the Martyr* (4).

T H E

S T A T E of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Union of the Seven Kingdoms, to the End of the Reign of EDWARD the Martyr.

State of the Church.

THE continual Wars in *England* during the hundred and fifty Years we have just run through, were no less fatal to the Church than the State. They produced an extreme Corruption of *Manners*, and a profound Ignorance all over the Kingdom. The Destruction of the Churches and Monasteries, the plundering what was designed for their Subsistence, and the Necessity of defending themselves against the *Danes*, and being wholly employed in the Exercise of Arms, turned Multitudes from the Study of Religion. It is no wonder therefore, if during such troublesome times, we meet with very few Materials for an Ecclesiastical History. To this may be added, the greatest part of the Monasteries, where the Memoirs of what passed in Church and State were laid up, having been demolished, the Historians who have wrote of those times, were deprived of that assistance. The Reader therefore must expect to find but few remarkable Events relating to Religion, but few Councils to inform us of the Doctrine and Faith of the Church of *England*, and but very few learned Men, whose Writings might afford us some light. It will be necessary however to relate the principal Circumstances transmitted down to us, as they will be of service in clearing the Events of future and more happy times.

During the reign of *Egbert*, nothing happened in the Church worth notice. *Ethelwulph's* Reign furnishes us with a Subject, which, though mentioned elsewhere, it will not be amiss to speak a little more largely of in this place;

I mean the Grant of the Tithes. The Charter runs thus.

"I, *ETHELWULPH*, by the Grace of God ^{Ethelwulph's Charter for the Tithes} King of the *West-Saxons*, &c. with the Advice of the Bishops, Earls, and all other Persons of Distinction in my Dominions, have, for the Health of my Soul, the Good of my People, and the Prosperity of my Kingdom taken the prudent and serviceable Resolution of granting the tenth part of the Lands throughout my whole Kingdom, to the Church and Ministers of Religion to be enjoyed by them, with all the Privileges of a free Tenure, and discharged from all Services due to the Crown, and all other Incumbrances incident to Lay-Fees. The Grant has been made by us to the Church, in honour of *Jesus Christ*, the *Blessed Virgin*, and *All Saints*, and out of regard to the *Paschal Solemnity*, and that Almighty God might vouchsafe his Blessing to us and our Posterity."

Dated at the Palace of *Wilton*, in the Year 854, Indiction the second, at the Feast of Easter.

The Terms, Date and Subscriptions of this Charter, ^{Remarks on this Charter.} have induced several learned Men to believe it spurious. But without entering into the Controversy, I shall content myself with observing, that long before this Charter, the Clergy of *England* claimed a right to the Tithes, if they were not already in actual Possession of them.

(1) *Knighton* says, that *Elfrida* herself stabbed him. p. 2313.

(2) in *Derbyshire*. Part of his Body was buried in *Lea* or *Lea's* Monastery, (perhaps *Leominster*) near *Hereford*; and the other part at *Abington*. *Knighton*, p. 2314. and *Hogen*, p. 269.

(3) in *Wiltshire*, so called from *Ambrosius*, who built here a Monastery for three hundred Monks, to pray for the Souls of the *British* Noblemen slain by *Hengist*. The Tomb of *Guinevere*, *Arthur's* Wife, was found here within this last Century, and this Inscription on the Wall in massy Gold Letters, *R. G. A. C. 600*. The Antiquity of which is very suspicious, since she must have out-lived *Arthur* fifty Years; and besides, she is said by Historians of Credit to have been buried at *Gloucester*. Queen *Elfrida's* Nunnery is famous for Queen *Eleanor's* being a Nun there; and also *Mary* Daughter to *Edward I.* with thirteen Noblemen's Daughters, were veiled here on *Assumption Day*, p. 1285. *Camd. Add. to Wilt.*

(4) King *Edward's* Martyrdom was kept on three several Days; on the Day he was murdered, and at the two removes of his Body. See *Martyr. Engl.* 18 of *March*, and *Pib.* and *June* 20. He has likewise the Honour of standing in the *Roman Martyrology*, *March* 18. where *Barnius* takes Notice of a Letter in *Pope Innocent V's* Register, for the keeping St. *Edward's* Festival, *Coll.* l. 3.

This is evident from the seventeenth Canon of the Council of *Calcuth*, held in 785, where we find they urged the payment of Tithes from the Law of *Moses*. It is true, King *Ethelwulf* might have a mind to confirm the Rights of the Clergy, by granting them a Charter for the same. But in that case, it is something strange he should pass over in silence the Divine Right of Tithes, on which the Clergy chiefly insisted. If this Charter therefore is not to be considered as a Forgery, it seems at least to be of very doubtful Authority. Add to this, that by the tenth part of the Lands must necessarily be meant the tenth part of the Profits; which must be owned to be a very forced Interpretation, especially in a primordial Act, such as this (1).

In the Reigns of *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert* and *Ethelred* I, we have nothing relating to the Church, but the Destruction of the Monasteries, and the pathetick Descriptions made by the Historians, of the *Danish* Fury exercised upon the Monks. This they chiefly insist upon, as being, in their Opinion, the most material historical Events. They particularly lament the three famous Monasteries of *Croyland*, *Ely* and *Medebshamsted*, whose Monks were all massacred, and the Libraries burnt (2).

Remarks on
Edmund's
Martyrdom.

The pretended Martyrdom of *Edmund* King of *East-Anglia* would require our notice, had it not been spoken of elsewhere (3). I call it pretended, because it does not appear, this Prince lost his Life in any of those Causes which make the Sufferer a *Martyr*. Otherwise, we must say that there were in *England* as many *Martyrs* as there were Christians put to death by the *Danes*. However, he stands in the Calendar with that Title, and Miracles were affirmed to be frequently wrought at his Tomb during several Ages (4).

Tho' I have amply insisted on every thing relating to the Reign of *Alfred*, it will not be improper to remind the Reader of two things, which may be of use hereafter. The first is, the Ruin of the Monasteries; which was so great, there was not a Monk left in *England*, being all slain by the *Danes*, or forced to fly out of the Kingdom. Some of them perhaps took other Professions when they saw the loss of their Revenues had deprived them of their Subsistence. As soon as *Alfred* was rid of the *Danes*, he built Monasteries, and furnished them with foreign Monks, there being none to be found in the Kingdom. It will seem strange, no doubt, that he should chuse to be at the charge of new Monasteries, rather than repair the old, whose Walls, for the most part, were still remaining. But it must be observed, the Secular Clergy had taken possession of them, and lived there in common under the Direction of an Arch-Priest. It is plain, *Alfred* saw some Inconveniency in dislodging them.

The other thing I would put the Reader in mind of, is, the gross Ignorance the *English* were fallen into during the War with the *Danes*. We have already seen in the Life of *Alfred*, how that Prince himself complained of it; and resolved for that reason to invite into his Dominions as many learned Foreigners as possible, to found the Univer-

sity of *Oxford* (5), and use several other means to restore the Sciences in his Kingdom.

Edward the Elder, following the example of his Father, founded, for the same reason, the University of *Cambridge*, as some assert (6). I shall not here alledge the Arguments for and against the Antiquity of this illustrious University, as being a matter attended with great Difficulties, and besides, not immediately relating to the state of the Church. But we have another particular belonging to this Reign, where Religion is more concerned, by reason of the Consequences pretended to be drawn from thence, and which it will be proper to insist upon a little.

Malmesbury relates in his History, that in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, Pope *Formosus* being informed, there had been a seven Years Vacancy in the *West-Saxon* Sees, sent a Bull into *England*, excommunicating the King and all his Subjects. Whereupon the King assembled a general Council, and *Plegmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, causing the Bull to be read, it was resolved the Vacancies should be filled, and three new Sees erected in *Wessex*. *Plegmund* (continues the Historian) went afterwards to *Rome*, to get the Censure taken off, and at his return, consecrated seven Bishops in one day. An antient Register of the *Priory of Canterbury* says much the same thing, with this Addition, that the Council made a particular Provision for the *Cornish* Men to recover them from their Errors. By the way, we are to understand by the Errors of the *Cornish*, who were some of the Remains of the old *Britons*, their refusing to acknowledge the Papal Authority.

The *Roman Catholick* Writers make a great flourish upon this Bull, and produce it as a strong Instance of the Pope's Authority, not only over the Bishops, but the Kings of *England*. But after all, this Bull upon examination will be found inconsistent with Chronology. *Malmesbury* dates it in 904. But Pope *Formosus* died in 896, and was dragged out of his Grave in 897, by *Stephen* his Successor. *Baronius*, to solve this Difficulty, says the Date in *Malmesbury* is false, and should be written 894 instead of 904. 'Tis true, this Correction sets the matter right as to *Formosus*, but then the Cardinal falls into another *Anachronism* with regard to *Edward*, who did not ascend the Throne till the Year 900. *Edward* therefore must be changed into *Alfred*. But no Historian mentions *Alfred's* being excommunicated. Notwithstanding all this, they are extremely loth to part with this pretended Bull. Some have supposed two Excommunications; one by Pope *Formosus* in 894, against the Bishops only, without any mention of King *Edward*: Another by Pope *John IX*, which threatened the King. To support this Supposition, *Malmesbury*, who speaks of *Formosus's* Bull, and *Polydore Virgil*, who mentions Pope *John's*, are cited. But these Authorities are very insufficient, since *Malmesbury* is plainly mistaken, either in the date, or in the name of the Pope; and *Polydore Virgil* does not say it was *John IX*, as is pretended, but *John X*, that threatened *Edward* with Excommunication, as indeed it must be, if the Bull was dated in 904. Thus this Bull, which has been so much

ended Bull
+ P. 44
Formosus.
Malm. l. 2.
de Gift.
Reg. An

Stelm.
C. nec.
Vol. I.
p. 327.

The Catholick
Divines An-
swer to Sir
Edward
Coke, p.
136, 137.
Spelman.
ibid.

(1) The Charter here translated is in the *Monasticon*, p. 100. and is dated at *Wilton* in 854. Whereas there is another Charter very different from this in *Ingulphus* and *Matthew of Westminster*, dated at *Winchester* in 855. To solve this Difficulty, it is supposed that *Ethelwulf* repeated this Grant first at *Wilton* for the Tithes only of his own *Demesnes*, and the Year following at *Winchester* for the Tithes of the whole Kingdom. Though it must be owned that they both seem'd equally to extend to all his Dominions. See *Ingulphus* p. 17. *East. Gal. & M. West. Flo. Hist. An.* 854. *Ingulphus* says, this Charter was made after *Ethelwulf's* Return from *Rome*; but that could not be, seeing he was then only King of *Kent*.

(2) See *Ingulphus*, p. 22, 23, 24. where you have a lamentable Account of the Destruction of these three Monasteries.

(3) *Anno* 946. K. *Edward I.* gave one of his Royal Towns, then called *Beadricefworth*, with divers other Lands to build a Church and Monastery, in memory of St. *Edmund* the Martyr, whose Body was there enshrined; which Town was from him called *St. Edmundsbury*. *Mat. West.*

(4) *Matthew Westminster* says, his Head being thrown among the Briars and Thorns in the same Wood where *Ledebech* was murdered by *Bern*, the *East-Anglian*, after the *Danes* were gone, went out to see for it, and having sought in vain for some time, the Head at last cried out, *Here, Here, Here*, and never ceased till they came to the Place. The Head was put to his Body, and buried with it. When they came to take up his Corps, many Years after, it was found whole and entire, and the Head grown to the Body, without the least Scar, only a Mark round the Neck like a scarlet Thread. *Mat. West. Flo. Hist. An.* 870. *Malmesb. Gest. Pontif.* l. 2.

(5) There is a Passage in *Aldrich's* Life of K. *Alfred* published by Mr. *Candlish*, p. 16. that talks of a Dispute between *Grimbald*, whom *Alfred* had sent to *Oxford*, and the school scholars settled there before. From whence it is inferred, that *Alfred* was not the first Founder of this University. On the other hand, it is objected, that this Passage in *Aldrich* is spurious. That it is not in the Copy published by *Archbishop Parker*; that *Usher* is positive for its being interpolated, and that it speaks of things done after *Alfred's* Death, &c. It is further objected, both against the Antiquity of *Cambridge*, as well as *Oxford*, that neither of them are mentioned by *Bede*; that *Alcuin* pushes them over in silence, and talks of *York* as the Seat of Learning then: That *Ingulphus*, in his Descriptions of the Burning of the Libraries and Monasteries by the *Danes*, says not a Word of any Damage done to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*: That *Alfred* complains there were very few in this side the *Humber* that understood the Church-Prayers in *English*, or could converse Latin. Lastly, That had there been then in being two famous Universities in *England*, what Occasion was there for his sending beyond Sea for learned Men to instruct his Subjects? The most probable Opinion therefore is, that the University of *Oxford* was first founded by *Alcuin* in 866. See *Bayle of Words*, *Herd.* l. 6. *Harpfield's Malm.* The first time *Oxford* is mentioned in the ancient Historians as an University or School of Learning, is in *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who lived in the Reigns of *William I.* and II. Speaking of himself, he says, "Ego *Ingulphus*, — pro literis addiscendis in tenebris erate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditu sum. Cumque in Aristotele arripendo supra multos coetaneos meos profectum, etiam Rhetoricam Tullii primam, & secundam, talo tenus inducibam." *Ingulph. Edit. Oxon.* p. 73.

(6) There is a Manuscript Charter of Privileges, lodged in the Library of *Clare-Hall*, said to be granted to *Cambridge* by this King *Edward*. But however, some have carried back the Antiquity of this University to the Year 394 before *Christ*, pretending it was then founded by one *Camalot*, a *Spaniard*, and that it was restored by *Sigebert* King of *East-Anglia*, in 630, whom others account the Founder. But it is plain from the Reasons in the Note above, that there was no such Thing as any University at all till *Alfred's* Time. And as some say, *Call. East. Hist.* p. 299, we have no authentic Testimony of any University at *Cambridge* till the Year 1110, (Xth *Hen. I.*) when *Joscelin*, Abbot of *Croyland*, sent one *Grisebort*, a *Norman*, and three others to *Cambridge*, to teach the Sciences. These Monks coming to *Cambridge*, hired a *Barn* to teach in, and in a Year's time their *Audience* increased, that no *Hospital-Barn* was big enough to contain them. From this slender beginning, says *Peter Blacensis*, the University of *Cambridge* grew up to a noble Seat of Learning. The first College, viz. *Peter-House*, was founded by *Hugh Baulham*, Bishop of *Ely*, in 1284. —

boasted of, falls to the ground, as inconsistent with *Chronology*.

As to the Consecration of the seven Bishops mentioned by *Malmsbury*, there is not the same reason to question the matter of fact. Tho' as to the time, this circumstance is somewhat perplexed, it is certain however, in the beginning of the Xth Century there were six Bishops in *Wessex*, whereas a little before there were but three. *Ralph de Diceto* places the erecting of the three new Sees in 909. To reconcile this Historian with *Malmsbury*, who fixes the date of them to 904, this expedient is proposed, which, if it has no foundation, is at least not improbable. It is thought, that in the Synod or mixt Assembly held at *Winchester* in 904, the erection of the three new Bishopricks was resolved. But as these new Sees were to be taken out of the Dioceses of *Winchester* and *Sherburn*, it was agreed, this should not be done 'till after the death of the present Bishops, that the Revenues they had hitherto enjoyed, might not be lessened. Both these Bishops happening to die in 900, or perhaps a little before, and the Bishopricks of *Hereford* and *Suffex* being also vacant at the same time, *Plagmund* consecrated seven Bishops at once, namely, *Fridstan* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Werstan* of *Sherburn*, *Kenulph* of *Worcester*, *Beornock* of *Selsey* in *Suffex*, *Eadulph* of *Crediton*, or *Kirton*, *Athelm* of *Wells*, and *Athelstan* of *Petrockstow* or *Padstow* in *Cornwall*. The three last Sees were the newly erected. Tho' *Malmsbury* and *Higden* affirm the new erected Bishopricks had the Pope's Confirmation, it is certain at that time, and for more than two hundred years after, there was no such thing requir'd. And therefore very probably, when these two Historians mentioned the Pope's Confirmation, they had an Eye to the Custom of their own Times.

We meet with very few particulars of moment, except some Councils spoken of hereafter, in the Reigns of *Athelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*. The most remarkable thing was the Charter of Privileges granted by *Edmund*, on account of *Dunstan* the first Abbot, to *Glassenbury Abby*, after it was rebuilt. These Privileges were so extensive, that the King seem'd to intend to invest the Abbot with a sort of sovereign Power within the Precincts of his Jurisdiction (1).

The Abby of *Croyland* was also rebuilt in the Reign of *Edmund* by *Turketul* the King's Cousin and Chancellor. He afterwards turned Monk himself, and was made Abbot by *Edred*, who put him in possession, by the delivery of a *Pastoral Staff*, according to the custom of those days. *Turketul* obtained a very advantageous Charter for his Abby. However, *Edred* refus'd to grant him the Privilege of Sanctuary, which that Abby had enjoyed before its destruction, being unwilling Malefactors should be protected from Justice.

This Prince was entirely sway'd by *Dunstan*, who made use of his Interest, not only to put the Monks in possession of the Abbies, which the secular Clergy had appropriated to themselves, but also of the Benefices. If *Edred* had not died so soon, *Dunstan* would doubtless have settled this Affair in such a manner, as to have made it unalterable. But this Prince dying before it could be compleated, *Edwy* his Successor turn'd the Monks out of the Benefices, and even out of some of their Monasteries. To read the tragical Complaints of the Monkish Historians upon this occasion, and their bitter Invectives against *Edwy*, one would imagine this Prince had utterly rooted out the Christian Religion. Whereas upon a closer Inquiry, it will appear, the Monks were dispossessed only of the two Monasteries of *Abington* and *Malmsbury* (2). This Loss however was so grievous to them that they stirr'd up the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* to a revolt, as hath been related.

It is needless to repeat here what has already been said of the great Interest of *Dunstan* in the Reign of *Edgar*, and what he did in favour of the Monks. The Truth is, he can't be blamed for exerting his power in replacing them in the Monasteries. Though the religious Houses were deserted during the wars, they belonged not to the secular Clergy, since they were founded for the Monks.

But he can't be so easily excus'd, for endeavouring to introduce the Monks into the Benefices; on pretence that the secular Priests were most of them married. I shall not examine here upon what ground the Councils and Popes prohibited the Clergy from marrying. This matter has been so fully handled by several Authors, that nothing new can be added. I shall only remark, that from the Conversion of the *English* to *Dunstan's* time, the Clergy of *England* were not oblig'd to *Celibacy*, and that *Dunstan* undertook an unprecedented thing, when he attempted to bind them to it, in pursuance of the *Papal Decrees*. It has been observ'd in the Reign of *Edgar*, how *Dunstan*, countenanced by that Prince, gain'd his point so far, as, not indeed to oblige them to put away their Wives, but to expel them their Benefices for keeping them. However notwithstanding his great Interest and Affection to the Monks, he could never re-instate them in the northern Monasteries. For above two hundred years the Abbies in those parts were uninhabited, and the very name of a Monk was scarce heard of there.

I have but little to say (3) concerning the new Bishopricks, or the removal of the Episcopal Sees from one place to another, at a time when one half of the Kingdom was in the hands of the *Danes*, who as yet were Pagans. *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, being expos'd to their continual ravages, it is not to be expected the affairs of the Church should proceed in a regular course. *East-Anglia* had never a Bishop for above two hundred years, and in *Northumberland*, the See of *Hagulfstad* was reduc'd to so wretched a state, that having long been without a Bishop, it was forced at last to be united to *York*. During *Alfred's* Reign, the Bishopricks of *Leicester* and *Lincoln* were united in one, and the See remov'd to *Dorchester* (4), where it continued 'till the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, when it was translated again to *Lincoln*. I have already mention'd the erection of the three new Bishopricks in *Wessex*, and therefore it is needless to say any thing more of them. This is all that occurs, unless I were to give a List of the Names of the Bishops that succeeded in each See; which would lead me too far. Those who have a mind to it, may consult *Dr. Heylin*, who has published a Book upon that subject, where you have the year of the Instalment of each Bishop.

The Councils held in this interval, were properly mixt Assemblies, consisting of the Clergy and Nobility, and term'd in *Saxon*, *Witena-Gemot*, that is, an Assembly of wise Men, or rather *Micel-Synod*, which signifies in the same Language, the Great, or General Assembly. Both these names were rendered in *Latin* by the word *Concilium*. But because in these Assemblies, Laws and Ordinances relating to the Church as well as the State, were enacted, several of them are reckon'd among the Councils or Synods. As for Councils purely Ecclesiastical, it does not appear there were any, from *Egbert* to *Edward the Martyr*.

Next to the Assembly at *Winchester*, where *Ethelwulf* is said to have given a Grant of the Tithes, the most considerable with regard to religious Affairs, was the Synod of *Graetley*, in the Reign of *Athelstan*. The Canons or Laws of this Council are Nine.

The Ist enjoins the Payment of Tithes (5).

The IId commands the Magistrates to put the Laws in execution against those that were convinced by all the Circumstances of an Ordeal Tryal (6).

The IIIId is against Witchcraft and Highwaymen.

The IVth relates to the Towns where the Money was to be coined. At *Canterbury* there were to be seven Mints, four for the King, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbot of *St. Augustine's*. *Rocheſter*

(1) This Charter was engross'd in Letters of Gold in a Book of the four Gospels, and presented to the Abby by the King.

(2) And perhaps *Glassenbury*, which were all the Monks had in *Edwy's* Time, the rest were in Possession of the Seculars. See *Tinmouth. Hist. Ant.* Ms. l. 21. *Wulfstan. Vit. Ethel.*

(3) *Edred* founded a Bishop's See at *St. Germans* in *Cornwall*, which was afterwards annexed by *Canute* to the See of *Crediton* or *Kirton*. *Speed*, p. 341

(4) In *Oxfordshire*.

(5) To which is added the King's Order to all his Officers and Governors, to maintain a poor Man in Diet and Clothes; namely, that out of every two of his Villages, or Towns, there should be given an Amphora, or nine Gallons of Meal, a Gammon of Bacon, or a Ram worth five Pence. They were each of them also to manumite a Slave. *Spelman. Conc.* Vol. I. p. 393.

(6) See the Manner of this Tryal at length, in the *Dissertation on the Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*.

was to have three, two for the King, and one for the Bishop (1).

The Vth regulates the Circumstances and Formalities of the *Ordeal Trial*, to know whether the Person accused were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The first is, That the Priests are spoken of as fixed or settled, in certain places. Whence it is plain, that in those days they did not live together in common; but each had his particular Church. The second is, that the accused Person was to receive the consecrated Bread. Whence it may be inferred, that since the Eucharist was called Bread after the Consecration, the Church of England was far from believing *Transubstantiation*.

The VIth forbids buying and selling on Sunday.

The VIIth is against Perjuries and false Witness (2).

Brompt. The VIIIth orders the Bishops to assist the Judges in the execution of the Laws, and to sit upon the Bench with them (3).

The IXth lays a Fine upon remiss and negligent Magistrates, which was to be paid to the Bishop (4).

Spelman, Vol. I. p. 425. We find another Synod, or mixt Assembly, in the Reign of *Edmund*, wherein the Ceremonies of Marriage, and Preliminary Securities the Parties were to give one another, are settled.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Council where *Edgar* harangued so strenuously against the secular Priests, and of several others, that were assembled on occasion of the Controversy between the Monks and Clergy, and therefore shall say nothing more of them here.

Odo's Constitutions. 923. Spelman, Conc. Vol. I. p. 415. To the *Ecclesiastical Laws* passed at these General Assemblies or Councils, may be aptly subjoined certain Constitutions made in those days. The ten following are *Odo's*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The first threatens all those who injure the Church in her Property with Excommunication.

The II^d exhorts Princes [and other great Men] to be governed by the directions of the Bishops, because God has entrusted them with the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.

The III^d admonishes Bishops to discharge their Duty (5), without any mercenary Views, or respect of Persons.

The IVth and Vth give good Advice to the Clergy.

The VIth does the same with regard to the Monks.

The VIIth prohibits unlawful Marriages, upon the score of nearness of Relation: But the degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends Unity and Charity among Christians.

(1) London was to have eight, *Winchester* six, *Lewis*, *Southampton*, *Exeter*, *Shaftsbury*, *Wareham*, two each, and every other great Town was to have one. If any Person belonging to these *Mints* was found guilty of debasing the Coin (which was to be all of one Sort) his right Hand was to be cut off, and nailed upon the out-side of the *Mint*. See *Spelman*, Conc. Vol. I. p. 399. The same Appointment was made by *Archebald*, only he ordered that (besides the Places here mentioned) *Canterbury* should have seven, *Rochester* three, *Hastings* and *Chichester* one each, &c. See *Leg. 64.* in *Wilkins*.

(2) The Penalty is, not to be believed afterwards, and to be debarred of Christian Burial.

(3) In this same Council were some remarkable Civil Laws enacted, particularly one against Thieves, requiring, That if a Thief be taken in the fact no man shall spare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had stole any thing above the value of eight pence. If any one do contrary thereto, he shall pay the value of the Thief's head, and make amends for the fault, and yet the Thief himself shall not be spared; who if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A Thief cast into Prison shall stay forty days, and then after the payment of one hundred and twenty Shillings be discharged; but his Kindred must give security for his good behaviour; after which if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in case one resist, he shall pay to the King, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own Head; and if any defend him, he shall pay to the King one hundred and twenty Shillings.

(4) Namely, of the Diocese where the Magistrate lived.

(5) That is, to go and preach about their Diocese every Year, &c.

(6) The III^d orders the Payment of the Tithe of Cattle before *Whitsuntide*, of the Fruits of the Earth before the Equinox, and of Seeds at the Feast of *St. Martin*. *Spelman*, p. 444.

(7) And to continue 'till break of Day on Monday, *Spelman* p. 445. *Edgar* made several other Constitutions for the Regulation of Religious Houses. In those in the Book belonging to *Winchester* Cathedral, *Edgar* makes himself General of the Monks, and Queen of the Nuns. *Spelman*, p. 447.

(8) These Canons were translated by Sir H. Spelman, from a Saxon Manuscript in *Bennet-College* in Cambridge. 'Tis not known where or by what Authority they were drawn up. *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 186.

(9) That is, the consecrated Bread. Had they thought then, that our Saviour's Flesh and Bones, as the *Trent Catechism* words it, had been present under the Appearance of Bread, they would never have burnt the Eucharist in this manner.

(10) The LIId orders Priests to preach every Sunday. *Spelman*, p. 454.

(11) The LXIVth declares Hunting and Hawking are improper Diversions for a Priest, who is to make Books his Entertainments. *Spelman*.

The IXth prescribes fasting on *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and the four *Ember Weeks*.

The Xth enjoins the punctual Payment of Tithes, *Mal. iii. 12.* from Reasons taken out of the Old Testament, without any mention of *Ethelwulf's* Charter.

There are other Constitutions, published under King *Edgar*, but the Author of them is unknown. The principal are, *Odo's Constitutions. Spelman. p. 444.*

The Ist, which confirms the Civil Privileges and Immunities of the Church, and orders the payment of Tithes ().

And the Vth, by which the Solemnity of Sunday is to begin at three o' Clock on Saturday in the Afternoon (7).

In this Reign were publish'd a Body of Canons (8), of which the following are particularly remarkable.

By the Vth, if a Priest receiv'd any Injury, the Complaint was to be preferr'd to the Synod, who were to treat the Case, as if the Injury had actually been done to the whole Body of the Clergy, and take care that satisfaction be made at the Discretion of the Bishop of the Diocese.

The XIth enjoins the Priests to learn some employment, in order to get their livelihood in case of misfortune.

The XVIIth orders Parents to teach their Children the Lord's-Prayer and the Apostles-Creed, without which they were neither to be admitted to the Eucharist, nor buried in consecrated ground.

The XXIXth forbids the burying in Churches all those that were not of known and approv'd Probity.

The XXXIId prohibits the Priests from officiating without the Service-Book before them, for fear the trusting to their Memories might make them mistake.

By the XXXVIth, no Person was to eat or drink before the receiving the Communion.

The XXXVIIIth enjoins the Priest to have the holy Eucharist (9) always ready by him: But in case it grew so stale that it could not be eaten without disgusting the Palate, it was to be burnt in a clear Fire, and the Ashes laid under the Altar. Hence it is easy to see what the Church's Opinion was then of the Eucharist, since it was believ'd it could grow stale, and was to be burnt after it was spoil'd (10).

The LIIId forbids the eating of Blood (11).

After these Canons, there follows a very particular Form of Confession, with what Penances the Confessor is to enjoin. We find here that the Penitent was order'd to say the Lord's-Prayer threescore times a day,

but not so much as one *Ave Maria*; a clear evidence, that the praying to the *Virgin Mary* was not yet introduced into the Church.

Nothing more remains relating to the Church of those days, but to give a brief account of the most noted Persons for Piety and Learning.

Swithin.

The first Saint we meet with is *Swithin* or *Swithun* (1), who having been Preceptor to King *Ethelwulf*, was promoted to the See of *Winchester*. By his advice *Ethelwulf* is said to have granted a Charter of the Tithes to the Church. This alone was sufficient to gain him a Saintship, though he had been distinguished upon no other account. But besides this, he is affirmed to have wrought abundance of *Miracles*, with which I do not think proper to swell this Abridgment.

Humbert.

Humbert, Bishop of *East-Anglia*, massacred, or, if you will, martyr'd by the *Danes*, with King *Edmund*, has the Honour also of being rank'd with the Saints.

Alfred.

Alfred the Great, independently of his Royal Dignity, was one of the most considerable for his Piety and Learning (2).

Scotus.
Affin. vit.
Alii.

Johannes Scotus, surnamed *Erigena*, that is, *Irishman*, [*Ireland* being then called *Erin*] liv'd at this time. He had acquired a great reputation in *France*, where *Charles the Bald* entertain'd him at his Court, and us'd to converse with him with great Familiarity (3) when *Alfred* invited him into *England*. At first she was the King's Preceptor in Languages and the other Sciences; afterwards he taught at *Oxford*, from whence, in all probability, he was remov'd to *Malmesbury*, since it was in this Monastery that he is said to be stab'd to death by his Scholars with Penknives. Before he left *France*, he was engaged by the Emperor's Order in the dispute concerning the Nature of the Eucharist. In his Treatise (4) upon this Subject, he strongly argued against *Pascasius's* Doctrine, who maintained, the Body of Christ in the Eucharist to be the same that was born of the Blessed Virgin. It must needs be, that the contrary opinion defended by *Scotus*, was not look'd upon then as heretical, since it prevented not *Alfred* from inviting him into *England*, from having a very great esteem for him, and entrusting him with the Education of youth. Nay it is certain, he was honoured as a Saint and a Martyr after his death. *Roger de Hoveden* says, *Scotus* at first had an obscure burial; but afterwards a miraculous Light shining over his Grave for several nights together, the Monks of *St. Lawrence's* remov'd his body into their Church, and buried it close by the Altar. His Epitaph also, the antiquity whereof, according to *Malmesbury*, appears from the Structure and Diction of the Verses (5), is exprefs for his passing for a Saint, when that was made. All these circumstances are a strong presumption, at least, that *Transubstantiation* was not the Doctrine of the Church of *England* at that time. For had it been so, how was it possible the *English* should honour as a Saint one that had so openly combated their Opinions? This inference a little perplexes the *Roman Catholics*. However, one of their Historians does not scruple to own, that the name of *Scot* is registred in the SUPPLEMENT of the Gallican Martyrology, and commemorated among the Saints on the fourth of the Ides

Creffy's
Church Hi-
story of Eng-
land.
p. 772.

of November. He moreover adds, that his Name had been inserted even in the Roman Martyrology, and did remain there 'till expung'd by Cardinal Baronius. This Historian indeed pretends, *Scotus* retracted his former Errors: but gives us no Authority for what he says. He only alledges, that without a recantation it is not likely the Church would have honoured his Memory. But this is supposing that *Transubstantiation* was the doctrine of the Church at that time, which must first be proved, before this Argument can be of any force.

Grimbald liv'd also in the same Century: He was one of the first Class for his Learning, and had a great reputation. He was invited into *England* by *Alfred the Great* (who was acquainted with him at *Rheims*) and prefer'd to the Government of the new Abby at *Winchester*.

Among the *Englishmen*, eminent for their Learning, *Affricus* was one of the most considerable. He wrote the Life of *Alfred the Great* in 893, and died Bishop of *St. David's* in *Wales* (6). He must not be confounded with another of the same name, Bishop of *Sherburn*, who died in 883.

Werefrid, Bishop of *Worcester* in *Mercia*, lived in the Reign of King *Buthred*. When the *Danes* became masters of *Mercia*, he retired into *France*, from whence he was recalled by King *Alfred*. He translated the Dialogues of *Gregory the Great* into *Saxon*; and having acquired a great reputation when living, he was registred a Saint after his Death.

Plegmund, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, pass'd for a very learned Prelate, and was particularly eminent for his Skill in Divinity.

Dunulf had been an Herdsman. He is affirmed by some to be the same that sheltered *Alfred*, whilst the *Danes* were masters of the Kingdom. However this be, he had the good fortune to be known to this Prince; who finding him a Person of a Genius superior to his Birth and Employment, got him instructed in Learning, and promoted him afterwards to the See of *Winchester*. As this City was then the Metropolis of *Wessex*, where *Alfred* kept his usual residence, he us'd the advice of this Prelate in Affairs of the greatest moment.

Wulfig Bishop of *London*, had also a great share in *Alfred's* Esteem, as appears by his Letter to this Prelate prefixed to his Translation of *Gregory's Pastoral*.

Neots was an Abbot distinguish'd for his Birth, Learning, Regularity, and Zeal for promoting the Interest of the true Religion. Some say, he was nearly related to King *Alfred*, and others that he was descended from the Blood-Royal of *East-Anglia*. He died in 890 in *Cornwall*, where he left his name to the Town of *Neotstow* or *St. Neots* (7).

Odo, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the Son of an *East-Anglian-Dane*. Though he was born of Pagan Parents, he had the good fortune to know and relish the Christian Religion, and for that reason was expelled his Father's House. In this extremity, he put himself into the service of an *English* Nobleman, who had him baptiz'd, and sent him to School. When he became capable he entered into Orders, in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*. His zeal, virtue, and capacity, gained him so great a Character, that *Athelstan* made him Bishop of

(1) He was bred a Monk at *Winchester*, where he was made Abbot. *Malm.*

(2) He was twelve Years of Age before he could read, which he first began to learn upon this occasion. His Mother seeing him one Day mightily delighted with a little Book, beautifully adorned with Capital Letters in Gold and other Colours, laid, in his and his Brother's hearing, She would give that Book to him that should first get it by Heart. *Alfred*, who knew not so much as his Letters, though twelve years old, applied himself to diligently to his Business, that he never left 'till he could read and repeat the Book to his Mother. From this time, he had a great Relish for Books, and studied hard. There is extant of this Monarch's Works relating to History, a Paraphratical Translation of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and a short Genealogy of the Kings of the *West-Saxons*. Posterity had so great a Veneration for his Memory, that he has the Title of Saint sometimes bestowed upon him, and what is more, his Name stands in the Calendar of the *English Martyrology*, printed in 1608, and in two *Saxon Calendars* cited by the *Annistator* on the *Saxon* Translation of the N. T. The Day of his Death is registred on the 20th of October.

(3) The Emperor one Day, as he was sitting opposite to him at Table, asking him merrily, *Quid interest inter Scotum & Sotum?* He replied, *Mensuratum*. Which the Emperor took in good part. *Heard.*

(4) This Book was condemn'd by the Council of *Verceil* in 1050, *Bering. Epist. ad Rich.* 'Tis now lost, though some will have it to be the same with that which goes under the Name of *Ratram* or *Bertram*. But *Mabillon* confutes this Opinion.

(5) Clauditur hec Tumulo sanctus Sophista Johannes,
Qui dictus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi concendere Regnum,
Quo meruit, Sancti regnant per Sæcula cuncti. *Malm.*

(6) He was bred a Monk of *Monavia* or *St. David's*, whom the King prevailed upon, with much ado, to come to Court, on condition he should stay there six Months, and at his Abby six Months, by turns. He wrote the Life of *Alfred* to the 45th year of his Age, i. e. to the year 893, according to his Computation. It was continued to *Alfred's* Death by some later Hand. He shows through the whole a great deal of Modesty. He mentions nothing of the visionary Dialogue betwixt *Alfred* and *St. Guthbert*, which other Historians largely insist on. He is copied by *Florence of Worcester* and others. This Treatise was first published by Archbishop *Parker* in the old *Saxon* Character. A new Edition is lately put out by Mr. *Wise*, Fellow of *Trinity College Oxford*, with a Vindication of the contested Clause about the Antiquity of *Oxford*. Another Piece has been published by Dr. *Gale*, under the Title of *Affricus's Annals*. The learned Editor does not question but 'tis the true Offspring of *Affricus*. *Leland* calls it the Chronicle of *St. Neots*, because he found it in that Monastery.

(7) Where he was buried, and when Earl *Alric's* Seat in *Huntingtonshire* was turned into a Monastery upon his Account, his Body was removed thither, and the Town before called *Annulpsbury*, was from him named *St. Neot's*. From whence his Bones were a third time removed to *Creyland Minster* in 1217.

Sherburn. Some ascribe to the efficacy of his Prayers, the glorious victory, obtained by that Prince over the *Danes* at *Brunanburgh*. *Odo* had no less Interest with King *Edmund*, who resolved to promote him to the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury*: But *Odo* modestly excused himself, telling the King his abilities were too slender for so high a Post. The King not admitting his excuse, he further alledged, that Translations were not warrantable by the Canons. This scruple being removed, by the examples of *Justus* and *Mellitus* who were translated from *Rochester* and *London* to *Canterbury*, he started another Objection, and alledged, that the Archbishops from *Augustin* downwards having been all *Monks* (1), he looked upon himself as unqualified for that Station, since he had not been educated under any religious Rule. This new difficulty was also got over by sending to the Abbot of *Fleury* in *France*, and entreating him to admit *Odo* into his Society. Thus the Prelate having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with great reluctance, the See of *Canterbury*. As he became afterwards a vigorous Champion for the *Monks*, it may be presumed, this was one of the chief reasons of placing him among the most illustrious Ecclesiasticks of his time. He is said also to have the gift of Miracles, which the Favourers of the *Monks* seldom failed to be honoured with.

Dunstan would make a large Article here, did I not think what I have elsewhere said of him sufficiently makes known his Character. There are modern Historians, even among the Protestants themselves, who, carried away by the Testimonies of the antient Writers, have given great commendations to this pretended Saint, without considering upon what doubtful Authorities they proceed. It is highly propable, that *Dunstan's* firm adherence to the *Monks*, was the ground of those excessive praises bestowed on him, of which, perhaps, he would otherwise have been deemed unworthy (2).

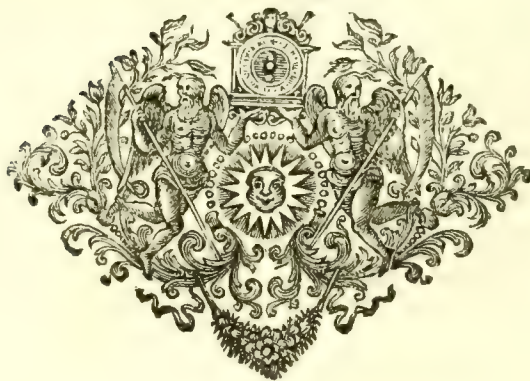
The same may be said of *Ethelwald*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester* first, and afterwards Archbishop of *York*. Their great zeal in the cause of the *Monks*, is doubtless what contributed most to their reputation. The *Monks*, being almost the only Writers in those days, have drawn the characters of Persons according to their Prejudices or Interests.

Turketul, King *Edmund's* near Relation and Chancellor, became famous in this Age, for preferring a Cloyster to a Court, where he lived in great Reputation. But what raised his merit most with the Historians, was his rebuilding and restoring to its former splendor, the Abby of *Croyland* (3), demolished by the *Danes*.

(1) There were several that in all probability were not Monks, as *Wigberd*, whom *Bede*, l. 4. c. 1. calls a Priest, and *Nothelm*, who succeeded *Tatwine*.

(2) The famous Story of *St. Dunstan* and the Devil is thus related by the Monkish Historians. As *St. Dunstan* was one day busied in his Cell near *Glastenbury*, in making a Gold Cup of a curious Workmanship, the Devil appeared to him in a beautiful Form, tempting him to Sin. *Dunstan* perceiving in Spirit who he was, takes up a red-hot pair of Tongs, and catching hold of the Devil by the Nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, that he was heard all over the Neighbourhood. *Hig. Polych.* p. 270. *Edit. Gale.* *Brompt.* p. 878, 879.

(3) *Turketul* left the Monastery at his Death in possession of many curious Relicks; among the rest *Ingulphus* (p. 51. *Hist. Croyl. Edit. Gale.*) mentions the Thumb of *St. Bartholomew* the Apostle, given him when Chancellor by the Emperor; he had so great a Veneration for it, that he always carried it about him, and when in any Danger, cross'd himself with it. The naming of Bells, together with the Benediction, as a defensive against Thunder and Lightning, being introduced in this Age by Pope *John XIV.* *Turketul* cast a great Bell, which he called *Gutblac*. His Successor taking the hint, added some more to it, and made the first tuneable Ring of Bells in England. *Ingulph.* p. 53.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

Containing the Reigns of the Kings of ENGLAND, from **ETHELRED II.** to the Norman Conquest, being the Space of about Eighty Eight Years.

14. **ETHELRED II.**

978.
**ETHEL-
RED II.**
crown'd.



Malm. 1. 2.
c. 10.

Hoveden.
Ingulph.
p. 54.

Sax. Ann.

Malm. &
Brompt.

980.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

His Char-
acter.
Malm.

AFTER the murder of *Edward*, there was not the least pretence to refuse the Crown to his Brother *Ethelred*, who was the only Prince of the Royal Family, and too young to be accused of partaking in his Mother's crime. Accordingly, *Dunstan* could not help crowning him⁽¹⁾, being then but twelve years

of age, though he plainly foresaw it would prove fatal to his whole Party. It is affirmed, that *Dunstan* at his Coronation foretold, by the Spirit of Prophecy, the Calamities *England* was going to be exposed to in his Reign. But Predictions of this Nature are always to be suspected, when attributed to *Saints*, such as *Dunstan*, by Authors who wrote after the Event. However this be, the People had very different thoughts of this new Reign. They flattered themselves, they were about to enjoy a state of Tranquillity, under a Prince who had already given an Instance of his good Nature, in bitterly lamenting the Death of the King his Brother, though it procured him the Crown. An Historian says, his Tears appeared so unseasonable to his Mother, that catching up a Wax-taper in a passion, she beat him so unmercifully with it, that he could not endure the sight of a Wax-light ever after.

The first thing *Ethelred* did after his Coronation, was to remove the Body of the late King to *Shaftsbury Church*. Hardly had he performed this Office, but he found himself attacked by the *Danes*, who suffered him to enjoy no repose during these residue of his Life. If this Prince had followed the steps of his Predecessors, perhaps he would have caused the old invaders to lay aside all thoughts of any new attempts upon *England*. But his natural Cowardice, joined to an extreme Sluggishness⁽²⁾, and insatiable

Avarice, and many other Failings, soon let them see, he was not like to prove a very formidable Enemy. For sixty years past they seemed to have forgot *England*, and the *English* on their side, to have lost all remembrance of the Calamities they had suffered from the hands of those cruel Enemies. However, after so long an Interval, during which the *Danes* settled in *England*, seemed to have entertained the same affection for this their second Country, as the Natives themselves, the foreign *Danes* took it in their heads to renew their Invasions. They no sooner appeared, but the others, resuming their old Inclinations, joined their Countrymen, in order to improve the present Opportunity, and free themselves from the Dominion of the *English*.

The *Danish* rovers made their first Attempt on *Southampton*, where they arrived with seven Ships, and after plundering the Town and the adjacent Country⁽³⁾, they carried the same devastations into *Cornwall*.

This year another band landing at *Portland*, pillaged, and sacked the Country round about, after which they proceeded elsewhere to increase their Spoils⁽⁴⁾.

These frequent descents were so much the more incommo-
dious to the *English*, as having so many Coasts to guard, they knew not where to assemble and expect the Enemy. If at any time they happened to have it in their power to give them Battle, all the advantage they could gain, in case fortune favoured them, was to recover the Plunder. But when they themselves were worsted, the Country was sure to be exposed to all imaginable cruelties before another Army could be drawn together. Very often, whilst the *English* Troops were upon the march, to oppose one of these Bands, they were forced to change their Rout, and march where the danger seemed more pressing. Thus, what care soever might be taken, one part of the

981.

The *Danes*
renew
their Inva-
sion.

Sax. Ann.
Malm.
S. Dunelm.

982.

The Advan-
tages of the
Danes in the
War.

(1) He was crowned at *Kingsfm*, April 25. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. 1. 5. Brompt. p. 877.

(2) This cowardly and sluggish Temper of his was predicted by *Dunstan*, when at his Baptism (like *Constantine* the Emperor, from thence called *Constantinus*) he bewrayed the Faint, when, *Malmesbury* says, disturbed *Dunstan* so, that it made him swear by God and St. Mary, this Boy will prove a *Poltron*, lib. 2. c. 10. de Gest. Reg. Ang. But this has very much the Air of a Monkish Alperison.

(3) They either slew, or carried captive, almost all the Inhabitants. They came from thence to the Isle of *Thanet*, and plundered it; and another Band ravaged *Chester*. S. Dunelm. p. 161. Brompt. p. 877.

(4) This year also the City of *London* was destroyed by Fire, but by what Accident is unknown.

Kingdom was always exposed, since there was no foreseeing where the Pyrates would land. There was but one way to remedy this Inconvenience, which was, to keep a Fleet at Sea strong enough to engage the *Danes*, before they disembarked their Troops. But a time of Minority was not very proper to take such a precaution.

In this manner passed the first ten years of this Reign. It would be needless to describe at length the ravages committed by the *Danes* during that time. It is easy to imagine the whole Kingdom was a Scene of Murders, Commissions, Plundering, and other Devastations, which, after some short intermissions, were continually renewed.

During these Troubles, *Ethelric*, Duke of *Mercia*, one of the best Subjects of his Country, died in 983. His little regard for the Monks after *Edgar's* Death, was probably the reason of their reporting among their Votaries, that he was eaten up of Lice. *Alfred's* Son succeeded him.

The next year, *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, one of *Dunstan's* Confidants, and a great Friend of the Monks, departed this Life. He is said to have founded a dozen Monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the Liberality of the two former Kings, with whom he was in great Favour (1).

The Credit of the Monks declined very much in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as well by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*, as because the People, full of their Misfortunes, were regardless of every thing else. Nay, they began to mistrust the Sanctity of the Monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that Men who had obtained from Heaven so many Miracles on their own private account, could not by their merits and prayers secure the Kingdom from the Calamities it was incessantly exposed to. On the other hand, as their credit with the former Kings had helped to acquire them a great Reputation, so this King's disinclination to them turned greatly to their prejudice. *Ethelred*, whose thoughts were not taken up with Religion, put the Monks and other Ecclesiastics upon a level with the rest of his Subjects. He gave a convincing proof how little he regarded the Clergy, in a difference between him and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*. The Bishop having haughtily refused to comply with some demand of the King's, he ordered the Soldiers to lay waste the Lands belonging to the Cathedral dedicated to St. *Andrew* (2). In vain did the Bishop threaten him with vengeance from the *Apostle*, and cause Archbishop *Dunstan* to interpose in his quarrel; *Ethelred* slighted both, nor could be appeased but by Money (3). *Dunstan*, displeased to the highest degree at this Behaviour, denounced upon the King and his Council the Judgments of God, ready to fall on their heads, for presuming to lay sacrilegious hands on the Church's Property; but he was not heard. His credit was sunk so low, that hardly was he known to be alive, so careful were the new Ministers to depress him. He died quickly after in the year 988; not so much of old Age, as of grief and vexation to see himself no longer distinguished as formerly.

Osvald Archbishop of *York* soon followed him. He was his particular Friend, and one of the three Prelates that governed the Church during the Reign of *Edgar*. The death of these Patrons of the Monks, a contagious distemper (4), which swept away multitudes, and moreover, the continual Invasions of the *Danes*, put an end to the quarrel between the secular and regular Clergy, in such manner, that it was never more heard of.

After the *Danes* had pillaged the Coasts of *England* ten years together, they gave over their ravages for about two years. This Intermiſſion put the *English* in hopes, their Enemies having turn'd their thoughts to some other Country, would for the future leave them in quiet. But these hopes were short-lived. In 991, *Fuſtin* and *Guthmund*, two *Danish* Captains, landed a great body of Troops at *Gipſwich* (5). Whilst they were busy in plundering, *Brithnoth*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, advanced towards them, in expectation to surprize them, but found them too well prepared. He was overthrown, and his defeat exposed the adjacent Country to greater devastations. The victorious *Danes* having nothing more to fear, penetrated still farther

into the Country, where they committed terrible ravages.

Ethelred, being without an Army, and unable to stop their progress, was persuaded by *Syric* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (6), to give them a large Sum of Money. Perhaps he would have acted wiser, if in imitation of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, he had laid out the Money in fortifying the Kingdom against their Inſults. However this be, the Archbishop's Advice was deemed a prudent and very good to *England*. The Present given to the *Danish*, served only to allure others, who being no less greedy of Money, thought they had an equal right to make advantage of the weakness of the *English*.

Two years after, another of their Fleets sailing up the *Humber*, the Pyrates landed on the North Side, and ravaged in a merciless manner all that belong'd to the *English* in those quarters. *Ethelred* sent an Army against them, under the command of three Earls, *Frema*, *Brithnoth*, and *Goodwin*. But the Generals, having led their Forces in fight of the Enemies, were the first that turned their backs, and by their shameful Cowardice occasioned the loss of the Army. The King had imprudently trusted these three Lords with his Troops, who, being of *Danish* Extraction, were suspected of Treachery.

How great ever the miseries inflicted hitherto on *England* by these Foreigners might be, it is certain, they were nothing in comparison of what followed. *Styren* King of *Denmark*, and *Olaf* (8) King of *Norway*, allured by the good Success of their Subjects in *England*, wanted to share in the spoil brought from thence every year. To that purpose, fitting out a numerous Fleet, they entered the *Thames*, and landed their Troops near *London*. They made several attempts to become masters of the City, but meeting with a braver resistance than they imagined, retired. To make themselves amends for the time spent in vain before *London*, they went and plundered *Kent*, *Hampshire*, and *Suffex*, threatening to lay waste the whole Kingdom. *Ethelred*, who had no more conduct than courage, not knowing how to put a stop to these ravages, had recourse to the same means made use of before on a like occasion. He bound himself by a Treaty to pay a certain Sum of Money (9) within such a time, on condition they left his Subjects unmolested, and departed the Kingdom. Whereupon, the two foreign Kings caused all Hostilities to cease, and retired to *Southampton*. Shortly after the King of *Norway* paid a visit to *Ethelred* (10), who persuaded him to be baptiz'd, and stood himself Godfather. At his departure, *Olaf* obliged himself by Oath never to infect *England* more, and perform'd his promise.

It would have been happy for the *English*, if *Sweyn*, who departed at the same time, would have followed his Example. For they would have escaped all those Calamities, that Prince afterwards brought on the Land. When he failed for *Denmark*, he left a Fleet at *Southampton*, to keep the *English* in awe, and oblige them to perform the Articles of the Treaty. After his departure, his Admiral very earnestly pressed the payment of the Money. But as there was no haste made to comply with his demands, he took their delay for a refusal, and resolved to renew the war. Mean while, to deceive the vigilance of the *English*, he set sail, as if he designed for *Denmark*, but on a sudden, he unexpectedly entered the *Severn*, and after destroying the Country of the *Welsh* with fire and sword, cross'd the River and penetrated into *Dorsetshire* (11), where he committed the same ravages. All the Forces that could be brought against the *Danes* were as soon defeated as levied. They sacked whole Counties, it being impossible to oppose them. At last, finding nothing more to plunder in those parts, they put to Sea again, and landed in *Kent* (12). The Inhabitants, by endeavouring to make some resistance, only increased the fury of their Enemies, who treated them with the utmost barbarity. To complete their misfortunes, a Fleet equip'd by *Ethelred* to engage them at Sea, was rendered useless by the dissensions and unskilfulness of the Commanders. In this melancholy situation, *England* would have irretrievably perished, if the *Danes* by a lucky and unexpected Accident had not been called to the assistance of *Richard II*, Duke of *Normandy*, whom the King of *France* would have dispossessed of his dominions. *Ethelred* took this opportunity to go

(1) He had the King's Purſe at command, besides those of most other People, who then looked upon such Works as meritorious. *Tyr. p. 24.*

(2) He sent and desired *Richard*, but not being able to take it, he wasted the Lands of the Cathedral. *Malmſb. & Dunelm.*

(3) One hundred Pounds. *Ann. p. 2314. Malmſb. p. 62.*

(4) A bloody Flux. *S. Dunelm. p. 101. Beulſb. p. 55.*

(5) *Ipswich* in *Suffex*, where there are twelve Puriſh-Churches, with the Ruins of six or seven religious Houses. In *Camden's* time it had fourteen. As for the Antiquity, we find no mention of it before this *Danish* Invasion.

(6) And by the Dukes *Ethelred* and *Alfred*, and the rest of the Nobility. *S. Dunelm. p. 162. Chron. Major. p. 152.*

(7) Ten thousand Pounds. *Sax. Ann. 991.*

(8) Some pretend *Olaf* or *Olaph* was the time with *Adlaf* mentioned in the Reigns of *Edmund* and *Edgar*. But before that one was King of *Norway*, which can be made of the other, *Adlaf* must have been exceeding old, since seventy years before he was a General. There is no mention of him in the *English* History. *Reyn.*

(9) Sixteen thousand Pounds. *Sax. Ann. 994.*

(10) As before in *Denmark* and *Somerſetſhire*. See *Sax. Ann. Bromf. p. 882.*

(11) They went up the *Meuse* to *Rocheſter*. *Sax. Ann.*

993.
A Danish Fleet.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

994.
Sweyn and
Olaf invade Eng-
land.

S. Dunelm.
W. Malmſb.
l. 2. c. 10.

Ethelred
promises
them a Sum
of Money.

Olaf takes
Christen.

The two
Kings re-
turn home.

997.
The War is
renewed.
Sax. Ann.

998.
The Danes
ravage Eng-
land.

999.
Are unex-
pectedly
called off.
Sax. Ann.

and ravage *Cumberland*, but for what reason is unknown (1). After that, he returned to *London*, where he kept his usual Residence.

1000.

1001.

They return
to England.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.

The Quiet *Ethelred* enjoyed was of no long Continuance; the *Danes* staying in *Normandy* no longer than was necessary to put the young Duke out of Danger, returned into *England*. *Cornwall* felt the first Effects of their Fury; then entering *Wessex*, they became Masters of *Exeter*. The Consternation of the *English* was so great, that they made but a faint resistance. Whether *Ethelred* was betrayed by his Generals, or the long Peace enjoyed by the *English* during the foregoing Reigns, had enervated their Courage, they were constantly vanquish'd. The King himself was seized with such Terror that he durst not venture to be present in the Battles for fear of falling into the hands of the *Danes*, who probably would have shown him no favour. In fine, the *Danes* ever victorious, got possession of the Isle of *Wight*, *Hampshire*, and *Dorsetshire*, where they had their Magazines. From hence they made continual IncurSIONS into the neighbouring Counties, without any one daring to oppose them. *England* was then in a deplorable Condition. The southern Counties were perpetually ravag'd by the foreign *Danes*, and the northern People by the same Nation, whom the *English* could not but look upon as their Enemies. For, they not only refused to fight against the Foreigners, whom they still considered as their Countrymen, but joining with them, even helped to destroy a Country they ought to have defended with all their power, since it was become their own. In this extremity, *Ethelred*, who had no resolution, was far from imitating the Firmness of his Ancestors, who in like circumstances, were never daunted by Misfortunes. This timorous Prince, seeing no other way to avoid the still greater miseries the Nation was threaten'd with, yielded at last to pay the *Danes* thirty thousand Pounds (2). This Sum, which in those Days was very considerable, was levied by a Tax, called *Danegeld*, that is, *Danish Money*, or *Money for the Danes* (3). This was the original of that famous Tax which afterwards became so extremely burthensome to the Nation, even long after the *Danes* had quitted *England*. But the Clergy and Monks always found means to be exempted.

Sax. Ann.

1002.

Origin of
Danegeld.

The Danes
return home,
but several
stay behind,

who behave
insolently.

Hist. Boeth.
Hist. Scot.
J. Walling
are three
called Lord
Danes.

Ethelred
marries Em-
ma of Nor-
mandy.
Huntingd.
l. 6.
Brompt.

The *Danes*, satisfied with this Agreement, ceased their ravages, and return'd home. However, abundance of them, perceiving *England* to be much preferable to *Denmark*, staid behind, and lived among the *English*. Their number indeed was not so great as to render them very formidable, considering they were dispersed; but then they were supported by their Countrymen of *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*. Besides, the *English* dreaded nothing so much as the renewal of the war, which made the *Danes* very insolent. They did what they pleased, without any controul. The *English*, dispirited by their past Calamities, were afraid, on the least Occasion, of drawing into the Kingdom fresh Armies of Foreigners. Thus whilst the *Danes* abounding in wealth and ease, passed their Time agreeably, the *English* were forc'd to labour and toil incessantly, to satisfy the Avarice of their new Masters. In short, the whole Kingdom stood in such fear of the *Danes*, that they had always the appellation of *Lord-Danes*. The Word it self, as well as the Meaning, was altered a little after. At this day, in some parts of *England* a rich idle Man that takes upon him, is by way of derision called a *Lurdane*. But notwithstanding this alteration, the traces of its original signification are still visible in the word.

Elgiva, *Ethelred's* Queen, dying, whilst the *Danes* were thus insolently domineering in *England*, the King demanded *Emma* (4), Sister of *Richard II*, Duke of *Normandy*, in marriage. His suit being granted, and the Marriage consummated, he thought himself out of danger, depending upon the assistance of the Duke his Brother-in-Law, when there should be Occasion. This expectation inspired him with the barbarous and furious resolution of

destroying the *Danes* by a general Massacre. To execute this Project, orders were sent so privately (5), throughout the Kingdom, that in one day all the *Danes* were slain with such implacable Fury and Cruelty, that the particulars cannot be read without Horror (6). *Sweyn's* Sister (7), who was married to an *English* Lord, having at first been spared, *Ethelred* was so barbarous as to cause her Children to be murdered in her presence, and then her Head to be cut off. This Princess, who met her death with an heroic Constancy, was severely revenged shortly after.

This bloody Tragedy, acted on the thirteenth of November 1002 (8), was very like the Massacre of the *Romans* by the *Britons* under *Boadicea*; not only the same Barbarities, but the same consequences also attended both. The *English*, as the old *Britons*, were so far from throwing off their yoke by this wicked Expedient, that it served only to make it more heavy and insupportable. Though Historians assure us, all the *Danes* in *England* were massacred on this occasion, it is hard to conceive how this could be effected in *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were most powerful. Was it possible they should stand still and suffer their Throats to be cut, without making any resistance worth notice? This consideration makes me apt to believe, that by all the *Danes*, we are to understand only those, lately settled in *England*, and dispersed in *Wessex* and *Mercia*.

Ethelred was persuaded, this bloody Massacre of so many Thousands, would procure him some Repose. He could not imagine, the *Danes* would ever think of any future Invasions. At least, he hoped, in case the desire of revenging their Brethren should bring them to *England* again, the *English* would see the necessity of shedding the last drop of their Blood to prevent falling into the hands of their incensed Enemies. He relied moreover on the Assistance of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Normandy*, a powerful Prince, interested in his Defence. But such a detestable Policy rarely produces the intended Effects, or rather, seldom fails of ending in the ruin of the Projector. God, who beholds such Tragedies with horror, does not often suffer them to go unpunished. Of this we have an instance in the miseries that befel *Ethelred* and his Subjects, who were almost as guilty as their King.

Sweyn received the news of this Massacre by some *Danes*, who escaped by getting on board a Vessel ready to sail for *Denmark*. Their relation of the Cruelties of the *English* to those of his nation, would have been sufficient to throw him into resolutions fatal to *England*. But when he was informed of his Sister's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was seized with a raging Fury. Every thing contributing to stir him up to revenge, he solemnly swore he would never rest till he had satisfaction for so bloody an Outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a second expedition into *England*, but to destroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword. However, as he did not doubt but *Ethelred* had taken all possible precautions to oppose his Entrance, he would not fail without being sure beforehand of a place where he might safely land his Troops. *Cornwall* was then governed by Earl *Hugh*, a *Norman*, whom the Queen had placed in that post as a Man the King might perfectly confide in. To this Governor *Sweyn* dispatched a trusty Messenger, to endeavour to gain him to his Interest, by the offer of a great Reward. *Hugh* yielding to the Temptation, promised to admit the *Danish* Fleet into his Ports, and suffer the Troops to land without Molestation.

Upon this, *Sweyn*, having equipped a Fleet of three hundred Sail, landed in *Cornwall* with a numerous Army, and meeting with no opposition, marched directly to *Exeter*. As this City was in no apprehension of an Attack, he easily became master of it, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, reduced it to Ashes. This first exploit was followed by several others, no less fatal to *England*. Where-ever *Sweyn* carried his Arms, revenge and not con-

(1) Though not one of our *English* Historians have mentioned on whom or for what this War was made, *John Eborac* in his *Saxon History* gives this Account of it: *Ethelred* having paid large Sums to the *Danes*, sent to *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gytha* King of *Scotland*, to pay his Share; which he refused to do, and asserting he was only bound to take War with the rest of the Kingdom, when required, *Ethelred* invaded his Country, in presence he favoured the *Danes*: but presently after the two Princes struck up a Peace, and became Friends. See also *S. Dunelm.* p. 70, 80.

(2) All Historians agree in saying that it was done by the Advice of the *Witten-Gemot*, or Council — a *Rege & Precibus* *Hist. de norm. eff.* *Sax. Ann.* — habito Concilio cum regni sui Primatibus — *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. *Horv.* p. 429. — Concilio Primatum totum. — *Ed. Hist.* p. 166.

(3) For the Payment of this Money every Hide of Land was taxed yearly Twelve-pence. A Hide of Land is such a quantity of Land as may be ploughed with one Plough in a Year. *Bede* reckons it as much as will maintain a Family. Some say it was an hundred Acres; others, that it contained a great Number of Acres. The Distribution of *England* by Hides of Land is very ancient, mention being made of it in the Laws of *Ear. Inga*. *Danegeld* was the first Land-Tax in *England*. It was afterwards called *Hydegium*, which Name remained afterwards upon all Taxes and Subsidies imposed on Land. The *Normans* called these sometimes Taxes, sometimes Tallages, and *Auxilia & Subsidia*. The *Saxon* Kings before this had their Levies of Money upon *Land* and *Services*, towards the building and repairing Cities, Castles, Bridges, Military Expeditions, &c. which from the West *Sax.* that is, *West-Saxons*, were termed *Burgbute*, *Brigbute*, *Haregeld*, &c. *Danegeld* was related by *Edward the Confessor*, but levied again by *William I.* and *II.* Then it was renewed again by *Henry I.* and finally by King *Stephen*. This ancient Tax probably might be a Precedent for our Land-Tax for three or four Shillings in the Pound, when first granted. See *Leg. Edw. Conf.* c. 12.

(4) In *Saxon*, *Elgiva*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. She was called from her extraordinary Beauty, *The Pearl of Normandy*. *Ran. Hist.* l. 6. *Huntingd.* l. 6.

(5) *Huntingd.* says, that he himself, when a Child, heard it from certain old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were privately dispatched all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night. The *Saxon Annals* add, it was because the King was told the *Danes* designed to deprive him and his Nobles of their Lives, and to seize the Kingdom. *Ann. MII.*

(6) Among other Cruelties, the *Danish* Women were plac'd in Holes in the Earth, as deep as their Waists, and then had their Breasts torn off by Mastiff Dogs. See *Jol. Walling.* p. 447. *Edw. Gale* *M. West.* lays the Odium of this whole Scene of Barbarity on *Hana*, General of the King's Forces, one of his evil Counsellors, p. 391. *Brady* questions the Truth of it, p. 124. Note (m).

(7) Her Name was *Gumilda*; she is said to have been married to a noble *Dane* of great Power and Wealth, who had been settled for some time in *England*, his name was *Paleng*. She was a Christian, and had been a great Instrument in making Peace between the *English* and *Danes*. *Mat. West.* p. 392.

(8) On the Feast of *St. Brice*, upon a Sunday. *Walling.* *ibid.*

quest being his chief aim, he destroyed all with Fire and Sword. Towards the end of the summer, being informed *Alfric*, Duke of *Mercia*, was advancing with a powerful Army (1), to give him Battle, he resolved to meet him. *Ethelred* acted very unadvisedly in giving the Command of his Army to this Lord, whom he had formerly banish'd the Kingdom out of mere caprice, and whose Son's Eyes he had ordered to be put out (2). The Remembrance of this Injury being still fresh in the Duke's mind, he was pleas'd with having so fair an opportunity to revenge it. As soon as he was in sight of the Enemy, he feigned himself sick on a sudden, and pretending he was unable to fight in his present condition, ordered a Retreat, which he took care to make with so much Confusion, that the *Danes* very easily routed his Army. After this Victory, *Sweyn* took several Towns (3), with an immense Booty. But as he had no design to keep them, he set them on fire, and went and pass'd the Winter in *Denmark*.

The *Calm England* enjoyed upon *Sweyn's* Departure, lasted not long. In the following Spring he landed in *East-Anglia*, and taking *Norwich*, burnt the whole Town to the ground. *Ulfketel*, Governor of *East-Anglia*, unable to resist him, gave him a great sum of Money, to prevent his doing any farther Mischief (4). But upon receipt of the Money, *Sweyn* breaks the treaty, and takes *Thetford* by Surprise, a Town then of great note, and served it as he had done *Norwich*. Incens'd at this Breach of Faith, *Ulfketel* levied some Troops with wonderful Expedition, and posted himself betwixt the *Danish* Army and Fleet. *Sweyn* perceiving he intended to cut off his Retreat to his Ships, march'd back to give him Battle, before he should be reinforced with more Troops. He found the *English* very advantageously encamp'd, expecting him with a Resolution to stand their ground, and exert their utmost in Defence of their Goods and Chattels, which their Enemies were carrying away before their face. The ill Fortune of the *English* was come to that Height, that it was almost impossible they should so much as once get the Advantage. The *Danes* obtain'd a signal Victory, though not without great Loss on their side. They even own'd they were never in more Danger of being defeated (5). *Ulfketel*, though of *Danish* race, was the faithfulest as well as bravest of all *Ethelred's* Subjects, and did him the most Service. But it was not so with the other Lords. All the Historians agree, *Ethelred* was betray'd by all that approach'd him. *Sweyn* had his Spies, not only in his Court, but in his very Council. The *Great Men*, for the most part, were brib'd, or at least, there was scarce one that serv'd the King heartily, by reason of their little Esteem for him. Whatever Councils were held to consider of Ways and Means to resist the *Danes*, the Dissensions between the *Nobles*, too common in the Courts of Princes so little respected, prevented them from coming to any Resolution, or putting what was resolv'd in execution. The Avarice of the Clergy, and particularly of the Monks, very much help'd to encrease the Disorder. Notwithstanding their great Riches, they refus'd to contribute their *Quota* in defence of the Kingdom, pleading their Privileges and Immunities, as if they had no Share at all in the Danger. It is no wonder therefore the *Danes* obtain'd so many Victories in a Country so ill defended by them, who were so much concern'd for its preservation. The Famine that happened soon after, would have compleated the Misfortunes of the *English* had it not accidentally prov'd the occasion of *Sweyn's* returning to *Denmark* for want of Subsistence in *England*.

Upon the Retreat of the *Danes*, and ceasing of the Famine, the *English* began to entertain hopes of enjoying some Tranquillity, when they saw another *Danish* Fleet arrive at *Sandwich* in *Kent*. *Ethelred* immediately levied an Army (6) to give the new Invaders battle: But after committing some Ravages, they retired to the Isle of *Thanet*, where it was not possible to attack them. They knew the *English* Army consisting only of *Volunteers* who serv'd at their own expence, would soon disband themselves, as it actually happen'd. Winter coming on, the *English* returned to their Homes, it not being in the Power of the

King to keep them any longer together. Then the *Danes* issuing from their Retreat, renew'd their Ravages in *Kent* (7) and the neighbouring *Counties*, well assur'd they should meet with no Opposition. *Ethelred* saw no other Course to stop the progress of a mischief that threaten'd the whole Kingdom, but to give them the sum of thirty thousand Pounds, with which they were very well satisfied.

The King, being freed from this Incumbrance, celebrated the Wedding of one of his Daughters with *Edric* first named *Streon* (8), a very powerful Lord, whom he had just made Duke of *Mercia*. If hitherto *Ethelred* had lived in continual Fears and Troubles, it was nothing in comparison of the Misfortunes he drew on himself by this fatal Marriage. He had inconsiderately taken into his Family a Traitor sold to the *Danes*, who never failed on all occasions, to betray the King and Kingdom to the Foreigners.

Hardly was a Year pass'd since the last Treaty with the *Danes*, when they demanded the same Sum again (9), pretending it to be a yearly Tribute due by Contract from *Ethelred*. This Demand was accompanied with Threats of destroying the whole Kingdom with Fire and Sword, if the Money was not immediately paid. This new Pretension of the *Danes* convincing the King and his Council, there was no possibility of ever contenting their insatiable Avarice, it was judg'd the Money would be better laid out in equipping a Fleet capable of defending the Kingdom from their Incursions. Necessity made them put this Resolution so speedily in practice, that quickly after, the King had a Fleet well mann'd and victuall'd (10), the Command whereof was given to *Brithric*, Brother of *mdric Streon*, Duke of *Mercia*. These Measures oblig'd the *Danes* to retire for fear of being forced to a Sea-Engagement, which their Ships were not so fit for as those of the *English* (11).

The first thing *Brithric* did, after his being made Admiral, was to use all his Interest to ruin *Ulnoth*, a Lord of distinguished Quality (12), but his Enemy. He accused him to the King of I know not what Crimes, of which *Ulnoth* did not think fit to purge himself by a publick Trial, being sensible his Condemnation was already concert'd. He resolv'd therefore upon a voluntary Exile, to screen himself from this persecution; and perswaded nine Captains (13) to follow him with their Ships. After which he infested the *English* Coasts, and did as much mischief as the *Danes*. *Brithric*, enraged at his Enemy's escape, and his daring to brave him thus, put to Sea with eighty Sail to give him chase, and endeavour to seize him alive or dead. But he met with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of his Ships were lost or fell into the hands of *Ulnoth*. Thus this great Fleet, which could not be fitted out, without a prodigious expence, was render'd unserviceable by the Admiral's passion. The loss became still more irretrievable, by the dissension among the Sea-Officers; several of whom went and join'd *Ulnoth*.

In the mean time, the *Danes* took advantage of these Disorders. The next Spring two of their Fleets arrived in *England*, one in *East-Anglia*, under *Turkil*, another in the Isle of *Thanet*, under *Heming* and *Anlaf*. These Leaders joining their Forces in *Kent*, plundered the Country, and then laid Siege to *Canterbury*. The City would have infallibly fallen into the hands of the *Danes*, if the Inhabitants had not purchased a Peace with a large sum of Money (14).

Whilst the *Danes* were pillaging *Kent*, *Ethelred* drew an Army together to oppose their Ravages. As soon as he was ready, he posted himself between them and their Ships to prevent their embarking and carrying off their Booty. Probably, he would have executed his Project, and perhaps gained some further considerable Advantage, considering the Superiority of his Forces, if *Edric* had not found means to bring off the *Danes*. The Traitor perceiving their Danger, represented to the King, his Father-in-law, that it would be more advantageous to let them retire than hazard a Battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious Advice made such Impression on the King, that he suffer'd them to march by, with all their Plunder, unmolested. But instead of sailing for *Denmark*, as 'twas expected, they threw themselves into the Isle of *Thanet*; from

(1) Which was drawn up in *Wiltshire* and *Wiltshire*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 360.

(2) Though the *Danes* and some of the *Ravens*, *Malmesbury* says it was for his Father's Perfidiousness, who had revolted several times.

(3) *Historia Britanica* and *Annales*. Sax. Ann.

(4) But he did not ———— and in that same Precedent in *Ordo* *Angliæ*, quibus optimum visum est. Sax. Ann.

(5) The *Saxons* remark'd, that the *English* were very thorp, and did in a great Slaughter on both sides, wherein abundance of the *English* Nobility were kill'd. But still the *English* Fleet had been there, the *Danes* had never reach'd their Ships. *Anna* 1004.

(6) Consisting of the Marquis of *Wiltshire* and *Mercia*. Sax. Ann.

(7) The *Danes* took *Canterbury* they plunder'd [not *Kent*] but *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*, as far as *Reading*, and burnt *Wallingford*. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 360.

(8) *Edric* was a *Saxon*, and not a *Danish*, and therefore it was not a Proper, but a Surname only. *Rapin*.

(9) Which was statin'd at *Sandwich*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 166.

(10) The *Saxon* *Annals* tell us, this was the largest and best Fleet, and had ever seen. It was built after this manner all over *England*; every hundred and thirty Hides of Land were oblig'd to find one Ship, and every eight Hides a *Helmet* and *Breast-Plate*. *Ann* MVIII, MIX. It must be observ'd that the *Danes*, and the *English*, somtimes paid the *Danes*, as well as the Tax for building a Fleet, were all levied with the joint Consent of the King and his Council, or *Witten-Gemot*.

(11) *Edric* was a *Saxon*, and not a *Danish*. Sax. Ann.

(12) The *Saxon* *Annals* say, and the rest of the *Historians*, say twenty. See Huntingd. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 166.

(13) Three thousand Pounds. Sax. Ann. MIX. After they had got these three thousand Pounds, they sail'd round to the Isle of *Wight*, and plunder'd *Isle*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, burning several Towns. And here it was that *Ethelred* drew an Army against them, not whilst they were ravaging *Kent*. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361. S. Dunelm. p. 167. Brompt. p. 807.

Ulfketel defeated.

The Danes mount some of their Troops, and become Masters of almost all Wessex. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompton.

1012. They burn Canterbury. Thora.

Money is given them.

They retire. S. Dunelm. M. West.

1013. Sweyn returns into England.

whence, during the whole Winter, they made incursions into the neighbouring Counties. They even made several attempts upon London; but were always repuls'd. Mean while, *Ulfketel*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, willing once more to try the fortune of a battle in defence of his government, had the misfortune to be overthrown, and by his defeat left them masters of the country, he intended to defend.

Hitherto the *Danes* wanted *Cavalry*, by reason of the difficulty of transporting Horses from *Denmark*. But as soon as they were in possession of *East-Anglia*, a country abounding with Horses, they mounted part of their troops, and by that means extended their conquests. Shortly after they subdued *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire* (1), *Bedfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Devonshire*, whilst *Ethelred*, who had scarce any thing left, kept himself shut up in *London*, without daring to take the field and stop their progress. In all the abovenamed Counties, *London* and *Canterbury* were the only places in the King's power. But at length they attack'd the last so vigorously, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes. *Elphegus* the Archbishop being taken prisoner, was afterwards murdered by these Barbarians (2). They proceeded with the same cruelty towards the Monks of *St. Augustin's*, whom they put under a decimation, destroying nine parts in ten (3).

England being reduced to this deplorable state, all the great Men of the kingdom assembled at *London* with the King, to consult upon a remedy for such violent evils. The best expedient they could find, was to bribe these foreigners with money to leave the kingdom. The sum agreed upon amounted to 48,000 pounds (4), which having received they departed with their booty (5).

Though the retreat of the *Danes* cost *England* dear, the people thought themselves happy to be thus freed from

their enemies, hoping they should repair by a peace, the damages sustained by the war. But they were far from seeing yet the end of their miseries. Hardly had they enjoyed any quiet, when news came that *Sweyn* (6) was entered the *Humber* (7) with a powerful fleet, threatening the whole kingdom with desolation and ruin. As this Prince found the country unprovided with troops, and unable to defend itself, he quickly became master of *Northumberland*, *East-Anglia*, in a word, of all the Counties lying north of *Watling-Street*. But these conquests not satisfying his ambition, he takes hostages of all the principal towns; and leaving his Son *Canute* to command the newly conquered Counties, he advances southward, and on a sudden lays siege to *London*, where *Ethelred* was shut up. Though he was but ill provided with necessaries to besiege in form a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his Menaces. But finding they were not moved by them, he desisted from his enterprize, and went and ravag'd the western parts of *Wessex*, where he found no opposition to his arms. However, as he could not be easy whilst *London* was out of his power, he resolved to besiege it once more. But whilst he was preparing for the siege with greater precaution than before, he had information of *Ethelred's* departure from thence. This unfortunate Prince ever dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy he had so heinously injured, and perceiving himself unsafe at *London*, retired into *Normandy* with all his family. Whereupon the *Londoners* being left to take care of themselves, judged it a rash undertaking to maintain alone the rights of a Prince relinquished by himself. They resolved therefore to submit to the King of *Denmark*, to whom all the rest of the kingdom was now subject. Presently after the surrender of *London*, *Sweyn* was proclaimed King of *England* without any opposition, no one person in the kingdom daring to dispute his title.

If becomes Master of several Counties. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. West.

15. SWEYN King of Denmark, and first of the Danish Kings in England.

SWEYN imposes a great Tax.

1014. He dies suddenly. Malmsh. S. Dunelm. M. West.

THE first act of Sovereignty exercised by the new King, was an immense tax on the kingdom for payment of the *Danish* troops who assisted him in his conquests. No Historian mentions the coronation of this Prince. Perhaps he neglected this solemnity, believing it unnecessary; or, it may be, matters of greater importance afforded him no time to think of it, during his short reign of less than a year. Some say he died a natural death, being choak'd by a rheum. Others believe he was poisoned. Whatever was the cause,

'tis certain he died suddenly, which gave occasion to the legend Writers to say he was killed with a Club or Lance by *St. Edmund*, formerly King of *East-Anglia*. It is pretended, this Saint did it to save the town, where his Body lay buried (8), from being plundered for refusing to pay the tax imposed by the new King. The shortness of his reign, and perhaps his not being crown'd, are the reasons Historians, for the most part, have not reckon'd this Prince in the number of the Kings of *England*.

ETHELRED II. restor'd.

ETHELRED II. 1014.

Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

UPON the death of *Sweyn*, his Son *Canute* was proclaimed King of *England* by the *Danes*. But the *English* recalled *Ethelred*, promising to support him in the throne, against all the attempts of the *Danes*, whose government was become insupportable. *Ethelred* at first was loth to trust to their promises, being apprehensive of a design to deliver him into the hands of his enemies. But being encouraged by the good reception his Son met with, whom he had sent before to sound the people's inclinations, he returned to *England*. He was received with great demonstrations of joy; and his Subjects swore allegiance to him again, as if he had begun a new reign, his flight being considered as a sort

of abdication of the crown. For his part, he promised to reform whatever was amiss in the administration of the government before his retreat. The eagerness of the *English* to throw off a foreign yoke, made them flock to the King with such zeal and haste, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. His first expedition plainly showed, his misfortunes had made no great alteration in him. Instead of marching against the *Danes*, he made use of his Forces to be reveng'd on the Men of *Lindsey* (9), who had some way displeased him. After he had gratified his passion by the chastisement of these people, he prepared to march and fight the *Danes*, who little expected so sudden a revolution. Though *Canute* had for

He chastises the Lindseymen.

(1) Oxford being burnt that year by the Danes, all studies ceased there till the year 1133. Tho. Redburn.

(2) He was killed at Greenwich, to which place, the station of their Ships, they had brought him prisoner. And therefore in the old Church of Greenwich, on the top of the partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel, was this inscription, This Church was erected and dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of St. Alpheg, Archbishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes; because he would not ransom his Life by any unreasonable Sum of Money. An. 1012. He was first buried at St. Paul's in London, and afterwards removed to Canterbury. He was honour'd as a Martyr, and stands in the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of April.

(3) Florence of Worcester says, the Burghers were served in the same manner; so that only four Monks, and about eight hundred Laymen were left alive. Lambard supposes there were about forty three thousand two hundred persons massacred. Peramb. of Kent.

(4) Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361. and Brompton say but eight thousand.

(5) Forty five of their Ships submitted to Ethelred, and promised to defend the kingdom, provided he would allow them Victuals and Cloathes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361.

(6) The English Historians have not told us the Reason why Sweyn staid away so long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight years.

(7) He came first to Sandwich, and from thence sailing to the Mouth of the Humber, he went up the Trent, as far as Gainsborough. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

(8) St. Edmund's-bury.

(9) One of the three Divisions of Lindsey, viz. Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey. The Saxon Annals tell us, the Men of Lindsey had provided the Danes with Horses, and designed to join with them in their Ravages. An. MXIV.

Nº VII. VOL. I. H h him

Canute re-
turns into
Denmark:
The Reason
of it.

The Cause
of his leaving
England.

Avarice
and Cruelty
of Ethelred.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

Puts two
Earls to
Death for
their Estates.
Sax. Ann.
Malmib.
M. West.
S. Dunelm.

The Mar-
riage of his
Son Ed-
mund.
Malmib.

1016.
Canute re-
turns to
England.

Is favoured
by Streon.
Ann. Sax.
Malmib.
Hunt. ind.
S. Dunelm.

him all the *Danes*, and the same forces his Father *Sweyn* had conquer'd *England* with, he did not think fit to hazard a battle. On the contrary, before *Ethelred* was advanc'd near enough to oblige him to fight, he led his Troops to the sea-side, and embarking them, set sail for *Denmark*. But before his departure, he ordered the hands and feet of the hostages he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the shore (1).

The retreat of this Prince cannot but seem strange, since he had never been worsted, and besides, had many strong places still in his hands. It is no less to be wonder'd, that the *English* historians should not explain the cause of so hasty a retreat. But what the *English* history passes over in silence, is supplied by the *Danish*. We are there informed, that *Canute* had a younger brother, named *Harold*, who being regent in the absence of his Father *Sweyn*, seized upon the Kingdom for himself. 'Twas this that obliged *Canute* to leave *England*, with a precipitation that seemed to be an effect of fear rather than sound Policy, as it really was. This Prince did not believe he ought to abandon the kingdom of his ancestors, for the sake of a strange and newly conquer'd country, ripe for a general defection. And indeed, if the revolt of the *English* had engaged him in a long war, as was but too probable, what assistance could he expect from *Denmark*, whilst the kingdom was in the hands of his brother? He made it but too visible afterwards, when having settled his affairs in the North, he returned with his victorious Troops to *England*, that he was incapable of the fear that was laid to his charge.

As soon as *Ethelred* saw himself freed from the *Danes*, he never thought of performing his promise to his Subjects. On the contrary, he resum'd his old maxims, and imposed, on several pretences, excessive taxes (2), which raised great murmurings among the Nobles and People.

To these occasions of publick complaint, he added others of a more private nature, which destroyed all the hopes entertained of his amendment. *Morcard* and *Siffrith*, Lords of *Danish* extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to the interest of the King and their new Country, were sacrific'd to his avarice. To draw these two Earls into his snare, the King conven'd a great Council at *Oxford* (3), where he caused them to be murdered, and then seized their Estates, as if they had been condemned by the common forms of Justice (4). *Aligitha*, Widow of *Siffrith*, was shut up in a Monastery, to which confinement she was indebted for her after greatness. *Edmund*, the King's eldest Son passing that way, some time after, had a mind to see a Lady so renown'd for her beauty, and fell so desperately in love with her, that he married her, even against his Father's consent.

The calm *England* enjoy'd after the retreat of the *Danes*, lasted but one year. *Canute* having got possession of the throne of *Denmark*, immediately set out for *England*, and, when least expected, landed a numerous Army at *Sandwich*. *Ethelred*, being then out of order, *Edmund* his Son, with *Streon* Duke of *Mercia*, his Son-in-law, had the command of the army against the *Danes*. *Edmund* soon perceiv'd his Brother-in-law was a friend to *Canute*. This discovery made him invent some pretence to divide the army into two bodies, that he might be separated from him, not daring to punish the traitor, for fear of exciting a revolt in *Mercia*, where *Streon's* Power was exceeding great. Besides, he dreaded his Father's displeasure, who would never be persuaded, his Son-in-law held intelligence with the *Danes*. *Canute* taking advantage of this division of the *English* forces, made large conquests immediately; and the treacherous *Edric*, who had join'd *Edmund* with no other view but to betray him, finding he had lost his aim, openly declar'd for *Canute*. This would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the King's affairs, if the Traitor had not carried with him a considerable body of troops, with forty ships of war. This desertion which prov'd very serviceable to *Canute*, was a mortal wound to *Ethelred*. The People went over in crowds to the *Danes*, in proportion as the King's

affairs fell to decay. Even *Wessex* itself was not very secure (5).

Canute's expectations daily increasing by these successes, he turn'd his arms against those of the *Mercians* who continued in their allegiance to the King, and at length, with the assistance of *Streon*, entirely subdu'd them. After which he form'd a design to attack *Ethelred* in *Wessex* itself. He had the more reason to expect success in this enterprize, as *Edric* had artfully insinuated into the *Mercians* that were in the *English* army, a notion that it was a sin to bear arms against a Prince, in possession of their country. All that *Edmund* could obtain of these troops, was that they would follow the King when he commanded the army in Person, refusing to fight under any other General. In this extremity, *Edmund* used all possible endeavours to persuade the King his Father, who feign'd himself sick at *London*, to take the command of the army. But the more *Ethelred* was press'd, the more he was confirm'd in his Suspicion of a design to deliver him to the *Danes*, imagining the *English* had no other way to make a peace with them. As he durst not quit *London* where he thought himself safe, he refus'd to go to the army; and the Prince his Son had the vexation to see his troops disperse, without being able to oblige them to stand a battle. In the mean time, *Canute* taking advantage of these disorders, enlarged his conquests with great rapidity.

In these wretched circumstances, *Edmund* saw no remedy but to go himself to *London*, and try to persuade the King to head the army. He prevail'd at last with great difficulty, and by his extraordinary care, rais'd another army more numerous than the former. His design was to give *Canute* battle, persuaded as he was, that nothing but a signal victory could retrieve the affairs of the *English*. *Ethelred* came to the army according to his promise, but upon his arrival was seized by his old fears. Whether he had any ground for his suspicion, or it was instill'd into him by the Traitors about his Person, he made but a very short stay, returning to *London* with all imaginable speed. After his departure, the army being much weaken'd by the retreat of the *Mercians*, who ultimately refus'd to fight without the King at their head, *Edmund* was oblig'd to keep at a distance from the *Danes*, for fear of engaging at a great disadvantage. Then *Canute* finding no farther opposition, became master of several counties in *Wessex*, and soon saw himself in condition to complete the conquest of the whole Kingdom.

Edmund perceiving he was unable to stop the progress of the Enemy, resolv'd to go and join *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had levied some troops in the North. They ravag'd together those parts of the country that sided with the *Danes* (6), whilst *Canute* and the Duke of *Mercia* laid waste the southern counties that persisted in their obedience to *Ethelred* (7). But *Canute* did not long suffer his Friends to be expos'd to the ravages of the *English*. The moment he was informed of what pass'd in the North, he march'd thither with the utmost expedition, and compelled *Edmund* and *Uthred* to retire into *Lancashire*, where they were not very secure. *Uthred*, finding he was no match for *Canute*, thought best to submit to the *Danish* King, who continued him in his government, though but for a little while. As he plainly saw the Earl had changed sides purely by compulsion, and had reason to fear he would not remain faithful, he caused him to be put to death, and placed *Eric* a *Danish* Lord in his room.

Edmund being at a loss what to do, retired to his Father at *London*, and earnestly press'd him to exert himself on the present occasion; but all to no purpose. *Ethelred*, who till then had feigned himself sick, fell dangerously ill in good earnest, and died soon after in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his Reign (8). Never was *England* in a more deplorable state, than in the Reign of this Prince.

He had by his first Wife *Elgiva* (9), *Edmund*, who succeeded him; *Athelstan*, who died in his child-hood; ano-

(1) He sailed to *Sandwich*, where he set the Hostages on Shore, and then went away to *Denmark*. The Historians say, he cut off their Hands, Noses, and Ears, without any mention of their Feet. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 71. S. Dunelm. p. 171. &c.

(2) Particularly twenty one thousand Pound, for his Fleet and Army that was at *Greenwich*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 362. S. Dunelm. and Hoved. say, it was thirty thousand Pound. p. 141. 435. --- Ann. 1014. Sept. 28. There was such an Inundation of the Sea, that it overflowed several Towns, and drown'd abundance of People. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 71.

(3) Of *English* and *Danes*. Malmib. p. 71. M. Westm. 395.

(4) *Flora* of *Worcester*, and *Matthew Westm.* relate, that these two Earls were privately accused by *Edric*, who gaped after their Estates, of treasonable Practices against *Ethelred*, by whose Order *Edric* invited them to a Feast, where he caused them to be treacherously murdered. Their Dependents, who went about to revenge their Deaths, were forced to fly into *St. Fridolf's* Church in *Oxford*, which being set on fire, they perished in the Flames. But the King's repenting of his Cruelty, caused the Church to be rebuilt. In this, and several other Particulars, it is plain, that *Ethelred* was egged on by the treacherous *Edric*, to make him odious to the People; and that he was not so bad as is represented, as appears from the good Laws he made, which are still extant. He was so particularly careful of the due Execution of Justice, that having found one *Walgeatus*, a Judge, whom he loved, guilty of Injustice, he deposed him from his Office.

(5) *Canute* plundered *Derby*, *Wilt*, and *Somerset* shires. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 71. S. Dunelm. p. 172.

(6) *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Lancashire*. Sax. Ann.

(7) *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Lincoln*, *Nottinghamshires*; and so through *Northumbria* towards *York*. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 71, 72. S. Dunelm. p. 172. Brompt.

(8) He was buried in *St. Paul's* Cathedral. Malmib. p. 72.

(9) Or *Ethelgiva*, the Daughter of Earl *Egbert*. Brompt. p. 877. He says in the same place, that he had his first Children by a Foreigner, that was his Concubine: --- by the Daughter of Earl *Tostig*, says *Ricciardus*. p. 302.

ther Son call'd *Edwy*, and three Daughters. *Edgiva* the eldest was married to an *English* Earl, who was slain in Battle. *Edgith* his second, had the misfortune to fall to the lot of the Traitor *Edric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Edgiva* the youngest was Wife of *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*. By *Emma* of *Normandy* his second Wife, he had *Alfred* and *Edward*, and a Daughter named *Goda*, who was first married to *Walter*

Earl of *Manter*, and afterwards to *Eustachius* Earl of *Boulogne*.

Ethelred has commonly the surname of the *Unready* given him by historians, either because he was often surpriz'd by the *Danes*, or was never *Ready* when he was to go to the wars. At his coming to the crown, he found the Kingdom in a rich and flourishing condition, but left it at his death in extreme poverty and desolation.

16. EDMUND II. Surnam'd Ironside.

AFTER *Ethelred*'s death, the City of *London* and all the Lords there present proclaimed his Son *Edmund* King of *England*, who had already given signal proofs of his courage and conduct.

But the *Danes* and all the counties in their possession declar'd for *Canute* (1). However as the *English* obeyed their wills, abundance of them came and offered their service to *Edmund*, whom they looked upon as their lawful Prince, though they were constrained to swear to his Rival. By this means the two Kings were more upon an equality, which occasion'd many engagements with various success, that serv'd only to prolong the war, but not to decide the quarrel. The city of *London* being a great support to *Edmund*, the *Danish* King thought of taking it from him, believing the depriving him of his chief strength would put a speedy end to the war. With this view, whilst *Edmund* was elsewhere employ'd (2), he approach'd *London*, and forming the siege, carried it on vigorously. But the brave resistance of the citizens giving *Edmund* time to throw in succours from the other side of the *Thames*, *Canute* saw himself oblig'd to raise the siege. Having thus lost his aim, he us'd many stratagems to surprize the enemy, or draw him off from *London*. This last project succeeding, he went and laid siege a second time to the city. But he met with the same difficulties as before; the Inhabitants, by a very obstinate defence, giving *Edmund* time to come to their relief.

Canute vexed to see his measures thus broken, suddenly raised the siege, to go and offer *Edmund* battle (3), who was no less desirous of deciding the quarrel, by one single action, and therefore, instead of retreating, march'd towards him. In this battle, which was very bloody, they both gave signal proofs of their conduct and courage, without either of them being able to make victory incline to his side. After a long fight, the two armies were oblig'd to part with almost an equal loss. The *English* army however had like to have been worsted by the artifice of *Edric Streon*, who was on the side of the *Danes*. This Lord perceiving the *English* troops, contrary to his Expectation, fought in such manner as made the victory dubious, cut off the head of one *Osmer* a soldier, who very much resembled *Edmund*, and fixing it on the top of his lance, advanc'd to the foremost ranks, and exposing it to the view of the *English*, cry'd out aloud, *Fly, fly, you scoundrels, behold the head of your King, in whom you trust*. The *English* were thunder-struck at this sight, which would have occasion'd their defeat, had not the King shown himself with his helmet off to his astonish'd troops, and by that means reviv'd their courage, which the belief of his death began to cool. The battle lasting till night, without any visible advantage on either side, *Edmund* prepared to renew the fight next morning. But *Canute*, who had other designs, retired, during the night (4), to his fleet that expected him, and embarking his troops, rowed along the coast for some time, to amuse the enemy, who could not guess his Intention. When he thought he had deceived *Edmund*, he landed his forces, and besieged *London* a third time. But succeeding no better than formerly, he retir'd elsewhere.

The particulars of this war would be curious enough, if it were possible to give a clear account of them. But we meet with extreme confusion in this part of the *Eng-*

lish history. What may be gathered from historians for certain, is this, that the two contending Princes fought within the space of one year, five pitch'd battles. One of these battles, fought in *Essex*, would have infallibly prov'd fatal to *Canute*, had it not been for the pernicious advice of *Edric Streon*, who continually changing sides, was then in the *English* army. *Edmund* had been so generous as to pardon him, and so easy as to give credit to his oaths of being entirely devoted to his service for the future. Nevertheless, this traitor, who was a creature of the King of *Denmark*, let no opportunity slip of serving the *Dane*. As he saw the *Danes*, hard pressed by the *English*, retreating in great disorder, he artfully persuaded *Edmund* to stop the pursuit of the fugitives, by making him apprehensive their despair might cause them to rally, and the victory, by some unforeseen accident, be snatch'd out of his hands. This artifice, which had formerly taken effect with *Ethelred*, wrought likewise with *Edmund*, who suffered himself to be guided by this fatal advice. One is at a loss which to admire most, *Edmund*'s Imprudence in being govern'd by a man of known disloyalty, or the traitor's boldness and confidence. Tired at length with dissembling his real Sentiments, he threw away the mask in the last battle near *Affandun* (5). Whilst the two armies were engaged, he suddenly deserted his post, and joined the *Danes*, who received him as their real friend. This treachery caused such consternation among the *English*, that throwing down their arms, they thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight. *Edmund*'s loss upon this occasion was irretrievable, the flower of the *English* nobility being slain in this unfortunate battle. The Earls *Alfric*, *Goodwin*, *Ulfketel*, *Ethelward*, all of distinguished valour and loyalty, fell that day with their swords in their hands in defence of their King and Country.

After this important victory, *Canute* looked upon himself as irresistible. He could not conceive, *Edmund* would ever be able to bring another army into the field that durst look him in the face. But as the *English* were in extreme danger, they made extraordinary efforts for their deliverance. *Edmund* had for him the hearts of his subjects, and particularly the *Londoners*, who were always ready to give him effectual proofs of their affection and loyalty. And therefore, so far was he from being cast down by this grievous misfortune, that he rallied his dispersed troops, and drawing together a more powerful army than what he had lost, went in quest of his enemy, who was marching to *Gloucester*. *Canute*, for his part, unwilling to give him time to augment his forces, made haste to meet him with intent to offer him battle. The two Kings stood in sight of each other for some time, at the head of their respective armies (6), without either giving the signal of battle. The dread of the event held them equally in suspense. *Edmund* was sensible, he should be irretrievably undone, if he lost the day; and *Canute* foresaw a general defection of the *English*, in case he were vanquish'd. Thus, in all appearance, the gain or loss of a great kingdom depended on the success of that important day. At last, *Edmund*, who was strong and robust of body, and for that reason surnam'd *Iron-side*, sent *Canute* word, that to prevent the great effusion of blood, that was going to be spilt in their quarrel, he judg'd it proper for them two to decide it by single combat. *Canute* returned in answer, that, though he came not be-

1016.
Sax. Ann.
G. Malm.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.

The fatal
Advice of
Edric to the
King.

The Battle
of Affandun,
wherein *Canute*
gains the victory
by the treachery
of *Edric*.
Sax. Ann.
Brompt.
M. West.
Huntingd.

Edmund
raises another
Army.

Sax. Ann.

Edmund
sends a
Challenge to
Canute, who
refuses it.
Malmib.

(1) *Simon* of *Durham*, and others, say, that the Bishops, Abbots, and many of the *English* Nobles coming to *Southampton*, abjured the Race of *Ethelred*, at the same time they chose *Canute* for their King, and swore Fealty to him; who also swore to them in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, to be their faithful Lord.

(2) He was gone to secure *Wessex*, which submitted to him. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 362. S. Dunelm. p. 173.

(3) This was about Midsummer. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 904.

(4) This Battle was fought at *Sceriflan*, which Camden supposes to be *Staston* in *Wiltshire*; others think it to be the Place where four Stones, called *Scerif-stones*, part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Warwick*. *Milton* makes the Battle to have lasted two whole Days, and *Canute* to have march'd all the second Night: so doth *Matt. Westminster*, p. 498. and he relates *Edric*'s Stratagem under the second Day.

(5) *Affandun* in *Essex* near *Walden*. *Canute* built a Church here in memory of this Battle to pray for the Souls of the slain; and caused four Hillocks to be thrown up, as Monuments of those that were killed in the Battle. Two of these monuments being opened, and searched into, there were found three Stone-Collars, with abundance of pieces of Bones in them, and many Chains of Iron, like those on *Horas Bits*. These Hills are commonly called *Battle-Hills*, though they lie in *Affandun* Parish. Some think it was *Battle Church* that was built by *Canute*. See *Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 670. and *Camden*.

(6) The Place was *Deurbury* in *Gloucestershire*. S. Dunelm. p. 175. Brompt. p. 905.

Edmund
proclaimed
King by the
English.
Higden.
Polychron.
The *Danes*
declare for
Canute.
Sax. Ann.
G. Malm.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.
M. West.

London be-
sieged twice,
and both
times re-
lieved.

A Battle
where nei-
ther Side
had the
Victory.

Artifice of
Edric to
debauch
the *English*.
Malmib.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.
Matt. West.
Brompt.

Canute
withdraws
in the night.

and besieges
London a-
gain with-
out success.

Five Bat-
tles between
Edmund and
Canute in
one Year.

hind his antagonist in courage, yet being of a weak constitution and small stature, he should take care how he engaged in so unequal a combat. Adding, if *Edmund* was desirous to prevent any further effusion of blood, he was ready to refer the decision of matters to the principal Officers of the two armies. This proposal was received with joy by the Nobles of *Edmund's* party, who passionately desired to find some expedient to put an end to so fatal a war. *Edmund*, on the contrary, would fain have decided the quarrel by arms, but however, durst not oppose the Nobility, for fear it should occasion their desertion. Plenipotentiaries therefore were nominated on both sides, who met in a little Isle in the *Severn*, called *Alney*, over against *Gloucester*, to consult about settling the pretensions of the two Princes. After a short conference, the peace was concluded by the partition of the kingdom. *Wessex*, that is, all the country South of the *Thames*, with the city of *London*, and part of the antient kingdom of *Essex* (1), was assigned to *Edmund*. *Canute* had for his share the kingdom of *Mercia*, including *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*. Every thing being settled, the two Kings met in the Isle of *Alney*; and mutually swearing to preserve the peace, *Edmund* retired into *Wessex* (2).

The Peace
made by
the division
of the king-
dom.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

Remarks on
the pretended
Duel between
the two
Kings.
Huntingd.
Brompton.
M. Weft.
Ethel. Rie-
val.

Edmund's challenging *Canute* has given occasion to some Historians to affirm, the two Kings actually fought a duel in the Isle of *Alney*. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the circumstances of this mighty combat. They tell us, after it had lasted a good while without any advantage on either side, *Canute* finding his strength to fail him, lifted up the

Visor of his Helmet, and proposed the division of the kingdom, which *Edmund* consented to immediately. It is further added, at the same instant, they ran to embrace one another, to the astonishment of the two armies, who were spectators. But the best Historians not mentioning this single combat, it can't be conceived they would have neglected to embellish their Histories with so notable an event, had there been any foundation for it (3).

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace, that cost him so much pains. *Edric Streon* his Brother-in-law, fearing the union of the two Kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the King's Chamberlains to assassinate him. Some report, he employed his own Son in this execrable treason. Thus died that brave Prince, who deserved a better fate (4). He had not sat on the throne a whole year. But in so short a reign, he had given frequent proofs of an undaunted courage, a consummate prudence, and a generous temper.

He left, by *Aligtha* his wife, two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. He had also a natural Son, named *Eduy*, who was afterwards put to death by *Canute*.

The Duke of *Mercia*, who was mightily pleased with doing *Canute* so signal a service, made haste to bring him the first news of it; but *Canute* detected so barbarous a deed. However he concealed his sentiments, because he thought he should have farther occasion for the Traitor, and even promised to advance him above all the Peers of the Realm. He kept his word with him; but in a very different manner from what the Villain expected.

1017.
Edmund's
Death.
G. Malmsh.
Huntingd.
M. Weft.
R. de Di-
etco.

Canute's
Promise to
Edric.
Huntingd.
Ethel. Rie-
vallenfis.
M. Weft.

17. CANUTE the Great, the second Danish King of England.

1017.
Canute gets
himself ac-
knowledge
King of all
England.

S. Dunelm.
Howd.
Brompton.

THE death of *Edmund* furnished *Canute* with an opportunity and pretence of becoming Master of *Wessex*, which the lawful Heirs were little able to dispute with him. It was not properly by force of arms, that he undertook to carry his point, but by extorting the consent of the Nobles. How averse soever the *English* might be to the *Danish* government, he was in hopes, the dread of plunging the kingdom into fresh calamities, would make a still deeper impression on them, and constrain them to comply with his desires. Wherefore he required a general assembly to be called in *Wessex* (5), in order to set forth his claim, reckoning it would be always seasonable to use force, if he met with too strong an opposition. *Edmund* having left two Sons and two Brothers, *Canute* did not seem to have any right to pretend to the Crown. But he maintained, that in the treaty of the Isle of *Alney*, the agreement was, the Survivor of the two Kings should succeed the other. He moreover plainly intimated, he should not stand to the determination of the assembly, if the matter were decided against him. *Edmund's* two Sons were very young, and his Brothers in *Normandy*, where they thought of nothing left than obtaining the crown of *Wessex*. On the other hand, *Canute* was in great power, and threatened very hard. Besides his possessing half the kingdom, he had many friends among the *West-Saxons* themselves, without reckoning those who were persuaded any expedient was preferable to the renewing of the war. It was therefore scarce possible for the friends of the *English* Princes to surmount so great obstacles. Had they been obstinately bent to continue the succession in the family of *Edmund*, they would have, probably, rekindled in the kingdom a war, which must have ended in its destruction. In this perplexity, they were contented with insinuating, that they would agree, *Canute* should be declared Protector of *Edmund's* children, till the eldest was of age to govern. By this means, though they placed not these Princes on the throne, at least they preserved their rights entire. But *Canute* was not satisfied with a borrowed power. He was willing to succeed *Edmund* in his own right, by virtue of

the treaty of *Alney*; a right which though all did not acknowledge, yet none durst openly contest. Though the treaty did not expressly say what he asserted, he maintain'd it to be the true sense thereof, and that it could not be otherwise understood without infringement. To prove this to be the design and intent of the parties concern'd in the treaty, he called to witness all those who were present at the conclusion of the peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any thing stipulated in favour of *Edmund's* Sons? And upon their answering, there was no mention at all of the Princes (6), he inferr'd from thence they had no right to succeed their Father. This reasoning, weak as it was, being supported by the votes of his party, and moreover by the fears of the *English* in general, was sufficient to determine the assembly to comply with his will. His reasons were thought, or feigned to be thought, very solid; and without a closer examination, he was acknowledged and proclaimed King of all *England*, and all the Lords, both *English* and *Danish*, swore allegiance to him. Then he was crowned, and immediately after, he divided the kingdom into four governments, *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, *East-Anglia* and *Wessex*. The first he gave to *Edric Streon*, the second to *Eric*, the third to *Turkill*, reserving *Wessex* to himself, without appointing either Duke or Earl.

Canute was too politic not to know the motive of the *English* acknowledging him for their Sovereign. Tho' all that came near him, took care to hide their sentiments, he was sensible an Enmity of near two hundred years standing, and fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguish'd in so short a space. For this reason, he resolved to use all possible precautions to hinder the revolt of the *English*. To this end two things were equally necessary, namely, the gaining the affection of his new Subjects, and the getting rid of those that could give him any uneasiness. Tho' these two projects seemed inconsistent, he despised not however of accomplishing them, and accordingly spent the beginning of his reign to that purpose. As he well knew, the most effectual means of becoming popular, was to cause Justice to be administered fairly and impartially, he publicly declared there should be, for the

S. Dunelm.
Howd.

He divides
England
into four
Parts.
G. Malmsh.
l. 2. c. 11.
Huntingd.
Sax. Ann.

He lays a
Scheme to
get rid of
his Enemies,
and gain the
Love of the
People.

G. Malmsh.

(1) And all *East-Anglia*. M. Weft. p. 401. Flor. Wore. p. 613.

(2) And *Canute* into *Mercia*. Sax. Ann.

(3) *Ethelred* Abbot of *Rievall*, gives a very particular account of what passed before, at, and after this famous duel. With him agree *Huntingd.* and *Matthæus of Westm.* *Malmsh.* says, *Edmund* challenged *Canute*, but he declin'd the combat, and offered to divide the kingdom. *Simon of Dunelm.* and *Howden*, mention nothing of the challenge or duel, but only speak of the division of the kingdom by the persuasion of *Edric*, in the same manner as the *Saxon Annals*. So great is the uncertainty of this fact.

(4) *Malmsh.* and *Brompton* relate, that the two Villains stab'd him with a sharp piece of Iron, as he was easing Nature. Some will have him to be taken off by poison: Others to be slain by an Arrow shot by an Image made on purpose, which discharged itself upon the King's touching it. But this is improbable. (See the various opinions about his death in *Brompton*, p. 906.) The *Annals* say only, he died suddenly. He was buried by his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Gloucester*. With him fell the Glory of the *English Saxons*, and by his death the *Danes* prevailed, and the *Saxon Morality* in a manner ended, after it had lasted one hundred and ninety years from the establishment by *Egbert*, four hundred thirty two from the founding of the *Heptarchy*, and five hundred sixty eight from the arrival of the *Saxons* under *Hengist*.

(5) It was at *London*. See S. Dunelm. p. 175. Howd. p. 436.

(6) S. Dunelm. and Howd. plainly say, that they lyed, p. 175, 436.

future, no distinction between the *English* and *Danes*. After this, he published an Edict (1), ordering that every County should be governed by the same laws as in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. He excepted however the northern Counties, because they were peopled with scarce any other but *Danes*, who had introduc'd particular laws of their own, which there was no occasion to alter. The same Edict denounc'd the severest punishments against Malefactors, of what nation soever; the King's aim being to let the *English* see, they had no reason to fear any respect of persons. These wise precautions produced the intended effect. The people were never weary of testifying their satisfaction to see themselves govern'd by their ancient laws, under the protection of an equitable Prince, who seem'd to have no other view but the happiness of his subjects.

As soon as *Canute* saw the progress he had made in the hearts of the *English*, he believed he might venture without danger upon the second branch of his project, the freeing himself from those that gave him most uneasiness, and particularly the *Saxon* Princes. *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers of the late King, were retired into *Normandy*, with their Mother *Emma*, plainly foreseeing it would not be in the power of the *West-Saxons* to do justice to the royal family. As for *Edmund's* two Sons, they remain'd in *England*, being too young to think of providing for their safety. These two Princes, notwithstanding their youth, made the new King somewhat uneasy, by reason of the People's affection for them. He would not have scrupled to put them to death; but he could not take such a step in *England*, without running the risk of becoming odious to the *English*, which was destroying his designs. However, as he did not think himself perfectly safe, whilst these two Princes were alive, he gave them in charge to one of his domesticks to carry them into *Denmark* (2), under colour of sending them abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his power the more easily to dispatch them out of the way, when their absence should have lessened the affection of the people. The person entrusted with the Princes, being conscious of the King's designs, was touch'd with compassion for these Innocents, and instead of carrying them to *Denmark*, conducted them to the King of *Sweden*, discovering at the same time his Master's intentions. The King of *Sweden* gave the *English* Princes a very civil reception; but however, not to quarrel with *Canute*, he sent them to the court of *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, his relation, who was willing to take care of their education. In process of time, *Solomon* gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Edmund*; and to *Edward*, his Sister-in-law *Agitha*, daughter of the Emperor *Henry II.* *Edmund* died soon after his marriage; but *Edward* had five children, of whom two died in *Hungary*: The rest were, *Edgar Atheling*, *Margaret*, and *Christina*.

There were still in *England* two Sons of *Ethelred II.* both nam'd *Edwy*, of whom one was born in wedlock, the other a Bastard. This last was call'd, but for what reason I know not, *The King of the Clowns*. *Canute* was no less troubled about these than the other Princes, every thing contributing to the suspicions of a Prince, who, not being satisfied with the lawfulness of his title, thinks himself unsecure in the throne. And therefore to make himself easy in this respect, he banish'd them the realm. But some time after, recalling the first, under pretence of being reconcil'd to him, found means to dispatch him out of the way. The other, after enduring many hardships in exile, return'd into *England*, where he kept himself concealed, being privately supplied by his friends with necessities for his subsistence (3).

Canute would have been very glad to be freed with the same ease, from the trouble occasion'd by *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers of King *Edmund*, who were retir'd into *Normandy* with their Mother. But he knew not how to get them out of the hands of Duke *Richard II.* their uncle. He was even apprehensive, the Duke, whose forces were not to be despis'd, would one day espouse their cause. To prevent this danger, he bethought himself of gaining the Duke of *Normandy* to his interests, by

demanding in marriage his Sister *Emma*, widow of *Ethelred II.* and by offering him at the same time *Estritha* one of his Sisters. These Proposals being accepted, the two marriage-solemnities were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If *Emma* was pleas'd with being once more Queen of *England*, it was not so with *Alfred* and *Edward* her Sons, who openly shew'd their dislike. *Edward* especially, never forgave her for thus scandalously espousing the mortal enemy of her first Husband. Both of them were also extremely incens'd against her for consenting, by the marriage-articles, on the Heirs of her body by *Canute*. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her power, from the family of *Ethelred*, all hopes of ever mounting the throne.

After *Canute* had by these precautions secured himself from all dangers from the *Saxon* Princes, he thought it time to get rid of some Lords, whose fidelity he suspected, or whose power made him uneasy. The three principal ones were, the Duke of *Mercia*, the Duke of *East-Anglia*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*. These Lords had done him signal services; but this was the thing that render'd them formidable to him, being sensible how it lay in their power to hurt him, if they should undertake it. He knew *Edric Streon* was a Villain, and as he could not rely on his fidelity, since he had so often betray'd the two former Kings, notwithstanding the obligations that ought to have attached him to their interests, he resolv'd to begin with him. He quickly found a fair opportunity to execute this design, by even doing an act of Justice very acceptable to the *English*. This Lord, having one day the insolence to upbraid him publicly, for not rewarding him for his past services (4), and particularly for freeing him from so formidable a rival as *Edmund*, afforded him the pretence he had some time been seeking. *Edric* had no sooner dropt these words, but the King answer'd in a rage, since he was so audacious as openly to avow so black a treason, of which he had hitherto been only suspected, he should receive his due punishment. At the same instant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be immediately beheaded, and his body thrown into the *Thames* (5). It is said he ordered his Head to be fix'd on the highest part of the *Tower of London* (6), that he might perform his promise to the traitor, to raise him above all the Peers of the realm. Thus *Edric* received at last the just reward of his treacheries. *Eric*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was banished the kingdom shortly after, under some pretence. *Turkil*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, frighted by these examples, and perhaps by the King's emissaries, voluntarily absented himself (7), for fear something worse might befall him. Several other Lords of less note falling in like manner a sacrifice to the King's jealousy or suspicions, their posts were fill'd with those in whom he placed greater confidence. From this time the *English* began to enjoy a state of tranquillity, which appear'd the sweeter to them, as they had been many years strangers to it, and had no reason to expect it. However they were forced to pay a tax of fourscore thousand pounds (8) for the arrears due to the *Danish* army, great part of whom were sent back to *Denmark* (9).

Canute finding the whole kingdom in profound tranquillity, and having no reason to fear a revolt, resolv'd upon a voyage to *Denmark* (10). His presence was absolutely necessary there, on account of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being at war. He took with him such of the *English* Lords as he suspected, lest his absence should encourage them to raise disturbances in the kingdom. For this reason also he carried with him the flower of the *English* troops, under the command of Earl *Goodwin*, Son of *Ulnoth*, mentioned in the reign of *Ethelred II.* *Goodwin*, who was a person of great experience, signalized himself in this war, by a very bold though successful action. The two armies of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being near one another, *Canute* designed to attack the enemies early the next morning. Whilst his troops were refreshing themselves, in expectation of the battle, *Goodwin* privately withdrawing from the Camp, with the

(1) This was done by a *Wittena-Gemet* at *Oxford*. *Brompt.* p. 908.

(2) All the *English* Historians affirm, That *Walgar* (or that was the Domestick's name) had orders to carry them to the King of *Sweden*, *Swanarum* or *Suagorum*. *Hoved.* p. 436. *M. Westm.* p. 206. *Flor. Wenc.* p. 619, &c.

(3) These two *Edwey's* are confounded by several Historians; but they are plainly distinguished in the *Saxon Annals*, and in the *Genealogy* at the end of the History of *Alfred*, written by *Spelman*. *Rapin.* As also in *H. Huntingd.* who calls the first *Edwardsdelinge*, and the second *Edwardsberlesing*, p. 363. *Malmsh.* says, *Edwey-adelinge* was buried at *Tawshak* in *Denmark*.

(4) He upbraided him for having deprived him of the Earldom of *Mercia*. *M. Westm.* p. 402.

(5) He was beheaded in the King's Palace, and his Body flung out of a Window, into the *Thames*. *Malmsh.* p. 73. *M. Westm.* p. 402. So that the King's Palace stood close to the *Thames*. Other Historians say, That the Body was cast upon the Wall of the City, and left there unburied. *S. Dunelm.* p. 177. *Hoved.* *Brompt.* 908.

(6) That could not be, since the *Tower of London* was not built till the Reign of *William I.* *Huntingd.* says, he ordered it to be fixed on the highest *Tower in London*. p. 303. and *Brompton* --- on the highest Gate in *London*, p. 908.

(7) He went to *Denmark*, where, as soon as he landed, he was taken, and put to death. *Malmsh.* p. 73.

(8) The *Saxon Annals*, Anno *MXVIII.* say, it was seventy-two thousand pounds, *Huntingd.* and *Brompt.* eighty thousand pounds, besides eleven *Pierene* says fifteen thousand paid by the City of *London*. Hence may be seen the flourishing condition of that City in these days, since it could pay almost a sixth part of this great Tax.

(9) By the persuasion of Queen *Emma*. *M. Westm.* p. 405. *Canute* kept forty Ships in *England*. *Sax. Ann.*

(10) *W. de n. Watered.* *S. Dunelm.* p. 177.

Body under his command, fell upon the *Vandals* in the night, and putting them in disorder by this sudden attack, made great slaughter of them, and routed the whole army. At break of day, *Canute* preparing for the battle, and not finding the *English* at their station, did not question but they were revolted to the enemy. While he was perplexed in his thoughts at this unexpected accident, he saw the *English* General arrive, who was come himself to bring him news of his Victory (1). Though this action was of a dangerous consequence, the King however was very willing, upon this occasion, to dispense with the rules of military discipline, which requir'd that *Goodwin* should be punish'd for daring to fight without orders. He received him with abundance of caresses, and as a reward for so signal a service, created him Earl of *Kent*. I shall have frequent occasion hereafter to speak of this Earl, who became at length the greatest Lord in *England*.

Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
Brompten.

Three sorts of
Laws in
England.

1025.
Expedition
of Canute
against the
Swedes.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
M. Weft.

1027.
He becomes
Master of
Norway.
Sax. Ann.
Hoved.
Malmsh.
Sim. Dun.
Brompt.

Canute turns
his thoughts
to Acts of
Devotion.

Malmsh.
de Galt.
Pontific.
l. 2.
Brompten.

This war being happily ended, *Canute* returned into *England*, where immediately after his arrival he convened the great council (2), to confirm the *Danish* laws, which, for some time, had been observed in part of the kingdom, and particularly in *Northumberland*. There were then in *England* three sorts of laws, namely, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish* laws (3). But these last had not the sanction of public authority, till *Canute*, at his return from *Denmark*, put them upon a level with the ancient laws of *England*.

Canute, after his return into *England*, lived in profound tranquillity, wholly employed in causing justice and peace to flourish, and rendering his Subjects happy. But some time after he was obliged to discontinue these pacific employments, and take a second voyage to *Denmark*, then invaded by the *Swedes*. This expedition was not very prosperous. The *English* troops he carried with him were great sufferers; and he had the mortification to meet with misfortunes he had not been used to.

Two years after, unmindful of his ill success in the last war with the *Swedes*, he entered into another, which made him ample amends for his former losses. He resolved to revive some old pretensions to *Norway*, which had never been fully clear'd. *Olafus*, who then sat on the throne of *Norway*, was a weak and unwarlike Prince. *Canute* thought it would be easier for him to prosecute his pretensions in the reign of such a Prince, than at any other time. He began the execution of his design with privately forming a strong party among the *Norwegian* Lords (4). As soon as matters were ripe, he sail'd for *Denmark* with a considerable body of *English* troops (5), and suddenly landed them in *Norway*. *Olafus*, who had no intelligence of his practices, surpriz'd at this attack, and more so, to see the major part of his Subjects side with the enemy, found there was no remedy but to abandon his kingdom, and save himself by flight. Upon his retreat, *Canute* was crown'd King of *Norway*, regardless of the right, so long as he had the power in his hands. Two years after the dispossession Prince attempting to recover his dominions, was slain by his own Subjects, and *Canute* remain'd peaceable Possessor of the kingdom. *Olafus*, after his death, was ranked among the Saints, and honoured with the glorious title of *Martyr*.

The conquest of *Norway* fully satisfied *Canute's* ambition. From that time, laying aside all thoughts of warlike affairs, he gave himself up to acts of devotion: That is to say, he made it his principal business to enrich the Churches and Monasteries; as if the usurpation of two kingdoms, and all the consequent evils could be repaired by so slight a satisfaction. Among other things he took particular care to give public marks of his respect to *St. Edmund*, formerly King of *East-Anglia*, slain by the *Danes*. Perhaps he gave some credit to the story

of his Father *Swein's* being kill'd by that Saint, or rather, was willing to stifle the report. However this be, he built a stately Church over the grave of that Prince, and very much enlarged the town where his body lay buried, which from him had the name of *St. Edmundsbury*. The Monastery, which was in the same place, and call'd *Bradstoworth*, had been endow'd by *Edward the Elder*. *Canute* enlarging the building, and augmenting the revenues, this religious house became one of the finest and richest in the kingdom (6).

After he had shewn, as he thought, visible marks of his devotion, he resolv'd upon a journey to *Rome*, which he perform'd in 1031. Whilst he staid there, he made many rich presents to the Churches, and confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the Church of *Rome* and the *English* College. He obtain'd, for his part, certain privileges for the *English* Churches, and some advantages for those who came to visit the Tombs of the Apostles. But the most material privilege procur'd for the *English*, was an exemption from paying any Toll as they pass'd through *Italy*. The Emperor *Conradus I*, who was then at *Rome*, and with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, granted him the same privilege. The King of *France* was pleas'd also on his account, to grant the same favour to the *English* in his dominions. By this means the *English* pilgrims and travellers were eas'd of a great expence, and freed from a thousand insults and oppressions to which they were most liable in *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*. We have a large account of these matters in a Letter writ by this Monarch from *Rome*, to the Assembly-General of the *English* Nation, informing them what he had done in favour of his Subjects. In this letter he professes a great piety, and a fix'd resolution to govern his kingdom after the most exact rules of justice, desiring withal his nobles to assist him in this good design (7).

As soon as he came back to *England*, he applied himself to the dedication of the Church of *St. Edmund*, which he had begun before his journey to *Rome*. In fine, having spent some years longer in continual acts of devotion (8), he died in 1036, in the nineteenth year of his reign (9).

Historians have not failed to give this Prince the surname of *Great*, a title, which seems peculiar to conquerors, as if true grandeur consisted in invading the rights and properties of others. But, not to confine grandeur within such narrow bounds, *Canute* may be said to merit this glorious title, if we consider only the latter part of his reign. The end of his life was very different from the beginning. One would have thought he had not been the same Prince, who, to gain kingdoms that belonged not to him, had caus'd so much blood to be spilt, and trampled upon Religion and Justice. Some years before his death, he became humble, modest, just, and truly religious. If there be no exaggeration in what Historians say of him, from the time he was thoroughly settled on the throne of *England*, he gave daily marks of Piety, Justice, and Moderation, which gained him the affection of his subjects, and an universal esteem among foreigners. We have the following story of him, which shews at once his good sense, and to what height Courtiers are apt to carry their Flatteries. One day, as he was walking by the Sea-side (10), his attendants extolled him to the skies, and even proceeded to compare him to God himself. Offended at these extravagant praises, and willing to convince them of their folly and impiety, he ordered a chair to be brought, and seating himself in a place where the tide was about to flow, turn'd to the Sea, and said; *O Sea, thou art under my dominion, and the Land I sit on is mine: I charge thee not to presume to approach any further, nor to dare to wet the feet of thy Sovereign*. Having said this, he sat still for some time, as expecting the Sea should obey his commands. But the tide advancing as

(1) *Huntingd. and Brompt.* say, that *Canute* himself advanced as far as the Enemies camp, where he found nothing but Slaughter, &c.
(2) At *Gloucester*, at Easter: and there ----- Omnes leges ab antiquis regibus latas observari precepit. ----- Enjoined the Observance of the Laws made by his Predecessors. *Malmsh.* p. 75. *Flor. West.* says it was at *Oxford*, and that the *English* and *Danes* unanimously agreed to observe the Laws of *Edgar*, p. 619.

(3) *West-Saxon* laws, *Mercian* laws, and *Danish* laws. Bishop *Norwich* in his Letter to Dr. *Wilkins*, prefix'd to his Edition of the *Saxon* Laws, makes it appear that this threefold division of the *English* Laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the *Norman* Interpreters mistaking the meaning of the Word *Laga*, which they thought was the same with *Ley* or *Law*. Whereas *Laga* signifies Region, Territory or Province, as is plain from several places in the *Saxon* Laws, wherein *Dena-laga* means the same as among the *Danes*, or in the *Danish* Laws, *Land* or *Province*. See p. 53, and 135, of Dr. *Wilkins's* *Anglo-Saxon* Laws. The Author of the Dialogue *De Saxonibus*, was the first that led the way in this Error, l. 1. c. 16.

(4) By finding them large Sums of Money. *S. Dunelm. Brompt.* p. 911. with fifty. *Flor. West.*
(5) *Leiland*, who was an Eye-witness of this Town and Monastery in their Splendor, gives this description of them. *A City more neatly seated the Sun never saw, hanging upon a gentle Down, a little River runs East side; on a Mountain more great and stately, whether we consider the Endowments, Largeness, and unparallel'd Magnificence. The Monastery itself looks like a City, many Towers (some whereof are Bells) many Towers, and a Church, the richness meeting can be more stately, the richness of Appendages, there are three most admirable Beauty and Workmanship in the same Church-yard. There are two still entire; viz. *St. Mary's* and *St. James's*; the third, which *Canute* built, was the great Church of the Monastery. Besides the immense value of the Gifts at *St. Edmund's* Tomb, the Revenue at the Dissolution amounted to one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds a year; a large Sum in those days. See *Camden* in *Stafford*.*

(7) This Epistle, which is extant in *Malmshury*, was sent into *England* by *Ingulfus* Abbot of *Tarvisleek*. It was address'd thus; *To Æthelnoth Bishop of Canterbury, to Alfrie of York, with all the Bishops and Prelates; and to the English Nation, as well Nobles as Plebeians, Knights, &c.* In it he gives an account of the valuable Presents made to him, whilst there, in Gold and Silver Vessels, in curious Garments, &c. by the Emperor, and other Princes who were there at that time.

(8) He founded also the noted Abby of *St. Bennet*, in *Hertfordshire*. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Wintonbury*, of which one is recorded to be a Cross, worth one year's revenue of the kingdom. It was consumed with the Abby by Fire in Henry 1st's Time. He caus'd also to be created the Arm of *St. Angustin* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, and is said to give for it a hundred talents of Silver and one of Gold. *Malmsh.* p. 75. *Brompt.*

(9) He died at *Shaftesbury* the 12th of November, and was buried in the Old Monastery of *Wintonbury*. (10) At *Southampton*.

usual, he took occasion from thence, to let his base Flatterers know, that the titles of *Lord* and *Master* belong only to him whom the Land and the Sea obey. He is said, from that moment, never to wear his crown again, but ordered it to be put on the head of the *Crucifix* at *Winchester*.

He left three Sons, all of a fit age to govern, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms by will. *Sweyn* the eldest, and a bastard, had *Norway* for his share: Some affirm he was not his Son, but impos'd upon him for such by the Mother (1). To *Harold* his second Son, by the same woman, he gave *England*; and to *Canute* or *Hardicanute*, whom he had by *Emma* of *Normandy*, the kingdom of *Denmark*. *Guniada* his daughter by the same Princess, was wife of the Emperor *Henry IV.*

As I shall soon have occasion to mix the affairs of *Normandy* with those of *England*, it will not be improper to give some account beforehand of what passed among the *Normans*.

Richard II. Duke of *Normandy*, dying in 1026, *Richard III.* his Son succeeded him, who reigned but one year, and by his death left the dukedom to *Robert* his brother; who was no sooner in possession, but he shew'd an inclination to espouse the interest of *Alfred* and *Edward* his cousins, Sons of his aunt *Emma* and *Ethelred II.* As they were both at his court, and he could not help pitying their case, he believed his recommendation might procure them some favour in *England*. Persuaded of this, as soon as he heard

of the death of *Edmund's* Son, he sent ambassadors to *Canute*, to intreat him to give the two Princes some part of the kingdom of their ancestors. This Embassy arriv'd in *England*, when *Canute* found himself to firmly seated in his throne, that he thought he might safely disregard the solicitations of the Duke of *Normandy*. *Robert* was so incensed at his refusal, that he resolv'd to compel him to do justice to the *English* Princes. To that purpose he fitted out a powerful fleet, and embarking with a numerous army, resolv'd to make a descent upon *England*, where he did not question but the *English* would readily join him. But meeting with a violent storm, he had the mortification to behold the greatest part of his fleet perish; a loss which could not be easily retrieved. In the mean time, these preparations satisfying *Canute*, that the Duke of *Normandy* really intended to attempt the restoration of his cousins, he endeavour'd to amuse him with offering them part of the kingdom of *Wessex*. But *Robert* would not have been impos'd upon by this offer, had not his misfortune at Sea constrain'd him to suspend the execution of his design, as it induced *Canute* also to go from his word. Some time after, *Robert* took a resolution to go in pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, deferring, till his return, his intended invasion of *England*. But he died in his way home. He left only a natural Son, called *William*, on whom, before his departure, he settled the succession. This is the same *William the Bastard*, whom we shall see hereafter ascend the throne of *England*.

His Fleet is destroyed by a storm.

He died and was succeeded by William his Bastard.

R. de Diceto Brompt. Knighton.

Affairs of Normandy. W. Gemitiensis, l. 5. c. 10.

Robert Duke of Normandy protects the two Brothers of Edmund. Brompt.

18. HAROLD I. Surnamed Harefoot, the third Danish King of England.

HAROLD I. 1039.

WHEN *Canute* espoused the Princess of *Normandy*, it was agreed, that the Children by this marriage should succeed to the crown of *England*. Notwithstanding this agreement, *Canute* left *England* to his Son *Harold* born in *Denmark*, and gave *Denmark* to *Hardicanute*, his Son by *Emma* of *Normandy* (2). In all appearance, he did not think the *English* had been sufficiently inured to the *Danish* yoke, to venture to place on their throne his youngest Son, who was not above fifteen or sixteen years of age, and of no great genius. However this be, that article of his will met with great opposition from the *English*. They look'd upon *Hardicanute*, born in *England*, of a lawful wife, widow of one of their Kings, as the only person capable of succeeding; whereas *Harold* was considered but as a Foreigner and a Bastard. The *Danes*, on the contrary, were firmly bent to perform *Canute's* last will and testament. This difference might have been of ill consequence, if *Harold* had not with the utmost expedition seiz'd the treasure laid up by the King his father at *Winchester* (3). By the help of this, he was enabled to make himself feared, and to gain several of his opposers. Consequently, in a General Assembly in *Mercia* (4), he secured a majority of voices, and got himself proclaim'd King of *England*. The *Danes* were all for him to a man, and of course, the *English Mercians*, or the inhabitants on the North of the *Thames*, who looking upon the *Danes* as their Masters, durst not directly oppose their will.

Mean time, the *West-Saxons*, who did not think themselves conquer'd, as soon as they came home, conven'd an assembly of the States of *Wessex*, and by the management of Earl *Goodwin*, *Hardicanute* was elected and proclaimed King of *Wessex*, the *West-Saxons* leaving the *Mercians* free to acknowledge *Harold* for their King (5). For the better understanding this matter, it must be remembered, there were *Danes*, or people of *Danish* extraction, dispers'd all over *England*, but their chief settlements were in *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*. And therefore, in all the country north of the *Thames*, called then by the general name of *Mercia*, there were more *Danes* than *English*. On the contrary, in *Wessex*,

that is, South of the *Thames*, the *English* were the most numerous, having admitted among them such of their countrymen, who, to avoid living under the dominion of the *Danes*, had quitted the northern parts. By this means *Wessex* was exceeding populous, and become more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the field as great armies as the rest of *England*. After this manner the kingdom of *Judah* in old time grew strong at the expence of that of *Israel*. The forces therefore of the *West-Saxons* and *Mercians* being equal, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and every one desired to have for Sovereign, him of the two Princes that was like to be most favourable. It was very probable, this division would cause a war between the two Nations. But *Harold*, who was not possess'd of his Father's qualities, imagin'd he was not strong enough to undertake the conquest of *Wessex*. It was owing therefore to the equality of their forces, that the two kingdoms remained in Peace.

Hardicanute, who was in *Denmark* (6), made no haste to come and take possession of the crown of *Wessex*; whether he was detained by other affairs, or on this, as well as on all other occasions, gave way to his natural sluggishness. During his absence, Earl *Goodwin* held the reins of the Government in an absolute manner, independent of *Emma*, the Queen-Mother, who was not beloved by the *West-Saxons*. Mean while *Harold* was contriving to gain by secret practices, a kingdom which he found himself unable to subdue by arms. As he had been deprived of it by the sole credit of Earl *Goodwin*, he believed there was no readier way to ascend the throne of that kingdom, than by gaining the Earl to his interest. He took advantage therefore of his Brother's absence, to make *Goodwin* his friend, by means, which, though not declared in history, may be easily guessed at (7). Be this as it will, he succeeded to his wish. *Goodwin*, who was not very scrupulous, finding his account in what was propos'd to him by *Harold*, promis'd to place him on the throne of *Wessex*. This affair was so dexterously managed, that suddenly, on pretence that *Hardicanute* neglected to come into *England*, *Goodwin* procur'd *Harold* to be acknowledged King of *Wessex*. This change however was not made

Ingulph.

Earl Goodwin Regent of Wessex.

Delivered up the Kingdom to Harold.

Harold proclaimed in Mercia, Sax. Ann. G. Malmfb. Ingulph.

and Hardicanute in Wessex. Sax. Ann.

(1) She is called by the Historians *Algiwa*, *Alwa*, or *Alwina*, (*M. W. Gen. Hunting.*) and by *Flor. Werc.* p. 622. and *Brompt.* said to be the daughter of *Alfelm* Earl of *Northampton*: being barren, she feigned a Lying-in, and got a *Phis*, or a Nun's, Son newly born, to be put upon her credulous Husbands. *R. de Diceto*, who calls her *Queen*, says she did the same by a Shoemaker's Son also, which was *Harold*, p. 470.

(2) She is called *Elgiwa* by the *Saxon Annals* and others, which is the *Saxon* Name for *Emma*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 164. *Tyrrel*, l. 6. p. 64.

(3) And which he had left to his Queen *Emma*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 179. *Brompt.* p. 932.

(4) At *Oxford*, *Ann. Sax. MXXXVI.* This Contest about the Election of a King, very much weakens the authority of *Simon of Durham* and others, in relation to *Canute's* Will, especially considering the Marriage Articles with *Emma*, and the Silence of the *Saxon Annals*. Besides, the States of the Kingdom very seldom or never failed to elect whom the last King appointed in his Will.

(5) It was agreed amongst them, that *Emma* should live in *Winchester*, and keep possession of all *Wessex*; and that *Goodwin* should be General of the Forces. *Sax. Ann. Malmfb.* p. 76. *Huntingd.* p. 364. *Brompt.*

(6) *Ingulph* says, that he was in *England* at the time of the Election, and went back to *Denmark*. p. 61.

(7) He is said to have promis'd the Earl to marry his Daughter.

with the unanimous consent of the *West-Saxons*, but by the sole contrivance of *Goodwin* and some other Lords, who engaged so heartily in the affair, that it was done before any measures could be taken to obstruct it. Thus the *West-Saxons* saw a new King on the throne, without having the liberty to deliberate whether they should approve or reject him. This is not the only instance of the like intrigues producing the like events.

Emma forms
a design to
place on the
throne one of
her Sons by
her first
Husband.
S. Dunelm.
Ch. Mail-
ros.
Hoved.
M. West.

Emma, Mother of *Hardicanute*, was extremely surprised at this revolution, which not only deprived her Son of the crown of *Wessex*, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the government. She perceived, as matters stood, there was no possibility of recovering the crown for her Son *Hardicanute*; and therefore turning her thoughts another way, she formed a project, the execution whereof seemed to her very practicable, which was, to cause one of her Sons by *Ethelred*, to mount the throne. She was in hopes, the *English* would countenance with all their power an enterprize, tending to set the crown on the head of a Prince of the race of their antient Kings. Perhaps the desire of pulling down *Goodwin* influenc'd her project as much as her Son's advancement. To succeed in this design, there was need of great prudence and dissimulation. Above all it was necessary to find some pretence, without raising the King's jealousy, to send for the two Princes her Sons, who were in *Normandy*, that they might form a party for themselves. With this view, she feigned to be unconcerned at the expulsion of *Hardicanute*, confining herself to *Winchester*, where she daily frequented the Churches, and seemed to be wholly taken up with the care of her Salvation. When she imagined the King was sufficiently convinced of her disregard of State-affairs, she begged leave to send for the two Princes her Sons at *Winchester*, whom she had not seen since her second marriage. Her request being granted, *Alfred* and *Edward* arrived soon after in *England*, without discovering any other intention but to visit their Mother. They were caressed by great numbers of people, who, having *English* hearts, always firmly adhered to the antient Royal Family.

Alfred and
Edward
come into
England.

Goodwin
acquaints the
King with
the Queen's
designs.

Goodwin, who was a person of great sagacity, quickly perceived the Queen's design. It was difficult to impose in this manner upon so refin'd a Politician. As soon as he began to suspect her, he employed so many Spies, that he found at length his suspicions were not groundless. He acquainted *Harold* with the matter, who seemed startled at it. But the Earl, who was not so easily alarmed, gave him to understand, the conspiracy was yet but in embryo, and might with ease be prevented; that the difficulty did not lie so much in avoiding the present, as in guarding against future danger: That to screen himself, once for all, from the like practices, he saw no better expedient than to make away with the two *Saxon* Princes, since so fair an opportunity offered. *Harold* approving of this project, *Goodwin* advised him to put on a seeming security, to draw them the more readily into the snare. This resolution being taken, *Harold* made as if he were ignorant of the Queen's designs, and the two Princes continued some time at *Winchester*, without his shewing the least uneasiness up-

He advises
the murder
of the two
Princes.
Brompt.

on their account. At last, making use of an occasion, which naturally offered itself, he invited them to come and pass a few days at Court, before they returned into *Normandy*, where he feigned to believe, they intended to go very shortly. *Emma* was in great suspense on this occasion. She was very sensible it would be difficult for her Sons to gain a powerful party among the Nobility, without appearing at Court; where the Lords of the greatest credit were usually present. But on the other hand, she could not resolve to deliver them into the hands of a Prince whose interest it was to destroy them. In this perplexity, she took a course, which she judged proper to prevent the apprehended danger. This was, to send *Alfred* her eldest Son to the King, and detain *Edward* under some pretence: She imagined in case *Harold* had any ill design, he would defer the execution till he had both the Brothers in his power, seeing it would be to no purpose to make away one, whilst the other was alive. *Goodwin*, pleased that his advice had thus far succeeded, managed so that he was sent to meet *Alfred*, seemingly to do him honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the execution of his designs. *Alfred's* little train, composed of *Normans*, were at first charmed with the respect *Goodwin* paid to the Prince. But their satisfaction was quickly turned into a great consternation, when the Prince and all his attendants were stopped at *Guilford* castle, where they had been carried under colour of refreshing themselves. *Alfred* was immediately conducted to *Ely*, and, after his eyes were put out, shut up in the Monastery (1). The unhappy Prince had scarce time to be sensible of his misfortune, since he died a few days after, either out of grief, or by some more violent means. At least, *Goodwin* was afterwards charged with his murder (2). As soon as *Edward* was informed of his Brother's tragical death he speedily returned into *Normandy*, for fear of the like treatment. Shortly after, *Emma*, receiving orders to depart the kingdom, retired to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who assigned her the city of *Bruges* to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she should not go to *Normandy* to Duke *William* her Nephew; but probably, they who had the administration of affairs during the Duke's minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be feared this intriguing Princess would increase the troubles of the Dukedom, where *William* was not yet firmly established.

1037.
Alfred's
death.

Edward
returns to
Normandy.
Sax. Ann.
Malmib.

M. West.

Whilst these things were transacting, *Hardicanute* waking at length from his lethargy, formed a design of recovering by arms the kingdom of *Wessex*, usurped by his Brother. For that purpose he came to *Bruges*, to consult with the Queen his Mother. In all appearance, he would have found it very troublesome to execute this design, had not the death of *Harold*, which happened at that very time, removed all difficulties. This Prince died (3) in 1039 without issue, and without having done any thing memorable (4). He was surnamed *Harefoot*, because his Foot was all over hairy, or, as others affirm, because he was light and swift of Foot (5). His death happened in one of the hardest Winters that had ever been known in *England* (6).

1039.
Harold dies.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.
Sax. Ann.

Knighten.

(1) His attendants were tortured in the most cruel manner, by *Goodwin's* order, and decimated, that is, nine were killed, and the tenth only saved; 6x hundred are said to have been put to death in that manner. S. Dunelm. p. 179. M. West. p. 410. Knighten and Brompton mention one hellish kind of Torture, which, it may be supposed, was only practised then, and in the Irish Massacre in 1641. They ript up some of the People's Bellies, and tying one end of their Bowels to a Post, made them turn round that Post till they were all wound up upon it. Brompton, p. 935. Knighten, p. 2326. Rushworth, Hist. Col. Vol. IV. p. 411.

(2) This account of *Alfred's* death, *Malmibury* says, was built on common Report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the Fact. But *Matthew Westminster*, and others, relate it without diffidence. Most of the ancient Manuscript Annals in the Cottonian Library, as also a Treatise called *Encomium Emmae*, (which, 'tis plain, *Malmibury* never saw) being a Panegyric wrote on that Queen, by a Monk of her own time, relate the matter thus. *Harold* seeking by treachery to get these two young Princes into his power, forged a Letter in the Name of *Emma* their Mother, earnestly inviting them into *England*, wherein, (personating her) "She gently chides them for their delay, in not coming over to inspect their own affairs, since they could not but know that it daily confirmed the Usurper in his power, who omitted no artifice to gain the chief Nobility over to his party: Yet assured them the *English* had much rather have one of them to reign over them; and therefore urged them to come as speedily and as privately as they could, to consult what Measures were most proper to be taken." This Letter was sent to *Normandy* by an express Messenger, and received by the Princes with joy, who sent word by the same Hand, That one of them would be with her shortly, naming both the time and place. Accordingly *Alfred* the youngest, (by others said to be the eldest) at the appointed time, with a few ships, and a small number of *Normans*, sailed for *England*; where they were no sooner landed, but they fell into the hands of *Goodwin*, who served them as *Rapun* has above related. What makes this account the more probable, is, that had both the Princes come over in the manner above-mentioned, *Harold* would certainly have put them both to death, since it would have been in his power. The *Saxon Annals* say nothing of *Alfred's* death, and some place it after *Harold's* decease. Such is the uncertainty of this Matter; which makes it appear, how little traditional accounts are to be depended upon, though of no long standing, since this Story, transacted but a few years before the Compiler, is told in many ways. *Malmib.* Knighten, Brompt.

(3) He died at *Oxford*, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at *Winchester*; or, according to *Brompton*, at *Westminster*.

(4) He laid a Tax of eight Marks on every Port, towards fitting out sixteen Ships. He made but one Law, mentioned by *Selden*, which was, that if any *Welshman* coming into *England*, without leave, was taken on this side *Offa's* Dyke, he should have his Right Hand cut off by the King's Officer.

(5) *Brompton* says, he had his Surname for refusing to ride on Horie-back, and chusing always to walk on foot, which, say they, was very unbecoming his Royal State.

(6) The *Saxon Annals* MXXXIX, say, that this year a *Sesher*, or Horie-load of Wheat, was sold for fifty-five Pence, and more.

19. CANUTE II, or HARDICANUTE, the fourth Danish King of England.

1039.
Hardicanute
is a Danish
King of
Eng-
land.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.

AFTER the death of *Harold*, the great Men of both Nations unanimously made an offer of the crown to *Canute*, surnamed the *Hardy*, not to denote his courage, but his strong constitution (1). He was then at *Bruges*, concerting measures with the Queen his Mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of *Wessex*, by means of a powerful aid promised him by the Earl of *Flanders*. The news of *Harold's* death putting an end to their consultations, he came to *England* with forty Ships, he had brought from *Denmark* (2). He was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the *English* and *Danes*. Earl *Godwin* himself, though he had no reason to rejoice at his arrival, after what he had acted against him, was the foremost to do him homage.

He digress-
his Brother's
Corps.
Malmsh.
J. 2. c. 12.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

The new king began his reign with an uncommon act of cruelty. The ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, when out of impatience to be revenged on his Brother, though dead, he commanded his body to be dug up and throw'd into the *Thames* (3). But all his care to prevent the Body from being buried again, proved ineffectual. Some Fishermen finding the corps floating on the water (4), delivered it to the *Danes*, who interred it in the burying-place of their Nation in *London* (5). It is further added, the King being informed of it, ordered the Body to be thrown once more into the River; but, being found again, it was privately buried at *Weyminster*.

1040.
He imposes a
heavy tax.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
Sedition at
Worcester
on that ac-
count.
Camden in
Worcester.

Shortly after, *Hardicanute* impos'd an exorbitant tax on the kingdom (6), for the payment of the fleet sent back to *Denmark*. Though the *English* had often paid the like tax, term'd *Danegeld*, they were dissatisfied to have it renewed on this occasion, when there appeared no necessity for it. The inhabitants of *Worcester* oppos'd the levying this tax with the greatest heat. They even proceeded so far as to kill two of the Collectors (7). Whereupon the King immediately ordered *Goodwin* Duke of *Wessex*, *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, to draw their forces together, march to *Worcester*, and destroy the City with fire and sword. These Lords ex-

cuted in part the King's orders, though with great reluctance. The City was burnt, after having been plunder'd four days together. But the inhabitants had leave to retire into a small Island in the *Severn*, nam'd *Beverly*, till the King was appeas'd (8).

Not long after Prince *Edward*, Son of *Ethelred* II, and Brother of the King by the same Mother, appear'd at court. He met with a very civil reception, and presently demanded justice against *Godwin*, charging him with the murder of his Brother *Alfred* (9). The King was well enough pleas'd with having an opportunity to punish the Earl, not so much perhaps for the death of Prince *Alfred*, as for what he had done in favour of the late King. He was cited therefore to appear and answer to what was alleged against him. But *Godwin*, who knew the covetous temper of the King, wisely diverted the storm by a magnificent present before his trial. This present was a Galley, with a gilt Stern, mann'd with fourscore choice soldiers, every one of whom had upon his arm a gold Bracelet weighing sixteen ounces, with Helmets and Swords all gilded, and a Danish Battle-ax adorn'd with Gold and Silver, hanging on his left shoulder, and a Lance of the same in his Right-hand. Every thing in the Galley was answerable to this magnificence. By means of this noble present, the Earl was acquitted, upon taking his oath, he had no hand in the death of Prince *Alfred* (10).

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown he was unworthy to wear. He died suddenly in the third year of his reign (11), at the nuptial feast of a Danish Lord at *Lambeth* (12). Perhaps his death was hasten'd by poison (13): but his excessive cruelty and gluttony rendered him so odious, that he died unlamented, neither was any inquiry made into the manner of his death. All Historians unanimously agree, he spent whole days and nights in feasting and carousing (14). There is one however that praises him for keeping open table four times a day, and exclaims against the niggardliness of the Kings his successors who abolish'd so laudable a custom.

20. EDWARD III. the Confessor.

EDWARD
III.
Difficulties
concerning the
Succession.

HARDICANUTE leaving no issue, *Edward*, Son of *Ethelred* II. and *Emma* of *Normandy*, was the only Prince then in *England* that had any pretensions to the crown. It was but reasonable the race of the *Saxon* Kings should be restor'd to the throne of which they were unjustly dispossest. But then it was no less right to recall out of *Hungary* Prince *Edward*, Son of *Edmond Ironside*, and place him on the throne preferably to his uncle, who was one degree farther remov'd. On the other hand, the uninterrupted succession of four Danish Kings, who had possessed the throne for the space of twenty-eight

years (15), with the consent of the *English*, bred another difficulty, seeing *Sweyn*, Son of *Canute the Great*, was still alive. It is true, he was reckon'd by some as a Bastard. But besides that the King his Father had not treated him as such in the partition of his dominions, it might be said in his favour, he ought to have the same privilege with his Brother *Harold*, to whom his being born of the same Mother was no obstacle to his mounting the throne. It was therefore no easy thing to settle the succession to the satisfaction of all parties. On the contrary, it was to be feared that, on this occasion, the old animosities between the two nations would be re-

- (1) The Word *Hardy*, is rendered by those that wrote in *Latin*, by *Durus*, and not by *Audax*. See *Pontanus*. Hist. Dan. Rapin.
- (2) And Landed at *Sandwich*, seven days before Midsummer. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 365. S. Dunelm. p. 110.
- (3) The Persons employed in this Affair, were *Alfric* Archbishop of *York*, Earl *Godwin*, *Styr* the Steward, *Edric* the Seneschal, and *Tosoth* the Executioner: They cut the Head off, and flung the Body at first into a Sink, and afterwards into the *Thames*. Malmsh. p. 76. S. Dunelm. p. 180. M. West. Brompt.
- (4) They pulled it up in their Nets. S. Dunelm. Malmsh. p. 76.
- (5) Which constant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of St. *Clement* *Danes*. Brompt. p. 933.
- (6) Of twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine Pounds, for the Army; and eleven thousand forty-eight Pounds, for his thirty-two Ships. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 365. Malmsh. says, he gave twenty Marks to every Sailor; and others affirm, it was eight Marks to every Sailor, and ten or twelve Marks to each of the Captains. S. Dunelm. p. 180. M. West. p. 412.
- (7) Who were so busy and exacting. Malmsh. p. 76.
- (8) This City, the *Bracemans* of *Antoninus*, and *Brancogenum* of *Ptolemy*, whence called by the *Welshmen* this day, *Carr-Brangan*, was named by the Saxons, *Wogar-Cesler*, *Wegana-Cesler*, and *Wine-Cesler*, perhaps from the Forest *Wine* hard by. It was built by the Romans, as a Frontier Town against the Britons or *Welsh*. It was fence'd formerly with high Roman Walls, and has now a strong Wall. It was made an Episcopal See by *Severus* Bishop of the *Mercians*, in 980. It was soon rebuilt after being burnt here by the *Danes*. Camden.
- (9) *Simon* of *Durham* says, it was *Alfric* Archbishop of *York* that accus'd *Godwin* and *Livingus* Bishop of *Worcester* of this murder. S. Dunelm. p. 180.
- (10) This Year also, as *Brompton* tells us, *Hardicanute* sent over his Sister *Gunilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom she had been betroth'd in her Father's time; before she went, the King kept her nuptial Feast with that magnificence, in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feasting, that *Maurus* *Westminster* says, it was remembered in his days, and sung by Musicians at all great Entertainments. After the Princess had been some time in *Germany*, she was accus'd of Adultery, and could find, it seems, no better Champion than *Municon*, a little Page she had brought with her from *England*, to vindicate her Honour. She took it so heinously to be accus'd, that she forsook her Husband, and retired to a Monastery, where she ended her days. M. West. and Brompton.
- (11) Or rather in the Second; for he reigned but two years wanting ten days. Sax. Ann.
- (12) (i. e.) A duty Station. *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, exchanging a Manor with the Bishop of *Rockester*, began here a Palace in 1135.
- (13) Most probably he died in a drunken Fit. S. Dunelm. p. 179. He was buried in the old Monastery in *Winchester* by his Father *Canute*.
- (14) He allowed his Court four Meals a day. Huntingd. p. 365. Knighton. p. 2329. *John Rous* relates, that the day of King *Hardicanute's* death was kept by the *English* as a Holy-Day in his time, four hundred years afterwards, and was call'd *Hop's-Tide*, or *Hock-Wednesday*. De Regib. Anglor. 4.
- (15) *Rapin* says forty-four, which is a mistake, for from *Sweyn's* being proclaimed in 1014, to *Hardicanute's* death in 1043, was but twenty-seven or twenty-eight years at most.

1041.

viv'd, and the kingdom plunged into its former calamities. *Edward*, Son of *Edward II*, having spent most part of his days in *Normandy*, was little known in *England*. Besides, his merit, which was not very conspicuous, was incapable of adding any thing to his right. However, a fortunate advice, which necessity constrain'd him to follow, procur'd him a support, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his pretension: I mean, *Earl Godwin*. Though it was but a few months since, that *Edward* had prosecuted this Lord as the murderer of his Brother, he was advis'd to court his protection, which he obtained with greater ease than he durst have expected. *Godwin* was so powerful, and of so superior a Genius to the rest of the Nobility, that it would have been almost impossible for *Edward* to succeed in his designs, if he had not gained him to his interest. He was already distinguished as well by his merit, as birth, when *Canute the Great* intrusted him with the command of the *English* troops, in the war against the *Vandals*. After that expedition, wherein he gloriously signalized himself, *Canute* made him Earl of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Surrey*, and gave him in marriage *Thyra*, Sister of *Earl Ulphon*, to whom *Canute* had given his own Sister *Esrith*, widow of the Duke of *Normandy* (1). *Godwin* had by his wife a Son, drown'd in the *Thames* by an unruly horie. His second wife was *Gith*, Sister of *Sweyn*, who was King of *Denmark* after the death of *Hardicanute*. By this wife he had seven Sons, *Harold*, *Toston*, *Swane*, *Ulnoth*, *Gurth*, *Elfgar*, *Lewin*, and a daughter nam'd *Editba*. His credit with *Canute the Great*; the superiority of his genius; his noble alliances; his dignities of Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Wessex*, and High-Treasurer, conferred on him by King *Harold*; and lastly the government of the counties of *Oxford* and *Hereford*, in the hands of his eldest Son, had rais'd his fortune to such a degree, that it would hardly admit of any addition. His interest was somewhat eclips'd in the reign of *Hardicanute*; but he had the address to divert the danger he was threatn'd with. How great a grudge soever the late King bore *Goodwin*, he was such an enemy to business, that he could not resolve to undergo the necessary fatigue of governing a large kingdom, but left all to his management, as knowing him to be the most able of his subjects. *Godwin* knew so well how to improve these favourable junctures to ingratiate himself with the Nobles and People, that his power far exceeded that of all the other *English* Lords. From what has been said, it plainly appears how necessary *Goodwin's* assistance was, in order to *Edward's* mounting the throne, though his pretensions had been still better grounded. However, *Goodwin* was not one that neglected his own, in promoting the interest of others. Before he engaged in *Edward's* cause, he required certain conditions, and made him swear to marry his daughter *Editba*. The Prince complied with these terms, notwithstanding his inward reluctance to espouse the daughter of a Man, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his Brother *Alfred*.

As soon as *Goodwin* had received from *Edward* the assurances he demanded, he conven'd a general-assembly (2), where, by his management, that Prince was acknowledged (3) and proclaimed King (4), with unanimous consent (5). It was happy for the *English*, there was then in the kingdom never a Prince of the family of *Canute the Great*, whom the *Danes* might have set up in opposition to *Edward*. If *Sweyn* King of *Norway* had been on the spot to head the *Danes*, it may reasonably be presum'd, either that his pretensions would have caus'd a civil war, or *England* been once more divided into two kingdoms. Without doubt, the *Danes* would never have suffer'd the rights of the royal family of *Denmark*, four Princes whereof had successively sat on the throne, to be thus destroy'd. On the other hand, the *English* were so averse to a *Danish* government, that probably they would have ventured all to free themselves from that yoke. But the present juncture proving favoura-

ble to the *English*, they not only place on the throne a Prince of their own Nation, but also deliver themselves from the fear of falling again under the dominion of the foreigners.

In the general-assembly above-mention'd, to which, in all likelihood, the *Danes* being then without a Leader, were not call'd, *Godwin* strenuously harangu'd, to demonstrate to the *English*, "that a favourable opportunity " now offer'd, to free themselves from the oppressions " under which they had groan'd for so many years. He " defend'd with his natural eloquence, the calamities " their country was overwhelm'd with, whilst in subjection to foreigners. He displayed the extreme pride " of the *Danes*, who, not content with sharing the kingdom with the *English*, treated them like so many slaves. " He call'd to their remembrance the sad times, when " an *Englishman* and a *Dane* meeting on a Bridge, the " former durst not stir a step till the latter was pass'd " over. That if an *Englishman* did not make a low reverence to a *Dane*, he was sure to be soundly cudgel'd. " To all these miseries he added that of the excessive " taxes they had been oblig'd to pay, particularly *Dane-Gelt* (6), which was impos'd for no other end but to " satisfy the insatiable avarice of their greedy Masters." In fine, he omitted nothing that could inflame the rage of the *English*. This harangue wrought so upon the Hearers, that it was resolv'd, no *Dane* for the future should ever sit on the throne of *England*. Some add, the enumeration of the calamities, they had so long groan'd under, made such an impression on their minds, that with one consent, they came to a resolution to drive all the *Danes* out of the kingdom, and accordingly put it in execution forthwith.

This is one of the most difficult passages in the whole *English* History; which way soever it is view'd, insurmountable difficulties occur. In the first place it is hard to conceive, how in a general-assembly of the kingdom, it was possible to come to a resolution to destroy all the *Danes*, and much more, how it came to be in the power of the *English* to put it in practice. The *Danes* alone were in a manner possess'd of all the eastern and northern Counties, and in *Mercia*, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, were as numerous as the *English*. Four Kings of their nation had successively reign'd, who far from humbling them, had no doubt shown them great favour, and given them the superiority. And yet, without any extraordinary event, except the death of *Hardicanute*, a Prince of little merit and reputation, the *English* are said to become on a sudden superior. But this is not all, 'tis affirm'd, this superiority was so great as to enable them to expel all the *Danes* out of the kingdom. How is it possible to believe, the *Danes* should suffer themselves to be thus master'd, without making the least resistance? For it does not appear, there was any war or commotion in the kingdom on this occasion. The *Danish* Historians make the matter still more improbable. They say, all the *Danes* in *England* were massacred in one night by the treachery of *Harold* Son of *Goodwin*, who order'd all the *Danish* soldiers to march out of the garisons, under pretence of solemnizing the funeral of the late King (7). But this account has not the least appearance of truth: for, in the first place, *Harold*, who was then very young, had no share in the government, and consequently could give no such orders to the *Danish* officers. In the next place, how was it possible that all the *English* Historians, *Brompton* only excepted, who however says much less of the matter, should agree to pass over in silence so remarkable an event? Nay, how could they write their Histories without ever making the least allusion to it. 'Tis objected, they were silent, as aham'd of their Nation for so barbarous an action, what is the reason they had not the same scruple with regard to the Massacre in the reign of *Ethelred*? These are difficulties that are not easily to be clear'd. There seems, at first sight, to be a plausible way

(1) Mr. *Tyrol*, and others say, that *Godwin's* first Wife was *Canute's* Sister; but according to *Pentanus*, she was only Sister to *Ulphon*, Brother-in-law to *Canute*, which is most probable. *Rapin*. See *Malmsh.*

(2) At *Gillingham*, or *London*. *Malmsh.* p. 80.

(3) And chosen by the Clergy and People. *Inglulph.* p. 62. *Sax. Ann. M. Westm.* p. 412, &c. He was advanced to the Throne, chiefly through the Interest of *Leofric* Earl of *Wessex*, or *Godwin* Earl of *Wessex*, and Living Bishop of *Worcester*. *Inglulph.* ibid. *Kingdon*.

(4) He was crown'd at *Winton*, in 1042. on Easter-day. *Malmsh.* p. 80. *Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.*

(5) *Brompton* and some others relate this Matter otherwise: Upon *Hardicanute's* death, *Alfred*, (whom some affirm to be slain in *Harold's* time, in *Hardicanute's* reign) being invited into *England*, *Godwin* represented to the Lords that he was coming with great Numbers of *Angles*, to whom he had promised to give Estates. Upon which *Godwin* was sent to meet him at *Southampton*, where, in order to make way to the Crown for his own Son by *Canute's* daughter, he sav'd him in the barbarous manner before related in the reign of *Harold*. The *English* Nobles, who had just arriv'd of this Treachery of *Godwin's*, aveng'd revenge, which *Godwin* being inform'd of, fled into *Denmark*, and his Estate in *England* was confisc'd. After this, the *English* sent over to *Edward*, to desire him to come and take possession of the Crown. Shortly after his coronation, *Godwin* being of King *Edward's* gracious temper, return'd into *England*, to petition for his Pardon and Estate again, and was accus'd by the King before him for the murder of his Brother *Alfred's* murder. But with much ado, by the Intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, the matter was made up, and he was restored to all his Lands. *Brompton Chron.* p. 934, &c. *Huntingdon* agrees in the main with this relation, but says, that *Godwin* married *Edith*, because he thought him of too high a Spirit to marry his daughter, whom he aimed to make Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward*, a young and simple Prince. But this, *Malmsh.* believes, is contrary to all records.

(6) This Tax amount'd to forty thousand Pounds a year. King *Edward* releas'd the Nation of this heavy burden in the year 1041. The occasion of his so doing, though related by *Inglulph*, with licence is credited. At the King was one day brought to see the huge heap of Money collected by this Tax, he started back as in a great Fright, and being ask'd the Reason, he said he saw the *Danes* capering and dancing over the Money. Upon which he order'd it to be all paid back to the People, and *Dane-Gelt* to be abolished for ever, after it had been paid thirty-eight years. *Inglulph.* p. 65. *Fdr. Gult.*

(7) *Equo non, exiguâ temporis momento, vetustam Danorum dominationem, ac longo multaque Maiorum furore & sanguine partem in peum ita peritiam, ut vix unquam ea Danos fortuna repperisset. Pont. in c. Mag. Ben. l. vi. An. 1045. Rapin.*

Edward
Canute
Malmsh.
1041
Winton.

Godwin's
R.

Edward
1041
Goodwin's
daughter.

He is pro-
claimed
King
Malmsh.

Sax. Ann.
1041
S. Dunelm.
Inglulph.

Pentanus.
Meurhus.

p. 934

to resolve them, namely, to accuse the Historians, as well *English* as *Danish*, of not telling the whole truth, or aggravating the facts they relate. But by this course, we run into still greater difficulties. It is most certain, since the beginning of the reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the *Danes* have been so far from making any figure in *England*, that they are not mentioned in history any more than if they had never been known, though just before they were masters of the whole kingdom. But whence could proceed so sudden a fall, or rather, how could they all vanish in a moment, if neither expelled nor massacred? Historians do not say, war was made against them, their strong-holds taken, and they brought under new laws. But, all on a sudden, these so powerful and formidable *Danes* are reduc'd to nothing, in the reign of a Prince the most unwarlike that had ever sat on the throne. These are historical difficulties, the solution whereof I am forc'd to leave to others. But to return to *Edward*.

King Edward's Character.

He was a Prince of a weak constitution, and a narrow genius, not at all qualified to rule a large kingdom. His unsteadiness on important occasions, his inability in public affairs, and his continual attachment to trifles, gave the Nobles opportunity of assuming an almost sovereign power. As soon as they perceived the weakness of this Prince, they became so arbitrary in their governments, that they obeyed the King's orders no farther than was consistent with their own interest. Earl *Goodwin* especially usurp'd by degrees so great an authority, that he had almost the same deference paid him as the King himself. Perhaps the meanness of *Edward's* genius was the principal motive of his procuring him the crown, to the end he might govern in his name. Nevertheless, how fair soever the King carried it towards him, in his heart he utterly hated him and his whole family. This was the true reason of his deferring his marriage with *Edithe* as long as he could. But as he stood in fear of the Earl, he durst not break his word with him; and therefore after staying two years on several pretences, he espoused his daughter, according to his promise. However, he did not consummate the marriage, so great was his aversion to all that belong'd to *Goodwin*. The Queen, who was a person of strict virtue, and endow'd with a greatness of Soul, bore this usage with a wonderful patience. Instead of complaining of her hard treatment, she never open'd her mouth about it; but finding it was not in her power to gain the affection of the King her Husband, diverted her thoughts with study and acts of devotion (1). The author of the life of *Edward* pretends, this Prince made a vow of chastity, long before his marriage, and persuaded the Queen to do the like. But *Malmesbury* does not know what to think of this strange proceeding, and shews a strong inclination to believe, *Edward's* hatred to *Goodwin* was the real cause of his abstaining from his daughter. He durst not venture however to divorce her, for fear the Earl, by whose Interest he had mounted the throne, might still have it in his power to depose him, or at least create him a great deal of trouble. For this reason he continued to conceal, in all other respects, his aversion to him, and even to heap favours on him, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to shew his resentment. But he did not consider his dissimulation increased the Earl's credit with the people, who imagining he was in great favour with the King, more firmly adher'd to him. *Goodwin* wisely improved these advantages, and became every day more formidable to the King, by the great number of friends he acquir'd. In all probability, he would have grown in time, as powerful as the *Mayors of the Palace* were formerly in *France*, if he had not met with a counter-weight, which prevented his rising to that degree of power, so fatal to the royal authority; I mean, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Siward* had the reputation of the bravest and most worthy Peer in the kingdom. His excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, and among the *Northumbrians*, who were under his government. *Leofric* was universally esteemed and respected for his merit. His power was so great in *Mercia*, that he was more a King there than *Ed-*

Ailred.

p. 50.

The State of the Court.

ward himself. These two Lords uniting together, to prevent *Goodwin* from soaring too high, firmly adher'd to the person of the King, and endeavour'd to the utmost of their power, to support his authority. Without their assistance, *Edward*, who was naturally weak, would have found it very difficult to secure himself against the artifices of so able and powerful a subject as *Goodwin*. Thus matters stood at the court of *England*, during the first years of this reign. It was necessary to premise this, for the better understanding the sequel.

Edward, to whom is given the glorious titles of Saint and Confessor, mounted the throne with dispositions repugnant to sanctity. Besides his hatred to *Goodwin* and his own wife, he cherish'd in his breast against his Mother a desire of revenge, which agreed no better with the maxims of the gospel. It is true, his Mother who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to exasperate her Son in marrying *Canute the Great*, mortal enemy of her first Husband. She had moreover given her consent, that the children of her second marriage should succeed to the crown of *England*, which shew'd but little friendship for those of the first. This thing made so deep an impression on *Edward's* mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it. As soon as he found it in his power to make her feel the effects of his resentment, he delay'd not to satisfy his passion. On a sudden, when she least expected it, he came to *Winchester*, where her treasures lay, and without shewing the least regard for her, stript her of All, leaving her only a moderate pension for her subsistence (2). Thus this Prince's, widow of two Kings, Mother of two more, and daughter of a Duke of *Normandy* little inferior to a King, saw herself in the latter end of her days, reduced to extreme poverty by the rigour of her own Son (3).

Edward takes from the Queen her Mother all her Estates. Sax. Ann. Dunelm.

Sax. Ann. 1042.

But *Edward* was not content with shewing, by this act of violence, the little regard and affection he had for his Mother. Several Historians assure us, he moreover caus'd her to be accus'd of Incontinence with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*. They even say, that, regardless of her quality, he was so hard-hearted as to make her undergo the Ordeal trial. This trial consisted in obliging the party accus'd to walk bare-foot and hood-wink'd over nine red-hot Plough-shares. It is pretended, *Emma* came off unhurt, and gave in memory of this deliverance nine Manors to the next monastery (4). But, we have just observ'd, she had none left to give. However this be, she pass'd ten years in the sad condition she was reduced to by the King her Son, living in *Winchester* as a sort of prison, from whence she was delivered by her death in 1052 (5).

And makes her go thro' the Ordeal Trial. Brompt. Knighton. Camden.

Whilst *Edward* was thus venting his resentment upon his Mother, he received certain advice, that a great storm was gathering in the North. *Sweyn* King of *Norway*, Son of *Canute the Great*, designing to prosecute his claim to the crown of *England*, was preparing for an invasion with all expedition, which put the *English* in dread of the like miseries, they had so long experienced, and from which for some time they had been happily freed. *Edward*, who was no less terrified than his subjects, made some preparations to repulse an attack which he was extremely alarmed at (6). *Gunilda*, niece of *Canute the Great*, fell a sacrifice to his fears. She was constrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, to prevent her contriving some plot in favour of the *Danes*. But by an unexpected happiness, a war, which suddenly arose between the Kings of *Norway* and *Denmark*, broke the measures of the latter, and brought peace to the *English* contrary to their expectation. Some time after, *Sweyn* was depose'd by *Magnus* Son of *Olafus the Martyr*, whom *Canute the Great* had dispossest of *Norway*. *Magnus* was no sooner master of that kingdom, but he carried the war into *Denmark*; with intent to dethrone the King, whose name was also *Sweyn*. This last demanding assistance of *England*, *Goodwin* was of opinion, that to keep up the war between these two Princes, an aid of fifty sail should be sent him. But *Siward* and *Leofric*, for reasons unknown, prevented the

Sweyn King of Norway prepares to invade England. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Gunilda banished.

1043. Denmark at wars.

S. Dunelm.

(1) *Ingulphus* says, she was not only the most beautiful, chaste, humble and modest Lady of her time, but also very learned, inasmuch that he tells us, when he was but a Boy, and lived at court with his father, she was used to meet him coming from school, and took delight in posing him not only in Grammar, but in Logic also. And when she had done, would order her servant to give him some pieces of Money. He farther says, she had nothing but her Father in her. Whence it was become a saying, *Sicut Spina Refam, genuit Goodwinus Editham*. *Ingul.* p. 62. Edit. Gale. See *Ailred's* *Recueil*, p. 377.

(2) - - - - Præcepit sufficienter ei necessaria ministrari. *M. Westm.* p. 415.

(3) This, *Edward* did by the advice of the Earls *Leofric*, *Goodwin*, and *Siward*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 182. *Hoved.*

(4) In *Winchester*.

(5) This trial of *Emma* is related by *Brompton* and *Knighton*, and embellish'd with some trivial circumstances by *Harpsfield*. They tell us, *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, (whom *Edward* had brought over with him) accus'd the Queen of consenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, endeavouring to poison her Son *Edward*, and of maintaining an infamous commerce with Bishop *Alwin*. For which she was condemn'd by a *Council* held on purpose to purge herself by the trial of *Fire Ordeal*, as she had offer'd to do, and as it is related above. But this whole matter admits of great Disputes, for *Malmesbury*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, and *Westminster*, who lived nearest the time, say not a word of this miraculous purgation. Then again *Brompton* says, *Robert* immediately fled the kingdom; whereas he went not off, as *Malmesbury* assures us, till several years after upon another occasion, as we shall see: Moreover he could not be Archbishop then, since *Edjus* lived till 1050, which was three years after *Alwin's* death, according to *Flor. West.* *Hoved.* *Chron. Mailt.* whom *Brompton* supposes to be alive at the trial, for he says, he also gave nine Manors to the Church of *Winchester*. The *Saxon Annals* say, *Edjus* died in 1047, and *Alwin* in 1045; and therefore *Robert* could not be Archbishop till two years after his death, according to the *Annals*. Thus this whole story seems to be a mere fiction.

(6) He went to *Sandwich* with thirty-five Ships. *Sax. Ann.*

council from coming to this resolution. For want of this assistance, *Swegn* was dethroned, but restored to his kingdom, after the death of his enemy.

The Danish
Pirates make
a Depredation
on
England.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

The troubles in *Denmark* hindered not the *Danish* Pirates from putting to Sea, and carrying terror to the *English* coasts. In the year 1046, twenty-five Sail of *Danes* arrived unexpectedly at *Sandwich*, from whence they carried off a great booty. Then failing for *Essex*, they carried away great numbers of Slaves of both Sexes, and all conditions. The *English* were extremely terrified; but *Goodwin*, *Siward*, and *Leofric* took so just measures that the *Danes*, alarm'd in their turn, hastily retired, and carried their ravages elsewhere.

Swegn, the
Son of
Goodwin
banished.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.

The retreat of the *Danish* Pirates did not entirely restore peace to the kingdom, the coasts being that same year infested by a new enemy. *Swane*, Son of *Goodwin*, having deflowered an Abbess (1), with whom he was in love, and not daring to stay in *England* after such an act, retired into *Denmark*, where he in vain expected his pardon, by the mediation of the Earl his Father. But whether *Goodwin* was willing he should be chastised, or found the King inexorable, *Swane* was not able to procure a pardon so soon as he imagined. When he saw, contrary to his expectation, he was made to wait for it a long while, he mann'd eight Ships, and made open war upon the *English*, plundering the Merchants, and committing such barbarities on the inhabitants of the Sea-coasts, as exceeded those of the most cruel enemies. His insolence gave *Goodwin*'s enemies a great advantage, who took occasion from thence to exasperate the King more and more against the Earl and his Family. He himself was in great perplexity about this affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his Son, lest he should be charged with abetting his rebellion. On the other hand, he could not but be extremely concerned at *Swane*'s being considered as an enemy to the Publick. To free himself from this situation, he desired Earl *Beorn*, Son of *Ulphon* and *Eftrith*, Sister of *Canute the Great*, to use his interest with the King in behalf of his rebellious Son. Though *Beorn* had openly declared against *Swane*, he was prevailed with by *Goodwin* to speak to the King, who complied with his request upon certain conditions. The matter being thus in a fair way, *Beorn* went to *Swane*, to persuade him to submit to the King's mercy; but *Beorn* was ill rewarded for his pains. *Swane* imagining the Earl was come to betray him, slew him with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the Sea (2). This brutal action prevented a reconciliation for the present. But the King forgave him afterwards, notwithstanding the complication of his crimes: So much did this weak Prince stand in fear of *Goodwin*'s revenging himself, in case he continued inflexible. Thus *Goodwin*, tho' hated by the King, obtain'd as many favours as if he had been really beloved by him. But these favours, instead of producing a mutual affection, served only to foment their disunion. The Earl did not think himself at all obliged to the King for Benefits proceeding from the sole motive of Fear; and the King increased his hatred, in proportion as he was forc'd to conceal it.

He infests
the English
Coasts.

He kills Earl
Beorn.

1048.
Great In-
terest of the
Normans
with the
King.
Malmb.
Ingulph.

Besides the private resentment of the King towards *Goodwin*, the Earl had also to deal with other enemies, who were continually stirring up that Prince against him. I mean the *Normans*, who were very numerous at court, and in great credit there. These looked upon *Goodwin* as a profess'd enemy, because he loudly complained of the great regard the King had for them, and made no scruple to say, they would soon become as troublesome as the *Danes*. His complaints were not altogether groundless. *Edward*, who was educated among the *Normans*, went into all their manners, and express'd such an affection for them, as rais'd the jealousy of the *English*. The *Norman* language was more generally spoken at court than the *Saxon*. The King's favour to the *Normans* rendering them insolent, they would have all the World cringe to them. They who could not bring themselves to this, seldom fail'd of feeling the effects of their resentment. *Goodwin* was of this number. He believed he was powerful enough to support himself without their assistance. Instead of seeking their protection, he affected by his continual raileries to shew, he thought it not in their power to hurt

him. *Robert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of all the *Normans*, was in greatest credit at court. The King had taken him from a Monastery in *Normandy* (3) to promote him to the Bishoprick of *London*, and afterwards to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, to the great regret of several *English* Bishops, who aspired to that dignity. This Prelate, who was naturally haughty, and whom the royal favour made still more arrogant, kept no measures with *Goodwin*, who, on his part, shewed the utmost contempt for him. The Archbishop, incens'd to see himself thus treated, made use of all his address to have a wrong interpretation put on all the Earl's actions, and to inflame the King's hatred to him to a higher degree.

Matters standing thus at court, an accident happen'd when least expected, which brought Earl *Goodwin* to the brink of destruction, and gave the King room at last to discover his enmity to him. *Eustace*, Earl of *Boulogne* (4), being come to visit the King his Brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, *Edward* having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in his return to *France*, one of his people, who was sent before to provide lodgings at *Dover*, pick'd a quarrel with a townsman and killed him (5). This accident making a great noise among the inhabitants, they ran to arms, to seize the Murderer, who stood upon his defence, with some of the Earl's domesticks that were with him. *Eustace*, entering the town in the midst of this tumult, and seeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to enquire into the occasion of the quarrel. But being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the spot, and himself narrowly escaped with his life. Inrag'd at this affront, he returned to the King at *Gloucester*, where the court then resided, and loudly demanded satisfaction. *Edward*, willing to do him justice, ordered *Goodwin* to march immediately with some forces, and chastise the rioters that were under his government. But instead of obeying the King's order, the Earl warmly replied, "It was not the custom in *England* to punish people un-
"heard, and the rights and privileges of the subjects
"ought not to be violated; that the accused should be
"summoned, and make satisfaction with their bodies or
"estates if guilty, or if innocent, should be discharged.
"Adding, in a very haughty tone, that being Earl of *Kent*,
"twas his business to protect those that were under his go-
"vernment, against the insults of foreigners." Some say, he even charged the King to deliver up the Earl of *Boulogne* into his hands, that he might be punished upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. *Edward* was extremely provok'd with this bold answer, which was not only a refusal to obey his commands, but also a stinging reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The Archbishop and the rest of the *Normans* eagerly improv'd this occasion to exasperate him against the Earl, and to blow up a flame, which was already but too much kindled.

How angry soever the King might be, he was forc'd to conceal it, not being in condition to punish on the spot a Lord who rival'd him in power. *Siward* and *Leofric* being absent, there was no appearance of succeeding, should he attempt any thing against *Goodwin*, without being first assured of their concurrence. Mean while, as he was in the utmost impatience to be reveng'd, he dispatch'd trusty messengers to these two Lords, to inform them of his resolution to chastise *Goodwin*, and to order, or rather desire them, to repair to him immediately. How privately soever this matter was transacted, *Goodwin* had notice of his design, and took his measures accordingly. As he was very sensible he should be infallibly ruin'd, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together some troops, which were soon reinforced with others from his Son's government (6). An incursion of the *Welsh* at the same time into *Herefordshire*, furnished him with a pretence to levy this army. He pretended these forces were designed to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders to that purpose. In the mean time, the King causing him to be summoned before a general assembly conven'd at *Gloucester* (7), he came with his Sons, but so well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, it would have been so dangerous

(1) The Abbess of *Leen* (or *Leominster* in *Herefordshire*). He left *England* because he could not obtain leave to marry her. S. Dunelm. p. 183.

(2) The *Annals* say, they buried his Body in a certain Church; but that afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* dug up his Body and buried it at *Winchester* by King *Canute*. Sax. Ann. 1066.

(3) *Juniege*. Gemeticum. Malmb. p. 80.

(4) He was Father to the famous *Godfrey* of *Boulogne*, who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*.

(5) *Eustace*, Man inlisted upon having Lodgings in the *Dover*-man's House, in spite of his teeth, and wounded him in the Struggle; whereupon the Townsman killed the other upon the spot. In this Fray were nineteen *Dover* People slain, and twenty-one of *Eustace*'s, many others being wounded. Sax. Ann. Malmb. p. 81. S. Dunelm. p. 184. Bront. 942.

(6) He drew together some Troops out of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Wessex*; as his eldest Son *Swane* did out of his *Essex*, i. e. out of *Osset*, *Gilling*, *Hereford*, *Shropshire*, and *Berkshire*; and Harold out of his, i. e. out of *Essex*, *East-Anglia*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonshire*. All these Forces met at *Bicester* in *Gloucestershire*. King *Edward* hearing of *Goodwin*'s great preparations, sent orders to *Siward* and *Leofric* to raise likewise an army, which they did out of *Merca* and *Northumbria*. Sax. Ann. Bront.

(7) And to come attended only with *ecclesiastical* Persons, but he refused to appear. In the mean time finding his army had deserted, he fled in the Night to *Jeany*-Island, and from thence went and embark'd at *Bosham* in *Suffex*, with his Son *Swane*. Harold and *Leofric* came to *England*, and finding there a Ship got ready by *Swane*, they went over to *Ireland*. S. Dunelm. p. 185. Bront.

to call him to an account, that the King was advised by the most prudent to hide his resentments. They represented to him, if the Earl stood on his defence, as he seem'd resolv'd, it was to be feared, he would draw to his side the majority of the people, whose interests he seem'd to espouse; and therefore the affording him a pretence to carry his audaciousness any farther, could not be done without danger. In pursuance of this advice, such a peace was patch'd up as *Goodwin* desired, that is, he was cleared for some excuses which related more to his manner of acting, than the thing in question.

Is reconcil'd
to the King.

He is profes-
sion'd again
and banish'd.
Sax. Ann.
G. Malmfb.

This reconciliation was of no long continuance. *Edward*, who could not digest the affront he had received, took new measures against *Goodwin*, in gaining some of his principal friends by presents and promises. As soon as matters were ordered to his mind, he conven'd a general assembly, where *Goodwin* and his Sons were summoned to appear. But being informed a design was laid to apprehend them, they refused to come, without a safe-conduct, and hostages for their security. Upon which, they were banish'd the kingdom, and the combination against them was so strong, that they saw themselves abandoned on a sudden by their principal adherents, and forc'd to submit to the sentence pass'd upon them. *Edward* not content with being thus freed from *Goodwin*, shut up the Queen in the nunnery of *Wharvel* (1), with design, in all appearance, never to take to her again. *Goodwin* retired to the Earl of *Flanders*, Father-in-law of his Son *Toston*, and *Harold* sail'd for *Ireland*, where he hoped to meet with assistance. To deprive the Earl and his Sons of all hopes of returning, the King dispos'd of all their Posts, the chief whereof were conferr'd on *Alfgar* Son of *Leofric*.

Edward
sends away
the Queen.

1052.

Goodwin
takes mea-
sures to re-
store himself
to his former
State.
Sax. Ann.
G. Malmfb.

In the mean time, *Goodwin*, who thought himself unjustly oppress'd, took measures to right himself by arms, there being no other remedy, as matters stood between the King and him. The Earl of *Flanders* furnishing him with some Ships, he infest'd the Eastern Coasts of *England*, whilst *Harold* his eldest Son did the same to the Western. But these faint attempts were to little purpose, seeing their forces were not very considerable. Wherefore *Goodwin* returned to *Flanders*, where for two years together, he left no stone unturn'd to persuade the Earl his protector, it was for his interest to lend him a powerful assistance, and to have such a friend as he in *England*. *Baldwin* being at length prevail'd with, granted him an aid capable of rendering him formidable, whilst on the other hand, *Harold* equip'd a good number of Ships in *Ireland*. *Edward* having intelligence of these proceedings, fitted out a fleet with all expedition, the command of which was given to *Randolph* of *Mantes* his nephew (2), and another Lord named *Odda*. These two admirals hearing *Goodwin* had been seen off *Rumney* point, resolv'd to go and attack him, but he had time to retire elsewhere. His measures being thus broken by the King's expedition, he steer'd his course again for *Flanders*, and sent back *Harold* into *Ireland*. His view was to make the King believe, he gave over his undertaking, by reason of the obstacles he met with. Mean while, he kept his fleet always ready, that he might improve any occasions that should offer. Shortly after one presented itself, which he did not fail to make advantage of. Whether the two admirals were wanting in point of duty or conduct, or through court-intrigues, which history has not taken care to discover, *Edward* on a sudden removed these two Lords from the command of the fleet. This alteration, and the breaking some of the inferior officers, rais'd such discontents among the Sailors, that they deserted in crowds. Thus the King's Ships not being in condition to keep the Sea, were brought up the *Thames* in order to be new-mann'd. *Goodwin* by his spies being informed of this disorder, puts to Sea immediately, and makes a descent on the Isle of *Wight*, where he extorted great sums from the inhabitants, whilst he waited for his Son *Harold* to join him. After their junction, they sail'd up the *Thames*, and advanc'd towards *London*, where the King's fleet lay. *Edward* giving way to his passion, would have gone himself with such Ships as were ready (3), and tried the fortune of a battle; but his council oppos'd it. They represented to him, that instead of hazarding his person in an action, the consequences whereof might

Edward
prepares to
repulse him.

Goodwin
enters the
Thames,
and comes
up to *Lon-*
don.

prove very fatal, it would be more for his own and the kingdom's advantage, to try to make *Goodwin* return to his obedience, by gentler methods. This was wholesome advice; but the King would hardly have followed it, had not *Goodwin*, who was informed of what was transacting at court, smooch'd the way, by saving him the shame of making the first advances. He sent the King word, that he was not come to fight against his Sovereign, but most humbly to intreat him to hear his justification: That his coming thus arm'd was only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, and he should always glory in being the most faithful of his subjects. How respectful soever this message might be, *Edward*, looking upon it as a sort of banter, flatly refused to hearken to any accommodation; affirming, he could not resolve to pardon his Brother's murderer. His obstinacy had like to have produced a fatal effect. *Goodwin's* army, entirely consisting of foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of *London*, they were for engaging the King's fleet without delay. But the Earl, who was perfectly inform'd how the council stood dispos'd, check'd the ardour of his soldiers, and behaved in a very submissive manner with regard to the King. His moderation was attended at last with the success he expected. *Edward* was prevail'd with by the principal Lords, and especially *Stigand* Bishop of *Winchester*, a great friend of *Goodwin's*, to receive the Earl into favour again, at least, as to outward appearance. He even agreed, he should be acquitted, by the general assembly of the kingdom, of the murder of Prince *Alfred*, which he was charged with afresh, but on condition he should give hostages for his good behaviour for the future (4). *Goodwin* submitting to the King's terms, put into his hands his Son *Ulnoth*, and his Grandson *Hacune*, who were immediately sent into *Normandy*, *Edward* not thinking he could secure them in *England*. *Goodwin* and his Sons were restored to their estates and dignities, and the King honourably took again the Queen his wife, whom he thought he had been rid of for life.

Goodwin
takes his
Peace with
the King;
and gives
him hostages.
Sax. Ann.
Kn'ghton.
Brompt.

Upon the first news of the agreement between the King and the Earl, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* retired to the monastery of *Jumiege* in *Normandy*. Shortly after his departure, he was banish'd the kingdom by an assembly general, as an incendiary and fomentor of divisions between the King and his Subjects (5). *Stigand* was made Archbishop in his room, on supposition the See was become vacant by his banishment, a supposition that the court of *Rome* would by no means allow. Thus ended the affair of *Goodwin*. This Lord seemingly was very like to have been undone for ever; but, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, his disgrace tended only to render him more powerful and formidable. This same year he lost his third Son *Swane*, who going in pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, died on the road in some place in *Syria*, where he fell into the hands of robbers (6).

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
banish'd.
Sax. Ann.
Malmfb.
S. Dunelm.
Stigand is
made Arch-
bishop.

Malmfb.

The court of *England* enjoying a profound quiet after *Goodwin's* return, *William the Bastard*, Duke of *Normandy*, took this opportunity to pay a visit to *Edward* (7). Some say, *Edward* sent him word by Archbishop *Robert*, that he design'd to make him his heir, and that his aim in this visit was to get a confirmation of this promise. But this is only conjecture. However that be, during *William's* stay in *England*, the King took a pleasure in showing his gratitude for all the civilities he had received, both from him and the Duke his father. It is pretended, after having thus publicly testified his gratitude, he privately gave him a more substantial mark of his affection, by making his will, and nominating him his heir and successor (8). If it be true that *Edward* made such a will, which however no body ever saw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in *Normandy*. Whilst the throne of *England* was fill'd by the *Danes*; whilst *Alfred* his eldest Brother, and also the children of *Edmund Ironside* were alive; how could *Edward* foresee he should ever be King of *England*? But at the time *William the Bastard* was in *England*, *Edward*, bearing still a mortal hatred to *Goodwin* in his heart, notwithstanding their feigned reconciliation, might suspect the Earl of aspiring to the crown, and hope by this settlement to break his measures. But after all, it is much more probable he made no will, but contented himself with giving the Duke of *Normandy* some verbal promise.

The Duke of
Normandy
visits *Ed-*
ward.
Ingulph.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.
R. Higden.

Edward's
pretended
Will in his
favour.

(1) In *Hampshire*; of which his Sister was Abbess. Sax. Ann. Malmfb. p. 82.

(2) He was Son to *Goda* Sister of *Edward*, and the Earl of *Mantes*. Rupin.---In 1052. *Emma*, King *Edward's* Mother, died at *Winchester*, where she was buried. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 366. Ingulph. p. 65. M. Weilm.

(3) Which was fifty. Sax. Ann.

(4) Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, p. 525, refers that Relation in *Brompton's* Chronicle, taken notice of in Note (9) p. 129. to this Assembly General. See more of it in the *Dissertation on the Government of the Anglo-Saxons*, under the Article of their Laws.

(5) And the rest of the *Frenchmen* that were in *England*, fled, and were also banished. Sax. Ann. See the Names of such *Normans* as staid in *England*, in S. Dunelm. p. 186, 187. Brompt. p. 944.

(6) *Simon of Durham* says, being prick'd in Conscience for the murder of Earl *Besn*, he went from *Flanders* bare-foot as far as *Jerusalem*, and in his return homeward died of a Cold he got in *Lycia*. S. Dunelm. p. 186. Brompt. p. 944.

(7) *Brompton* says, he came in 1050. and S. Dunelm. 1051. (p. 944, 185.) They all agree, that it was during *Goodwin's* banishment. See *Higden*. p. 279.

(8) *Ingulph* expressly says, that *William* had then no hopes of succeeding to the Crown, neither was there the least mention made of it between them at this time.---De successione autem regni spes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit. p. 65.

However this be, it was this Will, real or forg'd, or this verbal promise, that furnished the Duke with a pretence of becoming master of *England* after the death of *Edward*. But it is very likely, *Goodwin* knew nothing of this Will, or verbal promise; which may be plainly inferred from his taking no measures to prevent a *Norman* Prince from reigning over the *English*, though he was a sworn enemy to the *Norman* nation. By the way, the situation of affairs then in *England*, where *Goodwin* almost equalled the King himself in power, renders incredible what some have ventured to advance, that *Edward* got his Will in favour of Duke *William* confirmed by a general assembly.

Edward in vain used all sorts of means to obstruct *Goodwin's* advancement. This Earl's power was grown to such a height, that it might have proved of dangerous consequence, had not death freed the King from this hated, and then most formidable, Subject. If we believe certain Historians, *Goodwin's* death was attended with extraordinary circumstances, deserving a serious regard, were they better attested. They say, as the King was one day sitting at table with the Earl, he let fall some words, which plainly showed, the murder of the Prince his Brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his mind. They add, *Goodwin* taking it as a reflection upon him, rose up, and addressing himself to the King, *I perceive, my Lord, (says he with great emotion) by what you just now said, you still think me guilty of the death of the Prince your Brother, though I have been publickly acquitted of it. But to give you a fresh proof of my innocence, I pray God that this morsel I am going to eat may choke me this moment, if I had any hand in the death of that Prince.* It is pretended, that upon saying these words, he went to swallow the fatal morsel, but it stuck in his throat and choked him immediately, to the great astonishment of the Standers-by. But this circumstance, had it been true, was too remarkable to be omitted by the Historians of the best credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree, *Goodwin* died suddenly, as he sat at table with the King, but say not a word of the above-mentioned circumstances, which probably were invented to blacken the memory of the Earl and his Family (1). *Harold* his eldest Son succeeded him in all his Post, those he had himself before his Father's death being given to *Alfgar*, Son of *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*.

The death of *Goodwin* caused no great alteration. *Harold* had the same friends, the same creatures, and the same interest as the Earl his Father when alive. All the difference to be observed between the Father and Son, was, that the Son was of a temper more courteous and pliable, carried himself with much less pride, and behaved in a more respectful and submissive manner to the King. He was in hopes, by this carriage, to remove the King's inveterate hatred to his family; but it was to no purpose. *Edward* perhaps had not so great an aversion for him as he had for his Father; but he feared him as much, and indeed, very justly. *Harold*, of as great parts and abilities as his Father, but withal of more honour and conscience, firmly gain'd to his interest both the Nobles and People, by his civil and obliging behaviour; whereas *Goodwin's* haughtiness and pride frequently lost him many friends. Mean while the same reasons that constrained the King to carry it fair with the Father, obliged him to do the same with the Son. Though he lov'd him not, he durst not show his ill-will, lest it should prove the occasion of a rupture, which must have been of very bad consequence, considering *Harold's* great credit at court and with the people.

If the overgrown power of the *Goodwin* family created uneasiness in the King, it was in some measure alleviated by the satisfaction he had to see his kingdom exempt from

war, ever since his accession to the throne. But this tranquillity, which could not but be very grateful to a Prince of so unwarlike a temper, was a little disturbed by a quarrel with *Mackbeth* King of *Scotland*, who had made himself master of *Cumberland*. This little kingdom, which had been long under the protection of the crown of *England*, was contended for between *Mackbeth* and *Malcolm*, a Lord of the royal family of *Cumberland*. *Edward* espousing the cause of *Malcolm*, commissioned *Siward* to restore him to his kingdom. This war was of short duration. *Siward* by one decisive battle obliged *Mackbeth* to abandon *Cumberland*, and leave his rival in possession (2). *Siward* had scarce finished this affair, when he was seized with a distemper (3) that laid him in his grave. When he found he was near his end, he got upon his legs, and causing his armour to be put on, expired in that posture, declaring it dishonourable for a brave Man to die in his bed (4).

After the death of *Siward*, the government of *Northumberland* was conferred on *Toston*, Brother of *Harold* (5). *Edward* not having resolution enough to refuse him that favour, though he dreaded nothing more than the advancement of that family. Some will have it, this was done out of policy. They pretend, the King, by feigning to gratify *Harold*, filled the vacant post with the properest person to give a check to his ambition, by reason of the mutual jealousy between the two Brothers. But it does not appear *Harold* and *Toston* were then at variance, tho' it be true, they became enemies afterwards. 'Twas therefore great imprudence to trust any one family with two such important posts as Duke of *Wessex*, and Earl of *Northumberland*, which put one moiety of the kingdom in the power of the two Brothers. Thus the King, tho' he stood in the greatest dread of the *Goodwin* Family, either out of weakness, or ill policy, did every thing to render them more powerful.

It was not only by the King's favours that Earl *Harold* daily got ground. His personal merit and liberal temper daily procured him such friends, as were able to support him against the attempts of the King himself. Though he had married the Duke of *Mercia's* daughter, *Alfgar* his Brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of envy at his greatness. This Lord, being of a restless and turbulent spirit, entered into a dangerous conspiracy, and privately held intelligence with *Griffin* King of *Wales*, to the detriment of the publick. *Edward* being informed of it, caused him to be accused of treason, and condemned to banishment. *Alfgar* retired to his friend *Griffin*, who received him with open arms, and cherished his discontent to the utmost of his power (6). Some time after they made an inroad together into *Herefordshire* and defeated *Radulph* of *Mantes* Earl of that County, who had attempted to drive them thence. Encouraged by this success, they began to make farther advances (7), when they met Earl *Harold*, who stop'd their career. He had of his own accord levied an army in his governments, and boldly marched towards them, to give them battle. They quickly found the difference between him and *Radulph*. *Harold*, superior in valour and conduct, put them to rout, and compelled them to retire into *Wales*, from whence they durst not come forth any more. A peace being the consequence of this victory, *Harold* made use of all his interest to obtain a pardon for *Alfgar*, and got him at length restored to his estate and honours. By this uncommon act of generosity, he gained the friendship of *Alfgar*, and exceedingly increased the esteem people already had for him.

The reputation acquir'd by *Harold* in his last expedition, his generosity to *Alfgar*, his affable and obliging behaviour, his beneficent temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people. It began to be the publick discourse, that

1053.
Goodwin's
Death.
Brompt.
R. v. Allen-
fic.
M. West
Huntingd.
Ingulph.

Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

Harold his
Son succeeds
him.
Sax. Ann.

Harold's
prudent
Conduct.

1055.
Death of
Siward.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
Brompt.

Toston.
Harold's
Brother
made Earl
of Northum-
berland.
Sax. Ann.
Ingulph.
Brompt.

Harold's
Credit in-
creases.

Alfgar
Leofric's
Son banish'd.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.

Retires to
Wales, and
joins King
Griffin.

They are
defeated by
Harold.

Alfgar re-
stored.

1054.
War for
Cumber-
land.
S. Dunelm.
Huntingd.
Brompt.
Ingulph.

(1) The *Saxon Annals* say only, This year Earl *Goodwin* deceased the 17th of the *Kalends* of *May*, and was buried in the old Monastery of *Winchester*, Anno MLIII. Almost all our Historians say, King *Edward* celebrating the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester* (some say *Windsor*) Earl *Goodwin* was taken speechless as he sat at table; and being carried into the King's chamber by his Sons, he lay in a languishing condition four days, and died the fifth. This is the account of his death, but the *Norman* Monks, and such as write in favour of them, add the above-circumstances, which show either his Guilt or their Malice. He was a Man of an active turbulent Spirit, not over conscientious in getting or keeping what he could. But had he not been so great a Lover of his Country, and an Enemy to Foreigners, those who wrote in the *Norman* times would have given him a fairer character. S. Dunelm. p. 187. *Chr. Mailles*. p. 188.

(2) *Matthew Westminister* says, but without any authority, that King *Edward* conquer'd all *Scotland*, and bestowed it on *Malcolm* to hold it of him. Others seem to say he destroyed *Mackbeth*, and made *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*. S. Dunelm. But most probably it was only of *Cumberland*.

(3) A bloody Flux. He was buried in the Cloyster of *St. Mary's* Monastery, without the Walls of *York*, which he had built. Brompt. p. 946. Ingulph. p. 66.

(4) *Simon of Durham* says, Earl *Siward's* Son was slain in the battle with *Mackbeth*; and *Huntingdon* adds, that when the News was brought him, he asked, whether he had received the Wound before or behind? and being told, Before; he only replied, I am glad to bear it. Brompton says, he was a Man of almost a gigantick Stature, and gives us this strange account of his Grandmother the Daughter of a certain Danish Earl. As she was one day walking in a Wood near her Father's House, accompanied only with her Women, a huge Bear rushing from among the Trees, and frightening away her Attendants, carried off the young Lady alone; and getting her with Child, he had a Son by him, named *Bernus*, who was born with Bear's Ears, however by his Mother's right he succeeded to her Father's Earldom. In proofs of time he proved a valiant Soldier, and marrying, begot the brave Earl *Siward*, who came and settled in *England*. Brompt. p. 945.

(5) Because *Waltheof*, *Siward's* Son, was too young; but to make some amends, *Edward* gave him the government of the Counties of *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, &c. Brompt. Hunting. p. 366. Ingulph. p. 66.

(6) Historians are divided in their opinions, whether this Earl was banished justly or not. The *Sax. Ann.* and *Huntingd.* (p. 366.) say, that he was convicted of treason: But S. Dunelm. (p. 187.) Brompton and Ingulph affirm, he was unjustly banished. *Simon of Durham* and Brompton say, he went to *Ireland* first, and procuring eighteen Ships, went and joined *Griffin*. He was banished again in 1058, but, by the Assistance of *Griffin*, and of a *Norwegian* Fleet, was restored. S. Dunelm. p. 189. Ingulph. p. 66.

(7) They took and sacked *Hereford*, burning the Church and Monastery with the Relicks of King *Ethelbert* treacherously slain by King *Osfa*. *Hereford* &c. the Ford of the Army, was built as a Frontier in the time of the *Heptarchy*. This was the only Misfortune that ever happened to this City. Since

since the King had no heirs, no one was more worthy to succeed him than *Harold*. The affection of the *English* for the Earl, very sensibly touched *Edward*, who had all along lived in expectation of an occasion to ruin him. Hitherto this Prince seems to have intended to leave the crown to the Duke of *Normandy*, since he was not ignorant he had a Nephew in *Hungary*, and yet had never once thought of recalling him home, and securing him the succession. But the moment he found Earl *Harold* aspired to the crown, or at least, that the people marked him out for his successor, he judged it would be very difficult to set up a foreign Prince, against an *English* Earl of so great power and credit. This consideration probably induced him at last to send for his Nephew *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironside*, out of *Hungary* (1). He should have done this long before, had he not designed to dispose of the crown in favour of another. Prince *Edward* came into *England* in 1057, bringing with him his young Son *Edgar*, with *Margaret* and *Christiana* his Daughters, who were all three born in *Hungary*. The arrival of this Prince, Son of a King of *England*, whose memory was dear to the Nation, could not but be very agreeable to the *English*; and therefore, without hesitation, they considered him as the King's presumptive heir, their esteem for *Harold* giving place to their affection for the royal family. Indeed, there was no contesting this young Prince's right to succeed his Uncle, since, had he not been absent when it was debated who should sit on the throne after *Hardicanute*, he would have been unquestionably preferred even to King *Edward* himself. Which consideration was probably the reason of his Uncle's leaving him so long in *Hungary*, lest his presence might occasion some dangerous commotions. But this Prince, who seemed designed for the crown, died soon after his arrival in *England*, leaving his just, though empty title to *Edgar* his Son, surnamed *Atheling* (2).

Leofric, Duke of *Mercia*, quickly followed him, this same year (3). Historians give this Lord a great character; but especially they extol *Godiva* his wife, above all the Women of her time. It is related of this Lady, that in order to free the inhabitants of *Coventry* from a heavy tax laid on them by her Husband, she readily consented to a very extraordinary condition, on which the Earl promised to ease them of their burden, namely, that she should ride stark naked from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the *Burgbers* little hopes of being relieved. But *Godiva* perform'd it, covering her Body with her hair, and commanding all persons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithstanding this severe penalty, there was one, who could not forbear giving a look, out of curiosity, but it cost him his life. In memory of this event, there is a Statue of a Man looking out of a window, always kept in a certain house at *Coventry* (4). *Alfgar* succeeded to his Father's Earldom, by *Harold's* interest, who earnestly interceded for him (5).

Harold's ambition and hopes were revived by Prince *Edward's* death. That Prince indeed had left a Son who inherited all his rights, but so young, that it seem'd very easy to supplant him. Besides, he might possibly die before the King. Accordingly, *Harold* resolv'd to improve the present favourable conjuncture. But before he openly discovered his designs, he thought it requisite to get out of the hands of the Duke of *Normandy*, *Ulnoth* his Brother, and *Hacune* his Nephew, whom the Earl his Father had given for hostages to the King. But tho' he demanded them very urgently, alledging, since *Goodevin* was dead, there was no reason to detain them, and unjustly deprive them of the benefit of an *English* education, yet he could not prevail with the King. *Edward* always put him off with saying, they were not in his power, but the Duke of *Normandy's*, and therefore to that Prince he

must make application. In fine, *Harold* perceiving he could obtain no other answer from the King, desired leave to go into *Normandy*, and solicit the Duke for their deliverance. His request was readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the King, than the Earl's resolution of going to *Normandy*, where he did not question but the Duke would detain him. At least, he hoped Duke *William* would take such measures as would free him from all obstacles the Earl might lay in his way.

Harold having obtained the King's consent, embarked for *Roan*, without the least suspicion of the danger he was running into, being ignorant of the King's intention concerning the succession (6). Hardly was he at Sea, when a tempest arose, which drove him into *Picardy*, and compelled him to put in at one of the Ports of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, where he was immediately seized. As soon as he was known, he was carried to the Earl of *Ponthieu*, who, glad to find himself master of so rich a prize, resolv'd to set a round price on his head. It would have been difficult for *Harold* to get off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his ransom, found means to inform the Duke of *Normandy* of the accident befallen him. As soon as the Duke received the news, he sent and demanded the prisoner of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, telling him he had no right to detain a stranger that was coming to *Roan*, and by a tempest cast on his coasts. The Earl not daring to dispute with the Duke, set the prisoner at liberty, who immediately went on to *Roan*. Duke *William* not being ignorant of *Harold's* design with respect to the crown of *England*, was at a loss how to behave. He had but two ways to take, both equally dangerous. *Harold* was either to be detained by force, or gained by fair means. If he took the first method, he was apprehensive of declaring too soon, since it was not for his interest the *English* should yet know, he had any thoughts of the crown. Besides, *Harold* had so many friends in the kingdom, that it was to be feared, his detention would occasion a rupture between *England* and *Normandy*, which would break all the measures the King should take in his favour. And indeed, in case *Edward* died during the war, how was it possible for him to leave the crown to a Prince actually in arms against the *English* Nation? Moreover, *Harold* being Duke of *Wessex* and Earl of *Kent*, all the strong places in the southern parts were in the hands of his creatures, and it was this chiefly that could most obstruct the Duke's designs. In fine, the Duke had not perfect information what steps *Harold* had made to pave his way to the crown; as on his part, *Harold* was ignorant of the designs of the King and Duke. The Duke considered further, that by detaining *Harold*, he should break the most sacred rights of hospitality, which a great Soul cannot be guilty of without offering extreme violence to it self. These considerations induced him to take the other course, tho' it was no less dangerous. By discovering his intentions to *Harold*, he put it in his power to prevent their execution. However, believing he should gain him by this proof of his confidence, he plainly told him his hopes, of one day mounting the throne of *England*, founded on the Good-will the King bore him (7). This discovery was followed with promises, in case he would support his pretensions, and the assurance of a reward proportionable to so important a service. He let him know moreover, that his ambition to aspire to the crown, tho' not of the royal family, was no secret to him, and endeavour'd to make him sensible, how difficult it would be to attain his ends. To divert him from his purpose, he represented to him all the obstacles he was of course to expect, as well from *Edgar*, as the other *English* Lords, who would look on his ambition with a jealous eye. To these considerations he added another that was no less urgent. He plainly told him, tho' he should be so fortunate, as to surmount all other obstacles,

(1) *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* was sent to fetch him. *Brompt.* p. 945.

(2) (i. e.) Truly noble, to denote his being of Royal Blood. His Father, Prince *Edward*, surnamed the Out-law, was buried at St. Paul's London. *Sax. Ann.* MLVII.

(3) He was buried in *Coventry*-Monastery which he and *Godiva* built; and to which they gave so much Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, that it was reckoned the richest in *England*. *Huntingd.* p. 266. *S. Dunelm.* p. 189.

(4) But whether this be so or no, there is a Procession or Cavalcade still made there every year, in memory of *Godiva*, with a Figure representing a naked Woman riding through the City. The Pictures of *Leofric* and *Godiva* were also set up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this inscription:

I Luric, for the Love of thee,
Do set *Coventry* Toll-free.

This City had its Name either from the *Convent* new-built and richly endowed by *Leofric*, or as some will have it from a Rivulet running through, now called *Sherburn*, but in an old Charter of the *Priory, Cuenstford*. This City was famous for its Walls, which were demolished in *Charles* the 11th time, and the Gates only left standing. In one of which named *Geffard*, is to be seen the vast *Shield-bone* of a Boar, which they tell you was slain by *Gay* Earl of *Warwick*, after he had with his *Sword* tun'd up the *Pool* or *Pond* now called *Saunderswell Pool*, but in ancient Charters, *Saunderswell*. Here is also a fine Church built (33 Hen. VIII.) by Sir *William Holmes* Lord-Mayor of *London*. *Camd.*

(5) He died in 1059, and was buried at *Coventry*, by his Father. *Inghulph.* p. 66.

(6) *Harold's* going to *Normandy* is variously related as to the Time, Manner, and Occasion of it. With our Author agree *Simeon of Durham*, *Brompton*, and *Eadmer*, only with this addition, that King *Edward* foretold him what would happen to him. *Malmesbury* says the occasion of it was this. *Harold* being at his House at *Bosham* in *Wessex*, had a mind to go out in a Fisher-boat for his diversion, but failing further than he was aware, a tempest arose and drove him as is here related by *Rapin*. *Matthew Paris* believes also he was driven by a tempest to *Normandy*, where to gain his liberty he was forced to do as is here related. So uncertain are traditional Accounts! Our Author's conduct through this whole affair seems to be the most natural and likely.

(7) *Simeon of Durham* says, the Duke told *Harold* that *Edward*, whilst at his Court, promised to settle the Crown of *England* on him, p. 196.

Edward
sent for his
Nephew from
Hungary.
Sax. Ann.
Knigh-ton.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Death of
Prince Ed-
ward,

and of *Leo-
fric*, Duke
of *Mercia*.
Sax. Ann.
Godiva's
Adventure.
Brompt.
M. West.

Sax. Ann.

1062.
Harold as-
pires to the
Crown, and
demands the
Hostages gi-
ven the King
by *Goodevin*.
Eadmer.

but can't ob-
tain them.

He set out
for *Nor-*
mandy.
Malmesb.
Brompt.
S. Dunelm.

Is seized by
the Earl of
Ponthieu.

Is set at li-
berty, and
goes to
Roan.
The Duke at
a loss how to
act.

He endea-
vours to
gain him,
by disclos-
ing to him his
Designs.

he would still find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money, nor arms, nor friends to support a right he was resolved to defend to the last drop of his blood. In short, he represented to him, that if he was bent to pursue his first project, instead of securing, as it was in his power, a grandeur, second to none but the supreme, he hazarded a certain good, for a very uncertain prospect.

Harold
dissembles
the Matter,
and seems
to stand
by the Duke.

Harold was too wise not to see, that, on this occasion, he had but one course to take; which was, to pretend to be convinced by the reasons the Duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in answer, that indeed, before the arrival of Prince Edward, he had believed if the King died without heirs, he was as worthy to ascend the throne as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, he had begun to take some measures, which inspired him with hopes of success; but had dropt his design since the coming of Edward, being sensible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were Princes of the royal family in England. He added, since he was acquainted with his pretensions, and the King's pleasure, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom should be governed by so great a Prince as the Duke, than by Edgar Atheling, who scarce knew how to govern himself. To convince him the more of his sincerity, he required certain conditions, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in marriage, as a reward for his future service. Whatever Harold required was immediately and gladly complied with. But as the Princess, the Duke designed for him, was too young, the intended marriage was deferred till a more convenient time. Mean while, Duke William not trusting wholly to Harold's bare word, made him swear on the Gospels, that he would punctually perform his promises, especially, that he would never attempt to mount the throne of England. This agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well satisfied in outward appearance, and Harold returned into England (1).

Harold
takes no
Measures to
secure the
Succession to
himself.

He was no sooner at liberty, but he looked upon his oath as extorted, and consequently not binding. He could not understand upon what foundation the Duke of Normandy pretended to the crown of England, or by what right Edward could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, so far was he from any thoughts of standing to his engagements, that he resolved to take advantage of the Duke's confidence, and contrive juster measures to frustrate his designs. From thence-forward he used a double diligence to strengthen his party in such a manner, as should put it out of the power of the King or Duke to lay any obstacles in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any scruple with regard to Prince Edgar, it entirely vanished upon consideration that in mounting the throne himself he should do no injury to that Prince, since the crown would be otherwise disposed of even by his uncle the King. He laboured therefore more and more to secure an interest in all the great Lords of the kingdom, to which he found the way very open. The Duke of Normandy was absent, and but little known in England, where moreover the Normans were extremely odious. Prince Edgar, by reason of his youth, was in no condition to oppose designs so detrimental to him. As for the King, he was so unresolved in the affair of the succession, that he promoted the interest neither of the Prince his nephew, nor of the Duke. He was no doubt at a loss how to reconcile his promise to the Duke of Normandy, with his recalling his nephew from Hungary. He thought only of passing his days in peace, without troubling himself about what should happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour Harold's designs, he neglected nothing that might serve to confirm the good opinion conceived of him by the English. Two opportunities that offered themselves presently after, were extremely favourable to him.

1063.
Harold sub-
dues the
Welsh.
S. Dunelm.
Flor. Wig.
Sax. Ann.
Malmib.
S. Dunelm.

The Welsh renewing their incursions under the conduct of Griffin their King, Harold and his Brother Toston joined their forces to repulse them. They were so fortunate in their expedition, that, after several advantages

gained upon the Welsh, they compelled them to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. Griffin being afterwards restored, and renewing the war with the English, Harold marched to the frontiers, and struck such a terror into the Welsh, that they sent him the head of their King (2). This event which showed how formidable Harold was to the enemies of the State, confirmed the English in their opinion, that he, who knew so well how to defend it, deserved to wear the crown.

Harold had another opportunity to add new lustre to his glory, as it enabled him to give proofs of his moderation and equity, as he had lately done of his valour and conduct. Toston his Brother, Earl of Northumberland, treated the Northumbrians with such severity, and committed so many acts of injustice, that at last, the people not being able to bear his oppressions any longer, took up arms against him, and expelled him Northumberland. This action being of a dangerous consequence, Harold was ordered to chastise them, and restore his Brother. As soon as he approached the borders, the Northumbrians sent deputies to inform him of the reasons of their insurrection. They told him, they had no design of withdrawing their obedience from the King, but only from an unjust and cruel governor, who exercised over them a tyrannical power, to which neither they nor their forefathers had Malmib. ever been subject. Intimating withal, they were resolved to hazard their lives, rather than submit to the like power again. However, they solemnly protested, provided the King would set over them one that would govern them according to the laws and customs of their country, nothing should be able to shake their fidelity. To these remonstrances they added a long list of the grievances they had suffered under Toston, intreating Harold to prefer the Good of the publick before the interests of his own family. Harold finding this affair related chiefly to Toston, and that the King was not directly concerned in it, sent an impartial account of the whole matter to the court. At the same time he interceded for the Northumbrians, and not content with obtaining their pardon, procured them Morkard, Son of Alfgar Duke of Mercia, for their governor (3). By this equitable proceeding, he entirely gained the affection of the northern people, and contracted a stricter friendship with Alfgar than before. This union was absolutely necessary for the execution of his projects.

But if this action strengthened the people's esteem and affection for him, it exasperated to the last degree his Brother Toston, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his power to vent his fury on Harold's person, he turned his rage upon some of his domesticks (4), whom he caused to be cut in pieces, barrell'd up, and sent to his Brother for a present. After so barbarous a deed, not daring to stay any longer in England, he retired into Flanders to Earl Baldwin his Father-in-law (5).

Whilst Harold was thus paving his way to the crown, Edward never concerned himself about the succession, which he had exceedingly embroiled by his engagement with the Duke of Normandy. His thoughts were wholly employed about the structure of the Church and Monastery of Westminster, on which he laid out the money he had vowed to expend on a journey to Rome, which was dispensed with by the Pope upon that condition. There was formerly in the same place, called Thorney by the Saxons, a famous temple sacred to Apollo. Sebert, King of Essex, embracing the Gospel, converted this Pagan temple into a Christian Church, which was destroyed by the Danes. This Church having been long buried in its ruins, Edward undertook to rebuild it, with an adjoining Monastery, which from its lying West of London, was called Westminster (6). In process of time a City was built here by degrees, which almost rivals London itself, and keeps the name of the Monastery. These two Cities separated only by a Gate, have distinct magistrates and privileges, though they are often confounded under the name of London. The Church and Monastery being finished about the latter end of the year 1065,

Toston
drove out of
Northumber-
land.
Sax. Ann.
Malmib.
S. Dunelm.
Brompton.

Harold sent
to restore
him; but
disapproves of
his being dri-
ven out.

Malmib.

A barbarous
act of Tos-
ton's.
Huntingd.
M. Weist.

1065.
Edward pre-
pares for the
dedication
of the Church
of West-
minster.
Ailred Rie-
val.

Camden in
Middlesex.

(1) The Duke made Harold swear to deliver up Dover as soon as King Edward was dead. Then loading him with presents, dismissed him with his Nephew Haecne, promising to bring over Ulnoth his Brother when he himself should come into England. Sim. Dunelm. p. 196.

(2) He was beheaded Aug. 7, 1064. This was the End of Griffin ap Ithorvelyn, to whom the Welsh Chronicles give the Character of a valiant and generous Prince, and for the most part victorious, till now he perished by the treachery of his own people. Harold sent the Head with the sword stuck in Griffin's Ship, which the Welsh had brought with the Head, to the King at Gloucester. Florence of Worcester adds, that the Brothers of Gwent were sent to Harold as well as to the King.

(3) Whom they themselves earnestly desired to have. The occasion of their insurrection at this time was this: One Gispatrik, a great Officer in Northumberland, having been murdered at Court by Queen Editha's Order, (though this seems contrary to her meek and pious temper) on account of a quarrel between him and her Brother Toston, and he likewise killing in his own lodgings two of Gispatrik's friends, and besides having had intolerable impositions, or tribute, on all Northumberland, the People incensed at it, and at his other Grievances above-mentioned, rose to a Man, and were not appeased till he was banished the Land. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.

(4) In a House of his at Hereford, where he had prepared a great Feast. Huntingd. p. 367. M. Weistm. p. 430.
(5) Huntingd. (who had heard many Tales about the hatred of Goodwin's Sons to one another) tells us another story of this matter. The King as he was at dinner ordering Harold to serve him with the Cup, Toston was so enraged at his being preferred before him, that he flew in his Face in the King's presence, and pulled him down to the ground by his hair. But the Soldiers coming in and parting them, Toston in a rage left the court, and going to his Brother's Country-House, served his domesticks as is above related. Upon which the King commanded him to be banished, and the Northumbrians expelled him their country. But this does not seem probable; for what occasion had the Northumbrians to rise against him, being he was banished before by the King?

(6) It was dedicated to St. Peter. This fabric of Edward's was demolished by Henry III. about one hundred and sixty years after, who erected a new one, which was fifty years in building. The Abbots very much enlarged it on the West-side, and Henry VII. added to the East a Chapel, which Ieland calls the Miracle of the World. Edward was buried the next day after his death, in his newly dedicated Church.

Knigh-
ton.

Harold's
Cabals.
The Nobles
send a depu-
tation to the
King, who
leaves it to
them to chuse
a Sovereign.

Edward's
Death.

His Cha-
racter.

Alfred
Malmst.

Alfred
Rievallst.

Malmst.

Union of
three sorts of
Laws under
Edward.
Brompt.
Knights.

Edward was desirous the dedication should be performed in a very solemn manner (1). To this end he summoned to meet at London a general assembly, at which were present all the Bishops and great Men of the kingdom, to be witnesses of this ceremony. At this very time it was, that the King was seized with a sudden illness, of which he died in a few days. As soon as he found the time of his dissolution approaching, his principal care was to finish the ceremony for which the great Men were assembled (2). As for the succession, he would not meddle with it, surrounded as it was with so many difficulties. In his own mind he was for the Duke of Normandy: The right was manifestly in Prince Edgar his Nephew: but Harold had the hearts and hands of the English. So many difficulties, upon which he could never determine whilst in health, becoming insurmountable in his present condition, he resolved to leave the decision to God alone.

Mean while, Harold was not idle. Almost all the Lords of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, being then assembled at London, he found means to induce them to act in his favour, and come to a resolution of sending deputies to the dying King to intreat him to name a successor. But withal, these deputies had orders to insinuate to the King, that in case he nominated any but Harold, he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endless troubles, which would be inconsistent with his wisdom, and the affection he had all along expressed for his people. Edward, not being then in a condition to examine a proposal of this nature, replied, That since they were met in a body, he left it to them to chuse the person they judged most worthy to rule over them. He died a few moments after (3), leaving the succession as unsettled at his death as it was during his life.

This Prince, who was born at Gifstip (4) near Oxford, reigned twenty-four years, without ever suffering any misfortune from foreign enemies. However, he cannot be said to have reigned happily, since he lived in continual fears, occasioned by the overgrown power of Earl Godwin and his family. His mild and peaceable temper were a great means however to procure him some tranquillity. Had he attempted to humble Godwin's pride, and lessen Harold's power, he would certainly have been involved in troubles, from whence he would have found it difficult to extricate himself. But by shutting his eyes at their secret practices, and feigning to know nothing of their designs, he prevented them from acting more openly, caused them to lay more distant schemes, and thereby gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was remarkable neither for his Virtues nor Vices; and his natural parts were but mean. His piety has been exceedingly cried up, and has acquired him the glorious title of Confessor; and yet we do not find he was any sufferer on account of religion, unless we consider as a sort of Martyrdom, the mortifications he privately laid upon himself from a religious motive. It is certain he was very charitable, and expended in alms the Sums vainly lavished away by other Princes upon their pleasures. This joined to his Good-nature, of which he gave from time to time uncommon instances, made him pass for a Saint among the people, and particularly among the Monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal disposition. They have not been satisfied with extolling his Virtues to the Skies, but have even, if I may so say, canoniz'd his very

faults, and endeavoured to represent them as so many proofs of his Sanctity. Of this we need no other witnesses but his own Historian or rather Panegyrist, who attributes his voluntary chastity to a vow made before his marriage. This Writer assures us, Edward espoused Editha, daughter of Godwin, purely to exercise his Virtue by a continual temptation. But it is easy to see he acted from a very different motive, since he parted with his wife the moment he thought he could do it with safety. However, the opinion of his sanctity taking by degrees deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by Pope Alexander III, under the name of Edward the Confessor (5).

It was not thought sufficient to allow this Prince all the Virtue necessary to carry him to Heaven, unless he had a place given him also among the Saints of the first class. We are told he was favoured with several revelations, with the gift of prophecy, and many other miraculous powers, in proof of which such weak and trifling instances are produced, as are not worth mentioning. However, I can't pass over in silence one special privilege he is said to receive from Heaven, of curing the King's Evil. Nay, it is affirm'd, this privilege has descended to the Kings of England his successors. Hence the custom in England of the King's Touching for the Evil at a certain time of the year (6). But the late King William III. of glorious memory, was so persuaded he should do no injury to persons afflicted with this distemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign. The Kings of France also have claimed the same privilege ever since the time of Clovis, the first Christian King of that kingdom (7).

What has been most commended in King Edward, was his Good-nature, the excessiveness whereof has been carefully insinuated by several circumstances of his Life, of which I shall content my self with producing two as a specimen of the rest. One day being laid down upon the bed, one of his domesticks, who did not know he was in the room, stole some money out of a chest he found open, which the King let him carry off without saying a word. Quickly after, the Boy returning to make a second attempt, the King call'd to him without the least passion, Sirrah, you'd best be satisfied with what you've got, for if my Chamberlain comes and catches you, he'll not only take away all you have stol'n, but whip you severely (8). Another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciously spoiling his sport, he gallop'd up to him, and said to him in anger, By our Lady, I would be revenged on thee if it was in my power. These are the incontestable proofs of his extraordinary Good-nature, which, according to his Panegyrist, advanc'd him so far above all other Men.

Edward was the last King of Egbert's race, though not the last Saxon King, as some have affirmed, since his successor was of that nation. Had not this weak Prince preposterously abstain'd from conversing with his Queen, a very beautiful and virtuous Lady, he might perhaps have had children, and thereby prevented a revolution, which involv'd the English in Slavery.

Before the reign of Edward, the West-Saxon, Mercian and Danish Laws were observed in England, namely, the first in Wesssex, the second in Mercia, and the last in Northumberland. This Prince reduced them all into one body; and from that time they became common to all England, under the name of the Laws of Edward, to distinguish them from those of the Normans, introduced afterwards (9).

(1) The dedication was performed December 28. Sax. Ann. M. Westm. p. 431.
(2) The Great Men also signed the Charter of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the Church, to which was annexed, as is said, the first Great Seal used in England. Though Tyrell thinks other Kings might have Seals to their Charters, though they are now defaced. B. VI. p. 99.
(3) On January 5, 1066. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 193.
(4) Now Islip. In the Chapel here, called the King's Chapel, not many years since stood a Font, the same, as tradition has constantly delivered it down, wherein Edward the Confessor was baptized. But being put to an indecent use, was at last removed to the Garden of Sir Henry Broun, Bart. of Nether Riddington in Oxfordshire. Add. to Camd.
(5) About two hundred years after his death. There was likewise a Bull of Pope Innocent IV. to fix the Anniversary, and order the solemnity of the Festival. Martyrol. Rom. Baronius, Jan. 5.
(6) It will not be amiss to relate the first Instance of this Hereditary Miracle, as Mr. Collier calls it. A young married Woman having the misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the same time with the distemper since called the King's Evil, was, after all human means had been tried in vain, admonished in a Vision to go to the King, by whose merits she should be cured upon his Washing, Touching, and Signing with the Cross, the Parts affected. The Woman runs to Court next Morning overjoyed, and tells the King the whole matter; who thereupon disdains not to Wash, Touch and Cure her purrified Sores, which immediately breaking, and Corruption and Worms bursting out, the Parts were in a few days healed without the least Scar remaining; and moreover, her barrenness was removed, and she soon became the joyful Mother of Children. This is the first Act, as it is given us by Alired in his History of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor, of that Supernatural Power, enjoyed by the Kings of England ever since. But though Mr. Collier says, to dispute this Matter is to go to the Excellencies of Superstition, yet there are some, who doubt of it on the following accounts.
I. This Power is generally fixed to the Lineal Succession; whereas it is plain, there was no such thing in those days, neither was Edward himself the next Heir.
II. It is plain from Alired, that this privilege was given him not as a King, but as a Saint; and Malmstrey says, they are to be blamed that attribute it to his Royalty and not to his Sanctity. Consequently there is no Reason his Successors, who were certainly no Saints, should be so highly favoured of Heaven.
III. Alired reckons up many other Miracles which he performed; as the restoring to their Sight six or seven Blind Men, &c. but does not say a word of his Power of curing the Evil descended to his Successors, any more than his Power of restoring the Blind to their Sight, or of his removing Barrenness, which one would think should be joined to the other, since they were cured both by the same Touch.
IV. As there is no evident Reason why the Kings of England should have this privilege above any other Christian Prince, so if Heaven had granted such a Power to our Kings, one would think they should have it in such a degree as to render it visible to all, and that the Cure should immediately follow the Touch: Whereas Multitudes are not cured at all, and those that are pretended to be so, not till a considerable time after they have been Touch'd.
(7) This Miracle is appropriated by Laurentius, Physician to Henry IV, to the Crown of France; but Dr. Tucker is even with him, for he makes the Kings of France to do it by virtue of their Alliance to the Royal Family of England. And Mr. Collier will have the antiquity of this Power to be on the side of England, since he says, Lewis the Godly was the first that Touch'd for the Evil two hundred years after our Edward. Eccl. Hist.
(8) The Story goes on, that the Chamberlain coming in after the Boy was gone, and missing the Money, fell into a great rage; but the King calmly said to him, Be contented, it may be the poor Rogue that has it wants it more than we do; there's enough left for us. Alired. Vit. Ed. p. 376. X. Scrip.
(9) Concerning this threefold distinction of the Laws, see what has been said above, and also in the following Dissertation, under the Head of the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

21. HAROLD II.

HAROLD
II.
1066.
Elected by
the Assembly-
General.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

IF the great Men assembled to appoint a successor to Edward, had been swayed only by justice, equity, and the antient customs of the kingdom, they would not have long debated, to know to whom the crown was devolved. *Edgar Atheling* was the only Prince of the family of their antient Kings, and consequently, the only person who had a right to lay claim to the crown. But *Harold* had so well laid his measures, that he was unanimously elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. As for the Duke of *Normandy*, his pretensions grounded on the late King's promise, do not seem to have been considered at all. It is certain this Prince had never publicly declared his design of aspiring to the crown of *England*. Accordingly, the *English* Lords might be ignorant of the matter, or at least pretend to be so. But supposing they had been informed of his pretensions, it would have served only to furnish them with a fresh motive, to place on the throne a King more capable than *Edgar Atheling*, of defending the kingdom against the attacks of a foreign Prince.

Various
opinions about
Harold's
succeeding to
the Crown.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
Malmsh.
M. West.
Brompt.

The manner of *Harold's* succeeding to the crown is variously related by Historians: Several affirm (1), he was elected with one common voice, and without any constraint, by the *Witten-Gemot* then assembled, and crown'd the day after his election by the Archbishop of *York*. Others say, he usurped the crown by compelling the great council to elect him, after extorting his nomination from the late King just as he was dying (2). There are some, who look upon this election as a fiction, affirming, *Harold*, without troubling himself about the consent of the Nobles or People, put the Crown on his head himself without any formality (3). The reason of this diversity among the Historians, proceeds from their espousing either the right of *Harold*, or of the Duke of *Normandy*, as if Prince *Edgar's* claim was to be reckoned as nothing; whereas in truth he alone had a right to succeed to the crown. But as among this variety of opinions, a Man is in danger of being swayed by the passions and prejudices of the Historians, rather than by justice and equity, it will not be amiss to explain this matter, by laying before the reader, what might be alledged for and against each of the three competitors.

Edgar's title.

As for Prince *Edgar*, it suffices to say for him, he was the sole Prince of the royal race. It is true, his being born out of the kingdom might be objected against him. But as Prince *Edward* his Father was not legally banished, his being forced by *Canute* to live in exile, ought not to have prejudic'd his Son's right.

The Duke of
Normandy's
Right en-
quired into.
Knighton.
Brompt.
Ann. Mar-
gari.

As for the Duke of *Normandy*, he can hardly be imagined to aspire to the crown of *England* without some foundation, and yet it cannot be conceived upon what title he supported his pretension; so great is the diversity of opinions upon this subject. Some tell us, he was invited over by the *English* to free them from the tyranny of *Harold* (4). Others say, *Edward*, when in *Normandy*, promised him, if ever he came to the crown, to make him his heir. In fine, several affirm, that *Edward* appointed him his successor by his last Will; and some even assure us, this Will was confirmed in *Edward's* life-time by the general assembly of the Nation; but this pretended Will was never produced. Neither does it appear that Duke *William* ever founded his claim upon any such thing, as if it were known, or he had it in his hands. In all probability therefore the foundation he went upon, was some verbal promise made him by *Edward*, when he was in *England*. It was doubtless in consequence of this promise, that he required *Harold* not to rise up in competition against him. Had the *English* done *Edgar* justice, and placed him on the throne, it is not likely Duke *William* would have attempted, upon so trifling a pretension, to wrest the crown from a Prince to whom of right it belonged. But he had to deal with *Harold*, who, being only a private Man, had procured himself the crown by indirect practices, and without any manner of right. Accordingly, setting aside Prince *Edgar*, he compared his right only with that of the reigning King. His interest induced him to think, that *Edward's* promise was equivalent to an election, since it was thought proper to exclude the lawful heir. To this may be added, that he looked upon the crown of *England* as what he

could not miss of, especially after binding *Harold* by an oath. And therefore, the indignation at being deceived, the desire of Revenge, and chiefly his Ambition the root of the quarrel, all concurred to inspire him with a resolution to make an attempt upon the *English* crown, in spite of all opposition. Persuaded as he was, that he had no less right than *Harold*, he thought he might use force to wrest the crown from a Prince, who had naturally no title to it. These, probably, were the motives that engaged Duke *William* in so great an undertaking, the success whereof seemed however very doubtful.

As for *Harold's* right it ought also to be considered under a double view, with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, and with regard to Prince *Edgar*. If we examine the election of this King, in opposition to the Duke, we find nothing but what was regular and according to form, and against which the Duke could have any just reason to object. It is certain, supposing *Edward* had nominated Duke *William* his successor, either by Will, or otherwise, the nomination would have been of no force, unless confirmed by the assembly of States (5). Accordingly this is what some affirm, being sensible the Duke's title without this approbation was little worth. And in truth, where is the nation, that, without being forced to it, would suffer their King, by his own bare nomination, to subject them to a Foreigner, in exclusion of the Princes of the royal Blood, or even of the most worthy Lords of the kingdom? If this were ever the case, it was done by surprise, before the people had time to oppose it. The election therefore of *Harold* was very lawful, at least with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, since it was made by the assembly-general, whose power Duke *William* had no right to dispute.

But in comparing *Harold's* title with Prince *Edgar's*, it is hard to give it so favourable a construction. It may indeed be supported by the opinion of those who maintain, that during the *Saxon* government, the crown was elective, and the Nobles and People had a power of giving it to whom they pleased. But besides the difficulties attending this opinion, supposing that were so, this argument would not be sufficient to justify *Harold's* election. How extensive soever some would make the privileges of the assembly-general in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a power of bestowing the crown on a private person, in prejudice of the Princes of the royal family. At least it would be exceeding difficult to produce any instances from the history of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to establish this opinion. The question then amounts to this, whether the Nation had a right to elect *Harold* on exclusion of *Edgar*, or whether, on this occasion, they did not stretch their power beyond its natural bounds. As I design to treat of this matter in another place (6), I shall not undertake to decide the question at present, but only remark, that supposing the Nation had such a power, yet it must be owned it was abused at this juncture, and that *Edgar* had great injustice done him. But notwithstanding all its defects, this election gave *Harold* an incomparably better title than the bare nomination of King *Edward* gave Duke *William*, granting the fore-mentioned Will was as real, as it appears to be imaginary. From what has been said, it is easy to see, the Duke of *Normandy's* claim was built on a weak foundation. But to return to our history.

After *Harold* was crown'd, there was not a person in the kingdom, but what owned him for sovereign, and paid him obedience. But tho' he found no opposition at home, it was otherwise abroad. Not to mention the Duke of *Normandy*, who, before he discovered, put himself in a condition to execute his designs, Earl *Tostig* was preparing to disturb the King his Brother in the possession of his new dignity. He could not forgive him his impartial proceedings, when, in favour of the *Northumbrians*, he dispossest him of his government. Though *Harold's* accession to the crown should have rendered him more formidable to him, this consideration serv'd only to inflame his hatred the more, and put him upon devising all possible means to dethrone him. As he was not ignorant of the Duke of *Normandy's* intentions, with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, on account of their marrying two Sisters, Daughters of the Earl of *Flanders*, he

The exami-
nation of
Harold's
title.

T. Angre-
p. 106.
1066.
1067.

S. Dunelm.
Malmsh.

(1) *Saxon Annals*, and *Hoveden*, with some other of the *English* Writers. The Bishops were all for *Harold* to a Man.

(2) *William of Malmshury*, and such as reputed the title of the Duke of *Normandy*.

(3) *Harold* denied this opinion, and adds several were for setting up *Edgar Atheling*. *Ingulphus* more cautiously says, *Harold* forgetting his oath made Duke *William* intend himself into the throne.

(4) I believe *Harold* to be the only one that said this. *Rapin*.

(5) See more of this matter in the following dissertation under the head of the Succession to the Crown.

(6) In the place mentioned in the Note before this.

went to him to concert measures with him against the King his Brother. There is no doubt but Duke William encouraged him to execute his designs (1). But it does not appear that he furnished him with any Money, Troops, or Ships, of all which he had himself so great need against his intended invasion. Probably therefore it was the Earl of Flanders, his Father-in-law, that supplied Tofton with Ships, by means of which he infested the English coasts, and plundered the Isle of Wight. After which, he landed some troops at Sandwich. But being informed the King was marching towards him, he set sail for the North, and entering the Humber with his little fleet (2), made a descent on Yorkshire, and committed ravages as if he had been in an enemy's country. Harold, not thinking it advisable to leave the southern parts, commissioned Earl Morcard to go against his Brother; who, having been made governor of Northumberland in the room of Tofton, was particularly concerned to put a stop to his incursions. As for the King, he remained at London, that he might have an eye to Edgar's party, and prevent them from exciting any troubles upon that young Prince's account. This seem'd to him, at that time, to be what he had most to fear; being sensible, the injustice done Edgar sat heavy upon the minds of those who were well-affected to the ancient royal family. Accordingly, to prevent their discontents from breaking out into action, he caref'd the Prince as well as those of his party. He even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the crown purely on account of Edgar's youth, willing they should understand, as if he meant to restore it to the Prince when he was of age to govern. With this view, he created him Earl of Oxford, and seem'd to take a very particular care of his education, as it were to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

Mean while Morcard, accompanied with his Brother Edwin, Earl of Chester, march'd with all expedition against Tofton, who was now on the south-side of the Humber. He came upon him unawares in Lincolnshire, and put his little army to flight, compelling him to betake himself to his Ships. Tofton finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of forces, steered towards Scotland, in expectation of assistance from thence (3). But perceiving the King of Scotland was not dispos'd to support him, he puts to Sea again, with design to make another descent on England. Prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had been seeking so industriously.

Harold Harfager King of Norway, had lately taken some of the Orcades (4), which belonged to Scotland, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet in order to carry on his conquests. Tofton being informed of this Prince's designs, went directly to him, pretending he was come on purpose to propose to him a more noble undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer England, if he would but turn his arms that way. The better to persuade him, he told him, there were in the kingdom two powerful factions, both enemies to the King, the one for Prince Edgar, the other for the Duke of Normandy, and therefore, the English being thus divided, it would not be difficult to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong party in Northumberland, which would very much promote the execution of this design. In fine, he made him believe the King his Brother was extremely odious to the English, and would be certainly deserted by them, as soon as there appeared in England a foreign army strong enough to support his enemies. Harfager, greedy of fame, and already devouring in his imagination so noble a prize, wanted not much sollicitation to engage in this project. Preposess'd by Tofton of the practicableness of the thing, he resolv'd to employ all his forces in making so glorious a conquest.

Whilst the King of Norway was making his preparations, the Duke of Normandy was no less seriously thinking of means to wrest from Harold a crown, he had so

long been in expectation of, and which he could not bear to see on his Head without extreme regret. Though his Rival, in all appearance, was firmly seated in his throne, the Duke imagined he was able to pull him down, since the way by arms was still open, when all other methods fail'd. However, to proceed regularly, he sent ambassadors to Harold, to require him to deliver him up the crown, and in case of refusal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war against him. Harold told the ambassadors, "Their master had no manner of right to the crown of England: That supposing the late King had dispos'd of it in his favour, a thing the English knew nothing of, it was contrary to the laws of the Land, which allow not the King to give away the crown according to his fancy, much less to a Foreigner. As for his part, he had been elected by those, who had the power of placing the Kings on the throne, and therefore could not resign it, without the breach of that trust reposed in him by the English. As for the oath, the violation whereof he was charged with, it having been extorted from him at a time when he had not the power to help himself, it was null and void, by the laws of all the Nations in the World. In fine, he added, that he knew how to defend his right against any person that durst dispute it with him." This quarrel being of too great consequence to be decided without coming to blows, each party took such measures as he judg'd most likely to prove successful (5).

The Duke's vexation to be deceived, the desire of revenge, the shame of renouncing his pretensions, and the pleasing hopes of being master of England, spur'd him on to use all possible endeavours to succeed in his designs. On the other side, Harold finding he was like to have so formidable an adversary, thought nothing would be of more service to him, than gaining the people to his interests. To this purpose, he made himself more popular than ever. He lessened the taxes, and caus'd justice to be duly and impartially administred. In fine, he forgot nothing that might serve to confirm his Subjects in the esteem and affection they already had for him. His labour was not in vain. The English, charm'd with his first proceedings, which afforded them so pleasant a prospect, resolv'd to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to support him on the throne to which they had rais'd him. Duke William, for his part, not being ignorant of the resolution of the English, perceived he had no other way to attain his ends, but by setting on foot forces proportionable to those of the enemies he was resolv'd to attack.

The main difficulty was, to raise a sum of money sufficient for the charge of so great an undertaking. His first method was, to convene an assembly of the States of Normandy, to obtain their concurrence. But he found them very backward to comply with his desires. They told him, that "Normandy having been drained of Men and money by the late wars, they were so far from being in a condition to think of making new conquests, that they were hardly able to defend their own territories against the attacks of a powerful Invader. Besides, how just soever the Duke's claim to England might be, they could not see that any advantage would accrue to their country from this expedition. In fine, that they were not obliged by their allegiance to serve in foreign wars, wherein the State had no concern." This stout answer destroying the Duke's hopes of raising money in a publick way, he bethought himself of an expedient, which succeeded to his wish. This was to borrow money of private persons; and gaining some of the chief Men, the rest were inspir'd with an emulation who should be most zealous in assisting their Prince. William Fitz-osbern undertook to fit out forty Ships at his own expence. The most wealthy, every one according to his ability, subscribed very large Sums: So that the Duke by this method rais'd more money than he could have done by a pub-

He plunders the Isle of Wight, and lands at Sandwich, and then in the North.

Harold's behaviour to Edgar.

Morcard drives Tofton to his Ships. Sax. Ann. Malmib.

He is driven to Norway. Sax. Ann.

The Duke of Normandy prepares for the Invasion of England. Dunelm. Camden. M. West. Ingulph.

Duke William's preparations. Harold gains the Affections of the People. Dunelm. Brompton.

Duke William endeavours to raise Money.

The States refuse to contribute. Camd. Brit. Normans. Brompton.

(1) See *Wil. Gemeticen*. p. 665. and *Daniel Hist. de France*. Vol. III. p. 90.

(2) It consist'd of sixty Ships. *Malmib.* p. 94. *Sax. Ann.* Others say of forty. *Brompt.* p. 958. *M. West.* p. 433.

(3) He sail'd to Scotland, with twelve Ships, the rest having forsaken him; and there staid all the Summer. *Sax. Ann. Malmib.* p. 94. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194.

(4) They are now called the *Isles of Orkney*. Whatever the Ancients have said of their Number, there are but twenty-six inhabited, the rest are used only for Pasturage, and are called *Holmes*. *Orkney* lies North of *Cathness*, in the Latitude of fifty-nine and sixty Degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a Hen from every House in the Parish. The largest of these Isles is *Mannaw*, anciently *Pomonia*, twenty-four Miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable Town, called *Kirkwall*, famous for St. Magnus's Church, and the Bishop of *Orkney*'s Palace. The Isles were first inhabited by the *Picts*, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 830, by *Kereth II.* of Scotland, from which time they were subject to the *Scots*, till delivered up by *Donald Ban* the Usurper in 1099, to *Magnus* King of Norway, who is said to build the stately Cathedral at *Kirkwall*. They have since remained annex'd to the Crown of Scotland. In *Hoy*, one of these Isles, lies a Stone called *Dwarfie Stone*, thirty-six Foot long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollow'd by Art with a square Hole of two Foot high for the Entry. Within, at one end, is a Bed big enough for two Men, excellently hewn out of the Stone, with a Pillow; at the other end is a Couch, and in the middle a *Hearth* for a Fire, with a Hole over it for the Chimney. *Orkney* gives title to an Earl.

(5) *Brompton* says, Duke William sent a second Message to King Harold, offering to desist from his Claims, provided he would marry his daughter. But this is very improbable; for besides that our best Historians tell us the young Lady was dead, it is not likely the Duke's ambition would be so easily satisfied.

lick tax. But as this was not sufficient, he engaged several of the neighbouring (1) Princes to furnish him with troops and transports, on condition of their having Lands assigned them in *England* after the conquest. He even demanded the assistance of *France*; but it was not the interest of that crown that the Duke of *Normandy* should become more powerful. Very fortunately, King *Philip*, who was then a Minor under the care of the Earl of *Flanders*, obstructed not his proceedings, which a Prince that had been old enough to have known his own interests, would infallibly have done. It is true indeed, the court of *France* endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from this enterprise, but to no purpose (2).

Mean time Duke *William*, who was too wise not to be sensible of the weakness of his title, omitted nothing that might serve to give it some colour of justice. With this view he bethought himself of an expedient very proper to blind the eyes of the world; which was, to procure the Pope's approbation of his undertaking, to whom, it is said, he made a promise of holding the kingdom of *England* of the Apostolick See. However this be, the Pope very heartily espoused his cause, and sent him a consecrated Banner (3), as a mark of his approbation. Moreover, willing that all Christians should know that religion was concerned in this affair, he solemnly excommunicated all that should dare oppose the Duke in the execution of this project. This approbation was of great service to the Duke, as it furnished him with means to justify his intended expedition, and at the same time removed the scruples of such, as he was endeavouring to engage in his quarrel. But it had not the same effect in *England*. Whether the *English* knew nothing of the Pope's excommunication, or looked upon it as a great piece of partiality, it prevented not *Harold* from equipping a large fleet, and raising a numerous army, with which he resolutely expected his enemy.

The charge of keeping so considerable an armament, could not but be very burthensome to the people, a thing the King would have been glad to avoid. After he had in vain expected some months the arrival of Duke *William*, finding he did not appear, and the autumnal Equinox approached, he imagined, pursuant to some false informations he had received, that the Duke had deferred his expedition till the Spring. Accordingly, he thought he might safely lay up his Ships for the Winter, and disband his troops (4), to save an unnecessary expence.

But as he was returning to *London* out of *Kent*, where he had given his last orders for disbanding the army, news was brought him that the King of *Norway*, accompanied with Earl *Toston*, was entered the *Tyne*, with a fleet of five hundred sail (5). Surpriz'd at this unexpected invasion, he hastily drew his army together again, which were dispersing themselves. But before they were ready to march, the *Norwegians* had made a great progress. Having sack'd the Counties on both sides the *Tyne*, they put to Sea, and entering the *Humber*, landed their forces on the North side (6), and ravag'd the country with inexpressible cruelties. *Morcard* and *Edwin*, who were upon the spot, endeavour'd to stop their career, with some troops levied in haste; but were so beaten, that their whole army was destroyed (7). Flust with this success, the *Norwegians* advanc'd towards *York*, and laid siege to the City, which they quickly became masters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things necessary for their defence, chusing rather to surrender upon terms, than expose themselves to certain ruin. Mean while, *Harold* having drawn his army together, advanc'd with all expedition, to give the *Norwegians* battle, who having left their fleet in the *Humber*, were marching towards the North, to compleat the reduction of *Northumberland*, before they proceeded to other conquests. As they marched but slowly, and as *Harold* made all possible haste, he came up with them at *Stanford Bridge*, on the River *Derwent*, a little below *York* (8). The *Norwegians*, upon his approach, intrench'd themselves in so advantageous a post, that it seem'd impossible to force them. They

were posted on the other side of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were masters. Notwithstanding this, *Harold*, who was very sensible how much it behoved him to come to an engagement, ordered the bridge to be attacked without delay. The *Norwegians* stoutly defended it, but could not withstand the efforts of the *English*, though animated by the astonishing valour of one of their own Men, who defended the bridge alone against the *English* army for a considerable time. At length, the brave *Norwegian* being slain (9), *Harold* became master of the bridge, and pass'd his army over. Then furiously falling upon the enemy, after an obstinate fight, entirely routed them. There had never been seen in *England* an engagement between two so numerous armies, each having no less than threescore thousand Men. The battle, which was very bloody, lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. *Harfager* and *Toston* were both slain, and *Harold* obtained a compleat victory. Of the whole army that came from *Norway* in five hundred Ships, the remains were carried off by *Olaf*, Son of *Harfager*, in twenty Vessels, with the Conqueror's leave. The booty which was taken upon this occasion was very great, since there was found in the camp all that the *Norwegians* had brought from home, and all they had plundered in the kingdom (10). But *Harold* having been so impolitick as to retain the spoil to himself, rais'd such discontents in his army, as proved of very ill consequence to him afterwards (11). One would think this Prince, who was naturally generous, should have secured the hearts of his Soldiers, by a liberality which would have cost him nothing, especially at a time when he stood in so great need of their service. But he considered, the expending this booty in the war against the Duke of *Normandy*, would very much ease the people, whose affection he was desirous to preserve at any rate. Nevertheless, he should have considered the gaining the hearts of his soldiers was no less necessary. Doubtless it would have been better for him to cultivate their affection, as he too plainly discovered to his cost on another occasion. It has been often observed, that soldiers are never so little regarded, as when by their bravery they have procur'd their Masters some signal advantages, because their own victories serve to render them useless. But 'tis no less certain, that sooner or later a discontented army give their Prince or their General cause to repent of using them ill.

Whilst *Harold* was busied in the North, in rectifying the disorders occasioned by the *Norwegian* invasion, the Duke of *Normandy*, who had long waited for a wind at *St. Valery*, set sail about the end of *September*, and had a speedy passage to *Pevensey* (12) in *Suffex*. 'Tis affirmed, that in leaping ashore, he fell all along on his face; at which one of the soldiers said merrily, See, our Duke is taking possession of *England*; which the Duke took as a good omen. No body appearing to oppose his landing, his first care was to run up a Fort near the place where he disembarked (13), to favour his retreat in case of necessity. Some however will have it, that he sent his Ships back to *Normandy*, to let his army see they had nothing to trust to but their valour (14). After some days stay at *Pevensey*, he marched along the shore as far as *Hastings* (15), where he built a stronger Fort than the former, resolving there to expect his enemy of whom he had no intelligence. 'Twas here he published a Manifesto, showing the reasons of his coming into *England*; namely, first, to revenge the death of Prince *Alfred*, Brother of King *Edward*. This, if ever any, was a frivolous pretence, since Earl *Godwin*, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and *Harold* never charged with it. Secondly, To restore *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his See. This was no better reason than the first, for *Robert* was banished by the general assembly in *Edward's* reign, and consequently the present King could not be blamed for it. 'Tis very likely this article was inserted in the Manifesto on the Pope's account, to serve as a cover for his partiality to the Duke. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the *English* his assistance to punish *Harold* for pre-

(1) The Earls of *Anjou*, *Paris*, *Maine*, *Beaune*, and *Alan* Earl of *Bretagne*. *Camd. Introd.* p. clviii. *Conan* Earl of *Bretagne*, *Alan's* father, demanded, and threaten'd to invade *Normandy*, in order to divert *William* from his attempt on *England*; but *William* had him poisoned. *Wid. Germanicus*, l. 6. c. 33. *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 91, 92. Which shews what a terrible Monster is an ambitious Prince.

(2) *William*, and the Emperor *Henry*, entered into a League, by which *Henry* bound himself to march with all the *German* forces, against any one that should attack *Normandy*, during *William's* expedition into *England*. *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 93.

(3) With a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of *St. Peter's* Hairs.

(4) This was about *September* 8. *R. de Diceto*, p. 479. *Brompt.*

(5) *Malmsh.* *Huntingd.* and *Sax. Ann.* say it consisted only of three hundred; and *Ingulph* says of two hundred, p. 69.

(6) At a Place called *Ribba* in the *East-Riding* of *Yorkshire*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194. *Camden.*

(7) The Place was *Fulford* near *York*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 194.

(8) Which *Camden* says, is also called *Battle-Bridge*, from this engagement between *Harold* and the *Norwegians*. In *Latin*, *Pont. bell.*

(9) He is said to have killed forty Men with his own hand. *Brompt.*

(10) *Adam Bremenfis* says, they took so much Gold among the Spoil, that twelve young Men could hardly bear it on their shoulders. This battle was fought nine days before *William* the Conqueror landed.

(11) It was the custom in those days for all the Spoils to be fairly divided among the Officers and Soldiers.

(12) Now *Pevensey*. He landed *September* 29, after having been near a Month upon passage. *Sax. Ann. Malmsh.* p. 100. *Kingston* says, that he landed part of his Forces at *Pevensey*, and the other part at *Sandwich*. p. 234.

(13) In which he lay still ten fifteen days, and kept his Soldiers from plundering the neighbouring parts. *Malmsh.* p. 100.

(14) *Camden* says, he ordered his Ships to be burnt.

(15) The chief of the *Conqueror's* Party, whose *Burgesses* retain the old title of *Barons*.

suming to seize the Crown, without any right, and directly contrary to his Oath. It is to be observed, he made no mention either of *Edward's* Will, or verbal Promise, and that his Silence on that head renders this third motive very trifling. For indeed, without such a Will or Promise, what pretence could the Duke of *Normandy* have to concern himself with the affairs of *England*? Some affirm he founded his right on his Kindred to *Edward*; but he was no way related to the late King, only by *Emma* of *Normandy*, who had never any title to the Crown; and besides, he was himself a *Bastard*. But he did not so much build his hopes on his Manifesto, as on the strength of his Army. He was very sensible, if he obtained the Victory, his reasons would be readily admitted. Mean while, not to terrify the *English*, he charged his Army to injure none, but such as were actually in Arms against him. But neither this precaution, nor his Manifesto gained him any Friends. The *English* could not conceive upon what Foundation he had entered the Kingdom with an Army, or what advantage any one could have by taking his Part.

Harold comes to London. S. Dunelm.

The Nobility come in to him.

Ambassadors from the Duke,

and from Harold to the Duke.

Harold encamps near the Norman's. Malm. M. Weit.

Gurth's Speech to his Brethren. Malmib. W. Weit.

Harold's answer.

he was bent to give him Battle, advance'd a little to seize an advantageous Post, where he could conveniently draw up his Army.

Whilst they were preparing for a Battle, which was to decide the fate of both Princes, Duke *William* seem'd to abate something of his haughtiness. 'Tis to be presum'd, the thoughts of a Battle in an Enemy's Country, where his loss would be irretrievable, inspir'd him with some dread of the Issue. On the other hand, he could not well forbear reflecting beforehand on the blood that was going to be spilt in a quarrel, the Justice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of, how much sooner he seem'd to be so. Be this as it will, before they engag'd, he sent the King by the hands of a certain Monk these four Proposals, for him to take his choice. The first was, to resign the Crown, as he was bound by Oath. By the second, he offered to return into *Normandy*, provided *Harold* would do him Homage for the Kingdom of *England*. By the third, he was ready to refer the differences to the Judgment of the Apostolick See. Lastly, he propos'd the deciding of their quarrel by single Combat. 'Tis no wonder, *Harold* reject'd these four Proposals, seeing they were all so advantageous to the Duke. As for the two first, 'tis visible, how detrimental they were to *Harold*. The third seem'd at first sight something fairer; but the Pope having already declared in favour of the Duke, what Justice could *Harold* expect from him? As for the fourth, the advantage plainly lay on the Duke's side, since in a single Combat, he hazarded only his Person, whereas *Harold* ventured his Crown with his Life. The Victory would have procur'd the Duke of *Normandy* a noble Kingdom, whereas it would have only acquir'd the King the bare glory of conquering. Besides, *Harold* was of opinion, the decision of an Affair, where the whole Nation was concerned, ought not to depend on the strength and skill of a single Arm. His answer therefore was, God should determine on the morrow the Justice of their Rights.

The *English* spent the whole night in carousing and singing, as if they were sure of the Victory. The *Normans*, on the contrary, were employed in preparing for the Battle, and offering up Prayers to God for Success. At length, on the 14th of *October*, *Harold's* Birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greatest Events that ever happened, in *England*, the two Armies engag'd. In the Front of the *English* stood the *Kentish* Men, a Privilege they had enjoyed ever since the time of the *Heptarchy*. *Harold* placed himself in the Center, and would fight on foot, that his Men might be the more encouraged, by seeing their King expos'd to equal danger with the meanest Soldier. The *Normans* were drawn up in three Bodies: *Montgomery* and *Fitz-osbern* conducted the first. *Geoffrey Martel* commanded the second, and the Duke himself headed the Body of Reserve, to succour those who should most want it (3). The *Normans* began the fight with a volley of Arrows, which being shot upward, were like a thick Cloud over the heads of the foremost Body of the *English*. As their Ranks were very close, the Arrows did great execution. The *English* not being us'd to this way of fighting, were at first put into some little disorder. The *Normans* willing to take advantage of it, vigorously attack'd them. But the *English* immediately falling into good order again, gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take breath. Quickly after, they renewed the attack, but met with as brave a resistance as before, neither was it in their power to break their Enemy's Ranks. The *English* chusing rather to die than give way, and the *Normans* asham'd to retreat, both sides fought stoutly for a considerable time, without either gaining ground. The presence of their Leaders animating the Soldiers, they every where fought with equal Bravery, without the least signs of advantage on either side. We may judge of the valour of the Troops in both Armies by the length of the Fight, which began at seven in the Morning, and lasted till Night.

I shall not take upon me fully to describe this bloody Battle. I find so much confusion in the accounts of the Historians, that I dare not flatter my self with being able to give a clear and distinct Notion of the thing. I shall content my self therefore with the mention of two Circumstances, which, all Historians unanimously agree, gave the *Normans* the Victory. The Fight had lasted all day, and the Success was yet very uncertain; when Duke *William* bethought himself of a Stratagem, which made Victory incline to his side. This Prince, who was very experienc'd, perceiving there was no breaking the

Malm. M. Weit.

The Battle of Hastings. Malmib. M. Weit.

The Victory a long time doubtful.

The Duke's Stratagem.

Hastings.

(1.) All the Historians say, *None*. See *Dunelm.* p. 194. *Brompt.* Sec.

(2.) Some of the Spies took the *Normans* to be an Army of Priests, because they were shaven, it being the Custom then among the *English* to wear long Beards. *Mat. West.* p. 436. *Malmib.* p. 100.

(3.) The chief of *William's* General were, *Fuflace* Earl of *Bugene*, *William Fitz-Richard* Earl of *Ferreux*, *Geoffrey* Son of *Roger* Earl of *Montreuil*, *Roger* Son of *Roger* Earl of *Beaumont*, *Admiral de Tuaris*, *Hugh* Earl of *Etaples*, *Walter Giffard*, *Hugh* de *Caen*, and *William de Warenne*. *P. Dunelm.* *History of France*, Vol. III. p. 94.

ranks of the *English*, ordered his Troops to retreat as they fought, as if they were discouraged, but withal, to be very careful to keep their Ranks. This order being executed, the *English* looked upon the Enemies Retreat as the Beginning of their Victory. Possessed with this notion, they encouraged one another with reiterated shouts, to press the retiring Enemies. Their eagerness made them break their Ranks, that they might push them with the greater Impetuosity, imagining they were upon the point of taking to flight. Then it was, that the *Normans*, finding their Stratagem had taken effect, stood their ground, and by a Discipline they had long been used to, closed their Ranks, and falling on the disordered *English*, made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Harold*, enraged to see the Victory, which a moment before he thought himself sure of, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his Troops that were in extreme Disorder. His labour was not altogether in vain, for at last he drew up, on a rising ground at a little distance from the field of Battle, a good Body of Foot, which became at length very considerable, by being continually joined by the flying Troops. The Duke of *Normandy's* Victory being yet far from complete, whilst so strong a Body of the *English* kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with great Fury. But the *English* received them with that Bravery, and the *Normans* lost such numbers of their Men, that the fortune of the Day seemed still very doubtful. The approach of the night, and the resolution of the *English*, making the Duke despair of penetrating their Ranks, he began to think himself conquered since he was not entirely victorious. Probably, the *English* Army might have retreated in good order, by favour of the Night, if *Harold* could have resolved to leave his Enemy in possession of the Field of Battle, at a time when the loss on both Sides was pretty equal. But apprehending his retreat might be prejudicial to his Affairs, and derogatory to his Reputation, he would maintain his Post, and not give the enemy that advantage. Besides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole Army during the Night, and renewing the fight the next Morning.

Mean time, the Duke perceiving the Night was like to rob him of the glory of a complete Victory, made one effort more to drive the *English* from their Post.

In this last onset, *Harold* was slain by an Arrow shot into his Brains (1.) His Troops disheartened at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themselves to flight. Thus *Harold's* death was the second thing that procured the *Normans* the Victory, and put the *English* entirely to rout. They were pursued as long as day lasted; and in this Pursuit it was, that a terrible slaughter was made of the Fugitives; the Conquerors killing without mercy all they could overtake, to save the trouble of guarding the Prisoners. The darkness of the Night however saved a good part of the *English* Army, who retreated under the Conduct of *Morcard* and *Edwin*. These two Lords, who had all along firmly adhered to *Harold*, seeing he was slain, as well as *Gurth* and *Lewin* his Brothers, submitted at length to Providence, having given, the whole day, visible marks of their Valour. This long and bloody Battle cost the Duke of *Normandy* six thousand

Men (2); but the *English* lost a much greater number (3).

Duke *William*, at the height of his Wishes, gave orders for the whole Army to fall on their Knees, and return God Thanks for so signal a Victory. After discharging so just a duty, he caused his Tent to be pitched in the Field of Battle, and spent the residue of the Night among the slain. On the morrow, he ordered his own dead to be buried; and gave the *English* Peasants leave to do the same office for the others. The Bodies of the King and his Brothers being found, he sent them to *Gith* their Mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the circumstance of the time would permit, in *Waltham-Abbey*, founded by the King her Son (4).

Thus fell *Harold*, with his Sword in his Hand, in defence not only of his own; but of his Country's Cause, against the ambition of the Duke of *Normandy*. The Historians, who wrote in the Reigns of the Conqueror and his Sons, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of *Harold*, thereby to justify, in some measure, the ambition of the Duke. But all they have said against this last *Saxon* King, tends only to the imputation of breach of Oath, on which we have seen what he alledged in his own vindication. He might have been much more justly blamed for his secret practices, in procuring Prince *Edgar* to be excluded from the Throne, who alone had a Right to aspire to it. But the Sticklers for the Duke took care not to dwell on that head, since their Reproaches against *Harold* would have touched the Duke no less than his Adversaries. However this be, *Harold* may be said to have been more worthy of the Crown, had he been less forward to obtain it. He gained the love and esteem of the *English* whilst he was but a private Man, and acted nothing during his short Reign (5); which tended to lessen their affection. He fought within the space of a few days, two great Battles; with very different Success. In the first; his conduct and valour procured him a signal Victory over the King of *Norway*; and his unhappy Success in the last must be wholly ascribed to his ill Fortune. As for his other personal Qualities, he was Honest; Obliging, Affable, exceeding Generous, in a word, he was endowed with all the Virtues which form a great Prince.

Harold was twice married. By his first Wife, whose name is unknown, he had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Godwin*, and *Magnus*, who retired into *Ireland* after the death of their Father. By his second Wife, *Aligtha*, Sister of *Morcard* and *Edwin*, he had a Son called *Wolf*, who was but a Child at the time of the Battle of *Hastings*, and was afterwards knighted by *William Rufus*. By this second Marriage, he had also two Daughters; of whom *Gunilda*, the eldest, falling blind, passed her days in a Nunnery. The youngest was married to *Waldemar* King of *Russia*, by whom she had a Daughter, who was Wife to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark* (6).

Thus ended in *England* the Empire of the *Anglo-Saxons*, which began above six hundred years before in the Person of *Hengist* the first King of *Kent*. We shall see in the following Book how *England* fell under the dominion of the *Normans*.

(1) *R. de Diceto* (p. 480.) and *Huntingd.* (p. 369.) say, that *Harold* was not killed outright, but the Multitude rushing on made an end of him.

(2) He had three Horses killed that Day under him, without losing one drop of his Blood. *Malmsh.* p. 101.

(3) This Battle was fought near *Heathfield* in *Sussex*, in the place where the Town of *Battle* now stands, so called from this Day's Action, wherein our modern Historians say were slain above threehore Thousand *English* Men.

(4) An ancient Manuscript in the *Cottonian* Library relates, that the King's Body was hard to be known by reason of its being covered with Wounds, but was at last discovered by one who had been his Mistress, by the means of certain private Marks known only to herself. The Duke sent the Body to his Mother *Giraldus Cambrensis* asserts he was not slain, but escaping retired to a Cell near *St. John's* Church in *Chester*, and died there an Anchorite, as was owned by himself in his last Confession when he lay a dying. In memory whereof they shewed his Tomb when *Knighen* wrote.

(5) Of nine Months and nine Days.

(6) *Tyrol* says, (from *Speed*) she was Mother to *Waldemar* the first King of *Denmark* of that Name. From whom the *Danish* Kings for many Ages after succeeded.

THE STATE of the CHURCH,

FROM THE

*Reign of ÆTHELRED II, to the Norman Conquest; that is,
from 979, to 1066.*

*State of the
Church.*

AFTER seeing what passed in *England* from the beginning of the Reign of *Æthelred II*, to the end of the Empire of the *Saxons*, it is not to be expected that this period should afford much matter for an Ecclesiastical History: In general, this Century may be termed the Age of ignorance, with respect to all *Europe*, but more especially with regard to *England*. If there was occasion, it would be very difficult to assign the causes of this universal ignorance, not only in this Kingdom, but in all other Christian States. But it will suffice to alledge one, peculiar to *England*; I mean the Wars the Kingdom was incessantly troubled with. The Arms of the Pagans, which triumphed throughout the whole Kingdom, scarce left the *English* the liberty of professing their religion; and consequently, our knowledge of the affairs of the Church in those days must be very imperfect. Accordingly, I shall confine what I have to say on this subject to a few Heads, concerning the Doctrines, Councils, some particulars relating to certain Sees, and the Persons that were most distinguished among the Clergy.

*The Sense of
the Church
of England
relating to
the Eucharist*

What attempts soever have been made at sundry times to prove the antiquity of Transubstantiation, it could never be shewn to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, before the time I am speaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the Homilies or Sermons which were read in Churches for the instruction of the People, that the Church in those days was very far from believing any such Thing. There is still extant a Translation of those Homilies (1), attributed to *Elfric*, who lived under *Æthelred II*; from whence any Man may be convinced, that the Church of *England* was then of a quite contrary Opinion. But that the Reader may judge for himself, it will not be amiss to lay before him an Extract of one of these Homilies relating to this Subject.

*Extract of a
Saxon Homily
on this
Subject.*

“ There is a great difference between the invisible virtue of this Sacrament, and what it appears to us in the qualities of its own Nature. In its own Nature ’tis corruptible Bread and Wine, but by virtue of the divine institution, ’tis truly the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; after consecration, not in a Corporeal but Spiritual Manner. The Body in which Jesus Christ suffered, and the Eucharistical Body are widely different. The first was born of the Blessed Virgin, and consisted of Blood, Bones, Nerves, Limbs, animated with a rational Soul. But the Body which we call Eucharistical, is made up of several grains of Wheat. It has neither Blood, Bone, Nerve, Limb, nor Soul in it. We are therefore not to form any Corporeal Idea of it, but to understand it wholly in a spiritual Sense. In the Eucharist, whatever repairs our Nature, and forms us to a better Life, proceeds entirely from a mystick virtue, and spiritual Operation. For this reason the Eucharist is called a Sacrament, because one thing appears to our Senses, and another to our Understanding. What in the Sacrament is the object of Sight, has a corporeal Figure: But what is represented to our Understanding has a spiritual force and efficacy. Moreover the Body of Christ, which suffered and rose from the dead, is eternal and impassible, and no more subject to decay or death; whereas the Eucharist is not eternal, but corruptible, subject to the force of time, and divisible into many Parts. ’Tis ground by the Teeth, and passes through the common Channels of the Body; but notwithstanding, the spiritual efficacy of it remains in every Part. A great many Persons receive this Holy Body

“ or Eucharist, and yet the multitude of receivers weakens not the force of the Operation, the virtue of the Sacrament being lodged in every part of what is consecrated, the least part having as much Efficacy as the greatest. The reason is, because the virtue does not operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, but by means of the Divine Institution.

“ The Sacrament is a Type and Pledge, but the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ is the Truth and Reality of the representation. God has vouchsafed to give us this Pledge or Earnest, till we come to the Truth itself, and then the Pledge will disappear. For, as hath been observed, *the Holy Eucharist is the Body of Jesus Christ not corporeally but spiritually* (2). The Apostle St. Paul, speaking of the *Israelites*, has these Words: *I would not that you should be ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and passed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto Moses, in the Cloud and in the Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat; and did all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.* That Rock, from whence the water flow’d, was not Christ in reality, but a type and representation of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious Declaration to all the faithful; *If any Man thirst let him come to me and drink; and out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water.* By this he understood the *Holy Ghost*, which those that believ’d on him should receive. The Apostle declares, that the *Children of Israel*, who were in the *Wilderness*, eat the same spiritual Meat, and drank the same spiritual Drink; because the Manna, with which they were supported forty years together, and the water which flow’d from the Rock, were types of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which are daily offered in the Church. That Manna and that Water were the same which we now offer, not corporeally, but spiritually. To understand this, observe that our Lord Jesus Christ, before his Passion, consecrated the Bread and Wine into the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, and said, *This is my Body; This is my Blood*: Although his Passion was not over when he pronounced these words, yet by a mystical Operation, he changed the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood, just as he had done in the *Wilderness* before his Incarnation, when he turned the Manna into his Flesh, and the Water that flow’d from the Rock, into his own Blood.”

As this Explanation is a clear evidence, that at the time this Homily was penn’d, the Church of *England* believed not Transubstantiation, so it is no less manifest that *Elfric*, who translated it into *Latin*, was of the same opinion with the Author. ’Tis true, there is some dispute about the Person of the Translator. Some believe him to be *Elfric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Others say it was *Elfric* the Grammarian, surnam’d *Putta*, who was Archbishop of *York*. But which ever of the two it was, they both liv’d in the reign of *Æthelred II*, and neither of them was ever accus’d of *Heterodoxy*. But as it might be objected, that *Elfric* was not of the same opinion with the Author, whom he translated, tho’ that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following words of the same *Elfric*, in one of his Letters to the Clergy. *The Sacrifice of the Eucharist is not the Body in which our Saviour suffered for us, nor the Blood he shed for other sakes; but ’tis the same Body and the same Blood spiritually, just as the Manna was which fell from Heaven, and the Water which flow’d from the Rock.* ’Tis therefore most certain, from the Testimony of a Prelate, who was at the head of the Church of *Eng-*

*Anglic Sa-
cra. Vol. 5.
p. 125.*

(1) These Homilies are in *Latin* titled *Sermones Catholici*: The Translation of them into *Old English* is preserved in the *Bedford Library*, and in that of *Bodleian* in *Canterbury*.

(2) *Non Corporaliter sed Spiritually*.

land, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was not introduced into that Church in the time of *Ethelred II.*, who ascended the Throne in 979. There is no way to evade the force of this proof, but by asserting the Homily before-mentioned to be spurious. But this is much easier said than prov'd.

It is not the same with regard to the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints in Glory, since, on the contrary, we find it was practised in *England* in this very Century. This is manifest from *Canute the Great's* Charter to the Abbey of *Glaffenbury*, where there is mention of the Blessed Virgin, and all the other Saints. But as the Authority of the Charters of those days are not equally admitted by all, the same thing may be proved from a public Litany then read in the Church. Here we see that after the Invocation of the Holy Trinity, these words are thrice repeated, *O Holy Mary, pray for us*: After which the Angels and Saints were addressed to [by name]. It is to be observed, when this Practice was first introduced, the Application to the Blessed Virgin and Saints was not so direct; *May the Holy Virgin the Mother of God, and all the Saints intercede for us*. These are the words in the public Office of canonical hours used by the *Anglo-Saxons* (1). This Office, which is in *Latin*, affords this remark, that although the Lessons, Prayers, Psalms, Lord's Prayer and Creed, are in the same Tongue, yet at the end of each Article of Verse, there follows a *Saxon* Translation in a paraphractical way, that the people might understand what was said.

Among the Canons, which go under the name of *Elfric*, of whom I have already spoken, and who lived in the reign of *Ethelred II.*, the XXXIII^d obliges Priests to have by them two sorts of consecrated Oil, one for Children, and another for the sick; and enjoins that the sick should be always anointed upon their beds, and should confess themselves before the Ceremony of anointing passed upon them, which no Priest was to presume to perform till desired by the sick person. Whence it may be inferred, they did not stay till the sick were in their last Agonies, before they administered the extreme Unction (2).

In the XXXIII^d Canon, the four first General Councils (3) are put upon the same foot with the four Gospels; but those of later Ages are not of so great Authority. Hence 'tis evident that the Author of these Canons did not think all the general Councils were infallible. Had he been of this opinion, he would not have given a greater Authority to the four first than to the other Councils (4).

From the beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred II.*, to the *Norman* Conquest, we find in the Ecclesiastical History of *England* but two Councils. In all appearance, the wars with the *Danes* prevented the Bishops from assembling more frequently, or rather were the reason that the acts of these Conventions are lost. Both these Councils (5), one at *Engsham*, and the other at *Haba*, were held, whilst *Elphegus* was Archbishop. The most remarkable Canons are as follow.

In the Council of *Engsham*, the II^d Canon enjoins the Celibacy of the Clergy.

The IXth forbids all Persons to do any wrong to the Church, or eject a Clergyman out of his Benefice without the Consent of the Bishop.

By the XVIIth, every *Friday* was to be a Fast, unless it fell upon a Holiday (6).

The XXth enjoins frequent Confessions, and the People are ordered to receive the Sacrament three times, at least, in a year (7).

The Council of *Haba* has but one Canon worth notice. By the second, every Christian was obliged to fast three days with Bread and Water, before the Feast of St. Michael, and to distribute among the poor what he should have eaten in these three days.

This is all worth remarking in these two Synods. But to supply the want of Councils, we have the Ecclesiastical Laws of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*; some of which I shall insert, to shew the great regard

these two Princes had for the Clergy. The following ones are *Canute's* (8).

The IVth enjoins all Christians to pay great respect to the Clergy, because their Sacerdotal Functions are extremely beneficial to the People.

By the Vth, if a Priest was accused of any crime, he had the liberty of purging himself by saying Mass, and receiving the Eucharist.

The XIIth recommends Celibacy to the Clergy, and ranks them among the *Thanes* of the second Class, that is, among the Gentry (9).

The XXth ordains, that at Funerals the Dues shall be paid upon the breaking up of the ground; and that the Dues shall be paid to the parish the deceased belonged to, tho' he was buried elsewhere.

The XXII^d enjoins the observance of *Sunday* from *Saturday* three a-Clock in the afternoon, till *Monday* break of Day.

The XXIII^d determines the times of Fasting, and places the Vigils of the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Apostles among the Fasts.

There are several others, relating to the payment of Tythes and *Peter-Pence*, the Violators of the Privileges of the Clergy, and the like, in favour of the Church.

It is likewise decreed by these Laws, that every Christian should learn the *Lord's-Prayer*, and the *Apostles Creed*; otherwise, they were allowed neither to stand God-father, nor receive the Communion, nor have Christian Burial.

The Ecclesiastical Laws of *Edward the Confessor* run chiefly upon the protection of the Church and Clergy.

The Ist forbids the molesting a Clergyman, contrary to the tenour of the Privileges of the Church.

The II^d appoints certain Days, whereon all proceedings in the Courts of Justice were to cease.

By the III^d, the Church's Causes are to be tried first.

The IVth firmly establishes the immunities of those who in any wise depend on the Church, and ordains that they shall not be obliged to answer any Plea, &c. except in the Ecclesiastical Court.

The Vth confirms the Privilege of Sanctuary to Churches, and extends it even to Priests Houses.

By the VIth, if any Person broke in upon the Privileges of the Church, he had no way to get off, but by submitting to the sentence of the Bishop.

The VIth orders the punctual payment of Tythes, and sets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the circumstances relating to the Ordeal Tryal.

The XIIth settles the fine of *Manbote*, or the sum to be paid to the Lord for killing any of his Vassals or Slaves: The King's and the Archbishop's *Manbote* is fixed at the same Sum.

By the XIIIth all found treasure belongs to the King, unless it be found in a Church or Church-yard; then the Gold is the King's, and the Silver the Church's (10).

It is visible throughout these Laws, that the Clergy took care of themselves, when they met with devout and easy Princes, or such as stood in need of their Interest.

But notwithstanding the great condescension of the *Saxon* Kings for the Clergy, they could not retain the privilege of chusing their Bishops and Abbots. Whilst the Prelates confined themselves within the bounds of their pastoral Functions, and meddled not with civil Matters, the power of electing was freely left to the Chapters. But when the Bishops were become rich and popular, and began to interpose in State-Affairs, by reason of the Fiefs they were possessed of, it was of great consequence to the Kings, to have such Bishops and Abbots as were in their Interest, or at least, were obliged to them for their Preferments. Accordingly, the Kings began to interpose in Elections, by way of canvassing, or recommendation, and very often by refusing to put in possession of the Fiefs belonging to the Church or Abbey, such Prelates and Abbots

(1) *Santo De Genetrix Virgo Maria & omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab exaduari & salvari.* per Mr. *Elfric* Deo. Now this amounts to no more than a Wish for their Intercession, and is far from a direct Invocation. This Office is translated by Mr. *Elfric*. Immediate Address, as far as we can discover, did not prevail in *England* till the tenth Century: At which time, in the Homily of the *Apocryphal* *Book of the Blessed Virgin*, there is a direct Prayer to the *Blessed Virgin* to intercede for them. *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 214.

(2) The XXIII^d orders the Priest to read, on Sundays and Holydays, the Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed, in English.

(3) *Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.*

(4) This is directly opposite to the Doctrine of the Modern Church of Rome, which pays the same submission to the Decrees of the Council of Trent as of *Nice*, and reckons the Church in all Ages alike infallible.

(5) They were made up of *Seculars* as well as *Ecclesiastics*, and the Constitutions passed there related both to Church and State. *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 208.

(6) The XIXth enjoins Widows to stay twelve Months after the Death of their Husbands, before they marry again.

(7) The XXII^d orders, that the yearly naval Expedition be performed sooner after *Easter*.

(8) In the Preamble, it is said these Laws were drawn up at the Advice of the Wise Men of the Nation, that is, the Prelates and Nobles.

(9) The *De Winton* is the VIth. The Law says, if a Priest abstains from a Woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the *Winton*. *Historia de Winton*, p. 129. c. 6.

(10) The original Law in *De Winton*, p. 199. c. 14. says, the Gold is all the King's, and half the Silver, and the other half goes to the Church.

as they did not like. In fine, the authority of the Court by Degrees prevailed so, that in the time of *Ethelred II*, the Monks had entirely lost the privilege of chusing their Abbots, as appears from *Ingulphus*. In those days, says he, the Monks and Abbots seldom resorted to Court. But ever since the Kings have disposed of the Abbies, the Monks have made interst with the Courtiers, which sometimes cost them very dear. This Historian loudly complains of this abuse, though he himself was installed in the Abbey of *Croyland* by the same method, that is, by the sole will and pleasure of *William the Conqueror*.

There were but two removals of Bishops Sees within the Period I am going over. The See of *Kinton* in *Wessex* (1) was removed to *Exeter* (2), and the See of *Lindisfarne* in *Northumberland* to *Durham*. *Aldhun* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, being disturbed in that little Island by the Incursions of the *Danes*, resided at *Durham*, carrying with him the Relicks of *St. Cuthbert*. He built a Cathedral, and fixed his See there, where it has remained to this day (3).

In 981, the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury* acquired a new Jurisdiction in *Wales*. *Gucan*, a *Welsh* Priest, being chosen Bishop of *Landaff*, and consecrated by Archbishop *Dunstan*, this Precedent was followed by his Successors, who like him owned the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for their Metropolitan. Some infer from hence, that all the British Bishops at the same time owned the Superiority of the Church of *Rome*. But this consequence cannot be admitted. It is certain, the Bishops of *St. Davids* all along exercised the Archiepiscopal Functions in *Wales*, till the time of *Henry I*, and that without the ornament of the *Pall*, the mark of submission to the Pope (4).

As the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* made the greatest Figure among the *English* Prelates, during the last Period of the *Saxon* Monarchy, it will not be amiss briefly to carry down the Succession of each of these Sees. This will be of service towards clearing what has been already, or shall be hereafter, related of the Affairs of the Church.

Ethelgar, *Dunstan's* Successor, was Archbishop but one year and three months, and was succeeded by *Siricius*. This Prelate is blamed by all the Historians, for advising *Ethelred* to give Money to the *Danes*, which served only to allure them hither, instead of keeping them away. But perhaps they who exclaim against him most, would have given the same advice, had they been in his place. *Elfric*, Translator of the *Saxon* Homilies, whom I mentioned elsewhere, succeeded him in 995, and was followed in 1006, by *Elphegus*, who was murdered by the hands of the *Danes*. *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Conqueror's time, very much questioned whether *Elphegus* might properly be called a *Martyr*, since he was not massacred on account of Religion, but only because he would not consent the People of his Diocese should be taxed to pay his Ransom. *Anselm*, Abbot of *Bec*, whom he consulted on this occasion, told him, he who chose to die rather than to do an unjust thing, received by his death the Crown of Martyrdom. *Livingus* succeeded *Elphegus* in 1013. He was kept Prisoner some time by the *Danes*, and after the recovery of his Liberty, retired into *France*, till the Storm was over. Afterwards, he returned to his See, and died in 1020. *Egelnoth*, called the Good, was his Successor. In the time of these two Archbishops, *St. Augustin's* Monastery was much degenerated, by the licentious Lives of the Monks, who indeed wore the religious Habit, but with little observance of the rule. The cause of this alteration was, the massacring of all the Monks, except four, when *Canterbury* was taken by the *Danes*. The secular Clergy, who afterwards supplied the place of the dead Monks, were willing to enjoy the Revenues and Privileges of the Monastery, but not to be ty'd to the rule observ'd there before. They took greater liberties than the old Monks, and gave the Title of *Dean* to their superior, instead of that of Abbot, which remained till the

time of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, who changed it into *Prior*. But to return to *Ethelred*: This Prelate raised the See of *Canterbury* to its former Lustre, being supported by *Canute the Great*, with whom he was much in favour. He was succeeded by *Edsius*, who had been King *Harald's* Chaplain (6). He governed the Church till the year 1050, either by himself, whilst his Health permitted, or by a *Chorepiscopus*, when disabled by sickness. This *Chorepiscopus*, who exercised all the Archiepiscopal Functions, resided at *St. Martins* in the *Felds* (7). *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, made Bishop of *London* by *Edward the Confessor*, was by the same Prince promoted to the See of *Canterbury* after *Edsius*. He was driven from thence, in the manner before related, and banish'd the Kingdom by an Assembly General, and *Stigand* Bishop of *Helmstedt* placed in his room. *Robert* appealed to the Pope against these Proceedings; but *Stigand*, notwithstanding the Appeal, and without staying for the Pope's determination, who for that reason suspended him, got himself consecrated. But, notwithstanding his Suspension, and tho' he had never applied to *Rome* for the *Pall*, he exercised all the Metropolitan Functions, till he was depos'd in *William the Conqueror's* time (8). Very probably, in those days, the *English* were not of opinion, that the Archbishops elect could not exercise their Functions till the Pope was pleas'd to empower them, or that the Pope's bare suspension was sufficient to put a stop to their acting as Primates.

The Succession of the Archbishops of *York* was as follows. After the death of *Ofwald* (9), mentioned in the foregoing Book, *Adulph* succeeded him in 993, and governed his Church till 1002, when by his death he made room for *Wulfstan II*, who, after twenty one years, was succeeded by *Elfric Puta*, surnamed the *Grammarian*, thought by some to be the Author of the Translation of the *Saxon* Homilies. To him succeeded *Kinsius* (10), in 1050, after whom came *Aldred*, who was alive at the Conquest.

Among the Bishops of note in those days, *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester* was a Person of an extraordinary Character in some Mens opinion, tho' *Lanfranc* thought him unqualified for the Office of a Bishop, for his stupidity and want of Learning. But this is not the first time that weak Men have been made to pass for Saints. This Prelate being consecrated by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, made his profession of canonical obedience to *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though suspended by the Pope. To account for this disregard of the Pope's suspension, 'tis pretended, the submission was made to the See of *Canterbury*, and not to the Person of *Stigand*: But when such like Assertions are advanc'd; they should be supported with some Authorities, whereas this here is destitute of all.

Edmund Bishop of *Durham* was remarkable for the manner of his Election. The Chapter of *Durham* being met to elect a Bishop, and not being able to agree upon their Man, *Edmund*, a Priest of that Church, said jestingly, that since they were at a loss whom to choose, they had as good take him and make him a Bishop. As Miracles were then much in vogue, the Chapter looked upon this motion as a divine impulse, and so unanimously agreed to elect him. *Edmund* became famous for his courage and boldness in reprimanding Vice, even in Persons of the highest birth and stations.

We must also reckon in the number of illustrious Persons of that Age, certain *English* Ecclesiasticks, who flourish'd in *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Olaus Scot-Kunung*, King of *Sweden*, desirous to turn Christian, desired *Ethelred* to send him some Missionaries to instruct him in the Gospel. *Sigefrid*, Archdeacon of *York*, (and not Archbishop, as a *Swedish* writer will have it,) *Esquil*, *Gumchild*, *Rudolf*, and *Bernard*, or *David*, undertook this Mission. *Sigefrid* was made Bishop of *Wexia*, a City in the Province of *Smaland* in *Sweden*, and baptiz'd *Olaus*. Some say however, he received Baptism at the Hands of *Bernard*; but

(1) *Crediton* or *Kinton* stands on the *Creden* in *Devonshire*; there are now no Footsteps of its having been a Bishop's See, but a great Meadow, called *My Lord's Meadow*.

(2) This City stands on the River called *Ifc* by the *Britons*, and *Ex* by the *Saxons*, whence the Names *Isc* and *Exan-cesster*. The *Welsh* call it to this Day *Caerise*. It was made a Bishop's See by *Edward the Confessor*, in 1048. *Leofric* a *Burgundian* was the first Bishop. Here are fifteen Churches. The Organ in the Cathedral is the largest in *England*, the greatest Pipe being fifteen Inches Diameter. The City is about a Mile and half in Compass.

(3) *Durham* being almost surrounded with the River *Wear*, was called by the *Saxons*, *Dunholme*, *Dun* signifying a Hill (the City being seated on one) and *Holme*, that is, a River Island; it was built about the Year 995.

(4) See *Giraldus Cambrensis de Jure & Statu Menevensis Ecclesie*, p. 518, &c. *Anglia Sacra* P. II. Marca de Concord, &c. l. 1. c. 7. Ann. 983.

(5) *Egelnoth*, who was Archbishop seventeen Years, refused to Crown King *Harold*, telling him he was enjoined by *Canute* his Father to set the Crown upon none but the Issue of Queen *Emma*. Then laying the Crown on the Altar, he denounced an Imprecation against any Bishop that should venture to perform the Ceremony. *Harpfield. Hist. Eccl. Sec. X. c. 10*. This, if true, is another Argument against *Canute's* Will. See p. 127. Not. (4).

(6) *Edsius* crowned and anointed King *Edward the Confessor*, on *Easter-Day*, and then preached upon the Occasion. *Sax. Ann. MLXII*. This is the first Coronation-Sermon we meet with.

(7) Near *Canterbury*. *Gervas. Aët. Pontif.* p. 1650. The Archbishops formerly had a *Chorepiscopus*, or Assistant; but this Office was extinguished by *Lanfranc*. *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 213.

(8) *Malmfbury* says, he procured a *Pall* five Years after from *Bennet* the Antipope. *De Gest. Pontif.* l. 3. He was imprisoned at *Winchester* by *William I*, where he died. *Malmfb. ibid*.

(9) He was buried at *St. Mary's* in *Worcester*, which he built. *Stubbs*.

(10) Chaplain to *Edward the Confessor*: *Stubbs* says, he ordained one *Maguer* Bishop of *Glasgow*, and *John* his Successor, and received an Acknowledgment of his Metropolitan Jurisdiction in writing, which was lost with many other Instruments, when *York* was set on Fire by the *Normans* soon after the Conquest. *Stubbs, Aët. Pontif. Eborac.* p. 1700.

this is not very material. The greatest part of these Missionaries were martyr'd by the *Pagans*, to whom they preached (1).

I have spoken elsewhere, though in a very general manner, of the division of the Kingdom into Parishes. But since I am arrived at the end of the *Saxon* Empire, it will not be foreign to the purpose to conclude what I have to say of the *Anglo-Saxon* Church, with a more particular account of this matter.

*The Division
of Parishes
when settled.
Coll. Eccl.
Hist.*

Augustin, the first Bishop of the *Saxons*, receiving from the King of *Kent* some Lands, for the maintenance of himself and the Monks he brought with him, disposed of the Profits of these Lands, and the offerings of Christians as he thought fit. But because he wanted Instructions in this matter, he consulted *Gregory I*, who told him, it was the custom in the Church of *Rome*, to divide the Offerings into four Portions, and distribute one of them for the maintenance of the inferior Clergy. However, as *Augustin* and his Companions were Monks of the same Order, the Pope exhorted them to live together as Brethren. Thus also lived *Aidan* and *Finan* Bishops of the *Northumbrians*, who were Monks as well as *Austin*, though of a different Order. But it cannot be inferred from hence, that in all the Churches, the Bishop and his Clergy lived in common, as some pretend. On the contrary, it seems to follow, from the Bishop's being obliged to distribute the fourth part of the Church's Revenues among the Clergy, that they did not live in common. Be this as it will, the Bishop and Clergy were maintained as well out of the profits of the Lands given to the Church, as by the daily offerings of the People.

The number of Christians encreasing every day, and there being at first in each Diocese, which contained a whole Kingdom, but one Church, it could not but be very inconvenient to many of the new Converts to resort thither. It was necessary therefore that others should be built, and Priests sent to officiate in them. These Priests were not however fixed upon any particular Church, but kept with the Bishop, who sent out sometimes one, sometimes another, to minister in the remote Churches, after which they returned to him. In proportion therefore as Christians encreas'd, new Churches were erected for the convenience of those who lived at a distance from the Cathedral. These Churches were no more than Chapels of ease to the principal Church, to which belonged all the Offerings that were made in the others. Accordingly the Priests at their return, put the Offerings they had received into the Bishop's hands, which served for the maintenance of the Bishops, and the Clergy that were about him. The Priests then at first had no other Titles, but that of belonging to a certain Diocese: for these first rural Churches are not to be considered as distinct Parishes, but as Chapels belonging to the Cathedral.

Stillingfleet.

These rural Churches were not at first very numerous. The reason is, because the Lords who had large Estates,

were the only Persons that founded them, and generally were contented with building one single Church for the use of their Vassals. The number of Christians being exceedingly encreased, it was become necessary to provide for the constant residence of a Priest in each of these Churches. But as the great Men, as well as the People, did not care to have a new Priest at every turn, the Bishops were willing to continue the same to them; and from this time, Parishes may properly be said to commence. However, lest the Priests, thus fixed to one Cure, should be unmindful of their dependance on the Cathedral, the Bishops reserved in their own hands the Revenues and Oblations these Churches were endowed with. This gave the Founders some uneasiness. They could not bear to see the Priest, who did all the duty, have so small a share of their Donations. Wherefore, the zeal of erecting new Churches beginning to cool, at a time when there was most need of them, the Bishops thought fit to yield a little. To this purpose, they compounded with those who had a mind to build Churches, and were satisfied with reserving to the Cathedral, a third or fourth part of the Incomes, with the right of Baptism and Burial. This obstacle being removed, these private Oratories became very numerous, almost every great Man building one for the convenience of himself and Vassals. Moreover, when any Lord alienated part of his Estate, the Purchaser seldom failed of erecting a Church in his new Purchase. On the other hand, the Bishops being greatly enriched by the Grants made to their Churches, built likewise Churches on their Lands, as well for the convenience of their Tenants, as to imitate the Nobles, among whom they themselves began to be ranked. By all these means the rural Churches abounding every where, there was no necessity of sending Priests from place to place, since each Church, as was before observed, had one of its own. And thus by degrees the Parochial Division was settled. However, the Bishops were long in possession of the Tithes and Oblations, till at length, in order to quicken more and more the zeal of Christians, they removed this difficulty which obstructed the building and endowing of Churches. They not only left to the Parochial Priests the Revenues the Founders were pleased to assign, or at least, the much greater part, but also granted them the power of administering the Sacraments in their respective Churches. This is the rise and progress of the Parochial Division, which was almost quite settled in the Reign of *Edgar*, or perhaps of *Canute the Great*. Between that time and the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, there were some farther Subdivisions; but, in all appearance, there were few new Parishes after the *Norman Conquest*. At least, we find by several Charters of the latter *Saxon* Kings, that the Parishes of *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingtonshire* and *Lincolnshire*, were the same as at present. Whence it may be presumed the Parishes of the other Counties agreed with our modern Division (2).

*Wharton's
Defence of
Pluralities.
p. 81.*

*Monast.
Angl. under
Ely, Croy-
land, &c.*

(1) Through the Laziness or Ignorance of the Monks, the only Writers in those Days, we have but few Historians from *Aster* to the *Norman Conquest*. Next to *Aster* was *Etchewerd*, who wrote in the Reign of *Edgar*, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended of the Blood Royal. His Works consist of four Books, which were published by Sir *H. Savil*. Bishop *Nicolson* says, the whole is an imperfect Translation of the *Saxon Annals*. His Style is boisterous and obscure, and in some Places hardly Sense; and therefore but of little use, unless in settling the Reigns and Deaths of some of our *Saxon* Kings, who lived about his Time, concerning which the Copies of the *Saxon Annals* differ. From him to the Conquest we meet with no Historians, except *Osburn*, who has wrote the Lives of *St. Dunstan* and *St. Alphege*, which are published in the first Volume of *Anglia Sacra*; and the Author of a Treatise called *Encomium Emmae*, being a short Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*.

(2) As may be farther seen from *Dooms-Day Book*, where the Parishes are very near the same as at this Day.







A
DISSERTATION
 ON THE
Government, Laws, Manners, Customs, and Language
 OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

The greatest Part of the Laws in Europe from the North.



THE Revolution that happened in Europe, about the beginning of the fifth Century, is one of the most remarkable events in History. The Roman Empire, which was almost of equal extent with the known World, was then divided into two Empires, one containing the eastern, the other the western Provinces.

The western Empire was so harraffed by the continual Invasions of the northern Nations, that losing by degrees all its Provinces, it was reduced to nothing, and the very name of Emperor of the West vanished with that Empire. This great Revolution quite altered the State of Europe, by introducing new Inhabitants, who raising new Kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, brought at the same time new Laws and Customs into the conquered Countries. Spain was peopled with Colonies of *Wifigoths*, *Catti*, *Alani*, and *Suevi*. Gallia was overwhelmed with a deluge of *Wifigoths*, *Burgundians*, and *Franks*. Italy was so expos'd to the successive Invasions of the *Heruli*, *Ostrogoths*, and *Lombards*, that the antient Inhabitants, instead of preserving the superiority of Number, made no figure at all. The *Saxons*, *Suevi*, and *Bavarians*, spread themselves over all Germany, and became Masters of that vast tract of Land. In a word, Great-Britain was so over-run with *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, that hardly could any remains of the antient *Britons* be discovered. It was very natural for these Conquerors to establish in their new erected Kingdoms their own Country Customs. And therefore it may be advanc'd for certain, that the Laws now in force, throughout the greatest part of Europe, are derived from the Laws these antient Conquerors brought with them from the North. This might be easily proved with respect to all the Countries concerned in this great Revolution. But at present I shall confine myself to England alone. By what I am going to say, whoever has any knowledge of the English Constitution, will easily be convinced, that the Customs now practis'd in that Kingdom, are, for the most

The Laws of England derived from the Saxons.

part, the same the *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from the northern Countries, and lastly from Germany.

In the second Book of this History we have seen how the *Saxons* were no sooner arrived in Great-Britain, but they formed a design of settling there, and at length succeeded after a War of 150 years. This long War bred such Enmity between them and the *Britons*, that there is no probability the *Saxons*, who in the end proved victorious, should borrow from the vanquished the Form of Government, established in their Conquests. If therefore we would trace the Origin of the Laws and Customs of the *Anglo-Saxons*, we must search for it in Germany and the northern Countries, rather than among the antient *Britons*. And indeed, such is the resemblance between the Laws of the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Lombards*, and the other northern Nations, that it must necessarily be concluded, they had all the same origin, of an older date than the separation of these People. This resemblance is still much stronger between the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons* in Great-Britain, and those of the *Saxons* in Germany, since they were both the same Nation, part whereof settled in England. An English Historian, by comparing the Laws and Customs of the Germans with those of the English, has plainly shown, the English introduced into Great-Britain the same Laws that were in use in their own Country. Nay, he affirms, that till the Norman conquest, there was not so much as one Law in England, but what, in the main, the Germans had the same. 'Tis true, as the *Anglo-Saxons* consisted of three several Nations, who had also their separate quarters in England, there might be some difference, upon that account, amongst the seven Kingdoms of the Heptarchy. But this difference could not be very great, since the three Nations were united in Germany, before their coming into England, and made but one and the same People under the general Name of *Saxons*. All that can be inferred from hence, is, that the Laws established by the *Anglo-Saxons* in England, were composed of those of the *Angles*, *Saxons*, and *Jutes*. But to look for the Origin of the English Constitution among the antient *Britons*, would be without Foundation, though 'tis not impossible

impossible but their forms of Government might in some respects be alike. The Laws and Customs therefore, introduced into Great-Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, are to be considered, as composed of the Laws their Ancestors brought into Germany, and of those they found among the antient Germans. And indeed, what Tacitus says of the German Customs, corresponds so exactly with several of the Saxon ones, that it can hardly be doubted that the Saxons borrowed many things from the Germans, unless we should chuse to say, the customs of both Nations flowed from the same Fountain. But to trace back these matters to their first original, would be a work of infinite Labour. It suffices to give a general Idea of them. And therefore, without carrying this inquiry any further, let us be satisfied with seeing what was the form of Government, established by those Conquerors in England.

The Title of King among the Saxons.

The Saxons had no Kings in Germany, when they sent their first Troops to the assistance of the Britons under the conduct of Hengist (1.) Their Territories were divided into twelve Provinces, over each of which a Head or Governor was appointed by the Assembly-General of the Nation, wherein the supreme Power was lodged. This Assembly was called *Wittena-Gemot*, that is to say, the Assembly of the Wise-Men (2); and also, the *Mycel-Synod*, that is, the Great Assembly. Besides the Governors of the Provinces, there were others also set over the Cities and Boroughs. In time of war, the Assembly elected a General to command the Army, and to be the Chief or Head of the Commonwealth (3). Doubtless this General had great Prerogatives; but we are ignorant of their number and extent. It even appears, by the perpetual contests in England, between the Princes invested with this high dignity and the other Kings, that these Prerogatives had no fixed and settled Bounds.

Though the Title of King was not in use among the Saxons, it was however assumed by Hengist as soon as he was in possession of Kent. Indeed, it would have been difficult for him to have found any other so proper to express his Sovereignty over that Province. 'Tis true, the titles of Duke and Earl, or, their equivalents *Heretogh* and *Ealdorman*, were not then unknown. But they were not yet used to signify Sovereigns. 'Twas not till long after, that certain Dukes and Earls being invested with Sovereign power, these titles were made use of to denote the supreme Authority. The other Saxon Leaders, who settled in Great-Britain after Hengist, followed his example, in assuming the title of King. Thus, whereas in Germany, the Saxon Territories were divided into twelve Governments, their conquests in England were parted into seven Kingdoms; but with this difference, that in Germany, each Governor depended on the Assembly-General of the Nation, whereas in England, each King was Sovereign in his petty Kingdom. However this did not exempt him from all dependance on the *Wittena-Gemot* of his own State, which in conjunction with him regulated all important Affairs. Moreover, by mutual consent, there was established a General Assembly of the whole seven Kingdoms, where matters relating to all in common were settled. Hence this form of Government, which considered the seven Kingdoms as united in one Body, was called the *Heptarchy*, that is, the Government of seven.

The form of Government established by the Saxons in England.

These first Kings having scarce any other Subjects but their own Countrymen, durst not think of assuming a despotick Power. Perhaps they had never any such thoughts, having been accustomed to the contrary in their own Country. They established therefore, or rather continued, each in his own Kingdom, a *Wittena-Gemot*, where the same affairs were determined, as were wont to be in the like Assemblies in Germany. As for what concerned the common Interest of the seven Kingdoms, it was debated in a General Assembly of the Kings and great Men of the Heptarchy. 'Tis not precisely known what were the Rights and Privileges of the General *Wittena-Gemot*. Probably, they were much the same the States-General of the United Provinces enjoy at this day. Each King was Sovereign, but executed the determinations agreed upon in common, to which he had given his consent, either in Person or by Proxy. Be this as it will, the common opinion is, that there was a *Wittena-Gemot* for each Kingdom in particular, and a General one for all the seven (4).

Upon this supposition it is easy to define the nature of the Anglo-Saxons Government. 'Twas Monarchical, as each Kingdom had its King; but then it was also Aristocratical, as the King had not the power of making Laws without the consent of the Assembly General, consisting of the chief Lords of the Nation. Several believe too, it was partly Democratical, and that the People sent their Representatives to the *Wittena-Gemot*, as they now do to the Parliament. This opinion shall be fully examined hereafter. Mean time, it will be necessary to take a view first of the several ranks and degrees of Men among the Anglo-Saxons, since otherwise there is no having a distinct Knowledge of the nature of their Government.

I shall say nothing here of the King, because I shall have occasion elsewhere to speak of his Power and Prerogatives.

The Queen was the second Person in the State; tho' only with regard to the respect that was paid her, for she had no share in the Government. If sometimes the Queens sign'd the Charters with the Kings, it was not because it was necessary, but on account of their Rank. During the whole time of the Saxon Government, we find but one Queen invested with the Sovereignty; I mean, *Sexburga*, Queen of *Wessex*. However some Historians assure us, she was depos'd by the *West-Saxons* purely because she was a Woman. Nay, we have seen that on occasion of *Brithric's* death, *Egbert's* immediate Predecessor, the *West-Saxons* depriv'd their Queens of the Prerogatives they had till then enjoy'd. The Title of Queen, which was, and still is, given to the King's Wife, means no more, originally, than a Companion, in *Latin*, *Comes*. In process of Time, this Term was made use of to denote more particularly those who were nearest the King's Person; from whence it came to have a more general signification, and to mean the great Lords. Thus we find in the old French Romances, and Poets, *Li Queen de Flandre*, *Li Queen de Leicester*, instead of, the *Earls of Flanders* and *Leicester*. The word Queen then was common to Men and Women, just as *Comes* in *Latin*. At length, the Term *Count* or *Earl* being substituted in its room, when applied to Men, Queen was appropriated to

The several Degrees and Orders of Men among the Anglo-Saxons. The King.

Remark on the Word Queen.

(1) It is observable, that in France, Spain and Italy, they have no Word that signifies King, but what is borrowed from the *Latin*, a Language these Invaders were Strangers to, when they settled in their Conquests.

(2) In like Manner our Parliament is sometimes styled, *The Wisdom of the Nation*.

(3) This General was chosen out of the Twelve Governors.

(4) In order to have a clear Notion of the Gothic Model of Government established in the several Kingdoms of Europe, it will be necessary to consider the Nature of their Armies that were sent out in quest of new Habitations. As their whole Nation was divided, like the *Israelites*, into so many distinct Tribes with each its own Judges, without any common Superior, unless in time of War, like the *Roman Dictators*: So in like manner the Armies or Colonies, sent out, upon their Counties being overstocked with Inhabitant, were not Armies of *Hindings*, who conquered for the Benefit of their *Paymasters*, but voluntary Societies or Partners in the Expedition, consisting of so many distinct Armies, out of every Tribe, conducted each by their own Leaders, and united under one common General or Superior chosen by consent, who was also Head or Captain of his own Tribe. This then being the Nature of the confederate Army, it is evident that upon their conquering a Country, the Property of the Land was in the whole Collective Body, and that every Individual had a Right to share in what he had helped to conquer. Accordingly to fix this undetermined Right, the conquered Country was divided into as many *Shares* (called afterwards *Staves*, *Counties*, &c.) as the General or King had Companions, or as the Army was composed of Tribes, that each Tribe, as they had lived together in their own Country, might do the same in their new Settlement. After this general Division, the Lands were portioned out among the Leaders and Officers, who subdivided them among their Followers. These Allotments, whilst annual, or for life, were called in *Latin*, *Beneficia* (a Word appropriated since to Church Preferments) and afterwards *Ferda*, that is, a Gift of Possessions; from the *Teutonic*, *Fee* a Gift, and *Od* a Possession; in our Language they are still called *Fees*. As it was necessary upon their settling in a newly inhabited Country, to continue their General, he may be considered in two respects; first, as Lord of a private District divided among his own particular Followers, and as Lord or Head of the great Seignior of the Kingdom. Thus we may frame an Idea of the Nature of the Governments settled in Europe by the Northern Nations. Over each District or County presided an *Ealdorman* or *Earl*, who with an Assembly of the *Landholders* or *Vassals*, (so called from *Goyell*, the Name they went by in their own Country) regulated all Affairs relating to the Country. And over the great Seignior of the Kingdom presided the General or King, who with a general Assembly of the *Wittes* or *Vassals* of the Crown, regulated the Affairs relating to the whole Community. How this was done in England, and who were the Members of the *Court-Courts* or *Assemblies*, as well as of the *Great Court* of the Kingdom, will be shown under the next Head of the *Courts of Justice*. From what has been said, many useful Remarks may be made. Hence we see the Origin of the *Principalties*, *Duchies*, *Counties*, and the like, that the several European Kingdoms are divided into. From hence we may also observe that the Property or direction of the Land was in the Collective Body or the Publick, and that the Tenants in Fee were only invested with the *Dominium utile*; and therefore that the Great Lords held their *Seigniories* of the Publick or Kingdom, and not of the King. Thus the German Princes hold of the Empire, not of the Emperor; and this is the Reason of the English Lords being called *Peers of the Realm*, though they are now commonly thought to have held of the King. After the *Fees* from being annual became *Estates of Inheritance*, many Differences arose between the two Superiors and the Vassals, and between the Vassals themselves, upon which their reciprocal Rights and Duties were inquired into and settled. The Rules collected from such Decisions by Degrees, were termed the *Feudal Laws*, and prevailed over Europe for many Ages. This Law is distinguished by Bishop *Nicolas* into three Periods; its Birth from the Inruption of the Northern Nations to 600; its Infancy, from thence to 800; its Youth, from thence to 1027; And lastly, its State of Perfection soon after that Time. The Prince of Europe and their People being linked together by *Feudal Tenures* (which it duly considered will effectually show the true Nature of the *Royal Power*, and the Measures of the Peoples Obedience) remained for a long Time in a happy State, there having been no Prince in Europe that ever imagined he had a Title to arbitrary Power, till the *Civil Law*, which had been buried in oblivion for some Time after the settling of the Northern Nations in the western Empire, was brought to Light. Then some Princes made *Lex Regia* a handle to assume a despotick Power, and introduced the *Civil Law* purely upon that Account into their Kingdoms. This was unsuccessfully attempted in England; but it prevails in other Parts of Europe, even in Spain itself, where the Reading it purely for this Cause, was once forbidden Pain of Death. See St. *Amant's* Essay on the Legislative Power of England. p. 46.

the Women only. Afterwards coming to have a more restrain'd signification, it was used only to denote the Companion of the King, or the Queen. But it must be observed, this appellation is common to all Queens, whether they hold their Dignity of their Husbands, or of their own Right.

The Princes. The King's Sons and the Princes of the Royal Family held the third rank. They were distinguished by the Title of *Clyto*, taken from a Greek word, signifying, *Illustrious*. 'Tis something difficult to know the reason why the Saxon Princes affected a Greek Title. One would be apt to think the word *Clyto* came from some old Saxon term, if *Edgar's* Title of *Totius Angliæ Basileus* (1), were not a demonstration that they had a view to the Greek. As this Title was peculiar to the Princes, the word *Clyto* alone came by degrees to denote a Prince of the Royal Blood. Accordingly nothing is more common with the ancient English Historians than to use the Terms *Clytones*, *Clytonculi*, for the King's Sons. In process of time, the Saxon Term *Atheling*, from *Athel*, that is, Noble, was substituted in its place. As for the termination *Ing*, it denotes the extraction or descent, as *Malsbury* informs us. *The Sons of the Kings of England*, says he, *were wont to assume Names which shew'd their Extraction. Thus, the Son of Edgar named himself Edgaring, the Son of Edmund, Edmunding, and so of the others. But they had all one common Title, namely, that of Atheling. As the French, which settled in Gaul, came from Germany, probably the termination Ing, in the words, Merovingians, and Carolingians, that is, the descendants of Meroveus and Charles, is derived from the same original.*

Ealdorman. Next to the Princes, the first degree of the Nobility was that of Ealdorman (2). This word, which in its primary Signification means only an aged Man, came by degrees to stand for Persons of the greatest Distinction; apparently because such were chosen to discharge the highest Offices, whose long experience had rendered them most capable. 'Tis not only among the Saxons that this word is used in these two different Senses. We find in Scripture, that the Elders of *Israel*, of *Moab*, and of *Midian* were taken for the chief Men of their respective Nations. The word, *Senator*, *Senor*, *Signor*, *Seigneur*, in *Latin*, *Spanish*, *Italian* and *French*, signify the same thing. The Ealdormen therefore in *England* were the most considerable of the Nobility, discharged the highest Offices, and consequently had the largest Estates. As they were generally intrusted with the Government of the Counties, instead of saying the Governor, it was said, the Ealdorman, of such a County. Hence by degrees this word came to signify the Governor of a County or even a single City. Whilst the *Heptarchy* lasted, these Officers were only during the King's Pleasure, who turn'd out the Ealdormen when he thought proper, and placed others in their room. At length, they became during Life, at least for the most part. But however, this did not hinder the Ealdormen from being displaced upon several accounts. We have seen Instances of this in the Reigns of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*. After the *Danes* were settled in *England*, the Title of Ealdorman was by degrees changed into that of *Earl*, a *Danish* word of the same import (3). Afterwards, the *Normans* introduced that of *Count*, which, though different in its original Signification, meant however the same Dignity. But for reasons too long to be explained, the *Danish* Term *Earl*, is still used to denote the same Person, expressed by the word *Count* in other Countries.

Several sorts of Ealdormen. There were several sorts of Ealdormen. Some were properly only Governors of a Province or County. Others were Owners of their Province, holding it as a Fee of the Crown, so that it was always considered as Parcel of the State. The History of *Alfred the Great*, affords an Instance of this last sort of Ealdormen, which were very rare in *England*. We find this Prince gave the Property of *Mercia* to Earl *Ethelred*, and that *Elseda* his Widow kept possession in the reign of *Edward the Elder*. Nay, it was by force that *Edward* dispossessed his Niece *Alfwina* after the death of *Elseda*. *Malsbury*, speaking of *Edward the Elder*, expresses himself thus: *He united the two Kingdoms of Mercia and Wesssex; but as to the first, he*

*was only titular King, because it was given to a Lord named Ethelred. And to shew in what manner this Lord held Mercia, the same Historian speaking of Alfred the Great, says, He gave London, the Capital of Mercia, to a Lord, called Ethelred, who had married Elseda his Daughter, to hold it of him by Fealty and Homage. Hence, 'tis plain, Ethelred held Mercia as a Fee, in the same manner that Oeta and Ebuza had formerly held Northumberland of the Crown of Kent, as this Historian assures us. Thus also in France, about the beginning of the third Race of their Kings, the Dukedoms, and Earldoms, which before were only bare Governments, were made hereditary, on condition of Homage. These Ealdormen or Earls were honoured with the Titles of *Roguli*, *Subroguli*, *Principes*, *Patricii*. Nay, there are Instances of their having the Title of *Rex* (4). As for the others, who were only Governors, they had the Title of Ealdorman of such a County, expressed sometimes in *Latin* by the Term *Consul*. The first administered Justice in their own name, and appropriated to their own use all the Profits and Revenues of their respective Counties. The last administered Justice in the King's name, and had only a certain share of the Profits assigned them. Earl *Goodwin*, how great a Lord soever he might be in other respects, was of this rank. To these may be added a third order of Ealdormen, who had the Title, though without a Government, on account of their high Birth, and out of these the Governors were usually chosen. Thus the Title of Ealdorman denoted sometimes only a Person of Quality.*

There were also inferior Ealdormen in Cities and Burroughs. But these were only subordinate Magistrates, who administered Justice in the King's name, and were dependent on the great Ealdormen or Earls. The name of Ealdorman or Alderman is still given to these inferior Offices, whilst the others have the Title of Earl or Count.

The Office of an Ealdorman was wholly Civil, and had nothing to do with Military Affairs. There was in each Province a Duke, who commanded the Militia. The name of Duke, taken from the *Latin* *Dux*, is a modern Term. The Saxons called this Officer *Heretog* (5). He had no right to meddle with civil Matters. His business was of a quite different nature from that of an Earl, as he was also independent of him. *Hengist* and *Horsa* are called in the *Saxon Annals*, *Heretogan*, or Dukes, because they were sent into *Great-Britain*, not to govern the Country, but to command in the War. On the contrary, *Oeta* and *Ebuza* have always in the same *Annals* the title of Ealdormen, because they were Governors of *Northumberland*, under the Kings of *Kent*. It is true, they might also be stiled Dukes, as they had the command of the Army. Accordingly we find in our Histories, sometimes the title of Duke, sometimes of Earl, given to the same Person, when these two Offices were united into one, as they frequently were about the end of the *Heptarchy*. Thus the Governors of *Wesssex*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, are indifferently called Dukes or Earls. But I don't know the reason why Historians never give the title of Duke to the Governor of *Northumberland*. And yet some of these Governors had the command of the Armies, as is plain from the example of *Siward*, to whom *Edward the Confessor* committed the management of the War with *Cumberland*. (6).

There was moreover among the Saxons three very considerable Offices, two whereof were Civil, and the third Military. The first, which very few Subjects were ever invested with, was that of Ealdorman of all *England*. This Office answers to that of Chief Justiciary of *England*, the King's Lieutenant, Viceroy or Guardian of the Realm. This was so high a Dignity, that the Person invested with it was honoured with the Title of *Half-Kyning*, or *Demi-King*. We find in the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, but two Lords who were raised to this Post, namely *Abelstan* Earl of *East-Anglia*, and *Alwin* his Son, who were stiled *Totius Angliæ Aldermannus* (7).

The second great Office was that of Chancellor (8). He finally determined all Causes that were brought to the King's Court, and from him lay no Appeal. It was his business also to draw up, and sign all the King's Charters,

(1) King *Edgar* stiles himself thus in his Charter to *Glasbury-Abbey*, as it stands in *Malsbury's* Antiquities of that Monastery.

(2) Our Author calls them *Ealdormen*; but I cannot find the Word is so used in any Writer. The *Saxon Annals*, &c. stile them *Ealdmen*.

(3) From *ar* or *ear*, i. e. *Honour*, and *atic*, or *atic*, *Honourable*. In the *Danish* Language to this Day, *erlig* signifies *Noble*, or *Honourable*, as *Erlig* *radman* for *Nobilis Decanus* in *St. Mark*, cap. 15. v. 43. *Selden*, *Titles of Honour*, p. 638.

(4) *Ethelred*, Ealdorman of *Mercia* under King *Alfred*, is so called by *Ethelward*, and his Earldom is, in *Flower of Worcester*, called *Regnan* and *Ric*, (which is the same) in the *Saxon Annals*. See *Ethelw.* l. 4. c. 3.

(5) That is, publick Leader, or Captain. In the *Saxon Psalms*, both *Ealdorman* and *Heretoga* thus occur, *Aldermannum Juda*, *Heretogan Hears*, i. e. the Princes of *Juda*, their Captains. *Psal.* lxxvii. 27.

(6) The Union of these two Offices in one Person was no more than what was practised among the *Romans* in the Person of their *Consul*. The Art of War in the *Saxons* Time was not arrived to that Degree of Nicety as it is at present. You have at large the Duty of the *Heretog*, and the manner of his being elected by the County-Assembly at a full *Folk-mote*, in the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. See *Dr. Wilkins*, p. 205. De *Heretogis*.

(7) *Selden* thinks this *Alwin* to be the same that subscribes a Charter of *Edgar's* in *Ingalbus*, with *Ego Alwinus Dux censerfi*. At *Ramsay Abbey* was formerly this old Inscription.

HIC REQUIESCIT AILWINUS INCLYTI REGIS ÆDGARI COGNATUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ ALDERMANNUS, ET HUJUS SACRI COENOBII MIRACULOSUS FUNDATOR. He died in the Year 992. *Cod. Ramsfieri in Arch. Scaccari.*

(8) So called from the barbarous *Latin* Word *Cancellare*, from his Cancelling or Striking out what he pleased in *Mens Grants* and *Petitions*. *Tyrol. Trad.* p. 73.

otherwise they would have wanted a necessary Formality. The first Chancellor, mentioned in the *Saxon History*, was *Turketule*, Cousin to *Edward the Elder*, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. However, I am apt to think this Office was of a more modern Institution (1).

Kyning's
Hold, Or
Generalissi-
mus

The third considerable Officer was the General of the Army, in *Saxon* *Kyning's Hold*, that is, the King's General. He was chief of the Dukes, or the *Generalissimo*, like the High-Constable of *France*. This Office lasted only during war. In time of peace, or when the King did not think fit to have a *Generalissimo*, the Holds or Dukes of each County had the Care of the Militia.

High-Sher-
riffs or Vis-
counts.

Next to the Earls and Dukes were the High-Sheriffs of the Counties. These were Officers sent by the King into such Counties as had no Earls, to administer Justice in his name and stead. They were called in *Latin*, *Summi Præpositi*, *Custodes Provinciarum*, and afterwards, *Viccomites* (2), not that they were under the Earls or Counts, but because they performed the Office of Earl in the Counties where there was no Earl. It is very true, there were sometimes High-Sheriffs in those Counties, where there were also Earls; but *Selden* supposes it was because such Counties were by some peculiar Privilege under the immediate Jurisdiction of the King. But however this be, hence came the title of Viscount, the next in order to that of Earl or Count. As for the name of Sheriff (3), it is continued to inferior Officers, who, in each County, perform the Office of the antient Viscounts: These last having been long since ranked among the Peers of the Realm.

Thanes.

After the High-Sheriffs came the *Thanes*, a name in *Saxon* signifying Minister or Servant. There were two sorts: *Majors-Thanes*, that is, *Ecclesiastical Thanes*; and *Werold-Thanes*, that is, *Lay-Thanes*. The *Thanes* in general were divided into three Classes. The first were the King's *Thanes*, the immediate Tenants of the Crown, who did Homage to the King only. These were properly what were afterwards called Peers of the Realm, and made the Body of the greater Nobility. Consequently, Dukes, Ealdormen, and Viscounts, were ranked among the *Thanes* of the first Class, as well as they who, having no Offices, were the immediate Tenants of the Crown. The *Normans* changed the Term *Thane* into Baron, and stiled the Lands Baronies, which the *Saxons* called *Thanelands*. Hence it has been the custom for a long while in *England*, to rank all the greater Nobility under the general title of Barons, because all the great Men were *Thanes* (4). The second Class of *Thanes* were what they called *Middle-Thanes*, because there being others of an inferior degree, these were in the middle Class. If they held Lands of the King himself, they were inconsiderable, and generally, what they possessed was held of the Earls or Barons. The *Normans* gave them the name of *Vavassors*, and their Lands *Vavassories*. The Signification of this word, may, I think, be expressed by that of Under-Tenants (5). The third Class of *Thanes* were such as held their Lands of the *Middle-Thanes*, or *Vavassors*. These were not ranked among the lesser Nobility. They were properly such as lived upon their own Estates, and being of no profession, were distinguished from the meaner sort of People. If I am not mistaken, to these belonged particularly the title of Gentlemen; whereas the *Middle-Thanes* were in the same rank with the present Knights and Squires. I am very sensible, several are of opinion,

Selden.

the title of Gentleman is equivalent to that of *Nobilis*, and consequently, they were a part of the Nobility. The affinity between the words *Gentleman* and *Gentilhomme* seems to countenance this Opinion. I intend not to dispute this pretension with them. I shall only observe a remarkable difference between a *Gentilhomme* of *France*, and a *Gentleman* of *England*. In *France* there being but one body of Nobility, every *Gentilhomme* is a member of that Body, and no less noble than a Duke. But a *Gentleman* in *England* can at best be ranked but in the second order of Nobles, that is, among the lesser Nobility or Gentry. Besides, in *England* abundance of People of very mean Birth are called *Gentlemen*, who most certainly in *France* would have no right to be stiled *Gentilshommes*.

The lowest order among the *Saxons*, I mean of Free-
men, was that of the *Ceorles*, that is, Merchants, Artificers, Countrymen and others. Hence no doubt is derived the word *Churle* or *Carle*, a name given by way of contempt to People of mean condition. The *Ceorles* were equally free as to their Persons, with the *Thanes* of the third Class; however with this difference; the *Thanes* held such Estates as were called *Boc-Land*, conveyable by Deed or otherwise, upon paying a certain Sum to the Lord: But the *Ceorles* were possessed only of what they called *Socland*, or *Lands of the Plow*, which they could not alienate, because they were properly but Farmers. Among the *Ceorles*, those that held this sort of Lands were distinguished from the rest that were poor, and had none of these possessions, or exercised some Trade for their livelihood, by the honourable name of *Socmen*. In general, all under *Thanes* and above *Slaves* were in the rank of *Ceorles*, who [as to their Persons, though not Lands] were as free as the *Ealdormen* and *Thanes* themselves. They might even arrive at the Dignity of a *Thane* of the third Class, if they so thriv'd as to be in possession of five Hydes of Land, a House with an enclos'd Court, a Kitchen, a Hall, and a Bell to call their domesticks together (6). *Selden* thinks a Hyde of Land was such a quantity as could be managed with one Plow (7).

The lowest order of Men were the Slaves or Bond-men, of whom there were two sorts; such as were really Slaves, who, possessing nothing of their own, worked only for their Lords, by whom for that reason they were maintained. The others, who were properly Servants, had small Holdings at the Will of their Lords, for which they did all the servile Country Works that were set them. As for the Original of these Slaves, some think they were the descendants of the meaner sort of *Britons*, who submitted to become Slaves, to save their lives during the fury of the first *Saxons* in *England*. Others are of opinion, they came from the Slaves brought into the Island by the *Saxons*. However this be, these [*Prædial*] Bondmen, not quite so much Slaves as the others, managed their Lords Lands, from whence they reaped some advantage themselves, without having the Liberty of quitting the Place of their abode, and settling elsewhere, unless with their Lord's Consent. They were afterwards called Villains, that is, Villagers, from the Villages where they lived and worked. We still meet in several parts of *Germany*, with such sort of Peasants, who are subject to great Drudgery, and generally are treated very harshly by their Lords. When a Slave had his freedom, he was immediately rank'd among the *Ceorles*, the freedmen not constituting, as some pretend, a new order of Men. 'Tis

Of Bond-
men two
Sorts.

(1) *Lambard* affirms the use of the *Great Seal*, and with it the name of Chancellor was brought out of *Normandy* by *Edward the Confessor*. See his *Archæologia*.

(2) *Vice* does not denote here a Subordination to any Comes. As in that of *Horace*, *utur vice cotis*, and as in *Vice-Cancellarius* in the Court of *Rome*, where there is no Chancellor. *Viccomes* therefore means here, one appointed *Supplere Vicem Comitum*. See *Selden Tit. of Hon.* p. 646.

(3) Sheriff, as it *Shire-Rex* (i. e. i. Prefect of the Shire, from the *Saxon*, *Gerefa* contracted into *Grefa*, and *Greve*, and by the *Normans*, into *Reve*; thus *Portugali* is *Præfatus Postus*, from the German Word *Grave*, which signifies a Judge. Whence the old Words *Cent-Grave*, *Tun-grave*, &c. for the chief Magistrates in the Hundreds and Tythings. Thus in *Germany* the Judges of the Boroughs and Marches were called *Bur-Graves* and *Mark-Graves*, and *Grave* is still used there to signify the Sovereign Princes of the Territories it is applied to. The *Saxon* Sheriffs were chosen by the Assembly of the County. See *Dr. Wilkins*, p. 205.

(4) It is the common Opinion that the *Barons* after the Conquest, were the same with the *Thanes* in the *Saxon* Times; but upon Examination it will appear otherwise. The word *Thane* occurs not in the oldest *Saxon* Monuments, and their Original seems to be this. When time had polish'd the *Anglo-Saxons*, many Office that the great Men discharged at first in their own Persons, were for Ease and Grandeur by them devolved on others. And, as in those Days there was but little Money, such Persons were rewarded for their Services, by having Land given them. Such Lands were called *Tain-Land*, which paid no Rent, the Supplier having the Tenant's Service in lieu of it. Thus a great Lord's Chamberlain, Hawker, Hunter, were called his *Thanes*. These *Thanes* were divided into greater or lesser, only differing in this, that the greater held of the King, and the lesser of some Subject. Hence it appears, that the *Thanes* were no other Persons than those the *Normans* called Tenants by Serjeanty; when the Service was of a publick Nature, that is, if Land were given for the Service of High-Steward, or Marshal of *England*, such Gift and Service was called grand Serjeanty; but if for Service of Steward of the Household, Master of the Horse, then respecting only the Person of the King, such Services made only a Tenure of Petit-Serjeanty. Now the first of these only, as holding on the Publick, were ranked among the Barons. Serjeanty is *French* for *Servitium*, so that *Thanes* and *Serjeants* mean the same thing, viz. Minister or Servants. See *St. Amand*, p. 112.

(5) The *Vavassors* in *Lowlands*, from whence they seem originally to come, were inferior to the *Capitani*, these last comprehended Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, and other great Titles; but the *Vavassors* were such as were invested, either by the Sovereign or some Duke, Count, &c. with some Territory of feudal Command, without any of these Titles. So that *Vavassor* means as it, *Validus Possessus* or powerful sort of *Feudalis*. See *Selden Tit. of Hon.* p. 488.

(6) The Land among the *Saxons* were distinguished into *Beckland* and *Foleland*, (and not *Socland*, as *Rapin* says.) The *Beckland*, or Hereditary Lands, were possessed by the nobler Sort, free of all Services. These were divided into two sorts, *Inland* and *Outland*. The *Inland* was that which lay next or most convenient for the Lord's Mansion House, and therefore was kept in their Hands for support of their Family. This was managed by the Bondmen and Slaves, and was afterwards called by the *Normans*, *Terras Domicales*, the *Demens*, or Lord's Land. *Outland* was that which lay beyond the *Inlands* or *Demens*, and was granted out to any Tenant Hereditarily, but at the Pleasure of the Lord. Part was disposed among such as attended their Lords either in War or Peace, (called *Thengens*, or *lesser Thanes*), after the manner of *Knights-Fees*. The other Part was allotted to Husbandmen, who were termed *Ceorles*, and were to pay their Lord a certain Portion of Victuals and things necessary for Hospitality. This Rent was called *Færm* or *Farm*, (a *Saxon* word signifying Meat or Victuals) which ever since *Henry III*'s Time, has been changed into Money, though we still retain the word *Farmers*. These *Outlands* were what they called *Foldland*. The word *Lord* is a Contraction of the *Saxon* *Hlæford*, i. e. a *Grace of Bread*, a Maintenance, because they granted to their *Ceorles* or *Socmen*, Land sufficient to supply themselves and Families with Bread and Necessaries. *Soc* signifies in *Saxon* a Liberty of judging and determining Causes within the Precinct of the *Soc*, or *Manor*. Hence *Socmen* were those that owed suit to the Lord's Court, or *Hall-mote*, where the Lord determined all differences between his Men in their Civil Rights, and also punished Criminals with the Advice and Consent of his Freeman. Life and Death were at first within the Jurisdiction of the *Hall-mote*.

(7) See p. 129. Note (3).

true they were called *Froelatan*, that is, Freedmen; but it was only to distinguish them from those that were Free-born, who however had no peculiar Privilege. Among the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Lords had not the power of Life and Death over their Slaves. Nay, the Laws provided, they should not cripple or maim them without incurring a Penalty. They who made such Laws, imitated in some measure the Law of God, without knowing it (1).

Freeholders.

All the King's Subjects, except Slaves and Villains, were Freedmen and Freeholders. But though Earls and Barons, or *Thanes* might be included under this general Appellation, yet by Freeholders is commonly meant the *Thanes* of the second and third Classes, with the *Georles*.

Burghers and Aldermen.

The Inhabitants of Towns, who were call'd *Burghwitan* or *Burghers*, had the Privilege of being governed by Magistrates chosen out of their own Body, to whom was given the Title of Aldermen; and of forming a Society, from whence is derived what is called in *England* a Corporation (2). This Privilege was granted them for the Encouragement of Arts, and especially of Trade and Commerce, which was justly deem'd of very great advantage to the State. For the farther encouragement of Trade, it was also enacted by Law, that if a Merchant cross'd the wide Sea three times, he should be honoured with the Title of *Thane*, and admitted to all the Privileges of that Order. I don't know what is meant here by the wide Sea, unless it be the *German Ocean*, since in those days, *America* was not discovered. From the time of the *Saxons* Merchants have been in great repute in *England*, since we find such as distinguish themselves in Trade, are frequently honoured with Knighthood by the King.

Having now gone through the several Orders and Degrees of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, I shall in the next place, consider how they were governed, and chiefly the method of administering Justice. To this end, it will be necessary to speak of the different Courts they erected in *England*, whereby will be seen the Origin of the several Courts of Justice now in that Kingdom.

The COURTS of JUSTICE.

I Have already observed in the Life of *Alfred the Great*, that this Prince divided *England* into *Shires*, the *Shires* into *Trythings*, *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, these into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings*. However it must not be imagined that in this division, he introduced something entirely new to the *English*. He only settled the bounds of the former divisions, making some alterations for convenience's sake. At least, as to the Division of the Kingdom into *Shires*, 'tis certain he only proportioned it in a better manner than before. This is evident from there being Earls of *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire* in the reign of *Ethelwulf*, as *Affer* relates, who lived about that time. But *Alfred* uniting all *England* into one Monarchy, made a more exact and extensive division of his dominions. The *Shires* contained a whole Province subject to the Jurisdiction of an Earl or Count, and therefore were also called Counties. Some of these *Shires* being divided into *Trythings*, others into *Laths*, and others into *Wapentakes*, each of these divisions, which were the same thing under different names (3), consisted of three or four hundreds of Families, and each Hundred was subdivided into *Tythings*. The Courts of Justice were formed with respect to these several divisions, that is, there was a Court for each *Tything*, *Hundred*, &c. to the end Justice might be administered with less charge, greater dispatch, and more exactness.

The Tything Court.

The lowest of these Courts was the *Tything Court*. It consisted of ten heads of Families, who were mutual Sureties for one another, as each of them in particular was for all that were under him (4). Every Subject in the

Kingdom was registered in some *Tything*. Only Persons of the first rank had the Privilege that their single Family should compose a *Tything*, for which they were responsible. Each *Tything* had a President, call'd *Tything-Man*, or *Burg-holder*, who took care to hold a Court, when occasion required. The method of proceeding was as follows.

If any Person accused of a Crime, refused to appear, the other nine Sureties were bound to see him forth-coming to Justice. If he ran away, he was not suffered to settle in any other Town, Burrough or Village; because no one could change Habitation, without a Testimonial from his *Tything*, for want of which they that received him were punished. By the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Tything* had thirty Days (5) allowed them to search for the Criminal. If he was not to be found, the *Tything-Man*, taking with him two of his own, and nine of the three next *Tythings* (6), these twelve purged themselves by Oath of the offence and flight of the Malefactor. If they refused to swear, the *Tything* the offender belonged to, was obliged to make satisfaction in his stead.

This Court frequently met, as well to decide the Differences among the Members of the *Tything*, as to concert measures against such, whose behaviour created a suspicion of their committing some crime, for which the rest might be in danger of incurring the Penalty. In this case, the suspected Person was obliged to find particular security for his good Behaviour, without which he was confined. This Court was a terror to People of mean Condition, as they saw they could not commit any offence with impunity. Before this Order was established, the meaner sort of People might easily shift their quarters by reason of their obscurity, which prevented them from being taken notice of. But it was impossible for them to change their Habitation, after they were obliged to bring a Testimonial from their *Tything*, to enable them to settle or be registered in another.

These ten heads of Families, of whom the *Tything* consisted, were called Free-Burghs, that is, Free-Pledges, Burgh signifying, Surety or Pledge. Hence the word Neighbour, which originally signifies a near Pledge. In all appearance *Burman*, which signifies a Neighbour among the *Dutch*, is derived from the same source, I mean, from the same custom which was observed in *Germany*, and served for a model to King *Alfred*. We find in the History of the Customs of *China*, written in Spanish by *John Gonzalez de Mendoza*, an *Augustin Monk*, that the like Custom is now in use in that Empire. The likeness is so perfect between what is practised by the *Chinese* and the *Anglo-Saxons*, with respect to these *Tythings* or mutual Pledges, that it is wonderful, how two Nations so remote from each other, and between whom there was never any communication, could thus have the same Thoughts.

The next Court was that of the *Hundred*. It was held once a Month, and had for President one of the most noted Aldermen of the *Hundred*. The Bishop or Archdeacon was obliged to sit with him, to determine with the other Judges, all matters Ecclesiastical and Civil relating to the *Hundred*.

The third Court was that of the *Trythings* (7), *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, according to the Name given these divisions in the several Counties. Here were decided the Causes between private Persons, belonging to different *Hundreds* of the same *Tything* or *Lath*. Besides this Court, each *Thane* of the first rank, or Baron, held one like it, wherein he determined the Controversies between his Vassals. From whence the present Court-Baron takes its Original.

But when a Suit commenced between Persons of different *Trythings*, it was brought to the County-Court, called in *Saxon*, *Shire-gemot*, or *Folcmote*, which was held twice a year, or oftner, upon occasion. Herein presided

Hist. de los Ritos y Costumbres de la China, l. 3. c. 10.

The Hundred Court.

Trything Court.

Lamland Dugdale.

The Shire-gemot or Folcmote.

(1) There were in *England* two Sorts of Villains, a Villain in *Gross*, who was immediately bound to the Person of his Lord, and his Heirs. The other, a Villain regardant to a Manor, that is, belonging and being annexed to a Manor. There are not truly any Villains now, though the Law concerning them stands unrepealed. The Successors of the Bond-Men or Villains are the Copy-holders, who, though Time has dealt favourably with them in other respects, yet they still retain one Mark of their original Servitude. For as of old Villains were not reckoned as Members of the Commonwealth, but Part and Parcel of their Owner's Substante, so were they therefore excluded from any share in the Legislature, and their Successors still continue without any Right to vote at Elections, by virtue of their Copy-holds.

(2) After Lands were appropriated and become Estates of Inheritance, Necessity obliged many People to devise Ways and Means for maintaining the Occupations, Ease and Pleasures of the Rich, to obtain by such Services a Maintenance to themselves. Hence arose the Invention and Encouragement of Arts and Sciences. This laid the Foundation of the many Cities or Burroughs which were formed throughout *Europe*, which formerly in other Kingdoms, as well as in *England*, by being necessary and useful became considerable. *St. Amand. p. 132.*

(3) The *Wapentakes* are the same as the *Hundreds*, and not as the *Laths*, or *Trythings*, as Mr. *Rapin* seems to think here and elsewhere. This word is still in use North of the *Trent*.

(4) By Ten Families we are not to understand Ten House-keepers, but Ten Lords of Manors, with all their Vassals, Tenants, Labourers, and Slaves, who, though they did not all live under their Lord's Roof, were all counted part of his Family. As there were no little Free-holders in those early Times, nor for long after, Ten such Families must occupy a large Space of Ground, and might well constitute a rural *Tything*. In like manner the Town *Tythings* or Burroughs consisted not of Ten Shop-keepers or Traders, but of Ten Companies or Fraternities, called in *Saxon*, *Guilds*: Perhaps some more eminent than the rest might employ great Numbers of Artificers, Hirelings or Slaves; and if we understand by Ten Families, Ten such, we may well conceive they constituted Towns or Burroughs. Every *Tything* was as it were a little Republick which exercised a judicial Power within the Precincts of its own Territory, and differed from a Shire in nothing but extent of Ground and Number of Inhabitants. For as the Earl presided in the general Assembly of every County, so there was one chosen annually out of the Ten to preside in the *Tything-Court*. These Presidents were called *Sapientes*, and by the *Saxons*, *Witan*. After the Conquest, these presiding Officers were made for Life, for the sake of the *Normans*, who would not otherwise be chosen, and instead of Wites were called Barons, and the Ten Manors, or *Tything* they presided over, an Honour or Barony. But the *Toten-Tythings* or Burroughs remained on their ancient foot, and chose their President yearly. Vide *St. Amand. Essay on Legislative Power of England.*

(5) One and Thirty Days.

(6) That is, of each the chief *Tything-Man* and two others.

(7) The *Tything* was a third Part of the County, some Footsteps of which ancient Division still remain in the Ridings of *Yorkshire*: For *East-Riding*, *West-Riding*, and *North-Riding*, are manifest Corruptions of *East-Tything*, *West-Tything*, and *North-Tything*.

the Bishop and the Earl or Ealdorman; but in the absence of the Earl, the High-Sheriff, or Viscount supplied his place. In this Court were registred all the *Tythings* of the County, with the Names of the Members. Ecclesiastical Causes were tried generally in the first place; next those the King was concerned in; and lastly, such as related to private Persons. *William the Conqueror* dispensed with the Bishops sitting in this Court, and granted them the Privilege of holding Courts of their own for the determining Ecclesiastical Matters. Appeals lay from the *Tything*, *Hundred*, or *Trything* Courts, to the *Shire-gemot*. Here also all Persons of what rank soever were to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

The King's
Court.

How great soever the Power of this Court was, there was one above it, which they called the *Kings-Court*, because the King himself presided there in person, or in his absence, the High-Chancellor. In this Court were examined the Judgments of the inferior Courts; and it was apparently this Court that condemned the four and forty Judges put to death by *Alfred's* order, as has been related in his Life. From this Court the *Common-Pleas* and *King's-Bench* derive their Original.

The Witte-
na-Gemot.

I come now to the Great Court, or Assembly General of the Kingdom, called in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel Synod*. As there are great disputes about the Existence, Origin, Nature, and Authority of this Assembly General, it will be proper in this place, to set forth the various Sentiments concerning these Matters, with the Reasons and Answers of such as maintain the contrary Opinions. For my part, as I am wholly unconcerned in the decision of the Questions formed upon this Subject, I shall content myself with stating fairly and impartially the reasons alleged on both Sides. To proceed regularly, I shall divide this matter into four heads, which will comprize whatever has been said of moment on this point. First, The Origin of the *Wittena-Gemot*. Secondly, Who were the Members of this great Council. Thirdly, Their Authority, and the Affairs there debated and concluded. Fourthly, Their Power in Ecclesiastical Matters.

I. The ORIGIN of the WITTENA-GEMOT.

I. Opinion
that the
Wittena-
Gemot is
owing to the
Concession of
our Kings.

THERE are who believe, the *Wittena-Gemot* or *Parliament*, to be of later date in *England* than the Royal Power, and to owe its original to the condescension of the Kings. They pretend, the Sovereign having from time to time, freely summoned the chief Men of the Nation, to consult with them about important Affairs, this at last was turned into Custom: That in process of time, the People improving some favourable Junctures, claimed, as their Privilege, the right of having a Parliament; though at first it depended entirely on the King's Pleasure, whether he would consult it or not. The main reason they ground their Assertion upon, is, that till *Edward the Confessor*, *England* was hardly ever, or but for a little while, united into one State. During the *Heptarchy*, it was divided into several Kingdoms, which made so many distinct States. Of these Kingdoms, *Egbert* united but four, whilst the other three remained separate. Afterwards, the *Danes* became Masters of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, and shared the Lands amongst them. So that from the *Saxon* Conquest to the second *Danish* Invasion, we do not find, *England* was united into one Body, but during the short Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. However the Government did not long continue in this posture. The *Danes* renewing their ravages in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, *England* was quickly divided into two Parts, whereof one was subject to the *Danes*, the other to the *English*. It is true indeed, after the Death of *Edmund Ironside*, the Kingdom was re-united under *Canute the Great*; but this Union ended with his Reign, and the Kingdom was once more divided amongst his Sons. In a word, it is maintained, that *England* was never thoroughly united into one Kingdom till the time of *Edward the Confessor*. It is moreover pretended to be shewn, from the several sorts of Laws, namely, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, that this *Heparchial* Government is all a *Chimæra*, and consequently the present Parliament cannot take its rise from an Assembly-General of all *England*, which never had a being during the dominion of the *Saxon* Kings.

To this it is answered, they who talk thus confound two things which ought carefully to be distinguished, namely, the *Wittena-Gemot* or particular Parliament of each of the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, and that of the seven Kingdoms together, as making but one Body and

one State. Though this last never existed, yet might the present Parliament derive its Original from the other. On supposition that each Kingdom had its own *Wittena-Gemot*, those of *Suffex* and *Wessex* became one, when these two Kingdoms were united under *Ina*. Afterwards, when *Egbert* annexed to his own Kingdom those of *Kent* and *Essex*, the four Kingdoms of *Wessex*, *Suffex*, *Kent* and *Essex*, made but one State, and consequently had but one Parliament. In proportion as this Kingdom was enlarged by the Conquests of *Alfred the Great*, *Edward* and *Athelstan*, the *Wittena-Gemot* increased in its Members, and at length comprised all *England* in the Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. Indeed, in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, the Wars with the *Danes* broke in upon this Regulation, and *England* was divided into two Parts. But under *Canute the Great* the Kingdom was once more united, and consequently there was but one and the same *Wittena-Gemot*, which was again divided into two, though but for a short space, under *Harold* and *Hardicanute*. In fine, after *Harold*, by the interest of *Earl Godwin*, was put in possession of the Kingdom of *Wessex*, there was but one *Wittena-Gemot* in all *England*, till the *Norman* Conquest.

To prove therefore that the present Parliament derives not its Origin from the *Wittena-Gemot* of the *Saxons*, either the time must be assigned when Parliaments first began after the Conquest, or it must be denied, there was ever any such thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each of the seven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*. The former of these is hardly possible, unless bare Conjectures are allowed instead of solid Arguments. As for the latter, the Assertors of the antiquity of Parliaments produce, against such as deny the being of the *Saxon Wittena-gemot*, several proofs which they look upon as demonstrative. The first is taken from the Title of the Laws of *Ina* King of *Wessex*, wherein are these Words: *I Ina, by the Grace of God, King of the West-Saxons, with the Advice of Cenred, my Father, Hedda, my Bishop, with all my Ealdormen, Seniors, and wise Men of my Nation, willing to establish good order in the State, have ordained, &c.* Hence it is plain, that *Ina* in making his Laws had the advice of the Assembly-General of *Wessex*. That the same method was established in *Mercia*, is shewn from *Bertulph's* Charter to the Abbey of *Croyland*, wherein are these Words, *with the unanimous Consent of the present Council assembled at Kingsbury, to debate on the Affairs of the Nation.*

Proofs for a
Wittena-
Gemot in
each King-
dom.

In this Charter, after the Bishops and Lords had set their Hands, the King subscribed in this Manner: *I Bertulph, in the Presence of all the Bishops and great Men of my Kingdom.* This is a clear evidence that the Charter was granted in the Assembly-General or *Wittena-Gemot* of *Mercia*. The same might be shewn, with regard to each of the other Kingdoms; but, say they, the Case is so evident, as not to admit of dispute.

They pretend likewise to prove, there was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the seven Kingdoms, from the very name of *Heptarchy*, which implies that the seven Kingdoms had something in common, and consequently, there was an Assembly, where their common Affairs were considered. For instance, how could the Monarchs or Generals for the seven Kingdoms be elected, if there was not an Assembly for that purpose? Moreover, they pretend to have more direct proofs, of the holding from time to time such Assemblies for the common affairs of the seven Kingdoms. Several Historians assure us, there was a general Assembly held in *Gloucestershire*, where *Ina* King of *Wessex* was chosen Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the Interest of *Sebba* King of *Essex*, who was present with all the other Kings. They produce also from *Ingulphus*, *Witglaph* King of *Mercia's* Charter, where are these Words: *In the Presence of Egbert King of the West-Saxons, of Ethelwulph his Son, and of the Bishops and great Lords of England, assembled at London.* Hence it is plain, this Assembly convened at *London*, and composed of all the Bishops and great Men of *England*, was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the Nation.

The Proofs
of a general
Wittena-
Gemot of
the seven
Kingdoms.

In answer to the objection taken from the diversity of the Laws then in *England*, it is said, It is not at all strange, that *Mercia* and *Wessex*, being two distinct States, should have different Laws; much less, that the *Danes* should establish their own Laws in their Conquests (1). But it is maintained, it cannot be reasonably inferred, from this Diversity, that there was no such thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each Kingdom, or a general one for all the Seven. This Inference would be as absurd, as if a Man, from the different Laws and Customs in the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, should conclude there was neither a Convention of the States in each Province, nor an Assembly of the States-General.

The Answer
to the Ob-
jection from
the Diversity
of the
Laws.

(1) See Note in the Reign of *Canute the Great* concerning this threefold Distinction of the Laws.

To strengthen all these Proofs, moreover is urged the Conformity in this respect between *England* and the other *European Kingdoms*. The *Saxons* had the like Assemblies in *Germany*; the *Ostrogots*, and after them, the *Lombards* in *Italy*: The *Franks* had their *Fields of Mars* or of *May* (1), their *Sanes*, their Parliaments, and the *Spaniards*, their *Cortez*.

This Conformity plainly shews, there was no other form of Government then in *Europe*. It is further added, that to deny with any foundation these Assemblies to be as ancient as kingly Power, it must be shown who are the Sovereigns that first established them in each Kingdom. But how came it to pass, that all the Kings in *Europe* should agree together at the same time, to become so very gracious and condescending to their Subjects? There is doubtless more reason to suppose they would have all joined in abolishing, rather than in granting a Privilege of this Nature.

II. The Constituent Parts or Members of the WITTENA-GEMOT.

ALL agree, the greater Nobility were Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*: By the greater Nobility I mean the Ealdormen and *Thanes* of the first Rank, afterwards still'd Earls and Barons. But the difficulty is to know, whether the *Thanes* of the second and third Class, and the *Georles*, of whom the House of Commons at present consists, had a Right to sit there by their Representatives or not. Tho' this Inquiry seems to be of little moment, at a time when the Commons incontestably enjoy this Privilege, yet it is not entirely needless to know, whether they usurp'd it; whether it was given them by the concession of the Kings; or whether it is of the same standing with the Monarchy. How undeniable soever the Right of the Commons may be at present, there are some who are persuaded 'twould be of dangerous consequence to acknowledge it to flow from the Condescension of the Sovereigns, lest the same Power that is supposed to have granted it, should think of revoking it when a favorable opportunity offered (2). And indeed this is the true motive of all the attempts to prove, the Commons have not been all along in possession of this Privilege. 'Tis but too apparent, this question has been started only to gratify such of the Kings as have endeavoured to stretch the Royal Prerogative beyond its due bounds.

First Argument against the Commons.

Be this as it will, they who maintain the Commons had no right to sit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, in the time of the *Saxon Kings*, alledge for their first reason, that the *under Thanes* and *Georles* were not Proprietors of Lands. From whence they infer, it would have been of no use to the Commons to have a place in these Assemblies, whose sole Business was to regulate the Affairs of a Country which properly belonged to the King and the Nobility. They add, 'tis incredible that the Nobles of the first rank, should agree to make their Vassals their Companions: That since in the distribution of their Lands they were at liberty to give them on what Conditions they pleased, 'tis not at all probable they should place the Tenants in the same Rank with the Lords. To render this opinion more probable, they say further, it is not to be imagined, that in those days the People were upon the same foot as at present; that although they were free, their Freedom was confin'd within narrow bounds; that the Superiority of the Nobles over them was vastly greater than at this day, and for that reason the People were little regarded: They served in the Wars for foot Soldiers, who were looked upon as Servants. Accordingly they had the name of *Knechten* [that is Servants] given them.

Answer to the first Argument.

To this the Assertors of the Rights of the Commons reply, That since the Nobles, who held their Lands of the King, had a right to a place in the *Wittena-Gemot*, the Commons, who held their Lands of the Nobles, might very well have the same Privilege too. The reason alledged in the Objection not holding good against the Lords, ought not to be of more force against the Commons. They add, that the main Business of the general Council was the making Laws as well for the People as for the Nobility; the settling the Rights of the Subjects; the preserving Peace in the State; and the raising Taxes, whereof the People paid the largest share. Hence they infer, it was very natural, and extremely consonant to the Custom of the *Saxons*, that the People should give their consent to all those things that concerned them no less than the Nobles. In a word, they say, if the People assisted not at the Debates of the great Council, 'tis not to be conceived whence should proceed the great care of securing their

Rights and Liberties, and preventing their being oppressed by the Great. 'Tis well known that Men, especially the Great, are not wont to labour so heartily to lessen their Power, but rather endeavour to increase their Authority as much as possible.

But as this point, being a matter of Fact and not of Right, can't be decided by bare Reasonings, both Parties endeavour to support their Opinions with more suitable Proofs, namely, Authorities. To this end, each Side lays great stress upon certain Terms in the Charters of the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, and upon certain Expressions in the Historians who speak of the Government of those days. 'Twill be necessary therefore to produce some of these Proofs, for the Reader's better understanding the Question, and to enable him the better to judge of the Reasons alledged on both Sides. I shall begin with what is urged against the Commons, or their Representatives, being Members of the General Assembly.

In the first place it is said, the very name of *Wittena-Gemot* plainly implies, that the great Council consisted only of such as were stiled *Wittan*. Now 'tis pretended, the precise meaning of that Word is *Majores Natu*, *Seniores*, *Ealdormen*, by which are understood only the Earls and Barons, or in the Language of the *Saxons*, the *Ealdormen* and *King's Thanes*, Spiritual and Temporal. To make this appear, a Passage is cited out of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* as translated by King *Alfred*. *Bede* says, King *Ofwald* applied to the *Majores Natu* of *Scotland* for a Bishop; and *Alfred* has rendered the Terms, *Majores Natu* by Ealdormen. The same Historian saying in the same place, that *Ofwald* made use of *Suis Ducibus & Ministri* for Interpreters, *Alfred* has translated these Words by, his *Ealdormen* and *Thanes*. Hence it is inferred, that the Term *Wittan* is to be understood only of Ealdormen and Barons, or in general, of the chief Men of the Nation. And accordingly it is concluded, the *Wittena-Gemot*, or Assembly of wise Men, consisted only of such. This Explanation of the Word *Wittan* is farther confirmed, by the Historians rendering it in *Latin* by *Principes*, *Optimates*, *Proceres*, *Magnates*, *Duces*, *Comites*, *Præpositi*, *Ministri Regis*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, which can by no means be understood of the People, or their Representatives.

They who are of the contrary Opinion, alledge, in their turn, the same Authorities to prove the greater Nobility were not alone summoned to the national Council. They pretend, these very Expressions, on which their Adversaries ground their Opinion, are not to be so restrained to the Nobility, as to be unapplicable to the Magistrates and chief Men among the People. To prove what they advance, they cite numberless Passages from the *Latin* Authors, where the Words *Principes*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, are to be taken in that Sense.

Answer to this Proof.

To this the others reply, the Word *People* may be understood in two different Senses; first, as it signifies a Nation in general, in which sense they own that by *Magnates*, *Proceres*, *Nobiles*, &c. may be meant the chief Men of the People, or of the whole Nation. The other sense of the Word *People* is more restrained, and signifies only a part of the People, as separate or different from the Nobility, as when one says, the *Nobles* and *People*. This is the meaning in question, to which it should be proved that the cited Passages can be applied. Now this is what they think impossible, affirming, there is no such thing to be met with in the *Latin* Authors, as *Optimates Plebis*, but always *Populi*, that is, of the People in general. But supposing it were true, that these Expressions did sometimes denote the chief Men among the People, as distinguished from the Nobles, it would still remain to prove, that, in the alledged Passages, the Word *People* must be taken in that Sense, unless the very thing in dispute be supposed.

But to this the Assertors of the Rights of the Commons answer, They readily agree these Expressions are principally to be understood of Noble Persons; but affirm withal, their meaning is not to be confined to the Nobles of the first rank. They say, that although in *England*, the greater Nobility, or Peers of the Realm, are a distinct Order from the lesser, who are rank'd with the Commons; it does not follow that the *Latin* Terms are to be explain'd by a distinction no where else to be found. For instance, in *France*, the lowest *Gentilhomme* belongs as much to the Nobility, as the highest Lord; the greater and lesser Nobility making but one and the same Body.

It is a sad thing to see an Inquiry of this Nature reduced to a Grammatical Dispute. But since I have undertaken to relate the Arguments of both Sides, I thought my self obliged not to pass over in silence those taken from the fore-mentioned Terms. However, in what has been said, the one side seems to me plainly to prove that the

Remark on the foregoing dispute.

(1) *Campus Martii*, et *Madri vel Magi*, Comitia publica, seu generales Conventus quos solebant primi Francorum Reges quotannis circa anni principium et Martio mense indicere, qui in patenti campo et sub dio peragebantur, ex quo *Campi Martii* vulgo appellantur, a Scrip'toribus. *Greg. Turon. l. 2. Hist. Fran. c. 27.*

(2) This is what happened in the Reign of King *James I.* this Prince having often given the Commons to understand, that he thought it in his Power to revoke their Privileges, which, in his Opinion, had no other Foundation than the Concessions of his Predecessors. *Rapin.*

great Lord, had a right to sit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, which no body ever denied. But I can't say it necessarily follows from what they alledge, that the Commons were excluded, which is the point in question. On the other hand, what is urged on the other side tends rather to show, that the Reasons for the Exclusion of the Commons are not satisfactory, than to prove directly, they had a Place in the *Wittena-Gemot*. Let us therefore proceed to another sort of Arguments, alledg'd in favour of the Commons.

Another Argument for the Commons. The first is taken from *Henry of Huntingdon* the Historian, who, speaking of the deposing of *Sigebert King of Wessex*, expresses himself thus: *King Sigebert growing incorrigible, the great Men and People of Wessex assembled together in the beginning of the second Year of his Reign, and depos'd him with unanimous Consent.* In this Passage it is pretended, the People being put in opposition to the great Men, can mean only the Commons, and consequently they gave their Votes in the General Assembly.

This Explanation is supported by a Passage of another Historian, who says: *In the Reign of Edward the Elder, were assembled the Bishops, Abbots, the faithful Subjects or Vassals, the great Men and the People, in the Kingdom of Wessex.* It is maintained, that by the *Fideles*, or faithful Subjects, which may be explained by Vassals or Liege-Men, are to be understood the People, as distinct from the Nobles, since in this place the *Fideles* and the People are distinguished from the great Men.

To these Authorities they add another from *Ethelwulf's* Charter of Tythes, where it is said, *These things were granted by the King, Barons, and People.*

These Proofs are confirmed by two Charters; the first whereof is King *Ethelred's*, in favour of the Abbey of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes with these Words: *These are the Decrees of Sigeric Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Court held before King Ethelred, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops, Abbots, Senators, the Chiefs and People of the whole Country.*

The other granted by *Edward the Confessor* to the Abbot of *Westminster*, runs thus: *I have ordered therefore this Charter of my Donation to be read on the day of the Dedication of the said Church, in the presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and great Men of England, and in the Sight and Hearing of all the People.*

Another Argument against the Commons. But the Opposers of the Commons pretend to invalidate the force of all the Arguments drawn from Passages of Historians and Charters several ways. In the first place, they observe, the greatest part of these Historians lived when the Commons sat in Parliament, and therefore it is no wonder when they speak of the *Anglo-Saxon* Affairs, they should represent things as they were in their own Times. In the second place, they say, nothing can be inferred from any Expressions in these Charters, because they were not originally writ in *Latin*, but in *Saxon*. Consequently, the *Latin* Quotations from thence are only Translations, the faithfulness whereof cannot be judged of, without confronting them with the Originals, which it is impossible, seeing they are all lost. For instance, it is certain, the *Saxons* never made use of the term *Baron*, which was brought in by the *Normans*, and yet we find it in one of the above-mentioned Charters. In the third place, they say, some of the Passages alledged do but show at most, that the Resolutions of the *Wittena-Gemot* were taken in the sight of the People, who perhaps expressed their satisfaction by Shouts and Acclamations. But they maintain this to be no proof of the People's giving their Votes, or that their Consent was necessary, since they were present only as Witnesses. This manifestly appears, say they, in the forementioned Charter of *Ethelwulf*, which runs thus: *There were present the Archbishops and Bishops of England, Euthred King of Mercia, Edmund King of East-Anglia, and of Abbots, Abbesses, Dukes, Earls, and great Men of the whole Kingdom, and other faithful Subjects, a great Multitude, who all approved of this royal Act, to which the dignified Persons subscribed their Names.* It is pretended, since the great Men only signed the Charter, their approbation alone was necessary. Besides, what can be the meaning of a *great Multitude of faithful Subjects*? Was it the whole Body of the People? This they won't say, who maintain that the Commons sat in the *Wittena-Gemot* by their Representatives, as they do at this day. And indeed, this *great Multitude* cannot well be applied to a very limited number of Representatives, but may very aptly be used to denote Crowds of People, got together to make Acclamations. In fine, it is observed, that in all the forecited Passages, a fixed meaning is given to the Term, *Fideles*, to make it signify the Representatives of the Commons, since that Word is applicable to all

Subjects in general, as well to the Body of the Nobles as of the People.

To come therefore to more direct Proofs, the favourers of the Commons alledge other Passages, where they pretend the meaning of these Terms is fixed to the Representatives of the People, by the Word *Procuratores*. In a Charter (1) dated 811, it is said, *Cenulph King of Mercia assembled, for the Dedication of the Monastery of Winchelcomb, the great Men of the Kingdom, the Bishops, Procurators, &c.*

To this it is answered, That the dedication of a Church and Monastery was the only Business in hand, for which purpose *Cenulph* had assembled a multitude of People, and particularly such as were distinguished by their Birth or Offices. But supposing it to have been a real *Wittena-Gemot*, the Term, *Procuratores*, is too undeterminate to denote the Representatives of the Commons, unless it be joined with some other Word that fixes its signification.

To refute this Objection, a Charter is produced by the other Side, where they maintain, The Term *Procuratores*, must be understood of the Representatives of the People. This Charter, granted by King *Athelstan* (2), concludes thus: *Granted at the Royal Vill Aetwelope, in the Presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes, Earls, and Patriæ Procuratoribus.* Now, say they, who can these *Patriæ Procuratores* be, but the Representatives of the People? But they who are of the contrary Opinion, say, this is only a bare conjecture, which can be of no force, unless this Expression be shown to be common at that time.

Lastly, a Proof is alledged in Favour of the Commons, that seems to be stronger than any of the former. It is said, there are now several Hamlets (3), that send Representatives to Parliament, which Right must have been received in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, when they were considerable Cities or Burroughs. Indeed, it is very improbable this Privilege should be granted them after they made so despicable a figure in the Kingdom.

To evade this Argument, it is replied, It cannot take place, unless it be proved that these Burroughs, now become Hamlets, were gone to decay before the Conquest. They add, that even this would not be sufficient, because very possibly they might have been rebuilt and destroyed again during the Civil Wars *England* was so often troubled with, after the Commons were in possession of the right of sending Representatives to Parliament.

To all these Arguments alledged in behalf of the Commons, it is added as a favourable Precedent, that in all the other States in *Europe*, the People were summoned to the General Assemblies. Though hitherto I have only related the Reasons of both Parties, I can't help remarking upon this last, that it is groundlessly alledged, without pretending however thereby to weaken the rest. And this I shall plainly show, at least with regard to *France*, by the Authority of three Writers, who are looked upon as thoroughly vers'd in the customs of that Kingdom.

The first is *Mezerai*, who discoursing of this Subject, says, "I meet with three sorts of Assemblies in those Days; the *General Courts* of the Provinces; the *Champs de Mai*, at which were present the *Seniores* and *Majores Natu* of the People, where military Affairs were chiefly debated; and the *Conventus, Colloquia, Parliamentum*, where the Bishops, Abbots, and other great Men met to make Laws, and regulate matters relating to the administration of Justice, the Civil Government, and the Publick Revenues, &c. These two last Assemblies were confounded in one". In the Opinion therefore of this Historian, none but the great Men were Members of the Parliaments. But since it may be objected, that by the *Seniores* and *Majores Natu* that assisted at the *Champs de Mai*, are to be understood the Representatives of the People, let us see what President *Fauchet* says upon this head.

This learned Historian mentions a certain Speech, shown him as made by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, where that Prelate told *Pepin*, that the *Gauls, omnium Ordinum*, of all Orders and Degrees, had given him the Crown. "This Speech, says the Author, is most certainly spurious. First, because the *Franks* never called themselves *Gauls*. Secondly and principally, because of the Words *omnium Ordinum*; for at that time there was no talk either of Orders or Degrees, none but Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Nobles having a place in the *Sanes*, General Courts, or Parliaments, and the Earls, Commissioners or Church-advocates, to report the Complaints of the People of their respective Territories".

Pasquier, the third Writer, whose Authority I would alledge, expresses himself still more plainly and fully in this matter. His Words are: "Although some, who

(1) In the *Annals of Woodstock* in the Cottonian Library.

(2) In the *Abbs of Abbingham* in 931, which Charter is entered in the great Register that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the Cottonian Library.

(3) Of which Sort are *Gatton* in *Surrey*, and several Burroughs in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and other Counties.

“pretend to be well vers’d in the History of *France*, believe the Assembly of the States-General is of a very long standing, may found the Liberties of the People upon it, yet is neither the one nor the other true. I am sensible, and ready to own, that formerly in *Gaul*, before the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar*, there were General Assemblies, which were continued by him under a pretence, familiar to the *Romans*, of leaving us in possession of our ancient Rights and Liberties. But in all these Assemblies you’ll find none of the common People, whom they looked upon as so many Cyphers. In like manner, you’ll find, under the first and second Race of our Kings, solemn Conventions which were called Parliaments, the principal Sinew of our Monarchy. But to these were summoned only the Princes, Great Lords, Nobles and Dignified Churchmen. Now in our Assemblies of the three Estates, not only the common People have a place with the Clergy and Nobility, but what is more, make the greatest and best Part. Whence it is then that within some Centuries of Years the Commons have had a Right to sit in our Conventions, where are debated the Affairs relating to the good of the Nation in general: This is what I shall account for”. Then he shows the Reasons of the Common People, or Third Estate, being first called to the Parliaments, and fixes the Original of it to the time of *Philip le Bel*, who began his Reign in 1286. These are the Testimonies of three very judicious Writers, thoroughly vers’d in the History of *France*. So far therefore is the antient practice of *France* from being a proof of the Antiquity of the right of the Commons of *England*, that it rather serves to weaken the same.

Remark on this Dispute.

After seeing the Arguments made use of For and Against the Antiquity of the Commons Right to sit in Parliament, it is doubtless very surprizing that both Sides should be forc’d to dispute upon bare Conjectures, and the meaning of certain Terms in the Translations of Charters. One would think, in a matter of this nature, each Side should produce more substantial Arguments. However this be, the Reader may now form his Judgment upon what has been said, wherein I believe nothing material is omitted, of what has been alledged Pro and Con, tho’ I have done it very compendiously.

Observation concerning the Charters.

But as the greatest part of the Arguments used by both Parties, are taken from the Charters of the *Anglo-Saxon*

Kings, I shall make one remark, which ought to be considered before Judgment is given upon this dispute. And that is, the Authority of all these Charters is questioned by such as are most versed in the *English History*. The reason they alledge for it, is, that in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the use of Charters was unknown in *England*. When the King made a Grant to the Church, or to any private Person, he put them in possession by the delivery of a *Green Turf*, *Bough*, or the like. Formerly, says In-
gulphus, Possession of Lands was given by bare Words without any Charters or other Writings. They only delivered to the Donor or Purchaser, a *Helmet*, *Sword*, *Horn*, *Cup*, sometimes a *Spur*, *Bow*, *Arrow*, &c. From this Custom it is inferred, that the Charters, alledged as granted by the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, were all forg’d long after their Time. But as it may seem strange, there should be now so many Charters bearing date before there was any such thing in use, a matter of Fact is advanc’d, which, if true, shows the reason of such numbers being forged. ’Tis affirm’d, *William the Conqueror* finding great part of the Crown Lands to be alienated, particularly to the Monasteries, summoned the Abbots to appear at his Court, and produce the Titles by which they held their Estates. Some, who had nothing to plead but long possession, being dispossessed, because the King would allow no Title good, but what was in form, great numbers of Monks set about forging Charters, to which they gave all the appearance of Truth that was possible. In this manner they deceived that Prince, and his *Norman Council*, who were unacquainted with the History, Language, and Customs of the *Saxons*. Some produced their Charters in *Latin*, but these were rejected, on account of the Improbability the *Saxon Kings* should make use of a Language, little understood, and still much less used in their Time. But whether this be true or not, ’tis however certain, several of those Charters, which are by some thought authentick, were forg’d, and that long after their date. At least it was very difficult to be convinc’d by good Arguments, that those from whence the Testimonies to decide the present question are taken, are so antient as the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

From what has been said, this appears to be a very intricate Case. Neither is there any likelihood of its being ever set in a clearer light. Almost all the antient Monuments which might serve to unfold the Difficulties were buried in the Ruins of the Monasteries, either before, or after the *Norman Conquest* (1).

(1) As there are no *Saxon Monuments* older than the Establishment of Christianity, and but little Light to be had from those that are after, recourse must be had to Inference from those few Truths that are known, in order to discover who were the Members of the *Saxon Legislature*. Now the most probable Hypothesis seems to be this. Power results from and is the natural Consequence of Property or Estates, and in all Places where Tyranny does not prevail, the Persons who compose the Legislature, derive that Power from the Interest they have in some Lands, or else from some Distinction of Rank and Order, which discriminate the Members of a Society. As therefore our *Saxon Ancestors* in their own Country, did all personally meet for the enacting Laws; so after their coming into *England* all to whom the Land was apportioned personally assisted in the *Saxon Parliaments*, which were held at first, during the *Heptarchy* in open Places capable of receiving all that had a Right to be there, because there were no *Manor Freeholders* in those early Days. By the *Feudal Law* all Land-holders were obliged to attend at the *Feudal Courts*, and had a Right to give their Assent or Dissent to any Laws or Orders there proposed: Whence we yet retain the Expression of the *Convention of the Estates*. After the Union of the seven Kingdoms, when the Exercise of the Legislative Power in the Person of every Individual became impracticable by reason of their Remoteness and Number, some Change in the outward form was necessary in order to preserve the Common-wealth on the same Principles it was at first established; and as the whole Kingdom was divided into so many little Republics or Tythings, some Person out of every Tything or Burrough came to the *Witena-Gemot*, to take care of the Concerns of the Society he belonged to: These were called *Witen* or *Wise-men*, and were no other than the presiding Judge or *Gerefa* of every Tything, who was annually chosen, both in the Rural and Town Tythings. As therefore the Earls, Bishops, and Abbots (who were the presiding Judges in the Communities both Ecclesiastical and Civil), that the People were originally divided into) were undoubtedly Members of the *Witena-Gemot*, so it is reasonable to think that the *Witan* (who were the presiding Judges in the lesser Communities that were afterwards made) were so too. For it was but natural when every Individual could not appear in Person, that the Delegate or Representative of each Community should be the Person, to whom they had by their own free Choice given the Precedency amongst themselves. Hence it is plain that the Commons or Land-holders were ever a Part of the Legislature; because though the Earls perhaps might not be Elective or annual Officers, after the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, as they were before, yet the *Gerefas* of the Tythings, who were Elective, being Members of the *Saxon Witena-Gemot*, the Commons remained a constituent Part of the *Saxon Legislature*. Hence the *Georles* (who were the same as our Farmers, only paying their Rent in Corn, Hay, &c. instead of Money) and also the *Tenants* (who had Lands assigned them by the King or great Men in recompence for their Service, and in lieu of Wages, and consequently were no more than Part of the Family of him they had their Lands of) were not Members of the *Witena-Gemot*, except such *Tenants* who held their Lands of the Crown for their Service which related to the Publick. (See p. 150, 151. note 4.) A *Witena-Gemot* then was no other than an Assembly of all the presiding Judges of the Nation, Earls, Bishops and *Wites*, or the annual Magistrates of the Tythings and Burroughs, who represented all the Proprietors of Land in their respective Tythings. Thus Matters stood till the Conquest. King *William I.* having assumed the regal State as his own by Right, treated all that had opposed him as Rebels, and dispossessing them of their Lands, distributed them amongst his own Confederates, who held them of the Crown by a Service of a determined Number of Soldiers, in case of an Invasion or a Rebellion, and they bestowed their own immediate Followers with some Portions of what was assigned to them under reservation of such Service. These Lands were called *Knights Fees*, (each Fee was about twenty Pounds a Year then, which is equal to four or five hundred Pounds now.) As the *Normans* were much inferior to the *English* in Numbers, their Business was to secure all the Power they could in their own hands. Accordingly, over most of the Tythings was placed a *Norman Chief*, whose Power was to be the same as the *Saxon Gerefa*, with this Difference, that it was to be Hereditary. These Chiefs were called Barons, and their Estates Baronies or Honours. The Conqueror to undermine the Power of the *Saxon Earls*, which he could not safely destroy, dismembered the Barons Estates in a manner from the Counties, and made them recognize no Superior but the Crown. By which means there was no difference between an Earl and a Baron, but only in Extent, the Power of both (which was exceeding great) being the same over their Vassals. As for the Burroughs they were left in the same Condition as in the *Saxon Times*, and governed by annual Magistrates of their own choosing. The Conformity then between the *Saxon Witena-Gemot* and *Norman Parliaments*, stood thus: The Ecclesiasticks and Earls were the same in both; the Burroughs were represented in both by one of their own choosing, who was styled *Burgess*, instead of *Wite*, probably because the Magistrate was not always chosen Representative; and as the *Saxon Wites* or presiding Judges of the Tything, were Members of the Legislature, so were the *Norman Chiefs* or Barons, with this Difference only, that as the first had their Right by Election and for a Time, the others had theirs in Succession. And as the *Saxon Wites* served for their Tythings, so the Barons were intended by Law to serve for the Tenants of their Baronies, which is the Reason why they were exempted from contributing to the Wages of the Knights of the Shire. Thus every Spot of Land was still represented; for as every Part was within some Tything in the *Saxon Time*, so in the *Norman* every Part of the whole Kingdom was within some Barony or some Burrough. Things continued upon this solid Foundation during the Reigns of *William Rufus* and *Henry I.* But the Barons, who were so many petty Princes, being divided in the Civil War betwixt *Stephen*, *Maud* and *Henry II.* each Party treated those of the other Side as Rebels, which brought the Possession of much Land to the contending Princes. And as each Side had experienced the Power of the Barons over their Vassals, and having besides many Friends to remunerate, they split the Baronies into smaller Tenancies in Chief, who all held immediately of the Crown. Hence arose the Distinction of Fees of the old Feoffment and Fees of the New, and also of the greater and lesser Barons. By granting thus small Fees in the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry II.* and King *John*, Tenants in Capite or Barons, were so multiplied, that a very unequal Representation of the Kingdom arose, these lesser Barons having an equal Share in the Legislature with the most Potent. This Grievance being grown to the greatest Height, when King *John* was reduced to Reason, there was a Clause inserted in his *Magna Charta*, whereby all the greater Barons were to be severally summoned to Parliament, and the lesser in general, by which means these last were excluded from sitting in Parliament singly and in Person; but however the being summoned in General, gave them a Right to do this as a Community, and by Representation; and as these lesser Barons were co-ordinate in Rank, the Right of representing them naturally devolved on such of their Body as the rest conferred it on. The Persons so chosen, were called from the Tenure of their Land, and from their representing the respective Counties for which they served Knights of the Shire. These were to be chosen at the County Courts, where none but the immediate Tenants of the Crown (the lesser Barons) came, and none other had Votes till the eighth of *Henry VI.* all Free-holders of forty Shillings per Annum had a Right to Vote at the Election of Knights of the Shire. Thus we find both before and after the Conquest all Proprietors of Land had a Share in the Legislature. The Reader may see these Things more at large in *St. Amand’s Essay on the Legislative Power*, &c.

III. The Authority of the WITTENA-GEMOT, and the Affairs there debated.

THERE is no treating this Subject with any clearness, without examining three Questions, which are as warmly controverted as the former.

I. In whom was lodged the Legislative Power? Whether in the King, in the great Council, or in both together?

II. Whether the King had a Power to tax the People without the Consent of the *Wittena-Gemot*?

III. Whether the General Assembly had a Right to elect and depose the Kings?

1. In such manner as is said in the Legistation Pieces.

They who most stretch the Prerogative Royal, pretend, the Legislative Power was wholly lodg'd in the King. In proof whereof, they urge the Terms made use of by the *Saxon* Kings in their Laws, by which they seem to declare themselves the sole Enactors, without giving room to believe the General Assembly had any hand in the matter. To this it is answered, Though there is no mention in these Laws of the Consent of the great Council, it does not follow, that their Concurrence was not necessary; no more than it can be inferred at this day from our saying the Statutes of King *Charles I.* or of King *Charles II.* that these Statutes were enacted without the Consent and Authority of Parliament. If we were literally to understand all the Expressions used in speaking of, and to the King, we should doubtless ascribe greater Power to him than he is actually invested with. But to give more direct Proofs, that the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot* was necessary in making new Laws, several Testimonies are produced, shewing that the Kings acted nothing in this respect without the Consent of the Estates. Among the many that are alledged, I shall only chuse a few, and insert the substance of them.

In the title of the *West-Saxon* Laws published by King *Ina*, it is said, They were made with the Advice and Consent of the Bishops, Great Men, Earls, Wise-men, Seniors, and People of the whole Kingdom.

Egbert says in one of his Charters; *I Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, with the Permission and Consent (1) of our whole Nation, and unanimous Advice of all the Great Men, &c.*

But seeing it may be objected, that this is a Charter and not a Law, the testimony of King *Alfred* is alledged, who, in the Title of his Laws, speaking as if he acted by his sole Authority, concludes with these Words; *I Alfred, King of the West-Saxons, shewed these Laws to my Wise-men, and They said, they all lik'd, or, were pleas'd, they should be observed.*

At the end of *Athelstan's* Laws we have these Words: *All these things were confirmed and ordained by a General Assembly, or Synod, held at Grately, at which was present Archbishop Elfin, with all the great Men King Athelstan could assemble.*

The Title of some other Laws made by this King runs in this manner: *These are the Laws that were instituted by the Wise-men at Exeter.*

Much the same Expression is prefixed before the Laws of *Edgar*, and *Ethelred II.*

In a Charter of *Canute the Great*, we have these Words: *I Canute, King of the whole Island of Albion, and many other Nations, by the Advice and Decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and all my other faithful Subjects, have ordain'd, &c.* This Authority is of the greater force, as *Canute*, ascending the Throne by right of Conquest, would not probably have sought the Concurrence of the Estates, had he not found it customary so to do.

In a word, it is pretended, if some of the Kings express themselves in such a manner, as would induce one to believe they acted by their sole Authority in the Promulgation of the Laws, their Words are not to be taken in the literal Sense. The reason is, these Expressions are explained and limited by those of some other Kings, who own'd, they acted in concert with the *Wittena-Gemot*. Now there is no likelihood, Sovereign Princes would ever acknowledge their Power to be limited, if it was not so in reality. If any one will insist upon this sort of Expressions, which seem to imply that the Kings make Laws without the Consent and Approbation of Parliament, it may by the same method be proved, that the King at this very day is invested with an absolute Power in this respect. And indeed, in some certain Acts, which are pre-

sented to him by the Parliament, he says, *that he wills and requires*, though it is well known, his Will would be of no force, unless preceded by the Consent of the two Houses.

The same Reasonings and Reflections occur with regard to the second Question, or the Imposition of Taxes. If the *Saxon* Kings seem in some Passages to levy Taxes by their own Authority, we are to understand it was not till after the previous Consent of the Estates, as we find upon other Occasions.

I shall not insist here on the third Question, concerning the electing and deposing of the Kings, because I intend to treat of these Points under the Article of the Succession.

IV. The Authority of the WITTENA-GEMOT in Ecclesiastical Matters.

BEFORE the *Anglo-Saxons* embraced the Christian Religion, one of their fundamental Maxims (ascribed also by *Tacitus* to the antient *Germans*) was, that all important Affairs relating to the whole Nation, were brought to the General-Assembly, where they were debated in common, that they might be settled with the unanimous consent of all that had a Right to vote. 'Tis no wonder therefore that Religious Affairs were regulated in the *Wittena-Gemots*, as I have elsewhere observed, since they are of the greatest importance to Mankind. Accordingly, *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, being desirous, after his Conversion, to establish the Christian Religion in his Dominions, did not undertake it till he had consulted his *Wise-men*, that is, his *Wittena-Gemot*, as *Bede* relates it. The Maxim, that no Laws are binding but what the whole Nation has consented to, has all along been looked upon in *England* as the Foundation of Liberty, and the Basis of Government.

Ecclesiastical Affairs may be ranked in two Classes. First, such as relate to the Clergy alone, as making a distinct Body from the Laity. These were left, as they now are, to the sole management of the Ecclesiasticks, who held their Councils or Synods, where the Laity had nothing to do. Secondly, such as concerned the Body of the People, as Christians. These were regulated in the mixt Councils, consisting of the chief Men of the Clergy and the Nobility. Herein, the Rules of Equity were perfectly followed. It was not thought just to enact civil Laws, that were obligatory to the Clergy as Members of the State, without their concurrence. On the other hand, it was deemed unreasonable, that the Clergy should have a power of making Ecclesiastical Laws that were binding to the Laity, as Christians, without the Consent of the *Wittena-Gemot*, or Representative of the Nation. Thus, in both these respects, the same Principles were followed, namely, that no Man was bound by any Laws, to which he had not given his Consent, either by himself or his Representative. Hence it is, that the *Wittena-Gemots* were

for the most part mixt Assemblies, where all important Affairs, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, were treated, and that these Assemblies had no less Authority in Spirituals than in Temporals.

To be convinc'd of this, we need only cast an eye on the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons*, where we find a perpetual mixture of Ecclesiastical and Civil Matters. I shall produce a few instances, which seem to be incontestable. In the Year 673, a Council was convened, where *Theodore* Archbishop of *Canterbury* presided, and ten Canons of the ancient general Councils were assented to, as hath been related in the History of the Church of that time. But this Assembly was not purely an Ecclesiastical Synod; for besides the Bishops, all the Kings and great Men of *England* were present, as an Historian relates it. And therefore 'twas a mixt Council, a *mycel Synod*, a real *Wittena-Gemot*. We must take care not to be led into error by the Words Council or Synod, which at present denote an Assembly of Ecclesiasticks; whereas in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, these Terms were not understood in so limited a Sense, but served to express all sorts of great Assemblies. Whoever carefully examines the nature of these antient Assemblies, which by Historians are called Councils, he will find, they were mixt Conventions; since they were subscribed, approved, and assented to, by the Kings, Princes, and great Men there present. In the reign of *Edward the Elder*, an Assembly was held, where the Articles of a Treaty were settled between that Prince and *Guthurm*, to whom *Alfred* had given *East-Anglia*, a State Affair, if ever there was any. And yet, in this very Assembly were enacted several Ecclesiastical Laws, which in the Preamble are called *Senatus Consulta*, because made by the *Witan*, that is, by

(1) Cum Literis & Consensu. Great Register of *Abingdon*, before-mentioned.

(2) To the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*, now in the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

the great Men of *Wessex* and *East-Anglia*. Among these Laws, besides several that were purely political, there are some with these titles, *Of Apostates, Of the Punishment of such as are in Orders, Of Incests, Of Fasts, &c.* From whence it is manifest, these Political Assemblies made Laws concerning Religion. An Historian says, King *Althelstan* convened a Council, in which many Laws both Ecclesiastical and Civil were enacted: Consequently this was not an Assembly of Churchmen, since it was never pretended, the Clergy had a power to make Secular Laws.

But this is not all. It is shewn by several instances, that the *Wittena-Gemot* elected and deprived the Bishops. *Wilfrid* Bishop of *York*, whom I have had frequent occasion to mention, was elected by the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the General Council of that Kingdom, as the Author of his Life relates. *Erkenwald* Bishop of *London* was elected with the Consent of King *Sebba* and the Advice of all the People. *Wulfstan* was made Bishop of *Worcester* in *Curia*, that is, in the great Assembly, which was called the Court, or the King's Court. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland* speaks in this manner of the Elections of the Bishops and Abbots: *For many Years, there was no Election absolutely free and canonical: But all Ecclesiastical Dignities were conferred by the King's Court, according to their good pleasure* (1).

As the *Wittena-Gemot* was concerned in the Election, so was it also in the Deprivation of Bishops. Of which I shall give the following instances. *Brithelm*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, being promoted to the See of *Canterbury*, *Edgar*, who had a mind *Dunstan* should be Archbishop, caused *Brithelm* to be sent back to his former Bishoprick. How this was done we are informed by *Osbern* the Monk, who wrote the Life of *Dunstan*: *Within a few days after Brithelm was made Archbishop, not thinking himself fit for so great a charge, he departed to the Church he had lately left, by the Command of the King and People.* Another Historian relates this matter in the manner following: *Edgar made Brithelm descend the same way he was raised: For a Council being convened for this very purpose, he objected several Articles against Brithelm, and by the Order and Consent of his Barons, sent him back to the Cure of his former Church of Dorchester.* *Brithelm* therefore was both elected and deprived by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot*. In the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was removed from his See by a Decree of the *Wittena-Gemot*, and *Stigand* being elected in his place, the papal power could neither procure this Election to be annulled, as long as the Dominion of the *Saxons* lasted, nor prevent the *English* from acknowledging *Stigand* as lawful Archbishop, tho' suspended by the Pope.

These Instances shew, the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synod* was an Ecclesiastical and Political Assembly at the same time, and that all Affairs relating to the Church and State were indifferently treated there. 'Twas not till long after, when the Papal Authority was grown to a great height, under the *Norman* and *Angevin* Kings, that the Clergy claimed the Privilege of debating apart all matters any ways relating to Religion, in Ecclesiastical Assemblies or Synods.

It is time now to speak of the King in particular, his Prerogatives, Revenues, and Succession to the Crown.

Of the KING.

I Have already observed in another place, that the *Saxon* Government in *Germany* was *Aristocratical*, and that they had only a General who commanded their Armies in time of War. The *Saxon* Leaders themselves erected their several Conquests in *Great-Britain* into Kingdoms, and assumed the title of King. But with this new title, they were however considered at first by their Subjects upon the same foot only with their Governors in *Germany*, whose power was far from being Despotic. Nevertheless, some pretend, the right of Conquest gave these first Kings an unlimited power, from whence it would follow, that the Privileges of the *English* Subjects were either Concessions of the Kings, or Usurpations of the People. This Argument, drawn from the right of Conquest, might have some weight if the Privileges of the *Britons*, who were subdued, was the point in question. But the Business in hand is the Privileges of the *Saxons* or *English*, who were themselves the Conquerors, and over whom Conquest gave no power to their Kings. I say, we are to consider here the *Saxons* only, since there remained in the Country

they became masters of, but very few *Britons*, who were looked upon but as so many Slaves. As therefore the *Anglo-Saxons* can't be said to lose their Rights by making Conquests, they are to be considered upon the same foot as in *Germany*, that is, as a free People under the conduct of a Head or Chief, whose power was limited by Law.

There is no doubt, that in *England*, as in all other Kingdoms, the Royal Authority by degrees exceeded the Bounds at first prescribed. But, the History of the *Anglo-Saxons* being very imperfect, there is no given account of this matter. I must therefore content myself with showing in general some of the chief Prerogatives enjoyed by the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings during their Dominion, which lasted above 600 Years, without being able so much as to observe the alterations that may have been in this respect in so long an Interval.

One of the most considerable of the King's Prerogatives was the Power of appointing the Earls, Viscounts, Judges, and other Officers as well Civil as Military. Some however assert, that the military Post of the Dukes or Holds of each County was conferred by the *Shire-Gemot*. Very probably, it was in the King's power to change these Officers according to his pleasure, of which we meet with several instances in History. But after all, it can't be positively affirmed; because when such an Officer is found to be turned out by the King, it does not necessarily follow, it was done without the Consent or previous Sentence of the *Wittena-Gemot* (2).

Another great Prerogative of the Crown, was that the Laws made in the *Wittena-Gemot* were of no force without the Assent of the King, to whom was committed the Executive Power.

The King had also power to pardon Malefactors. But as Offences may be considered in a doubleview, namely, as they concern the publick, or as being prejudicial to some private Person, the King could only pardon them in the first respect. The King's pardon prevented not the offended Party from demanding satisfaction for the wrongs he had received. This satisfaction was called in *Saxon*, *Wergeld*, that is, a Reparation, made to the injured party or his friends and relations. Hence doubtless came the Custom in *England* at this day, of the Wife's or Son's appealing in cases of Murders. For the same reason also this Clause is usually inserted in Pardons: *Ita tamen ut sit recte in curia nostra, si quis versus eum loqui voluerit.*

The power of coining Money was another of the King's Prerogatives, which he could grant by Charter to whom he pleased, as we find several of the *Saxon* Kings granted the same to the two Archbishops and others. But the King had not the power of enhancing or debasing the Coin. The *Mirror of Justice* recites it as an old Law, that the King could not change the Money, or make other Coin than of Silver, without the Consent of all the Counties.

It is uncertain, whether it was absolutely in the Power of the *Saxon* Kings, to make War or Peace, without the Consent of the *Wittena-Gemot*. It is true, indeed, the Power of making War was, as it is now, of little consequence; since the King not being able to raise Money without the Consent of the Estates, could not bear the expence, if his Subjects refused to assist him. But as to making Peace, the case is quite different, since on a good or bad Peace, depends the welfare of a whole Kingdom, as hath been too often experienced. And therefore, these two Prerogatives, which are commonly joined together, widely differ in their Consequences. It lies in the People's Breast to contribute to the Wars the King is pleased to undertake of his own accord, and, by retaining their Concurrence, have it in their power to prevent the mischief that an unjust or unnecessary War may occasion. But how shall they hinder the effects of a pernicious Peace, concluded without their Knowledge?

The King's Revenue were of three sorts. The first consisted in certain things, furnished him by the State, for the maintenance of his Household, as Corn, Hay, Cattle, and the like, which were usually paid in kind. The second Branch was the produce of certain Demesnes or Lands annexed to the Crown, and destined to serve for publick Uses, it not being in the power of the King to grant any part of them, not even to the Church, without the Consent of the Estates. Hence it is that we find the antient Charters of the *Saxon* Kings to the Churches or Monasteries, confirmed by the principal Members of the General Assembly, who signed them in this manner, *I. N-----have subscribed, confirmed, approved, corroborated, or other the like Expressions.* It cannot be doubted

(1) After which the Person so elected being first consecrated, the King invested him with the Temporalities, by the Delivery *Breath* and *Awards*, as you may see in the same Author.

(2) As the Earls in those Days held their Earldoms of the Community and not of the King, there is no doubt but they were both made and turned out with the Consent of the Great Council. But as a Body Politick cannot act itself, when any particular Act is to be done, the Election thereof naturally devolves on the King as Lord or Head of the great Senory of the Kingdom. And therefore when he is said to make or put out an Earl, the Assent of the *Wittena-Gemot* is always to be supposed. For *Feudal* Earls (and all were so in those Days) could not be made without the Consent of the Peers.

but this Branch of the King's Revenue was applied to publick Uses, when it is considered, that so late as the end of the XIVth Century, in the Reign of *Richard II.* the Parliament order'd, that for the future the Revenues of the King's Demefnes should go towards defraying the charge of the Wars he should be engaged in. The third Branch consisted, as at this day, of certain Taxes or Imposts, which were laid from time to time on the People upon urgent occasions, by the Authority of the *Witten-Gemot*.

We don't find, during the *Heptarchy*, the Kings affected any swelling Titles, as some did afterwards. They were all contented with the Title of King of their respective Kingdoms; and the Prince who was elected Monarch did not imagine he had a Right to distinguish himself upon that account. *Egbert* himself, after acquiring the Sovereignty of the Seven Kingdoms, made no Alteration in his usual Title of *King of the West-Saxons*. *Athelstan* was the first that stiled himself, *Imperator*. *Edmund* was satisfied with, *Restor & Gubernator Angliæ*. *Edgar* called himself, *King of the whole Island of Albion*. *Canute the Great* assumed the Title of *King of Albion and many other Nations*. Some affected a Greek Title, as *Edgar*, who stiled himself, *Totius Angliæ Basileus*.

As for the Coronation of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, there was no time fixed for this Ceremony, either during the *Heptarchy*, or after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. Each was crowned when he thought it most convenient. Before *Egbert*, the Kings of *Kent* were crowned by the Archbishops of *Canterbury*: The Kings of *Northumberland*, by the Archbishops of *York*; and the rest commonly by the Bishop of their Capital. After *Egbert* united the *Heptarchy*, or at least four of the Kingdoms into one, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* claimed the Privilege of crowning the Kings; but this pretension was founded only on a Custom, which, tho' usual, was not however necessary. And indeed we find, after the Union, several Kings were crowned by the Archbishops of *York*, or even by other Bishops. Some say, *Harold* put the Crown on his own head himself. *Sweyn*, the first *Danish* King, was not crowned at all, and yet was owned for King. *Edgar* reigned several years in *Wessex* before he was solemnly crowned. *Edward the Confessor's* Coronation was not performed till six Months after he was proclaimed. This neglect is a clear Evidence this Ceremony was not then deemed absolutely necessary. And therefore they who date the beginnings of the Reigns from the Coronation-days, only breed confusion in Chronology, from a mistaken nicety. This way of reckoning is so much the more liable to Error, as there were several Kings who repeated the Solemnity of their Coronation several times; for instance, *Cerdic* first King of *Wessex*. This Ceremony was not at first performed in a Church, but in the open Air. Thus it is expressly said by the Historians, that *Athelstan*, *Edmund* and *Edred* were crowned in an open Place (1.)

As for the Form of the Crown, it was not over-curious, at least it was not uniform, as may be seen from many Impressions of Heads of the *Saxon* Kings, given us by *Camden* and *Spelman* (2). Some have only a Diadem of Pearls. Others a Coronet with six Rays or Points, with *Flower de Lucies* between, or Pearls upon them. *Edward the Confessor* has an Imperial Crown. This variety shows, that in *England*, as well as in other places, there was not then any settled Form for the Crowns, but that each Prince pleased his own fancy (3).

The SUCCESSION to the CROWN in the Time of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

THERE are three different Opinions upon this Subject. The first is, that the Crown was all along Hereditary, as well during the *Heptarchy* as afterwards. The second, that the Crown was always Elective, and in the disposal of the People; so that, although the Son succeeded the Father, it was however by Election. The third, that the Crown was neither Hereditary nor Elective, but the Kings had power to give it by Will to any one of their Sons or Relations, whom they thought most worthy. But how confidently soever each asserts his Opinion, it is easily perceived that to establish any one of

the three, is more difficult than to combat the other two. This difficulty arises from our imperfect Knowledge of the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and perhaps from their not proceeding regularly themselves in this matter. The Arguments used by each Party in defence of his own, and against the Opinions of his Adversaries, are as follows.

The first say, we need only run over the History of the *Heptarchy*, to be convinced that in each of the seven Kingdoms, the Crown remained in the Family of the first Kings, as long as there were any Male Heirs in being. And that after the Union of the seven Kingdoms, there was no alteration in this respect, the Race of *Egbert* fitting on the Throne down to *Edward the Confessor*. 'Tis true indeed the *Danish* Kings are to be excepted: but as they intruded themselves by force of Arms, nothing can be inferred from thence against the Crown's being Hereditary.

They who believe the Crown was Elective, ground their Opinion upon the same History, by showing that the Lineal Succession from Father to Son was not always preserved. And indeed, they demonstrate, by undeniable Proofs, that the King's Brother often succeeded before the King's Sons, and distant Branches of the Royal Family were preferred before the nearest; whence they conclude, this was occasioned by the right of Election residing in the People. They further add, that although the Son succeeded the Father, sometimes even for several Generations, it does not necessarily follow, that the Crown was Hereditary; as the Imperial Crown of *Germany* can't be said to be so, though it has now continued two hundred and fifty years in the House of *Austria*. To support their Opinion concerning the Right of Election, they alledge several Passages of the Historians, who, speaking of the Kings that succeeded their Fathers, use this Expression, *electus est in Regem*, He was elected King.

To this the others reply, That indeed upon certain occasions, Fraud and Violence took place: But however, the Lineal Succession, tho' broken for some time, preserved its Rights, since quickly after we find things were restored to their former State. I think it needless to produce the Instances alledged by both Parties. Besides their having been related in the History, the Reader may easily refresh his Memory by casting his Eye on the Genealogical Tables of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, where the Order of the Succession is set down. As for the Expression of the Historians, *He was elected*, they say, these Words are to be found only in Authors who wrote long after, and made use of them without considering the Consequences, as not treating expressly of this matter. Besides, 'tis pretended, these Authors have not rightly translated the original Terms in the *Saxon Annals*, *Feng to Rice*, which properly signify *Regnum capessit*, he took upon him the Kingdom.

They who are of the third Opinion, alledge against the first, that the Crown was not therefore Hereditary, because it continued long in one Family, as appears from the example of the House of *Austria*. To the second they object, that after proving the Crown not to be Hereditary, their Inference, that it was therefore Elective, is not just, for there is another way, which excluded the other two, namely, the Kings dispos'd of the Crown as they thought fit. To confirm their Opinion, they alledge the example of *France*, where they pretend, the Kings, even as low down as some of the second Race (4), enjoyed the Privilege of disposing of their Dominions, which occasioned the so frequent division of that Kingdom. For, say they, had it been the eldest Son's Right always to succeed his Father, 'tis inconceivable that the younger Brothers should so frequently rise in Arms to compel their elder to share the Kingdom with them. On the other hand, they observe, if the Crown of *France* had been Elective, 'tis not likely the *French* would have always elected as many Sovereigns, as the former Kings had left Sons. From all which they conclude, that the frequent Partitions during the first and second Race, were solely owing to the testamentary disposition of the Kings. Agreeable to this, is, what *Mezerai* says, speaking of *Aribert* King *Dagobert's* Brother. His words are: *But as Aribert was young, and the King his Father perhaps had left him no Part of the Kingdom in his Will, it was to no purpose that Bernulph, his Mother's Brother, endeavoured to persuade the Neustrians to rise in his favour*. This Custom established among the *French* from the beginning of their Monarchy, as it is pretended to be proved, is doubtless a strong Presumption that the *Anglo-Saxons* did the like, seeing they lived at the same time, and came, as well as the *Franks*, from *Germany*, in the same

Proof of the Crown's being Hereditary.

Proof that it was Elective.

Answer.

That the Crown was disposed of by the Kings.

Form of the Crown.

Three Opinions concerning the Succession.

(1) They were crowned in the Market-Place of *Kingsdon upon Thames*.

(2) These Impressions were taken from old *Saxon* Coins.

(3) *Yggis* looks upon it as Fiction in them who needs have it that *Alfred* was crowned with a Crown wrought with *Flower de Lucies*, because the Crown was kept among the *Relics* at *Winton* before our late Civil Wars. (See Note 9) p. 95.) The Inscription, *Hæc est*, &c. being in all probability upon the Box wherein it was kept by some Monk of After-Times, to give the greater Air of Antiquity to the Crown.

(4) The Crown of *France* has been enjoyed by three Royal Families: First, the *Merovingians*, begun by *Pharamond*, and ended in *Childeric III.* twenty one Kings: Second, the *Carolingians* from *Charles Martell* to *Lothar V.* fourteen Kings: Third, begun in *Hugh Capet*, of which there have been thirty one Kings.

Century. But if it be objected, there are no Instances to be found then in *England* of the like Partitions, in the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, it is replied, there were some, tho' not many. The Kings of the *Heptarchy*, who were but petty Princes in comparison of the Kings of *France*, took care not to divide their Dominions, otherwise there would quickly have been as many Sovereigns as Cities. However there were some that did so: For Instance, *Penda* King of *Mercia*, placed in his Life-time, his eldest Son *Peda* on the Throne of *Leicester*, having erected that City, and the adjoining Country into a Kingdom. *Ethelred* his Son and Successor, gave his Brother *Merwald* part of his Dominions, with the Title of King of *Hereford*, which little Kingdom was left by *Merwald*, to his Brother *Mercein*. *Ojot* King of *Northumberland*, gave the Kingdom of *Deira* to *Alfred* his Natural Son, as *Ethelwulf* did the Kingdom of *Kent* in his Life-time to *Athelstan*. For a farther Confirmation of this Opinion, *Ethelwulf's* Will is produced, who disposed of his Dominions in so absolute a manner, that his four Sons were to succeed one after another, whether the first had Children or not; which was accordingly done. These are the Arguments alledged in Proof of the third Opinion; but they have not remained unanswered.

Answer. It is said first, those Princes, who were crowned in their Father's Life-time, were properly but so many *Viceroys*: and they, who, contrary to the established order, succeeded by virtue of a Will, were admitted to the Throne by the Authority, or at least, not without the Consent of the Estates, which implies a Right of Election in the Subjects.

Another Proof in favour of the Kings. But it is more difficult to answer the Arguments drawn from the Proceedings of *Canute the Great*, who, towards the latter end of his Life, very carefully avoided every thing that might make the *English* apprehensive of his intending to alter the form of Government. 'Tis well known, this Prince annulled his Marriage Articles with *Emma* of *Normandy*, by making his Will, and appointing *Harold* his Successor, instead of *Hardicanute*, who by the Marriage-Contract was Heir to the Crown. This seems to demonstrate, the King was entirely free to chuse his Successor. It is true, after his death Disputes arose; but however that be, it appears at least, this Prince thought he might dispose of the Crown by Will. The same thing may be said of *Edward the Confessor*. Whether this Prince made a Will in favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, or designed it only, or even gave him but a bare verbal Promise, it may be inferred from thence, that he imagined he had a Right to settle the Succession that way.

These are the Reasons alledged to support the three Opinions, in this important Inquiry. I call it important with regard to those who really think it so. For my part, I can hardly be persuaded there is any occasion to recur to the Customs of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to establish those that are to be followed at this day.

The three Opinions may be united. It would not, perhaps, be impossible to form an Idea of the *Anglo-Saxon* Government, with regard to the Succession, by uniting the three foregoing Opinions. It seems to me that from all the reasons alledged, it may be inferred in favour of the rest, that the Crown was Hereditary in the Family of the *Saxon* Kings, as well during the *Heptarchy*, as after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. In favour of the second, it may be granted, that upon extraordinary occasions, the *Wittena-Gemot*, considering it self as Supreme Legislator, assumed an absolute Authority, and went beyond the usual Bounds. With the third it may be said, the Kings had power of nominating their Successor, provided, when they deviated from the common Practice, which was to prefer the next in Blood, they took care to have their Choice confirmed by the Great Council of the Kingdom. This is the Reason why those Kings who were not the next in Blood, never failed of making use of the Consent of the Estates, thereby to rectify the Irregularity of their accession to the Throne. This we see also in *Alfred's* Will, at the end of his Life published by *Spelman* (1). By uniting thus the three Opinions, the Rules for the Suc-

cession in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, will be found to be much the same with those at present. It is confessed, the Crown is Hereditary. But however, this prevents not the Parliament in extraordinary cases, from claiming a Power to over-rule Custom, and settle the Succession on a more distant, in prejudice of a nearer Relation. Of this the History of *England* since the Conquest affords many Instances and Precedents, without insisting on those of our own Times. If it is objected, all do not allow the King and Parliament to have a right to such a Power; it may be replied, till the contrary is determined by a lawful Authority, it is reasonable to presume this Power is rightfully lodged in the Nation. According to these Principles, they, who labour to prove the Crown was Elective in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, don't seem to do much in favour of the Parliament, which claims a Power to alter the Succession but on certain occasions. On the other hand, they, who undertake to prove the Crown was Hereditary at that time, do no great prejudice to the Authority assumed by this August Body; only in extraordinary Cases. In fine, as they, who pretend to prove the *Saxon* Kings had an absolute Power to dispose of the Crown, probably do not mean that the present Kings have the same Power, they seem to me to debate a Question of more Curiosity than Importance.

Of the LAWS of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

DURING the *Heptarchy*, there were no Laws common to all the seven Kingdoms; but each had its own in particular. It is very likely however, these Laws were not very different, since the Inhabitants of the seven Kingdoms had the same original. But there is nothing certain in this matter. The first Laws, we have any Knowledge of, are those published by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, about the time of the Conversion of the *Saxons*. We have likewise *Ina's* King of *Wessex*, and *Offa's* King of *Mercia*; and there is no doubt but some of the other Kings made Laws, though they are not transmitted to us.

After the Union of the seven Kingdoms, *Egbert's* Successors explained or extended the Laws already established, or made new ones. The most famous are those of *Alfred the Great*, taken, as he himself says, from the best he could find, and particularly from *Ina's* and *Offa's* above-mentioned. *Edgar*, with such Additions and Emendations as he thought fit, caused the Laws of *Alfred* to be strictly observed. But it must be remembered, when *England* was divided into two Kingdoms, namely, *Wessex* and *Mercia*, each had their Laws apart, and *Canute the Great* caused those that were introduced by the *Danes* into *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, to be approved by the General Assembly. There were therefore in *England* three sorts of Laws, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, till *Edward the Confessor* united them all in one Body (2). As I proposed only to give a general Notion of the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, my design is not to enter into a particular Account of all these Laws. I shall content my self with relating some Circumstances, which seem to me to merit the Curiosity of such as are Strangers to the *English* Constitution, and are intelligible to all the World.

The Laws were divided into Civil and Criminal. The first concerned the Lands or Estates, which were of two sorts, *Boeland* and *Socland*. *Boeland* was much of the same Nature with the Lands we call *Allodial* (3). It was Free and Hereditary, and might be alienated by the Owner, though he held in Fee of a superior Lord. This is properly what is elsewhere called, *Feudum honorarium*. This sort of Land was possessed by the Nobles and most considerable among the People. *Socland* was possessed by the *Ceorles*, and held of the Lord by payment of a certain annual Rent, and performance of certain personal Services. This sort of Land is the same what is called

(1) *Ego Ælfredus — tribus West-Saxonie Nobilibus Consensu pariter & Assensu, Occidentaliū Saxonum Rex, &c.* Whence it is manifest, that though he was nominated in his Father's Will to succeed his Brothers, yet he was elected or at least confirmed by the Great Council in the Possession of the Crown, to bequeath it to him by his Father. And therefore it is plain, that though the King had the Power to dispose of the Crown by Will, yet it could not be done without the Consent and Assent of the Estates.

(2) See what Bishop *Nicholas* says of this threefold Distinction of the Laws in p. 126. Note (3). To which may be added here the Opinion of *Spelman*: "Our Saxons, though divided into many Kingdoms, yet were they all one in Effect, in Manners, Laws, and Language; so that the breaking of their Government into many Kingdoms, or the re-uniting of their Kingdoms into a Monarchy, wrought little or no change amongst them touching Laws. For though we talk of the *West-Saxon-Laws*, *Mercian-Laws*, and *Dane-Laws*, whereby the several Parts of *England* were governed; yet they all held an Uniformity in Substance, differing rather in their Mulets than in their Canon; that is, in the Quantity of Fines and Amerciaments, than in the Course and Frame of Justice." *Reliq. Spel.* p. 49.

(3) The Northern Nation, neither incorporating nor destroying the Inhabitants in their Conquests, divided the Land into three Parts; one they left to the old Possessors, the other two they took themselves. These Divisions are called by the Writers of those Ages, *Sortes Geticae*, and *Sortes Romanae*, in Italy. The *Franks* practiced in the same manner in Gaul. What they took to themselves was termed *Terra Salica*, the rest was called *Allodium*, from the negative Particle *Ad* and *Leud*, which signifies in Teutonic, Persons linked by feudal Tenures, who only had a Share in the Legislature. So that *Allodial* Lands were such as were not subject to feudal Duties; yet before Tenants were oppressed, the Term *Allodium* was a Term of Reproach, as it denominated the Vanquished from the Victors. Though their Land was at first free from all Service, many Possessors for their better Security gave their *Allodial* Lands to the Chief of great Lordships to take them back under feudal Tenures. Others, without divesting themselves at all of their ancient Possession, placed themselves under such Superiors, and then came in use the Phrase *tenere in Allodio*, frequent enough in our *Doomsday Book*, and in foreign Writers; for all Protection and Subjection was supposed then to be founded on Tenure. *St. Amand*, p. 26, 27.

a Rural Fief. I don't think it necessary to enquire here into the original of Fees, which would lead me too far, and besides would contain nothing peculiar to *England*. I shall only say, in *Selden's* opinion, Fees derive their origin from the *North*, and from thence passed into *Germany, Italy, France, Spain, England*, where the northern Nations settled. It would also be too long a Digression from my purpose, to recite all the Laws concerning the possession of the two sorts of Lands before-mentioned, especially as these things are understood by few People. 'Tis sufficient to have given a general Idea of them, and therefore I shall proceed to what is much more intelligible, the Criminal Laws.

From the
Laws
of the
Peers.

Manner of
the Trial
Peers.

By the regulations of *Alfred the Great*, all Persons accused of any Crime were to be tried by their Peers. This Privilege which the *English* have preserved to this day, is one of the greatest a Nation can enjoy. It screens the small from the Oppression of the great, and from the Caprice or Passion of the King himself, of which there have been several Instances in *England*. But as the Term Peers may not be rightly understood by many Readers, it will be proper briefly to explain the meaning of the Word. It is to be observed, that in *England* there are but two Degrees or Orders of Men, namely, the *Peers of the Realm*, and the *Commons*. Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Archbishops and Bishops, are Peers of the Realm, and Peers among themselves; inasmuch that the lowest of the Barons is the Peer of the highest Duke. All the rest of the People are ranked with the Commons. So that in this respect, the meanest Artificer is Peer of all below the rank of a Baron. When therefore it is said, every one is tried by his Peers; the meaning is, the Peers of the Realm are judged by those of their own Order, that is, by the other Lords; who, like them, are Peers of the Realm. In the same manner, one of the Commonalty is tried by such as are of the order of the Commons, who, in this respect, are his Peers or equals, how much soever they may differ with regard to Birth or Fortune. There is however this difference between the Peers of the Realm and the Commons; every Peer of the Realm has a right to vote at the Trial of another Peer, whereas the Commons are tried but by twelve Persons of their Order, whose Verdict concerns only Fact. These twelve Persons, after hearing the public Examination of the Witnesses for and against the Party accused, only bring him in Guilty or not Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge; after which, the Judge condemns or acquits him according to Law. Such is the Privilege enjoyed by the *English* ever since the Time of King *Alfred*. And perhaps this Prince only revived and rectified a Custom established by the *Saxons* Time out of Mind (1).

Manner of
determining
the Truth.

By Oath.

When the Crime was not clearly proved, or sufficient Evidence found to condemn or acquit the Accused, two Methods were used, by which, it was thought, the Truth might be discovered. The first was the Oath of the Party accused, to purge himself of the Crime he was charged with. But his single Oath was not sufficient: He was to bring with him a certain Number of Persons who were [and still are] called *Compurgators*, who also swore to his Innocence.

Ordeal
by Fire.

The second Method was by *Ordeal* (2), that is, Trial by Fire or Water. The Trial by Fire was performed two ways. The Person accused held in his Hand a red-hot piece of Iron of one, two, or three Pounds weight, according to his Crime, or according to the Evidence against him; or else he was made to walk barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot *Pow-shares* placed at a stated distance. If he had the good fortune to come off unhurt, he was declared Innocent: But in case he was burnt, he was pronounced Guilty. Persons of Quality were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, of which *Emma*, Mother to *Edward the Confessor*, is an Instance. Trial by *Water-Ordeal* was made either by cold or scalding Water. Peasants and Slaves were put upon this Trial. In the Trial by cold Water, the Party suspected had his Hands and Feet tied together, and so was thrown into a Pond or River. If he sunk, he

was adjudged Innocent; but if he floated on the Surface of the Water, he was declared Guilty (3). When scalding Water was the Test, the Person accused was to plunge his Arm into it as far as the Wrist, and sometimes up to the Elbow. The Trial by cold Water was introduced by *Lewis le Debonnaire*, and by Pope *Eugenius II*, instead of an Oath, which was but too often the occasion of the guilty Persons perjuring themselves; and the *English* followed their Example.

Single Com-
bat.

The third way of Trial was by single Combat. When the Evidences of the Accusation were not strong, the Party was allowed to vindicate his Innocence by challenging his Accuser to single Combat. If a Woman was accused, she had the Privilege of substituting one in her room, who was called her Champion. This Custom was not introduced into *England* till towards the End of the Empire of the *Saxons*: But it continued a long time in being.

Corfned.

A fourth way of Trial was by giving the Party suspected a bit of Bread or Cheefe (4), consecrated with abundance of Ceremonies. If he was guilty, it was believed the Bread or the Cheefe would stick in his Throat and choak him; but if innocent, he would readily swallow it. Part of the Imprecation used upon delivering him the Bread, (after receiving the Communion) was as follows: *May this Bread [or this Cheefe] which is given him in order to bring the Truth to light, stick in his Throat and find no Passage if he is guilty* (5). *But if innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, may he easily swallow this Bread [or this Cheefe] consecrated in thy Name, to the end all may know, &c.* This way of Trial was evidently in Imitation of the *Waters of Jealousy* among the *Jews*. They who forged the Circumstances of Earl *Godwin's* death, as related in the reign of King *Edward*, had probably an eye to this Custom. This consecrated Bread or Cheefe was called *Corfned*, from the word *Snide* or *Snidan*, which signifies to cut a bit off, and *Corse*, that is, to curse, because 'twas believed it brought a Curse on the guilty Person. The Church not only approved of all these ways of Trial, but prescribed the Ceremonies and Form of Prayers to be used on these occasions, and even consented that the Bishops and Priests should officiate. There is a Law of *Canute the Great* concerning the *Corfned*, to this effect: *If a Man be accused of Murder, or of having any hand in it, let him clear himself to the Relations and Friends of the murdered Person, and, if necessary, let him be put to the Trial of the Corfned*. It is very wonderful, the *Saxons* and other Nations, among whom these Trials were common, could for so long together fancy they were infallible ways of discovering the Truth. On the contrary, one would think the numberless Experiments, they must needs have had of their uncertainty, should have opened their Eyes and made them see their Error.

Numb. vi.

When the Charge was fully proved, the Law ordained several sorts of Punishments, according to the Quality of the Offence: The greatest part whereof consisted in Fines, which the guilty Person was condemned to pay to the injured Party, to the King, to the Earl or to his Lord. There were some Crimes however, that were looked upon as *Capital*, and punished with Death. Such were Treason against the King, or Lord, wilful Murder and Theft. Though Treason was Death by the Law, yet the guilty Person had the Liberty of redeeming his Life by paying the Valuation of the King's or Lord's Head: I shall explain this hereafter. Coining of Money was not originally a *Capital* Crime; but the Consequences made the Penalty very great. The first Law that made it Death was in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, though it was left in the King's Power to commute the Punishment for a Fine. As for Murder, the Laws distinguished killing a Man in a sudden and unforeseen Quarrel, from wilful and premeditated Murder. The Punishment of the former was only pecuniary, the latter was Death. This Distinction still subsists in the Laws of *England*, where the first is called, *Manlaughter*, and the other, *Murder*. Theft or Robbery was not till after some time punish-

Treason.

Coining.

Murder
and Man-
laughter.

Theft.

(1) Sir *William Temple* says, Traces are not wanting of this Custom, from the very Institutions of *Odin*, the first Leader of the *Asiatick Goths* or *Gaeta* into *Europe*, and Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick Sea*, from whence all the *Gothick* Governments in these North-West Parts of the World were derived. This is the Reason that it is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden* as any Records, or Traditions of that Kingdom, and still remains in some Provinces. The *Normans* introduced the Terms of Jury and Verdict as well as many other Law-Terms; but the Trials by Twelve Men are expressly mentioned in *Alfred's* and *Edward the First's* Laws.

(2) *Saxons* in his *Calvary* derives this Word *Or*, a Privative, and *Dal*, that is, Distinction or Difference, as much as to say, an impartial Judgment, without any Distinction.

(3) *Rapin*, by mistake, says *Swimming* was a Sign of Guilt, and *Swimming of Innocence*. The Custom among the Country-People of trying *Witches*, by throwing them into the Water with their Thumbs and Toes tied together, is perhaps a Relict of *Water Ordeal*. These Trials were made with great Solemnity, and were always managed by the Clergy. The Person accused was obliged to swear to his Innocence, and innocence, especially if in Orders, to receive the Sacrament. After the Charge was legally brought in, the Person impeached was to spend three Days in Fasting and Prayer. At the Day of Trial, which in the *Fire Ordeal* was made in the Church, the Priest in his Habit took up the Iron which lay before the Altar, and repeating the Hymn of the Three Children, put it into the Fire: Then using some Forms of Benediction over the Fire and Iron, he sprinkled the Iron with *Holy Water*, and made the Sign of the Cross in the Name of the Trinity: Which done, the Party accused passed through the Test. The Ceremony of the *Scalding Water-Ordeal* was much the same. But when the Trial was by *Cold Water*, the three Days Fast and other Circumstances being premised, the Person suspected drank a Draught of *Holy Water*, to which the Priest added an Imprecation, in case he was Guilty: Then the Water into which he was to be thrown, had a sort of consecrating Form of Prayers said over it: All these ways of Trial continued long after the Conquest. The first publick Discontinuation from the State was in the third Year of *Henry III*.

(4) He was to take an Ounce of either fasting.

(5) The Imprecations go on thus: *May his Face turn pale, his Limbs be convulsed, and an horrible Alteration appear in his ruble Body.*

able by death, and even the first Laws that made it so, permitted the Thief to redeem his Head with a sum of Money.

Fines for
other Crimes.

All other Offences were punished only by Mulcts or Fines, 'till the Reign of *Canute the Great*, who ordered in the case of Adultery, that a Woman should have her Nose and Ears cut off, and the Man be banished the Realm. These Fines were not left to the Will of the Judge, but were settled by Law, according to the Quality of the injured Party, from the King to the Peasant; and with regard to the Malefactors, from the Ealdorman to the Slave. Upon some certain occasions, they who had incurred the Penalty of Death, might buy off their Punishment by giving the King part of their Estates. But this seldom happened, except where the Quality, or Power of the guilty Party, rendered the execution of the Laws difficult or dangerous. We have a remarkable instance of this in the Trial of Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*. This Lord, as was said in the Life of King *Edward*, entering the *Thames* with a Fleet, the King was forced to restore him to his Honours. But having been banished by the *Wittena-Gemot*, he was to be recalled by the same Authority. It was necessary therefore to use some Formality, which should screen him from all future enquiry; and the method taken was this. The Earl being come to *London*, where the great Council was assembled, the King himself turned his Accuser, and said, "Thou Traitor *Goodwin*, I charge thee with the death of *Alfred* my Brother, whom thou hast traitorously murdered." "My Lord (answered the Earl) saving the Reverence I owe you, I have neither murdered, nor betrayed your Brother, and am ready to refer myself to the Judgment of your Court." Upon which the Witnesses were produced and examined, and then *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia* spoke thus: "It seems evident to me that Prince *Alfred* was put to death by the Advice of Earl *Goodwin*. But as he is one of the greatest Lords in the Kingdom, it is my opinion, that twelve of us Earls, who are his Relations and Friends, should take as much Gold as we can carry in our hands, and humbly presenting it to the King, supplicate for his Pardon and Restoration to his Honours, upon his taking the Oath of Allegiance." This being agreed to, twelve of the Lords offered a certain sum to the King, which he accepting, pardoned the Earl. But this whole Proceeding was all a Farce. *Goodwin* knew before-hand how matters would go, otherwise he would never have ventured to stand a Trial.

Before I conclude this Head, it will be proper to remark, that several, upon reading the *Saxon* Laws, preposterously imagine, the Murder, as well of the King, as of any other Subject, was punishable only by Fine. But this mistake proceeds purely from not attending to the fore-mentioned distinction between wilful Murder and Manslaughter. Of this last, we are to understand *Athelstan's* Law (1), which settles the Fines to be paid for the killing any Person from the King to the Slave.

The Customs and Manners of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany* their own Country's Virtues and Vices, and transmitted them to their Posterity. Their Valour, to which they were indebted for their Conquests, as well in *England* as *Germany*, was what they valued themselves most upon. They were bred up to Arms from their Infancy, and War may be said to be their only Profession. They came to their general Assemblies armed; and shewed their Approbation of what was proposed by striking their Javelins one against another. Their usual Arms were the Sword, Club, Battle-Ax, or Bill, and Javelin. As they had no Bows and Arrows, their Battles were the more bloody. After darting their Javelins, they came to close Fight, where their dexterity in handling their Arms, gave them a great advantage. Indeed, towards the end of their Empire, they were frequently worsted by the *Danes*, and at length vanquished by the *Normans*. But where is the

Nation, how famous soever for Bravery, that has not experienced the like turns of Fortune? Among the *Saxons*, a Man without Courage was looked upon with the utmost Contempt. This high Conceit of martial Valour was the cause of their being very hardly reconciled after a quarrel. Every one dreading the name of Coward, should he make the first advances, the Quarrel was perpetuated from Father to Son, and very seldom ended but with the Extinction of one of the Families (2). It is easy to imagine, that people of this Temper, accustomed from their Childhood to fear neither Blows nor Wounds, and continually encouraged by the example of their Relations and Friends, encountered Dangers with great resolution. Accordingly there never was any Nation that looked death in the face with greater Intrepidity than the *Saxons*. And all the World knows this is the Character of the *English* at this very day.

The *Saxons* were extremely addicted to Religion, even before they had the happiness of becoming Christians. When they settled in *Great-Britain*, they were not only Idolaters, but of all the Heathens were the most attached to the Service of their Gods; even to the sacrificing of the Prisoners of War on their Altars. As soon as they embraced the Gospel, the same Inclination caused them to receive and practise, with equal zeal, the Duties of the Christian Religion, and whatever the Monks, their first Teachers, were pleased to inculcate upon them. It was their unhappiness not to come to the Knowledge of God, 'till the Monks began by degrees to disfigure Religion by superstitious Practices. As the *Saxons* were Men of no Learning and consequently incomplete Judges of what they were taught, they entirely gave themselves up to the management of their Guides. Hence their great zeal in founding and endowing Monasteries. They were made to believe, that enriching the Monks was the main of Religion, or at least would supply all defects. This is also the reason that in the two first Centuries after their Conversion we find among them so many Saints of distinguished Birth and Fortune. Indeed, since a Saintship might be purchased by liberal Benefactions to the Monasteries, it was an easy way for the Rich and the Powerful to attain it. But although they were attached to many unnecessary things, yet even in that may be seen their Bias to Religion. This natural Inclination, no doubt, was the reason so many of their Kings voluntarily exchange their worldly Grandeur for a Cloister. They who are acquainted with the Temper of the *English* at this day, will readily own, no Nation can produce more Instances of fervent and solid Piety. My long abode in *England* makes me affirm this the more boldly. Indeed, God has permitted Libertinism in point of Religion to make some progress there of late Years. But it would be very unjust to judge of a whole Nation by a few that are infected with it, and of whom one single Person makes more noise in the world by his pernicious Maxims, than many thousands of pious and sincere Christians.

The *Anglo-Saxons* were so little accustomed to Swearing and Blaspheming, which are grown so common now-a-days in Conversation, that among all their Laws there is not one against this Vice. This cannot be said to be owing to the negligence of the Legislators, since we see in those very Laws great Penalties laid upon such as violated the Sabbath, or a Fast.

Drunkennes was their reigning Vice. They were used to drink out of large Cups, and take great Draughts, 'till *Edgar*, willing to reform this Abuse, ordered certain Marks to be made in their Cups at such a height, above which they were forbid to fill under such a Penalty. But this Regulation was not long in force.

Although the *English* in general, before the *Norman* Conquest, were not very famous for Learning, it is not to be ascribed to their want of Genius, but rather to their Education, which was entirely turned to Arms. Besides, the time of the Dominion of the *Saxons*, especially after the Union of the seven Kingdoms, was not a time wherein the Sciences greatly flourished.

I have but two Observations more to make on the Customs of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The first is, they reckoned the time by Nights, which is still observable in some *English* Expressions. For instance, instead of two Weeks they say a Fortnight, or fourteen Nights. *Mezerai* ob-

(1) In this Law we have the Valuation of Men's Heads of all Orders and Degrees. This Valuation was called in *Saxon*, *Wergild*. The King's Head was valued at thirty thousand *Thrimfa's* (that is, in our Money, three hundred and sixty Pounds, each *Thrimfa* being supposed worth about our three Pence, the same as their *Peninga* or *Sceat*) half of which was to be paid to his Relations, and half to the State. An Atheling or Prince's was valued at fifteen thousand *Thrimfa's*: A Bishop's and Ealdorman's, at eight thousand: A General's, at four thousand: A Spiritual and Temporal *Thane's*, at two thousand: (Hence it is evident, that a *Thane* was far from being the same with a Baron, whose Valuation would have been at least as much as a Bishop's) the *Ceorl's* Head was valued at two hundred sixty seven, but if he was so rich as to possess five Hides of Land, at two thousand, the same as a *Thane's*. The *Saxon* Money is thus calculated by Mr. *Carleton*: a *Peninga*, three of our Pence. A Shilling, three *Peninga's*, or fifteen Pence; a Pound, forty eight Shillings, or three of our Pounds; *Manna*, *Mancwa*, or *Manca*, twelve of our Pence. *Manca* of Gold, thirty *Peninga's*, or seven Shillings and Six-pence.

(2) These are what we call deadly Feuds, that is, Quarrels which end not but in Death. The thirty eighth Law of *Alfred* is concerning these deadly Feuds, and gives a strange License for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Presence of any Officer. Nay, so far did they proceed, that if one Man killed another, his Kindred revenged his Death upon any of the Murderer's Relations (as they do among the *Indians*) 'till King *Edmund* ordered by a Law, that the Murderer alone should bear the deadly Feud or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party slain.

serve the same thing of the ancient *Franks*. This, with several other Customs common to the *Franks* and *Saxons*, is a strong Presumption, these two Nations had the same Original, as Sir *William Temple* asserts in his *Introduction to the History of England*.

77. Saxons
Dikes.

My second Observation is, that the *Anglo-Saxons* were wont to separate their Lands by large and deep Ditches. This was not only practised by private Persons; but the Kings themselves took care to raise Ramparts with large Ditches on the Frontiers of their Dominions, to part them from the neighbouring States, when there was no Mountains or Rivers to serve for Boundaries. *Offa's Dike* made to divide *Mercia* from *Wales*, was twenty four miles long. There was another between the *Thames* and the *Severn*, separating *Mercia* from *Wessex*. It was called *Woden's Dike*, but contracted now into *Wansditch*. *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were parted by a like Ditch. Afterwards, the *East-Angles* making Conquests upon the *Mercians*, made another Ditch seven Miles further into the conquered Country. The first was called, but for what reason I know not, the *Devil's Dike*, and the other the *Seven Mile Dike*. They had this Custom from the ancient *Saxons*, who practised the same thing in *Germany*. We are informed by some Historian, that the *Saxons* of *Sleswick* threw up a large Rampart from Sea to Sea, to defend themselves against the Incurfions of the *Danes*, who were in possession of the *Cimbriick Chersonesus* or *Jutland*. *Pepin King of France* was long prevented from entering *Saxony*, by one of these Ramparts, and it was with great difficulty that he made his way over it at last.

The Language of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

The several
Dialects of
the Anglo-
Saxon Lan-
guage.

TO say in general, the *Anglo-Saxons* spoke *English* or *Saxon*, would not be shewing with sufficient exactness what their Language was. To give a fuller Idea of it, it will be necessary to distinguish the several Tongues used in *England* after the arrival of the first *Saxons*. The *English* Tongue originally differed but little from the *Danish*, since the ancient Writers call them indifferently *Cimbriick*, *Scandinavian*, *Gothic*: But this Language was not the same with the *Saxon*. In the parts lying North of the *Thames*, was spoken pure *English* or *Danish*, and South of the *Thames* pure *Saxon*. Though these two Languages were different, they so far agreed however, as to be understood by both Nations. In process of time, and especially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, *Saxon* prevailed in all *England*, because the Kings were of that Nation. Thus pure *English*, [or the Language of the *Angles*] was by degrees disused, or at least banished from common Conversation. Afterwards the *Danes* settling in *England*, brought their Language, which was not the ancient *Danish* or *English* abovementioned, but a modern *Danish*, mixt with the Language of several neighbouring Nations of *Denmark*. This modern *Danish* was chiefly used in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, wherein the *Danes* were Masters. Though, out of complaisance to the *English*, *Canute the Great* published his Laws in *Saxon*, yet the *Danish* Tongue was still retained in the North, where the People were mostly *Danes*. As it was also the Court Language during the Reigns of *Canute the Great* and his two Sons, it became necessary for the *West-Saxons*, who adopted several Words and Idioms of it into their own Language. But upon *Edward the Confessor's* accession to the Throne, *Saxon* prevailed again at Court. Hence the Inhabitants of the North were under some necessity of learning it, just as the *Gascons* in *France* are obliged to learn *French*.

In the Reign of King *Edward I.* the *Norman Language* began also to be introduced into *England*. As his Mother was a *Norman*, and he had lived many Years in that Court, he was very fond of the *Norman Language*. Moreover, the great number of *Normans* that flocked into *England*, very much helped to introduce this Language among the persons of Quality, who took a pride in speaking it well: The *Norman Tongue* being at that time a mixture of *Danish* and *French*, the last began to prevail, so that the ancient *Danish* brought by the *Normans* into *Normandy*, daily lost ground. As soon as *William the Conqueror* was seated in the Throne of *England*, he used all possible means to bring his native Tongue in vogue throughout the Kingdom. He published his Laws in *Norman*, which, with the settlement of multitudes of *Norman Families* in *England*, made that Language as common as the *Saxon*.

The Language then of the *Anglo-Saxons* just before the Conquest was a mixture of the following Dialects. 1. Of *British* or *Celtic*, from whence no doubt the *Saxons* borrowed some Words and Phrases. 2. Of *Latin*, which was common in *Great Britain* when the *Saxons* arrived. 3. Of the ancient *English* or *Danish*. 4. Of the modern *Danish*. 5. Of pure *Saxon*. 6. Of *Norman* mixed with *Danish* and *French*. They who have carefully studied this matter, distinguish three principal Dialects in the *Anglo-Saxon Language*. The first was compounded of *British*, *Latin* and *Saxon*, but in such manner that the *Saxon* was predominant. The only remains of this Dialect, which was in use above three hundred years, is a Fragment of the Writings of *Cedmon the Monk*, inserted by *Alfred the Great* in his Translation of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. The second Dialect, which may be termed *Dano-Saxon*, was used in the northern Parts, from the first Invasions of the *Danes*, to the *Norman Conquest*. There are still preserved in some Libraries, two Manuscript Versions of the Gospels in this Language. The third Dialect was composed of the other two and the *Norman*. This Dialect, which was introduced chiefly in the Reigns of *Edward the Confessor* and *William the Conqueror*, has admitted of great alterations, by the addition of many *French* words, particularly, after *Henry II's* Accession to the Crown of *England*. They who are ignorant of the *English Tongue*, hardly believe, that a mixture of so many Languages can have any extraordinary Beauties. But the *English* pretend, their Language, for that very reason, must be more Beautiful and Expressive, since they have adopted only the more refined part of other Tongues, and rejected what is rude and unpolished. Be this as it will, they have a great value for their Language, and, if a Foreigner may be allowed to give his Opinion, I think, very justly.

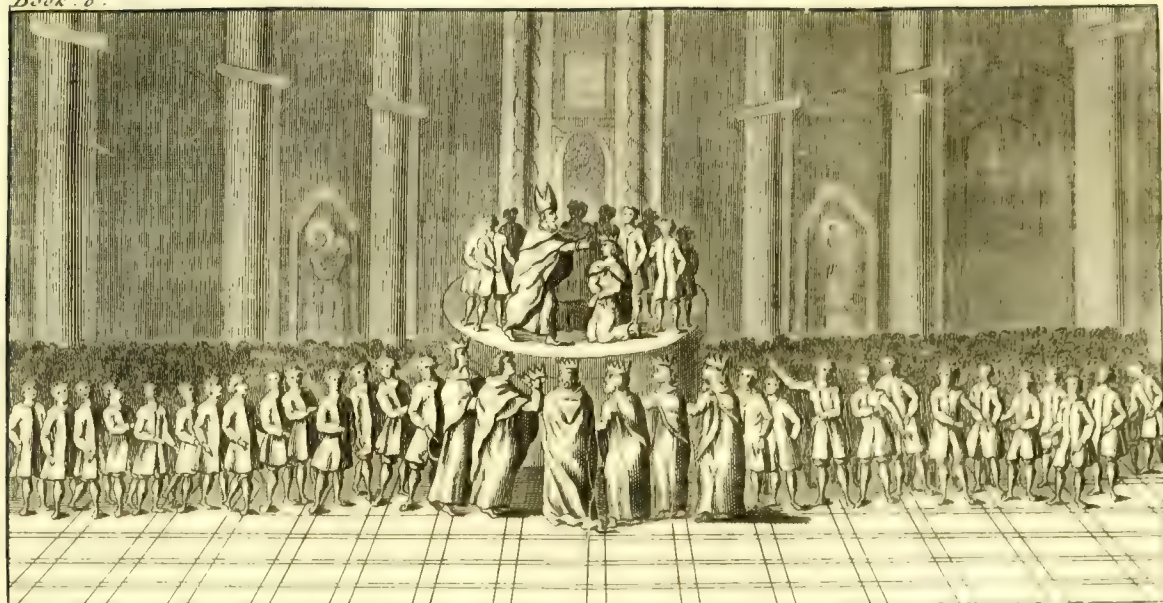
I shall conclude this Article with a word or two concerning the Name of *Sterling*, given to the *English Money*. Some believe this word comes from the Town of *Striveling* or *Sterling* in *Scotland*, where they pretend, but without any ground, that the best and purest Money was formerly coined. Others say, with much greater probability, that *Sterling* is derived from the *Saxon Word Steore*, which signifies Rule or Standard: So that according to this opinion, *Sterling Money* means no more than Money made according to a settled Standard. *Camden* and some others imagined this word was of a more modern date, and taken from certain *Flemish Workmen*, who in the Reign of King *John* were invited into *England* to reduce the Money to its due fineness, in which they were more expert than the *English*. As the People of that Country were generally called *Easterlings*, on account of their Situation Eastward of *England*, 'tis pretended, the Money they coined, was called *Easterling* or *Sterling*; that is, made by the *Easterlings*, or *Flemish*, and consequently purer than what had been hitherto coined (1).

(1) It is believed, that in the most ancient Times, when Money was first coined in this Island, it was made of pure Gold and Silver, like Moneys now current in *Hungary* and *Batavia*: And that afterwards, in making the Moneys, it being found convenient to have a certain Quantity of base Metal to be mixed with the Gold and Silver, the word *Sterling* was introduced, and hath ever since been used, to denote the certain Proportion or Degree of Fineness which ought to be contained in the respective Coins, and full of such Mixtures. *Sterling* and *Standard* are therefore synonymous Terms. It is probable the word *Sterling* was unknown in the time of the Conqueror, as there is no mention of it in *Domesday*, which values every Manor in Money, as *Namum*, ad *Penjam*, ad *Podas*, but not in *Sterling*. But however this Term was soon after introduced, because the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward III.* refers to ancient *Sterling*. Some imagine the Word is derived from *Star*, which they suppose to have been imprinted on the Money.



A New Map of ENGLAND SCOTLAND and IRELAND





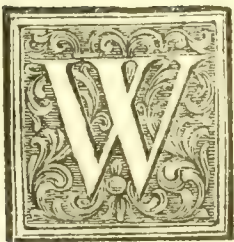
THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.

The Norman Line: From the Reign of WILLIAM the Conqueror, to the Death of King STEPHEN, containing the Space of about Eighty Eight Years. With the State of the CHURCH during the said Space.

I. WILLIAM I. Surnamed the BASTARD, or CONQUEROR.

Reflections on
the Duke of
Normandy's
Attempt upon
England.



WHEN a Man impartially considers the Attempt formed by the Duke of *Normandy* upon *England*, he is at a loss which to admire most, either the Ground, or the Boldness, or the Success. In the first place, it must be very surprizing, he should build his Right upon so sandy a foundation as the bare Will of King *Edward*;

of which too it does not appear in History, he ever offered to give the least Proof, or produce any Evidence. In the next place, it is as hard to conceive, how this Prince, who passed for one of the most politick of his time, could form a Design to support his pretended Right by Arms, notwithstanding all the Obstacles that seemed to conspire to divert him from it. Never Project seemed more rashly form'd, or with less appearance of Success. The Forces of *Normandy* were not comparable to those of *England*, neither had Duke *William*, in the Country he undertook to conquer, any strong Holds, or Friends, or Correspondence, whereon to ground the hopes of succeeding. Even after he had landed a powerful Army, not a single Lord declared in his favour. Far from reasonably expecting any Assistance from the *English*, he could not possibly be ignorant how well they stood affected to *Harold*. Indeed some among them, from a Sense of Justice and Equity, might be displeased with the new King's usurping the Crown upon *Edgar*. But they were far enough from blaming him for supplanting the Duke of *Normandy*, whose very Pretensions were unknown to them. They were so little inclined to reject the King they had cho-

sen, that, on the contrary, they had just given him sensible marks of their Fidelity, by their zeal and readiness in his defence against the King of *Norway*. On the other hand, the Obstacles Duke *William* was naturally to expect from the neighbouring Princes, were no less apt to deter him from his purpose. Their Interest required, that instead of promoting his Enterprize, they should oppose his growing Power. The *French* in particular could not, without running counter to the most obvious Maxims of Policy, forbear endeavouring to blast a Design, the Success whereof would infallibly be very prejudicial to them. But supposing he could have been sure, the Princes his Neighbours would voluntarily shut their eyes against their own Interest, how could he expect to succeed, since the States of *Normandy* refused to assist him in an Undertaking, which to them seemed equally unjust and rash? Lastly, in the execution of this Design, it is surprizing to see, contrary to all expectation, the greatest Difficulties insensibly vanish before him, and the very things which seemed most opposite to his Designs, help to accomplish them. The States of *Normandy* refusing him the Assistance he wants, private Persons voluntarily drain their Purfes, and supply him more plentifully than he could have expected from the States. The Court of *France* lets him act unmolested, and even suffers the *French* to aid him in procuring a Crown which might one day render him equal to his Sovereign, or at least enable him to dispute his Superiority. All the rest of the neighbouring Princes strive with emulation to forward a Design, the success whereof must be fatal to them. He is assisted by the Earls of *Bostagne* (1) and *Arjau*, who a little before were his mortal Enemies. In a word, with-

(1) As an Additional Note (1), p. 170. The Reader is desired to observe, that it was Count *H* who was assisted by his Chamberlain that had been taken by *Harold*. His Son and a number of his Men went to assist *H* in his attempt. Count *H* was taken by *Harold*. He was rewarded with the Title of Earl of *Arjau*, and was the first Baron of *Arjau* in *England*, which term he bore till the reign of *Richard*. After *William*'s Victory, in 1066, *Arjau* was taken into their own Country. See a list of the names of the nobles who assisted *William* in *England*, p. 173-174. *Idem* 1700.

in the space of a few Months, he had a numerous Army (1), a great number of Ships, and Money in abundance. Even *Harold's* late Victory over the King of *Norway* contributed as much as any one thing to the Duke of *Normandy's* Success, though seemingly it should have destroyed all his hopes. In that action, *Harold* lost his best Troops, displeased the rest by with-holding the Spoils, and by his Victory was inspired with a fatal contempt of the *Normans*, that proved his ruin. Had it not been for this Contempt, he would have avoided coming to battle, according to his Brother's advice; and suffered the *Norman* Army to dwindle away in an Enemy's Country, where no Assistance could be found. And if afterwards, Duke *William*, constrained to fight with disadvantage, had been vanquished, what could he have urged to vindicate the Injustice and Rashness of his Attempt? But the event has dispell'd all these Reflections, and determined the Historians to extol an Action they would infallibly have blamed, had it proved unsuccessful. Thus, the Foundation on which the Duke of *Normandy* built his Pretensions, the little reason he had to flatter himself with the happy Issue, and the Ease wherewith he accomplished his Enterprize, equally deserve our Admiration. Add to all these Considerations, that, by one single Battle he became master of a Country, which neither the *Danes*, or the *Saxons*, nor the *Romans* themselves, could subdue till after numberless Engagements, and in the space of several Ages. All this obliges us to own, he was guided by the hand of the Almighty, the only Giver of Victory, and who exalts and humbles Nations according to his good pleasure. God, no doubt, was pleas'd to make use of this Conqueror, to render the *English* Nation more illustrious than ever. The *English*, hitherto almost unknown to the rest of the World, began after this Revolution to make a considerable figure in *Europe*. This may be said to be the first Step by which *England* is arriv'd to that height of Grandeur and Glory we behold it in at present. This will evidently appear in the whole course of the History, the principal Events of which I am going to describe. But since I am to begin with the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, it will not be improper to give some farther account of this Prince, who was two and forty years old at the time of the Battle of *Hastings*, and had now been three and thirty years Duke of *Normandy*. It will be necessary therefore, before we enter upon his Reign, to consider by what degrees Divine Providence rais'd him to the Throne of *England*, of which his Birth seem'd to give him no manner of prospect.

The Affairs
of Normandy
from Rollo
to William
the Bastard.
Gul. Gerni-
tice.
Walsing.
Upodig.
Neustr.

Normandy, one of the largest and most considerable Provinces of *France*, was possess'd by the *Normans* ever since the forced Grant made by *Charles the Simple* to *Rollo the Dane*, the first Duke. *Rollo* and his immediate Successors, content with this noble Acquisition, were less solicitous about enlarging their Bounds, than securing the Possession to their Posterity. By means of numerous Colonies of their own Nation, who by reciprocal Marriages were incorporated with the Natives, they soon caus'd the two Nations to become one People under the common Name of *Normans*; for so the *French* call'd the Foreigners lately settled in *Neustria*, which from them took also the Name of *Normandy*. The first Dukes made it their principal care to gain the affection of their Subjects, by causing them to enjoy as much as possible, the sweets of Peace, and governing them with Justice and Equity. By this prudent conduct they not only destroyed the seeds of Rebellion, which might lurk in the hearts of the ancient Inhabitants; but also screen'd themselves from the secret Practices of the Kings of *France*, who griev'd to see so noble a Province torn from their Monarchy. Accordingly, when the *French*, at any favorable Juncture, attempted to recover it, they always found the Dukes of *Normandy* able to defend themselves with their own Forces, because they were assur'd of the People's affection.

From *Rollo* to *William the Bastard* there were seven Dukes, among whom *Richard II*, who was the fourth, was one of the most illustrious. His first Wife was *Judith* of *Bretagne*, by whom he had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert* and *William*. After the Death of *Judith*, he made a double Alliance with *Canute the Great*, giving him his Sister *Emma*, Widow of *Ethelred II*, King of *England*, and taking himself *Estrith* Sister to that Prince. How honorable soever this Match might be, his Love of a young Damsel call'd *Pavia*, caus'd him to divorce *Estrith* and marry his Mistress. By this second Wife he had *William* Earl of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*.

After the death of this Prince, his Son *Richard III* succeeded him, notwithstanding the Endeavours of his younger Brother *Robert* to supplant him. *Robert*, not being able to accomplish his designs, was forced to desist; or rather, as some affirm, went a surer and more ready

way to work. 'Tis said, he procur'd his Brother to be poisoned, who, after a Reign of two years, left him the possession of the Dukedom he had so ardently wish'd for. Whether Duke *Robert's* crime was never fully proved, or his just Government blotted out the remembrance of it, he found means to gain the affection of his People at home, by his Justice and Liberality, whilst his Valour made him respected abroad. By his aid it was that *Henry I*, King of *France*, took possession of the Throne, notwithstanding the Pretensions of *Robert's* younger Brother, who was supported by a powerful party. The Princess of *Queen Constance* their Mother, who espous'd the Interest of her youngest Son, obliging *Henry* to implore the assistance of the Duke of *Normandy*, he came to him at *Roan*, and obtained an Aid of five hundred Spear-Men. This first Aid was soon followed by a more considerable Supply, led by the Duke himself into *France*, where he plac'd *Henry* on the Throne, compelling the younger Brother to be satisfied with *Burgundy*. *Henry*, in a grateful sense of so great a Service, protest'd, he would have it in eternal remembrance: And to give him an effectual Proof of his Sincerity, annex'd to the Duchy of *Normandy* the Cities of *Chamont* and *Pontijé*, then in possession of the Crown of *France*.

It will not be proper here to enter into the particulars of Duke *Robert's* Wars with some rebellious *Norman* Lords, and with the Duke of *Bretagne* for refusing Homage. 'Tis sufficient to say in a word, he was successful in taming the Rebels, and reducing the Duke of *Bretagne* to his Duty. I have already mentioned his design of causing Justice to be done to his Cousins, Sons of *Ethelred II*, and how his Enterprize miscarried; wherefore it is needless to say any more of it.

It is hard to conceive why this Prince who was a Lover of his People, should never think of marrying, though he might plainly foresee, in case he died without Heirs, great Confusion and Troubles would ensue. There were in *Normandy* several Branches of the Ducal Family, who might pretend to the Succession if he died without Children. Consequently their several Pretensions would, very probably, occasion a Civil War, which *Robert* might prevent by marrying. Notwithstanding this, he was resolv'd to live single. One would be apt to think, this resolution was owing to his Insensibility for the fair Sex, had we not a proof to the contrary, in his passion for a young Damsel, with whose graceful Mein he was charmed as he saw her dancing. The Damsel, who was call'd *Arlotta* (2), a Skinner's Daughter of *Falaise*, thinking herself extremely honored by the Duke's Addresses, readily yielded to his Solicitations. 'Tis said the first night the Duke took her to his Bed, she dreamt her Bowels were extended over all *Normandy* and *England*. This Dream was very naturally interpreted afterwards, if it be true that it was not forged after the Event.

Malmsb.
Brompt.

Robert had by this Mistress a Son call'd *William*, of whom 'tis related, that, the Moment he was born, laying hold of some Straws, he held them so fast, that his Fift was forc'd to be unclinch'd before he would let them go. This made the good Women say, he would one day prove a great Acquirer, since he began so early. *Robert* educated his young Son with all imaginable care, designing him for his Successor. But whilst he was laying out his pains in his Education, the fancy took him to go in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. This act of Devotion was look'd upon as the effect of his remorse for the murder of the Duke his Brother, and of his desire to atone for his Crime by this sort of Penance. Be this as it will, before he set out, he took all necessary measures to secure the Succession to his Bastard Son. He was very sensible how difficult it would be for young *William* to take possession, if the *Normans* were not prepar'd beforehand to acknowledge him. And therefore, he summon'd the States of *Normandy*, and communicating to them his design of going to the *Holy Land*, conjur'd them, in case he should never return, to receive, after his death, his young Son *William* for their Sovereign. The States did all that lay in their power to divert the Duke from his Journey; but finding, he was not to be prevail'd upon, gave him their Promise with an Oath, if any ill Accident befel him on the road, they would conform to his Will. To convince him of their Sincerity, they swore Fealty to *William* as the presumptive Heir of the Duke his Father. This Affair being settled to *Robert's* Satisfaction, he appointed *Alain* Duke of *Bretagne*, his Relation and Vassal, *Senechal* of *Normandy*, giving him power to govern, in his absence, with an absolute Authority. Then he carried his Son to *Paris*, and deliver'd him into the hands of the King of *France*, who took charge of his Education. Before he left the Court of *France*, he made young *William* do Homage to the King, as if he had been in actual possession of *Normandy*.

Chron. of
Normandy.
Malmsb.

Robert pre-
pares to go
to Jerusalem.

Causes his
Son William
to be acknow-
ledg'd his
Successor.

Carries him
to Paris.

(1) It consisted of fifty thousand Men, says P. Daniel, Hist. of France. Vol. III. p. 91, 92.

(2) From whence it is said came the Word *Harlot*. Malmsbury and Ingulphus say, Duke Robert took her to Wife. Malmsb. p. 95.

Troubles in
Normandy.

The Absence of Duke Robert occasioned Troubles in his Dominions, which obliged the Duke of *Bretagn* to use some Severity, and exert the Authority he was intrusted with. But whilst he was earnestly endeavouring to restore Peace and Tranquillity, he was taken off by Poison. This Accident was soon followed with a Report of the Duke's being dead on the road. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of this News, it was the cause of Commotions so much the more dangerous, as there was no body in *Normandy* capable of appeasing them. They who had the Administration of Affairs in their hands, were themselves engaged in Factions, which had been forming ever since the Duke's departure, and thereby help'd to increase the Confusion.

Robert's
Death.

Whilst things were in this ill state, some of the Duke's Retinue arrived, and confirm'd the news of his death. Upon which several of the principal Lords, descended from the antient Dukes, began to cabal openly, to exclude the Bastard from the Succession. Plausible pretences were not wanting; but the States declared, they could not without Perjury violate the Oath they had bound themselves by. The Resolution being taken of acknowledging *William* for Sovereign, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to the King of *France* to demand the young Prince. After *Henry* was informed of the Duke of *Normandy's* Death, the Shame of doing an ill Action, and the desire of becoming master of *Normandy*, kept him in suspense. He was in hopes the Troubles of that Dukedom would turn to his advantage, and began to lay his Schemes accordingly. However, when he found the States of *Normandy* had declared in favour of *William*, he thought proper to defer the execution of his Designs, 'till a more convenient Season. He chose therefore to conceal his Intentions, and send home the young Prince. As soon as *William* came to *Roan*, the States swore Fealty to him, and gave him for Governor *Raoul de Gace*, Constable of *Normandy*.

William is
acknowledg-
ed Duke of
Normandy.

Great Trou-
bles in Nor-
mandy.

Chron-
Norm.

The Troubles were not allay'd by the Arrival of the new Duke. The Lords who claimed the Ducal Crown, could not resolve to drop their Pretensions. They imagined the preferring a Bastard before them, was a manifest Injustice. But, as they who held the Reins of the Government, were Men of great prudence and interest, and thought to be supported by *France*, the Claimants durst not openly avow their designs. Mean time, King *Henry* burnt with desire to make an advantage of these dissensions. The death of Duke Robert made him forget the great Service received from that Prince. In fine, not being able to resist the Temptation any longer, he suddenly laid Siege to the Castle of *Tilliers*, to which he had some Pretensions. This Place being very strong and well provided with Ammunition, would have held out a long time, if the Duke's Ministers had not ordered the Governor to surrender it, on Condition the Castle should be demolished. *Henry* very readily agreed to these Terms, and commanded the Walls to be actually raz'd; but on some ambiguous Clause in the Capitulation, caused them to be immediately rebuilt. This good Success inspiring him with great hopes of his Enterprize, he seized also upon *Argenton*. Then marching to *Falaise*, he became master of the Town with the same ease. He would have made farther Progress, if *Raoul de Gace*, having drawn together a powerful Army, had not compelled him to retire. His retreat gave the Constable opportunity of retaking *Falaise*, the *French* not having time to lay in any Stores.

The King of
France con-
quers Duke
William.

Revolt of
Roger de
Tiney.

As soon as the Claimants saw, the King of *France*, instead of protecting the young Duke, was making War against him, they began to stir again and prosecuted their respective Pretensions. The first that appeared, was *Roger de Tresney*, Standard-bearer of *Normandy*, descended from an Uncle of *Rollo*. This Lord, who had amass'd great Riches in *Spain*, where he had long bore Arms against the *Saracens*, returning home during Duke Robert's Absence, put himself at the head of one of the Factions that disturbed the State. As soon as he heard of that Prince's Death, he form'd the Project of seizing the Dukedom. But his Apprehension of the King of *France's* assisting Duke *William* prevented him then from pursuing his Designs. But this Apprehension being removed by the Proceedings of King *Henry*, he drew some Troops together, imagining the Duke's Forces would be sufficiently employed against *France*. But he was presently after defeated and slain by *Roger de Beaumont*, who commanded the Duke's Army.

Malm.

Revolt of
the Earl of
Arques.

William, Earl of *Arques*, Son of *Richard II*, by *Pavia*, was not discouraged by this Example. As he found himself supported by the King of *France* who put him upon action, he boldly sent a Defiance to the Duke. But the Duke, heading his Army in Person, push'd him so vigorously, that he compelled him to shut himself up in the City of *Arques*, where he besieged him. *Henry*, who had

engaged the Earl in this Enterprize, thought himself obliged in Honour to raise the Siege. To this end he march'd into *Normandy*, where he received two Overthrows, and was constrained at last to abandon the Rebel, who, upon the City's being taken, was sent into Exile.

Guy of Burgundy, Son of a Daughter to Duke *Richard II*, was the next that appeared on the stage. He had concerted his measures so well, that he was like to have surpriz'd the Duke's Person, who was then at *Albany* without any Guard, ignorant of what was practising against him. But a certain *Feal*, whom the Conspirators did not mistrust, hearing their design, travel'd all night to give the Duke notice, who had but just time to put on his Cloaths, and ride full speed to *Falaise*. What haste ever he might make, he was so closely pursued, that he must have been taken, his Horse not being able to carry him thither, had he not been assisted by a Gentleman whom he accidentally met on the road. This Conspiracy seem'd to him so dangerous, that he applied to the King of *France* for Aid. *Henry*, either out of Generosity, or for some other unknown Reasons, being unwilling to suffer the young Prince to be oppress'd, brought him some Troops himself, which enabled him to give his Enemy Battle. *Guy* being vanquish'd and taken Prisoner, Duke *William* by an Act of Generosity, which redounded no less to his Honour than the Victory, freely gave him his Pardon.

William Guerland, Earl of *Mertagne*, and another *William*, Earl of *Eu*, Son to a natural Brother of *Richard II*, were likewise for attempting to dispossess the young Duke. But being prevented by his Diligence, they were sentenced to perpetual Banishment.

The Vigour and Conduct shown by Duke *William* during all these Troubles, made his Subjects conceive great Hopes of him. His Neighbours began also to consider him as a Prince of distinguished Merit, and capable in time of giving them trouble. The King of *France*, in particular, grew extremely jealous of him, and blamed himself exceedingly for assisting him against *Guy of Burgundy*; but to retrieve that Oversight, he raised him a fresh Enemy, the Earl of *Anjou*; whom however he only privately assisted at first. Afterwards he openly espoused his Quarrel, and made a fierce War upon the Duke, which lasted several Years, but in the end turned to the disadvantage of the two Allies. Duke *William* gaining two successive Battles, they sued for Peace, which the King of *France* could not obtain but by the Surrender of the Castle of *Tilliers*, taken by him during the Duke's Minority.

During this War, as the Duke was besieging *Alençon*, some of the Inhabitants came upon the Walls with Skins in their hands, by way of Reproach, for his Mother being a Skinner's Daughter. He was so provoked at this Insult, that he swore by the *Splendor of God*, his usual Oath, he would be reveng'd. Some time after, becoming master of the Town, he accomplish'd his Oath by putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Hands and Feet of two and twenty of the insolent Burghers.

Henry died soon after this War. He was succeeded by *Philip I*. his Son, a Minor, under the Guardianship of *Baldwin*, the fifth Earl of *Flanders*; who had lately given his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage to the Duke of *Normandy*. The relation the Regent stood in as well to the King his Pupil, as to the Duke his Son-in-law, made him take all necessary Precautions to keep up between the two Princes a good Understanding, which lasted many Years.

Duke *William* took this Opportunity to extinguish all remains of Rebellion among his Subjects. He banished great numbers, who, for the most part, retired into *Apulia*, to *Robert Guiscard*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who made then a great Figure in that Country (1). The Duke's Relations by his Father's Side giving him the most disturbance, he obliged almost all of them to quit *Normandy*. Their Estates being confiscated to his use, he enriched with them his Mother's Relations, who 'till then were but in mean Circumstances. *Robert*, his uterine Brother, had the Earldom of *Mortagne*, forfeited by *William Guerland*. *Odo*, his Brother, partook also of his Bounty, and moreover was made Bishop of *Bayeux*. Two of their Sisters were married to the Earls of *Aumale* and *Albemarle*.

Mauger his Uncle, Archbishop of *Rouen*, was not only concerned in all the Plots against the Duke, but had also the boldness to excommunicate him, on pretence of the too near Relation between him and *Matilda* his Wife (2). As soon as the Duke was in a state of Tranquillity, he resolved to be revenged on this Prelate. To that end, having assembled all the Bishops of *Normandy* at *Lisieux*, he caused him to be accused before them of several Misdemeanors, particularly, his selling the consecrated Chalice to supply his Luxury. Upon these Accusations, supported

and Gu-
y of Bur-
gundy.

of the
Normans.

and of the
Earl of Eu.

League of
the French
King against
the Duke of
Anjou and
Duke William.

The War
continued
many Years.

He chastises
the Insolence
of the Men
of Alençon.

Death of
Henry I.
King of
France.
Philip I.
succeeded him.

Duke Wil-
liam banishes
his Father's
and enriches
his Mother's
Relations.

He deposes
and excom-
municates
Mauger.

(1) The *Normans* made themselves Masters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Sicily*, *Normandy*, and *England*, in less than two hundred Years.

(2) She was his first Cousin, being Daughter to *Eleanor* Duke *William's* Father's Sister.

with all the Duke's Interest, *Mauger* was solemnly de-
prived and *Maorillus* elected in his room.

Harold
Army *Ed-*
ward.

After *Duke William* had thus humbled, or dispersed all that could create him any Disturbance, his Circumstances were such, that he might have spent his Days in profound Tranquillity, since he had nothing to fear either at Home or Abroad. But as he was of a covetous and ambitious Temper, this Tranquillity, which only procured him what he already enjoyed, was far from contenting him. It was probably with a view to new Acquisitions, that he went to visit King *Edward* his Cousin, who had no Children, and perhaps had given him some hopes of being his Heir. However this be, it is generally believed, *Edward* during the Duke's stay at the Court of *England*, promis'd him to make a Will in his favour. But though this Will never appeared, and no proof of it was ever produced by the Duke, it was however, according to all the Historians, the Pretence, used by him, to undertake the Conquest of *England*. Nevertheless, in the Manifesto published upon his Landing, he says not a Word of this same Will or Promise, of which he could not produce any Evidence. We have seen in the foregoing Book, what *Duke William* did to support his pretended Right 'till the Battle of *Hastings*. It is time now to see, how he improved the Success of that Day to mount the Throne of *England*, and the Methods he used to secure the possession in spite of all Opposition.

Harold
S. Dunelm.

It is easy to conceive the Consternation of the *English*, after the Loss of the Battle of *Hastings*, and the Death of their King. They were destitute of Men, Arms, and Ammunition; but chiefly of a Leader that had a Right to command them, and take Care of their present Wants. On the other hand, the victorious *Normans* were not far from *London*, the only place where necessary Measures could be taken to prevent the Calamities the Kingdom was threatened with. *Harold's* Sons were fled into *Ireland*. *Edgar Atheling* was too young, and besides of too narrow a Genius, to give them any prospect of Assistance in this their pressing Necessity. It is true, the Earls *Morcar* and *Edwin* were still alive, and retired to *London* with part of the fugitive Army. But to take proper Measures on such an occasion, more time was required than, probably, the Conqueror would afford them. Thus the Affairs of the *English* were in a terrible Confusion; all the Methods proposed to free them from Danger, being clogg'd with insurmountable Difficulties. On the other side, the Duke of *Normandy*, willing to make Advantage of the Terror of the *English*, was now marching towards *London* (1) to increase, by his approach, the Trouble and Confusion that prevailed in the Metropolis. But on a sudden he altered his Resolution: He considered, though the loss of a Battle had thrown the *English* into astonishment, yet there was no likelihood of their being entirely discouraged: That their Case not being yet desperate, they might easily bring into the Field fresh Armies, and try again more than once the fortune of War: That in such a case, should he chance to receive but one Overthrow, he had no-where to retreat to, nor any Opportunity of sending for supplies from *Normandy*. These Reflections made him resolve to besiege *Dover*, before he advanced any farther, to secure a Retreat in case of Necessity, and a Port, where his Convoys might easily come from *Normandy*. This Precaution, even after his Victory, is a clear Evidence of the Boldness, or rather Rashness of his Enterprize, since, had he been vanquished, he would not have had a single Spot in the Kingdom to retire to. He marched therefore directly to *Dover*, a Place naturally very strong, but that was become more so by the great Number of *English* Officers and Soldiers fled thither after the Battle. For this Reason it might have stood a long Siege; but the Consternation was so great, that it surrendered in a few Days. As soon as the Duke was in possession, he ordered the Town to be more strongly fortified, and spent eight Days there, to forward the Works. After which he marched for *London* (2).

W. Malms.

We find, in some Histories, that the Duke as he was marching at the Head of his Army, saw at a distance a great Multitude of People coming towards him with Boughs in their hands, who, looking like a moving Forest, at first somewhat alarmed him. But his Surprise ceased, when he found they were Deputies of the County of *Kent*, attended with great Crowds of People, who

Edgar's
Deputies
to
London.

were come to assure him of the Submission of the County, and withal to demand the Preservation of their ancient Privileges. They who relate this Adventure, add, the Duke received them very graciously, and granted their Request. But as *William of Poitiers*, who was then with the Duke, makes no mention of this Fact, there is reason to think it a Forgery (3).

Whilst the Duke was before *Dover*, or on his march towards the *Thames*, the Trouble and Confusion at *London* continually increased by the diversity of Opinions preventing them from coming to any Resolution. Some were for submitting to the Duke without loss of time: Others believed it more advisable to treat with him first, and procure some assurances for the Preservation of the Privileges, not only of the City, but the whole Kingdom. Some intimated, that things were not yet desperate; that the Winter, which was begun, might give them time to concert Measures for their Defence: and with this view laboured heartily to get *Edgar Atheling* placed on the Throne. *Edwin* and *Morcar* were at the head of this last Party. But, how great soever their Credit might be, it was not possible for them to carry their Point. All they could obtain of the Citizens, was, to shut the Gates against the Duke, 'till some Resolution was taken. Mean while, the Duke approaching the City, encamped in *Southwark*, separated from *London* by the *Thames*. He hoped his approach would oblige the *Londoners* to a voluntary Submission, and in that belief lay quiet some Days. This Proceeding had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected. *Morcar* and *Edwin* took this Opportunity to excite the People to take Arms and sally out to surprize the *Normans*, who were on the other side the Bridge. This sally, which was easily repulsed, convinced the Duke that other Measures were to be taken, and the City vigorously push'd, of which he could have but small hopes of being master, if he gave the Inhabitants time to recover out of their Consternation. However, he was under some Perplexity, as may well be thought, if it is considered, that although he had gained a Battle, he was still very far from his ends. He had but one single Castle, situated in the utmost Bounds of the Kingdom. All the rest of the Country was against him, and there were several remote Counties, where the *English* might draw an Army together without molestation. And indeed there was no advancing towards the middle of the Kingdom and leaving *London* behind him, without being exposed to manifest Danger, and losing the Communication with *Dover*, so absolutely necessary for him. On the other hand, it was hardly possible for him to undertake the Siege of *London*, during the Winter, besides that the situation of the City would have necessarily obliged him to leave a considerable Body of Troops on the South-side of the *Thames*, which would very much have weakened his Army. In fine, a Siege of that importance, which probably would have lasted several months, would have given the *English* time to recover, and raise Armies in other parts of the Kingdom. By which means he would have been obliged to conquer *England* inch by inch, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes* had done. But he was by no means in condition to maintain so tedious a War. He had therefore properly but one way to compass his ends; which was, to take Advantage of the Consternation of the *Londoners*, and oblige them, rather by terror than force, to submit to his Laws. With this view it was, that he posted himself at *Wallingford*, from whence he continually sent Detachments to ravage the Counties adjoining to *London*, in order to terrify the Citizens, cut off their Provisions, and prevent them from laying in Stores (4). At the same time, he caused *Southwark* to be reduced to Ashes, to let them see what they were to expect, if they obstinately persisted in the defence of the City. But perhaps all his Efforts would have been ineffectual, if the *Clergy*, who were at *London*, had not broken all the Measures *Morcar* and *Edwin* would have taken to crush his Designs.

Great Con-
fusion at
London
W. Pictav.

S. Dunelm.

The Duke
approaches
London.

S. Dunelm.

Morcar and
Edwin en-
deavour to
place Edgar
on the Throne.
Malmsb.

The Aim of these two Lords and some other zealous Assertors of their Country's Liberty, was to place *Edgar Atheling* on the Throne. They represented to the People, that the only way to avoid the present Danger, was first to come out of that state of Anarchy they were in: That, whilst there was nobody who had a right to command, it was impossible to take just measures to resist the *Normans*, now at their Gates: But as soon as there should be a King, he would send Orders into all Parts of the

(1) He marched in the first Place to *Remsey*, where he reposed himself on the Inhabitants for having killed some of his Men, who by mistake landed at that Place. *W. Pictav.*

(2) But lost in *Dover* his sick Men, who had many of them been taken with the bloody Flux, by reason of the too much fresh Meat they had eaten. *W. Pictav.* p. 204.

(3) This Story is repeated by *William of Malmesbury* (See X Scriptura) from a Manuscript History of the Monks of *St. Augustine's* *Canterbury*, written by *Thomas Spot*, who in all probability invented it to magnify the Value of their Abbey and of the *Kingship*. *Tyler* observes the improbability of it from the Green Boughs in the Beginning of *Norman*. But he also in his Treatise of *Garrisons* credits this Relation. However *Pontassien* says, That, not far from *Dover*, the People of *Kent* came, of their own accord, in to him, bore Fealty, and gave Homages; and the City of *Canterbury* sent Deputies to present him with her Submission.

(4) He reduced to his Obedience, and withal, the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Hert*, *Hampshire*, *Surrey*, *Middlesex*, and *Hartfordshire*, and did not cease burning Towns and killing Men, 'till he came to *Bathampton*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 123. *Harold* p. 25.

1066. Kingdom to levy Troops, and the Duke of Normandy would then find to his cost, the gaining a single Battle was not sufficient to render him Master of England; but in case they continued inactive, they could expect nothing but total Ruin, and to see the Kingdom fall under a foreign Yoke: In a word, that Prince Edgar had an uncontrollable Right to the Crown of England, and could not be refused possession without great Injustice. The Majority of the People approved the proposal of the two Earls; but the Clergy openly rejected it, not thinking proper to expose their Lands and Repose to the Chance of War. Edgar was little able to protect them. On the other hand, the Duke of Normandy had the name of a Religious Prince, well-disposed to the Church, and his Enterprize had received the Pope's Approbation. This was sufficient to oblige all the Clergy, who were then in London with the two Archbishops at their head, to cabal among the People in order to hinder Edgar's Election. They were in hopes, their Submission to the Duke of Normandy would turn to a better account than a War, which, in all appearance, would be of long continuance, in case a Resolution was taken to resist him. However this be, or whatever their Motive was, they made so strenuous an Opposition, that Edwin and Morcar despairing of success, retired into the North (1), imagining, it would be long before the Duke could follow them thither. They were no sooner gone, but Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, repaired to the Duke, then at Berkhamstead. He was quickly followed by Aldred Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester (2), and at last by Prince Edgar, who suffered himself to be guided by their Counsels. The Duke received them in a very civil and courteous manner. He granted all their Requests, among which there were some that concerned the whole Nation: Nay, it is added, he confirmed his Promises by a solemn Oath. It is not known what were the Terms these Prelates obtained of the Duke; but it is to be presumed, the Church's Interest were not forgotten. Be this as it will, they swore Fealty to the Duke, as if he were already their Sovereign, and induced Prince Edgar to do the same. Their Example influencing many Persons of Distinction, in a few days the Londoners found themselves destitute of the assistance of those they could chiefly rely on, in case they resolved upon a vigorous Defence.

The Clergy oppose the Duke's claim.

The two Archbishops and Prince Edgar submit to the Duke.

The Duke approaches London.

The Keys are delivered to him.

The Crown is offered him.

He hesitates to take it.

He accepts of it.

sign of his being persuaded of that Right. And indeed, what Authority could the Magistrates of London and a few Bishops and Lay-Lords have to dispose of the Crown without the Concurrence of the Estates? Notwithstanding the essential Defect in this precipitate Election, the Duke appointed Christmas-Day following for the Ceremony of his Coronation. Mean while, as this Solemnity was to be performed at London, the Inhabitants whereof he suspected, he ordered a Fortress to be run up in haste, which he garrisoned with Normans.

Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then suspended by the Pope, as an Intruder into that See, in the room of Robert, who was never canonically deprived. But notwithstanding this Suspension, he exercised the Archiepiscopal Function, the English not being yet convinced, the Pope's Power was so extensive as he pretended. However, the Duke who was obliged to the Pope, and besides was willing to avoid the Objections that might be made to his Coronation, if performed by a suspending Bishop, would not receive the Crown from the hands of Stigand. Aldred therefore, Archbishop of York, performed the Ceremony. Before he set the Crown on his head, the Archbishop, addressing to the English, asked them, whether they would have the Duke of Normandy for their King? All the People consenting by their Acclamations, the Bishop of Constance put the same question to the Normans, who answered in the same manner as the English (3). This last Circumstance evidently shows the Duke had even then resolved to make the English and Normans but one and the same People. Otherwise, there was no occasion to ask the Consent of the Normans, to make him King of England. What followed, plainly discovered this to be his real intention. The Archbishop of York, continuing the Ceremony, placed the Duke on the Throne, and administered to him the Oath usually taken by the Saxon Kings. The Substance of the Oath, was, "That he would protect the Church and its Ministers; That he would govern the Nation with equity; That he would enact just Laws, and cause them to be strictly observed; and that he would forbid all Rapines and unjust Judgments." Malmshury adds, he promised to behave himself mercifully to his Subjects, and govern the English and Normans by the same Laws (4). If this Historian do not deceive us, it may be inferred from this last Article, that this Prince had already determined to settle the Normans in England. There are Writers however that affirm, King William took no Oath at all, as unwilling to be bound to receive Law from a conquered Nation. But very probably they are mistaken. King William accepted the Crown as a Gift, and consequently had no reason to dispense with the usual Oath. In the next place, only the Londoners can be said to have acknowledg'd him for Sovereign. All the rest of the Kingdom being still to conquer, what likelihood is there that a Prince of his Abilities should, at such a juncture, let the English see he intended to rule with an arbitrary Sway. In fine, tho' the Surname of Conqueror is given him, it is certain, he never openly pretended to possess the Crown by right of Conquest, but rather, took great care that this Title should never be clearly explained.

Among the things which, contrary to all appearance, promoted the execution of King William's Undertaking, That which I am now going to relate, is one of the most surprising. He had indeed gained a Battle, which gave him Opportunity of approaching London; and tho' he could scarce have taken that City, if the Citizens and the rest of the Kingdom would have done their Duty, the Gates were opened to him, and the Crown set on his head. But as he was crowned without the Advice and Consent of the rest of the Kingdom, he still seemed to have a great deal to do to compleat the Conquest of a Country that resisted whole Ages, the Arms of the Romans, Saxons and Danes. And yet, as soon as it was known that he was crowned at London, all the rest of England submitted to the new Sovereign, without any one offering to dispute with him the possession of a Crown, which no body knew by what Title he could claim. Probably, if the English had resolved to elect a King of their Nation, whether Edgar or any other, King William would have still found many difficulties to surmount. Let us suppose, for a moment, this King to have drawn together an Army in some remote place from London, what a Perplexity would King William have been under? He could not have removed from London and Dover, without a manifest Hazard of losing the capital City; nor have staid at London without giving the Enemies Army time to increase. The bare mention of this consideration sufficiently shows how fortunate King William was

1066.

He comes to W. Pictav.

Ingulph.

Taken from the original MSS. of the History of King William the First.

Malmsh. p. 271.

Brady.

(1) While the rest were preparing for Battle Edwin and Morcar withdrew with their Forces, and returned home. S. Dunelm. p. 195. Euseb. p. 901.

(2) The ancient Historians do not mention him; but only say, That William Bishop of Worcester, Walter Bishop of Hereford, and the most eminent Person in London, with several others, repaired to him; and giving Hosiage submitted, and were Fealty to him; and he entered into a Covenant with them, — cum quibus & prelatibus populo. — S. Lamb. p. 19. Harl. p. 450.

(3) Thus William was elected King. — electus in Regem. W. Pictav. p. 200. — Rex conclamatus — Malmsh. p. 102 M. Paris. p. 4.

(4) — Quod ille modestiora Subjectis gereret, & apud jure Angles qu. Francos tractaret. Malmsh. p. 271.

1066. to meet with no opposition. The Reader, of his own accord, may reflect on a thousand difficulties King *William* would have found in his way, if the *English* had determined, even after the Battle of *Hastings*, to make a vigorous stand. Most certainly, the more this Enterprize with all its consequences are considered, the more extraordinary and almost supernatural it appears.

1067. The new King's first care after his Coronation, was to seize on the Treasure laid up by *Harold* at *Winchester*. He distributed part among the principal Officers of his Army, and part to the Churches and Monasteries, to gain the reputation of a pious and religious Prince. The Pope had also a share, whether he had lent the King Money, or the King was willing to show his Gratitude for Favours received, when he embarked in this Enterprize. At the same time, he sent to *Rome* the late King's Standard, as a sort of Homage to the Holy See, and a Testimony that the Conquest of *England* was undertaken with the Pope's approbation. *Harold's* Treasures being thus distributed, ways and means were to be devised to fill the new King's Coffers. To this end, it was intimated to the Cities, Corporations, and most wealthy of the Subjects, that it would not be amiss to gain the Good-will of their new Master by some Presents. Every one cheerfully consenting, these Presents yielded the King a very considerable Sum.

The King's moderation to the *English*, in the beginning of his Reign, gave them room to hope they were going to enjoy a solid Happiness under the Government of a Prince who seemed to have their Interests at heart. Indeed he exhorted the principal Officers of his Army to treat the Vanquished with the Moderation due from one Christian to another. He entreated them to refrain from all kind of Insults to the *English*, lest by Injuries they should be provoked to revolt. As for the inferior Officers and Soldiers, he published severe Orders against such as should violate the Chastity of the Women, or give the least cause of complaint to the Natives. Then he confirmed by a publick Edict the People's Privileges, and all the Promises he had made in that respect. If we were to judge of Princes by their Manifestos, or the expressions in their Edicts, we should be apt to imagine, they always make Justice and Equity the sole Rule of their Conduct. But their Actions too frequently ill correspond with their Words. These sorts of publick Acts seldom fail however of producing a present Effect, which is generally the only end proposed. King *William* found the *English* disposed to trust to his magnificent Promises. They were so far from taking any measures for the Preservation of their Liberties, that they suffered themselves to be seduced by this seeming Indulgence. These happy beginnings made them believe, the Conqueror, in imitation of *Canute the Great*, who behaved in the same manner, would use his utmost endeavours to gain the People's Affection, that he might enjoy his Conquest in Peace.

How great a regard soever the King showed for the *English*, he could not forbear mistrusting them, persuaded as he was, that their Submission proceeded rather from fear than good-will. A few days after his Coronation he retired from *London* to *Berking* (1), not daring to stay in that great City, whose Fidelity he suspected. But as he was not more sure of the rest of the Nation, he placed strong Garrisons in *Hastings*, *Dover*, and *Winchester*, to take away from the *English* the desire of shaking off their new Yoke. Mean while, these Precautions had no ill effect on their Minds. They considered them as absolutely necessary, in the beginning of so great a Revolution, and were not at all alarmed at them. On the contrary, they who had hitherto refused to acknowledge the new King, came and submitted to him in Crowds. *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had begun to concert measures for the De-

fence of their Country, altered all their Projects. As they were convinced of the King's Sincerity, like the rest of their Countrymen, they went and swore fealty to him at *Berking* (2). He forgot nothing that could help to keep them in his mind. He not only assured them of his Protection, but even in their presence bestowed on Prince *Edgar* large Possessions (3), who was the Idol of the *English*, and generally stiled *England's Darling*.

The Victory of *Hastings* was too glorious for the King to neglect to transmit the Memory of it to Posterity. For that purpose he laid the Foundations of a Church and Abbey, in the very place where *Harold* was slain (4), and ordered, when they should be finished, the Church to be dedicated to St. *Martin* (5), and the Monastery called *Battle-Abbey* (6). Though the desire of Prayers for his own and *Harold's* Soul was the Pretence he used to make this Foundation, probably Vain-Glory had no less a share in it than Devotion. The three first months of this new Reign passed in this manner to the mutual Satisfaction of the *English* and *Normans*. The former believed they were no great Losers by the great Revolution, and the latter liv'd in hopes the King would perform the Promises made them, when they engaged in his Service.

King *William's* Precautions procuring him an universal Submission, he thought his happiness incomplete, if he had not the pleasure to go to *Normandy*, and appear in his new Grandeur. This Journey was not only unnecessary, but seemingly very dangerous, in the beginning of an Empire established by Arms. He imagined however he could prevent all Revolts during his absence by two Precautions. First, by placing strong *Norman* Garrisons in all the Castles. Secondly, by carrying along with him such of the *English* Lords as were most suspected. Of this number were Prince *Edgar*, *Stigand*, *Morcar*, *Edwin*, *Waltheof* Son of *Seward*, formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, with several others of the prime Nobility. These Lords were not over-pleased with the Honour he did them, being sensible he carried them into *Normandy* but as so many Hostages, and to add to the Glory of his Triumph. However, they were forced to comply, for fear of giving him occasion to suspect them by an unreasonable Opposition to his Will. Before he left *England*, he committed the Government of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *William Fitz-Osbern* (7). There was no end of the Rejoicings among his old Subjects upon his arrival in *Normandy*. He spent his *Easter* (8) at *Fescamp*, where the *French* Ambassador (9), attended with a numerous Retinue of Nobles, came to congratulate him in his Master's Name upon his new Dignity. On this occasion, the King affected to appear before the *French* with all the magnificence he thought capable of advancing the Lustre of his Glory. He passed all that Summer, and part of the following Winter in *Normandy*, where he seemed to forget his New, amidst the Acclamations of his Old Subjects.

Whilst he was giving the *Normans* marks of his Affection by his stay among them, his Absence proved fatal to *England*. *Odo* his Brother, and *William Fitz-Osbern*, who governed the Kingdom, abused their Authority without any discretion (10). Wholly taken up with enriching themselves by all manner of means, instead of protecting the *English* who made their complaints to them, they not only suffered them to be grieved with a thousand Injustices, but oppressed them by continual Acts of Tyranny themselves. To see these two Regents proceed with so little caution, one would have thought they had Orders to stir up the People to revolt, on purpose to make them incur the Punishment. The most prudent however preserved their Allegiance, in a belief that the King, at his return, would rectify these Disorders. But others, more impatient, were of opinion, they ought to take the advantage of his

(1) Where he spent his Time in rural Sports, until the Fortrefs he had begun in *London* was finished. *W. Pictav.*

(2) *St. Dunelm* and *Harold* say, That they swore Fealty to him at *Berkhamsted*, with *Alfred* and the rest. *St. Dunelm* p. 107. *Hæd.* p. 450. With *Edwin* and *Morcar* came many other Noblemen of great Estates, particularly Earl *Gyff*, to all of which he restored their Estates, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, received them into his Favour. After this he made a Progress into several Parts of the Kingdom, ordering every where such things as were not only profitable to himself, but for his People in general; looking upon the common People with a benign Aspect, pitying their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy. *W. Pictav.*

(3) And likewise gave Lands to many of the *English*, as a Token of his Royal Bounty: He also distributed great Rewards to many of his Followers; but however did not, for that purpose, take any thing unjustly from the *English*. Nulli tamen Gallo datum est quid Anglo eorum injuria fuerit ablatum. *W. Pictav.*

(4) The High-Altar was set upon that very spot of Ground, where *Harold's* Body was found; or, according to others, where his Standard was taken up. *Tyrol.* p. 13.

(5) To St. *Mary* and St. *Martin*. It was filled with *Benedictin* Monks from the greater Monastery of *Winchester*, and was exempted from all Episcopal Jurisdiction whatsover. *Tyrol.* p. 13. See *William's* Charter to it in *Monach. Anglican.* and *Selden's* Notes on *Examen* p. 105.

(6) In the Abbey was kept an ancient List of all the Noble Families that came over with King *William*, it was called *Battle-Abbey Roll*, at which *St. Dunelm* and *Hillingford* have given us Copies, tho' with some little Difference. The Authority of this Roll (tho' it hath been crept up by some People) is so very indifferent, that it cannot be depended upon. "There are, says the learned *St. William Dugdale*, great Errors or rather Falsifications in most of the Copies of it; by attributing the Derivation of many from the *French*, who were not at all of such Extraction, but merely *English*. For men hath been the Subtlety of some Monks of old, that, finding it acceptable unto men, to be reputed Descendants to those who were Companions with Duke *William* in his Expedition, therefore to gratify them, they inserted their Names into that ancient Catalogue." Preface to the first Volume of his *Baronage*.

(7) *Odo* was placed in *Dover-Castle*, and had the Government of *Kent*, with the adjoining South-Coast; and *Fitz-Osbern* at *Winchester*, in the Castle the King had built there, with Directions to look after the North-Parts.

(8) *Regin.* by mistake, says his *Christmas*; but that could not be, since he went over in *March*, and returned again to *England* in the beginning of the Winter following. *Gu. Pictav.*

(9) *Rehob* the Potent, Father-in-law to the King of *France*.

(10) *Regin.* here follows the account of *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern*, which is the most probable. *W. Pictav.* lays the blame on the *English*, and says they could neither by fear or favour be kept quiet.

1067.
Gemet.

Absence to attempt the recovering of his Liberty. The *Kentishmen* led the way, and called to their assistance *Eustace Earl of Boulogne*, who endeavoured to surprize *Dover-Castle* (1). But not succeeding according to his expectation, he retired to his Ships, leaving the *Kentishmen* to the mercy of the Regents, who treated them very severely.

Edric's Re-
volt.
Flor. Wor.
Hoved.
The King
returns.

Notwithstanding this Example, *Edric*, an *English* Lord (2), to whom Historians give the Surname of *Forester*, took up Arms in the County of *Hereford*, and barbarously used all the *Normans* that fell into his hands. News being brought the King he immediately embarks for *England* (3), committing the Government of *Normandy* to *Matilda* his Wife, and *Robert* his eldest Son. His return appeased the Storm raised by his Absence. But these two Attempts filled him with so many Suspicions of all the *English* in general, that he began from that time to consider them as so many secret Enemies, who fought an occasion to revolt. This Opinion of his was not groundless. When one considers his Temper, and how the *English* stood affected towards him, it is easy to conceive, the mutual Confidence, necessary for their common Tranquillity, could hardly subsist. The King was naturally mistrustful and rigid. On the other hand, his great Armament had plung'd him deeply in debt. Besides, he was under a Promise of liberally rewarding the Officers who had engag'd in his Service, and all this must be done at the expence of the *English*. To this may be added, he was naturally covetous, greedy of money, not to expend but hoard it in his coffers. In fine, his Partiality to his own Nation was excessive, and prevented him often from giving ear to the complaints of the *English* against the *Normans*, who made a very ill use of the King's favour. On the other side the *English* were extremely prejudiced against the *Normans*. This Prejudice, begun in the reign of King *Edward*, and fomented by Earl *Godwin* and his Son *Harold*, was farther encreased since the late Revolution. How careful soever the King was to recommend Moderation to the *Normans*, there was no hindering them from abusing the Superiority, their Victory gave them over the *English*, and insulting them in their misfortunes. This was not very proper to maintain a good intelligence between the two Nations. Besides, the King had built his Right to the Crown upon so slight a foundation, that the *English* must have considered him as a greedy and ambitious Prince, who had formed the project of his enterprise upon *England*, from the sole motive of gratifying his Passions. In a word, the Administration of the two Regents during his Absence, gave occasion to think, they would not have carried their Excesses and Rapines to that height, had they not been assured of their Master's approbation. However, the consideration of the mildness of his Government for the three first months of his Reign, had in some measure caused these Reflections to vanish, and dissipated all their Fears. But when they found, after his return, he not only neglected to punish the Regents, but even approved of their conduct, they could not contain any longer. They every where spread their Complaints and Murmurs, and openly shewed their Discontent. Then it was, that the King's Suspicions daily increasing, made him resolve to be on his guard, and use all possible means to prevent the Discontent of the *English* from breaking out into a flame. As his Temper inclined him to Severity, his methods were rigorous. To which he was also prompted by the *Normans*, whose Interest it was that he should subdue the *English* by Force, rather than gain them by fair means. This is the most that can be said in his favour, though there are some, who charge him with a settled Design of reducing *England* to a state of Slavery, before ever he received any provocation. Be this as it will, the Confidence between the King and his new Subjects was soon broken (4), and from that time the King thought only of using all proper means to establish himself on the Throne, without nicely examining whether those means were consonant to Justice and Equity.

Brady.

Matilda is
crowned.
Birth of
Prince
Henry.
Flor. Wor.
S. Dunelm.

Not long after the King's return (5), *Matilda* his Queen came into *England*, and was crowned with great solemnity, this same year she brought into the world a Son, named *Henry*. Her other Sons were born in *Normandy*, namely,

Robert, *Richard* and *William*, the eldest of whom was about twelve years old.

The King had hitherto delayed to satisfy those who had voluntarily assisted him in his Expedition into *England*. Besides the Stipends due to them, they expected to be rewarded in proportion to their Services, and the Power he had acquired by their means. His ordinary Revenues not being sufficient for this, there was a necessity of having recourse to the *English*, whose misfortune it was to be vanquished. To this end, he bethought himself of an expedient, which could not but be very ungrateful to them. And that was, to revive *Dane-gelt* (6), abolished by the *Confessor*, which brought to their remembrance the Calamities they had suffered under a foreign Power. He plainly foresaw, the People would be extremely dissatisfied, and therefore endeavoured to prevent the ill Effects of their Discontent, by caressing the principal *English* Lords, as far as his reserved Temper would permit. He was most apprehensive of Earl *Edwin*, who by his Birth, Honours, and personal Merit was in great credit with his Countrymen. In order to prevent the Earl's using the present occasion to raise new Commotions, he thought proper to secure him to his Interest, by promising him one of his Daughters in marriage. *Edwin* was very well pleased with the Offer, and instead of fomenting the dissatisfaction of the *English*, did all he could to appease them. *Aldred*, Archbishop of *York*, was not so easily managed. This Prelate had entertained so great an Opinion of the King, that he was continually speaking in his praise. But when he saw him begin to pull off the mask, by renewing a Tax so odious to the Nation, he was quite of another mind. He sent one to represent to him in his name, the Injury he was doing the *English*, and the Inconveniences that might follow. The King was offended with this Remonstrance, and sharply rebuked the Person that dar'd to deliver it. 'Tis said, *Aldred* was so sensibly touch'd with this Proceeding, that he could not forbear cursing the King and all his Race. There was danger of the Archbishop's Resentment occasioning some Troubles in the North. At least the King seemed to be uneasy on that account, by his sending one of his Officers to endeavour to appease him. But the death of *Aldred*, which happened at that time, freed the King from his fears, and *Dane-gelt* was levied with all the rigour imaginable. From thence-forward nothing was heard but Murmurings and Complaints, which incensing the King, caused him to consider the *English* but as so many Rebels, as they, on their side, look'd upon him under the odious Idea of a Conqueror.

Before I enter upon the relation of the Troubles in this Reign, it will be proper to remark, the Historians are very much divided concerning the Causes that produced them. Some cast the blame on the *English*, and intimate the King used not Severity till he found milder means were ineffectual. Others maintain, the King's ill usage of the *English* was the sole cause of their Revolts. To decide this Question, it would be necessary to examine the Extent of a Prince's Power that had acquired the possession of the Crown in the manner we have seen, and how far the Obedience of a Nation was due, who had submitted partly by compulsion, partly of their own accord. But upon these very Points, there would be perhaps no less diversity of Opinions. 'Tis sufficient therefore to observe, that among the Historians who have writ of *William the Conqueror*, some have studiously displayed all his good Qualities, and but slightly touched upon his Faults. Others have endeavoured to misrepresent all his Actions, and aggravate even such as may be easily justified. So far is certain, the *English* were ill-treated in his Reign. This the greatest Sticklers for the Conqueror and his Race cannot deny, but alledge in his excuse, the necessity he was under of guarding against the *English*, ever prone to revolt. Others, on the contrary, ascribe the ill treatment of the *English* solely to the avaricious Temper of the King, and affirm, their Revolts were entirely owing to their Despair. Amidst these various Opinions, the course I shall take, will be, plainly to relate such Facts as are uncontested, without making any Reflections, that the Reader may be at liberty to judge as he shall think proper.

As matters stood between the King and the *English*, it was very hard for them to sit still and not endeavour to

(1) He came over in the Night, but the Garrison falling out, and driving most of his Men down the Precipices, he was forced to retire with a few Men. W. Gemetensj. p. 667. Walsingh. Ypodigma. p. 436.

(2) Son of *Alfice*, *Edric* Steven's Brother. *Richard Fitz-Scearp*, and the Norman Garrison at *Hereford*, wasted his Estate, because he would not submit to King *William*, but was always forced to retire with great Loss: Therefore the better to secure himself against the *Normans* for the future, he called in to his Assistance *Eliethyn* and *Rywallan*, Princes of *Wales*; and about the middle of *August*, invaded and pillaged the County of *Hereford*. Flor. Wigorn. p. 635. S. Dunelm. p. 197. M. West.

(3) About the beginning of Winter, and landed at *Wimborne*, from whence he went to *London*, where he was received with all Signs of Respect: He then treated the *English* Bishops and Nobility with great Affability and outward Kindness, granting them whatsoever they asked, and readily hearing what they offered to him; he also valed the *Welsh*. Ord. Vitalis. p. 509.

(4) *William Gemetensj* says, That after *William's* Return out of *Normandy*, there was discovered a Conspiracy of certain *English*, who had contrived to destroy him and his Followers, as they were to go to Church bare-foot on *Asb-Wednesday*; but the Conspirators being discovered, fled into the North. L. 7. c. 39. Walsingh. Ypodigma. p. 437.

(5) The next Year, after *Easter*. She was crowned on *Whitsunday*, 1068. by *Alfred* Archbishop of *York*. S. Dunelm. p. 197. M. West.

(6) The ancient Historians only say, that he imposed on his Subjects an intolerable Tribute—importabile tributum—Flor. Wigorn. p. 635. S. Dunelm. p. 197. Hoved. Brompt. p. 663.

1068.
Exeter re-
volved.

shake off a foreign Yoke, which to them seem'd insupportable. The Insurrections began in the *Western* Parts, where the Inhabitants of *Exeter* refused to take their Oath to the King and admit a *Norman* Garrison (1). *William*, sensible of what importance it was to put a stop to this Evil before it spread any farther, marched in the midst of Winter to reduce *Exeter* to obedience. Upon his Approach, he was met by some of the principal Citizens, to petition him for Pardon in the Name of the Corporation, and give him Hostages. But, whilst the Deputies were with the King, the ordinary sort of Townsmen being superior, disapproved of their Proceedings, and resolv'd to stand upon their defence. *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, who was then in the City, encouraged the Inhabitants in their resolution, and probably, was the Person that put them upon it. Mean time, the King being too far advanced to retire with Honour, found himself oblig'd to besiege the Town in form, notwithstanding the sharpness of the Winter. The Approaches being made, and the battering Engines beginning to play, the Citizens saw no other Remedy but to implore the King's mercy. How much soever the King was bent to make an Example of them, he yielded to the Intreaties of the Clergy, who were very urgent for their Pardon (2). *Githa* had the good Fortune to escape into *Flanders* with a great quantity of Money. To prevent a second Insurrection, *William* ordered a Castle to be built in the City, and left it to the care and management of *Baldwin*, Son of Earl *Gilbert*, with a *Norman* Garrison.

The King
and are par-
doned.The King
builds a
Castle.He takes
care to pay
his Debts.

W. Pictav.

The King could no longer delay the Payment of his Debts, and the Rewards so often promised to his Troops. The Sums rais'd by the late Tax of *Dane-gelt*, which at first were design'd for this Use, had been paid into the King's Treasury, and he could not bear the thoughts of parting with the Money again. He believ'd it absolutely necessary to have a Reserve upon any sudden occasion; especially as the Discontents of the *English* gave him room to dread a general Revolt. And therefore, without meddling with that Money, other means were to be us'd, which very much inflamed the Discontent of the *English*. Commissioners were sent into all the Counties, to enquire who sided with *Harold*, and confiscate their Estates. The *English* loudly exclaimed against this seemingly very unjust Enquiry. They alledg'd, when they took Arms for *Harold*, that Prince was in actual Possession of the Throne, having been elected at a time when *William's* Pretensions to the Crown were even unknown. That before the Battle of *Hastings*, they had never taken their Oath to the Duke of *Normandy*, and consequently their Estates could not be liable to Confiscation for bearing Arms against him. That beside, supposing they were guilty, they had made ample amends for their Fault by ready Submission, which the King had accepted of; and even promis'd to protect them in their Rights and Privileges. These Reasons were very strong. But on this occasion, the King acted with a view to Politicks rather than Justice. His intent was not to punish them for their pretended Crime, but to have a plausible pretence to raise Money, and withal to put it out of their Power to hurt him, by depriving them of their Estates, a thing, he judg'd absolutely necessary for his Safety and Quiet. Accordingly this Fact is slightly pass'd over by the King's Friends, and by way of Diversion, an Act of Justice done by the King on this occasion, is mightily extolled, namely, the restoring a confiscated Estate to an *English* Lord, who prov'd he was never in Arms for *Harold* (3). However, we may be assur'd, this was one of the most remarkable Events of this Reign, since the confiscated Lands pass'd into the hands of the *Normans* and other Foreigners, who thereby became more considerable in *England* than the *English* themselves. From these defended many noble Families now in being. However this be, these Confiscations were of great Service to the King upon two accounts. First,

as they enabled him to pay his Debts, and reward his Followers. Secondly, as they gave him an opportunity of filling the Counties with such as were devoted to him, and whose Interest it was to support him in the Throne.

1068.

Whilst the King was thus guarding against the *English*, *Edwin and Morcar revolt*. he daily forfeited their esteem and affection, and naturally led them to devise means for the Recovery of their Estates. *Edwin*, Earl of *Chester*, one of the most considerable among them, thought it his duty to attempt the restoring of the almost desperate Affairs of his Country. The King had amus'd him with hopes of one of his Daughters; but there was no likelihood he intended to perform his word. On the contrary, the King seem'd to want only some pretence to involve him in the same Ruin with the rest. *Morcar*, his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was in much the same situation, very readily engaged in the Plot. As these two Lords had a very great interest in the Kingdom, they soon rais'd an Army which was reinforced by *Blethwin* King of *Wales*, their Nephew, with a good number of Troops (4). The King had reason to fear this Revolt would become general, unless he timely oppos'd its beginnings. Accordingly he drew his Forces together with the utmost expedition, before the Evil spread any farther. In his march towards the Rebels, he fortified the Castle of *Warwick*, and made *Henry de Beaumont* Governour, who was also the first Earl of *Warwick* (5). At the same time he built likewise *Nottingham-Castle* (6), to secure a Retreat in case of necessity, by means of these two Places. Having taken these Precautions, he continued his march towards the North, to engage the Rebels, or besiege *York*, which had sided with them.

Vital.
Sax Ann.
S. Dunelm.Brady.
The King
marches
against
them.He builds
Castles.Edwin and
Morcar dis-
sent, and are
pardoned.

Mean time, the two Earls hoping the rest of the Kingdom would follow the Example of the North, were very much deceiv'd in their expectations. The King's great Diligence, and the Superiority of his Forces breaking all their measures, they found themselves unable to resist him. In this extremity, they had but two ways to take, either to fly the Kingdom, or submit to the King's mercy. They chose the last, and found their account in it. How much soever the King might be incens'd, he very readily pardon'd them, with a view to reclaim the *English* by this act of clemency. He pursu'd however his march towards *York*, the Inhabitants whereof, little able to sustain the Burden of the War alone, came out to meet him, and deliver'd up the Keys of their City. By this Submission they were pardon'd as to corporal Punishments; but were forced to pay a large Fine, and had the mortification to see a Castle built in their City (7), and garrisoned with *Norman* Soldiers. *Archil*, a *Northumbrian* Lord, who had been concern'd in the Revolt, was also receiv'd into Favour upon delivering his Son in Hostage (8). *Egelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, made his Peace likewise upon the same account (9).

York sur-
renders;
where the
King builds
a Castle.

The King's Clemency to the Heads of the Rebels might have had a good effect, if at the same time that he pardon'd some, he had not punish'd others who were much less guilty. He order'd great Numbers to be shut up in Prison, who had no hand at all in the late Insurrection (10), and thereby gave occasion to think the Mercy shewn to the Leaders was only a strain of his Policy. This Conduct spread a Terror throughout the Kingdom, which was still encreas'd, when Castles were seen building at *Lincoln*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, which were evidently design'd to keep the *English* in awe. *Morcar* and the other *Northumbrian* Lords (11), dreading their Punishment was only deferr'd till a more convenient season, retir'd into *Scotland*. Earl *Goffric* was under the same Apprehensions, and instilled them into Prince *Edgar*, who by his advice, fled to the Court of *Scotland*, with his Mother and Sisters (12). *Malcolm Canmore* (13), who was then on the Throne, receiv'd them with the Respect due to their Rank, and considering their

The King's
Clemency
seems doubt-
ful.He builds
Castles in
several
places.Several
Lords with
Prince Edgar
retire into
Scotland.
S. Dunelm.
M. Paris.

(1) Though they offer'd to pay him Tribute. *Tyrol*, p. 16.

(2) They had then Guards secur'd from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out. *Ibid*.

(3) *Sharnburn* in *North*, which the Conqueror had given to *Warren the Norman*. But *Edwin*, the Lord of it, proving he had not sided with *Harold*, it was restor'd to him. *Tyrol* calls this Fact in question, because this Estate is not mention'd in *Domesday-Book*, as in Possession of the said *Warren*, introduced to Vol. II. p. 51, 52.

(4) *Blethwin*, son of *Baldwin's* Father married *Ethelga*, *Edwin's* Sister, after whose Death he was married to *Harold*. *Ord. Vit.* 311.

(5) He was Brother of *Rogeville de Montre*, Son to *Harold de Vaulx*, Son of *Turk of Pont Ademar*, by *Wicca*. He was call'd *Henry of Newburgh*, from the Place of his Birth, a Castle in *Normandy*, and was made Earl of *Warwick*, after the Survey. *Gomet* l. 7. c. 4.

(6) And gave the Custody of it to *William Ponder*.

(7) He built two Castles there, in which he put five hundred Soldiers. *S. Dunelm* p. 197. *Hoved* p. 450.

(8) *Archil* married *Sigrid*, Daughter of *Ælfred*, Bishop of *Durham*. This *Archil* seiz'd part of *Northumberland* that was waste, and inhabited it. By *Sigrid* he had a Son, nam'd *Goffpatrick*, and he another of that Name, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*. *S. Dunelm* p. 300. 34.

(9) And by his Mediation, Conditions of Peace were offer'd to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, which he accepting, a Peace was concluded between the two Kings. *Ord. Vital*.

(10) And the Lands of those who were concern'd in it, he plentifully distributed among his Followers, that had assist'd him at the Battle of *Hastings*. As for the little which was left to the ancient Inhabitants, he put it under the Yoke of perpetual Servitude, that is, encumber'd it with Knight's Service, *M. Paris*, p. 4. *M. Wals.* p. 225. *Brompt.* p. 965. *Tyrol*, p. 16, 17. Vol. II.

(11) *Malcolmein*, *Morcar*, *Wickars*, and other Lords, as well as Bishops, Clergy, and others, afraid of being imprison'd on account of the late Insurrection, retir'd, some to the King of *Scots*, others into Woods and Deserts, from whence they frequently sallied out, and annoy'd the *Normans*, who were possess'd of their Estates. *M. Paris*, p. 4. *S. Dunelm* p. 197. *Brompt.* p. 965.

(12) He embark'd, with his Mother *Margaret* and *Christina*, in order to return into *Hungary*, his native Place; but was driven by a Storm into *Scotland*, where he said. *M. Paris*, p. 4. *Brompt.* p. 965. *Knigh-ton*, p. 2344.

(13) *Rapin*, by Mistake, says *Macmure*. See *Baobanan*, &c. *David Scott*, &c.

1068.

Sax. Ann. Malcolm marries Edgar's Sister.

Birth rather than their Fortune, married soon after Margaret Edgar's eldest Sister. From this marriage sprung Matilda, Grandmother to Henry II. King of England, in whose Person the Saxon and Norman Royal Families were united.

1069.

The King takes from the English their Arms, and clothes the Curfew.

Pcl. Vng.

The King was not sorry to see himself thus rid of his secret Enemies, who gave him much less uneasiness being in Scotland, than if they had staid in England. However, the Flight of these Lords discovering how the English stood affected towards him, he resolved to take all possible measures to screen himself from their Resentment. For that purpose, he took two Precautions which were equally insupportable to them. The first was to take away their Arms (1). The second to forbid them any Lights in their Houses after eight a-Clock. At which hour a Bell was rung to warn them to put out their Fire and Candle, under the penalty of a great Fine for every offence. The sound of this Bell, called the Curfew, was for a long while very grating in the ears of the English. When they reflected on the Sweetness of Liberty, enjoyed under their antient Kings, they could not without extreme Grief behold themselves reduced to such Slavery. If this Order was not most punctually observed, they were sure to be immediately punished as if guilty of some heinous Crime. This Bell therefore was as a Signal, which being repeated every day, constantly put them in mind of their Slavery. This Oppression joined to a thousand others which they daily suffered from the hands of the King, as well as from the Foreigners, imbittered their Lives and made them deplore their sad and helpless condition. In this manner several Historians represent the State of the English at that Time.

Harold's Sons make a Descent.

S. Dunelm.

Flor. Werc.

Malmsh.

p. 104.

Whilst the King was thus guarding against the secret Practices of his Subjects, Goodwin, Edmund and Magnus, Sons of Harold, made a descent in Somersetshire. The only Opposition, they met with, was from Ednoth, formerly Master of the Horse to the King their Father, who was willing to give King William a proof of his Fidelity by encountering these Princes. His Zeal for the new King proved fatal to him, for he was slain in the Battle; after which, they retired laden with Booty.

English and Normans complain one of another.

If the Historians on the side of the English may be credited, England was then in a pitiable state. The Normans supported by the King's Favour and Protection, daily committed Outrages upon the English, for which these last could expect no Redress. Others, more Friends to the Normans than the English, assure us, the English vexed that the King's measures should put it out of their power to shake off a Yoke which they bore with extreme Impatience, found fault with the Normans in general. They add, scarce a day passed but the dead Bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the Woods or Highways, without any possibility of discovering the Authors of these Murders, so firmly did the English stand by one another. In all appearance the King was persuaded, the English were wholly to blame, since he published a severe Edict, ordering that when a Norman should be slain or robbed, the Hundred where the Act was done should be responsible for the Crime, and pay a large Fine. This Law was not new to the English. From the time of Alfred the Great, it had been in force in the Kingdom (2). But what extremely provoked them, was, that this Edict was made in favour of the Normans only.

Several Normans quit England.

Ord. Vital.

How gracious soever the King might be to the Foreigners, many of them desired leave to return home (3). The King readily granted their Request, paying the Arrears due to them, and rewarding them beyond their expectation. All this was done at the expence of the English, on whom were levied the Sums necessary to defray this charge.

Occasions of complaint continually encreased on both

(1) This doth not appear from the ancient Historians. And as for what follows about the Curfew (qu. Curfew-bell, or Curfew-fire) Polydore Vergil is the first who mentions it. There is a passage quoted out of William Malmshury, p. 156. to countenance that Notion, but which, if I have the Reader to judge:—*Lucernarum usum noctibus in Curia restituit qui fuerat tempore fratris intermissus*,—i. e. He [Henry I.] restored in his Court the Use of Lights at Night, which had been left off in his Brother [William Rufus's] Time. But is this anything like a Curfew?

(2) In the Time of the Danes, when the Body of an unknown Person was found murdered, it was taken for granted it was a Dane, and the Hundred paid the Mulct. Thus William only revived an old Custom, by changing the Name of Dane into that of Norman. Bacon's Hist. c. 40. p. 62. Rapin.

(3) About this Time (says Ordericus Vitalis, p. 512.) some of the Norman Ladies wanting their Husbands, sent for them to return, and withheld them know if they returned not, they must have other Men to relieve their Necessities. Hugo de Grentemesnil, who presided at Winchester; Hemfrid de Totnes, Governor of Hastings, with many others, returned into Normandy. His Soldiers likewise, wearied with the Desolations of the Country, importuned him for their Release that they might retire to a fixed Place of bode; which he granted, and dismissed them with plentiful Rewards. Ibid.

(4) M. Wail says, they came either to conquer England, or to take William or drive him out of the Kingdom. p. 226.

(5) Of two hundred and forty, says Flor. Werc. S. Dunelm. p. 198, &c. Of three hundred, according to Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 106. Huntingd. M. Paris, p. 5. M. Wail.

(6) From Egelewin, the Bishop, who went out to meet him, and advised him to beware of Treachery. The Northumbrians unanimously, resolved beforehand never to submit to a Stranger, and therefore agreed either to kill him, or to die themselves. The Earl coming to Durham, suffered his Men to treat the People like Enemies, killing some of the Bishop's Tenants. S. Dunelm. p. 198.

(7) They flocked to Durham in the Night, and forcing the Gates in the Morning, rushed in, and slew as many of the Earl's Attendants as they could meet with. Cumin fled for refuge into the Bishop's Palace, but it being set on Fire by the Conspirators, all that were in it perished in the Flames. Of the seven hundred Normans, but one escaped. This was done January 23. S. Dunelm. p. 38. 198.

(8) There came Sweyn's two Sons, Harold and Canute; Earl Turkill, and Christian their Bishop. S. Dunelm. p. 198. Brompt. p. 965.

(9) In the Mouth of the Humber. Huntingd. p. 368. S. Dunelm. p. 198.

(10) With Walthoff, these brought him several thousands of armed Men. S. Dunelm, ibid. M. Paris, p. 5.

(11) More than three thousand Normans were killed. William Mulet the Vice-comes, and his Wife and Children, with Gilbert de Gaunt, and some few others were spared. S. Dunelm. p. 199.

(12) They wintered between the Ouse and the Trent. Huntingd. p. 369. M. Paris, p. 5. Sax. Ann.

1069. He recalled several whom he had banished, set others at Liberty, and affected by some instances of severity to repress the Insolence of the *Normans* (1). His Fears being somewhat abated by the good effects of these Proceedings, he sent the Queen and the Princes into *Normandy*, and then marched against the *Danes*. He was so provoked with the *Northumbrians*, that he was heard to swear by God's Splendour, he would not leave a Soul alive. As soon as he entered *Yorkshire*, he began to execute his Threats by terrible ravages. Mean time the *Danes* kept their Post, where he durst not attack them, well knowing, by hazarding a Battle, he staked his all against little or nothing. To extricate himself out of this difficulty, he believed the best course he could take would be to bribe the General by Presents. For that purpose he sent private Emisaries to offer him a large Sum of Money, with leave to plunder the Country along the Sea-Coast, provided he would depart when Winter was over. This Negotiation succeeding to his wish, *Osbern* retired in the beginning of the Spring, for which he was severely punished by the King his Brother (2). The *Danes* being gone, The King marched to *York* to besiege the City, defended by an *English* and *Scotch* Garrison, under the command of a brave Governor (3). This was Earl *Waltheof*, who by his Courage and Conduct, rendered the Siege so long and difficult, that the King began to despair of Success, when the want of Provisions obliged the besieged to capitulate. How incensed soever the King might be, he readily granted honourable Terms to this brave Governor, whose Valour he had so often admired during the Siege. He was not satisfied with shewing him this mark of his Esteem, but gave him in marriage his own Niece, Daughter to the Countess of *Albemarle* (4). Some time after, he made him also Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, and lastly of *Northumberland*. He received likewise into favour Earl *Gospatric*; but punished severely the rest of the Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison, laying a heavy Fine upon the Citizens of *York*. As soon as the Siege was over, and the King found it in his power to be revenged of the *Northumbrians*, he ravaged their Country in so merciless a manner, that for sixty Miles together, between *York* and *Durham*, he did not leave a single House standing (5). He spared not even the Churches and other publick Edifices. This is what *William* of *Malmesbury*, though a *Norman*, durst not deny. His Pretence for thus laying the Country waste, was, to prevent a second *Danish* Invasion. But the method he took, was a clear evidence, it was to glut his revenge, and strike a Terror into the rest of the Kingdom. It is impossible, according to Historians, to describe the Miseries of the northern Counties. The Lands lying untilld (6), and the Houses being destroyed, People died in heaps, after having endeavoured to prolong a wretched Life, by eating of the most unclean Animals, and sometimes even human Flesh (7).

The Step lately taken by the *English* in calling the *Danes* into the Kingdom, thoroughly convinced the King, he should never be in peaceable Possession of the Crown till he had intirely put it out of their power to execute the Projects formed against him. This made him resolve to humble in such a manner all that had any Interest with the People, that they should not be able to make any considerable Effort. It is true, many innocent Persons were to suffer in the execution of this Design. But at that time, it is certain the King thought only of his own safety, without troubling himself, whether the means he made use of were consistent with Justice. To accomplish his ends, he suddenly removed the *English* from such Posts as gave them any Power over their Countrymen. After which

he dispossessed them of all the Baronies and the Fiefs of the Crown in general, and distributed them to the *Normans* and other Foreigners who had followed him into *England*. But as these last were not so many in number as those that were deprived of their Estates, he was obliged to load them, as I may say, with Benefits, in order to draw all the Crown-Lands out of the hands of the *English*. We may be satisfied by the following instances, how profuse the King was in this Distribution. *Robert*, his uterine Brother, had the Earldom of *Cornwall*, in which were two hundred and eighty eight Manors (8), besides five hundred and fifty eight (9), which he possessed in other Counties. *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his other Brother, was made Earl *Palatine of Kent*, and Justiciary of *England*. This Prelate had one hundred and eighty Fiefs in *Kent* alone (10), and two hundred and fifty five in several other Places. *William Fitz-Osbern* was rewarded with the whole Earldom of *Hereford* (11). *Hugh Lupus* of *Almonches* the King's Sister's Son, was presented by his Uncle with the County *Palatine of Chester*, with all the Royal Prerogatives, to hold it in full Sovereignty as the King himself held his Crown. *Alan Fergeant Duke of Bretagne*, the King's Son-in-law, had all Earl *Edwin's* Estate with the same Privileges as were granted to the Earl of *Chester* (12). *Roger de Montgomery* had first *Arundel*, *Chichester*, and afterwards *Shropshire*. *Walter Giffard* had *Buckinghamshire*, and *William Warner*, the County of *Surrey*. *Eudes*, Earl of *Blois*, was put in possession of the Lordship of *Holderness*. *Ralph de Guader* (13) a *Breton*, was made Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and Lord of *Norwich*. *Henry de Ferrariis* received *Tutbury-Castle* (14). *William* Bishop of *Constance*, was possessed of two hundred and eighty Fiefs, which he left at his Death to *Robert Mowbray* his Nephew. It would be endless to mention all the Donations granted by the King to the Foreigners, at the Expence of the *English*. Those above-mentioned are sufficient to shew, the Intent of this Profusion was solely to deprive the *English* of their Estates. This therefore is a memorable Epocha, when, to speak in the Language of the Historians, *England* was delivered into the hands of Foreigners. It may easily be conceived, the Lords, to whom the King distributed so many Estates, suffered none to hold of them but those of their own Nation. Accordingly from that time, we hear no more of *Ealdormen*, or *Thanes*, but of *Counts*, or *Earls*, *Viscounts*, *Barons*, *Vassalors*, *Esquires*, and other Titles taken from the *Norman* or *French* Tongue, which began to be introduced into *England* instead of the *Saxon* Names. So that *England* may be truly said to become *Norman*. Perhaps even its own Name would have been changed for that of *Normandy*, if some things, spoken of in the following Reigns, had not made the *Normans*, settled in *England*, desirous of being considered as *Englishmen*, and even taking the Name. Be this as it will, from the Foreigners, who were then put in possession of these Lands, are derived a great part of the most eminent Families this day in the Kingdom.

It was not only the *English* Nobility that were sufferers by the Conqueror's new Plan: The Clergy met with no better quarter. The *Saxon* Kings had granted to several Bishops and Abbots Lands exempted from all military Service, denouncing in their Charters Imprecations against such of their Successors as should dare to violate these Privileges. But King *William*, not being one of those scrupulous Princes who looked upon what their Predecessors have settled as unalterable, cancelled all these Immunities (15). Church-Lands as well as the rest, were obliged to find, in time of War, a certain number of Horsemen, notwithstanding the Clauses in their ancient Charters to the con-

(1) To this Time Mr *Joyce* refers that considerable Transaction related by *Roger de Hoveden*, That *William* caused certain wise and noble *Englishmen* throughout all *England* to be summoned, that he might hear from them the Laws and ancient Customs thereof, and confirm them. *Joyce*, p. 21. See R. *Hoved*, p. 601. &c.

(2) He was banished. *Malm.* p. 106.

(3) But he took *Oxford* in his Way, which had revolted against him, and soon reduced it. From *Oxford* he marched on by *Nottingham* towards *York*, when he encountered *Waltheof*, he slew the greatest part of the People, and laid the Country waste; and engaging the Enemy at *York*, he put the strongest to flight, and took all the rest with the Sword. *Ord. Vital.* Mat. Paris, p. 4, 5.

(4) His daughter by the same Mother. The Duke's Name was *Judith*. *Gemet.* l. 8. c. 17.

(5) At the time *Wulf*, Bishop of *Durham* was deprived, and his Brother *Eghewin* put in his room. *M. Paris*, p. 5.

(6) This occasioned a terrible Famine, of which there is a melancholy Account in *S. Dunelm.* p. 199, &c. The Lands lay untilld for nine Years. *S. Dunelm.* lib. 1. p. 166.

(7) King *William*, as soon as he came to *Durham*, ordered a Castle to be built there. *S. Dunelm.* p. 49. *Christmas* approaching, he caused his Crown, &c. to be brought to *York*, where he kept that Festival. As soon as the Holidays were over, he marched against a Party, who had fortified themselves in an island in the middle of the Country, and having pursued them as far as the *Tees*, he marched over Mountains, and through Woods, almost crosd the Kingdom into *Gascony*, to be revenged on the *Welsh*, who had lately besieged *Shrewsbury*; but upon his Arrival with his Army at *Chester*, he thereby quieted the whole Province of *Merch*: And a *Duke* the *French* having now made his Peace, the King built a Castle there, and another, in his Return out of those Parts, at *Stafford*, putting strong Garrisons into both. From thence he came to *Salisbury*, where he kept his *Easter*, and largely rewarding his Soldiers, he dismissed them. *Ord. Vital.*

(8) During *William's* Absence in the North, the Sons of the late King *Harold*, having procured from *Donnet* King of *Ireland* a Fleet of sixty Sail, landed again at first in *Exeter*, plundering and burning wherever they came: But *Brien* Son to *Eudo* Earl of *Britagne*, fought them twice in one Day, killing seven hundred of their Men, with others of the *Irish* Nobility, the rest flying to their Ships, returned into *Ireland*. *W. Gemet.* l. 7. c. 40. *Ord. Vital.* See *Tyrol.* p. 23, 24, 25.

(9) *Brady* says two hundred and fifty eight.

(10) According to the same Author, it was but five hundred and forty five: And in all seven hundred and ninety three.

(11) *Brady* says one hundred and eighty four; in all four hundred and thirty nine. *Brady*, p. 195, 196.

(12) And also the Isle of *Wight*. He was *Serjeant of Normandy*, and placed with *Walter Lacy*, the King's Standard Bearer, to oppose the *Welsh*. *Rot. pen.* Ep. *Ellen*.

(13) *Rapin*, by Mistake, says *Mercia's* Estate. The Words of the Grant are. *Ego Gulielmus cognomine Bastardus de, &c. Alano, &c. omnes villas & terras quod antea fuerunt Cennici Edwini in Eboracra cum fidei militum, &c.* These Lands, when given, were gildable, but by the King's Favour were changed into a Liberty or Honour, now called *Richmansbury*, now a Castle of that Name, built by Earl *Alan*.

(14) Now *Grener*, a Castle in *Bretagne*.

(15) Though he was no Earl at the Time of the *Survey*, he had then an hundred and seventy six Lordships, besides *Tutbury* Castle.

(16) Mr. *Juchowicz* or *Opman*, That this Burden was not laid upon the Bishopsricks and greater Abbies, without their own Consents, given in a Synod or Great Council of the Kingdom, which the King held this Year at *Winchester*. *Titles of Honour*, p. 578. See *Tyrol.* p. 25.

1070. trary. Such of the Clergy as refused to comply, only gave the King what he wanted, a Pretence to dispossess them and place Foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quartered upon the Monasteries almost all his Troops, and obliged the Monks to find them in Necessaries. By this means, he kept his Army without any charge, and had Spies in all the Religious Houses, who watched the Actions of the Monks.

All this not sufficing to make the King easy, he thought himself of another Expedient, which drew upon him the Imprecations of the People, and especially of the Monks. Some of his Emissaries (1) informing him that many Persons had lodged their Money and Plate in the Monasteries, he took occasion to order all the Religious Houses to be searched, and every thing of value to be seiz'd, on pretence it belonged to the Rebels. Some Historians affirm, he did not spare even the Shrines of the Saints and the consecrated Vessel. Very probably, the Clergy's Zeal, after the Battle of *Hastings*, to place this Prince on the Throne, was entirely owing to the fear of losing their Effects. But on this last occasion, they had but too much reason to perceive how greatly they were mistaken in their Politicks.

How severely soever the King had used the Clergy, he was not yet satisfied. The great Credit of the Bishops and Abbots still making him uneasy, he resolved to be rid of the most suspected. To proceed in the least blameable manner, he sent for two Legates from *Rome* (2), who convened a Council at *Winchester* (3), where every thing passed to his wish. *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was degraded for intruding into the See, *Robert* his Predecessor not having been canonically deposed. This was probably a Sacrifice offered by the King to the Pope, for it does not appear he had any reason to complain of the Archbishop. The same Council also deposed *Egelmer*, Bishop of *East-Anglia*, whose See was at *Helmham*. *Agelric*, Bishop of *Selsey* (4), and some others, whom the King did not like, were likewise sacrificed to his Jealousy. As for others, against whom the Council had nothing to alledge, the King, by his sole Authority, banished some the Kingdom, and threw the rest into Prison, without any legal Proceedings, or giving other reason than his Good-Pleasure. After he was thus clear of all that gave him any Uneasiness, he placed in their room *Normans* or other Foreigners (5), for all were acceptable but *English*. He promoted *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*, Abbot of a Monastery at *Caen*, to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* (6), and *Thomas*, a Canon of *Bayeux*, to that of *York*. Three of his Chaplains were made Bishops of *Winchester*, *Helmham*, and *Selsey* (7), and *Norman* Abbots were placed in the Monasteries, from whence the *English* were removed. This however must be said for the King, that he made choice of Persons of eminent worth to fill up the Vacancies.

Let it not be imagined that I have used any exaggeration, in what has been said concerning the usage of King *William* to the *English*, or affected to follow those who made it their business to blacken his Reputation. Whoever will be at the pains to consult the original Historians, will easily be convinc'd of the contrary. They will see, there is not a single Circumstance but what occurs in the Histories, written during his Life, or shortly after his Death, by Authors most desirous to justify his Conduct. 'Tis therefore a groundless Assertion of some of our modern Writers, to say, this Prince never acted as *Conqueror*, but constantly followed the ancient Laws and Constitutions of the Realm.

The King's whole Conduct demonstrating to the *English* that his Design was to reduce them so low that they should never more be able to hold up their Heads, some of the principal among them thought now was the time or never, to make a vigorous Effort to prevent their utter ruin.

Eustace, Abbot of *St. Albans*, was one of the most zealous to inspire his Countrymen with this Resolution, and by means of his Interest and Riches it was that a fierce Combination was formed to drive the King and the *Normans* out of the Kingdom. Matters were carried on with that Secrecy, that the Conspirators suddenly drew an Army together, before the King had any notice of it. This Army growing very numerous in a few days, the Abbot of *St. Albans* sent for *Edgar Atheling* out of *Scotland*, and put him at the head of the Malecontents, by whom he was acknowledged for King, and proclaimed in all the Places they were masters of. This bold Enterprize made the King extremely uneasy, who was ever apprehensive of some sudden Revolution robbing him of the Fruit of all his Labours. He communicated his Thoughts to *Lanfranc* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who advised him to deal more gently with the *English*, intimating the absolute necessity of a speedy Negotiation with the Rebels, lest the Flame, already kindled, should over-spread the whole Kingdom. The King took his advice, and after many fair Promises, found means to engage the Head of the Malecontents in a Conference at *Bathampton*. He calmly heard all their Complaints, and promised to redress their Grievances. Nay, he swore on the Holy Evangelists, to establish the antient Laws of the Realm, which went under the name of *Edward* his Benefactor. This Condescension satisfying the Malecontents, they returned to the Army to dismiss their Troops, believing they had no further occasion for them. But the King had not the least thought of keeping an Oath, which he looked upon as extorted. Presently after, he ordered a great Number of those that had taken up Arms against him, to be apprehended, some of whom were put to death, and others banished or imprisoned. Upon this *Edgar* fled into *Scotland* (8), and the rest took refuge in *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. The Abbot of *St. Albans* retired to the *Isle of Ely*, where he died with Grief. As soon as the King heard of his death, he seized the Goods of the Monastery, and took from thence all the valuable Effects: He was resolved to destroy it utterly, if *Lanfranc* had not prevailed upon him to desist from his Design (9).

The King's Behaviour to the Malecontents variously wrought on the minds of the *English*. Some, terrified by his Severity, resolved to endure all things for fear of increasing their Afflictions by fruitless Attempts. Others, not so passive, determined to try all ways to free themselves from a Yoke they could no longer bear. These retired to the *Isle of Ely*, where was a rich Monastery, the Abbot of which was their Friend. But this was not the only reason of their chusing that Retreat. This Place, called an *Isle* from its being surrounded with a Morass, was very strong, and seemed proper to shelter them from the King's Rigours, when filled with a sufficient number of Men to defend it. *Edwin* and *Morcar* chose to join them (10), being sensible they should be the first Victims of the King's Suspicions, and not daring any longer to trust to his Promises. Some time after, *Edwin* resolving to go into *Scotland*, where he thought he might be more serviceable to his Party, was murdered on the road by his own treacherous Followers. *Morcar* his Brother found in the *Isle of Ely*, many Persons of Quality, with *Egelwin* (11) and *Walter*, Bishops of *Durham* and *Hereford*, all resolutely bent to oppose to their utmost the despotick Power assumed by the King. Their Number being considerably increased by Multitudes of Malecontents flocking to them (12), they chose for their Leader *Hereward* (13), Nephew to the Abbot (14) of *Peterborough*, who was looked upon as the bravest and best Soldier in the Kingdom. He was banished in the Reign of King *Edward*, for some Outrages committed in his Neighbourhood, and retired into *Flanders*, where his Valour gained him great

(1) Particulars of *William* First's Conquest, Earl of *Hersford*, Sec. *S. Dunelm.* p. 200.

(2) *Hermard* Bishop of *London* and *John* and *Peter*, Cardinals. *S. Dunelm.* p. 201, 80.

(3) *Rapin* by *M. de la Haye*. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 201. *Brompt.* p. 907. *M. de la Haye* R. de *Duets* p. 482.

(4) He was afterwards made Bishop of *Marlborough*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 292. *Rapin* calls him by mistake, Bishop of *Durham*; whereas the Bishop of *Durham* then was *Wulfstan*, who died into *Scotland* at this time. See *S. Dunelm.* p. 200. *Brompt.* p. 966.

(5) He used his utmost Endeavours to have as many of the *English* turned out as he could, that he might put some of his Countrymen in their room. *S. Dunelm.* p. 202.

(6) Mr. *Tyrol* thinks, that *Lanfranc* was elected, or at least confirm'd by the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the *Sax. Ann. in Marg.*— In this Council he likewise happened. That the Bishops and greater Abbots gave their Consents that, for the future, their Lands should be held by Knight-Service: From which time, the Bishop and Abbot, who sat before in this Council, and Synod, as more spiritual Persons, appeared henceforward in the great Council of the Kingdom among the lay Nobility, as the Bishops do to this day. *Tyrol.* p. 28, 29.

(7) *Wulfstan* was made Bishop of *Winchester*, *Athelric* of *Helmham*, and *Stigand* of *Selsey*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 202. *Brompt.* p. 968.

(8) To this Time may most probably be referred what *Bayard* relates. That *William* sent a Herald to demand *Edgar*, demanding War against him, unless he were surrendered up. *Edgar* looked upon it as a cruel and faithless thing, to deliver up his Guilt and Honour to his capital Enemy, to be put to death, and therefore refused to listen any thing, rather than so to do: And thereupon he heartened and detained *Edgar*. *Bayard.* p. 210. *Engl. Edit. Folio.*

(9) The Account of this Revolt is only related by *Matthew Paris* in the Life of *Richard*, and for that reason is by some called in question. But as he could not well invent this Story, it is most probable he found it in the Annals of his Monastery of *St. Albans*. *Bayard* also relates, that *Edgar* could not be concerned in it, being he had fled into *Scotland* near two Year before, and did not return into *England* till three Year after, though this Author makes him to come back the Year before.

(10) *Udal* and *na* that *William* intended to put them in Prison, they privately withdrew from Court. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *M. de la Haye* p. 70.

(11) Who was come thither from *Scotland*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 203. *M. Paris* p. 8.

(12) The *Sax. Ann.* say, that they were joined by *Sigard* King of *Danmark*, *Osbert* a Danish Bishop, Earl of *Osney*, and several other Danes; but *Swan* having concluded a Peace with *William*, the Danes went off with a large Booty they had taken out of *Peterborough* Monastery, which they plundered and burnt. See *Engl. Edit.* p. 71.

(13) He was younger Son to *Leofric* Earl of *Merca*, and Brother to *Algar* Earl of *Merca* after *Leofric*.

(14) *Hereward* was Bishop, but there was no such Bishoprick then. He was Nephew to *Brand* Abbot of *Peterborough*. See *Ingulph.* p. 70, 71.

Reputation, and oblig'd him to eminent Posts. The Death
 of his Father oblig'd him to return into *England*, he
 had been banish'd to a *Norrm*. He demanded Resti-
 tution, but not obtaining it by a legal Process, drove out
 the former Possessor, and took Possession. It was pre-
 cisely at this juncture that coming to *Ely* to avoid the
 King's Resentment, he was chosen General by the Mal-
 contents. As he had a great Reputation, and as the coun-
 ragers and rebels were as much dreaded by the King,
 as that they dur'd not to oppose him were despised, he
 made the King extremely uneasy. The Honour he had
 just receiv'd animating him with fresh Ardour, and with a
 Desire to shew he was not unworthy of it, he prepared for
 a vigorous Defence, reflecting he should not be long in
 that place with out being attacked. While he was laying
 in warlike Stores, he caus'd all the accessible Parts of
 the Isle to be carefully fortified, and took all other Precautions,
 that might render a Siege the more difficult. King *Wil-*
liam knowing whom he had to deal with, march'd with
 all possible speed to attack him, in expectation to surprize
 him unprepared. But *Harrold* had already taken care
 to oppose his Entrance into the Isle, by ordering a Castle
 of Wood to be built upon the *Mons*, which could not be
 assaulted, and which defend'd the only Passage to the Be-
 sieged. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable Diffi-
 culties, the King was bent upon a Siege, or rather a
 Blockade. He was in hopes to reduce them by Famine,
 and have them all at his Mercy, the same thing that pre-
 vented his Approaches, being an invincible Obstacle to
 their Flight. With this view he built a Bridge over the
Mons, two Miles in length, by means of which he de-
 priv'd the Besieged of all hopes of Relief (1). However,
 though he had now spent a great deal of time in the
 Siege, he was never the nearer, since the Rebels had pro-
 vided great store of Provisions. This Delay made him
 very uneasy, as well upon account of the Affair in hand,
 as because it prevented him from marching against the
 King of *Scotland*, who had taken this opportunity to make
 an Inroad into the northern Counties. At length, when
 he began to despair of the Success of his Enterprize, a happy
 thought made him master of the Place.

The Monastery of *Ely* holding without the Limits of the Isle many Manors, from whence the greatest part of their Revenues arose, the King was adviſed to ſeize them, in order to reduce the Monks to obedience out of fear of loſing them. He had no ſooner put this advice in practice, and diſtributed the Lands to his Courtiers, but *Thurſtan* the Abbot, not being able to withſtand the Clamours of the Monks, ſought means to recover their Eſtates. He could think of no properer method than procuring the King's Favour by ſome conſiderable Service. To this end, he privately ſent and offered to put the King in poſſeſſion of the *Iſle of Ely*, with all that were in it, and pay him a thouſand Marks (2), on condition the ſeized Lands were reſtored to the Monastery. This offer was gladly accepted, and the Abbot performed his Promiſe: but *Huetan* has neglected to inform us of the means he uſed to accompliſh it. However that be, the Miſdecontents were conſtrained by the Abbot's Treachery to ſubmit to the King's mercy. *Hereward* alone eſcaped, having opened a way with his Sword through the Guards that defended a certain Paſs. Of thoſe that were taken in the Iſle, ſome had their Eyes put out, or their Hands cut off, others were ſhut up in divers Priſons. Among theſe laſt were Earl *Morcar*, with *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, who having been ſo hardy as to excommunicate the King (3), was ſent to *Abington*, and there ſtarved to Death (4). The Monks of *Ely* were likewiſe chaſtiſed, though they had taken all imaginable care to perform their Capitulation. When they came to pay the ſtipulated Sum, for the want of a Groat only, they were forced to pay another thouſand Marks (5). Moreover the King quartered upon them forty Knights, for whom they were obliged to find all Neceſſaries.

Whilst the King was employed in the Siege of *Ely*, *Mahomet* continued his Ravages in the *North* (6), with

a Barbarity unworthy a Christian Prince, if it was such as is described by the *English* Historians. They tell us, the *Scots* ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, cut the Throats of the old Men, and roasted young Children into the Air to receive them on the Points of their Swords. But very likely, this Account is exceedingly aggravated, as well as the Number of *English* Slaves, carried into *Scotland*, where it is pretended every House was furnished with one. *Guthrie*, who was the Governor of *Northumberland* (7), not being strong enough to resist the King of *Scotland*, made an Expedition into *Cumberland*, where he revenged on the *Scots* the Calamities inflicted by their Countrymen, on the *English*. This Expedition served only to inflame the King of *Scotland's* Rage (8), who took occasion from thence to encircle his Palace in *Northumberland*. The King could not bear these Injustices; but the Affair of *Elphering* of greater importance, he was willing to see the End. As soon as it was over, he marched into *Galloway*, where however he only fatigued his Army to little purpose. Mean time *Malcolm*, who was retired into *Scotland*, endeavoured to prolong the War, in hopes some new Troubles, of which he might take advantage, would arise in *England*. The same reason obliged the King to put an End to it as soon as possible. The readiest way to succeed, as he thought, was to follow the *Scots* into the heart of their Country, that the Dread of a Battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to a Peace. This Resolution procured him the expected Advantage. *Malcolm*, unwilling to hazard a Battle in his own Kingdom, offering to accommodate Matters by a Treaty, he was of Opinion, he ought immediately to end a War, which the Circumstances of his Affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. Besides, he seemed, ever since the Battle of *Hastings*, resolved never to run any hazard. This was what had formerly prevented him from fighting the *Danes*, and probably the same reason caused him to behave in like manner with the *Scots*. Be this as it will, the bounds of the two Kingdoms were settled (9), by the Treaty, and *Malcolm* did him Homage (10). Some *English* Writers (11) pretend this Homage concerned all *Scotland*; but the *Scots* affirm it was only for *Cumberland*. And indeed that is most likely, since there is no appearance that *Malcolm*, who had not received the least check, should humble himself to do Homage for his whole Kingdom. I am very sensible, King *William* is said to have a right to demand it: But this is not a Place to examine this Point, the Discussion whereof will more properly come in elsewhere.

The good reception *Malcolm* gave all the *English* *Fugitives*, drew great Numbers into his Dominions, where some procured Settlements which obliged them to continue there. From these are derived several considerable Families at this day in *Scotland* (12). Some will have it, that the *English* brought thither their Language, with the Titles of Duke, Earl and Baron; but *Buchanan* affirms, they were in use there before that time. He freely owns indeed, that the *English* introduced into *Scotland* Luxury, Pride, Wantonnefs, Drunkennefs and other Vices, to which he pretends, his Countrymen were Strangers before. Among the chief of these *Refugees* was Earl *Goffaric*, who had been deprived of his Government, under colour of his being concerned in the Death of *Cumin*, tho' he had since that done the King very signal Services. He was succeeded by Earl *Walthoff* (13), the only *English* Lord, for whom the King yet shewed any Regard. But he did not keep long in his Favour, for which he was principally indebted to his Wife, who was the King's Niece.

The *French* had afforded King *William* sufficient time 1073. to settle himself in the Throne of *England*, without giving him the least molestation. He hoped therefore, as they had not taken advantage of the late Troubles in *England*, they would be still less inclined to disturb him, after the entire Reduction of his *English* Subjects. But on a sudden *Philip's* Jealousy reviving, he could not bear to

1. Δ is a subalgebra of \mathcal{A} and $P \in \mathcal{C}(\Delta)$. \square

[illegible]

5. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for the year ending December 31, 1914.

In 1990, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a study by Smith and his colleagues. In this study, 100 patients with a history of myocardial infarction were randomly assigned to receive either a placebo or a daily dose of 100 mg of aspirin. The study found that patients who received aspirin had a significantly lower risk of dying from a heart attack compared to those who received a placebo. The study concluded that aspirin therapy should be considered for patients with a history of myocardial infarction.

Environ. Biol. Fish. (2015) 98:1011–1021

$\frac{1}{2} \text{H}_2\text{O} + \frac{1}{2} \text{O}_2 \rightarrow \text{H}_2\text{O}$ - Half-mole of H_2O is formed
 $\frac{1}{2} \text{H}_2 + \frac{1}{2} \text{O}_2 \rightarrow \text{H}_2\text{O}$ - Half-mole of H_2 is consumed

[illegible]

the same time, the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the *British Medical Journal*, and the *Lancet* have all published articles on the subject of the health of the nation.

S. P. DODGE

[illegible][illegible]

where $\tau_{\text{max}} = 1000$ s, $\tau_{\text{min}} = 100$ s, $\tau_{\text{max}} = 1000$ s, $\tau_{\text{min}} = 100$ s. A $\tau_{\text{max}} = 1000$ s, $\tau_{\text{min}} = 100$ s.

where \mathbf{W} is the weight matrix, \mathbf{L} is the Laplacian matrix, \mathbf{F} is the feature matrix, \mathbf{P} is the probability matrix, \mathbf{C} is the class matrix, \mathbf{H} is the hidden matrix, \mathbf{S} is the similarity matrix, \mathbf{L} is the Laplacian matrix, \mathbf{F} is the feature matrix, \mathbf{P} is the probability matrix, \mathbf{C} is the class matrix, \mathbf{H} is the hidden matrix, \mathbf{S} is the similarity matrix.

(4) He flung himself to death. *B. npt* p. 969.

In 1890, the Indians were forced to make up one third of the tribe which, they were forced to sell their Plate, to strip their

E. ... here? ... Church's, killed by force of N. blemen, &c. S. D. Minn. p. 200.

Rayne Light (L.) Co., agent, at the Reg. of P. & M., Wash., D.C. *H. 1001*

H. ... there would State Courts created in the ... Mountain of ... in Yokibure.

the same time, it was found that the *P. h. c.*, having the marks of both *P. h. eng.* and *P. h. l.* in the lateral space of it, which was

[illegible]

For a discussion of the *Shih-shan* and *Ch'ang-shan* schools, see *Ann. Maimsh.*

On the other hand, the \mathcal{H}_∞ norm of the transfer function of the Family of Linear Systems Family Norm (FNS) is defined as

At the time time came for the People out of H. . . at the house of Queen Margaret, of whom

...the ... of ... of whom ... out of France

Sheridan's *C. P.* *(C. P.)* *D. P.*, *P. P.*, *C. C.*, *B. B.*, *T. T.*, *L. L.*, *D. D.*

... due to him both by Mr. Parker and Mother's Side, for he was the Son of Earl Seward, by *Iphigene* the Daughter of Earl

... the daughter of Lark

1073.

see the King of England in so prosperous a condition. He blamed himself for being so impolitic as not to assist the English Malecontents, and resolved to retrieve his Error by attacking Normandy. He expected no doubt the English would take advantage of this Diversion to revolt, and keep the King employed in England. Whatever his thoughts were, he suddenly invaded Normandy, without any Declaration of War. Upon which, the King went over with an Army wholly consisting of English (1), not daring to carry his Norman Troops out of the Kingdom. Besides, he chose rather to expose the English than Normans, who were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. With these Forces, he retook Mans and all the Province of Maine, which had lately revolted, the English glorying in faithfully serving him in Normandy, whilst in England he treated them with great rigour. Philip not succeeding according to his expectation, soon grew weary of the War, and put an end to it by a Peace with the King of England.

Edgar Atheling submits to the King. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. M. Paris.

Shortly after this Treaty, Prince Edgar, tired with living like a Fugitive in a Foreign Country, came to the King, and, begging his Pardon, submitted to his Will. He met with a favourable reception, and was allowed a Pound of Silver a day. From that time he ever remained in obedience without giving the King the least cause of uneasiness. If he had occasion to complain, it was not so much of the King as of the English, who, after the death of Edward, had preferred a private Person before him. It was not Edgar that King William had deprived of the Crown, but Harold, who probably, had he been able to keep it, would have left it to his Son, regardless of the Rights of the Saxon Prince. On the other hand, it must be confessed, Edgar had reason to be satisfied with the King's Clemency, who was very willing to receive him into Favour, notwithstanding the Mistrust he might justly entertain of him.

The Pope's demand of the King. Hoved. Eadm. Brady. Gregory. Ep. Lib. VII. Ep. 27.

Whilst the King was in Normandy, Gregory VII, the boldest and most enterprising Pope that ever sat in the Papal Chair, sent his Nuntio to summon him to do him Homage, pretending, England was a Fief of the Holy See. He demanded likewise the Arrears of Peter-Pence, which had not been paid for several years. Some pretend the Pope's Demand as to the first Article, was not groundless, but was the Condition, on which the King had obtained the Pope's approbation for the Conquest of England. Others derive the Pope's Sovereignty over England from the voluntary Grant of Rome, or Peter-Pence made to the Church of Rome, by Ina and Offa, Kings of Wessex and Mercia. They pretend it was a real Tribute by which they became Feudatories to the Holy See. In fine, there are some who giving up this pretension, content themselves with dating this Sovereignty from the time of Ethelwulf's Journey to Rome. But tho' perhaps at the time King William was meditating his Enterprize, he did not dispute the Pope's Claims, yet when he found himself well fixed in the Throne, he was otherwise disposed. He plainly told the Nuntio, he held his Crown only of God and his Sword, and would not make it dependent on any Person living. Nay, he went further: For, upon the Nuntio's daring to threaten him, he published an Edict, forbidding all his Subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he allowed of, and receive any Orders from Rome without his Leave. This was to make Gregory sensible, who had then a Competitor, how great a risk he run of being fowled in his turn, if he persisted in his Claims. As for the Arrears of Peter-Pence, he promised to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the future. This Firmness convincing the Pope, the King was not swayed by superstitious Scruples, much less to be awed with Threats, he desisted from his Pretensions.

The King's refusal to submit. Eadm. p. 6 and N. t. Scidm. p. 14.

The King's long Stay in Normandy occasioned in England a fresh Conspiracy, so much the more dangerous as the most considerable of the Norman Lords were the Contrivers. Ralph de Guader, a Breton, Earl of Suffolk, and Roger de Breteuil Earl of Hereford (2), resolving to unite their two Families by the Marriage of Ralph with the Daughter of Roger (3), the King for reasons unknown put a stop to their Proceedings. The Earls, who durst

not complete the Marriage whilst the King was in England, took the opportunity of his Absence to accomplish their design. They made a splendid Entertainment upon this occasion, to which were invited several Persons of Quality, and, among the rest, Earl Walthoff. As they knew the King's Temper, they formed at the same time the Project of a Conspiracy to depose him, perceiving no other way to avoid the effects of his Anger. The present occasion seeming favourable to draw their Guests into their Plot, as soon as they saw them heated with Wine, they began to talk of the King, and dwelt upon such Subjects as were most likely to exasperate them against him. They pretended to pity the English, who from being always a free People, were now reduced to a shameful Servitude. As for the Normans, they stirred them up with a Consideration of the King's severe Government, who by the excessive Impositions laid on Estates, took from them with one hand what he had given them with the other. In fine, perceiving they were heard with pleasure, they openly declared, it was unworthy of Persons of Honour to be governed by a Badan, who had usurped the two Crowns he possessed. Their Discourse had so sudden an Effect upon Men who in their Cups thought nothing difficult, that with one consent they resolved to take Arms and oppose the King's return. Earl Walthoff, warmed with Wine like the rest, came into the Plot without reflecting on the Consequences. But on the morrow, the Fumes of the Liquor being dispersed, he considered more maturely, that he had embarked in an Enterprize, which instead of freeing the English from Oppression, could not but encrease their Misery. He foresaw the Difficulties which would naturally occur in the Execution. But supposing it chanced to succeed, he plainly perceived, England would not be the better for it, since she would become a Prey to several petty Tyrants who would complete her ruin. Moreover, he considered, in case the Conspirators were crushed, which was very probable, the Vengeance would all fall on his Head, as being an Englishman, whereas the Foreigners might find some Favour with the King. He could not likewise forbear acknowledging he was much indebted to the King, who not only pardoned him once before, but also distinguished him by many Favours from all his Countrymen. These Reflections working in his mind a hearty Repentance for what he had done, he went to Lanfranc and imparted to him all that had passed. He alleged his drinking too much permitted him not to reflect on what was proposed to him, and intreated him to intercede for his Pardon. The Archbishop commended his Repentance, and advised him to repair forthwith to the King, and inform him of all the Circumstances. He put him in hopes of easily obtaining a Pardon for a Crime done with so little premeditation, at such a time, and for which he was so soon sorry, and even wrote to the King in his behalf. Walthoff taking this Advice, set out immediately and went and threw himself at the King's feet, who received him very kindly, and pardoned his Imprudence, after he was informed of all the Particulars of the Conspiracy.

Reports of it,

and is pardoned.

The King was very much alarmed at this News, and resolved to return into England, without delay, to appease the Troubles occasioned by his Absence. But his Presence was not necessary. The Conspiracy was stifled almost in its very birth by the Vigilance of the Bishop of Bayeux the Regent (4). The two Earls had concerted their Measures so ill, that they could not even join the Forces, each had assembled, so that Ralph de Guader found himself constrained to retire to Norwich Castle, where he was immediately besieged. As he despaired of pardon, in case he fell into the King's hands, he did not think fit to wait the Issue of the Siege, but finding means to escape, fled into Denmark (5). After his departure, his Countess defended the Castle some time, but at length surrendered upon Terms. She had liberty to follow the Earl her Spouse, who had now procured a powerful Aid from the King of Denmark to support the Revolt. And indeed, soon after a Danish Fleet appeared on the Coast of England, but not finding the English inclined to rise, sailed back immediately (6).

The Plot is crushed.

Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

(1) This did not appear from the antient Historians, but rather the contrary. They tell us, That this Year King William carried a great Army of English and French by land Sea. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 369. Eadm. p. 972. Some of them indeed say, That William received Advice with advantage, Forces that he carried over from F. I. Malmsb. p. 105. S. Dunelm. p. 205. But this is not saying that his Army wholly consisted of English.

(2) Breteuil's Signify in Normandy. He was Son to William Fitz-Osbert Earl of Hereford in England, and from him it was that the same Laws and Customs, observed in Breteuil, were observed and practised in Hereford after the Conquest. Denham. Geogr. Terr. Hist.

(3) She was Daughter to William Fitz-Osbert, and Roger's Sister, not his Daughter. The Marriage was celebrated at Exeter near Newmarket. W. Malmsb. p. 104. Eadm. p. 974. M. Paris. p. 7.

(4) And by the help of William Bishop of Exeter, Agelwin Abbot of Evesham, Urso Sheriff of Wiltshire, and Walter de Lacy, who drew together some Forces, and prevented the Earl of Hereford from passing the Severn, and joining Earl Ralph; while Osbert, and Gregory Bishop of Exeter, marched with an Army of English and French against Earl Ralph. S. Dunelm. p. 208.

(5) He went first to Breteuil, and thence to Denmark, where he prevailed upon the King of Denmark to lend him Succours; which accordingly came some time after, in two hundred Ships, under the Command of Canute, King Swegen's Son, and Earl Hakon; but not finding the English disposed to take Arms, they sailed to Flanders, after having staid two Days in the Thames Mouth. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 208. M. Paris. p. 5, 6. — The Sax. Ann. and M. Paris say, that they had sent before this to the King of Denmark for assistance. M. Paris. p. 7.

(6) In the Year 1074, a weak house Christian, died Edgitha, Relict of Edward the Confessor, and was buried by the King her Husband in Westminster Abbey, where a fine Monument was afterwards erected to her Memory. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 209. Malmsb. p. 111.

When time King William being returned to England, was informed, there were still some remains of the Conspiracy in the Western Counties (1). To prevent the Fire from relighting, he marched with all speed to those parts, and severely punished all whom he suspected to be concerned in the Plot. Some he ordered to be hanged, others, to have their Feet and Hands cut off, or their Eyes put out. Those that were most favourably treated were banished the Kingdom. The Pardon granted Earl Waltheof going for nothing, he was apprehended, carried to Winchester, publicly beheaded and buried under the Scaffold. His Riches were said to be the principal Occasion of his Death, the King having a longing Desire to his great Estate (2). Others add, that Judith his Wife did not a little contribute to his Ruin, exasperating the King by false Reports, that she might be at liberty to marry elsewhere. Be this as it will, the unhappy fate of this brave Earl was universally lamented. Every one thought he was too severely dealt with for so slight a Crime, even supposing he had not obtained his Pardon. Some time after (3) his Body was removed to Croyland Abbey (4), where it was pretended to work divers Miracles, and accordingly this Earl passed with the People for a true Martyr. The Abbot of Croyland, encouraging this Belief, was turned out of his Monastery, by the King's order, and Ingulphus, a Monk of Fontevraud, was put in his room. This is the same Ingulphus who, notwithstanding his Obligations to King William, has not failed to attest, in his History of Croyland, the Miracles wrought at Waltheof's Tomb.

Tho' the English were not concerned in the late Conspiracy, but rather refused to join the Male-contents, yet were they no less punished. The King took it for granted, they had privately fomented the Rebellion, and consequently, deprived some of their Estates, and others of their Liberty. From this time William of Malmesbury dates the Servitude of the English. As much Norman as he was, he plainly enough intimates that from thenceforward the King had no manner of Regard for them. Hence it may be conjectured, this Prince's Severity to the English was very great and universal, since this Historian reckons as a Trifle, what the King had already done with respect to the Spiritual and Temporal Lords.

The Precautions taken by the King, to remove from the English all thoughts of a revolt, rendering him easy, he went beyond Sea, to be revenged of Ralph de Guader, who was retired to his City of Dol in Bretagne (5). He was not satisfied with seizing all his Estates in England, but resolved to deprive him also of his Hereditary Possessions. For that purpose, he laid Siege to Dol, which however he could not take, the Resistance of the Besieged giving the King of France time to come to their Relief. King William missing his Aim, returned to England, where during the rest of that and the following Year, nothing remarkable happened, except a Council held at London, where was settled the Precedency of the Bishops.

The King enjoyed then a Tranquillity which seemed to promise a long Continuance, when it was disturbed by

an unexpected War. Robert his eldest Son encouraged by the King of France (6), pretended his Father ought to resign Normandy to him, in pursuance of a positive Promise, made him, as he said, to that purpose (7). Upon this Pretension (8) he attempted to render himself master of the Dukedom, and even treated very ill such as refused to own him for Sovereign. The King surprized at this Audaciousness, immediately drew an Army together consisting entirely of English, for the reason before-mentioned, and passed into Normandy to put a stop to his Son's Proceedings. Robert was not deterred from his Design by his Arrival; but violently opposed his Father, who saw himself forced to carry on the War in form, finding in his own Son no contemptible Enemy. He happened one day to fall into an Ambush, where he was obliged to expose his Person as much as the meanest Officer. He distinguished himself to be his Valour, that Robert, who knew him not, deeming him the most formidable of his Enemies, assaulted him, and wounding him in the Arm, dismounted him with his Lance. The King was in great Danger of losing his Life, it, by good fortune, Robert had not known him by some Mark on his Arm. Then the young Prince, hastily alighting, raised him up, and set him on his own Horse, to rescue him from the present danger. Mean time, the English Troops being roughly handled by the Normans, the King was obliged to retreat in Disorder (9). Robert's being like to kill his Father, made such an impression upon his mind that, to shew the Sincerity of his Sorrow, he submitted entirely to his mercy. But this Generosity was not sufficient to recover the King's Favour, who never after had any Affection for him. Nay, his last, in the first Emotions of Passion, he denounced his Curse against him, who, at the Submissions of the young Prince could not prevail with him to retract. However he gave him a kind reception; but carried him into England, on pretence to send him at the head of an Army against Scotland. Accordingly, next Year (10) Robert was commissioned to bring the Scots to reason, who had renewed the War (11).

He did nothing remarkable in this Expedition (12), except founding the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, in the same Place where the Abbey of Monkcester stood, famous for the Austerity of the Monks. This War ended in a Treaty between the two Nations.

Before the Army was disbanded, the King being desirous to make himself some amends for the Charges in raising it, turned his Arms against the Welsh, in order to chastise them for some Incurfions into his Dominions (13). The Welsh Princes finding themselves unable to withstand him, voluntarily submitted, and obliged themselves to pay an annual Tribute to the Crown of England.

About this time King William built the famous Tower of London, to keep the Citizens in awe, whose Fidelity he had ever suspected (14). Some pretend, this Citadel was founded by Julius Caesar; but it would be difficult to prove Caesar was ever at London, and more so, that he undertook this work, of which he makes no mention in his Commentaries.

(1) Amongst the Welsh who had joined in it. Sax. Ann. M. Paris, p. 7.

(2) And several of the Normans also gazing after his Estate and Preferments, particularly Yvo de Talvas. He was beheaded May 31. 1075. Ingulph. p. 72.

(3) A fortnight after. Ingulph. p. 72.

(4) To which he had been a great Benefactor. Ingulph. p. 73.

(5) P. Daniel gives a different Account of this Matter: He says, That Fulk Earl of Anjou, and Hel, Duke of Bretagne, having assisted the Inhabitants of Mans, William was preparing to invade their Dominion: But a Pope's Legate, that happened to be then in France, persuaded them to a Peace, which William readily came into, upon the News of the Conspiracy in England. As soon as that was quelled, he came back to Normandy, and sent Hel orders to come and do him Homage, as his Predecessors had done to the first Dukes of Normandy. The Duke of Bretagne refuses; upon which William goes about to compel him to it, and besieges Dol. He comes with numerous Forces to the Relief of the Besieged, whose brave Resistance had very much lessened King William's Army, and forces him to raise the Siege. As he was retreating, the confederate Troops fell upon him, and killed abundance of his Men, and withal became Masters of his Baggage, the Loss of which was computed at 150000. Ord. Vital. l. 4. Malm. l. 3. Huntingd. l. 7.

(6) He was encouraged and assisted by him underhand. See P. Daniel, Vol. III. p. 112, 113. It was thought that Robert was the Author of the Intimidation at Mans; and that he likewise stirred up the Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Anjou, and King of France, in order to compel his Father to deliver up to him Normandy and Maine. Ord. Vital. l. 4. P. Daniel, ibid.

(7) When the Inhabitants of Mans submitted to Duke William, one of the Conditions was, That the County of Maine should be given to Robert; and King William made William likewise promise, immediately before his Expedition into England, that he would have the Dukedom of Normandy to Robert: Accordingly the great Men and Barons of Normandy did the young Prince Homage. But William meant that he would leave it to him after his death, and in case he were slain in his Attempt upon England. Robert, thinking it long, could not forbear once to put his Father in mind of his Promise; but King William gave him no other Answer, than, that he never used to sleep till he went to bed. S. Dunelm. p. 209. Ord. Vital. Huntingd. p. 404. Walsingham. l. 1. c. 430. P. Daniel, p. 113.

(8) Robert was an Abbot of his Brother William and Henry; upon which he repaired to Reims, and attempted to seize the Castle: But Robert being the Governor refused his Design. In the mean time, William having been informed of the whole Matter, hastened to Reims, from whence Robert fled, and then to Normandy, and to gather Forces together, which daily increased, by means of the Supplies the King of France sent him under hand; and for the Maintenance whereof his Mother Matilda, that loved him better than the rest of her Children, furnished him with Money secretly. Finding himself pursued by his Father, he desired King Philip to give him time to fly into his own Country, and he granted him. Robert, in the mean time, was attacked by his Father, and in a Sally that was made, Robert wounded him, &c. P. Daniel, p. 113, 114. Malm. p. 106. Huntingd. p. 404. Ord. Vital. Brompt. M. Paris, &c.

(9) One of the Sons of the King, was killed under him, his Son William wounded, and he lost abundance of Men. Sax. Ann. p. 1076. P. Daniel, p. 210. Malm. p. 206. Upon King William's Retreat, (which, as Mr. Trenchard p. 47. observes, was the only confidence one he ever received in his late) there followed several Intermittions in Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and even in Normandy. But through the Mediation of several Norman and English Lords, and the Intercession of the King of France, William was reconciled to his Son. Ord. Vital. P. Daniel, p. 114.

(10) It was in the Year 1080, in Autumn. S. Dunelm. p. 211. And it was the Year before, 1079, in August, that Matilda breaking the Peace made, invaded Northumbria and as far as the River Tyne, killed a great many Men, and carried away Multitudes of Prisoners, returning home with her Spoils. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 211.

(11) In May 1080, Walscher Bishop of Durham, (to whom King William had, in 1075, committed the Care of Northumbria), was slain in Gateshead, by the Town, with a hundred Men, all French or Flemings. Which when King William heard of, he sent a great Party of his Men, with a great deal of Force to revenge it, who wasting a great part of Northumberland, killed all those whom he could find to have been any way concerned in it. Sax. Ann. p. 110. Malm. p. 110. Sax. Ann.—Walscher was succeeded by William, who was either the Founder of the University of Durham, or its first Bishop. Sax. Ann. p. 113.

(12) He went to the Fens, but not having sufficient Forces, he could do nothing. S. Dunelm. p. 211. Chron. p. 110. Brompt. p. 977.

(13) And he sent his Son as St. David's, compelling the Welsh to let at Liberty several Prisoners they had taken. Sax. Ann. p. 110. Canad. p. 110.

(14) Or at least Bideport, who was the chief Surveyor of the Building. See Tyndal, p. 47.

1078.
The King's
Conduct dur-
ing the Peace.

Malmsh.

M. West.
Sax. Ann.

Leges Gu-
liel.

Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.

S. Dunelm.
Hoved.
Ingulph.

Dooms-day
Book.

The Peace with Scotland, and the Submission of the Welsh, introduced a State of Tranquillity which lasted some years. The King took the opportunity of this calm to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom. Since his accession to the Crown, England had been in extreme confusion, by reason of divers Alterations as well in the Government, as in the Laws and methods of administering Justice. But this confusion was still encreased with regard to the Debts of private Persons. The Creditors imagined, they who were put in possession of the Lands were to pay the Debts of those that were turned out, and accordingly to them were they sent by the Debtors. But the Possessors refused to meddle with matters that were liable to so many Frauds; and maintained, the King granted them the Lands free from all demands. Besides, the Jurisprudence of the Normans being different from that of the English, there was no knowing how to proceed, the King not having yet determined any thing on that subject. If he had made any Regulations, it was in cases where his own Advantage and Interest were concerned. As for private Persons, it does not appear that he had hitherto given himself much trouble about them. 'Tis true indeed, they who make it their Business to extol him on all occasions, remark the strict Justice that was exercised in his Reign, with respect to Crimes (1), as an argument of his Affection for his Subjects. But this proof is not so strong as they imagine, for this Strictness turned no less to the King's, than to the People's advantage; as the suffering Crimes to go unpunished must tend to the prejudice of the supreme Authority. Besides, Offences for the most part being then punishable by pecuniary Fines, all the profit accrued to the King, who had deprived the Earls, Barons, and Bishops of the share they enjoyed under the Saxon Kings (2).

However this be, it can't be denied that the King's predominant Passion was a greedy desire to heap up Riches. He was never weary with inventing new Expedients to gratify his covetous Temper (3). We have already seen how he impoverish'd the English. But in this he acted as much or more for the advantage of the Normans and other Foreigners, than for his own. He therefore judged it reasonable, that the Foreigners who were Proprietors of the Estates in England, should be liable to the same Impositions as the English. But that he might proceed in due Proportion, he wanted to know the Value of every Person's Estate. To this end he ordered an exact Survey to be taken of the Lands, Goods and Chattels of all his Subjects. This Survey contained the number of Acres in each man's Estate, what he was wont to pay in the Saxon Reigns, and how much he had been taxed of late years since the Revolution. Moreover, what Stock each had of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, &c. how much ready Money in his House, what he ow'd, and what was owing to him. All this was set down in great Order in a Book called *Dooms-day Book*, that is, *The Book of the Day of Judgment*, apparently to denote that the Means of the English were fitted in that Book, as the Actions of Mankind will be at that great Day. This general Register, which some term

the *Great Terrar*, or *Land-Book of England*, was laid up in the Exchequer or King's Treasury, to be consulted upon occasion; that is, as an Historian expresses it, when it was required to know, of how much more Wool the English Flocks might be fleec'd. The King's strict orders to take this Survey with all possible exactness, were punctually executed (4), the Commissioners as well as private Persons, having cause to dread an exemplary punishment, in case they used any Fraud, or were guilty of the least Connivance on this occasion (5).

We may easily guess, this Survey was not taken purely to satisfy the King's Curiosity. The Taxes laid afterwards upon almost all the Effects of private Persons, were a clear Evidence that his Intent was to leave the English no more than what was absolutely necessary for their Subsistence. This Monarch, considering England as a conquered Country, imagined himself the Proprietor of all the Lands in the Kingdom, and that the vanquished were to receive what he was pleased to leave them, as a signal Favour. According to this Rule, 'tis easy to see, his Revenues were to be proportionable to the Estates of the English, and his own Avariciousness. Not to enter into a particular Account of the several Branches of his Revenues (6), it will suffice to observe, that it amounted annually to four hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, which Sum, according to a moderate computation, was equal to five Millions now of the same Money. Besides these settled Revenues, he had a great many Perquisites, as Mulcts and Fines, which were very frequent in those days. But what is further remarkable in this matter, is, that none of this Money was employed in paying the Army that was kept on foot. In the distribution of the Lands taken from the English, the King had taken care to charge them with the maintenance of his Troops. The new Proprietors were very willing to accept of the Estates upon that condition, since having no right, they were wholly indebted to his Liberality for them. By this means, he maintained, without any manner of charge to him, three-score thousand Men, ready to march upon the first notice. 'Tis not at all strange, he passed for the richest Prince in his time, since his Incomes vastly exceeded the Expence of his Household, in which he spent but a small part of the yearly Profits of the whole Kingdom.

After the King had thus settled his Revenues, he sought means to gratify another Passion, which was almost as strong as the former. I mean his fondness for Hunting, which caused him to commit a world of unjust Acts. By these Acts I don't understand those severe Laws he made on that account (7), though they were exceeding rigorous. This does not properly distinguish him from many other Princes, who look upon the Breaches of the *Game-Laws*, as a most capital Offence, and more readily pardon the killing of a Man than a Stag. What I speak of, was the prodigious Defolation King William ordered to be made in Hampshire, by dispeopling the Country for above thirty Miles in Compass, demolishing the Churches and Houses to make a Forest for the Habitation of wild

1078.

Pol. Virg.

The King's
R.
Brady.

Ord. Vitalis.
Sax. Ann.

1079.
The King ex-
tremely fond
of Hunting.
M. Paris.
Sax. Ann.

Makes the
New-Forest.
Knighton.

(1) During his Reign, People could go about any where safe and unmolested, even though they were loaded with Gold; whereas before, every Wood was a Nest of Robbers. Sax. Ann. M. West. p. 229. Brumpt.

(2) See the foregoing Dissertation, p. 151, 152. It does not appear that William abolished the County, Hundred, and other Courts, (which did not grow into disuse till King John's Reign. See St. Amand. p. 161.) or that he absolutely deprived the Ealdormen or Earls of the Profits that accrued to them from Fines, &c. But he seems rather by his Laws to have confirmed them in the Possession thereof. As for the Bishops, it is certain, that, whereas they used, under the Saxon Kings, to sit in the County, Hundred, and Sheriff's Courts, with the Earl or Sheriff, and there jointly determine both Ecclesiastical and Secular Causes; King William did in the year 1083, ordain, That no Bishop or Archdeacon should, for the future, hold Pleas in any of those Courts, concerning Episcopal Laws or Canons; but that every one who had transgressed the Episcopal Laws, should be judged in such place as the Bishop should appoint; which gave Rise to the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Order whereby the Bishops were deprived of this valuable Privilege, and had their Jurisdiction confined to spiritual Matters, is in Selden's Notes on Eadmer, p. 167. and Brady, Vol. II. p. 214.

(3) W. Malmshury owns that he was justly blameable upon that account, and that he had no regard for what he said or did, though never so unbecoming his Royal Character, so as he could but be a Gainer by it. Malmsh. p. 112. Sax. Ann.

(4) Yet this is not to exact a Survey, as some Historians would represent it, if we may judge of the rest by what Ingulphus, p. 79, relates about his own Monastery of Croyland. That the Commissioners were so kind and civil, as not to give in the true Value of it: And we may reasonably suppose that other Monasteries found the like favour. See Tyrell, p. 55.

(5) This Survey was begun in the year 1080, and finished in 1086. It was made by Verdict or Presentment of Juries, or certain Persons sworn in every Hundred, Wapentake, or County, before Commissioners, consisting of the greatest Earls or Bishops, who enquired into, and described as well the Possessions and Customs of the King, as of his great Men. They noted, what, and how much arable Land, Pasture, Meadow, and Wood every Man had, and what was the extent and value of them in the time of Edward the Confessor, (expressed by the Letters T. R. E. i. e. Tempore Regis Edwardi) and at the time of making the Survey. This Survey was made by Counties, Hundreds, Towns or Manors, Hides, Half-hides, Virgates, and Acres of Land, Meadow, Pasture, and Wood. Also they noted what Mills and Fisheries, and in some Counties what and how many Freeman, Socmen, Villains, Bordars, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, working Horses, &c. in every Town and Manor, and who they belonged to. Always setting down the King's Name first, then the Bishops, Abbots, and all the great Men that held of the King in chief. Brady, p. 205, 206. [See the Lists themselves in Brady, Vol. I. Appendix, No. 1. and Vol. II. No. 10. and Selden's Preface to Eadmer, p. 3—5.] This Survey was chiefly intended to give the King a true Account of his own Lands, or Demesnes, as also what were held by his Tenants in Capite. It is therefore no wonder, if many of those Towns or Villages, which were then held by their Feudatories or Under-Tenants, are quite left out and omitted in it. Some Cities and Towns of note are not mentioned therein, as any one may find, that will but take the Pains to compare it with an exact Catalogue of the ancient Towns and Villages in England, the greatest part of which he will not be able to find there. All England (except Wiltshire, Cumberland, and Northumberland,) was described, with part of Wales; and the Description or Survey written in two Books, called the *Great* and *Little Domesday Book*, now in the Exchequer. The little Book contains only Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. This being the highest Record in the Kingdom, it was then (and is to this Day) a decisive Evidence in any Controversy in which there may be occasion to make use of it.

(6) They are set down by Brady as follows. 1. A Land-Tax, called Hidge, which he found here before his Arrival in the time of Edward the Confessor, or rather which he set up again. 2. Reliefs, or Fines for giving the Possession of Hereditary Fees, Assignment of Dower out of the Husband's Estate, Composition for Licence to marry, and to have the Wardships of Heirs, or Entrance upon Farms due to him from all Tenants in capite. Alio ponal Fines, Forfeitures of Goods, and pecuniary Mulcts for Crimes, &c. Tolls and Customs for Passage and Pontage, for Liberty of buying and selling; Exchequer, besides the ancient Customs upon Merchandise. 3. Crown Lands, being fourteen hundred and twenty-two Manors or Lordships in several Counties, besides abundance of Farms and Lands in Middlesex, Shropshire, Rutlandshire, in the last of which he had also a hundred and fifty Pounds of Rent in white Money. To which finally add Echeats and Forfeitures.—In short, his Revenue was so great, that *Ordéricus Vitalis* (p. 523.) says, it was reported to be one thousand and sixty Pounds of Sterling-Money, thirty Shillings and a Penny half-penny of the just Rents and Profits of England every day of the year, besides his Gifts and Presents, and pecuniary Punishments, which, if we reckon ten times as much now, according to the Rate of things in his time, his yearly Revenue amounted to 3,874,497 l. 16 s. 3 d. But allow it to be fifteen times so much now, as may very well be done, and not over-rate it, then his yearly Income was 5,811,746 l. 14 s. 4 d. half-penny, besides Free-gifts, Fines, and Amerciaments for Offences. Brady, Vol. II. p. 204—211.

(7) Namely, That whoever killed a Deer should have his Eyes put out. Sax. Ann. M. Paris, p. 9. Brumpt. p. 981.

1079. Beasts (1). If we may believe certain Historians, he did not make the owners of the Lands or Houses the least amends. This Tract of Land, called before *Yene*, was afterwards term'd the *New-Forest*. Some affirm, besides the diversion of Hunting, the King had another Inducement to depopulate these Parts. They pretend his aim was to give a free Access to the Troops, which, in case of Necessity, he might send for from *Normandy*. But this Motive, which seems to be very trifling, was doubtless invented by those, who, having entertained a great Idea of this Prince, were persuaded, he was guided in all his Actions by Prudence and Policy; as if Princes were not as subject to Passions as other men. Others observing, that two of his Sons (2) and one of his Grandsons (3) lost their Lives in this very Forest by extraordinary Accidents, conclude from thence, that Heaven took Vengeance for the Injuries done to the Proprietors of the Lands.

His Affection for Normandy. Brady. Tyrrel. The King's great Affection for *Normandy* was another of his governing Passions. Every thing practised there was, in his opinion, the Pattern of Perfection. Accordingly he endeavoured to abolish the *Saxon* Laws, and establish the *Norman* in their room (4). Perhaps he would have pushed this matter further, had it not been represented to him, that the Laws of *England*, bearing the name of his Benefactor, all the world would look with horror upon his Ingratitude. However, he made several Innovations in the *English* Laws, and the Methods of administering Justice. For instance, he would not suffer the Bishops to preside at the *Shire-gemots*, or County-Courts, but assigned them a Court of their own. His pretence for so doing was, that the Ecclesiastical matters might not be intermixed with the

Civil. But the true Motive was, because he had a mind to deprive the Bishops of their share of the Fines and Mulcts. He erected also several Courts before unknown to the *English* (5), and which were very inconvenient to them. They were not only ignorant of the Rules and Practices of these Courts; but, as they always attended the Prince, the Suitors were obliged to follow him wherever he went, to prosecute their Suits. Amongst these several Courts there was one however which became very advantageous to the People; since it was designed to moderate the Rigour of the Laws by Equity, I mean, the Court of *Exchequer*, which is still in being (6).

King William was not satisfied with obliging the *English* to try their Causes in these Courts, but forced them also to make use of the *Norman* Language, and did all he could to abolish the *English* Tongue. With this view it was he erected in all the Cities and Boroughs Schools (7) where *Norman* was taught, and obliged Parents under heavy Penalties to send their Children thither. I have elsewhere observed the Nature of the *Norman* Language, which was very difficult, and hard to be understood by the *French* themselves, by reason of the great mixture of *Danish* with the *French*. However, the King was so bent to introduce his native Tongue, that he made it his chief business. They who had any concerns at Court, and did not speak *Norman*, were looked upon with an evil eye, as Persons that had no complaisance for the King. The most effectual means he made use of to oblige the *English* to learn *Norman*, was the publishing his Laws in that Tongue (8), the Ignorance of which was no sufficient Excuse for the Violators. Some have accused him of acting in this par-

(1) There were thirty six Parish Churches demolished. In this Forest are now nine Walks, and to every one a Keeper, two Rangers, a Bow-bearer, and a Lord-Warden. On the North side of *Malswood* Castle is the Oak that buds on *Christmas* Day, and withers again before Night. *Camden* Add. to *Hampt.*

(2) Richard his second Son, and William Rufus. *Camden* Ord. Vital. *Sandford* *Malmsh.* p. 111.

(3) Richard's son Duke Robert. *Malmsh.* Add. *S. Dunelm.* p. 225.

(4) This is more than is advanced by the ancient Historians: William had indeed the Laws translated into *French*, but still these were the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the *English* Kings. For this, we have the Authority of *Inglulphus*. *Ipsam etiam Idiomata tantum abhorrebat [Normanni] quod leges terras, statutaque Anglorum Regum lingua Gallica tractarentur*, p. 71. Sir *Edward Coke* says, King William I. liked the *English* Law so well, that he caused it to be written in the *Norman* Tongue, and established great part of it in *Normandy*. But there is no Authority for This, it not being mentioned by any coeval Historian or other Writer, either of *England* or *Normandy*. It will not be amiss to insert here the Observation or Conjecture of a learned Gentleman collected by *Madox*, p. 123. *Hist. of the Exchequer*. It seemed to him, by the Course of *English* History, and otherwise, that after the *Norman* Conquest, there ensued a great Alteration in the old *English* Laws, Manners and Usages. Nevertheless, that Alteration with reference to the Laws, was not completely brought about and settled till the Reign of Henry II. The Reign of William I. was mostly employed in quelling the Disorders and Insurrections of his *English* Subjects, and in getting and securing to himself and his Heirs, a full and safe Possession of the Regal and other Revenues of *England*. The next King (viz. William II.) reigned under a Title extollable by the just Pretensions of his elder Brother Robert; yet being a stately, replete and subtle Prince, partly by Power, and partly by Policy, he kept the *English* under the Yoke, and continued to strengthen himself in the new Acquisitions, and to form the Laws and Manners of this Country after the *Norman* Fashion. The next King (viz. Henry I.) was a mild Book-learned Prince, and reigned likewise for several Years under a disputed Title: He continued, as far as his Affairs would permit, to establish the *Norman* Laws and Customs, as William I. and William II. had done. In his Time many of the *Anglo-Norman* Lords, who had great Estates in *Normandy* as well as in *England*, might probably be, and were inclinable to favour the Title and Interests of Robert Earl of *Normandy*, which might give Umbrage to King Henry. King Henry to win the Affections of the *English* Natives, who made the Bulk of the People, and thereby to check or balance the *Anglo-Norman* Lords, commanded a Body of Laws to be compiled, which were agreeable to the Laws of the old *English*, or *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and called the Laws of Henry I. However, these Laws of Henry I. relate chiefly to Criminal Matters, and were never, for ought that appears, duly published, much less put in practice amongst the *English*. The Reign of the next King (viz. Stephen) was nothing in effect but a State of War. Henry II., the next Successor, came to the Crown by an undoubted Title, and surpassed all his Ancestors in Power and Extent of Dominion; he was King of *England*, Earl or Duke of *Normandy*, Lord of *Ireland*, *Aquitain*, and the *Aquitanick* Tract of Land; inasmuch that he was at that Time the greatest King in *Christendom*. This Prince did put the last or finishing Hand to the *Norman* Establishment, or in special to the Alteration thereby made in the *English* Laws; as will in some measure appear from these Considerations following; namely, The Statutes or Constitutions of *Clarendon*, made in, or about the Eleventh Year of Henry II., are, both for Phrase and Substance, more entirely *Normannick* than any Laws or Publick Acts from the Conquest to that Time. And *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the first native *Englishman* that had been Archbishop of that See, since the Conquest, opposed certain Articles of those Constitutions, as they were, in his Opinion, prejudicial or derogatory to the supposed Rights of the Clergy, and to the old Law and Usages of the *English* Nation. The *Norman* Laws, and Customs were settled by constant use during the Reign of Henry II.; and at the latter end of his Reign *Ranulf de Glanville*, a great Man in the Law, and a Justice, drew up a Compendium of the Laws of *England*, fitted for publick use; which he probably did by the King's Command, that it might serve as a Guide or System for the Direction of such as dealt in Law-proceedings; and this System of *Glanville*'s, is in effect nothing else but a Transcript of the *Norman* Law; as will readily appear to any Man who pleases to compare it with the *Grand Customier* of *Normandy*. In fine, this *Normannick* Model of Laws continued, and was indeed firmly settled in *England* during the Reigns of Henry II., and his two Sons, *Richard* and *John*, and of the succeeding Kings, being the Alterations that were made therein, at the end of the Reign of King *John*, in the Reign of Henry III., and in subsequent Ages.

(5) These several Courts were only the King's Court, and the *Exchequer*.

(6) At, and some time after the Conquest, it does not appear that there was more than one supreme ordinary Court of Judicature, namely, *Curia Regis*, or the King's Court, which was always at the Place of his Residence. At his Court, more especially at some Solemnities of the Year, the King held his Great Councils, and transacted Affairs of great Importance, attended by his great Lords and Barons. There Coronations, &c. were celebrated: There was placed the Throne, a sovereign ordinary Court of Judicature, wherein Justice was administered to the Subjects: and there the Affairs of the Royal Revenue were managed. To the King's Court belonged the following great Officers. I. The Chief Justice. He was next the King in Power and Authority, and in his Absence governed the Realm as Viceroy. If the King was not present in Person, in *Curia Regis*, he was chief Judge both in criminal and civil Causes. II. The Constable, or *Comptabularius Regis*, or *Anglicus*. He was a high Officer both in War and Peace. This Office was antiently Hereditary. III. The Marshal. This Office was also still Hereditary. As an Officer in the King's Court he was to provide for the Security of the King's Person in his Palace, to distribute Lodgings there, to preserve Peace and Order in the King's Household, and assist in determining Controversies there, &c. IV. *Seneſchall* or *Steward*. This Office was likewise Hereditary. He is called in *Latin*, *Dapifer*. V. The Chamberlain, or *Camerarius Regis*. It may be observed, the great Officers are distinguished from the subordinate Offices of the same Name, by the Epithet of *Magistratus*, *Magisterium*. As the Office of King's Chamberlain is called *Magister Camerarius*, in like manner, *Magistra Marescallaria*, &c. VI. The Chancellor, who was usually styled *Cancellarius Regis*, to distinguish him from the inferior Chancellors of *Dioceſes*, &c. Little is said of his Office. However, we find he was wont to supervise the Charters to be sealed by the King's Seal, and likewise to supervise and seal the Acts and Precepts that issued in Proceedings depending in *Curia Regis*. He was one of the King's prime Counsellors. VII. The Treasurer. He was for the most part a Prelate or Ecclesiastical Person. For some time after the Conquest, the Justice used to do many Acts, afterwards pertaining to the Treasurer's Office. The *Curia Regis*, where all the Liege-men of the Kingdom repaired for Justice, was undoubtedly established in *England* by the *Normans*, there being no notice of any such Court in the *Anglo-Saxon* Times. All Pleas or Causes then were determined below in a plain manner, in the Courts within the several Counties, Towns or Districts. And indeed at first there were but few Causes referred to the King's Courts after the Conquest, till the *Norman* Lords who were possessed of the large Seignories, carried it with so high a Hand towards their Vassals and Neighbours, that the latter could not have Right done them in the ordinary way, and so were constrained to seek for Justice in the King's Court. And thus was likewise done when Contentions arose between the great Lords themselves. However, few or no Causes were brought thither without permission, and the Party's making Fine to the Crown to have his Plea in *Curia Regis*. These were sometimes called *oblata*, or *voluntary Fines*. When the Pleas in the King's Court became very numerous, there were certain Justices appointed to go *Itors* through the Realm, to determine Pleas and Causes within several Counties. These were vested with great Authority. It is not known when these were first instituted: But they were new-modelled, and their new Circuits appointed by Henry II. A Branch of the King's Court was the *Exchequer*. It was a sort of subaltern Court, resembling in its Model the *Curia Regis*. For in it presided and sat the great Officers above-mentioned, and sometime the King himself. It was called *Scaccarium*, because a chequered Cloth, figured like a Chess-board, was antiently wont to be laid on the Table in the Court; which Custom continues to this Day. This Court is thought to be first instituted about the Time of the Conquest, though it is not known for certain. The great Persons that assisted at this Court were called *Barones Scaccarii*. To these was left the Care and Management of the Crown Revenue, &c. The Chief Justice let to farm the King's Manors, held Pleas at the *Exchequer*, and made due Allowances to the Accomptants. The other great Officers had likewise their part in Affairs transacted at the *Exchequer*. As to Causers, the *Exchequer* at first was also a Court having Jurisdiction in *Common-Pleas*. Matters remained in this Posture till the Division of the King's Court, and Separation of the *Common-Pleas* from it, of which notice shall be taken hereafter. *Madox's Hist. of the Excheq.*

(7) This is more than can be found in the ancient Historians. He ordered indeed *French* to be taught in all Schools, as *Inglulph* testifies, *Ipsam Idiomata tantum abhorrebat, quod pueri etiam in Scholis principia Literarum Grammaticæ Gallicæ ac non Anglice traderentur*, p. 71. But this does not prove that he erected those Schools.

(8) The single Instance of his Laws being in *French* in *Inglulph*, is of no considerable Force; for the Laws of King Edward confirmed by King William, were written in *Latin*, and not in *French*; as were also the Body of Laws of this King granted by way of a Charter. The like may be said concerning those of his Successors. For all our antient Laws and Statutes, from the Reign of King Henry I. to the Statute of *Wylmester*, which was made in the Third Year of Edward I., are drawn up in *Latin*, and none of them in *French*; as are also all their Charters, except some few of the three first *Norman* Kings, which are either written in *English* *Saxon* alone, or in *Latin* with the *English* Version under them. *Tyrrel's Introduction* to Vol. II. p. 61.

1080. ticular from a worse Motive. They pretend his Aim was to inflame the *English* by causing them to commit Offences which were generally punished by Mults and Confiscations to his use. But supposing this were not so, as it must be confessed it cannot be proved, his covetous Temper, and all his other ways to heap up riches, are but too just grounds for such an Accusation.

To return to the *Norman* Language. There are those who affirm, that in spite of all his Pains the King could not introduce it into *England*. On the contrary, they maintain, the *Normans* by degrees learnt to speak *English*, their small number being carried away by the bulk of the Nation. Others, who are of a contrary Opinion, endeavour to demonstrate the *Norman* Tongue was established upon the Ruins of the *English*. But it is difficult for either to prove their Assertions. Thus much is certain, the Language spoken in *England* after the Conquest, was not exactly the same with what was used in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. However, the *Normans* can't be said to learn *English*, or the *English* to admit of *Norman*, but rather out of the two Languages was formed a third, which was neither one nor other, but partook of both. Nevertheless, all publick Acts were in *Norman* till *Edward the Third's* Time (1).

Remark on
the English
Tongue.

1081.
The King's
Partiality
for the
Normans.
Ingulph.
p. 86.

The King's Partiality to the *Normans* was so great, that he could not forbear showing it upon all occasions. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, gives us an Instance which deserves notice. He says, he appeared one day before the Council, where the King was present, to demand certain Lands belonging to his Monastery (2), then in possession of *Talboys* a *Norman*, who had settled there some Monks of his own Nation. The King, continues the Historian, examining the original Charter or Grant of the Abby-Lands, judged at first that the Demand was right and just. But *Talboys* alledging in his defence, that the Monks settled on these Lands were *Normans*, and hearty Friends to the King, whereas those of *Croyland* were *English*, this single Argument was sufficiently strong to induce the King to give sentence in favour of the *Normans*. Herein, he was biased by his natural Inclination and Interest. The former made him favour his own Nation, and the latter inclined him to put it as much as possible out of the power of the *English* to revolt.

Odo aspires
to the Pa-
pacy.

1082.
Ord. Vital.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

What has been hitherto said of the Oppressions of the *English*, suffices to show, they did not complain without cause. Perhaps their impatient Behaviour occasioned these Oppressions. But, be this as it will, 'tis certain they were extremely impoverished, whilst they beheld the *Normans* enriched by their Spoils. A single Instance will demonstrate how much they were pillaged by those who were most in favour with the King. *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his half-Brother, after an abode of fifteen or sixteen Years in *England*, thought himself rich enough to purchase the Papacy. To that end, he bought a stately Palace at *Rome*, where he designed to reside and convey all his Treasures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's Death to put his Design in execution. Mean time, as he was willing to conceal his Intentions, he took the opportunity to begin his Journey during the King his Brother's absence in *Normandy*, and went to the Isle of *Wight*, where his Ships lay ready for him. Contrary Winds preventing him from embarking so soon as he expected, he was forced to remain some time in the Isle. His Stay there broke all his measures. The King having intelligence of his Design, came over with all speed, and surprised him just as he was going to sail. He ordered him to be seized immediately. But finding Fear and Respect hindered his Officers from doing their Duty, he laid hands on him himself. In vain did the Prelate plead the Privileges of his Order. The King told him, he seized him not as Bishop, but as Earl of *Kent*,

The King
seizes him,
and confis-
cates his
Estate.

and commanded him to Prison, this Seizure was quickly followed with a Confiscation of all his Effects to the King's use, the Prelate being convicted of numberless Extortions and Rapines (3).

Nothing remarkable happening in the rest of this, and the next year, I shall proceed to the Occurrences of the Year 1084, in which we meet with the Death of Queen *Matilda* (4), and the King's Preparations against an Invasion he was threatened with. The *English* who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, persuaded King *Canute* that their Countrymen waited only for an Opportunity to throw off the *Norman* Yoke. The present Juncture seeming very favourable, he formed a Project to conquer *England*, to which he had some Pretensions, that being supported with Force, appeared very plausible. To this end he fitted out a Fleet (5), and levied Troops, whose Numbers plainly showed he had some great Design in hand. Those Preparations gave King *William* some uneasiness; the advices from *Denmark* putting it out of doubt that this Armament was designed against him. As he durst not confide in the *English*, he brought into the Kingdom a numerous Army of Foreigners (6), and laid upon his Subjects a Tax of Six Shillings upon every Hide of Land, which was three times as much as *Dane-gelt* used to be. Whether *Canute* was diverted from his purpose by the Preparations in *England*, or by some other unexpected Affairs (7), he gave it over without making any Attempt. The King, on his part, disbanded his Army (8); but the Money, levied for their pay, was not restored. On the contrary, he imposed a new Tax, on account of the Order of *Knighthood*, he intended to confer on *Henry* his youngest Son (9). The *Norman* Custom of making the Prince Presents, when he knighted any of his Sons, tended too much to the King's Benefit for him to neglect to introduce it into *England*, where it was never practised before (10).

1082.

1084.
Death of
the Queen.
Malmsh.
Hoved.
Ingulph.
King of
Denmark
about to in-
vade Eng-
land.
S. Dunelm.
Malmsh.

Fl. Wig.
Hoved.
Huntingd.

The State of
England.
Malmsh.

It was not difficult for the King to lay what Burthens he pleased on his Subjects, since he was sure to be obeyed in whatever he enjoined. The *Normans* took care not to oppose his Will, for fear of losing their Estates the same way they acquired them, I mean, by a bare Act of his good Pleasure; and the *English* were unable to throw off his oppressive Yoke. There was scarce a Lord of that Nation, but what was imprisoned or banished. If any still preserved their Liberty, they were watched so narrowly, that the least Opposition, or the least Suspicion given the King, was sufficient to ruin them. *Edgar Atheling*, who seemed the most formidable, subsisted entirely upon his Pension from the King. Besides, since his voluntary Submission to the Conqueror, he had forfeited the Hearts and Affection of the *English*, who looked upon him now with the utmost contempt. An Historian even assures us, he was in some measure stupid. And for proof alledges, that for a Horse presented him by the King, he remitted the Pension given him for his Livelihood. The ill State of his Affairs, and perhaps the Fear of falling a Sacrifice to the King's Suspicions, made him resolve to go into the East and bear Arms against the Infidels (11). The King readily giving him Leave, he set out attended with two hundred Knights, who having lost their Estates in *England*, were willing to seek their fortune elsewhere. Having spent two Years in the Eastern parts, where, 'tis pretended, he signalized himself by many brave Actions, he returned to *England*, regardless of the Estates and Honours offered him by the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

1085.

Edgar goes
into the
East.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.

Edgar's Departure freeing the King from all uneasiness on his account, every one imagined, that Monarch would for the future turn his thoughts to Peace, to which he was a Stranger almost from his very Birth. Besides, he

1086.

William
wars against
France.
Malmsh.

(1) Till the Thirty third of that King. As for Pleadings in *French*, they were in use only in the King's own Court (now called the King's Bench) or else in the *Exchequer*; but in interior Courts in the County, where far the greater part of the Law-Business of the Kingdom was dispatched, it was otherwise. The antientest Law-Books we have, viz. *Glancvil*, *Bracton*, and *Fleta*, are in *Latin*; the first we can find in *French* being *Bracton*, and *Herr's Mirror of Justice*, both which were written in the time of *Edward I*, when it became very much the Fashion to write, not only our Laws in *French*, but our very *Parliament-Rolls* of *Edward III*, and great part of *Richard III's* Reign in that Language. The Reason of which Mr. *Tyler* goes on to assign. p. cii. Introduction.

(2) The Cell of *Spalding*. *Ingulph*, p. 71, 86.
(3) *Odo* had engaged *Hugh* Earl of *Chesler*, with a great many Knights and other Persons of Quality, to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*. *Ord. Vital.* He was sent Prisoner to *Normandy*, and being set at Liberty after the Death of *William I*. went along with Duke *Robert* to *Jerusalem*, where he died at the Siege of *Antioch*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 212. *Malmsh.* p. 112.

(4) She died on the first of November, after a lingering Illness; and was buried in the Nunnery of the Holy Trinity near *Caen*, which she had founded. *Ord. Vital. Brompt.* p. 977. *Malmsh.* p. 111. See her *Epitaph* in *Sandsford*, p. 3, 4. out of *Orderic Vital.* p. 647.

(5) Consisting of above sixteen hundred Ships. *Malmsh.* p. 107.

(6) Of *French* and *Normans*, which he quartered all about *England*; and ordered the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Viscounts, &c. to find them in Provisions. He ordered at the same the maritime Places to be laid waste, that the Enemy, at their first landing, might find no Sustainance. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213. *Malmsh.* p. 107. *Brompt.* p. 978. *Ingulph.* p. 79, &c.

(7) He was detained by contrary Winds for near two years together. *Malmsh.* p. 107.

(8) He sent back part of the Army, and kept the rest with him all the Winter. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213.

(9) He was knighted in *Westminster* Week, at *Westminster*, where the King held his Court. Soon after King *William* ordered the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Viscounts, cum suis militibus, to attend him at *Salisbury*, on the first of August, where he made them all swear Fealty to him. And from thence went to the Isle of *Wight*, in order to pass into *Normandy*; and whilst he lay there, he extorted a great Sum of Money from his Subjects, not minding whether he did it right or wrong; and so he went into *Normandy*. *Sax. Ann.* *S. Dunelm.* p. 213. *Brompt.* p. 979, 980. *M. Paris*, &c.

(10) Among the antient Aids payable to the King from the immediate Tenants of the Crown (and likewise to inferior Lords from their immediate Tenants), were these three, namely, To make his eldest Son a Knight, to marry his eldest Daughter, and to ransom his Person when taken in War. It does not appear what Author *Rapin* follows in saying this Aid was levied by the Conqueror, to make his youngest Son a Knight, which was never practised. Neither is it mentioned in *Madox*, or other authentick Authors. See *Madox*, Ch. xv. *Hist. of the Exch.*

(11) Along with *Robert Earl Godwin's* Son. *Malmsh.* p. 103. His Sister *Cristina* was, before this, veiled a Nun in the Monastery of *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*. *Sax. Ann.* *S. Dunelm.* *Brompt.* &c.

1086. was grown so corpulent and unwieldy, that a quiet Life seemed absolutely necessary for him. But he was far from any such thought. All on a sudden he is seen to make extraordinary Preparations, which plainly shewed he was meditating some great Undertaking. *Philip*, King of *France*, easily guessed this Armament was designed against him. And indeed, quickly after, King *William* sets out for *Normandy*, in order to make fierce War with *France* (1). But *Philip* prevented the impending Storm, by offering Proposals, which were followed by a Truce. The King, whose Corpulency was extremely troublesome to him, taking this opportunity to go through a Course of Physick, a Jest of King *Philip* occasioned the breaking of the Truce. This Prince asking one that was come from *Roan*, Whether the King of England was delivered yet of his great Belly? King *William*, being informed of it, sent him word (2), as soon as he was up again, he would come and offer in the Church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, ten thousand Lances by way of Wax-lights (3). His Words were soon followed by Deeds; for marching in the very hottest time of the Summer (4), he ravaged *le Vexin* in a terrible manner, and then laid Siege to *Mantes*. He was so provoked, that after taking the City, he reduced it to ashes, without sparing the very Churches, in one of which two *Hermits* were burnt (5). The warmth of the Season, and the great Fire, which he stood very near to see his Orders executed, threw him into a Fever, which interrupted his Progress. This was attended with another accident, no less fatal to him. Whilst he was on the road in his return to *Roan*, leaping a Ditch on Horse-back, he so bruised the Rim of his Belly against the Pommel of the Saddle, that the Violence of the Blow very much increased his Fever. After this Accident, not being able to mount his Horse, he was carried in a Litter to *Roan*, where he grew worse and worse. As soon as he found he was near his End, he began seriously to reflect on all the past Actions of his Life, and view them in a different Light from what he had hitherto done. He ordered large Sums to be given to the Poor and the Churches, particularly for rebuilding those he had burnt at *Mantes*. He set at Liberty all the Prisoners, among whom were *Morcar* and *Ulnoth* (6). This last, Brother to King *Harold*, had been detained in Prison in *Normandy* from his Childhood when he was given in Hostage by Earl *Goodwin* to *Edward the Confessor*. It was much more difficult to obtain the like Favour of the King for the Bishop of *Bayeux* his Brother, because he had sworn never to release him. However, he was prevailed upon by the Importunities of the Bishop's Friends (7). His Distemper, which daily increased, leaving him no hopes of Recovery, he ordered his principal Officers to stand round his Bed, and notwithstanding his Weakness, made them a long Discourse, wherein he greatly extolled the Reputation he had gained by his warlike Actions. Nevertheless, he could not forbear owning, he had unjustly usurped the Crown of *England*, and was guilty of all the Blood spilt upon that occasion. Adding, as he would not presume to bequeath a Crown, which of Right did not belong to him, he left it to God's disposal: but if he might have his Wish, *William*, his second Son, should wear it after him. In his Will, which he made just before he died (8), he left *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, not so much out of Affection (9), as because he foresaw great Obstacles in the execution of his Will, should he have ordered it otherwise. *Henry* his third Son, had for his share an Annuity of five thousand Marks (10); with all his Mother's Effects (11); this was all his Portion. It is said, the young Prince complaining that he was so ill provided for, the King told him, by a prophetick Spirit, he should one day be King of *England*, and excell his Brothers in Glory and Riches. But one can hardly believe, God so intimately revealed himself to such a Prince as this (12).

Though the dying King left his Crown to God's disposal, he did all that lay in his power to procure it for his second Son. He wrote upon that subject to *Lanfranc* a very pressing Letter (13), which he ordered his Son *William*, even before his Death, to carry himself. No doubt, he thought that Prince would meet with too strong an Opposition in *England*, in case necessary Measures were not taken before-hand, to gain the Consent of the *Normans* and *English*. Having thus settled his Temporal Affairs, he caused himself to be removed to *Hermetrude*, a Village near *Roan*, that he might be more at Liberty to think of his Spiritual Concerns. Here this Prince ended his Days on the ninth of September, in the Sixty fourth Year of his Age, after a Reign of Fifty two Years in *Normandy*, and Twenty one in *England* (14). If some of his Historians are to be credited, he expressed on his Death-bed a hearty Sorrow for all the Injuries he had done the *English*. His Body was removed to *Caen* without any Ceremony, and deposited in the Abbey-Church, built by himself, where he had chosen to lie. *Robert*, his eldest Son, being then in *Germany*, and *William* in *England*, his youngest Son *Henry* took care of his Funeral. The Corps was but meanly attended for so great a Prince, his principal Officers having abandoned him before he expired, some to make their Court to *Robert*, others to *William* (15). An extraordinary Adventure rendered the Funeral of this Monarch very remarkable. Just as they were going to lay him in his Grave, [*Anselm Fitz-Arthur*] a *Norman* Gentleman, stands up and forbids the Burial in that Place, claiming the Ground as his Inheritance, and alledging, the deceased had built the Church upon it, without paying him for it. Whereupon, they were forced to stop, according to the Laws of the Country, in order to examine this Pretension; which proving well grounded, *Henry* was obliged to make the Gentleman Satisfaction (16), and then the Corps was interred (17).

Thus lived and died *William I.* surnamed the *Bastard* and *Conqueror*, if this last Title may be justly ascribed to him, which all Historians are not agreed in. They that maintain this Title perfectly suits with him, ground their Opinion upon his having no Right to the Crown, and the Severity of his Government, which was all along Arbitrary. Others affirm, his Election entirely cancelled his Right of Conquest. This uncertainty gives occasion to compare him to the Emperor *Augustus*, of whom it is said, that he came to the Empire neither by Conquest nor Usurpation, nor Inheritance, nor Election, but by a strange mixture of these Rights. However this be, or in what manner soever King *William* may be accused or justified upon this head, he kept Possession of the Throne, by such Politick Methods as are practised by the most able Princes, but which are seldom consonant to the Maxims of Justice and Equity.

This Prince's Character is variously drawn by the Historians, according to the different Faces, under which they were pleased to view him. Some considering him only as a Conqueror of a great Kingdom, extoll him to the skies for his Valour and Prudence, and slightly pass over the rest of his Actions. Others considering the same Conquest as a real Usurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the Means he made use of to preserve it, scruple not to represent him as a real Tyrant. It is certain, they may be all in the right, since there was in this Monarch a great mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was reckoned one of the wisest Princes of his time. Ever vigilant and active, he shewed as great Resolution in executing, as Boldness in forming his Designs. He saw Danger at a distance, and generally endeavoured to prevent it. But when that could not be done, no Man faced it with greater Intrepidity. On the other hand, his extreme covetous Temper, and Partiality to his Countrymen, led him to the commission of many things, which can hardly be justified.

(1) He would have been, long before, revenged of the King of *France*, for assisting his Son *Robert*, and exciting him to frequent Revolts; if he had not been afraid of a Civil War in *Normandy*, which might have been attended with another in *England*; both which would have found him more Work than he could well have dispatched. But at last, in the Year 1087, they came to Blows. *Robert* was the occasion of it; for he revolted again, and retired to the King of *France*, who furnished him with Troops, wherewith he ravaged *Normandy*. *W. Gemeticen*. l. 7. c. 43. *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 115.

(2) Swearing by the *Resurrection and Splendor of God*, his usual Oath. *Malmsh.* p. 112.

(3) Alluding to the Custom of lying-in Women in those Days, who were wont to offer lighted Candles at their Churching.

(4) In *August*. *Malmsh.* p. 112. *Sax. Ann.*

(5) The *English* Historians say two Nuns. *Huntingd.* p. 370. *Sax. Ann.* *S. Dunelm.* &c.

(6) And *Roger* and *Steward*, surnamed *Barn*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 213.

(7) Particularly of his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*. *Ord Vitalis*.

(8) And which is extant in *Ord. Vitalis*, as also among *Camdeni Anglica, Normannica*, &c.

(9) *Malmsh.* says, that he did it much against his Will, — *involuntus & coactus* — *Malmsh.* p. 112. *M. Wilm.* See *Ord Vitalis*.

(10) *Vitalis* says, he left him only 5000 Marks in Money.

(11) He had his Mother's Possessions, viz. the County of *Maine*, and Money and Jewels which amounted to a very great Sum. *Brompt.* p. 980. *Inq. p. 13.*

(12) *Malmsh.* p. 112. *M. Wilm.*

(13) He left part of his Treasure to some poor *English*, and to several Churches and Monasteries in *England*. *Brompt.* p. 980.

(14) *Epistolam de constituendo Rege Lect.* *Ord Vitalis*.

(15) He reigned twenty Years ten Months, and twenty six Days, reckoning from the Battle of *Hastings*. *R. de Diesto*, p. 488. *M. Wilm.*

(16) And the inferior Officers fell a plundering whatever stood in their way, so that the King's Corpse was left almost naked. *Ord Vitalis*.

(17) He paid him sixty Shillings for the Place where the Grave was, and promised to see him farther satisfied for the rest of the Ground. *Ord Vitalis*. *Malmsh.*

(18) *M. Paris*, p. 11. says, he paid him a hundred Pounds of Silver.

(19) *William Rufus* caused a most stately Monument to be erected for his Father, before the High-Altar of *St. Stephen's* Monastery, which was adorned with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. This stately Monument stood till the Year 1562, and then *Chastillon* taking the City of *Caen*, certain Soldiers opening it, and not finding the Treasure they expected, broke it to pieces, and threw about *William's* Bones; some whereof were afterwards brought into *England*. But the Monks in the Year 1642, in the Place thereof caused a plain Altar-Tomb to be built. See the Figure of it in *Sandford*, p. 7.

1087.

Malmsh.

Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

In his younger years, he was handsome and well proportioned. He had rather a stern and majestick, than a mild and taking countenance; however, he could sometimes put on such sweetness and gentleness in his looks, as were hardly to be refuted. We may guess his great strength and vigour from Historians assuring us, none but himself could bend his Bow. The same Historians are very much divided concerning his chastity. Some say, he was very much addicted to Women in his youth: Others tell us, his little inclination that way, gave occasion to call his manhood in question. Some affirm, after he was married, he never gave his Queen cause to be jealous. Others assure us, he kept for his mistress a Clergyman's daughter, whom *Matilda* ordered to be ham-stringed. Be this as it will, after he was on the throne of *England*, Hunting was observed to be his sole diversion. His household was perfectly well regulated; but his expenses were not answerable to his greatness and riches. Nevertheless, upon solemn occasions, he loved magnificence, and took a pleasure in appearing in all his grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crowned every year (1), at the three great feasts of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*, which he generally spent at *Gloucester*, *Winchester*, and *Westminster*. During these festivals he kept a splendid court, was much more easy of access and liberal of his favours. The great Men of the kingdom (2) were usually about him whilst these solemnities lasted; but one can hardly believe it was in order to hold a *Wittena-Gemot* or Parliament, as some do pretend (3). And indeed, there is no likelihood, that after depriving the *English* of their estates, he should leave them in possession of the greatest of their privileges. It is still less probable he would transfer this right to foreigners, since he was at liberty to grant them the *English* estates on what terms he pleased. Now it is certain, his temper was such, that he would never voluntarily render himself dependant on his own Subjects. However this be, if the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot* subsisted in his reign, it may at least be affirmed, its authority was very limited, and its nature very different from what it had been.

There are Historians who greatly commend this Prince's clemency, on account of his being very often satisfied with punishing the *English* rebels, by the confiscation of

their estates. It cannot be denied, what they say is true, with regard to persons of the first rank. Indeed, except *Earl Walthoff*, who was publicly beheaded, and *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham*, who was starved in prison, we don't find any of the principal *English* Lords put to death in this reign. But his clemency with respect to persons of a lower rank cannot be justly extolled. It is certain he punished great numbers with death, put out the eyes or cut off the hands of many others, and condemned multitudes to perpetual imprisonment for very slight crimes. All the Historians unanimously upbraid him with the death of *Earl Walthoff*, as an action the most heinous; since he beheaded him for what he had already pardoned. But this severity was in some measure balanced by his moderation to *Prince Edgar*, who had furnished him with sufficient pretences to sacrifice him to his jealousy. Perhaps, the little merit of this Prince was the sole motive of this moderation; since the King never considered him as a very formidable rival. However, I think he ought to be praised for his clemency in this respect, since the motive is unknown. How little formidable soever *Edgar* might be, with regard to his personal qualities, he can't be denied to be so on account of his birth. He was the only surviving Prince of the royal family of the *Saxons*, and as he served for a cloak to several insurrections, the King could not be entirely assured of him.

King *William* had by *Matilda*, daughter to the *Earl of Flanders*, four Sons and five Daughters. *Robert* was Duke of *Normandy*. *Richard* was killed by a Stag in the new Forest, or, as others say, by a distemper caught in hunting, of which he died in his Father's life-time (4). *William* mounted the throne of *England*, and was succeeded by *Henry* his Brother. *Cicely* his eldest daughter was Abbess of the Holy-Trinity at *Caen*. *Constance* was married to *Alan Fergeant* Duke of *Bretagne*. *Adela* was wife to *Stephen* Earl of *Blais*, and by him had a Son of the same name, whom we shall see King of *England*. *Adeliza*, promised to *Harold*, died young (5). *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* married the fifth, whose name was *Agatha* (6). She is said to remain a Virgin after marriage, and, being entirely devoted to the service of God, spent her days in the constant exercise of Prayer (7).

2. WILLIAM

(1) He wore his Crown; that is, kept his Court, or Great Councils then.

(2) The great Men of the whole Kingdom, namely, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Thanes, and Knights. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 112. Knighton, p. 2354.

(3) And yet this is what *Brady*, who was no great Friend to those Assemblies, thinks fit to own. The *Conqueror*, says he, commonly kept the *Easter* at *Winchester*, &c. as above, p. 178. Note (6), at which time were present in Court, all the temporal Nobility, Bishops, Abbots, &c. through all *England*; so that at those Festivals he could call a Great Council, or Synod, at a Day's warning, and at those times were commonly held the Great Councils for all publick Affairs. *Brady*, Vol. II. p. 214. Note (6). The same is also confirmed by the late learned Mr. *Madox*. At his Court, and more especially at some solemn times in the year, the King held his Great Councils, and ordinarily transacted such Affairs as were of great Importance, or required Pomp and Solemnity, according to the Custom of the Times. See p. 178. Note (6). The Baronage attending on his royal Person made a considerable part of his Court. They were his Homagers; they held their Baronies of him; he was their Sovereign or chief Lord, and they were his Men, as to Life, Limb, and earthly Honour. With them the King consulted in weighty Affairs, and did many solemn Acts in their presence, and with their concurrence. *Madox*, Hist. of the Exchequer. p. 2.---6. The Places at which King *William* is recording to have held his Court, are as follow: In the year 1069, at *York*. (Ord. Vitalis.) In 1072, at *Winchester*, at *Easter*; and the *Whitsuntide* following at *Windsor*. In 1074, at *Westminster*. (S. Dunelm. p. 209.) In 1084, at *Christmas*, he held it (de more) at *Gloucester*. In 1085, at *Winchester* at *Easter*; at *Whitsuntide* at *London*. (Huntingd. p. 370.) And at *Christmas* (de more) at *Gloucester*, for five days, where he was attended by his great Men; and the Clergy afterwards held a Synod for three days. (Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 979.) In 1086, at *Winchester* at *Easter*; and at *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann.) See *Madox's* Hist. of Excheq. p. 5, 6.

(4) *W. Malmsh.* p. 111, says, he was a very promising Youth. He was buried on the South-side of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*. His Epitaph is, *Hic jacet Ricardus Willi. Senioris Regis Fili. & Beorn. Dux. i. e. Duke of Bernay in Normandy*. See the Figure of his Tomb in *Sandford*, p. 8.

(5) *Rapin*, mislled by *Baker*, or other modern Authors, calls her *Margaret*, reckoning her the ninth, whereas she was the third daughter. See *W. Gemiteen*. p. 685, and *Sandford*, p. 10.

(6) *Agatha*, falsely called by *Rapin*, *Eleanor*, was the sixth daughter. She was affianced to *Alphonso*, but died in her Journey to *Spain*. Her Body being brought back into her native Country, was buried at *Bayeux*. *Sandford*, p. 12. The fifth was *Gundred* Countess of *Surrey*, married to *William Warren*, made Earl of *Surrey* by King *William Rufus*. She died in Childhood at *Castle-Acre* in *Norfolk*. 1085.

(7) I. The *Justiciarii Regis*, during the Reign of *William I* were; 1. *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*. 2. *William Fitz-Osbern*. 3. *Gosfrid* Bishop of *Cohtance*. *Madox's* Hist. Excheq. p. 743.

II. The most remarkable Occurrences not mentioned by Mr. *Rapin*, are these: 1. King *William* brought the *Jews* from *Roan* to inhabit in *England*. *Stow's* Chron. p. 103. 2. In his Reign, or much about that time, *Sirnames* came first to be used. 3. *Trial by Battail* was introduced into this Kingdom. 4. The *Normans* brought in a new way of creating *Knights*; and also the Use of *Seals* and *Wineffes* in all Deeds and Instruments. Before that time, or at least before the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the Persons concerned, only set down their Names, with a Cross before them. *Ingulph.* p. 70, 71. Lastly, the *Normans* brought in the shocking Vice of common Swearing.---In the Year 1066, there was an Earthquake in *England*; and a Frost from the beginning of *November*, till the middle of *April*. In 1077, Aug. 14, there was a very great Fire in *London*. Sax. Ann. And again in 1087, the greatest part of that City was burnt down (with *St. Paul's Cathedral*;) as were also most of the chief Towns in *England*. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 982. S. Dunelm. p. 213.



W. 2.

III. As the Translator intends to give a short account of the Coin in every Reign, he begins with observing, That, probably, the *Britons* never coined any Money, but in *Cæsar's* time used only *Iron Rings* and shapeless pieces of *Brass*, and that even their Tribute-Money afterwards was the ordinary current Coin brought in or minted here by the *Romans*, as long as this Island continued a Province. For among the many thousand *Roman* Coins, there was never one undoubted *British* Coin yet produced; those of *Cunobelin* be liable to unanswerable Objections. After the *Saxons* were settled in *England*, their Silver Coins were generally all of a size and ill-minted, which they called *Pennies*, worth about Three-pence of our Money. They had also *Half-Pennies* and *Farthings*, (as appears from the *Saxon Gospels*) and *Half-farthings*, called *Sticas*. Of which kind Bishop *Niculfon* takes those *Brass* Pieces to be that were found some Years since at *Rippon* in *Yorkshire*, and communicated by *Sir Edward Blacket* the Owner to several curious Antiquaries. After the *Norman Conquest*, a Pound of Gold being divided into twenty-four *Carats*, (or half Ounces) and every *Carat* into four Grains, the old *Sterling*, (as it was afterwards called) or *Right Standard of Gold*, consisted of twenty-three *Carats*, and three Grains and a half of fine Gold, and half a Grain of Alloy of Copper or Silver. Again; a Pound of Silver being divided into twelve Ounces, and every Ounce into twenty Penny-weights, and every Penny-weight into twenty-four Grains, a Pound weight of Old *Sterling* consisted then (as it does now) of eleven Ounces two Penny weights of fine Silver, and eighteen Penny-weights of Alloy. The first eight Kings after the Conquest continued to coin Money much like their *Saxon* Predecessors, only a little lighter; for of the *Saxon Pennies* there are some at this day that weigh more than a Penny-weight, whereas few of those of the *Norman* Kings reach twenty-two Grains till *Edward I*, when the *English Pennies* were to weigh a Penny-weight. The *Normans* also continued the like Method with the *Saxons* as to Inscriptions, having round the King's Head his Name and Title; which was very short, only *REX* or *REX ANGL.* and on the Reverse, the Name of the Monarch.

2. WILLIAM II. Surnamed RUFUS.

WILLIAM II.
1087.

Brompt.

Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
Ingulph.Eadmer.
Dunelm.
M. West.

Brompt.

S. Dunelm.
Hoved.William
crowned.
Eadmer.
Ord. Vital.

WHILST the Conqueror was taken up in Normandy with the thoughts of dying, William his Son was concerting in England all necessary measures to secure the crown, pursuant to his Father's intention. Dispatch was so much the more necessary on this occasion, as he had reason to fear, in case his Brother Robert could come in time, he would gain the people to his side. His business therefore was to secure, beforehand, the Normans to his interest, who being possessed of all the Fiefs and Places in the kingdom, were properly to dispose of the future election. However, the English were by no means to be neglected, lest joining to Robert's friends, they might turn the Scale to his side. Mean while, young William was beloved by neither. The English thought him too like the King his father, and the Normans, who knew him still better, dreaded his rough temper. On the other hand, Robert had birthright to plead in his favour; whereas William could support his pretensions only by his Father's bare desire of having him for successor. But this bare indication of his Will, without an express nomination, was very insufficient. Nay, in all likelihood it would never have produced the effect, the dying King promised himself, if, before the news of his death reached England, care had not been taken to dispose Men to a compliance. It was with this view, he sent over his Son with all speed (1), to endeavour, with Lanfranc, and some other Lords, to accomplish this project. Eudo High-Treasurer (2), and Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury were very serviceable to young William on this occasion. The first had secured Dover, Winchester, Pevensey, Hastings, and other places on the South-coast. Moreover, he delivered to him the late King's treasures, which amounted to sixty thousand pounds in money, besides plate and jewels of a much greater value. Lanfranc, who was esteemed and beloved as well by the English as Normans, used all his credit in his favour. His pains were crowned with so good success, that in a little time he drew to his party the leading Lords of both Nations. To these were added other means, which helped to incline people to William's side. It was rumoured among the English, that this Prince had made a firm resolution to govern in a very different manner from the King his father; that he would hearken to their just complaints, and abolish the too rigorous laws enacted since the revolution, particularly the laws relating to the Game. In short, it was promised in his name, that they should be restored to a part of their estates, and to their ancient privileges. On the other hand, the Normans were told, the best way to preserve their possessions, was to confirm the Conqueror's choice; that the young Prince, being placed on the throne, would be led by his own interest to support them, since his and their rights would stand on the same foundation, namely, the Will of the late King. Robert, being absent, had but few friends to speak for him. As it was uncertain how he would behave after his return, those that would have been inclined to favour him, did not dare to declare for him openly. They foresaw the ill consequences of such a proceeding, in case he should not think fit to support them. Besides, this party had no head. William had taken care to keep Uthoth and Morcar in prison (3), notwithstanding his Father's orders to the contrary, for fear they should head the English, whom he did not take for his friends. All these Circumstances well managed by Lanfranc and other adherents to Prince William, concurring to pave his way to the throne, he was

crown'd the 27th of September, eighteen days after his father's death (4). 1087.

This Prince, surnamed *Rufus* from being red-haired (5), ^{H. Charles} was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne. ^{1087.} Probably, he was indebted for his good fortune to Robert's disobliging the King his father, who never forgave his revolt. And indeed, the younger had nothing to give him the preference to the elder. The only good quality remarkable in him, was his great courage, which however was hardly to be distinguished from a brutish fierceness. He was of a very ill disposition, which being never corrected by education, frequently led him to actions unworthy of a Prince. Bred up to arms from his youth, and at a court, where he continually beheld instances of severity and absolute power, he became a perfect Brute in his behaviour and manners. To these ill qualities he joined a great indifferency for religion, and his whole conduct shewed him to be regardless of honour or honesty. He was as greedy of money as his father, but with this difference, the Father heaped up money purely for the sake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the Son loved it only to squander it away in vain expenses, wherein he was guided more by caprice than reason. However, in the beginning of his reign, as it was his interest to hide his inclinations for fear of alarming his subjects, he put on a mask for some time. It was even observed with pleasure, that he affected to be guided by the counsels of Lanfranc, who was universally esteemed and beloved. It was chiefly the respect he at first paid this ^{S. Dunelm.} wife Counsellor, that filled the English with hopes of a ^{Hoved.} happy change in their fortune, and prevented them from giving ear to the solicitations of those that would have engaged them in Robert's cause.

But whilst the confidence he placed in this Prelate ^{1088.} was serviceable to him, with regard to the English, it occasioned such troubles from another quarter, as shook him in his throne. Odo his Uncle, Bishop of Bayeux, who was lately released out of prison, could not bear to see Lanfranc in so great favour (6). He had harboured a secret animosity against the Archbishop, ever since his advising the King to seize him, as he was imbarcking for Rome. This private enmity, joined to a desire of ruling again as he had done formerly, threw him upon the project of dethroning the King, and setting the crown on the head of Robert, who was lately returned to Normandy. He did not want a pretence to countenance his enterprize. Robert's birthright furnished him with a very plausible one. As soon as he had taken this resolution, he drew into his Plot some of the principal Norman Lords. It was necessary to begin with them, since, without their aid, the English were able to do nothing. These Normans being gained with many others, by their means, it was not very difficult to persuade the English to join with them. As the greatest part were dispossessed of their estates, they expected some relief from the troubles that were going to be raised in the kingdom, by the dissention between the two Brothers. In order to confirm both English and Normans in their late resolution, Odo represented to them, there was no living happily under the government of a capricious and brutish Prince, without religion or honesty: That they had reason to dread the worst, if they gave him time to establish himself in the throne, and therefore, should they delay to take proper measures to screen themselves from the impending Evils, it would perhaps be too late, when they had a mind to undertake it.

Master and Place of Coinage. The Coins of the two first Williams were very rare, 'till a Nest of them was accidentally found at *Tesk* 1703-4. On their Coins they both appear in a Pearl Diadem with *Lobels* at each Ear, and an Arch cross the Head, consequently they are impossible to be distinguished. Mr. *Thoresby* indeed ascribes those with a full Face to the Conqueror, and those with the half Face and Scepter to *Rufus*. The Inscription on the Conqueror's Money is, WILLELM. WILLELM V. (mistaken by Dr. *Nicolsen* for WILLELM II.) or WILLELMVS. PILEM. PILEMVS. PILEMVS. (P. being the Saxon W) REX. A. ANGL. ANGLOR. or ANGLOR. Reverse, a Cross Fleuree with four Scepters quarterly, or a Cross with four Pellets in each Quarter, the Name of the Mint-Master and Place of Minting; as HEREFORD. LVNDEN. LOND. LVNDRE. LVNDR. for London; C. for Canterbury; EO or EOER for *Tesk*; LINCOLN. EXETER. LEYNC. for *Lancaster*; PINC. for *Winchester*; DEOTFORD. for *Thetford*. See the Coin in the foregoing Page, which hath on one Side PILEM REX ANGLOR. and on the Reverse GODICON LVNDNEN.

(1) He was attended by Robert Black his Father's Chaplain. Ord. Vitalis.
(2) He was the King's Steward. William de *Pont-Aube* gave him the Keys of the Treasury at *Winchester*: After which going to *Dover*, *Hastings*, *Pevensey*, and other Castles on that Coast, he made the Keepers promise not to deliver them without his Knowledge, still concealing the King's Death; which done he returned to *Winchester*, and discovered that the King was dead. *Hist. of Colchester-Abbey in Manuscript. Angl. P. 2. p. 389.*

(3) He brought them over with him, and put them in Prison at *Winchester*. S. Dunelm. p. 214.
(4) After his Coronation he went to *Winchester*, and distributed his Father's Treasure, according to his last Will, viz. to some of the chief Cathedral Churches and Monasteries ten Marks of Gold a-piece, to some six, and to other less, beside rich Crosses, Candlesticks, &c. and to smaller Churches in the Country five Shillings a-piece; he also sent a hundred Pound to each County to be distributed amongst the Poor. S. Dunelm. p. 214. Brompt. p. 983. Malmsb. p. 113. Sax. Ann. &c.

(5) Or from his red Complexion. Tyrrel, p. 73.

(6) He was come over to England, and had been confirmed in the possession of his Earldom of Kent. Malmsb. p. 120. M. Paris, p. 11.

1089. He added, Justice itself required the crown to be given to the first-born, to which he had a lawful right, and of which he had not deserved to be deprived. These considerations were strengthened with assurances of the uprightness and generosity of Robert. He set forth his mild and gracious disposition, which put them in hopes of enjoying, under his government, the tranquillity they so earnestly longed for.

Whether birth-right had any weight with these Lords, or William's ill temper made them wish for a new master, they readily came into the Prelate's measures. Each promised to do his utmost to promote the design, provided Robert would exert himself likewise, and bring over supplies from Normandy. The Norman Lords, who were in the conspiracy, bestirred themselves so effectually, that they quickly gained almost all the leading-men of their nation. As soon as the Bishop was secure of the assistance of his countrymen, whom he judged much more capable of serving Robert than the English, he sent that Prince word, that nothing was wanting but his presence, with a body of Norman troops, to recover the crown unjustly usurped by his Brother. As this news could not but be very agreeable to the Duke, he came immediately to a resolution upon so advantageous a proposal. But as he had not Money sufficient to defray the expences of so great an undertaking, he borrowed [three thousand pounds] of his Brother Henry, for which he mortgaged to him the country of Cotentin (1). Then he sent his Uncle word, he would not fail of coming to England, as soon as possible, desiring him to prepare every thing for the execution of their designs.

As soon as the Norman Lords were certified of Robert's resolution they began to stir (2). The Bishop of Constance, with his Nephew Mowbray (3), made themselves masters of Bath and Barklay Castle, and stored Bristol with ammunition, intending that place for their chief magazine. Roger Bigod in Norfolk, Hugh Grantmeil in Leicestershire, seized several places. Roger de Montgomery (4), William Bishop of Durham (5), Bernard of Newark (6), Roger Lacy, Ralph Mortimer secured Worcestershire. In a word, there was not a Lord among the conspirators but what fortified himself in some city. Had Robert arrived at that time, probably he would have dethroned his Brother. But his natural slothfulness, and unnecessary expences made him lose so fair an opportunity. On the contrary, the King, who was of a quite different temper, omitted nothing to stifle the conspiracy, whilst his Brother's indolence afforded him time. The most effectual means he made use of, was the gaining the English to his side, in which Lanfranc's interest was very serviceable to him. This prelate, who in the late reign had shewn great regard for the English, made use of their confidence in him, to induce them to assist the King in so urgent a necessity. By his solicitations and pains, he reclaimed the conspirators, and persuaded the rest to continue firm to the King (7). So that in a very short space William was enabled to send out a fleet, whilst with an army of Englishmen (8), he marched against Odo his Uncle, whom he justly considered as the Ring-leader of the rebels. The Prelate had fortified himself in Kent, where he had made himself master of Rochester and Pevensey. As soon as he heard of the King's approach, he shut himself up in Pevensey (9), where he was in hopes to hold out a siege, till the Duke of Normandy should come to his relief. But as he was more hot than courageous, and for want of fore-sight, had even neglected to provide things necessary for his defence, the town was taken in a few days (10) by the furious assaults of the King. Odo could obtain his pardon upon no other terms but the procuring the surrender of Rochester, where the chief of the Norman Lords were shut up, under the command of Eustace Earl of Boulogne. To this purpose he was conducted to the gates of Rochester, where he feigned to persuade the governor to deliver up the city. But Eustace observing by his looks, that he did not speak from his heart, detained him prisoner, and so furnished him with a plausible excuse for the breach of his promise.

William despairing of becoming master of Rochester the way, was obliged to besiege it. He was six weeks before the town without making any progress (11), the Bishop defending themselves with such bravery, that he began to lose all hopes of success. But at length a contagious distemper, which daily weakened them, compelled them to desire a capitulation. It was no easy matter to agree upon the terms. At length, after many debates, the King granted them the liberty to march off with their horses, without hopes of being ever restored to their estates and employments. The Bishop of Bayeux, being reduced to a very low condition, retired to the Duke of Normandy, who committed to him the administration of his affairs. The siege of Rochester had furnished the Duke with a fair opportunity to make a diversion in some other part of the kingdom. But by an inexcusable negligence, he lost the advantage of so favourable a juncture. Instead of going himself into England with forces proportionable to the greatness of his enterprise, he contented himself with sending a single Ship with some soldiers, who were all taken and drowned (12).

William being master of Rochester, marched his army towards Durham, to chastise the Bishop, who was one of the rebels. As the Garrison was very weak, the city was quickly obliged to surrender, and the Bishop with all that had taken arms against the King, were banished. Thus, this conspiracy, which seemed so dangerous, was crushed by the vigour and good conduct of the King, who equally made use of prudence and force to bring the Rebels to reason. He not only gained by his address Montgomery (13), but also several other Norman Lords, whose defection was very prejudicial to Robert's party. By his secret emissaries, he made them sensible, they were extremely in the wrong to act against him: That, seeing they held their Estates by virtue of the same right that procured him the crown, it was manifestly their interest to support him. On the other hand, he gave an instance of the greatest prudence in beginning with his Uncle's destruction, who was the author of the conspiracy. But his success on this occasion was chiefly owing to his diligence.

As the English had shewed themselves ready to assist him in his necessity, they expected a suitable reward. But it was not long before they perceived they flattered themselves with vain hopes. Whilst he wanted their assistance, he gave them fair words; but as soon as he saw himself well settled in the throne, he forgot his promises. He even began to oppress them with several impositions; in which he shewed still less moderation than the late King. He was gently admonished of these proceedings by Lanfranc, who could not forbear putting him in mind of what he had promised. How careful soever this Prelate might be to make use of the most respectful terms, William was extremely offended, and asked him in an angry tone and with an oath, *Whether he thought it possible for a King to keep all his Promises?* From that time the Archbishop was quite out of favour, neither did the King ever afford him one kind look. But his disgrace was of no long continuance. He died quickly after, lamented by both Nations, as one of the most worthy Prelates, promoted to the See of Canterbury ever since the conversion of the Saxons.

Whilst Lanfranc was alive and at court, the presence of so venerable a Man was some check to the King's vicious inclinations. But as soon as he was clear of this Prelate, who had an awe over him, he threw off all restraint. More especially he gave a loose to his natural desire of heaping up money in order to squander it away in a vain and extravagant manner. Avaricious without frugality, covetous and prodigal at the same time, continually scraping up money without ever filling his coffers, he was always in want, and under a necessity of inventing perpetually new ways and means of raising money. One of his methods, never before practised in England, was to seize the vacant benefices. He was not satisfied with having the First-Fruits, but appropriated the whole profits to himself for several years to-

(1) The County of Constantine (now Cotentin) was then the third part of Normandy.

(2) The Conspiracy was formed in Lent, and about Easter they began to stir. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 214.

(3) Geoffrey Bishop of Constance, (of Exeter, says Brompt. p. 984.) and Robert de Mowbray Earl of Northampton. Malmsh. p. 120. R. de Diceto, p. 489. M. Paris, p. 11.

(4) Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. Brady, p. 218. Note (b).

(5) Whom William II. had made Justicier. M. Paris, p. 11.

(6) Or rather of Newmarket. Brompt. p. 984. R. de Diceto, p. 489.

(7) He promised them that the King would make good Laws, abolish the Taxes, and give them free liberty of Hunting. Brompt. p. 120. Sax. Ann. &c.

(8) And Normans. R. de Diceto, p. 489.

(9) Which belonged to his Brother Robert Earl of Mortaigne. R. de Diceto, p. 489.

(10) It held out above six Weeks. Huntingd. p. 372. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 215. Seven Weeks, says Brompt. p. 120.

(11) This does not appear from any of the ancient Historians. It is probable Rapin hath confounded the account of the Siege of Pevensey with this.

(12) The Historians say, that he sent over part of his army, but King William's Fleet destroyed an innumerable multitude of his Men: Which shews Robert must have sent a considerable number of Troops. Brompt. p. 985. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 372. See Malmsh. p. 121.

(13) Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. Malmsh. p. 120.

1088. gether without filling them. And after conveying away every thing that was convertible into Money, he sold them so pilled to such as bid highest, without regarding their merit or capacity. As soon as the Archbishoprick of Canterbury was vacant by Lanfranc's death, he seized the temporalities, and kept them in his hands four years. He did the same with the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and all others that became void in his reign. This Prince's Historians, most part Monks or Ecclesiasticks, bitterly inveigh against him upon this account. They so frequently insist on this point, that there is no room to doubt, it was one of the principal motives which induced them to blacken his reputation to the utmost of their power. However this be, these proceedings occasioned loud clamours among the Clergy; but they were disregarded by the King. It was in vain they carried their complaints to the Pope. The Court of Rome, as matters then stood, durst not intermeddle in this affair. The Church was rent by a Schism, wherein England was yet unengaged. Besides, Urban II, to whom the English Clergy made application, was then projecting the recovery of the Holy-Land, in which enterprise he intended to engage all the Princes of Christendom. It was not possible therefore for the Pope, nor consistent with his interest, to fall upon William at such a juncture.

A Schism in the Church hinders the Pope from intermeddling.

1090. William has a Design upon Normandy.

Malmib. Hoved. S. Dunelm. Brompton. Ord. Vital.

He takes Valeri and Albemarle.

Robert implores aid from the King of France, who understood how to use cunning as well as force, found means to make Philip his friend (2), who retired without doing any thing, leaving Robert exposed, as before, to the insults of his Brother. By the King of France's retreat, the Duke's affairs were in a worse condition than ever, for relying on that aid, he had taken no other measures. William took from him several other places, and bribed certain Burghers of Roan, who promised to deliver the Metropolis of Normandy into his hands (3).

Plot to deliver up Roan. Ord. Vital.

Prince Henry joins his Brother Robert.

He saves Roan. Ord. Vital. p. 690.

1091. Peace between the King and Duke. Flor. Wig. Ord. Vital. Malmib. Sax. Ann.

This Monarch had reason to be satisfied with the possession of a Crown, which he had no right to expect. This single consideration, doubtless, ought to have bred in him so much regard for his Brother Robert, as might have helped to make him easy under the injury he had done him. But neither duty nor brotherly affection could balance in his mind the desire of becoming master of all his Father's dominions. He no sooner saw himself settled in the throne of England, but he formed a design to conquer Normandy. Perhaps, to his avidity was added the desire of being revenged for the Duke his Brother's attempt to dethrone him. Be this as it will, after making extraordinary preparations, the intent of which Robert never suspected, he made a descent in Normandy. He immediately became Master of St. Valeri, Albemarle, and some other Places, whilst Robert was unprovided of forces to oppose this invasion (1).

The pressing necessity the Duke was in of applying to a foreign power, obliged him to implore the protection of the King of France, who came in person to his assistance. But he reaped no great advantage from thence. William, who understood how to use cunning as well as force, found means to make Philip his friend (2), who retired without doing any thing, leaving Robert exposed, as before, to the insults of his Brother. By the King of France's retreat, the Duke's affairs were in a worse condition than ever, for relying on that aid, he had taken no other measures. William took from him several other places, and bribed certain Burghers of Roan, who promised to deliver the Metropolis of Normandy into his hands (3).

Mean time, Robert was in great Straits (4). He had no other refuge than the assistance of Henry his youngest Brother; but he had little reason to expect any favour from him. Henry was exasperated at the Duke's taking possession of Cotentin without paying what he owed him, and was preparing to do himself justice by force. Nevertheless, Robert's promise to make him satisfaction, as soon as the war was ended, disarmed him, and even engaged him in his quarrel. This aid came very seasonably, to free the Duke from his present danger. Henry hearing of the plot that was contrived at Roan, suddenly entered the city, and seizing Canon Chief of the conspirators, threw him headlong from a Tower. By this bold action, he quashed the conspiracy, which, had it taken effect, would have robbed the Duke of his Capital, and probably, of all his other dominions.

The union of the two Brothers, and the ill success of the Roan conspiracy, put a stop to William's progress, who, quickly after, was obliged to conclude a peace with the Duke. The articles of the treaty were, that Robert should deliver up to the King the country of Eu and towns of Fescamp and Cherburgh, with all the places he had taken on the coast of Normandy. William on his part, obliged himself to assist him in reducing the Province of Maine which had revolted, to restore to the Normans all their confiscated Estates in England, and to grant certain Fiefs to his Brother in the same kingdom. Lastly, it

was agreed, if either of the two Brothers died without heirs, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. This treaty was solemnly sworn to by twelve Barons on each side, and the Brothers seemed perfectly reconciled.

But if these two Princes were pleased, their younger Brother was not so. He was not only omitted in this treaty, but found Robert by no means disposed to keep his word with him. Incensed at this treatment, he thought he might lawfully right himself some other way, and, on a sudden, surprized Mount St. Michael. This unexpected blow startled Robert, who not caring to leave a place of that importance in the hands of his Brother, desired William's assistance to retake it. Though William had no concern in this affair, he readily accompanied Robert (5) to the siege, or rather Blockade of this place, situated on a rock, which the Sea, by flowing round it twice a day, renders inaccessible.

Whilst the two Brothers lay before Mount St. Michael, William, as he was riding alone at some distance from the camp, chanced to see two Horsemen (6) coming from the town. As he was of an impetuous temper, he rid up to them to try to take one of them prisoner, that he might be informed of the state of the place. The Soldiers, finding themselves attacked by a single person only, stood upon their defence, and in the first encounter his Horse was killed under him, and himself thrown on the ground with his foot intangled in the stirrup. This accident would have cost him his life, if, the moment one of the Soldiers was going to kill him, he had not cried out, *Hold, Rafael, I am the King of England*. Upon which, they were struck with fear and respect, and helping him up, gave him one of their Horses. He nimbly leaped into the Saddle, and then addressing himself to the person that dismounted him, *Come, said he to him, thou shalt be my Soldier for the future, and enjoy the reward of thy valour*.

Though the siege went on but slowly, Henry was driven to great straits for want of water. However, as he knew Robert's good nature, he did not despair of some relief, by representing to him, it would be more glorious to subdue him by arms than by thirst. Robert, who was naturally generous, sent him immediately a tun of wine (7), with leave to supply him with as much water as was necessary. William upbraided him as guilty of folly in this complaisance. *What, replied he, is the quarrel between us and our Brother of that importance, that we should desire he should die with thirst? We may have occasion for a Brother hereafter, but where shall we find another when we have destroyed this?* But William not at all pleased with this, as he thought, unseasonable generosity, quitted the siege and returned to England. However, Robert persisted, notwithstanding all difficulties, to carry on the siege, till the place was surrendered upon terms. Henry having liberty to go where he pleased, wandered up and down for some time without any fixed abode, attended only by a chaplain and three or four domesticks.

About the same time Robert banished Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and William forbid him ever returning into England. The cause of his disgrace is unknown; it is only said, he retired into Scotland, his only refuge in his misfortunes.

Whilst William was employed in Normandy, Malcolm King of Scotland took advantage of his absence, to make an incursion into Northumberland (8), from whence he had carried away a great booty. The northern people loudly complained of the King's amusing himself beyond Sea, whilst his frontiers were plundering by foreigners. These complaints apparently hastening his return, he was no sooner arrived (9), but he made great preparations to be revenged of the King of Scotland. But fearing his Brother Robert, who was become master of Mount St. Michael, would take advantage of his absence and seize his Castles in Normandy, he desired him to come and join him. He pretended, his valour and experience were absolutely necessary to put an honourable end to the war. But to engage him by a more powerful Motive, he promised as soon as the affair was over, he would punctually perform his part of their late treaty. Robert being prevailed upon by this promise, and the good opinion the King his Brother seemed to have of him, speedily repaired into England and attended him to Scotland.

The success of the war did not answer William's preparations. The greatest part of the fleet, fitted out to annoy the Coasts of Scotland, was destroyed by a

(1) Stephen of Albemarle, Son of Odo Earl of Champagne, at King William's charge, fortified and mann'd his Castle for him. Ord. Vital. p. 608.

(2) He bribed him with Money. Flor. Wig. p. 604. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 216.

(3) William came over to England, and kept his Court at Christmas at Westminster, grievously oppressing his Subjects with Taxes; and then at Candlemas went back to Normandy. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 216. Brompt. p. 980.

(4) King William was come over with a great Fleet, on purpose to deprive him entirely of Normandy. Ord. Vitalis.

(5) Malmib. says, that he was come over from England, (where he had probably been since the conclusion of the treaty) that he might, according to his engagement, help to reduce the inhabitants of Maine. Malmib. p. 121.

(6) Malmib. says, that he alone rushed upon many, p. 121.

(7) It doth not appear that he sent him either Wine or Water; but only that he ordered his Men to keep such a negligent Watch on one side, as that Henry's Men might have an opportunity to provide themselves with Water.

(8) He wasted a great part of it in May, but was beaten back by the Inhabitants. S. Dunelm. p. 216. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 987.

(9) He came over in August. S. Dunelm. Brompt. *ibid*.

1091. Storm (1), his army suffered no less in marching over the morasses and mountains. The want of provisions in those almost desolate places he was engaged in, and the roads, grown impassable by reason of the bad weather, visibly destroyed so many of his Men, that he often repented of this expedition. He would have been very hard put to it, by these accidents, had not *Malcolm* been apprehensive of the ill consequences of a war, that had drawn the enemy into his country. And therefore, chusing rather to oblige *William* to leave *Scotland* by fair means, than venture to drive them thence by force, he sent him proposals (2), which being gladly accepted, were soon followed by a treaty of peace. The conditions were, that *Malcolm* should pay *William* the same homage his Father had done: That twelve manors, held by him in *England* before the rupture, should be restored to him, and that *William* should pay him yearly twelve Marks (3) in lieu of all other claims. Prince *Edgar*, who was employed in this negotiation, behaving to the satisfaction of both parties, *William* and *Robert* received him into favour, and he had leave to return into *England*. The Duke of *Normandy* was in hopes the war being over, the King his Brother would seriously think of satisfying him. But perceiving at length he fought only to amuse him, he returned home (4) in great anger, taking Prince *Edgar* along with him.

A Peace is made.
Hoved.

Edgar restored to favour.
Brompt.
Hoved.

Glamorgan-shire conquered by the English.
Welsh
Chron.

Whilst *William* was in *Scotland*, *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, conquered *Glamorgan-shire* in *South-Wales*. He had served *Jestyn*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, against *Rees* King of *Wales*, on certain terms, which the *Welsh* Lord refused to execute, after the war was ended. This breach of Faith causing *Fitz-Hamon* to resolve to right himself by arms, he drew his friends together, attacked *Rees*, slew him in the fight, and seized his country. Twelve Knights, who accompanied him in his expedition, were rewarded each with a Manor which they and their posterity enjoyed (5).

1092.
Malmsh.
Ord. Vital.

William rebuilds Carlisle.
Sax. Ann.
Fl. Wig.
S. Dunelm.

The next year, Prince *Henry* took by surprize *Dorchester*, a small town in *Maine*, where he retired in expectation of a better fortune.

The frequent irruptions of the *Scots* into the northern parts of *England*, convincing the King of the necessity of stopping their progress by a strong Barrier, he ordered the City of *Carlisle* upon the *Tine* to be rebuilt. This City which had been destroyed by the *Danes*, and lain two hundred years in ruins, was peopled again, and endowed with great privileges which it enjoys to this day (6). The episcopal See of *Dorchester* was removed to *Lincoln*, and that of *Wells* to *Bath* about this time, with the King's consent, which was purchased with a large sum of money.

1093.
He falls ill.
S. Dunelm.
Eadmer.
Sax. Ann.

This monarch was become so absolute, that he met with no opposition to his will. Taxes and impositions were renewed every day on diverse pretences. Nothing happened but what the King made an occasion to levy money upon the Cities, Burroughs, private persons, without favouring the *Normans* any more than the *English*. None daring to oppose these oppressions, the people expected no other remedy for their evils, but the death of the King, which they heartily prayed for in private. A distemper, which seized him at *Gloucester* (7), gave them hopes their prayers were going to be heard. He himself thought he had not long to live. The approach of death, which to him seemed certain, and the exhortations of the Bishops about him, threw him into reflections, which were followed by some signs of repentance. He appeared firmly resolved to correct the mismanagements in the government, if it pleased God to restore him to his health. The Bishops improving these good motions, admonished him to fill the vacant benefices. They represented to him what an obstacle it was to his Salvation, to apply the Church's revenues to uses contrary to the intent of the Donors. The condition he was in, made him readily comply with whatever was desired. He nominated *Robert Bloet*, one of his counsellors, to the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, and for Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made choice of *Anselm*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, who was then at the *English* court. It was with great difficulty that *An-*

Scots signs of Repentance.
Eadmer.

Makes Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.
Huntingd.
Knighton.
Brompt.
Brady.

selm was prevailed upon to accept of this dignity. He was a zealous assertor of the rights of the Church, and as he knew *William* was not very scrupulous in these matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a burden, which to him seemed too weighty in such a reign. However, the persuasions of the Bishops, and seeming repentance of the King, brought him at length to a compliance. Before he was consecrated, he requested the King, to restore to the Church of *Canterbury* all that belonged to it in *Lanfranc's* time; which was positively promised. Mean time, *William*, finding he was out of danger, and perceiving he daily gathered strength, used delays, to avoid restoring the Church-Lands. At length, as the Archbishop pressed him continually upon that subject, he frankly declared his intent was, that the persons to whom he had granted the Lands should enjoy them, they and their posterity. He even told the Archbishop, he expected his consent. But *Anselm* would never be brought to this compliance, which he looked upon as a downright prevarication. Hence the great contest between the King and him, which occasioned a world of trouble to both.

In the mean time, *William*, whose repentance proceeded entirely from the fear of death, finding himself perfectly recovered, forgot all his promises, and fell to his former courses. The prisoners, commanded to be freed, were, by his order, more closely confined, and those that were set at liberty, were again thrown into prison. Extortion, injustice, and rapine, were as prevalent as ever. The administration of justice was in the hands of such as took more care to enrich themselves, than discharge the duties of their respective offices: All were poor, but those who had the fingering of the publick money. To be in favour with the King, it was necessary to be without honour or conscience. None but informers met with encouragement. These disorders forced many honest Men to resolve to quit the kingdom, and seek elsewhere that tranquillity they could not find in their native country. But even this liberty, which they imagined they could not be abridged of, was denied them by an edict, forbidding all persons to go out of the kingdom without the King's leave.

Whilst *England* was in this wretched condition, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to *Gloucester*, according to an agreement made with *William*, to settle some affairs that were left undetermined in the late treaty. As soon as the King had notice of his arrival, he sent him word, that he expected before all things, to receive his homage. *Malcolm* replied, he was ready to do it on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, according to custom. *William*, not satisfied with this answer, let him know further, he would have it done in *Gloucester*, the vassal not being to appoint where he was to do his homage. *Malcolm*, looking upon this as a pretence to affront him, returned home without seeing the King, provoked at the haughtiness shewn him. He was no sooner in *Scotland*, but he began his revenge with invading *Northumberland*. This was the fifth time he had ravaged that country, revenging on the innocent subjects the wrongs pretended to be received from the Sovereign. *Robert de Mowbray* was then governor of the northern Parts. He was a person of courage and conduct, and finding the King's forces were too remote, took upon him speedily to remedy the evil his government was afflicted with. He drew together a body of troops with such diligence, that he fell on the *Scots* when they thought themselves most secure. This unexpected attack throwing the *Scots* into disorder and confusion, they ran away without making scarce any resistance. *Malcolm* and *Edward* his eldest Son, vexed to see their flying troops, and endeavouring to rally them, were both slain on the spot. The *Scotch* Historians pretend the *English* owed their victory to a notorious treachery (8). Perhaps it was because the *Scots* suffered themselves to be surprized. However this be, this fatal battle was the occasion of numberless evils to *Scotland* shortly after. *Malcolm* had with him a General called *Walter*, to whom, in reward of his services, he had given the office of Steward

1093.

7. A. D. 1093.
Ord. Vital.
Sax. Ann.

King of Scotland comes to Gloucester.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
p. 218.
Brompt.
R. de Hag.
Fl. Wig.

Robert comes and invades Northumberland.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Is slain about 1093.
Hoved.
Brompt.
W. Giffart.
cen.
Malmsh.
Origin of the Norman Conquest.
Buch.

(1) A few days before Michaelmas. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

(2) This Peace was brought about by means of Duke Robert and Edgar Atheling. See S. Dunelm. p. 216. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

(3) Of Gold. S. Dunelm. ibid. Brompt.

(4) Two days before Christmas. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 217.

(5) There is a Book written on this Subject by Sir Edward Stradling, or Sir Edward Mansel, (for it is ascribed to both) wherein you have the Names of the twelve Knights. Their Names, and the Lordships each of them had, are as follows: 1. *William de Londres*, had for his Share the Manor of *Osney*. 2. *Sir Richard Granville*, that of *Neth*. 3. *Sir Pann Turl* had *Coyty*. 4. *Sir Robert St. Martin*, *Liban-blethyan*. 5. *Sir Richard Nyward*, *Talavan*. 6. *Sir Gilbert Hampreite*, *Penmark*. 7. *Sir Reginald de Sully*, *Sully*. 8. *Sir Roger Berkele*, *East-Onclard*. 9. *Sir Peter le Seor*, *Paton*. 10. *Sir John Fleming*, *St. George*. 11. *Sir John St. Jeon*, *Fomon*. 12. *Sir William Stradling*, *St. Demas*. See Hist. of Wales, and Camden's *Glamorgan-shire*.

(6) *Carlisle* (the *Luguballum*, or *Luguballa*, or *Luguballum* of the Britons and Romans, and the *Luel* of the Saxons) stands near the Confluence of the Rivers *Eden*, *Petteril*, and *Caulde*, and not on the *Tine*. The Colony sent thither by *William Rufus*, or *Huiandmen*, are by all Records said to be the first that tilled the Lands thereabouts.

(7) It seized him at the Manor of *Aboston* in *Gloucestershire*, from whence he was carried to *Gloucester*, where he lay sick all the Lent. S. Dunelm. p. 217, 218.

(8) *Boetius* and *Buchanan* say, that *Malcolm* having reduced the Castle of *Alnewick* to Extremity, the Besieged were forced to surrender, and only desired that the King in Person would receive the Keys of the Gates, which were brought by a Soldier upon the Top of a Lance, who standing within the Wall, thrust the Point of the Lance into the King's Eyes as he was going to take them. Upon which *Edward* his Son falling too rashly upon the enemy, received a Wound of which he soon after died. See Malmsh. p. 103.

1093, or great Master of his Household (1). From this Officer sprang the family of the *Stuarts*, who long sway'd the scepter of *Scotland*, and for a century that of *England* (2). Margaret, King *Malcolm's* Queen, and Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, survived the melancholy news of the death of her Husband and Son but three days. Though *Malcolm* left three other Sons of fit age to govern, the *Scots* placed the crown on the head of *Donald* his Brother. This Prince was no sooner on the throne, but he expelled all the *English* out of the kingdom. Among whom was *Edgar Atheling*, who taking with him the Sons of *Malcolm* his Nephews, retired into *England*.

The *Scots* delayed to take vengeance of their defeat only whilst they were employed in the coronation of their new King. Towards the end of the Summer, *Donald*, at the head of his army, made an irruption into *England*, where he cruelly revenged *Malcolm's* death. As soon as *William* had notice of it, he sent an army into the North under the command of *Duncan*, natural Son of the late King of *Scotland*. At the approach of these forces, *Donald* hastily retired into his kingdom; but was so closely pursued, that he could not avoid coming to a battle. As his army was much inferior to that of the *English*, he was defeated and forced to betake himself to one of the *Hebrides* (3). This misfortune throwing the *Scots* into great consternation, *Duncan* improved the juncture, and got himself crowned in the room of *Donald*.

About the same time, new troubles arising in *Wales*, the *English* army marched thither. This war proved fatal to the *Welsh*, who lost part of their country, with *Rees* their King slain in a battle (4).

The affairs of *Scotland* and *Wales* being ended to *William's* satisfaction, it was not long before he sought fresh occasions to exert his activity. *Robert* his Brother being displeased that their late treaty was not executed, was making preparations, which made *William* apprehensive, he designed to retake the places yielded to him by the same treaty. Therefore, without troubling himself to satisfy him, he resolved to lead an army into *Normandy* to secure his fortresses, and make new conquests. As he went to embark, he passed through *Hastings*, where he visited *Battle-Abby*, and caused the Church to be consecrated, which was dedicated to *St. Martin*, as the King his Father had ordered. Upon his arrival in *Normandy* (5), he wanted to hold a conference with his Brother, wherein he endeavoured to amuse him with fresh promises. This interview proving ineffectual, they agreed upon a second, in the presence of the twenty-four Barons, who had sworn to the treaty. *William's* sole aim was to intimidate these Barons, that they might lay the fault on his Brother. But finding that, instead of blaming *Robert*, they openly declared in his favour, he broke off the conference and began Hostilities. He immediately became master of some places, the Governors whereof he had brib'd. But afterwards, *Robert* receiving assistance from *France*, retook *Argentan*, and made the garrison, consisting of eight hundred Men, prisoners. After that, he besieged the Castle of *Holms*, which surrendered at discretion. These Successes made *William* sensible, he should find it difficult to be clear of this war without loss, if the *French* troops continued in his Brother's service. Having learnt by experience that *Philip* was not proof against presents, he resolved to try the same way that had formerly succeeded so well. But after the excessive taxes laid on the kingdom, it seemed impracticable to raise the sum he then wanted. However, as he had a fertile invention on these occasions, he bethought himself of a new expedient which succeeded to his wish. Under pretence that there was an urgent occasion for Supplies, he sent orders into *England* to levy with all possible speed twenty thousand Men. In raising this army, such were purposely taken for Soldiers as were well to pass, or to whom it was very inconvenient to leave their Families. When these levies were going to embark, the King's Treasurer told them, by his order, that they might every Man repair to his own Home upon the payment of Ten Shillings each (6).

Robert assisted by the French.

S. Dunelm.

Who are bribed by William.

This news was so acceptable to these Soldiers lifted against their wills, that there was not one but what was glad to be dismissed at so easy a rate. By this means *William* raised the Sum of ten thousand Pounds Sterling, with which he brib'd the *French* to retire, who were an obstacle in his way.

The departure of the auxiliaries put *Robert's* affairs in a very bad state. Probably, it would have occasioned the loss of all his dominions, if the King had not been obliged to return into *England* to quell the *Welsh* who were ravaging *Shropshire* and *Chester*. Never could a diversion come more unseasonably, since it made him lose the conquest of *Normandy*, which he now thought infallible. He left *Normandy* therefore with extreme indignation, after a reconciliation with his Brother *Henry*, who cross'd the Seas with him.

At his arrival in *England*, he march'd into *Wales*, where he rebuilt the Castle of *Montgomery* that had been demolished. At his approach, the *Welsh*, according to custom, retired to the Mountains, where it was impossible to reach them. As that difficult country was unknown to him, he lost so many of his Men in obstinately pursuing the enemy in their lurking holes, that he was at last compelled to retire without doing them much damage.

In spite of the difficulties he had struggled with in this expedition, he resolved upon a second, the same year, after strengthening his army with new levies. But he was scarce entered *Wales*, when he was called off from his enterprise, by affairs of greater importance, which more nearly concerned him.

Robert de Mowbray had done the King signal service by his victory over the *Scots*. Blown up with his happy success, he imagined *William* could not sufficiently reward so important a service, that had freed him from a very troublesome neighbour. But the King, who had no generosity in him, expressed so little gratitude, that the Earl's haughty spirit led him to devise means to make him repent of this contempt. Nothing less would satisfy his revenge than the dethroning of *William* and setting the crown on the head of *Stephen*, Earl of *Albemarle*, Nephew to *William the Conqueror*. He drew into this conspiracy a great number of Lords, who, as well as he, were dissatisfied with the harsh and scornful behaviour of the King. *William* received the first news of this conspiracy as he was marching into *Wales*. But this war seeming to him of little importance in comparison of the gathering storm, he altered his course (7), and marched with all speed to the North. His design was to crush the head of the Malecontents, before the rest could join him. The conspirators foreseeing he would march that way, laid an ambush for him, which he would have certainly fallen into, if *Gilbert de Tunbridge* (8), one of the rebels, had not given him notice of it. This stratagem failing, *William* continued his march, and besieged the Castle of *Bamborough* where *Mowbray* was (9). This place, which was strong and well stored with necessities, holding out longer than was expected, he resolved to change the siege into a Blockade, that he might go in quest of the other conspirators, who were now up in arms. To this purpose he built near *Bamborough* a Fortress which he called *Mal-Voisin*, [or *Bad-Neighbour*,] because it took away all possibility of throwing any succours into the Castle. Some time after, *Mowbray* going out upon a false information (10), had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Besiegers. As soon as the King heard of it, he ordered the Prisoner to be carried to the foot of *Bamborough-Walls*, and, in case the Besieged refused to surrender, to have his eyes put out before their faces. This order produced the expected effect, the Castle was surrendered upon Terms, and *Mowbray* confined in *Windfor-Castle*, where he remained a prisoner thirty years. His companions in the revolt met with no better treatment. *Roger Lacy* was dispossessed of all his Lands (11). *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* redeemed his life with the sum of three thousand pounds

Mowbray's Revolt. Malmib. Hoved. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

The King had like to fall into an Ambush. Ord. Vital.

He besieges Bamborough

and builds Mal-Voisin. Hunt. Hoved.

Mowbray taken and imprisoned. Brady.

His Accomplishes are all punished. Malmib. Sax. Ann.

(1) This Magistrate (says *Buchanan*) was to gather in all the King's Revenues; also he had a Jurisdiction, such as the Sheriffs of Counties have, and he is the same with that which our Ancestors called a *Thane*. p. 217.

(2) *C Camden* says, *Malcolm* made *Walter* Steward of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that he was Son to *Flean* by *Nesla* Daughter to *Griffith ap Lievelin* Prince of *North-Wales*. *Flean* was the Son of *Banquo*, slain by *Macbeth*.

(3) A Cluster of Isles called by the Inhabitants *Inch-Gall*, who retain the Manners, Customs, and Habit of the ancient *Scots*, and speak the *Irish* Language. They are commonly thought to be forty-four in Number, though they that have travelled them, reckon them to be about three hundred. They are called by the *English*, *The Western Isles*.

(4) From this time there were no more Princes in *South-Wales*, but the Kings of *England* were accounted their chief Governors.

(5) He came there about the middle of Lent. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 219.

(6) *Simon of Durham*, and the rest of the Historians say, That *Ranulf Flambard*, the Treasurer, took from them the Money that had been paid them for their Maintenance. S. Dunelm. p. 220. M. Paris, p. 14. Sax. Ann. See *Henry Spelman* supposes they were raised not by the way we call *Præsumpt*, but through the King's earnest Solicitations; and that the Money the King took from them, was what the County had allowed them for their Submission. *Spelman* Codex. p. 296.

(7) And in the mean time sent his Brother *Henry* into *Normandy*, with a large Sum of Money, to harass that Country, *Hasted*. p. 375. Sax. Ann.

(8) *Rapin* by mistake calls him *William*. See *Ord. Vital*. p. 704.

(9) He besieged *Newcastle* first. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 991, &c.

(10) *Sam. Durham* says, some Soldiers belonging to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* promised to give him entrance into the Town, if he would come thither privately with a few Followers. Upon which he went out one Night with thirty Soldiers, but being betrayed by his own Men, was pursued and taken by the Garrison of *Mal-Voisin*. p. 221.

(11) Which were given to his Brother *Hugh*, who adhered to the King. *Ord. Vital*. p. 704.

1095.

Sterling. The Count of *Eu* chusing to vindicate his innocence in single combat against his accuser, and being overcome, was condemned to lose his eyes, and be castrated. *William of Ardes* accused of the same crime, was sentenced to be hanged, though he protested his innocence with his last breath. All the rest were condemned to divers punishments, not one escaping.

Quarrel between the King and Anselm. Dunelm. Hunt. Hoved. Edmer. Malmib.

The King was no sooner out of this trouble, but he fell into another, occasioned by the renewal of his differences with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He had no great regard to the Church's immunities, which *Anselm* too haughtily supported. This Prelate had even presumed to acknowledge *Urban II.* for lawful Pope, though he very well knew the King was rather inclined to *Clement* his antagonist. In vain was it represented to him, that by a Law made in the late reign, no person was to acknowledge a Pope without the King's consent. This argument was of no force with him, who pretended the King had no right to meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs. But upon what ground did he himself pretend to determine for the whole Church of *England*? The King, for his part, was not willing to give way to his Subject, and as he began to treat him a little roughly, *Anselm* desired leave to go to *Rome*. *William* at first denied him, but at length consented, being glad to be clear of him. However, not to let him depart without further marks of his displeasure, he sent an Officer after him, who overtaking him just as he was going to sail, ransacked his baggage, and took away all the money he could find, pretending it was against the Law to carry the Coin out of the kingdom. After *Anselm's* departure, the King seized the temporalities of the Archbishoprick, and enjoyed them as long as he lived. This Prelate continued some time at *Rome*, where he did all that lay in his power to stir up the Pope against the King. But at length, finding *Urban* did not care to engage in his quarrel, he retired to a Monastery at *Lyons*, where he remained till *William's* death.

M. Paris.

Urban II. was then going to discover the grand design which he had been long revolving in his mind. I mean the famous *Crusade*, undertaken for the recovery of the *Holy Land* out of the hands of the *Saracens* (1). This great affair is so well known, that there is no occasion to descend to particulars. It will be sufficient to remind the Reader, that *Peter the Hermite* first set this project on foot; that Pope *Urban II.* preached it himself at the council of *Clermont*; and that numberless persons of all nations and ranks in *Europe*, zealously embarked in it. The badge of those that engaged in this undertaking, was a *Red Cross* wrought in their habit, and worn on the right shoulder, from whence they were called the *Croisfés* [or the *Crossed*,] and the expedition, the *Crusade*. Their Motto was, *It is God's Will*. The heads of the *Croisfés* were, *Hugh of France* (2), *Godfrey of Bouillon*, *Raimund of Tholouse* Count of *St. Giles*, *Robert Earl of Flanders*, *Baldwin Earl of Haynault*, *Bohemond Prince of Tarentum*, *Tancred* his Nephew, and *Robert Duke of Normandy* (3). This last burned with a desire of distinguishing himself in this war, which made so much noise in the world: But money was wanting to defray the necessary charge. The only means he had to supply this want, was to borrow a sum of the King his Brother (4), and give him *Normandy* for his security (5). *William* gladly received the proposal. But as his kingdom was exhausted by the great levies of money already raised, he was forced to recur to new methods. The readiest way, as he thought, was to desire the richest of his Subjects, particularly the Nobility and Clergy, to furnish him with the sum required. His request being equivalent to a command, such as were unwilling to comply were forced to it, without respect of persons. This compulsion gave the Lords a pretence to treat their Vassals in the same manner, and oblige them to contribute to the King's wants. Several Ecclesiasticks not having by them what was demanded, were, or pretended to be, under a necessity of melting down the Church-Plate, and even the *Shrines* of the Saints (6).

Robert mortgages Normandy to the King his Brother. S. Dunelm. Hoved. Brompt. W. Gemit.

Malmib. S. Dunelm. Edm.

The different Tempers of the two Brothers.

Let us here reflect a moment, on the different temper of these two Sons of *William the Conqueror*. The first makes a conscience of oppressing his Subjects to supply

the charges of an expedition approved by all the world, chusing rather to mortgage his dukedom than raise the money upon them. The other makes no scruple to extort money from his people, to acquire a Good, of no advantage to them, but purely to gratify his ambition. Hence we may judge how great an injury the Conqueror did the *English* in preferring the younger to the elder Brother.

William's conquest of France. Ord. Vital.

As soon as *Robert* was gone, *William* taking possession of *Normandy* (7), demanded of the King of *France* the *French Vexin* (8), which he pretended belonged to the dukedom. This pretension occasioned a war, which, having nothing remarkable in it, ended the next year in a treaty of peace.

The great ease wherewith *William* had lately acquired *Normandy*, served only to inflame his desire and set him upon the conquest of *Wales*. To that end, he made, on some other pretence, extraordinary preparations, imagining he could not fail of success, as he hoped to surprize the *Welsh*. He resolved to extirpate all the Males of that nation, whose neighbourhood had all along been very troublesome to the *English*. But the honour of this conquest was not reserved for him. Though by the assistance of some deserters, he penetrated a good way into that difficult country (9), he lost more of his own Men than he destroyed of the enemies. So that he was forced once more to desist from this undertaking, without doing any thing considerable.

1097.

His Wars with the Welsh. Brompt. Hoved. Hunt. Sax. Ann.

Shortly after, a new revolution in *Scotland* made him resolve to send an army thither under the command of *Edgar Atheling*. *Donald*, who was driven out of *Scotland*, finding means to re-enter, compelled *Duncan* to leave the kingdom, and established himself in the throne. The greatest part of the *English* Historians pretend, that *William*, as Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, made himself judge of this difference. They add, that doing *Edgar*, eldest Son to *Malcolm Canmore*, the justice due to him, he ordered his troops to march into *Scotland*, and put that Prince in possession of the crown. However this be, without staying to examine the matter, I shall only say, *Edgar Atheling* by help of the *English* army, placed young *Edgar* his nephew on the throne of his ancestors. *William* could not undertake this expedition in person, the revolt of the province of *Maine* obliging him to go thither (10) and lay siege to the Capital.

1098.

The Affairs of Scotland. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Buchanan.

During the King's absence, *Wales* was again exposed to the insults of the *English*, or rather *Normans*, who began to be confounded with the *English*. *Owen*, a *Welsh* Lord, Father-in-law of *Griffith* and *Cadogan* (11), Kings of *Wales*, having been disoblged by his Sons-in-law, privately invited the Earls of *Chester* and *Shrewsbury* into his country, promising them a great booty. The two Earls levying some troops, were received by *Owen* into *Wales*, where they committed unspeakable cruelties. The two Kings surprized by this unexpected attack, were forced to fly into *Ireland*, and leave the country to the mercy of the *English*. Their flight giving their enemies an opportunity to continue their march, they penetrated as far as the Isle of *Anglesey*, where they destroyed all with fire and sword. Whilst they were exercising their cruelties, *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who had lately made himself master of the Isle of *Man*, advanced as far as *Anglesey*. As he offered to land, the *English* endeavoured to hinder him, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (12) was slain in the skirmish. His death was looked upon as a just judgment for the horrid barbarities committed by him in the Isle. This accident causing some disorder among the *English* troops, they were constrained to abandon the shore. *Magnus* landing in the Island, and finding the *English* had left nothing to plunder, re-imbarked, and the *English* retired laden with spoil.

The English invade

Wales. Chron. Gal. Sax. Ann. Hoved. Malmib.

The King of

Norway attacks Anglesey. Pol. Virg. Hoved. Brompt. Du Chesn.

These little advantages were not capable of balancing the evils the *English* suffered this same year. Besides a great scarcity, occasioned by bad weather, which lasted several months, the King laid heavy taxes upon them, so much the more grievous, as the money was to be expended in works that were unnecessary, or at least might have been deferred to some other time. He not only rebuilt *London-Bridge*, which had been carried away by an unusual Flood, but chose this time of scarcity for other

William re-

pairs London-Bridge, builds Westminster-Hall, and a Mill round the Tower. Sax. Ann.

(1) For a full account of it, see *M. Paris*, p. 19---44. *Malmib.* p. 130, &c.

(2) *Hugh Magnus*, Count of *Vermandois*, *Valois*, *Chauvent*, *Amiens*, Brother to *Philip I.* King of *France*.

(3) The chief Head of the *Crusade* was *Adhemar* Bishop of *Puy* in *France*. *Fleury's Eccl. Hist.*

(4) Ten thousand Marks of Silver. *S. Dunelm.* p. 222.

(5) For three years. *Edmer.* p. 35.

(6) He took at that time four Shillings upon every Hide of Land; from which the Ecclesiasticks themselves were not exempted. See *Lives of the Confessors*, c. 11.

(7) He took possession of it before *Robert* set out, in September. *S. Dunelm.* p. 222. *Brompt.* 993. *R. de Diceto.* p. 493. *Robert* wintered in *Apulia*, *Sax. Ann.*

(8) The *Norman Vexin* is seated between the River *Andelle* and the River *Epte*. The *French Vexin* lies between the *Epte* and the *Oise*.

(9) He continued there till Midsummer, and ordered Castles to be built upon the Frontiers. *Sax. Ann.*

(10) About the middle of November. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd.* p. 377.

(11) He was Father-in-law to *Griffith*, and Uncle to *Cadogan*, having married his Aunt *Emeryth*, the Daughter of *Conan*. See *Hist. of Wales*, p. 117.

(12) *Hugh de Montgomery*, youngest Son to *Roger de Montgomery*, Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*. *Dugdale's Barons*, vol. 1. p. 28. The *Welsh* call him *Hugh Goch*, i. e. the Red-headed.

1089.

Huntingd.

Works, which required vast sums of money. He raised a new wall round the Tower, and built a great Hall at *Westminster* two hundred and seventy foot long, and seventy broad (1). How spacious soever this Hall was, *William*, at his return from *Normandy*, thought it too little, and said it hardly deserved to be called a Bed-chamber, in comparison of the extent he designed it. It is affirmed, he undertook this building purely to raise money, and for the same reason resolved to pull it down and build it larger, but was prevented by other affairs.

1099.

William re-
turns Mans.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.
M. Paris.
W. Gemit.
Huntingd.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
&c.

About Midsummer the next year, *William*, as he was hunting in *New Forest*, was told by a messenger that *Helias Count de la Fleſche*, had surprized and taken the city of *Mans*, and was then besieging the castle, which would soon be forced to surrender, if not timely relieved. This news obliging him to break off his sport, he sent the messenger back that instant, ordering him to tell the Besieged he would be with them in eight days. At the same time, he turned his Horse's head towards the Sea-side, crying out, *He that loves me, follow me*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* that very day, where he would have embarked immediately: But the wind was so contrary, that the master of the Ship represented to him, he could not put to Sea without manifest danger. *Tush*, replied the King, *set forward, thou never yet heardest of a King that was drowned*: And compelling him to sail, he safely arrived at *Barſleur*. On the morrow he sent for the troops he had in *Normandy*, to attend him on the road to *Mans*, and in a few days marched to the relief of the Besieged. By this extreme diligence, he surprized the Besiegers in such a manner, that he not only relieved the castle, but took the Count of *Fleſche* prisoner. Exulting at his success, he could not forbear jesting on the misfortune of his enemy. But the Count, far from being cast down at what had happened, fiercely replied, *He had no reason to glory in an advantage which he had gained by surprize*, adding, *were he at liberty again, he would let him see, it would not be so easy a matter to vanquish him another time*. The victorious King, piqued with these bold words, set his prisoner free upon the spot, telling him, *He desired no return, but exhorted him to do his worst*. After this, returning to *England* (2) with the same expedition, he went and pursued his diversion, which this affair had interrupted.

Jerusalem
taken.
M. Paris.
Malmsh.
M. West.

The same year the *Croisſes* took *Jerusalem* by storm, and put forty thousand *Saracens* to the sword. When they came to elect a King to govern the country conquered upon the Infidels, the majority of the Leaders of the Christian army gave their votes for *Robert Duke of Normandy*. But this Prince, for reasons unknown, refused this dignity (3). Whereupon, the famous *Godfrey of Bouillon* was chosen, who by his valour and conduct, had greatly contributed to the success of that expedition.

1100.
Earl of
Poitiers
mortgaged
his Dominions
to the
King.
Malmsh.
Ord. Vital.

Fortune seemed to take a pleasure in heaping favours on *William*. After having acquired the possession of *Normandy* by a happy chance, which he had no room to expect, an opportunity was put into his hands of becoming also master of the Dutchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Poitou*. *William Earl of Poitiers*, animated by the example of so many Princes engaged in the holy war, resolved to join them, and lead a powerful reinforcement to the *Croisſes*. As this design could not be executed without great expence, he applied to the King of *England* for the sum he wanted, offering to mortgage his dominions (4) for his security. *William* readily closing with so advantageous a proposal, speedily raised the Money. He designed to carry it himself to the Earl, that he might at the same time take possession of his dominions, consisting of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, two of the richest provinces of *France*. Whilst he was preparing for his voyage, he had a mind to take the diversion of hunting in *New-Forest*, where an unforeseen death put an end to all his projects.

It is said, as the King was going to mount his horse, he was told a certain Monk had dreamt a dream which portended some great misfortune to him. As he gave but little heed to such presages, he answered jestingly, he plainly saw the Monk wanted money, so ordered him a hundred shillings; but however sent him word, to dream better dreams for the future (5). Whether this is to be considered as an omen, or the pure effect of chance, it was that very day fulfilled. Towards the evening *William* having wounded a Stag, was pursuing him full speed, when *Walter Tyrrel*, a French Knight (6), shooting at the same Stag, pierced the King through the heart, upon which he fell down dead without speaking a word (7). The murderer, though he knew his own innocence, fled for it however, without any body endeavouring to seize him. Every one was busy about the King, whose body was laid in a Cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to *Winchester*, where it was buried the next day. *Henry* his Brother, fearing the measures he had taken to secure the crown might be retarded, dispatched the funeral as soon as possible, which was celebrated without much ceremony, no one lamenting the loss of a Prince so little beloved.

1100.
William
killed by ac-
cident, a Te-
rrence Lanning.
Hoved
Malmsh.
Knighton.
Brompton.

Thus fell *William Rufus* on the second of August of the year 1100, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. His tragical death, in the very place where his Brother and Nephew (8) perished by no less extraordinary accidents, gave occasion for many reflections. It was publicly said, that God was pleased to take vengeance upon the Conqueror's family, for his destroying and laying waste the country in so prodigious a manner to make the *New-Forest*. But there is no need to have recourse to the Father's faults; enough might be found in the Son, not to wonder at his perishing by an uncommon death. Accordingly Historians, without hesitation, rank *William Rufus* among those Princes who are no great ornament to the throne of *England*.

Character of
William
Rufus.
S. Dunelm.
Brompton.

This Prince had all the vices of his Father without his virtues. *William I.* balanced his faults, by a religious outside, a great chastity, and a commendable temperance. But by the description given of his Son by Historians, it appears, he was neither religious, nor chaste, nor temperate. He was profuse to his favourites and soldiers, and magnificent in his buildings and cloaths. It is said, his Valet bringing him one day a new pair of breeches which cost but three shillings, he fell into a passion (9), and ordered him never to bring him any but what cost at least a Mark. It is added, he was contented with a pair not worth so much, being valued to him at a Mark. If we may believe those who have writ his Life, he had neither honour nor conscience, nor faith, nor religion, and that he took a pride in appearing as such. It is related that one day [fifty English] Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the King's deer (10), having passed through the trial of the *Fire Ordeal* untouched, he swore, *He could not believe God was a just Judge, since he protected such sort of people*. *Eadmer*, who lived in his time, says, the King took money of the *Jews* at *Roan*, to compel such as were baptized to return to *Judaism* (11). *Malmſbury* adds, *William* ordered some Bishops and Rabbies to meet together and dispute in his presence upon religion, promising the Rabbies he would be circumcised, if their arguments seemed to him stronger than those of the Christians. Indeed, the Historian says, it is to be supposed this promise was only in merriment. He is charged with denying a providence, and openly maintaining that prayers addressed to Saints were vain and impertinent.

Malmsh.

Eadmer.

p. 123.

But to judge impartially of the testimony of these Historians, who were all either Monks or Ecclesiastics, it must be considered they may very possibly have drawn

Remarks on
the Historians
who have
given us the
Character of
Rufus.

- (1) Seventy-four, says *Sandford*, p. 21.
(2) At least this paid current in *England*, as we shall see in the Year 1106. It is said he did it out of expectation of the Crown of *England*, and our Historians observe, that he never after prospered in any thing he undertook.
(3) *Aquitain*, containing the Countries of *Perche*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, *Perigot*, &c. with his Territories. *Brady*, p. 224.
(4) The Monk dreamt that he saw the King gnaw a Crucifix with his Teeth, and that as he was about to bite off its Legs, the Image spurn'd him to the Ground, and as he lay groveling on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire, with abundance of Smoke. *Malmsh.*
(5) *Ord. Vitalis* calls him a rich native of *Pontaise*, a valiant Knight, dextrous in Arms; and therefore very intimate with the King, by whom he had been invited over. See *Malmsh.* p. 126. *P. Blesensis*, p. 110. After the Fact, he eloped into *Normandy*. *Knighton*, p. 2373. *Tyrrel*, p. 108, 109.
(6) The Circumstances of this Matter are thus related by *Sir John Hayward*. As the King was hunting at *Cherishingham* in the *New-Forest*, he struck a Deer lightly with an Arrow; and stay'd his Horse to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes to keep off the Sun-beams which dazzled his sight; another Deer crouching the way, *Sir Walter Tyrrel* shooting at it too carelessly, or too steadily at the King, hit him full in the Breast. *Mr. Tyrrel* observes, though *Florence of Worcester*, *Malmſbury*, and *Simon of Durham*, (who wrote within forty Years after this Accident) do all agree in the Place and Person who had the Misfortune thus to kill this Prince, yet there are Authors of that very Age, who not only doubt, but positively deny that this *Walter* had any hand in it. *I addess* says, *Whether the Arrow was shot at him, or, as most affirm, flew him by his falling down upon it*. His Tomb of Grey-marble (somewhat raised from the Ground) remains at this Day in the midst of the Choir of *Winchester Cathedral*. This Monument being broken open by the Parliamentarians in the Reign of *Charles I.* was found to contain the Dust of that King, some Relicks of Cloth of Gold, a large Gold-Ring, and a small Chalice of Silver. *The Reader may see a Draught of this Tomb in Sandford's Gen. Hist.* p. 23.
(7) See Page 178. Note (2) and (3).
(8) *Knighton* says, That he made killing of a Deer a capital Crime; whoever killed a Hare was fined twenty Shillings, and a Rabbit ten Shillings, p. 2373.
(9) This Story is thus related: A young *Jew* being converted, as is said, by a Vision of a Saint, his Father presented the King with sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son return to his old Religion. The King lends to the young Man, and commanded him without more to turn *Jew* again; which he refusing to do, and wondering the King, who was a Christian, should propose such a thing to him, he was bid to be gone. The Father perceiving the King could do no good upon his Son, desired to have his Money again. *Now*, said the King, *I have taken Pains enough to turn thee, however, that thou may'st see how kindly I will use thee, thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou canst not have, once deny me for my Pains*. *Eadmer*, p. 47.

1100. him in blacker colours than he deserved. For he was the first King of England that seized the Church's revenues, without regarding the clamours of the clergy. This was unpardonable with them. Their strong prejudices against him on that account, might perhaps make them think, that a Prince, guilty of so heinous a crime, must have been without faith or religion. This conjecture may be supported by observing that the writers, who charge him with prophaneness, produce no other evidence than some publick rumours. As for incontinency, which he is also accused of, they alledge no instances, nor so much as name any of his mistresses; though the amours of Kings are not easily concealed. It is true, they father a Bastard Son upon him, called *Bertrand* (1). But this alone would not have been sufficient to put them so much out of humour, had not his other actions, which more nearly concerned them, stirred their choler. However, that is only a conjecture, which the reader may value as he pleases. Nevertheless, as I find in the Life of this Prince but few laudable actions to balance these accusations, I do not see how he could possibly be justified, since all the Historians unanimously agree in saying so much ill of him.

Thorn.
Baker.

Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
p. 378.
M. Paris.
p. 46.

Huntingd.
M. Paris.

Higden.

His ordinary revenues were probably the same with his Father's. But as he ran into many more needless expenses, he often increased them by extraordinary impositions, which were very frequent in his reign. To these were added the profits of the vacant benefices, which brought him very large sums. At the time of his death, he had in his hands the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, the Bishopricks of Winchester and Salisbury, and twelve rich Abbies, besides many other benefices of less value. When, after enjoying the incomes some years, he thought fit to dispose of the benefices, he never regarded the merit of the persons, but only the sum they bid for them. However, it is related, that one day two Monks striving to out-bid one another for a rich Abbey, he perceived a third standing by, of whom he demanded how much he would give? The Monk replied, he had no money, and, if he had, his conscience would not suffer him to lay it out in that manner; whereupon the King told him, swearing by St.

Luke's Face, his usual oath, that he best deserv'd it, and should have it for nothing.

Ranulph Flamhart, a Man of mean birth, was his treasurer, and the contriver of most of the extraordinary ways practised by the King to extort money from his Subjects. He was rewarded for his services with the Bishoprick of Durham, conferred on him by the King a little before his death.

Among his charitable works are reckoned, the Hospital Speed. he founded at York, and a Church in Southwark for the use of the Monks called *de Charitate* (2).

This Prince was of a middle stature, but being very fat, look'd shorter than he was. His hair a deep yellow, inclined to red; his eyes of two different colours, speckled with small black spots. He was generally of a very ruddy complexion. Though he was far from being eloquent, he talked a good deal, especially when angry. His countenance was severe, and his voice strong, which he would exalt sometimes on purpose to frighten those he was speaking to. He is said however to converse affably enough with his courtiers, who easily found the way to soften his fierce temper.

Historians relate several extraordinary accidents in this reign, as earthquakes (3), comets; and a spring, which ran blood three days together (4). But what caused the most damage was, first a great fire in 1092, which burnt down great part of London. In the next place, the Sea rising to an extraordinary height (5), overflowed the coast of Kent, and swept away abundance of people and cattle. This inundation covered the Lands that belonged formerly to Earl Goodwin in the reign of Edward the Confessor. This Place, called at this day *Goodwin's Sands*, is famous for Shipwrecks innumerable.

Malsbury observes of the reign of William Rufus, that notwithstanding Mens minds were turned to war, yet excess and sensuality prevailed in a very scandalous manner among the Nobility, and even among the Clergy. Vanity, lust and intemperance reigned every where, says that Historian. The Men appeared so effeminate in their dress and conversation, that they showed themselves Men in nothing but their daily attempts upon the chastity of the women (6).

Extraordi-
nary Occur-
rences in his
Reign.
Malm'sb.
p. 23.
Remarks of
an Historian
on the Cor-
ruption of
Manners in
this Age.

Eadmer.

(1) Baker is the only one (as far as can be found) that mentions this Child. But the Monks give King William a bad Character as to his Incontinency. *Brompt.* p. 996. *M. Paris*, p. 46.

(2) Also of an old Monastery in the City of York, he founded an Hospital for the Support of poor Persons, and dedicated it to St. Peter. This Hospital was afterwards augmented by King Stephen, and by him dedicated to St. Leonard. *Sir John Hayward* in the *Life of Will.* p. 220.

(3) One in the Year 1089, which was followed by a Dearth.

(4) At Finchamstead in Berkshire. *Malm'sb.* and other Historians say, it ran for a Fortnight together. *Malm'sb.* p. 125. *Huntingd.* p. 378. *Sax. Ann.* *S. Dunelm.* p. 225, affirms, it ran for three Weeks together. In 1091, there was so terrible a Storm at South-Weft, that it blew down above six hundred Houses, and several Churches in London. It took off the whole Roof of St. Mary-le-bow Church, and carried it a good way. There were four Beams in it twenty-six Foot long, that fell with such force in one of the Streets (which were not then paved, but a moorish Ground) that they sunk above twenty Foot in the Street. As they could not be pulled up again, People were forced to saw them even with the Ground. *S. Dunelm.* p. 217. *Hoved.* p. 462. See *Stow's Survey*, Vol. I. p. 21.

(5) On Novemb. 11. say the *Sax. Ann.* But *Flor. Wor.* places it on the 3d.

(6) The Places at which William Rufus is recorded to have held his Courts, are as follows. In the Year 1087 at Christmas, at London. (*Sax. Ann.* *Huntingd.* p. 371. *Brompt.* p. 983.) In 1090, at Westminster, at Christmas. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1092, pro more at Christmas. (*Eadmer*, p. 15--20.) In 1093, at Christmas, at Gloucester. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1095, at Winchester, at Easter; at Whitfuntide, at Windsor; and at the same place again at Christmas. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1096, in the beginning of January, at Salisbury. (*Sax. Ann.* *S. Dunelm.* p. 222. *Eadmer*, &c.) In 1097, at Easter, at Windsor. (*Sax. Ann.*) In 1099, at Whitfuntide, in his new Hall at Westminster, for the first time; (*Sax. Ann.*) and at Christmas, at Gloucester. In 1100, at Winchester, at Easter; and at Whitfuntide, at London, pro more. (*Sax. Ann.* *Brompt.* p. 996.)



W 2

As there is but little to say of this King's Coin, it may not be amiss to show how the King's Revenue was paid in those ancient times. At first, The Tenants of Knight's Fees answered to their Lords by military Services; and the Tenants of Soccage Lands and Demenes in great measure by Work and Provisions: Afterwards, the Revenue of the Crown was answered in Gold and Silver, and sometime in Palfreys, Distriers, Chafcons, Leveners, Harvets, &c. (that is, in Horses, Dogs and Birds of Game) and the like. Sometime in both together. When a Man paid Money into the Exchequer, it was said, *In thesauro liberavit* so much; and the same Phrase continueth to this Day. These Payments were made *ad Scalum* and *ad Penjum*; and in Blank Silver and Numero by Tale. *Ad Scalum* was by paying Sixpence over and above each Pound or twenty Shillings, which at first was thought sufficient to make good the Weight. *Ad Penjum* was the Person's making good the Deficiencies of Weight, though it was more than Six-pence per twenty Shillings. But as the Money might be deficient in Fineness as well as Weight, a third way of Payment was by Combustion, or melting down part of the Money paid in, and reducing it to Plate of due Fineness. When the Ferm was melted down, it was said to be *dealbated* or *blanch'd*. As suppose a Ferm of a hundred Pounds was paid into the Exchequer, after the Combustion it was said to be a hundred Pound Blank. Frequently the twentieth Part of one Shilling was accepted in lieu of Combustion, to save Trouble and Charges. The Payment by Numero or Tale needs no Explanation. Payments, or at least Computations, were made by Marks, and Half-Marks; Ounces, and half Ounces of Gold: And in Pounds, Marks, Half-Marks, Shillings, Pence, &c. of Silver. The Mark of Gold was equal to a hundred and twenty Shillings of Silver. The Ounce of Gold was equivalent to fifteen Shillings of Silver. The Pound of Silver by Tale was twenty Shillings; the Mark thirteen Shillings and Four-pence; and the Shilling consisted of Twelve pence; and a Penny was the twentieth part of an Ounce, equal to our Three-pence.

The Coins of William Rufus are exceeding rare, if, as is justly believed, all those with the Full Face are to be ascribed to the Conqueror: However, several Authors place one of the Full Face to this King, inscribed P I L L E M. R E X. A N. a Cross, or a Star, on each side the King's Head: Reverse, a Cross composed of double Lines, as in the Figure here annexed.

3. HENRY I. Surnamed BEAU-CLERK.

HENRY I.
1100.

THE English considered the death of *William Rufus* as a great deliverance, though the present advantage reaped by it, was not to continue long. The *Norman* yoke was not broken by the death of this Prince, since there still remained two Sons of *William the Conqueror*, of whom one was soon going to be their Sovereign. Indeed this might have been a favourable juncture, if they had designed to throw off this yoke, or the two former Kings had left it in their power to attempt it. But depressed as they were, and stript of their estates and all offices, such a thought could scarce come into their minds. Their only course was to be guided by the proceedings of the *Normans*, who were masters of the Kingdom. In all likelihood, these last were in great perplexity on account of the two Brothers, who might both claim the Crown. *Robert Duke of Normandy*, by his Birth, seem'd to have an incontestable right, which was further strengthen'd by his late Treaty with *William Rufus*, wherein it was agreed that the Survivor should be heir to all their father's inheritance. Besides, his mild and generous temper, which had gained him a strong party in *England*, seem'd to give him a great advantage over his Brother *Henry*, whose disposition was unknown. But on the other hand, his slothfulness and negligence, of which he had given too many instances, form'd a disadvantageous prejudice against him. His very friends were backward to declare in his favour, fearing he was not ready to prosecute his right. His departure from the *Holy Land* was known, but where he was at present none could tell. Nay, his friends were in pain about him. Moreover, after his great expence in his voyage, it was reasonable to presume that, at his return, he would find himself destitute of all necessary means to dispute the crown with his Brother. On the contrary, *Henry* had the advantage of being born in *England* (1), whilst his Father was on the throne, which went a great way with some people. Then, his pretensions were strengthened with his presence, and positive promise both to the *Normans* and *English* (2) to abrogate all rigorous Laws made since the Conquest, to restore the government as in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, to abolish all unjust and arbitrary taxes, to reinstate the Clergy in their privileges, to fill the vacant benefices, and recall the banish'd Ecclesiasticks. But all these promises would not perhaps have produced the effect he expected, if his diligence and vigour at this juncture had not added weight to his reasons. Immediately after the death of *William* he posted to *Winchester*, where the Crown and Sceptre were kept with the royal treasure, and would have taken possession, but was stoutly opposed by *Roger de Breteuil* (3), one of *Robert's* adherents. This Lord alledged, they were bound by oath to acknowledge the Duke of *Normandy* for King, in case *William* died without heirs. That besides, the Law of Nature gave *Robert* a right, which could not be justly disputed. During this contest, several other Lords being come to *Winchester*, there was quickly a great concourse of people, flowing in from all parts to know what was transacting. If the choice of a King had solely depended upon the Lords, then at *Winchester*, the Duke of *Normandy's* right would doubtless have been preserved. But *Henry* gave them not time to take necessary measures to execute such a design. As he observed the people were in his interest, he improved that advantage, and drawing his sword, swore no Man should take possession of the Crown. The dispute still growing warmer, the Lords that were present thought fit to retire into a private room, to consult more calmly together what was to be done on this emergency. Whilst they were debating, the people made the name of

Henry resound in their ears by their loud acclamations, 1100. and gave them reason to dread it would be extremely dangerous to declare for *Robert*. So preferring their own safety to justice and equity, they resolved, (in order to prevent a civil war which seem'd unavoidable, if they persisted in asserting the rights of the Duke of *Normandy*,) to place *Henry* on the throne. This was enough to satisfy the Prince that his right was sufficiently established. Without staying for the confirmation of the estates, he set out immediately for *London*. On the morrow after his arrival, *Maurice*, Bishop of that city (4), in consequence of this hasty and irregular election, put the crown on his head, administering to him the usual oath.

The short space between the death of *William* and *Henry's* coronation (5) is used as an argument by those that maintain the right of electing the Kings was then confined to a few of the principal Lords. At least, they infer from hence that the Commons were not concerned in the elections. *Henry* had it not in his power to seize the crown by mere force. Neither can it be said to have fallen to him as next Heir, for his elder Brother was alive. He obtained it therefore only by election. This being granted, to say he was chosen by the nation represented, as at this day, by a Parliament, it should be proved, such a Parliament was then sitting. But that is impossible. Much less can it be said, that in three days space, the estates could be summoned and assembled. This is a plausible argument: But the truth is, nothing can be concluded from it, because there was yet no regulation made since the Conquest about the succession of the crown (6).

As *Henry's* pretended election interrupted the natural order of the Succession, it was to be feared, it would make dangerous impressions on the minds of the people. It was therefore highly necessary he should enter upon his reign in such manner as might give his subjects room to hope well of his government. The performance of his promises being the test that was to demonstrate the sincerity of his intentions, he began his reign with that, in order to gain the people's affection. He set about, in the first place, reforming his court, where the King his Brother had suffered many abuses to creep in. The courtiers, for the most part, sure of impunity, were wont to tyrannize over people in a shameful manner. Not content with oppressing them by unjust and violent methods, and secretly attempting the chastity of the women, they publicly gloried in it, instead of dreading a punishment. To cure these disorders, *Henry* published a very severe edict against all offenders in general, but particularly against adulterers. As for those that abused their power in oppressing the people, he ordered them to be put to death without mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that account, were driven from court, and *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, the detested Minister of the late King, was thrown into prison (7).

If this first proceeding of the new King gave the *English* a good opinion of his reign, what he added soon after was no less acceptable to them. To convince them of his real intent to perform what he had promised, he abolished the *Couvre-feu*, which they could not but consider as a constant badge of their servitude (8). This favour was followed by another of much greater importance: I mean, a Charter, confirming divers privileges enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings, and renouncing all those unjust prerogatives usurped by the two late Kings. By this Charter, *Henry* restored the Church to her antient liberties, and freed her from all those oppressions she had for some time been subject to, particularly during the vacant Sees and Abbies. He consented that the Heirs of Earls and Barons upon

(1) He was born at *Selby* in *Yorkshire* in 1070, *Sandford*, p. 24. *M. Paris* says it was in 1068, p. 5.

(2) To the Clergy and Laity (*populo universis*) which he assembled at *London*, *M. Paris*, p. 5. *Eadmer*, p. 55. *S. Dunelm.* p. 255, &c. *Sax. Ann.*

(3) *William de Breteuil*, and not *Roger*. He was Son of *William Fitz-osbern* Earl of *Hereford*, and had his Estate in *Normandy*, of which *Brutium* was the chief Seat, from whence he was surnamed *William de Breteuil*, now *Breteuil*.

(4) And *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*. *R. de Diceto*, p. 498. *M. Paris*, p. 46. *P. Blefensis*, p. 111.

(5) *William* died the second, or, according to some, the first of *August*, and *Henry* was crowned the fifth. *S. Dunelm.* p. 225. *M. Paris*, p. 46. *Brompt.* p. 997. The Person that assisted *Henry* mostly in getting the Crown was *Henry de Bello Monte*, or *Beaumont* Earl of *Warwick*. *Mainf.* p. 156. *Brady*, p. 235.

(6) This Dispute whether the Commons had any share in the electing of the Kings, seems to proceed from not considering that the Barons had all the Lands in their hands in those days, and that there was no such thing then as what we call Commons now, nor till some time after. See *Note*, p. 155.

(7) This was done by the advice of the Great Council of the Kingdom. *M. Paris*, p. 47. *Sax. Ann.*

(8) See page 171, *Note* (1).

1100. a death, should not be obliged to *reclaim* their estates, but pay only a lawful *Relief* (1). And at the same time required the Lords to deal in like manner with their Vassals. He agreed that the Nobles might marry their Daughters without asking the King's consent, provided it was not to the enemies of the State. He appointed the Mothers, or nearest relations, guardians to Minors. He made a standard for weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and ordained that Coiners should be punished with loss of limbs. In fine, having granted a general pardon for all crimes committed before his coronation, and remitted all arrears and debts due to the crown, he added a very material article, which was no less satisfactory to the Normans than English; which was, the confirmation of the Laws of King Edward, that is, of the Laws in force during the empire of the Saxon Kings, and entirely laid aside or expressly abolished since the Conquest. The native English, could not but be extremely well pleased to see their antient Laws restored. And the Normans were no less gainers by it. Hitherto they held their estates at the will of the Conqueror, consequently were liable to be dispossessed at his pleasure. But by this charter, which confined the royal authority within its antient bounds, they were settled in their possessions, and screened from the violence of arbitrary power. This charter being approved and signed by the Lords spiritual and temporal, several copies were transcribed and deposited in the principal Monasteries to be consulted upon occasion (2).

Anselm recalled.

This beginning of government gave the people room to hope a happy continuance, since they already saw so advantageous alterations. But still one thing was wanting to compleat their satisfaction, namely, the recalling of Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, who had gained their esteem and affection, by his vigorous opposition to the late King's oppressions. Henry, unwilling to refuse them this pleasure, writ a Letter to the Archbishop, who was still at Lyons, to invite him to return to his Diocese; intimating withal, he designed to be guided by his directions, and entrust him with the administration of affairs. Anselm, to whom this news gave wings, returned forthwith into England (3), to the great joy of the people.

The King marries Matilda of Scotland.

The arrival of this Prelate was no less agreeable to the King. He had need of him in an affair which could not be managed without his assistance. As his design was to attach the English to his interest, he believed nothing was more capable to gain their affection, than his marrying Matilda, Daughter to Malcolm King of Scotland by Margaret, Sister to Edgar Atheling (4). Indeed this alliance could not but be very grateful to the Nation, since it would be the means of restoring the Saxon royal family to the crown.

Obstacles to the Marriage. Eadmer.

Henry had now demanded the Princess of King Edgar her Brother; but there occurred a great obstacle to the execution of this project. Matilda had been educated in England in the Monastery at Wilton, where she had put on the veil. Indeed, to remove this difficulty, it was alledged she had not taken the vow, and had been veiled only to preserve her chastity, supposed to be in danger in the beginning of the Conquest. But this reason did not appear to the two Kings sufficient to authorise any farther proceedings, though they were both equally desirous of the match. Every one knew, Matilda had put on the veil, and, it was generally believed, had vowed chastity. Some even affirm, she excepted against her marriage as unlawful, and add, that, when pressed at last with reasons of State, she yielded to the instances of her Brother and Lover, she cursed the Line that was to spring

from her, as abominable in the sight of God. The decision of this affair, which appeared so difficult, being left to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he would not undertake it alone, but called in the assistance of a council which met at his palace at Lambeth. This assembly being entirely inclined to the King's side, the arguments for Matilda's liberty to marry, were so well managed, that the council declared the intended marriage to be good and lawful. Pursuant to this declaration, it was shortly after solemnized to the general satisfaction of both kingdoms (5).

1101. Whilst these things were transacting, Duke Robert was returned to Normandy (6), and had taken possession of his dominions without opposition. Though Normandy was mortgaged to the late King (7), Henry did not think fit to dispute it with his Brother, at a time when he was apprehensive of being attacked himself upon the account of England. Duke Robert in his way home from the Holy-Land, made some stay in Apulia, where he married a wife (8), which delay helped his Brother to rob him of the crown. He was no sooner arrived, but he openly showed his resentment at being supplanted, and a firm resolution to attempt the recovery of what he had been deprived of in his absence. The Bishop of Durham, who, finding means to escape out of prison (9), was retired to Normandy, did not a little contribute to confirm him in that design. Moreover several Norman Lords, who had consented to Henry's election by a sort of compulsion, began to contrive how to place Robert on the throne (10). They had already been tampering with some of the principal English Lords, to draw them into their plot. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natured Prince, they promised themselves much greater happiness under his Government than under Henry's, who appeared to have more vigour and resolution. Mean time, the rumour of Robert's preparing to assert his rights, wrought variously on the minds of the people. Some were for continuing firm to the King, and keeping the Oath they had taken to him. Others, on the contrary, though satisfied with the King's proceedings, resumed their former inclination for the Duke his Brother, so that Henry was under great perplexity. If he was loth to trust to the fidelity of the English, they were no less so to rely on his sincerity. What they had experienced from the two late Kings, gave them but too much reason to dread, that whatever the present King had hitherto done, was only to amuse them and prevent their siding with his Brother. In this state of uncertainty, Anselm's assistance was of great use to Henry in fixing the English (11), who seemed to be wavering. The Archbishop, who was indebted to the King, was very glad to show his gratitude on this occasion. He assembled the principal English and Norman Lords, and so positively assured them, the King would punctually perform all his promises, that they seemed very well satisfied. And yet, no sooner was it known that the Duke of Normandy was going to embark for England, but the greatest part of the Nobles declared for him, and part of the fleet (12) followed their example. This defection gave the Duke opportunity to land at Portsmouth (13), where he was received without opposition. He was not ignorant how the English stood affected. Such as came to him every day, assured him of the good wishes of their countrymen. They made him hope, the King would quickly be deterred by the whole Nation, who looked upon their oath of allegiance as involuntary. Mean time, Henry took all the measures he thought requisite to frustrate the designs of his Brother, by making use of Anselm's credit, in whom the people seemed very much to confide. As

Eadmer.

Sax. Ann.

M. Paris. Pol. Virg.

(1) When the King's Tenant in Capite died, his Lands were in the King's Hands till the Heir had done Homage and was of Age. When the Heir sued to have his Estate out of the King's Hands, his obtaining it was called *Livery*, and the Profits received in the mean time by the King, were called *Primer Seisin*. Now, according to Sir Henry Spelman, redeeming Lands was a Composition with the King for *Primer Seisin*, *Livery* and *Relief*; for the two first of which by Henry's Charter, the Heir was not to pay any thing for the future. Spelman's Feuds, &c. p. 30. c. 16. The Relief of an Earl, as set down in the Laws of the Conqueror, was, eight Horses saddled and bridled; four Helmets; four Coats of Mail; four Shields; four Spears; four Swords, four Chafers, and one Palfrey bridled and laddled. That of a Baron half as much, with a Palfrey. That of a Vassal to his Lord, his best Horse, his Helmet, Coat of Mail, Shield, Spear, Sword, or in lieu of these a hundred Shillings. That of the Countryman, his best Beast; and of him that farmed his Lands, a Year's Rent. These were afterwards turned into Money; and no doubt both Money and Arms were extorted in an arbitrary manner, as appears by the words of the Law, LL. Gul. c. 12, c. 23, c. 24, c. 29. Robert de Belesme Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, upon the death of his Brother Hugh de Montgomery, paid for the said Earldom, as a Relief, three thousand Pound Sterling, in the tenth of William Rufus. Ord. Vital. p. 708.

(2) There were as many Copies as Counties, which were sent to certain Abbies in each County: And yet there was scarce one to be found in the Reign of King John, whose Magna Charta was founded upon it. There is a Copy at this Day in the Red Book of the Exchequer. And Matthew Paris (p. 55.) has given us a Transcript of that which was sent into Herefordshire, which you may find translated by Tyrrel, p. 114. B. III. Vol. II.

(3) Before Michaelmas, and landed at Dover, Octob. 24. Eadmer, p. 55. Sax. Ann.

(4) Brompton says, he did it by the Advice of his great Council, p. 998. See S. Dunelm. p. 226. They were married, Nov. 11. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 156.

(5) M. Paris his account of Matilda's being against marrying and declaring herself a Nun, and cursing her Issue seems to be groundless. For Eadmer says, she privately applied to Anselm, confessing she had been veiled indeed, but against her Will, and had never worn her Veil unless in the Presence of the Abbess Christina her Aunt; and also that the King her Father seeing it once on her Head, pull'd it off, and tore it, protesting to Alan Earl of Breteigne, he intended to marry her, and not to make her a Nun. Eadmer, p. 56.

(6) In August. Huntingd. p. 378. Brompt. p. 998.

(7) It was only for three Years. See above, p. 187. Note (5).

(8) Sibilla Daughter to Geoffrey, and Sister to William Earl of Conversana, a Prince of Italy, with whom he had a fine Fortune. Malmsh. p. 153.

(9) By bribing his Keepers, M. Paris, p. 47. They brought him a Rope in a Pitcher of Water, by which he let himself down. Malmsh. p. 156.

(10) The chief of those that remained faithful to Henry, were Robert Fitz-baron, Richard de Redvers, Roger Bigot, Robert Earl of Meiland, with his Brother Henry. Malmsh. p. 156.

(11) The King and they seem to have entered into a Covenant. See Eadmer, p. 59.

(12) Which Henry had fitted out upon News of Robert's Preparations. S. Dunelm. p. 226. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 998.

(13) In August: He was conveyed thither by that part of Henry's Fleet which had revolted. From Portsmouth, Robert immediately marched towards Winchester, and encamped near that City. S. Dunelm. p. 226. Brompt. p. 998.

1101. soon as the army was ready to march, the Archbishop came and called the principal officers together, to whom he so sensibly represented the heinousness of breaking their oath, that he confirmed them in their duty; so that they unanimously promised to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of the King (1). *Robert*, who expected the contrary, plainly saw this change would prove very prejudicial to his affairs. He relied not on his own forces, but on the assistance of the *English*. In expectation that the majority would abandon the King and join him, he had proceeded so far as to threaten such as persisted to support the Usurper, as he styled his Brother. But when he found the bulk of the Nation declared for the King, and the army had just renewed their oath of allegiance, he perceived the execution of his design was impracticable. Thus, falling on a sudden from all his hopes (2), he closed immediately with the proposals of peace sent him by the King. An accommodation appeared to him so much the more necessary, as he saw the most zealous for him at first, began to waver. Matters standing thus, and the two Brothers equally wishing to come to a treaty, the Lords of both parties met together to consider of the means. It was easy to see, *Robert* did not expect to obtain by treaty a crown, which he could not acquire by arms. So, in consideration that *Henry* was already crowned, and born in the kingdom after his Father was on the throne, the result of the conference was, that he should keep possession of the crown. He promised for his part (3) to resign to *Robert* the Castles in *Normandy* garrisoned with *English*, and to pay him the yearly Sum of three thousand Marks. It was stipulated also, that if one of the Brothers died without children, the other should succeed him. This agreement being signed and sworn to by twelve Lords of each side, the armies were disbanded (4). *Robert* staid two full months (5) at the court of *England*, living in perfect union with his Brother.

This accommodation was very advantageous to the King in many respects. It not only secured him the crown which he was in some hazard of losing, but rendered him also more feared and esteemed, when it was seen that by his prudence and steadiness, he got clear of so dangerous an affair. However, he could not forget the peril he had been in. As he was apprehensive his enemies might hereafter make fresh attempts to dethrone him, whenever an opportunity offered, he resolved to prevent them, by ruining them one after another. It was no hard matter for him to make them feel, by turns, the effects of his resentment. Opportunities of being revenged are seldom wanting to those who have the power in their hands. Soon after the treaty, he attacked, on divers pretences, *Hugh de Grantmesnil*, *Robert de Pontfract*, and some others, who easily perceived, their greatest crime consisted in their good-will to the Duke of *Normandy*. He was particularly exasperated with *Robert de Belesme* (6), because he had shown him the least respect, and still continued to discover his desire of exciting new troubles. This young Lord, Son to the late Earl of *Montgomery*, publicly declared, *Henry* was an Usurper, and that it was dishonourable for the *Normans* as well as the *English*, to suffer him to take the crown from his elder Brother. He was not satisfied with talking thus indiscreetly, but rendered himself formidable, by storing and fortifying his Castles in *Shropshire* (7). The King, who had determined his ruin, was glad, he gave him so fair an opportunity by these imprudent proceedings. To complete his destruction, spies were set upon him, who, feigning to come into his measures, observed all his actions, and took care to talk to him, before surned witnesses, of things that served to render him criminal. When the King thought he had sufficient evidence against him, he ordered him to be accused of five and forty articles, the least of which was enough to condemn him. *Belesme* being obliged to appear in court, desired time to prepare his answer; which being granted, he took the opportunity to make his escape and retire to *Shrewsbury*, where he hoped to defend himself by the assistance of the *Welsh*, who espoused his cause. When he took this resolution, he relied on the assistance of several other Lords, who seemed to be entirely of his sen-

timents. But whether he was deceived, or not deemed a fit person to be head of such an enterprize, he found himself abandoned by all, and thereby saw, though too late, the vanity of his projects. The King proclaiming him a traitor, marched against him with so superior a force, that in few days he became master of *Shrewsbury*, where the rebel did not dare to expect him (8). After which, he took all his other castles, and compelled him to relinquish whatever was held by the Earl his Father in *England*, and retire to *Normandy*, where he carried his ill temper. *Henry* confiscated all his Lands, and involved his Brothers in the same punishment, notwithstanding their innocence, so desirous was he of expelling this family out of his dominions (9).

The insolence of this Lord did not give the King so much trouble, as the haughtiness of Archbishop *Anselm*, much with whom he had a contest that threw him into great perplexities. The Archbishop had conceived two projects, which could not, in all likelihood, be accomplished without great difficulties. The first was to oblige the Clergy to live unmarried, and the second, to wrest from the King the investiture of Bishops and Abbots. To attain his ends, he convened a Synod, where, in the first place, he caused all the married Priests to be excommunicated, though they were then very numerous in *England*. *Henry*, who was not much concerned in this affair, being unwilling to give the Archbishop any distaste, the decree passed in the Synod, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the inferior Clergy, who in vain tried to ward off this blow. An Historian remarks, that, although *Anselm's* good intentions were generally applauded, it was thought to be a thing of dangerous consequence, to compel the Priests to a continency, of which many of them were not capable; and adds, it was justly feared, this rigour would occasion their committing uncleanness of a more criminal nature than the prohibited marriage.

Anselm seeing his first project succeed, undertook the execution of the second, and would have proceeded to excommunicate the Bishops invested by the King. But here the case was quite altered. The King was too much concerned, not to oppose to the utmost of his power the abolishing a prerogative his predecessors had quietly enjoyed. But how vigorously soever he exerted himself, he could not prevent some Bishops who had received their investitures from him, from resigning their Bishopricks out of fear of excommunication. On the other hand, *Anselm* refused to consecrate such as were nominated to their Sees by the King, unless he would give up the right of investiture. This new claim, which the Archbishop, finding himself supported by the Court of *Rome*, very boldly asserted, occasioned a many years quarrel between him and the King. As *Henry* would not depart from his prerogative, *Anselm* pretended he could not submit without betraying the cause of God. All hopes of accommodation being taken away by the obstinacy of both parties (10), the Archbishop resolved to carry his complaints to *Paschal II*, who was then Pope. In all appearance, it was by his orders that he embarked in this enterprize. He was attended in his Journey by the Prelates that had resigned their Bishopricks, and upon his arrival at *Rome*, instantly demanded of the Pope that he would be pleased to restore them by his authority: Then, says an Historian, the Holy See, whose clemency is open to all the world, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling Metal, restored the Bishops, and sent them back to their respective Churches. The King being informed that *Anselm* was gone to *Rome*, sent also three agents to plead his cause, namely, *Gerard* Archbishop elect of *York*, *Herbert* Bishop of *Thetford*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Chester*, with *William de Wareham*, an Ecclesiastick of great learning, to assist them with his advice (11). Though these agents maintained the King's cause with a great zeal and resolution, *Paschal* would abate nothing of his pretensions. The affair was carried so far, that the King was going to be excommunicated. On the other hand, the Archbishop was deprived of his temporalities, during his absence from the kingdom. At length, after many contests for near three years together, the King and Pope happening to be in such circumstances, as made them equally wish to see an

(1) *Henry* encamped with a very large Army, near *Hastings*, about *Midsummer*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 226. *Sax. Ann.*

(2) *Eadmer* says, he was afraid of being excommunicated by *Anselm*, p. 49.

(3) See the Conditions at length in the *Sax. Ann.*

(4) *Robert* sent part of his Army back into *Normandy*, and kept the rest with him, which committed great Ravages whilst they staid in *England*. *S. Dunelm.* p. 227. *Sax. Ann.*

(5) Till *Michaelmas*. *Sax. Ann.* Huntingd. p. 378.

(6) *De Belesme*, or *de Bellisimo Castello*, a fair Castle in *Pereb*: He was Son of *Robert de Montgomery*, and upon the Death of his Brother *Hugh de Montgomery*, the Earl of *Shropshire* and *Arundel* came to him in the tenth of *W. Rufus*.

(7) Those of *Shrewsbury* and *Bridgnorth*, as also those of *Tickill* in *Yorkshire*, and *Arundel* in *Sussex*. *Ord. Vital.*

(8) The King went first and besieged *Arundel* Castle in *Sussex*, which (being blocked up by several Forts about it) surrendered with the Earl's Leave. From hence the King marched to *Bridgnorth*, and spent three Weeks before it, and at last took the Castle by bribing the *Welsh*. After this the King demanded *Shrewsbury* of *Robert de Novil* and *Ulger de Teables*, (placed there as Governors by the Earl) and threaten'd, if it were not delivered up in three Days, he would hang all he should take therein. Upon which they treated with the King, and the Keys of the Castle were sent to him, by *Ralph Abbot of Seys*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Ord. Vital.* p. 806, &c.

(9) This Earl had a vast Estate in *Normandy*. His Brothers were *Arnulphe* and *Roger of Poitou*.

(10) This Matter seems to have been debated in a Great Council of the Nation. See *Eadmer*, p. 62, 65, 66, 69.

(11) *Rapin*, who calls these Agents, Ambassadors, has named them wrong, following some modern Historians; and therefore the Names are here inserted as they stand in *Eadmer*, p. 63.

1103. end of the quarrel; the Pope permitted the Bishops to do homage to the King, and Henry gave up the right of Investiture. Thus ended this affair, which I have but just mentioned here, intending to treat more fully of it in another place.

1104. Though the King's contest with the court of Rome gave him a great deal of trouble whilst it lasted, it did not hinder him from minding his other affairs. Robert his Brother, who was then in England (1), found by experience how attentive this Monarch was to whatever might turn to his advantage. The reason of the Duke of Normandy's visit, was to press the payment of his pension. But Henry knowing his Brother's mild and generous temper, cared him in such manner, and gave him so good words, that he insensibly drew him in to desist from his demands (2). This unseasonable generosity cost the imprudent Duke very dear, since it proved in the end the occasion of his ruin. His easy and liberal temper had always spoiled his designs. We have already seen, in the beginning of the reign of William Rufus, how ill he consumed the money lent him by Henry, instead of employing it in keeping up his party in England; by which indiscreet management he lost the crown for that time. Afterwards, he borrowed ten thousand Marks of King William for his voyage to the Holy Land. This sum not sufficing to defray the great expence he was at, he contracted so many debts during the voyage, and since his return, that he was forced to mortgage almost all his

Gives up his Pension.

W. Gemit.

Repents of it, and complains of the King.

Belesme raises troubles in Normandy. Ord. Vital.

Defeats the Duke, and aspires to the Dukedom.

He is joined by the Duke of Mortagne. Malmsh.

Robert makes Peace with him. Ord. Vital. p. 812.

1105. The Normans apply to the King of England. Ord. Vital. Malmsh.

without any hopes of protection from the Duke, resolved to apply to the King of England for relief. Their suit was very welcome to Henry, who only wanted a pretence to interpose in the affairs of Normandy, in order to have an opportunity of seizing the Duchy. But as this design was in itself very odious, he endeavoured to give it a colour of justice, by pretending to act from quite another motive. To this purpose, he writ a letter to his Brother (6), representing to him, that his conduct gave the Normans just cause of complaint, since he protected persons who ought to be deemed enemies to the publick: That the peace he had made with them, leaving the country exposed to their ravages, his Subjects could no longer consider as their Sovereign, a Prince from whom they could expect no protection: That he entreated him therefore to redress the grievances complained of by the Normans, or not think it strange, that upon his neglect, he should himself espouse the cause of those that applied to him. To these remonstrances, he added complaints of certain injuries, which he pretended to have suffered himself, and demanded speedy satisfaction. He would doubtless have taken it very ill, if the Duke had thus meddled with his affairs. But such is the unreasonableness of most Men, that they practise without scruple what they condemn in others, and fancy the world is so blind as not to see the injustice of their actions, because they are artfully covered with the cloak of charity.

Whilst Henry feigned to have no other design but to relieve the distressed Normans, he himself oppressed his own Subjects by an exorbitant tax. He pretended to be forced to go and wage war with the two tyrants of Normandy; a war wherein the English however were wholly unconcerned. Notwithstanding all his promises to the people, this tax was levied with all imaginable rigor, even to the imprisoning and plaguing various ways such as refused, or had not wherewithal, to pay it. As soon as his preparations were finished, he passed into Normandy with a numerous army (7), carrying with him large sums of money, with which he bribed the Nobles and Governors of the Castles. He could the better do this, as Robert was not in condition to cross his designs, or secure the allegiance of his Subjects by the same method. The present posture of affairs favouring the King more than at any other time, he seized upon Caen and some other cities (8). The Duke of Bretagne and the Earl of Anjou, even permitted him to garrison some of their Frontier-Towns, for fear of drawing upon themselves the burden of the war, designed against Robert. On the other hand, they that had invited him to their assistance, plainly foreseeing, if the quarrel was made up, it must be to their prejudice, never ceased exhorting him to push his conquests, and make himself master of all Normandy. They represented to him, it was the only way to ease them of the oppressions they lay under, since they could expect no assistance from their Sovereign. The Bishop of Sees, sworn enemy of the two Earls, who had turned him out of his Diocese, blew up the flame to the utmost of his power, and lost no opportunity to excite Henry to pursue his undertaking. One day, as he was with him in the Church of Carenton, he caused him to observe how full the Church was of goods, brought thither by the people, to secure them from the plundering Tyrants. This afforded him a pretence to make a long Speech, representing to the King that the rise of all their miseries was owing to the carelessness or connivance of the Duke; adding, that the country would never be restored to its former tranquillity, till they had another master. In fine, he conjured the King to take upon him the government, and free the Normans, the ancient Subjects of his family, from the wretched state they were reduced to. Henry, who only wanted a cloak for his injustice, listened very attentively to this speech; and pretending to be touched with compassion for the Normans, promised to exert his utmost to procure the relief they expected at his hands. However, he expressed an extreme concern that he was forced to deprive his Brother of his dominions, who by his incapacity was running headlong into destruction. Pursuant to this resolution, which he pretended to take purely out of necessity, and in compliance to the intreaties of the Normans, he continued the war. Robert made but a weak defence; for, not suspecting the King's designs, he had no time to pre-

Henry sends an Army into England. Ord. Vital. Malmsh.

and passes over into Normandy, where he makes great Progress.

Ord. Vitalis. p. 815.

Malmsh.

(1) He came over in the Year 1103. Sax. Ann.

(2) It was the Queen that prevailed upon him to desist from it. See W. Gemitien, p. 675. Malmsh. p. 156. Knighten, p. 2276.

(3) He burnt many Towns and Churches, with the People that had fled to them for Safety; and the Abbey of Almanika. Ord. Vitalis.

(4) At Hiesmes. After which Robert de Belesme took the Fortrefs of Hiesmes and Gontel Castle, and many other Garrisons round about; and the neighbouring Territories submitted to him. Ord. Vital.

(5) He granted R. de Belesme his Father's Honours and Estates, the Bishoprick of Sees, the Forest of Gelfer, &c. Ord. Vital.

(6) He passed himself into Normandy, with a great Fleet, and visited Damfront, and other Towns subject to him; after which he had an Interview with his Brother, and reproved him for making a Peace with Robert de Belesme. Ord. Vital.

(7) In Lent. Sax. Ann. (8) He first took Bayeux, and burnt it almost to the ground; at which the Inhabitants of other Places, particularly those of Caen, were so frightened, that when Henry marched against them, they yielded to him, and expelled their Governor: for which good Service he bestowed on four of the chief Citizens of Caen the Manor of Dallington in Suffex, worth eighty Pounds per Annum Rent. Ord. Vital.

1105. pare. Wherefore *Henry*, having put his affairs upon so good a foot, in this first campaign, returned to *England* (1), with intent to raise, during the Winter, the money and forces he wanted, to finish the work so happily begun.

Sax. Ann.
Eadmer.

1106.
Robert goes
for Peace.
M. Paris.
Ord. Vital.
Sax. Ann.
Fl. Warr.

The Duke of *Normandy* was then in a very deplorable condition. He perceived at length, his ruin was determined, but knew not how to prevent it. In this perplexity, he resolved to repair to the King his Brother, and try to move him by his submissions. As he was himself of a kind and generous disposition, he could not believe but the King was so too. Possessed with this notion, he came to *England* (2), and sued for Peace, in a manner suitable to his condition, but unbecoming the Son of *William the Conqueror*. *Henry*, who was not of so easy a nature, was deaf to all his intreaties. He bethought himself of improving the present juncture, to become master of *Normandy*. Accordingly, nothing could bring him to an accommodation, which would have very much lessened his pretensions. For this reason, he obstinately refused to enter into any Negotiation, and thought he dealt very kindly by his Brother, in permitting him to return. *Robert* despairing to prevail, departed, full of rage and vexation, and uttering great threats, which *Henry* little regarded. An Historian assures us however, the King felt some remorse for the injury he was doing his Brother, who had never given him any just cause of complaint, and from whom he had already taken a crown. But if he had any such reflections, they were very short-lived (3). The only effect they produced, was to inspire him with a dread, that his Brother's wrongs would move the compassion of the *English*, and revive the affection they had formerly shown for that Prince. This thought giving him some uneasiness, he judged it necessary to prepossess his Subjects in his favour, by renewing his promises. To this end, he convened the Great Council or Parliament (4), and endeavoured, in a studied speech, to demonstrate the justice of his undertaking. He represented to them, "That *Robert's* refusal of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, had drawn "down on his head the vengeance of God; by whom, "ever since that time, he had been visibly forsaken, as a "Prince unworthy of his care, after despising to great a "favour (5). He aggravated the oppressions the *Normans* groaned under, and strove to make the *English* believe, it was incumbent on them to take in hand the defence of a miserable people. He desired the Lords to consider his own peaceable temper, and how patiently "he had taken his Brother's menaces, to which he had "made no other return, but brotherly and gentle admonitions. He enlarged upon the Duke's ill qualities. "He displayed his excessive profuseness, which made him "a continual burden to all the world. Moreover, he accused him of extreme arrogance, and of showing on "all occasions an utter contempt for the *English* nation. "He assured them, for his part, he still persisted in his resolution to govern by just Laws, of which the Charter he had granted, was an undeniable argument. In fine, he added, provided he was sure of the hearts and affection of the *English*, he valued not any thing his enemies could do against him." This Speech had the effect he expected. All the Lords thinking themselves honoured by the confidence he placed in them, and flattering themselves, that he would perform his promises, unanimously declared they would live and die in his service.

but can't ob-
tain it.

Malmsh.
M. Paris.

M. Paris.

The English
promised to
serve the
King against
his Brother.

Remark on
the King's
Speech.

What colour soever the King might give his ambition, it was easy to discover the weakness of the reasons alledg'd in vindication of his undertaking. The truth is, these reasons were not so much as plausible. The pretended refusal of the crown of *Jerusalem*, had no better foundation than an uncertain rumour spread in *England*, which, in all likelihood, was false, for the best Historians make no mention of this fact (6). But supposing the thing had been as true as it was doubtful, *Robert* possibly might have refused the crown out of modesty, as well as from a principle of pride or irreligion. But be this as it will, *Henry*

could have no right from thence to deprive him of his dominions. It is evident therefore, the sole motive that engaged the *English* Lords to assure him of their assistance, was his solemn promise to see his Charter observed, which had been hitherto very much neglected.

Henry made use of the declaration of the *English* in his favour, to obtain a grant of fresh supplies, by means of which he made a considerable addition to his troops. As soon as the season permitted (7), he crossed the Sea with a numerous fleet (8), in order to complete the conquest of *Normandy*. He opened the campaign with the siege of *Tinchebray*, where the Earl of *Mortagne*, who had sided with the Duke, had thrown in a strong reinforcement. As this place was of great strength, and well provided with necessaries, it held out long enough for *Robert* to come to its relief. Ever since the Duke parted from the King his Brother, without being able to prevail with him, he had joined with the Earl of *Mortagne* and *Robert de Belesme*, who had led all their forces to his assistance. The King of *France* had also sent him some troops, and several *Norman* Lords (9) came to him with considerable bodies, as soon as they perceived *Henry* was not acting for them, but for himself. All these succours enabling the Duke to give his Brother battle, he marched towards him with that resolution. The two armies were almost equal in number. *Robert* had more foot, but not so many horse as the King. So, each side might flatter themselves with hopes of success. However, the battle, which was fought under the Walls of *Tinchebray*, did not last long. The *Norman* horse being put in disorder at the first onset, and the foot not being able to maintain the fight without their aid, the whole army was entirely routed, and the *English* had nothing to do but to kill or take prisoners. The Duke of *Normandy* perceiving there was no possibility of rallying his troops, and resolving not to turn his back, chose rather to be taken, than show the least signs of cowardice. *Edgar Atheling*, the Earl of *Mortagne* (10), four hundred Knights, and ten thousand Soldiers, had the same fate. As the battle of *Hastings* made the *Normans* masters of *Malmsh.* *England*, so this, which was fought forty years after, put the *English* in possession of *Normandy*. Prince *Edgar*, who had often been the sport of Fortune, was immediately released, and went and passed the residue of his days in *England*, where he died of extreme old age. The Duke of *Normandy*, and Earl of *Mortagne*, were not so favourably treated. The Earl was shut up in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiff Castle* in *Wales*, where he remained a prisoner to his death, which happened not till twenty-six years after. Some say, this unfortunate Prince attempting to make an escape, *Henry* order'd his sight to be taken away, by applying a burning-hot Brass Baton to his eyes (11). But the silence of the best Historians renders this fact something improbable. I do not pretend to excuse the hard-heartedness of the King, who ought to have called to mind *Robert's* generosity to him, during the siege of Mount *St. Michael*, though he had forgot he was his Brother. In vain does an Historian endeavour to justify him, by observing *Robert* never loved him during their younger years, and had done him many injuries. Such a reason will scarce serve the purpose, for which it is alledged by that author.

The victory of *Tinchebray* having acquired the King the possession of all *Normandy*, he returned in triumph to *England* (12). Upon his arrival, his first care was to make some regulations for his court, where several abuses had long since crept in which called for reformation. In the former reign, when the King took a progress, those who followed the Court, committed all manner of outrages in the places where they lodged. They shamefully extorted what they pleased from their Hosts, and attempted the chastity of the Women, without any restraint (13): Coins of false Money were grown very numerous and bare-faced, being secure of the protection of the Great, who set them at work in their Houses, where no body dared to search for them. These disorders not ceasing upon the King's Edict in the beginning of his

1106.

Henry re-
turns to
Normandy.
Sax. Ann.
V. 1106.
Fl. Warr.
W. Genet.

Battle of
Tinchebray,
where Ro-
bert was taken
prisoner.

and shut up
in Cardiff
Castle.
Mezerai.
M. Paris.

Henry be-
comes Master
of all Nor-
mandy.
M. Paris.
Eadmer.
Malmsh.

(1) In Autumn. Sax. Ann.

(2) Before Lent, to Henry, who was then at Northampton. Sax. Ann.

(3) The Pope helped to disperse them, satisfying him that it would not be a Civil War, but a very great advantage to the Country. See Malmsh. p. 100.

(4) At London. M. Paris, p. 32.

(5) Hence it is plain, it was believed in *England* that *Robert* had refused the Crown of *Jerusalem*; otherwise Henry could not have urged it against his Brother. Rapin.

(6) It is mentioned by no Author older than Henry of Huntingdon, consequently 'tis only to be looked upon as a common Tradition.

(7) Before August. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 229.

(8) And the principal Nobility of the Kingdom. Fl. Warr. Ord. Vital.

(9) Particularly Robert de St. Valere, and William de Ferrars. King Henry had on his side William Earl of Saxony, Robert Earl of Meulan, William Earl of Waren, Earl of Maun, &c. Ord. Vital.

(10) And of Norman Barons, William Crispin, William de Ferrars, Robert de St. Valere, Senior. Eadmer, p. 92.

(11) Hence the Italian Word, *Alacmaro*, to blind. Menage, Orig. de la Langue Ital. Rapin.

(12) In Lent 1107. Sax. Ann.

(13) In the King's Progress his Attendants plundered every thing that came in their way, so that the Country was laid waste where the King travelled. For which cause People, when they knew of the King's coming, left their Houses, carrying away what Provision they could, and sheltering themselves in the Woods and By-places. The King ordered, that whoever spoiled any Goods of those that entertained them, should have their Persons, should they be taken, have their Eyes put out, or their Hands and Feet cut off.

1107. reign, he published a second with still greater Penalties. Severity was necessary to check the licence that was introduced into the kingdom, by the connivance that offences of this nature had hitherto met with (1).

1108. Before the war in *Normandy*, Henry had positively assured his subjects, he would govern according to equity, and maintain them in their privileges. But prosperity made him forget his promises. Immediately after his return, he was observed to be grown more haughty, and less popular than before. He treated the Nobles with an intolerable arrogance, even to the using, when speaking to them, very abusive language. Besides he little regarded his own Charter, nor corrected any abuses that turned to his profit. *Anselm* was the only person he showed any value for. The trouble that Prelate had given him, made him look upon all occasions of quarrelling with him as so many dangerous quick-sands, which he was resolved to avoid. But his precautions served only to render *Anselm* more haughty and imperious than before the contest. The Archbishop perceiving the King, for fear of being engaged in fresh disputes, refrained from meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, took the opportunity to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, the Priests who obstinately persisted in keeping their wives. His disgrace and long absence made them hope, they should at length be freed from his persecutions. But he quickly let them see, that, when once he begun a thing, he never left it unfinished. Some time after his return, he called a Synod (2), where at his instance, severe penalties were decreed against all clergymen who lived in the state of matrimony. There were even some that were deprived of their livings. But so far was this rigour from having any good effect, that it only proved the occasion of the Clergy's committing real crimes, in order to avoid the pretended excess they were engaged in before.

The King did not much concern himself in this regulation of the Synod. It was indifferent to him, whether the clergy married or lived single. And therefore he left the Archbishop to act as he pleased, without interposing in an affair that concerned him not. He was going to have another upon his hands more worthy his regard. *Lewis the Great*, King of *France*, who had just succeeded his Father *Philip*, looking upon *Henry*, since his acquisition of *Normandy*, as a very formidable neighbour, was seeking means to humble his overgrown power (3). To execute this project, he designed to make use of *William*, surnamed *Crito*, Son of *Robert*, a young Prince of great hopes, but under age. How careful soever he was to conceal his designs, *Henry* had notice of them, and passed suddenly into *Normandy*; where he ordered his Nephew to be taken into custody (4), to prevent any insurrection upon his account. *Lewis*, by this proceeding, perceiving his design had taken air, deferred the execution of it to a better opportunity. Mean time, the young Prince having made his escape, by means of his Tutor, was carried to *Paris*, and other courts, where he in vain solicited for assistance to recover the Duke his Father's dominions. The neighbouring Princes stood too much in awe of *Henry* to engage in such an undertaking. As for the *Normans*, though many of them were well inclined to the Son of their Sovereign, and several even contributed privately towards his maintenance, they durst however not openly declare in his favour.

1109. *Henry* having spent the Winter and part of the Summer in *Normandy*, returned to *England* (5), where soon after ambassadors came to him from the Emperor *Henry IV*, to demand his Daughter *Matilda* in marriage. He very joyfully received the proposal, and as soon as the articles were agreed upon, the wedding was celebrated by proxy. But as the Princess was very young, she continued in *England* till the year following, when she was sent to the Emperor her Spouse with a magnificent retinue, and a very considerable Sum for her portion.

The necessity of paying his Daughter's marriage-portion, furnished the King with a pretence to lay a tax of

three shillings on every hide of Land. This tax brought him in an immense sum, if it be true, as some pretend to calculate it, that it was equal to 824,850*l.* of our present money. The custom of raising money for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter was introduced by this Prince, and very duly practised by his successors, who found it too beneficial to suffer it to be lost (6). Hence may be seen how prejudicial to a free people such innovations are, that become as a law by one single precedent.

Before the marriage was solemnized, death took out of the world *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (7), a learned Prelate of that age, but haughty and bigotted to the last degree. 'Tis very reasonable to suppose that his zeal for the Court of *Rome*, his firmness in the affair of *Investitures*, and his constant endeavour to establish the celibacy of the Clergy in *England*, entitled him to a place in the Calendar. As soon as *Anselm* was laid in his grave, the King seized the revenues of the Archbishoprick, and kept them in his hands for five years. The Clergy were in hopes, the persecution they had suffered, during his life, would end with his death; but the Court of *Rome* was no less zealous to support what the Archbishop had done solely by her orders. Besides, the King, who was very unwilling to break with the Pope, strictly enjoined the execution of what was established. So that the Clergy were obliged to observe a seeming continency, by being debarred from marrying. But they privately made themselves amends for this restraint, in the commission of the most enormous crimes. At least, this is what the authors of that age make no scruple to lay to their charge.

The year 1110 was memorable for the revival of learning at *Cambridge* (8), from whence it had been long banished. According to the general opinion, *Edward the Elder* had formerly founded an university there. But the town had suffered so much by the *Danish* wars, that learning fell to decay, and never flourished again till the time we are speaking of (9).

The following year *Henry* crossed the Sea (10), to stop the progress of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had caused the city of *Constance* in *Normandy* to revolt. *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, having espoused the interest of *Fulk*, and being taken prisoner in a battle, was put to death (11). *Henry* thought this instance of severity necessary to strike a dread into the *Normans*, whose revolt he was apprehensive of; well knowing, *France* would be ready to protect them.

Before the King went to *Normandy*, he admitted into *England* great numbers of *Flemings*, who by the inundation of the Sea in their own country, were compelled to seek for new habitations. He planted them at first in the waste parts of *Yorkshire* (12). But upon the complaints made to him after his return, he removed them to the country conquered from the *Welsh*, about *Ros* and *Pembroke*. Their posterity continue there to this day, retaining so much of their old customs and language, as distinguishes them plainly from the *Welsh*, and shows they are of foreign extraction.

Henry had not time to make a long stay in *England* (13). The year after, he was obliged to pass into *Normandy*, where the King of *France* had kindled a fresh war, by persuading the Earl of *Anjou* to take up arms again. This war gave him some trouble, but he happily surmounted all difficulties. *Lewis* had even the mortification to see the Earl of *Anjou* desert him, who, by that defection, reaped the advantage of marrying his daughter to Prince *William*, Son of King *Henry*. During the King's stay in *Normandy*, he had the satisfaction of having his most inveterate Enemy *Robert de Belesme* fall into his hands, who was sent into *England*, and kept prisoner all his life (14). These troubles being over, *Henry* returned to *England* (15), where he lived in peace the five following years, without any disturbance, except from the *Welsh*, who now and then made some incursions.

During this calm, the Pope and Clergy (16) at last prevailed upon him to permit the vacancies in the Church to

(1) Counterfeiters of Money were punished with Loss of Eyes and Genitals, *Eadmer*-----in the Year 1107, died *Edgar*, King of *Scotland*, and was succeeded by *Alexander*. *Sax. Ann.*
(2) Or rather a great Council, at *London*. See *Eadmer*, p. 94, 95.
(3) The Fortieth of *Griffin* was the Occasion of the War between the two Kings. See *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 107-----108.
(4) He ordered *Robert Fitz-Boschamp*, Viscount d'*Artois* to arrest it. *Ord. Vital.*
(5) This was one of the ancient aids due to the King from his Tenants; and was practised in *Normandy*, and also in *England*, where the *Normans* settled. It was no otherwise introduced by *Henry I*, but as he happened to be the first *Norman* King that married his eldest Daughter.
(6) He died *March 22*. *Sax. Ann.*
(7) Or rather first Institution. See *Petr. Blesensis*, p. 114, 115. And above, p. 112, Note (6).
(8) This same year King *Henry* married *Robert* his natural Son to *Anand*, Daughter and Heir of *Robert Fitz-Hugues*, late Earl of *Gloucester*, and then invited him with that Earl's Son. He also held his Court at *New Windsor*, which he had built, and there distinguished himself by his *Bravery*, *Politeness*, *Generosity*, and *William* *Bezanard*, because they had sided with *Helias* Earl of *Marne*. *Huntingd.* p. 379. *Sax. Ann.* *Brady*, p. 1009.
(9) In *August*. *Sax. Ann.*
(10) He being put to death in 1110, *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had married *Elias*'s only daughter, seized upon the *English*, and intended to do *Henry* Revenge for it. *Huntingd.* p. 379. *Brady*, p. 1004.
(11) Many of them perished over in the Reign of King *William* his Father, and also lately in his own; as they came in very great Swarms, they became a Burthen to the Nation: Whereupon *Henry* at first planted them in the waste parts of *Normandy*, and as they increased, and then into *Wales* in the Year 1111. What drew them over here, was that Queen *Maud*, *Henry*'s Mother, was daughter to *Bartholomew V*, great Lord of the *Flemings*, a Work of theirs, is to be seen in *Pembroke*, extending through a long Tract of Land. *Huntingd.* p. 182. *Ord. Vital.* *Camden*.
(12) It does not appear he was in *England* and now *August* 1111, to *July* 1113. See *Sax. Ann.*
(13) In the Castle of *Walsingham*. *Sax. Ann.* *Huntingd.* p. 380.
(14) *Eadmer* says, he did it by the Persuasion of his Bishops and Great Men, p. 110.

1109.

Anselm
Archbishop
of Canterbury
(7), a
learned
Prelate
of that
age, but
haughty
and bigotted
to the
last degree.

The Clergy
were in
hopes, the
persecution
they had
suffered,
during
his life,
would
end with
his death;

S. Dunelm.
Eadmer.

Learning
at Cambridge
(8), from
whence
it had
been long
banished.

Henry
crossed
the Sea
(10), to
stop
the
progress
of Fulk
Earl of
Anjou,
who
had
caused
the
city of
Constance
in
Normandy
to
revolt.

England
great
numbers
of Flemings,
who
by the
inundation
of the
Sea
in their
own
country,
were
compelled
to seek
for new
habitations.

Henry
had not
time to
make a
long
stay in
England
(13).

Henry
settled
them
at first
in the
waste
parts
of
Yorkshire
(12).

Henry
crossed
the Sea
(10), to
stop
the
progress
of Fulk
Earl of
Anjou,
who
had
caused
the
city of
Constance
in
Normandy
to
revolt.

1114.

be filled, particularly the See of *Canterbury*, the revenues of which he had now enjoyed five years. As soon as he had given his consent, a Synod was convened, where *Ralph Bishop of Rochester* was unanimously chosen Archbishop, to the great satisfaction of the people, by whom he was very much esteemed. *Thurstan* one of the King's chaplains, was nominated to the See of *York*. At the same time all the other vacancies were filled, but with such partiality to the *Normans*, as gave the *English* just cause to complain.

Henry in-
vades the
Welsh.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

The *Welsh* growing more and more troublesome on the borders, *Henry* determined not to chastise them only, but root them out entirely. To execute this barbarous resolution, he entered *Wales* with a numerous army, divided into three bodies, in order to surround them on all sides. But upon his approach, they having retired to their mountains, it was not possible for him to attack them. However he kept them long invested, but at last finding there was no drawing them from their retreat, consented to make peace. At his return to *London*, he received news of the consummation of his daughter *Matilda's* marriage, and her coronation at *Mentz*.

Brompt.
S. Dunelm.

1115.

The Nor-
mans take
the Oath to
Prince
William.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
and likewise
the English.

Shortly after, *Henry* passed once more into *Normandy* (1), where he caused the States to swear fealty to Prince *William* his Son, who was then twelve years of age. The next year (2), he took the same precaution with regard to *England* in order to secure the crown in his family. To this end he summoned a General Assembly at *Salisbury*, where all that were present promised to acknowledge Prince *William* for their sovereign, after the death of the King his father, and accordingly took their oath to him. From this Assembly, some pretend to date the original of the right of the Commons sitting in Parliament. They maintain, that in imitation of what was practised in *Normandy*, *Henry* summoned the Commons as well as the Nobility and Clergy; and that this was the first time, the representatives of the people were admitted to sit in Parliament (3). Others affirm, the general assemblies of the nation had been diffused before this. In fine, there are who assure us, this assembly was the first that was styled a parliament. Of these three opinions the first can never be proved, the second is evidently false, and the third very uncertain (4).

1116.

Eadmer.

Ever since *Lewis the Gros* came to the crown of *France*, he had never ceased to disturb *Henry*, either by countenancing the Male-contents in *Normandy*, or stirring up the neighbouring Princes against him. Though he generally took care to act underhand, yet *Henry* was not ignorant that this Prince was the sole support of all these little troublesome enemies, and therefore to be even with him, undertook to combat him in his own way. *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, his nephew, Son to his Sister *Adela*, being displeased with the King of *France*, *Henry* excites him to revenge; and persuading him to take up arms, lends him a powerful aid. *Lewis*, on his part, invested *William Crito*, Son of *Robert*, with the Duchy of *Normandy*, promising to assist him with all his forces to take possession. Supported by *France* and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, the young Prince attempted to wrest *Normandy* from the King his Uncle (5). *Lewis* did not now proceed underhand, but openly. He claimed, as sovereign Lord of *Normandy*, a right to dispose of that Duchy, and especially in favour of the only Son of Duke *Robert*, unjustly detained in prison.

1118.

His army being reinforced by a considerable body of troops, brought him by the Earl of *Flanders*, he entered *Normandy* with design to put *William* in possession.

As soon as *Henry* was informed of his enemies project, he made great preparations for the war, of which the *English* were obliged to bear the whole charge. When all was ready, he cross'd the Sea (6), and joining forces with the Duke of *Bretagne* (7) and Earl of *Blois*, he advanced towards the enemies to give them battle. But *Lewis* not thinking proper to expect him, chose to retire (8), covered with confusion at his own ill measures, and the ruin of his projects by *Henry's* diligence (9). Instead of maintaining what he had undertaken, he sent proposals of peace to *Henry*, which were accepted on condition he restored *Gisors*, then in his hands. After signing the treaty, *Henry* speedily returned into *England* (10), to prevent the entrance of a legate, sent by the Pope without his permission. Queen *Matilda* died some months after (11), lamented by all the *English*, as well for her merit as descent from their ancient Kings.

1118.
Henry goes
to Normandy.
Makes Peace
with Lewis.
Huntingd.
Brompt.

Matilda dies.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

Mean time, the King of *France* had still his former project in view. *Henry* neglecting to demolish the castle of *Gisors* according to the late treaty, *Lewis* took occasion from thence suddenly to invade *Normandy*, and commit great ravages. However, *Henry* remained quiet in *England* (12), seeming to take no notice of this insult. All the world was amazed at his carelessness. Nay, many ascribed it to want of courage. At length, one of his courtiers taking the freedom to represent to him, how much he wronged his reputation, he mildly answered, he had learnt of the King his father, that the best way to vanquish the *French*, was, to let them vent their first fury. But to show his slowness was not the effect of fear, he soon after passed into *Normandy* (13) with a powerful army, and offered his enemy battle. *Lewis* accepting the challenge, the two armies engaged. During the fight, a *French* cavalier, named *Crispin*, personally attacked the King of *England*, and struck him twice on the head with such force, that notwithstanding his helmet, the King was all over blood. However, he continued this single combat. The fight of his blood rousing his courage, he discharged so furious a blow at his adversary, that he tumbled him from his horse, and took him prisoner. This action raised such emulation among his troops, that at last, after a sharp engagement, the enemy was obliged to quit the field (14). The standard of *France* was taken and sent in triumph to *Roan* (15). Some time after, the two Kings came to a second battle (16), the success whereof was doubtful, both sides pretending to the victory. In a word, this war proved very sharp, and not a little troublesome to the two Monarchs.

Lewis re-
news the
War.
Malmsh.

and is de-
feated by
Henry.
Huntingd.
R. Diceto.
Brompton.

Ord. Vital.
p. 858.

Whilst hostilities were continued on both sides with equal warmth, *Lewis* endeavoured to take advantage of the residence of Pope *Calixtus* II, then in *France*, to embroil his enemy in new troubles. He was in hopes, the Pope, being of the house of *Burgundy*, would be easily induced to favour his designs. And therefore, without discovering his intentions, he prevailed with him to convene a council at *Rheims*, to which the *English* Bishops were summoned. *Henry* not mistrusting any thing from that quarter, readily permitted them to be present at the council. He only ordered them, when they took their leave, to salute the Pope in his name, to hearken to his apostolical precepts, but to take care to bring none of his new inventions into the kingdom. The council consisted mostly of *French* Bishops, some of whom being intrusted with their King's secret, made heavy complaints against *Henry*. They even proposed to excommunicate him, for unjustly detaining the person and dominions of the Duke of *Normandy* his Brother.

1119.
Council of
Rheims.
Ord. Vital.
p. 885.

It is moved
to excommu-
nicate
Henry.

(1) He failed from *Portsmouth*, October 11. 1114. Sax. Ann.

(2) He returned into *England* in July 1115. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 237.

(3) *Malmshury* says, "All the Freemen of *England* and *Normandy*, of whatsoever Order or Dignity, or to what Lord soever they were Vassals or Tenants, were made to do Homage, and swear Fealty to *William*, Son of King *Henry* and Queen *Matilda*." But this is nothing like a Parliament. *Polydore Virgil*, and from him *Stow* and *Speed's* Chronicle, commence the beginning of our Parliaments from this Assembly, but without citing the least Authority for it.

(4) In the Year 1116, after Easter King *Henry* went over into *Normandy*, where he staid till November 1120. Sax. Ann.---in Normanniâ toto hoc tempore moratus. Malmsh. p. 165.

(5) And even *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, thinking it hard that he should be obliged to do King *Henry* Homage for the Earldom of *Maine*, entered into the League: As did also *Almeric de Montfort*, who was discontented because *Henry* refused to invest him with the Earldom of *Evreux*. As soon as the Confederacy was formed, *Lewis* lent to require *Henry* to set *Robert* at liberty; which he refusing to do, the Earls of *Anjou* and *Flanders* advanced towards the Frontiers of *France*, where they no sooner appeared, but *William's* Party rose up in arms, and proclaimed him Duke of *Normandy*. But what troubled *Henry* most, was, That a Conspiracy was formed against him, wherein one of his Favourites, and some of the Officers of his Bed-Chamber were concerned. See *P. Daniel*, Vol. III. p. 205.---212.

(6) He was there already, and had been ever since the Year 1116, after Easter. Sax. Ann.

(8) He staid but one Night in *Normandy*. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 380. Brompt. p. 1006.

(9) The *French* Historians make no mention of this Retreat, or of the Peace that followed it, and have confounded this War in 1118, with that which was renewed the same Year after the delivering up *Gisors*. Rapin.

(10) It does not appear that King *Henry* returned to *England* upon this occasion. *Eadmer* expressly says, that the Legate waited upon the King at *Roan*. p. 118. The Legate was *Anselm*, Nephew to the late Archbishop of that Name.

(11) She died the first of May, and was buried in *Westminster* Abbey. She was a pious and charitable Princess. Among other Works she built an Hospital for Lepers in *London*; and the Priory of *Christ Church* within *Algate*. Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 1007. M. Paris, p. 51, 56. Malmsh. p. 165. Once as she was crossing the River *Lea* at *Oldford* near *London*; she was well washed, and in danger of being drowned: Whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, in a place one Mile distant from the *Oldford*; one over the *Lea* at the Head of the Town of *Stratford*, and the other over another Stream thereof, commonly called *Channel's-Bridge*, and made the King's Highway of Gravel between the two Bridges. She gave also certain Manors, and a Mill called *Wiggon-Mill*, to the Abbots of *Barking*, for repairing of the same Bridges and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges in *England*. And because they were arched like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterwards called *Bow*. *Stow's Annals*, p. 139. *Hayward's Life of Henry I.* p. 305.---This Year also died *Robert Earl of Mellent* the King's Counsellor. Huntingd. p. 380.

(12) This is a Mistake. He lay still at *Roan*---Apud Rothomagum se continebat. Malmsh. p. 160.

(13) This likewise is a mistake. He was there already.

(15) The King gave twenty Marks to the Man who brought it. His Horse was also taken, and sent back to him next day by *Henry*. *Lewis* was left alone, and lost himself in a Wood, from whence a Countryman conveyed him, without knowing him, to *Andely*, where the remains of his Army were retired. Ord. Vitalis, p. 885.

(16) It does not appear that it was any thing like a Battle. *Lewis* sent indeed and challenged *Henry* to a second Fight, but he did not think fit to accept of the Challenge. See *P. Daniel*, p. 211.

1119. ther, who as one of the *Crusade*, was under the Church's protection. This motion would, doubtless, have been approved by the majority, had not the Pope, who was unwilling to break with Henry, evaded it, by undertaking to exhort him himself to do justice to his Brother. Some time after, *Calixtus* came to *Gisors*, where he had a long conference with the King, intimating, it was the council's desire that *Robert* should be restored to his dominions. Henry replied, He had not taken *Normandy* from his Brother, but from dissolute Men and Robbers, that were consuming the inheritance of his Ancestors, given up to them by *Robert*. Adding, he had not proceeded of his own head, but by the solicitations of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *Normandy*, who earnestly befought him to prevent the utter desolation of the Church. He took care to strengthen these reasons with magnificent presents, which wrought so upon the Pope and the Cardinals his attendants, that at their return, they gave out, they had never seen a more eloquent Prince. Thus *Calixtus*, relinquishing the interest of the imprisoned Duke, used his endeavours to procure a peace between the two (1) Kings, in which he succeeded the next year (2).

1120. As soon as the peace was concluded, Henry, impatient to return to *England*, from whence he had been long absent (3), embarked at *Barfleur* (4) with a numerous retinue of Nobles. William his Son, who was then sixteen years of age (5), took with him in his Vessel, all the young Nobility, to render his passage more agreeable. As he sailed last, he had a mind to overtake the King his Father, and promised the Seamen a reward if his Ship arrived first. This idle emulation was probably the cause of the misfortune that befell him. As the Pilot, in order to get before the King, kept too near the shore on the coast of *England* (6), the Ship touched upon a rock (7), and split. In the fright caused by this accident, the Seamen's first care was to hoist out the Boat, in order to save the Prince, and indeed, by their diligence he was now out of danger. But as he was making off, the cries of *Matilda*, his natural Sister, prevailed with him to row back to take her in. His approach, giving others opportunity to leap in, the Boat sunk with its load, without any possibility of saving the Prince. Of all that stayed in the Ship, there were but very few (8) that escaped by swimming. From these circumstances of this tragical accident came to be known. Among those that perished in the waves, were, besides the Prince, one of his natural Brothers called *Richard*, *Matilda* his Sister Countess of *Perche*, *Lucia* the King's Niece, the Earl of *Chester*, and several Lords, whose debauched lives, as is pretended, but too justly brought down this Judgment on their heads (9).

1121. This unexpected accident made such impression on the King, that he was never after seen to laugh. However, his extreme desire to repair his loss, made him resolve to marry *Adeliza* daughter of *Geoffrey* Earl of *Louvain*. But he had not the satisfaction he expected from this marriage, she never proving with child.

The same year the *Welsh* made an incursion into *Cheshire*, under the conduct of *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales* (10). They burnt several Castles, and committed such ravages that they drew the *English* arms into their own country. Henry, at the head of his troops, made some progress at first, but one day, wanting to seize a certain pass, he fell into an ambush, where he lost many of his Men, and was shot himself by an arrow on his Breast-plate. This accident, and the fear of not ending the war so successfully as he expected, preventing him from proceeding any further, he made a peace with *Griffin*. However, he obliged him to give hostages, and a thousand head of cattle, to defray the charges of the war.

1122. Shortly after, death took out of the world *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (11). This Prelate was of an unblameable life, but so great a Stickler for the prerogatives of his See, that he could not bear the least infringement, even in things of the smallest consequence. For instance, on the solemn festivals, when the King was wont to wear his crown, he would not suffer him to put it on himself, pretending that office belonged, on all occasions, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The metropolitical See continued vacant till the next year, when *Corbet* (12), Abbot of *St. Bennet's*, was elected by a Synod held at *Winchester* for that purpose (13).

Henry imagined by the peace with the King of *France*, he had removed all occasions of war beyond Sea, and that none would dare for the future to dispute with him the possession of *Normandy*. Nevertheless, *Robert de Mellent*, Lord of *Pont-Audemer* created him fresh troubles, which obliged him to pass once more into that duchy (14). This Lord, who was in great credit with the *Normans*, and secretly countenanced by the King of *France*, undertook to restore *William Crito* to his dominions. This project was in such forwardness, that the country was going to revolt, if the King had not speedily repaired thither (15). On his arrival, he laid siege to *Pont-Audemer*, and took it. After which, he added some works to the castles of *Caen*, *Roan*, and *Arques*, and reinforced the garriçons. These precautions put a stop to the *Normans*, who did not think themselves able to execute their designs. However, *Robert de Mellent*, and the Earl of *Montfort* his associate, kept the Field with some troops. But being drawn into an ambush, they were both taken prisoners, and the rest remained quiet.

1125. Whilst the King was in *Normandy*, Cardinal *John de Crema*, the Pope's Legate, came into *England*. The design of his coming was to compleat the reformation of the pretended great abuse of the Clergy's marrying, which they still did, notwithstanding all the precautions to the contrary. The Legate was received with great pomp, though the people were little pleased with it, not being used to see Legates exercising their authority in the kingdom. A Synod being convened by the Legate at *London*, he caused several rigorous Canons to be passed against such Ecclesiasticks, as persisted in keeping their wives (16). These Canons however were not capable to stop this pre-

(1) The Articles of which were, 1. That all Castles and strong Holds taken in the late War should be mutually restored, and the Prisoners on both sides set at liberty without ransom. 2. That Henry should do Homage for *Normandy*. But Henry thinking it a diminution of his Royal Dignity to do this Homage in Person, he made his Son William do it; who then received the Investiture of that Duchy from the hands of the King of *France*; and all the great Men of *Normandy* swore Fealty to him. Ord. Vital. p. 163. P. Daniel, p. 212. S. Dunelm. p. 242. Brompt. p. 1012. Malmsh. p. 165. Prince William went, in the Year 1119, in May, to his Father in *Normandy*, and there married, in June the same Year, *Matilda*, daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*; the Marriage was solemnized at *Lisieux* in *Burgundy*. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 165. Sandford, p. 29. Ord. Vital. See Tyrrel, p. 157.

(2) Father Daniel says, the Pope threatened Henry to excommunicate him, and did so. But the *English* Historians speak in a different manner of this Interview. Rapin.

(3) Almost five years; namely, ever since after *Easter*, in 1116.

(4) On the 26th of November. Ord. Vital. The 25th says Malmsh.

(5) He must have been near Eighteen, since he was born in 1102. Sandford, p. 28. S. Dunelm. p. 242. Hoveden, p. 476.

(6) It was in or near the Harbour of *Barfleur*. Chr. T. Wikes, p. 26. Ord. Vitalis.

(7) Called *Chateraje*. Hoveden, p. 476.

(8) All the Historians agree there was but one escaped, and that a Butcher. Malmsh. p. 165. S. Dunelm. p. 142. Eadmer, p. 135. Brompt. p. 1012.

(9) There perished in this Shipwreck a hundred and forty Officers and Soldiers, fifty Sailors, with the Officers belonging to the Ship; many of the Nobility of both Sexes, &c. about three hundred in all. Most of them were drunk. See S. Dunelm. p. 242. Ord. Vitalis. This was looked upon as a just Judgment by our Historians, for their being polluted with the Sin of *Sedomy*. The loss of this young Prince was not very unhappy for the *English* Nation, in that he became which *Brompton* relates from *Malmsh.* (though we can't find it in his History) that he had such an Aversion to the *English*, that he threatened, if ever he came to be King, he would make them draw the Plough like Oxen. By this fatal accident, the Perfess, Heritors, and Estates of the Heirs of most of the great Men were in Henry's Power; by which means he strengthened his Interest in *England* by marrying their Widows, Daughters, and Sisters, to his Courtiers and Officers. Ord. Vit. Brompt. p. 1012. Huntingd. M. Paris.

(10) Being encouraged thereto by the Death of *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, drowned with Prince William.

(11) He died the twentieth of October. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 246.

(12) All the Historians call him William de Curbeil, or Curbusil. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 382. S. Dunelm. p. 247. And then he was Prior of *Chibch*, or *St. Ofsib* in *Essex*, not of *St. Bennet's*. Hoveden, p. 477. R. de Diceto, p. 504. Brompt. p. 1014.

(13) At *Gloucester*. See Sax. Ann. The same year King Henry cut a Dike from *Tonky* to *Lincoln*, between the *Witham* and the *Trent*, seven Miles in length. It is called *Fisj-Dike*. S. Dunelm. p. 243. Camden. And the same year *Ralph* Bishop of *Darham* laid the Foundations of *Newham* Castle, upon the *Tweed*. S. Dunelm. ibid.

(14) The first that declared for William Crito was *Almeric* Earl of *Montfort* and *Evreux*; who was joined by *Waleran* and *Robert*, the Sons of *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, *William* de *Romara*, *Hugh* de *Montfort*, *Hugh* de *Newcastle*, *William* *Lupell*, *Baldric* de *Braye*, *Pagan* de *Gisors*, &c. Ord. Vital. Sax. Ann. P. Daniel, p. 214, &c. King Henry, finding that these Barons were supported by the King of *France*, declared War against him; and not long after both Armies came to an Engagement near the Village of *Tenude*, about two or three Leagues from *Roan*, on March 26; wherein the French were routed. Earl *Waleran*, *Hugh* de *Montfort*, and *Hugh* de *Newcastle*, with eighty other Knights, were taken Prisoners. Against whom King Henry proceeded with great Severity, notwithstanding the Intercession of the Earl of *Flanders*, who was then at his Court. The Earl of *Mellent* was forced to surrender his whole Inheritance to Henry to save his Life; though he was restored to it in 1129. *Hugh* de *Newcastle* was kept a Prisoner five Years; and *Hugh* de *Montfort* eighteen at *Gloucester*. *Geoffrey* de *Tourville*, *Odard* de *Pine*, and *Luke* de *Barre*, had their Eyes put out. Those that signalized themselves in this Battle, were, *Eudo* de *Borling*, *William* de *Tancarville*, King Henry's Chamberlain, *William* de *Grandcourt*, &c. Ord. Vitalis. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 250. P. Daniel, &c.

(15) He spent his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and from thence went to *Portsmouth*, where he remained all *Whitsun-Week*, and then passed into *Normandy*. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 250. Brompt. p. 1014.

(16) The Legate having severely inveighed against the Priests marrying, alledged, it was a horrid Sin for a Priest to rise from the Side of a Harlot, and then to make the Body of Christ; yet the next Night, (having said Mass that very Day) he himself was taken in Bed with a Whore. Huntingd. who was himself a Priest and the Son of a Priest, and living at this very time, (after an Apology for making bold with the Fathers of the Church) is the first that gives us this Story at large, and concludes, that the Thing was too notorious to be denied, neither ought it to be concealed, p. 382. See Brompt. p. 1015.

1125.
The King
wound
at
Bromp.

tended Licentiousness, though the King strictly enjoined their observance. But Henry's aim was not so much to prevent the Clergy from marrying, as to obtain of the Pope, by this seeming zeal, a power to execute the decrees of the Councils on this article, as it happened in the year 1129. When once he was invested with this authority, he gave the Priests leave, without scruple, to keep their wives, upon payment of so much money for a dispensation (1).

1127.
Henry gets
Matilda
known
his
Sax. Ann.
Malmib.

The King had now, for six years, been expecting in vain that God would bless him with children by his second wife. When he found, after so long a time, there was no likelihood of obtaining what he desired, he was quite out of hopes. However, to secure the succession in his family, he resolved to have his daughter Matilda, who since the Emperor's death was returned to England (2), acknowledged the presumptive heir to the crown. The advantage this Princess had, of being descended by the Mother's side from the antient Saxon Kings, endeared her to the English, who were not yet inured to the Norman yoke. On the other hand, for want of a Prince of their own nation, it was the interest of the Normans to place on the throne a granddaughter of William the Conqueror, to whom they were indebted for all their possessions in England. The case standing thus, the King was in hopes to succeed in his design, and assembled all the immediate Vassals of the crown (3). Among the Lords, present at this great council, were, Stephen Earl of Boulogne, the King's Nephew, and David King of Scotland (4), on account of the Fiefs he held in England (5). All the members of the assembly consenting to the King's proposal, David and Stephen were the first that took the oath to Matilda, in case the King her father died without issue male.

Matilda
married to
Geoffrey
Plantagenet.
Hunt.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

This affair being transacted to the King's satisfaction, he married the Empress to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Son of Fulk Earl of Anjou (6), who had resigned his dominions to his Son, in order to go and take possession of the crown of Jerusalem, upon the death of Baldwin II. his Father-in-law. The King, in making choice of Earl Geoffrey for his daughter, consulted his own interest more than Matilda's inclination. This Princess, widow to an Emperor, thinking it a disparagement to marry the Earl of Anjou, very unwillingly gave her consent, and not without some compulsion from her Father. As he was in continual apprehensions that William Crito, his Nephew, would take Normandy from him, he thought he could not do better than secure Geoffrey in his interest, that he might be always ready to assist that Duchy in case of attack.

The Barons
are
displeased
with
the
Match.

If Matilda showed some reluctance to comply with her Father's will, the English and Norman Barons seemed no less dissatisfied with this alliance. They imagined, they ought to have been consulted in an affair which was to give them a King. Moreover, some had secretly flattered themselves with one day mounting the throne, by marrying the Empress. It was easy therefore to foresee, that the oath by which the King meant to bind them, would be of little force after his death. But besides that he imagined none would venture to break it, his dread of the King of France and William Crito, caused him to consider only the present advantage procured him by the marriage of his daughter.

1128.
Critt male
Earl of
Flanders.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

He was very justly apprehensive of a League between Lewis and William Crito. The King of France no longer concealing his design of putting the young Prince in possession of his Father's dominions, had now invested him with the Earldom of Flanders, the better to enable him to wage war with the King his Uncle. To prevent his Enemy's designs, Henry used two methods with equal success. The first was, to carry the war into France. The second, to engage the Flemings to rise against their new Earl, and join with Theodoric of Alsatia, who pretended to Flanders. Pursuant to his Scheme, he entered France with a powerful army, whilst, on the other hand, the towns of Flanders openly declared against his Nephew. Alost was the first William under-

took to reduce to obedience, by a Siege which lasted long enough to give his Rival time to come to its relief. William having intelligence of Theodoric's approach, went to meet him, and gaining a compleat victory, returned to carry on the Siege. The defeat of the Landgrave of Alsatia would have disabled the Besieged to hold out any longer, if in one of their sallies William had not received a wound (7), of which he died in a few days. This young Prince was endued with courage, and several other good qualities. But, to avoid the misfortunes the Duke his Father had drawn upon himself by his profuseness, he ran into the contrary extreme (8). This failing, joined to some acts of violence committed by him in Flanders, and his immoderate love of women, gained him the hatred of the Flemings, and disposed them to listen to the solicitations of the King his Uncle. The unlucky accident of this Prince's sudden death, and the presence of the English army in France, obliged Lewis to desist from his projects, and conclude a peace with Henry. From that time to the day of his death, the King had no more quarrels with France. Neither do we find in the residue of his reign, which lasted six years longer, but very few occurrences worth notice, the principal of which I am going to relate.

In the 30th year of his reign, being likewise the 30th of the Century, Henry went over to Normandy, where he spent the best part of a year. His main business was an interview with Pope Innocent II. whom at length he owned for the true Pope, though Anacletus his rival was master of Rome. The chief difficulty of this affair, consisted in the Acknowledgment of Innocent by France, and, in Henry's inclining, for that reason, to Anacletus. But Innocent managed him so artfully, that he was owned by him for Pope, which did not a little turn to his advantage.

Henry, when he returned to England (9), brought with him his daughter Matilda, who upon some disgust was parted from the Earl her Husband. Upon his arrival, he called a General Assembly (10), where the oath of fealty to the Empress was renewed, after which she went back to her Husband, who desired her company.

The year 1132 was remarkable for the founding of an Episcopal see at Carlisle, and the burning great part of London. As the houses were mostly built of wood, this City was frequently subject to the like accidents.

The next year, a new occasion of Joy blotted out the remembrance of this misfortune. Matilda was brought to bed of a Prince, named Henry after his Grandfather. Immediately after the birth of this Prince, the King assembled all the great Men, and caused them to renew the oath of the succession, in which the new-born Prince was included. This was the third time he made them take this oath, which however was never the better observed. Matilda had two Sons more, namely, Geoffrey and William, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Towards the latter end of the Summer, the King went over for the last time to Normandy. The day he embarked, there was an eclipse of the Sun, and two days after a great Earthquake, Flames of fire issuing out of the cliffs of the Earth with great violence. Some will have these accidents to be presages of the King's death, which however did not happen till two years after. Robert his eldest Brother died before him at the Castle of Cardiff, where he had been prisoner twenty-six years (11). He was a Prince of great courage, and for some time, of great reputation. His easy, careless and profuse temper, made him lose twice the opportunity of acquiring the crown of England, which he had a better claim to, and perhaps was more deserving of than his Brothers. He was surnamed Courte-hose, either for wearing his Breeches very short, or because his Legs were not long enough in proportion to the rest of his body (12). Some give him the Surname of Courteous, mistaking the meaning of the Word Courte-hose, and because that name was suitable to his generous temper.

(1) In 1126, September 11, King Henry returned to England from Normandy, having been there ever since William's death, 1123. See Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 254. Brompt. p. 1015. Huntingdon, p. 383.

(2) After her Husband's death in 1125, she came to the King her Father in Normandy; and in 1126, came over to England along with him. Brompt. p. 1015. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 175. S. Dunelm. p. 251.

(3) The Archbishop, Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Thanes. Sax. Ann.

(4) He came to England in 1126, after Michaelmas, and spent a whole Year here. Sax. Ann.

(5) Namely, Huntingdonshire, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

(6) He sent her, after William's death, to Normandy, where she was attended by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and Brian, Son of Alan Fergeant Earl of Richmond, with Orders that the Marriage Ceremony should be performed by the Archbishop of Reims. Henry himself went over into Normandy, August 20, to see the Marriage concluded. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 175. Huntingdon, p. 383. S. Dunelm. p. 255. Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, was but fifteen years old. P. Daniel, p. 223.

(7) Taking hold of a Man's Lance, he was wounded in the Ball of the Thumb; which turning to a Gangrene, he died five days after in St. Bertin's Monastery, on July 27. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 255. P. Daniel, p. 225. See his Tomb and Epitaph in Sandford, p. 17.

(8) Upon which account he is, in the Belgeick Histories, surnamed Miser. Tyrrel, p. 172.

(9) About the beginning of July, in 1131. S. Dunelm. p. 256. Sax. Ann. Malmib. p. 177.

(10) At Northampton. Huntingdon, p. 384. Malmib. p. 177.

(11) It was about twenty-seven, namely, from 1107 to 1134, February 10. Ord. Vitalis. W. Goussier.

(12) Malmibury says he was so named, because he was small of Stature, p. 153.

1133. He was buried at *Gloucester* in the Choir of the Cathedral, where his tomb is still to be seen (1).

1135. The death of Robert was quickly followed by that of the King his Brother. About the latter end of August, 1135, he was seized with a violent illness, which carried him off in seven days. It is said, he was the occasion of it himself, by eating to excess of some Lampreys, of which he was very fond. He was then at the Castle of *Lyon* near *Roan*, a place he much delighted in. When he found he was near his end, he sent for the Earl of *Gloucester* his natural Son, and earnestly recommended to him the concerns of the Empress his daughter, without mentioning the Earl of *Anjou* his Son-in-law, with whom he was displeased. After this, he made his Will, leaving to his domesticks above sixty thousand Pounds Sterling. He ordered his debts to be punctually paid, and all arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the second of December (2), in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign. His Body was cut in pieces in order to be embalmed (3), after the rude manner of those days, because he was to be buried in *England*, in the Abbey of *Reading* (4).

We find in this Prince a great mixture of good and bad qualities. He was very courageous, and of a great capacity, both in military and civil affairs. His prudence in the administration of his government appeared chiefly in that during his frequent voyages to *Normandy*, there was never any insurrection in *England*, though the kingdom did not want Malecontents. He was exceeding regular in his diet. Never was he known to be guilty of any excess in eating or drinking, except that which cost him his Life. He was inexorable to all Malefactors, being persuaded, severity was absolutely necessary to curb the Licentiousness introduced in the late reign. His education was the reverse of that of *William Rufus*: Whereas this last had no learning at all, Henry was brought up to Letters, and made great progress in his Studies. Hence he acquired the surname of *Beau-Clerc*, that is, the Scholar, for in those days none but Ecclesiasticks troubled themselves about Books, and Princes least of all others. He retained all his life long

a relish for the Sciences, imbibed in his youth. He had even built a Palace at *Oxford*, where he often retired to divert himself with the conversation of the Learned. His handsome Face, his sweet and serene Looks, his free and open Countenance, his affable Carriage and agreeable Conversation, prepossessed at first sight all the World in his favour. These fine qualities, would have rendered him an accomplished Prince, had they not been sullied with many faults, among which, Cruelty, Avarice, and an inordinate love of Women, were most predominant. The first appeared in the barbarous usage of his elder Brother. The second, in his exorbitant and Levant taxes on the People. The third, in the great number of Bastards by several Mistresses. I shall not stay to remark here his usurpation of the crown; because it may be objected, Robert's claim was not incontestable, by reason of the diversity of opinions on that subject. But for his injustice to his Brother, in depriving him of his dominions, and detaining him prisoner twenty-six years, I think nothing can be alledged to excuse it. In order to repair in some measure his misdemeanours, he founded the Episcopal Sees of *Ely* and *Carlisle*, and the Abbies of *Reading*, *Hyde*, *Chester*, with the *Priory of Dunstable* (5). This was the method of atoning for offences, much in vogue in those days, which being very easy for the Rich and Powerful, was long in use and is still practised to this day. The Charter this Prince granted the Nation upon his accession to the Crown, is one of the most remarkable particulars of his reign, during which *England* enjoyed a prodigious plenty of all things. For a Shilling might be bought as much corn as would serve one hundred men a day; and for a Groat, which was also the price of a Sheep, as much hay and oats as twenty Horses could eat in the same time. It is true indeed, Money was then much scarcer than at present.

Henry left only one legitimate daughter, namely, the Empress *Matilda*, and twelve natural Children. Among whom Robert Earl of *Gloucester* made the greatest figure (6), as well on account of his personal merit, as for his steady adherence to the Empress his Sister, as will be seen in the following reign (7).

The

1135.

Ord. Vitul.

His Character.

(1) He lies in the middle of the Choir, where, not long after, was erected for him a Tomb of Wainscot in the form of a Chest, with his Image thereon Crois-legged, carved to the Life in heart of Oak. Upon the Panels of the Chest are pencilled the Arms of several of the Worthies, and at the foot, the Arms of France and England Quarterly, which show these Escutcheons to be painted since the Reign of Henry IV. The Parliament Soldiers in Charles I's time tore it to pieces, but the Panels (ready to be burnt) were bought of the Soldiers by Sir Humphrey Truoy of *Stamford*, and after the Restoration, put together again, and beautified at his own Charge, and defended with a Wire-crown. *Sandford*. *Huntingden* says he died of Grief for being forced to wear a cast-off Coat of the King his Brother.

(2) *Rapin* by mistake says September. He died about Midnight the first of December, being Sunday.

(3) *Gervase of Canterbury* gives us the barbarous manner of embalming the King's Body. They cut great Gashes in his Flesh with Knives, and then powdering it well with Salt, wrapped it up in tanned Ox-hides to avoid the Stench, which was so infectious, that a Man who was forced to open his Head died presently after.

(4) Though there is no mention of this King's Monument, the Monks of *Reading* are thought to erect a Tomb answerable to the Dignity of their Founder. Upon the Supplication of the Abbeys, his Bones were said to be thrown out to make room for a Stable of Horses. The Monastery is now a Dwelling-house. *Sandford*.

(5) Among his other Buildings was a magnificent Palace at *Windsor*, to which he adjoined a large Park, inclosed with a Stone Wall, which is affirmed to be the first Park in *England*. Though there were afterwards so great a Number, that there were computed more in this Kingdom, than in all the Christian World besides.

(6) The rest of his natural Children were; II. *Richard* the Widow of *Anstil* a Nobleman in *Oxfordshire*. He was crowned with Prince *William*. III. *Reynald* eldest Earl of *Connaught* in the 5th of Stephen, by *Sibyl* Daughter of Sir *Robert* Count of *Meer* in *Warwickshire*. IV. *Robert* by *Edith*, Daughter of a Norman Gentleman. V. *Gilbert*, mentioned without any particulars by *St. Gervase*. VI. *William de Tracy*, named from a Town in *Normandy*. VII. *Henry*, by *Nella* Daughter of *Rees ap Idris*, Prince of *South-Wales*. (Who afterwards, of *Gerald* of *Wexford*, Count of *Pembrokeshire*, Castle, and Ancestor of the Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*.) He was born and bred, and lived and married in *Wales*, having two Sons, *Malcol* and *Robert*. He left his Line in the Contract betwixt *Margaret* Son of the King of *Norway*, and *Isabel* Montgomery Earl of *Straceghery*, 1160. VIII. *Maud*, Wife of *Retro* Earl of *Porto*. She was crowned with Prince *William*. IX. Another *Maud* married to *Conan* the Great, Earl of *Breton*. X. *Jocan* married to *Eustace* de *Paais*, natural Son of *William de Breteuil*, eldest Son and Heir of *William*, and eldest Brother of *Roger* Earl of *Hertford* in *England*. XI. *Constance* Wife of *Reynald*, Viscount *Baron* at a Town of *Maase* in *France*, and by him Mother of *Edward* Viscount *Baron*, Father of *Edward* King of *England* and *Queen* of *William* King of *Scotland*, and of *Constance* de *York*, to whom King *John* confirmed the Gift of her Grandmother *Coyfard*. XII. *Elizabeth*, the Sister of *Elizabeth* Sister of *Walter* Earl of *Mellent*, married to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. These, with two other natural Daughters, are mentioned by *Gervase*, f. 1. s. c. 29.

(7) I. The Places at which Henry I. is recorded to have held his Court, are as follow. In 1100, at *Christmas*, at *Windsor*. In 1101, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; and at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 378. S. Dunelm. p. 220.) In 1102, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*, at *Land*, and at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 221.) In 1103, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 222.) In 1104, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 223.) In 1105, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 224.) In 1106, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 225.) In 1107, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 226.) In 1108, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 227.) In 1109, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 228.) In 1110, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 229.) In 1111, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 230.) In 1112, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 231.) In 1113, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 232.) In 1114, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 233.) In 1115, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 234.) In 1116, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 235.) In 1117, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 236.) In 1118, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 237.) In 1119, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 238.) In 1120, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 239.) In 1121, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 240.) In 1122, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 241.) In 1123, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 242.) In 1124, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 243.) In 1125, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 244.) In 1126, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 245.) In 1127, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 246.) In 1128, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 247.) In 1129, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 248.) In 1130, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 249.) In 1131, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 250.) In 1132, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 251.) In 1133, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 252.) In 1134, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 253.) In 1135, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 254.) In 1136, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 255.) In 1137, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 256.) In 1138, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 257.) In 1139, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 258.) In 1140, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 259.) In 1141, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 260.) In 1142, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 261.) In 1143, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 262.) In 1144, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 263.) In 1145, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 264.) In 1146, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 265.) In 1147, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 266.) In 1148, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 267.) In 1149, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 268.) In 1150, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 269.) In 1151, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 270.) In 1152, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 271.) In 1153, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 272.) In 1154, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 273.) In 1155, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 274.) In 1156, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 275.) In 1157, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 276.) In 1158, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 277.) In 1159, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 278.) In 1160, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 279.) In 1161, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 280.) In 1162, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 281.) In 1163, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 282.) In 1164, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 283.) In 1165, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 284.) In 1166, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 285.) In 1167, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 286.) In 1168, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 287.) In 1169, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 288.) In 1170, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 289.) In 1171, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 290.) In 1172, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 291.) In 1173, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 292.) In 1174, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 293.) In 1175, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 294.) In 1176, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 295.) In 1177, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 296.) In 1178, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 297.) In 1179, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 298.) In 1180, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 299.) In 1181, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 300.) In 1182, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 301.) In 1183, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 302.) In 1184, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 303.) In 1185, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 304.) In 1186, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 305.) In 1187, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 306.) In 1188, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 307.) In 1189, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 308.) In 1190, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 309.) In 1191, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 310.) In 1192, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 311.) In 1193, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 312.) In 1194, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 313.) In 1195, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 314.) In 1196, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 315.) In 1197, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 316.) In 1198, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 317.) In 1199, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 318.) In 1200, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 319.) In 1201, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 320.) In 1202, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 321.) In 1203, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 322.) In 1204, at *Forde*, at *Windsor*; at *Albany*, at *Windsor*; at *Land*, at

4. The Reign of King STEPHEN.

1135.
Henry's pre-
cautions in-
effectual.

HENRY imagined he had taken so just measures to secure the succession to the Empire his daughter, that he could not believe they would ever fail. The triple oath, by which he had bound the Lords spiritual and temporal, seemed to him a sufficient fence against their ambition. At least, he could not think, that, supposing, some one should irreverently violate so solemn engagements, the rest would be willing to favour his designs. And yet, this tie, which appeared so strong, could not hinder those whom he least mistrusted, from contriving even before his death, how to render all his precautions ineffectual. We may have observed, in the three foregoing reigns, with what partiality riches, honours, and places, were bestowed upon foreigners, particularly upon those that had any relation to the Royal Family. These three last Kings, by excluding the *English* from their favours in order to lavish them on the *Normans*, were in hopes, by that means, to secure the Crown in their family. But on the contrary, by heaping estates and honours on their relations, instead of gaining their children friends, they created them rivals. By strengthening the foreigners against the *English*, they unadvisedly cherished the ambition of the former, and put it out of the power of the latter to support the Royal Family, when most in need of Protection.

False Mea-
sures of the
Norman
Kings.

Stephen,
Nephew to
Henry, as-
pires to the
crown in
his Uncle's
Life time.

Brompt.

Among those that shared the late King's favours, *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne* his nephew, was the most considerable. *Adela* his mother, daughter of *William the Conqueror*, brought the Earl of *Blois* her husband four Sons, of whom *Theobald*, the second, succeeded his father, the eldest being incapacitated by some natural defects. *Stephen*, the third Son, was sent into *England* to the King his Uncle. *Henry* the youngest, was a Monk in the Monastery of *Clugni*. *Stephen's* noble qualities soon gained him the esteem and affection of the King, who took a pleasure in making him rich and powerful. Besides he politickly thought he could do no better than enable his Nephews to support his family. With this view, he conferred on *Stephen* the lands taken from the Earl of *Mortaign*, and sending for *Henry* from the monastery of *Clugni*, made him Abbot of *Glassenbury*, and, some time after, Bishop of *Winchester*. The King's favour gaining the two Brothers great credit and interest in *England*, they formed so strong a party, that they thought themselves able to take advantage of the disaster befallen the Royal Family, in the death of Prince *William*. It is true, when the late King was desirous to secure the crown to *Matilda*, *Stephen* was the first that swore to that Princess. But, besides that he could not be excused, it was not yet time to discover his designs. Perhaps too he hoped the King out of affection might give him his daughter. However this be, his hopes, if he had entertained any, vanishing with *Matilda's* marriage with the Earl of

Anjou, he turned his thoughts to the accomplishing of his project. By means of secret emissaries, he fomented the discontent caused by this marriage among the nobility, and made sure beforehand of the assistance of those, who were best able to place him on the throne after the King's death. He acted however with so much caution, that his Uncle never once suspected his intentions. On the contrary, a little before his death, he gave him a fresh mark of his affection, by marrying him to *Matilda*, only daughter and heir of the Earl of *Boulogne*, by which he became more powerful and in greater credit than ever.

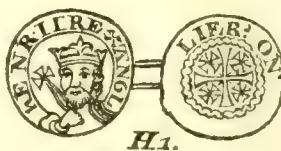
As the King's last sickness appeared at first very dangerous, *Stephen*, who attended him into *Normandy*, sent speedy notice to the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, that he might renew his intrigues to procure him the crown. This Prelate had now gained to his interest the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who had both a great influence on the Clergy. The last was the wealthiest subject in *England*, having had opportunity to amass vast riches in the administration of affairs ecclesiastical and civil, which the late King had entirely entrusted him with. The occasion of his rise was something particular. Whilst he was only a Parish-Priest in *Normandy*, *Henry*, who had then no prospect of mounting the throne, chanced to come into the Church, where he was saying mass. The great care wherewith the Priest performed the service, pleased the King so, that he desired to have him for his chaplain (1). *Roger* did not want much intreaty to accept of an honour he so little expected. Though he was no Scholar, he was naturally of so pliable a disposition, and so much a courtier, that he quickly gained the good graces of his patron; who loaded him with favours. As soon as he came to the crown, his first care was to prefer his chaplain, by promoting him to the See of *Salisbury*. But not stopping there, he committed to him afterwards the management of all important affairs in Church and State, and made him his chief Justiciary. This high post furnished the Bishop with an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which he expended not so much in acts of charity, as in building stately Palaces, and keeping as splendid an equipage almost as the King himself.

The first rise
of Roger
Bishop of
Salisbury.
Brompt-
Malmbs.
Huntingd.

It was a great advantage to *Stephen* to have for him three Prelates, whose interest secured him the suffrages of all the Clergy. This body was then so powerful, that the Lay-Lords that were not in the plot did not think themselves able to oppose the design, which they saw was entirely formed, of placing *Stephen* on the throne, since all the Bishops declared in his favour. Not one attempted to speak for *Matilda*; so great an influence had the example and authority of the Clergy over the minds of the Nobles and People. In the mean time, *Henry* dying in *Normandy*, *Stephen* forthwith repaired into *England* to back his pretensions with his presence (2).

The Clergy
declares for
Stephen.

rium Pasche, or *Exchequer of Easter*, and the *Scaccarium St. Michaelis*, or *Exchequer of Michaelmas* which were the general Terms for the Sheriffs and other Accountants to pay in their Fermes or Rents, and other Issues of their Bailiwicks. This was the ordinary Process, but upon urgent occasions the Kings sometimes issued special Writs to the Sheriffs and others concerned in collecting the Revenue, commanding them to levy Debts, &c. with all speed. Secondly, As to the manner of issuing the King's Money: This was done several ways. Whilst the Money remained in the hands of the Sheriffs, Fermers and others, it was usual for the King, his Chief Justiciary, Great Officers of his Court, Treasurer or Barons of the *Exchequer*, to order them by Writ, to make Provisions and Payments out of the Money in their hands. This Writ was sometimes called *Warrantum*, the *Sheriff's Warrant*, for upon producing it, he had Allowance made to him *de tanto* upon his account. Sometimes the King's Money was issued by way of *Prest* or *Imprest*, *de Prestito*, either out of the Receipt of *Exchequer*, the Wardrobe, or other the King's Treasuries. *Imprest* seems to have been of the Nature of a *Conceditum* or *Accommodatum*, and when a Man had Money imprested to him, he became accountable to the Crown for the same. In the fifth Year of King *Stephen*, an Account was rendered at the *Exchequer* of certain Moneys imprested to the Accountant, when the Empress came into *England*. *Mag. Rot. s. Steph.* According to ancient usage, the King's Treasure was to be issued by virtue of a Writ or Mandate under the Great and Privy-Seal, and directed sometimes to the Chief Justiciary and Barons of the *Exchequer*, but most commonly to the Treasurers and Chamberlain of the Receipt. And the Writ was founded upon a Bill or Certificate from the *Exchequer* or Wardrobe, or other Matter of Record. But the usual Writ for issuing the King's Money out of the *Exchequer* was the *Liberate*, (so called from that Word used in it,) directed to the Treasurer and Chamberlain. This Writ was of two sorts: a *Liberate* for paying a Sum *hac vice* only: and a *Liberate Current* or *Dormant* for paying in Continuance or more than once. The Reader may see Instances of these Things in *Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer*, ch. vi. x.



The Coins of *Henry I.* are of the same shape and size with those of the *Conqueror*, and inscribed *HENRIC. REX ANGL.* The King's Full-Face, Sceptre and Cross, and an open Crown with three Flower-de-lis (which distinguishes his Coin from those of *Henry II.*) on one Side; and the Reverse, a Cross Potent in each Quarter of a large Cross, as in the Figure annexed.

(1) *Malmbsbury* says, he was first brought into *Henry's* Family, while Prince, as a Steward; and recommended to him as a fit Person to manage his Affairs, p. 134.

(2) He took a light Ship at *Walsand*, and repaired forthwith to *London*. *Malmbs.* p. 178.

Supported

Supported as he was, he found no great difficulty to carry the Prize from an abject Prince, whose capricious and haughty Temper had already formed a great prejudice against her. If the Nobility had really that attachment for Religion, which they affected to show, their repeated Oaths to *Matilda* would have been an insuperable obstacle to *Stephen's* Election. But they were then as well skilled, as now, in the Art of evading the most solemn Oaths by Distinctions and mental Reservations, which render the use of an Oath of no effect. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* affirmed, the Oath taken to *Matilda*, was null and void, as being directly contrary to the Customs of the *English*, who had never suffered a Woman to reign over them. The Bishop of *Salisbury* maintained, the Oath was not binding, because *Matilda* was married out of the Realm, without the consent of the Barons, whose Intent, when they swore, was, not to give themselves a King but of the race of *William the Conqueror*. In fine to remove all Scruples, *Hugh Bigod*, the late King's Steward, swore on the Holy Evangelists, that *Henry* before he died disinherited *Matilda*, and nominated his Nephew *Stephen* for his Successor. This was sufficient to palliate the Disloyalty of the Barons. On these weak grounds they rejected *Matilda's* Right, which they had thrice sworn to maintain, and crowned *Stephen* the 26th of *December* (1), twenty-four days after *Henry's* Death. Thus this Prince saw herself deprived of the Crown, by those whom the King her Father thought most firmly engaged to stand by her. So true it is, that the Precautions suggested by human Prudence are very little to be relied on (2).

Stephen was then one and thirty years old, and in great Esteem with the Nobility. But his Age and noble Qualities were no addition to his Right. His Title was so weak, that, to engage the Barons to support it, he was forced to promise them more Privileges under his Government, than they had enjoyed in the Reigns of the *Norman* Kings his Predecessors, and doubtless, more than ever he intended to grant. This was the sole Motive of their concurring so heartily in his Election. They imagined, his being indebted to them for the Crown, would always dispose him to be grateful. But they could not expect the like from *Matilda*, who, having a clearer Title, would not think herself under the same Obligations. *Stephen* therefore, willing to spare nothing for a Crown, that might so justly be disputed with him, promised to reform whatever was amiss in the three foregoing Reigns; and the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, passed his Word for him. This Juncture was too favourable for the Barons to let it pass without Improvement. When the Oath came to be administered to the new King, much more was required of him than of his Predecessors, The Import of the Oath was, "That he would, with-
" in such a Time, fill the vacant Bishopricks, and
" leave the Temporalities in the hands of some Ecclesiastick, who should take charge of them till the Vacancy was filled. That he would not seize the Woods of any Clerk or Layman, upon frivolous Pretences, as his Predecessors had done; but be content with the Forests, which belonged to the two *Williams*, and make Restitution of such as *Henry* had usurped. Lastly, that he would abolish *Dane-gelt*, which was insupportable to the Nation, and being taken away by King *Edward*, was restored by the *Norman* Kings." The Bishops, on their part, took an Oath which was no less uncommon, for they swore Allegiance no longer than he should continue to maintain the Church in her Privileges. The Lay-Lords acted with the same caution, if we may judge by the Oath of the Earl of *Glocester*, natural Son of the late King. He swore Fealty to the King, but on condition he would preserve his Estates and Honours entire, and observe the Covenants made with the Barons. *Stephen* promised to do whatever was required of him, and moreover to grant an authentick Charter for the Security of the Liberties of the Nation, and the Privileges of the Church.

The Coronation being over, the new King posted to *Winchester*, to take possession of the Treasure of the late King, which amounted to a hundred thousand Marks (3), besides Plate and Jewels. With this Money he levied an Army of *Britons*, *Picards*, *Flemings*, and other Foreigners, whose Assistance he thought he might want, not ha-

ving yet any great Confidence in his own Subjects. At his return from *Winchester*, he went to meet the Corps of the late King, which was coming from *Normandy*, in order to be interred at *Reading*, according to his own Directions.

Hitherto *Stephen* had met with no opposition (4). But he plainly foresaw it would be otherwise hereafter. It was very likely *Matilda* and *Geoffrey* her Husband would not fail to attempt the Recovery of a Crown taken from them. It was requisite therefore to endeavour to gain the Good-will of the People; and the most proper means to that end, was to show, he really intended to perform his Promises. With this view, he convened a General Assembly at *Oxford*, where he signed the promised Charter; the chief Articles of which are as follows: "He acknowledges his being elected King, by
" the Assent of the Clergy and People. He confirms
" all the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities of the Church, and consents that all Ecclesiastical Causes
" and Persons shall be tried by the Clergy. He promises, not to meddle in any manner with the Temporalities of vacant Bishopricks, or Estates belonging to the Ecclesiasticks. He abolishes all Laws relating to Hunting and the Forests (5), enacted since the Conquest. Lastly, to gain entirely the Affection of the *English*, he revives the antient *Saxon* Laws." This Charter was very advantageous for the People, had it been punctually observed. But, as an Historian remarks, as the *English* elected *Stephen* purely for their own interest, so this Prince granted all they required, rather to amuse them, than to bind himself with these Parchment-Chains. The Solidity of this Remark is visible in the Behaviour of the King a few Months after. The Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the Death of *Corbet* (6), the King seized the Revenues, and kept them in his hands above two Years. Neither did he rest there. As the Archbishop died intestate, he seized his Effects, pretending it was the Prerogative of the Crown. It is true, he only followed the Example of the three former Kings. But supposing he was possessed of that Right, he had promised positively to give it up, that this Proceeding could not be considered but as an express Breach of his Charter and Oath.

The beginning of this Reign was very peaceable; but this Tranquillity lasted not long. The Subjects, grown insolent, set too high a value on the Service they had done the King. There were some also, who, being forced to comply with the Sentiments of the Majority, were waiting for an opportunity to take away the reproach the Nation lay under for the Breach of their Oath. The King, who was not ignorant how matters stood, did all he could to gain the People's Affections, for whom he foresaw he should soon have occasion. With this view it was that he conferred Titles and Honours on several Persons, and alienated abundance of the Crown-Lands, to such as might be serviceable to him. Mean time, this Bounty had not the effect he proposed. Those that partook of his Favours, considered them as their due Reward; whilst others that were neglected, entertained a Jealousy, which in the end proved very fatal to him. But his greatest oversight was suffering the Barons to fortify their Castles (7), which put it in their Power to revolt whenever they pleased. In a little time, there were above a thousand fortified Castles in divers parts of the Kingdom.

The Insolence of *Baldwin de Redvers* (8) Earl of *Devonshire*, quickly made *Stephen* sensible of his error. The Earl taking it as an affront, that the King should deny him some Favour, openly declared he would obey him no longer. Pursuant to this resolution, he fortified his Castle at *Exeter*, where he acted as Sovereign, exercising a tyrannical Power upon the Citizens. This Revolt was the more dangerous, as the *Welsh* at the same time made an Irruption into the Frontiers, and carried away a great Booty. The King, judging *Baldwin's* Affair to be of greater importance than the Inroads of the *Welsh*, went and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which took him up a considerable time. At length becoming master of the Place, he pursued the Rebel to the *Isle of Wight*, and compelling him to fly from thence, banished him the Realm (9), but pardoned all the other Offenders. This

(1) *W. Malmsbury* says, he was crowned the twenty second, p. 178.

(2) The Author of *Gesta Regis Stephani* testifies, That most of the Nobility did not only find it necessary, immediately to elect a valiant and worthy King, for the common Benefit and Peace of the Kingdom; but that they supposed it to be their Right and Privilege, upon the Death of their King, to provide another of the Royal Blood to succeed him. *Apu'd Duchesne*, p. 928.

(3) *W. Malmsbury* says, a hundred thousand Pounds, p. 179.

(4) *March* 21. 1136. *Matilda*, *Stephen's* Queen, was crowned. *Gerwase*, p. 134c.

(5) He also abolishes *Dane-geld* for ever. *Brompt.* p. 1024.

(6) This he did in order to secure himself against any Attempts from *Matilda*. He not only gave the Barons leave to fortify their Castles, but also to build new ones on their Estates. *Brompt.* p. 1024.

(7) Or *de Redvers*. *R. de Diceto*. p. 560. *de Rivers*, *Ann. Waver.* p. 152. He was also Lord of the *Isle of Wight*, *Tynd.* p. 204.

(8) And disinherited him. *Diceto*. *Ibid.*

1136. Indulgence proved very prejudicial to him, as it served to imbolden the discontented Party.

*The English
defeated by
the Welsh
Pow. Chro-
Gervase.*

The *Welsh* War ended not so successfully. In a Battle fought near *Cardigan*, the King's Troops were so roughly handled, that very few escaped (1). It is said, the *English* Soldiers were struck with such a Pannick, that they suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners by the very Women.

1137.
*The King of
Scotland in-
vades the
North.
Huntingd.
Malmib.
Sam. Ann.
Brompt.*

Whilst the *English* Arms were employed in *Wales*, *David* King of *Scotland* made an Incurfion into the northern Counties of *England*, under pretence of revenging the Wrong done to the Empress his Niece. He immediately became master of *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and pushing his Conquests, advanced as far as *Durham*. As soon as *Stephen* could get clear of the *Welsh*, he marched into the North (2), to repel the King of *Scotland*. The particulars of this War, of little moment in themselves, are variously related by the Historians of the two Nations, who agree in nothing but the conclusion. They unanimously tell us, it ended in a Treaty of Peace, whereby the King of *Scotland* was to have *Carlisle*, and Prince *Henry* his Son the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (3), for which he did Homage to the King of *England*. The reason of the Son's being invested, was, because the Father refused to accept It on that condition, alledging he had sworn to acknowledge no other Sovereign in *England* but *Matilda*, in case King *Henry* died without Issue-Male (4).

*An adven-
turous
Peace to the
King of
Scotland.
J. Hag-
p. 312.
Ric. Hag-
p. 258.*

*The King
taken ill;
the Conse-
quences of it.
Hoved.
Brompt.*

Ord. Vital.
M. Paris.

Stephen was no sooner returned from his northern Expedition, but he fell into a Lethargy, which made it thought his Death was at hand. The supposed certainty thereof caused in *England* as well as *Normandy*, such Troubles as were not easily allayed. The King's Friends were disheartened, and *Matilda's* Party considerably increased by the Rumour of the King's having resigned his last Breath. On the other hand, the *Welsh*, looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, renewed the War; whilst the Earl of *Anjou* entered *Normandy*, to take possession of that part of the King his Father-in-Law's Inheritance. But, for what reason I know not, this Prince was become so odious to the *Normans*, that, to avoid falling under his Government, they called in *Theobald*, Earl of *Blais*, *Stephen's* Elder Brother. *Theobald*, taking them whilst they were in this mind, came to *Lisieux*, where the Earl of *Glocester* delivered him the Keys of *Falaise* (5). This Earl remembering the last Commands of the King his Father in behalf of *Matilda*, had with great reluctance taken the Oath to *Stephen*. But as it was not in his power to support alone the Empress's Right, he chose to dissemble in expectation of a favourable opportunity to declare in her favour. He believed he had found one by introducing the Earl of *Blais* into *Normandy*; imagining this Prince, who looked with an envious eye on his Brother's Greatness, would raise such Troubles, as might turn to *Matilda's* advantage.

*The Nor-
mans send for
Theobald
Earl of
Blais.
M. Paris.
Walsing.
Glocester
delivers up
Falaise to
him.*

*Stephen re-
covers; and
drives his
Brother out
of Norman-
dy.
Ord. Vit.
p. 92.
Huntingd.
Brompt.
Hoved.
M. Paris.*

Mean time, *Stephen* being perfectly recovered, found his Affairs in the utmost confusion. The great Men, who had depended upon the King's Death, were already entered into several Factions, from whence he foresaw, it would be difficult to disengage them. *Theobald* his Brother, creating him most Uneasiness, he resolved to attack him first, before he was strengthened with the Assistance of the King of *France*, who alone was able to support him. To this end, he went into *Normandy* (6), carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he prevailed upon the chief Men of the Country to abandon the Earl of *Blais*. This change ought not to have surprized the Earl, since the *Normans* had not called him in but on supposition that *Stephen* was dead or dying, and to avoid being subject to the Earl of *Anjou*.

*He makes an
Alliance
with France.
Ord. Vital.
p. 90.
Hoved.*

The *Normans* thus deserting the Earl of *Blais*, was a great Advantage to *Stephen*. But, to deprive him of all Support, the King employed part of his Money in gaining the *French* King to his interest. This Expedient succeeding to his wish, he made an offensive League with

France, which put it out of the power of his Enemies to hurt him. However, as *Leuis* could not, without some Uneasiness, see *England* and *Normandy* in the hands of the same Person, *Stephen* resigned the last to *Eustace* Earl of *Boulogne* his eldest Son, who did Homage to the King of *France* for it. *Theobald* finding he was not strong enough to stand against the two Monarchs, thought fit to retire. However, he sent word to the King his Brother, that although he was forced to give way, he did not desist from his Pretensions, as eldest, both to *Normandy* and *England*. But he acted not according to this stout Message. For shortly after he renounced his pretended Right for the annual Pension of two thousand Marks (7).

1137.
*Great Nor-
mandy taken
by
Huntingd.
Ord. Vital.
p. 91.
Brompt.
M. Paris.*

The Union of the two Kings had the same effect with regard to the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Pretensions, as Husband to *Matilda*, were much stronger. It is true, he made some farther Attempts upon *Normandy*. But after trying in vain to gain it by way of Arms, he was forced to accept, as a Favour, a Pension of five thousand Marks.

and matters
Matters
with his
Brent., and
with the
Earl of An-
jou.
Hunt.
M. Paris.

Matters being thus settled in *Normandy*, *Stephen* hoped to enjoy some Repose in *England*, when Advice was brought him that the King of *Scotland* had made an Irruption into *Northumberland* (8). Nay he was made to fear, and very justly too, that he was invited by the *English* Barons to support the Empress's Right. For whilst *David* was ravaging the northern Borders, some *English* Lords had seized *Bedford*, and probably, did not intend to stop there. Upon this News *Stephen* speedily returned into *England*; and, though it was in the midst of Winter (9), laid Siege to *Bedford*, never quitting it till he was master of the Place (10). After which, he marched towards *Scotland*, where *David* was retired.

1138.
*King of
Scotland at-
tacks Eng-
land.
G. R. S.
p. 937.
Hunt.
J. Hagulf.
Brompt.*

Whilst he was employed in revenging on the *Scots* the Mischiefs they had done the *English*, he was recalled (11), by an Insurrection of almost all the Barons. This News surprized him; though one would think he should not wonder at the Barons breaking their Oath, since he himself had done the same with regard to *Matilda*. The Male-contents complained, he had violated his Promises in many particulars relating as well to the People as the Church. But this was only a Pretence to cover their private Resentments. The true reason of their Discontent was, their not being rewarded in the manner they expected. Ever since the King's Accession to the Crown, they had continually teased him with their Requests, though he endeavoured one while by Arguments, another while by Promises, and very often by actual Grants, to satisfy the most importunate. But all this was not able to secure their Allegiance, which was wholly grounded upon the expectation all had, of obtaining the same Honours, the same Estates, the same Posts, which was impossible.

Ageneral
Revolt in
England.
Brompt.

At the head of the Revolters was *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* (12), who had artfully improved these dispositions to form a Party in favour of the Empress his Sister, strong enough to place her on the Throne. He is said to embark in this Enterprize at the Instances of certain Monks, who represented to him how much he hazarded his Salvation in obeying an Usurper, contrary to his Oath to *Matilda*. Hence it is evident, the Monks were deeply concerned in the Plot, and the Earl of *Glocester* probably, was not the only Person to whom they had made the like Remonstrances. Some Historians add, the Earl acted on this occasion from a motive of Revenge for the King's attempting to poison him. But if it be true that *Stephen* had such a Design, it is not likely, it was before the Earl had taken Arms against him. Be this as it will, as soon as *Robert* was sufficiently supported, he went to the Empress and informed her of what he had done for her. After that, he wrote an abusive Letter to *Stephen* himself, upbraiding him for the Breach of his Oath to *Matilda*, and charging him with drawing him, by his Seducements, into the same crime. To this Letter he added a Manifesto, calling *Stephen* an Usurper, and declaring War against him. The

Gervase.
S. Dunelm.
Malmib.
Hist. Nov.
l. 2. p. 180.

The Earl of
Glocester
head of the
Revolters.
Malmib.
Gervase.

He writes an
abusive Let-
ter to the
King, and
publishes a
Manifesto.
Malmib.
Gervase.

(1) Above three thousand of them were slain on the spot, with two Barons, *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Pain Fitz-John*, besides a great Number drowned by the Fall of a Bridge over the River *Tem*. After this Victory, the *Welsh* Princes over-ran the *English* Territories, and returned home with a great Booty. *Br. Powell's Chron. Gervase*, p. 1341. *J. Hagulf*, p. 258. This last Author adds, That *Ranulph*, Earl of *Cyber*, leading an Army into *Wales*, was entirely defeated, and hardly could escape with five of his Men, all the rest being slain.

(2) With the largest Army that had ever been known in *England*. *Hoved*, p. 482.

(3) With the Town of *Doncaster*, and all that belonged to it.

(4) The King at his Return kept his Court the *Easter* following at *Westminster*, with greater Magnificence than had been usually seen in his Uncle's Reign. At these solemn Meetings the great Affairs of the Kingdom were transacted, there being no other Parliaments in those Days, not till King *John* or *Henry* III. The Expedition is generally placed before the Affair of *Earl Redvers*.

(5) But *Robert* carried off a great deal of Money out of King *Henry's* Treasure there. *M. Paris*, p. 75. *Mr. Tyrrel* says, that *Robert* could not deliver up *Falaise*, for he was then in *England*, p. 206.

(6) In March. *Malmib.* p. 180. *Huntingd.* p. 387. In August, says *J. Hagulf*, p. 259.

(7) Of Silver for three Years. *R. de Diceto*, p. 506.

(8) He returned to *England* about Christmas; having made a two Years Truce with the Earl of *Anjou*. *Huntingd.* p. 387. *J. Hagulf*, p. 259.

(9) It was held against him by *Milo de Beauchamp* for the King of *Scots*, because *Stephen* would have taken the Government of that Place from him. The King sat down before the Castle on Christmas-Eve.

(10) About Easter. *Hoved*, p. 483.

(11) The other Ringleaders, were, *William Taket*, who seized the Castle of *Hereford*; *William Lurial*, who secured that of *Cari* (perhaps *Carew* Castle in *Pembrokeshire*); *Paganet*, that of *Ludlow*; *William de Moun*, that of *Dunfort*; *Robert de Nibels*, of *Lancaster*; *IPasiam* Castle; *Eustace Fitz-John*, that of *Milton*; *William Fitz-Alan* that of *Shrewsbury*. *Huntingd.* p. 388. *M. Paris*, p. 76.

1138. King returned him no answer, but confiscated all his Estate in England (1). *He gets possession of Bristol. Or. Vital. Gervase.*

Mean time, *Matilda's* Party daily growing stronger by the Junction of the most powerful among the Barons, the Earl of *Gloucester* came into England (2), and got possession of *Bristol* (3). At the same time other Lords (4) seized upon several Castles that the former Kings had caused to be fortified for the Security of the Crown, but which, on this occasion, served only to put it in danger. *Stephen* finding himself thus forced to wage War with his own Subjects, retook and razed several of these Castles. Though he had great reason to fear in this so general a Defection, yet he supported himself with his Army of Foreigners (5); showing on all occasions an extraordinary Courage, and a steady Resolution to lose his Life with his Crown. He thought it strange, that the very Persons who had shown the most zeal to raise him to the Throne, should be the first to pull him down (6). As one is always inclined to flatter one's self, he could not see any thing in his Conduct that deserved this return, and therefore ascribed it wholly to the caprice and fickleness of the Barons. Nevertheless, their complaints were not entirely groundless. Besides that the King had not punctually observed his Charter, the extraordinary Favours bestowed on the Foreigners, particularly on *William of Ypre* his Favorite, gave his Subjects a very plausible pretence to complain. The Severity also he used, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, in seizing the Persons and Estates of some of the Barons on bare Suspicions, added fresh Fuel to the Fire that was already too much kindled. In fine, the dissention grew to that height by mutual Reproaches and daily Acts of Hostility, that the Male-contents sent *Matilda* word, they were ready to own her for Sovereign (7), according to the Promise made the King her Father.

The King of *Scotland* fomented these Troubles in favour of the Empress's Niece, though he was also Uncle to *Stephen's* Queen (8). When he found matters ripe, he once more entered *Northumberland*, and cruelly ravaged that County, which generally felt all the effects of the Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*. As *Stephen* could not then leave the heart of the Kingdom, to go to the relief of the North, *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* undertook to oppose this invasion (9). He assembled the Barons and Gentlemen of the northern Parts, and represented to them, That in this emergency, they were to depend upon themselves, it not being in the King's power to send them Assistance. This consideration having the effect he expected, they unanimously engaged to exert their utmost to repulse the Enemy. Shortly after, each appearing with his Troops at the general Rendezvous, they all ranged themselves under the command of *Walter de Espec* and *William* Earl of *Albermarle* (10), and advanced as far as *Alverton* (11). Having resolved to expect the Enemy in that place, they set up a Mast, on the top of which they placed a Silver *Pix* with a consecrated Host, and the Banners of *St. Peter* and *St. John of Beverly*, to serve as an Ensign where they were to meet again and rally in case of need. Hence this War was called the *War of the Standard*. *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievall* has given a particular description of the Battle; but, as it seems to me of little moment, I shall only relate the Success. The *Scots*, much superior in number, attacking the *English* in their Intrenchments, were repulsed with the loss of twelve thousand Men (12). Though the King of *Scotland* and *Henry* his Son gave on this occasion astonishing proofs of their Valour, they could not prevent their Army from being entirely routed. It is said a Bishop's (13) Harangue to the *English*, promising Heaven to all such as were slain in the Battle, did not a little contribute to the Success of that day.

Whilst his Affairs were thus prosperous in the North, *Stephen* spread the Terror of his Arms in the heart of the Kingdom. The Male-contents not daring to keep the Field, gave him time to reduce their Castles one after

another without opposition (14). These Conquests joined to his late victory over the King of *Scotland*, astonished the Earl of *Gloucester*. He expected quite another issue of this War, but when he saw his Party daily diminishing, he had no other refuge but to go and solicit the Empress to come into *England*, and encourage her Friends by her Presence.

The Retreat of the Earl of *Gloucester*, and the Flight of some other Lords of his Party, procuring the King some respite, he resolved to pursue the *Scotch* War, so successfully begun. To that end, he advanced towards the North, and in his way took the Castle of *Leeds*; after which, he continued his march to *Scotland*, where *David* retired after his Defeat. His intent was to give the *Scotch* King battle. But as *David* was unwilling to run any hazard in his own Country, he carefully avoided all opportunities of fighting. However, fearing he might be at length compelled to it, he resolved to sue for Peace. At any other time, *Stephen* would have made him pay dear for it, but at that juncture did not think proper to stand off. The truth is, the Advantages he could expect from that War were not comparable to the Misfortune his Absence might occasion: And therefore he concluded a Peace with *David* (15), whereby Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* was put in possession of the County of *Northumberland*, and Earldom of *Huntingdon*. In return for these Advantages, *David* swore never more to concern himself in the Quarrel between *Stephen* and the Empress.

The War being thus ended, the King returned into his Dominions, attended by the Prince of *Scotland*, who by his noble and generous Carriage, had so won the heart of *Stephen*, that he loved him as if he had been his own Son (16). The King's caresses to the young Prince raised the Jealousy of the Earl of *Chesler* and some other Lords, who, on pretence that the King placed him above them at his Table, retired from Court. But, supposing *Henry's* Birth did not require that distinction, yet his Merit deserved the King's particular regard; for, according to all the Historians, he was an accomplished Prince. *Stephen* continued therefore, notwithstanding the Jealousy of the *English*, to show him marks of his Esteem, particularly in a case, which demonstrated his Sincerity. This young Prince, who had accompanied the King to the Siege of *Ludlow*, approaching too near the Walls, was like to have been pulled from his Horse by an Iron Hook at the end of a Rope, if *Stephen*, with the hazard of his own Life, had not rescued him. An action which redounded as much to the honour of the King as of the Prince for whom he testified so great an Affection.

This same Year *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, called a Synod, where *Theobald* Abbot of *Bee* was elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the great satisfaction of the *English* who beheld the Metropolitan See vacant for two Years.

Stephen's late Peace with *Scotland*, and his Advantages over his domestick Enemies, procured him a Tranquillity which seemed likely to continue. And probably, it would not have been disturbed, if an unreasonable Quarrel with the Clergy, had not hurl'd him down from the height of Grandeur and Glory to the most deplorable State a Sovereign could possibly be reduced to. The Bishops had been very instrumental in placing him on the Throne. From that time their Power was so much increased, that it was no less dangerous for the King to make them his Enemies, than it was advantageous to have them in his Interest at the time of his Election. Nevertheless, his Jealousy of their Power, suffered him not to consider, with his wonted prudence, the danger he exposed himself to, in resolving to humble them. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* had two Castles as strong as they were stately, one at the *Devizes* (17), and the other at *Sherburn*, and was building a third at *Malmesbury*. *Alexander* his Nephew, Bishop of *Lincoln*, had built one at *Newark*, not scrupling to declare openly, it was designed as much for the Security as the Dignity of his

(1) And razed his Castles, but those of *Bristol* and *Slade*. *Malmsh.*

(2) In which, and the other Castles belonging to him, he put strong Garrisons. *Gervase*, p. 1345.

(3) Even *Mile*, the High Constable, forsook King *Stephen*. *ibid.*

(4) Upon the first News of the Barons rising, it is reported he should say, Since they have chosen me their King, why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of *God*, (his usual Oath) I will never be called an abdicated King. *Malmsh.* p. 102.

(5) Promising to get her the Crown in five Months. *Gervase*, p. 1346.

(6) Mary of *Scotland*, Sister to the Empress's Mother, married *Eustace* Earl of *Belgine*, by whom she had *Matilda*, Wife of *Stephen*. *Rapin*.

(7) He was the King's Lieutenant in those Parts.

(8) The other great Men in this Battle, were, *Walter de Gant*, *Robert de Brus*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *William de Percy*, *Barnard de Rabel*, *Richard de Cury*, *William Fitzhard*, *Robert de Souteville*, *Robert de Lisy*, *William Peverel*, *Robert de Ferrers*, *Geoffrey Hothelme*, &c. *J. Hagulst.* p. 262. *William de Albemarle* was created Earl of *Yorkshire*, and *Robert de Ferrers* Earl of *Derbyshire*, for their Bravery in this Battle. *J. Hagulst.* *ibid.*

(9) Now *North-Allerton* in *Yorkshire*.

(10) Ten Thousand, says *Brompton*, p. 1027. *Gervase*. This Battle was fought August 22. *Huntingd.* p. 329. *Hoved.* p. 484.

(11) The Archbishop of *York* being disabled by Sickness, appointed *Ralph* Bishop of the *Orcades* to command in his stead, who made a long Oration against the *Scottish* Barbarities, and at the Conclusion absolved all from their Sins that should chance to fall in Battle. *Hunt.* *Hoved.* The *Orcades* were not then under the Dominion of *Scotland*. *Huntingd.* p. 388. *Brompt.* p. 1026.

(12) After *Christmas* he took the Castle of *Slade*. *ibid.*

(13) This Peace was concluded at *Durham*, April 9. *J. Hagulst.* p. 265.

(14) He married, during his stay in *England*, *Ada* Sister of *William* Earl of *Warren*; *Waleran* Earl of *Mellert*, and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, by whom he had three Sons, *Malcolm*, *William*, and *David*. *J. Hagulst.* *ibid.*

(15) King *Stephen* was informed they were fortifying that Castle against him, which was the Reason of his seizing it. *Gervase*, 1345.

1139. Church. *Nigel*, Bishop of *Ely*, another of *Roger's* Nephews, imitating the state of his Uncle and Cousin, affected a magnificence in his Retinue and House, that excited the Envy of some, and the indignation of all. When these three Prelates came to Court, they were attended with many armed Followers, as if they designed rather to brave the King, than to pay him their respects. This Pomp and Grandeur procuring them abundance of Enemies, there were some that took occasion to whisper in the King's ear, that he could not be safe as long as the Bishops were so powerful. His Suspicions were further confirmed by the Rumour of *Matilda's* preparing to come into *England*, where she had a strong Party. Though the Bishop of *Salisbury* had been a principal Instrument of *Stephen's* Election, yet he fancied him gained by *Matilda*; and in this belief formed a design to humble the Pride of the Bishop and his Nephews. It was not long before an opportunity offered. In a general Assembly held at *Oxford* (1), the Retainers of the Bishop of *Salisbury* quarrelling with those of *Alan of Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*, one of the Earl's Knights chanced to be killed in the scuffle, and many wounded on both sides (2). The Bishop's Men had the advantage, being assisted by those of the Bishops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, and of the Chancellor, who passed for *Roger's* Nephew, though in truth he was his Son (3). The King, willing to improve this occasion to mortify the whole Family, summoned them all four to appear at his Court, and answer for this Riot of their Domesticks. This Summons was just and legal, but the satisfaction demanded by the King was excessive. He was not content with the penalty enjoyn'd by the Law in the like cases; but insisted upon the Bishops delivering into his hands all their Castles, as a Security for their future Allegiance. This Demand seeming too exorbitant to the Prelates, they desired time to consider of the matter. Whilst the King waited for their Answer, the Bishop of *Ely* absented himself, and retired to *Roger's* Uncle's Castle at the *Devizes*. This Flight breaking off the Accommodation, the King went immediately and laid Siege to the Castle, where was also *Matilda*, Wife or Concubine of the Bishop of *Salisbury*. This Place being very strong, the King, who foresaw the difficulty of the Siege, bethought himself of an Expedient to put an end to it without loss of time. He ordered the Bishop of *Salisbury* and the Chancellor to be led up close to the Wall (4), and sent word to *Matilda*, unless she delivered up the Castle, the Chancellor should be immediately hanged, neither should the Bishop eat or drink till it was surrendered. These Threats producing the effect he expected, she delivered up the Castle (5), where he found forty thousand Marks in ready Money. The Bishop of *Lincoln* purchased his Liberty, by surrendering to the King his Castle of *Sleaford*. Shortly after, *Stephen* became master likewise of the Castles of *Salisbury*, *Malmesbury* and *Sherborn*. With the Money, found in these Places, where the Bishops kept their Treasures, he purchased the Friendship of the King of *France*, and made an Alliance with him. This Alliance was cemented by the Marriage of *Eustace*, Son of *Stephen*, with *Constantia* Sister to *Lewis the Young*, who succeeded *Lewis the Gros*, his Father.

The King grows suspicious of them.

Upon a Quarrel at Oxford, the King summons them to appear at his Court. Gervase.

Malmsh.

He seizes their Castles. Ord. Vital.

Hunt. Gervase.

Brompton.

Eustace his Son married.

The Clergy are dissatisfied. Malmsh. Brompt. Hoved.

The Bishop of Winchester undertakes the Cause of the Clergy, and cites the King before a Synod. Malmsh. Hoved. M. Paris.

account of his Actions. At the opening of the Synod, 1139. he aggravated in a virulent *Latin* Speech all that *Stephen* had done against the three Bishops. He exhorted the Prelates vigorously to maintain the Rights of the Episcopal Dignity, and the Privileges of the Church (7); protesting he would put in execution the Decrees of the Council, though it cost him the Friendship of the King, the Loss of his Estate, and even Life itself. *Stephen* had sent to *M. Paris*, the Council some Lords, with *Alberic de Vere* a famous *Civilian* (8). As soon as the Legate had ended his Speech, these Lords demanded, why the King was summoned thither. The Legate answered, to give a reason of his imprisoning the Bishops, and despoiling them of their Estates; a Crime, added he, hitherto unheard of in the Christian world. *Alberic*, taking him up, said, the Prelates were punished not as Bishops, but as the King's Servants. The Bishop of *Salisbury* not relishing that Distinction, roundly told him, the Bishops could not, in any respect, be considered as the King's Servants. The Majority of the Synod being much of the same Opinion, the Archbishop of *Roan*, who thought, the Episcopal Dignity did not render a Subject independent, endeavoured to set them right. He demanded, whether they could clearly prove by the Canons, that Bishops ought of Right to have fortified Castles? But, suppose (says he) you can prove such a Right by the Canons, ought you not to commit your Castles to the King's disposal, when the Kingdom is threatened with an Invasion? Is it not the King's Business to take care of the Safety of the State? And can Subjects refuse to admit him into their Castles without incurring the Guilt of Rebellion? These Arguments not prevailing with the Bishops to desist from their Pretension, the Legate moved to excommunicate the King, and send Deputies to *Rome* to carry their complaints to the Pope. Then the Lords sent by the King, thought it time to speak in a higher tone. They declared, if the Synod offered to excommunicate the King, the Bishops would soon have cause to repent; and if any presumed to go to *Rome*, on such an occasion, their return would be very difficult. This Declaration made such impression on the Bishops, that none of them were willing to expose themselves to the King's resentment, to gratify the Legate. Accordingly, the Synod being satisfied with ordering a Deputation to the King to demand a suitable Reparation, broke up (9) after a three day's Session. Pursuant to this resolution, the Legate and Archbishop of *Canterbury* went to the King, and earnestly besought him to prevent a rupture between the Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers. Which was, in plain *English*, requiring him to make ample Satisfaction to the Clergy, otherwise a rupture was unavoidable; for this was the real meaning of their Words. It cannot be conceived on what other Foundation the Clergy then pretended to be independent of the Crown, than their being grown so powerful that they thought, the King could not stand without them. Formerly, during the Empire of the Saxons, the Bishops thought it an Honour to be ranked with the *Thanes*, that is, with the King's Servants. After the *Norman Conquest*, *William I.* threw the Bishops into Prison upon bare Suspicions: Some he banished, others he deprived of their Bishopricks, without any one's daring to stir, and the People looked on unconcerned. But in the Reign of *Stephen*, it was an unheard of Crime to dispossess the Bishops of their Castles, and an unpardonable Rashness to stile them the King's Servants. For some time past, the Clergy had established it as a Maxim, that the main of Religion consisted in upholding the Church in all the Privileges and Immunities she herself was pleased to assume.

Archbishop of Roan pleads for the King.

The Legate proposes to excommunicate the King.

Deputation to the King M. Paris.

Be this as it will, the People were all in combustion upon this occasion, as if themselves had been deprived of their Liberties. The whole Kingdom swarmed in an instant with Malecontents, who only wanted a Leader to command them. In fine, the Clergy's Faction was so strong, that most of the Lay-Lords came over to their side and espoused their Cause. The Emperors thinking this a favourable juncture, resolved to improve it and go into *England* (10), though he had but one hundred and

The People side with the Clergy. Malmsh. Ord. Vital. Matilda comes into England. Ord. Vital. Brompt. Malmsh. p. 185.

(1) August 27. Malmsh. p. 182.

(2) Gervase gives this Account of the Matter, The King, when he heard that the Castle of *Devizes* was fortifying against him, sends for *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* to come to him at *Oxford*. The Bishop suspecting the King meant him no good, brings along with him his two Nephews, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Ely*, and a very large Retinue well-armed. The King, upon their approach, being afraid of some Treachery, orders his Men to stand upon the Defensive. Whilst the King and the Bishops were conferring together, a Quarrel arose between the King's and the Bishop's Attendant, &c. p. 1345.

(3) *Roger* the King's Chancellor, was the Bishop's Son by *Maud* of *Ramesbury* his Concubine. *Tyrol*, Vol. II. p. 220.

(4) The Bishop was unbound, but the Chancellor was led in Fetters with a Ha ter about his Neck. Malmsh. p. 181.

(5) *Maud* delivered up the Keep or chief Place of Strength, and so forced the Bishop of *Ely* to surrender the whole Castle, in consideration he might have his Liberty. Ord. Vital. p. 920. *Nigel* was banished. R. de Diceto. p. 508.

(6) Or rather, because he had not been made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Gervase. p. 1348.

(7) He insisted chiefly on the Bishop of *Salisbury* being seized in the very Chamber of the Court or Great Council, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* in his Lodging. Malmsh. p. 182.

(8) Ancestor of the Earls of *Oxford*.

(9) September 1. M. Paris, p. 77.

(10) In July, Gervase. She landed at *Portsmouth*, Septemb. 30. Malmsh. p. 183. *Brompton* and *Gervase* say, that she landed with a great Army, p. 1029, 1349.

1139.

Gervase.
M. Paris.
Huntingd.

Malmsh.

Is besieged by
the King in
Arundel
Castle.
Gervase.and conducted
safely to
Bristol.
Malm. ibid.Matilda
gains both
the Nobles
and Clergy.
G. R. S.
p. 945.1140.
A Civil
War.
Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.
Gervase.

Gervase.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester sides
with the
King.
Malmsh.

forty men to accompany her. This was a very considerable Troop for the undertaking, she was meditating; but she relied on a powerful Aid from the Male-contents. She took up her first quarters at the Castle of *Arundel*, belonging to the Queen Dowager, as part of her Dowry (1). The Earl of *Glocester*, who came with his Sister, thinking her safe in a place where she was received with all the respect due to her Rank, left her and went to *Bristol* (2). Mean while, *Stephen*, who was besieging *Marlborough*, being informed of *Matilda's* arrival, suddenly raised the Siege and marched towards *Arundel*. Upon the King's approach, the Queen Dowager repented of admitting *Matilda*, fearing it might occasion the loss of her Castle, with all the Privileges she enjoyed in *England*. On the other hand, Honour and Honesty would not suffer her to deliver her Guest into the hands of her Enemy. To get clear of this perplexity, she sent the King word, if he insisted upon the delivery of the Empress, she was no less bent, on her side, to protect her, till some or other came to her relief. But withal desired him to consider, she had not entertained her as an Enemy to the King, but as her Daughter-in-law, Widow of a great Emperor, to whom she could not be excused from paying the Respect due to her. That her intent was not to countenance her designs against him, but only to prevent any Ill from befalling her whilst under her roof. In fine, she proposed to the King that *Matilda* might have leave to retire to some other place, where it would be as easy to besiege her as in *Arundel* Castle. That by this Generosity he would oblige a Queen, Widow of a great Monarch, his Uncle and Benefactor, without the least detriment to himself. Whether *Stephen* was sensible it was not in his power to take the Castle before it was relieved, or thought himself bound to oblige the Queen so far, he gave his word, *Matilda* should be safely conducted to *Bristol*; which was accordingly done (3). But he had too much reason to repent afterwards of his being so generous. *Matilda*, after some stay at *Bristol* (4), removed to *Glocester* (5). Whilst she remained in these two Cities, she so artfully managed, in her favour, the Discontents of the Clergy and Nobility, that she gained them both to her Interest, and by their means, almost the whole body of the People (6). There adhered to the King only a few Barons, and his foreign Army, which though ill paid, served him faithfully (7).

I shall not undertake to relate the Particulars of this Civil War, which, like the rest of that kind, furnishes more Instances of Treachery and Cruelty, than of glorious Actions. I shall content my self with observing the principal Events. Whilst it lasted, the whole Kingdom was divided, every City, County, and Person siding with the King or the Empress, according as they were swayed by Passion or Interest. The Lords, nearest in Neighbourhood and Blood, fell upon one another in a cruel manner, burning the Houses, and pillaging the Vassals of each other, so that a terrible confusion was quickly spread over the whole Kingdom. In this fatal Anarchy, the Barons, acting as Sovereigns, grievously oppressed the People, and were so presumptuous as to coin their own Money. On the other hand, the King and *Matilda*, instead of redressing, connived at these Proceedings, fearing the calling their Friends to account would make them change sides. Moreover, the foreign Soldiers, of whom *Stephen's* Army entirely consisted, occasioned still further Disorders. As the King was not able to pay them duly, he was forced to suffer them to plunder the Poor People (8), who, though innocent, felt the greatest share of the Calamities such a War brings with it (9).

Mean time, the Bishop of *Winchester*, being at last sensible of his Error, in raising a Storm, which he foresaw would infallibly overwhelm the King his Brother, suddenly changed sides. He reflected, that being Brother to

Stephen, he himself would certainly be involved in the same Ruin with him, and consequently, it was his Interest to support him, instead of promoting his destruction. And therefore, desirous of regaining the King's confidence by some important Service, he drew to *Winchester* a good number of Lords, Friends to *Matilda*, and detained them Prisoners, till they delivered their Castle to the King.

Amidst all his difficulties, *Stephen* showed a Firmness that kept many from deserting him, which, doubtless, they would have done upon the least Signs of Faint-heartedness. For it is always the case, when, on the like occasions, Princes seem to distrust their Fortune or Abilities. Instead of being daunted at the violent Shocks he received, *Stephen* daily endeavoured to remedy, by his valour and prudence, the Evils he suffered by the revolt of his Subjects. He even hoped to put an end to them at once, by laying Siege to *Wallingford*, where *Matilda* and the Earl of *Glocester* were shut up. But meeting with more difficulties in this Siege than he imagined, he turned it into a Blockade (10). He was no sooner retired, but the Earl of *Glocester* got out of the Castle, and went and seized *Worcester*, whilst the Barons of his Party ravaged the Counties of *Chester* and *Nottingham*.

Mean time *Matilda*, being too closely pent up in *Wallingford*, found means to get from thence and retire to *Lincoln*. As soon as the King had notice of it, he formed the design of surprizing her; well knowing, *Lincoln*, where he had many Friends, could not be defended by the few Troops *Matilda* had with her. He would have taken his Rival in that place, which held out but a few days (11), had she not contrived to escape, whilst the Articles of the Capitulation were drawing. *Stephen* missing his Aim, retired without leaving a Garrison in the Town for fear of weakening his Army. He was hardly gone, when he was informed that the Earl of *Chester* (12), Son-in-law of the Earl of *Glocester*, was come thither with his Wife and Brother (13), to keep their *Christmas*.

His great desire to have these three Persons in his power, made him march back with such speed that the Earl had but just time to retire into the Castle, which was immediately invested. However, he found means to escape and get to the Earl of *Glocester*, to desire him to come to the relief of the Besieged, who could not hold out long. The Earl of *Glocester*, willing to deliver his own Daughter, drew all his Troops together, and marched to *Lincoln* with that speed, that he was like to surprize the King, who never imagined him so near. Having forded the River *Trent*, a thing the King thought impracticable, he came on a sudden so close to the Royal Army, that neither Side could possibly avoid fighting. The two Armies being drawn up, the Battle began, which for a long time was fought on both Sides with equal bravery (14). But at length the King's Horse, consisting of *Flemings* and *Bretons*, giving ground, they were so vigorously pressed, that they could never rally more. The Earl of *Glocester* improved this Advantage, not to pursue the flying Horse, who were incapable of hurting him, but to fall on the King's Infantry, who being destitute of the assistance of the Cavalry, took to Flight also.

Mean time *Stephen*, who could not bear the Thoughts of flying, was left almost alone, and on foot, in the midst of the Field of Battle, assailed by Multitudes, but resisting all their Efforts with an astonishing Valour. If the Horse had rallied in the mean while, he might have freed himself from this Danger, to his immortal Fame. But destitute of all Assistance, he was forced at length to yield to Numbers, being surrounded on all sides. However, it was not till the last extremity; for his Battle-Ax breaking by the force of his Blows, he drew his Sword, and defended himself for a considerable time, foaming with Rage to see himself thus abandoned by his Army. At length, after performing more than could naturally be expected from a single Person in his Con-

Stephen's
Undaunted-
ness.He besieges
Multislar.
Wallingford,
and changes
the Siege into
a Blockade.
Sax. Ann.
Gervase.Matilda re-
tires to
Lincoln,
where she is
besieged, but
escapes.
Malmsh.
Hunt.
M. Paris.
Brompt.
Gervase.
Hoved.Ord. Vital.
p. 921.Stephen be-
siegues the
Castle of
Lincoln.The Earl of
Glocester
comes to its
Relief.
Battle of
Lincoln.
Gervase.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.
Brompt.
J. Hagult.The King's
Army is
routed.Stephen
taken Pri-
soner.
Malmsh.

(1) *Adeliza*, the beautiful Daughter of *Godfrey* first Earl of *Brabant*, was Wife of *Henry I.* fourteen Years, who gave her in Dower the Castle and Fiefdom of *Arundel*. She was afterwards married to *William de Albini*, in her Right Earl of *Arundel*, by whom she had *William* (and from him, by the Fitz-Alant Earls of *Arundel*, *Thomas Howard* the present Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Arundel* derives his Descent) and *Godfrey de Albini*, and *Alice* Wife of *John* Earl of *Gloucester*. *Sandford General*. p. 27.

(2) Being attended only by twelve Persons. *Malmsh.* p. 184.

(3) By the Bishop of *Winchester*. *Gervase*, p. 1349. The Anonymous Author of this King's Actions, says *Stephen*, was persuaded to it by the Bishop of *Winchester*, for fear the Earl of *Glocester* might subdue great part of the Kingdom, whilst the Siege should last. This Advice, whether given sincerely or to ruin the King, the Author does not determine, p. 947.

(4) Where she was received by *Milo* the King's Constable, who was Deputy Governor of the Castle under *Robert*. *Malmsh.* p. 184. It was in *October*. *Gervase*, p. 1349. This *Milo* is called *Glocestris Comes Constabularius*; and *Regis Constabularius*. *Con. Flor. Wig.* p. 673.

(5) Not long after her Arrival, *Brian-Fitz-Court* declared for her, and viualled and fortified the Castle of *Wallingford*. *Gest. R. Steph.*

(6) This Year, one *Ralph*, a Clergyman belonging to the Bishop of *Ely*, formed a Conspiracy to kill all the Normans in *England*. *R. de Diceto*. p. 508.

(7) *W. Malmsh.* says, that he was also forced upon that account to clip, or make the Money lighter, p. 185.

(8) See a dismal Account of it in *Sax. Ann.* *Gervase*, &c.

(9) And went and laid Siege to *Malmsh.*, *Troubridge*, and *Cerne* Castles. *Gervase*, p. 1350.

(10) From *Christmas* till the beginning of *February*. *Huntingd.* p. 390.

(11) *Ranulph de Gernon* fourth Earl of *Chester*. He is said to be poisoned in 1155, by *Maud* his Wife, (youngest Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Chester*) and *William Power* Lord of *Nottingham*. (13) *William de Romara*. *Sax. Ann.*

(14) The King's chief Officers in this Battle, were, *Alan* Earl of *Richmond*, *Robert* Count de *Mellent*, *Hugh Bigod*, Earl *Simon*, the Earl of *Warren*, Earl of *Albemar*, *William of Ypres*. *Gervase*, p. 1353. *M. Paris*, p. 78.

1140.

Huntingd.
Gervase.
Hoved.

dition, his Sword flying in pieces, and little more than the Hilt remaining in his hand, he was knocked down on his knees with a Stone. Whereupon *William de Kains* a valiant Knight ran in, and seizing him by the Helmet presented his Sword to his Throat, threatening to kill him unless he yielded himself Prisoner. Notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, he refused to surrender to any but the Earl of *Gloucester*, who by good fortune was near at hand. As soon as the Earl had him in his power, he conducted him to the Empress (1), who ordered him to be confined in the Castle of *Bristol*, where he was ignominiously laid in Irons (2).

1141.

Matilda
Malmsb.
Hoved.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Whilst this unfortunate Prince was in so deplorable a condition, *Matilda* improved the Advantages lately gained by her Arms. All *England* deserted the captive King, except *London* and *Kent*, where he had still some Friends left by the means of the Queen his Spouse, *Eustace* his Son, and *William de Ypres* his Favourite. The Barons that preserved their Allegiance, retired to *London*, where they had Interest enough to gain admittance, and prevail with the Citizens to make a Confederacy with them in favour of the King. *Normandy* soon followed the Example of *England*. No sooner had the Earl of *Anjou* received advice of the King's Imprisonment, but he repaired to *Normandy*, to cause the Empress his Wife to be acknowledged, which he easily accomplished. At the same time, the King of *Scotland* breaking the late Treaty, invaded the northern Counties, under pretence of assisting the Empress, but in reality for his own private advantage.

The Bishop
of Winchester
consecratedMatilda.
G. R. S.
1141.
Malmsb.
J. Hagult.

The Victory of *Lincoln* seemed at once to place *Matilda* on the Throne; but there was one Obstacle more to surmount, before she could hope to enjoy the Fruits of her Success, which was, to gain the Bishop of *Winchester*. This Prelate, who, by his dignity of Legate was at the head of the Clergy, might possibly set that powerful Body against her, whose Example had great influence upon the Nobles and People. She deemed it necessary therefore to endeavour before all things to win him from the King, and with this view went to him at *Winchester*. He made some difficulty at first to hearken to her Proposals. But upon her offering him the disposal of all the Church-Preferments, he threw up the Cause of the King his Brother, and promised to use his endeavours to procure *Matilda* the suffrages of the Clergy. He even took his Oath to her beforehand (3), but with this limitation, that it should be binding no longer than she kept true to her Promises. On the morrow, he received her with great pomp in the Cathedral Church, where he solemnly excommunicated all the King's Friends, and absolved all those that should abandon his Party and come over to the Empress. Shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* swore likewise to *Matilda* (4). But he was so squeamish as to procure the King's consent first, which he went to ask himself of *Stephen* in prison.

The Archbishop
of Canterbury
swore to
Matilda.
Malmsb.
Gervase.
The Bishop
of Winchester
consecrated
Matilda.
Malmsb.

There was nothing more wanting to *Matilda* but the seal of publick Authority to be really Queen of *England*. But, though she was sure of the Consent of the Temporal Lords, she was apprehensive of meeting with opposition from the Clergy, who probably, would be more scrupulous on account of their Oath to the King. The Legate taking upon him to accomplish this Affair, called a Council at *Winchester*, where all the Bishops and Abbots were present, with the Archdeacons as Representatives to the Inferior Clergy. The day before the opening of the Synod, the Legate privately conferred, first with the Bishops, then with the Abbots, and lastly with the Archdeacons. It is not known what passed at these private Conferences, but it was plain, next day, what use the Legate was willing to make of them. As soon as the Council was assembled, he made a long Speech, endeavouring to show that the Male-Administration, Infincerity, and Tyranny of *Stephen*, had been the sole cause of all the Trouble in the Kingdom. He owned that indeed he had pledged his Faith for him, when the Necessity of Affairs had, as it were, compelled the *English* to place the Crown on his head: Adding, he was deceived the first, and with extreme grief saw himself obliged to revoke his engagement. He insisted upon his former Oath to

Matilda, adding it was more reasonable to regard the Orders of his eternal Father, whose Will it was that Justice should be done the Empress, than the Interests of a natural Brother. Then he said, he had done all that lay in his power to make *Stephen* sensible of his Errors, even to the summoning him before a Synod, but that all his brotherly and kind Admonitions had proved ineffectual. That this Obstinacy was a clear Evidence to the *English*, what Calamities they would have been exposed to under the Government of such a Prince, if it had not pleased divine Providence to give Sentence against him by suffering him to be imprisoned. In fine, since God's Judgments were now fallen on the King whom they had elected, they were to atone for their Fault, by restoring the Crown to the Princess, to whom of Right it belonged. I have therefore, continues he, convened you, by virtue of the Apostolic Power committed unto me, to consult about the means of appeasing the Troubles of the State. This Affair was debated yesterday in the Presence of the greatest Part of the Clergy, who beyond all dispute have a principal Share in the Election of the Kings. And therefore, after mature Deliberation, we have determined to acknowledge *Matilda*, Daughter to the incomparable King *Henry*, for Queen and Sovereign of *England* (5).

Most of those that were present, and not in the Secret, were extremely surprized at this Speech; and much more to see an Election transacted in private by the Clergy, after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheless, every one keeping a profound Silence, for some were gained, and others dared not to oppose it openly for fear of not being seconded, the Silence was interpreted for an approbation. The Legate told them further, he had summoned the Magistrates of *London*, and that they had promised to send their Deputies. And indeed on the morrow the Deputies arrived, but instead of consenting to what the Council had done, they declared they were ordered by the City and the Barons that were retired thither, to petition the King's Liberty. The Legate replied, it became not the *Londoners* to side with the Barons, who had basely deserted their King in Battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the Kingdom in fresh Troubles. This Answer, so far from the point, not being satisfactory to the Deputies, they demanded one more direct, but in vain. The Legate did not think fit to re-examine a thing, which he pretended was already decided. Before the end of the Synod, a Chaplain to *Stephen's* Queen (6), offered to the Council a Letter, which he delivered to the Legate. But because the Prelate, after perusing it himself, would not communicate it to the Assembly, the Chaplain boldly took it out of his hand, and read it aloud. This Letter, wherein the Queen earnestly intreated them to set the King at Liberty, proving of no effect, the Council broke up, after excommunicating all *Stephen's* Adherents (7).

This affair being thus ended, the Empress wanted only the Consent of the *Londoners*, in order to her Coronation. For that purpose, she was obliged to enter into a Negotiation with the City, which lasted some time. Mean while, *Matilda* advanced as far as *Reading*, where *Robert d. Oily* Governor of *Oxford* came and offered her the Keys of his Castle, humbly intreating her to honour that City with her presence. She readily complied with his request, and, after receiving the Oath of the Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the adjacent Country, removed to *St. Albans*, where she waited for the Resolution of the *Londoners*. The City was then over-run with troubles and confusion. Some were for continuing steadfast to the King, though a Prisoner: Others for giving way to the times, and recognizing *Matilda*. These last prevailing at length, the Empress came to *London*, where she was magnificently received amidst the great numbers of Barons that attended her. The City of *London* declaring thus for *Matilda*, there was no farther opposition, and now the Preparations for her Coronation were begun. Mean while *Matilda* was every where acknowledged for Sovereign (8).

During this interval, *Stephen's* Queen came to the Empress, to try to prevail with her for some condescension to her Husband. As she despaired of ever seeing him

1141.

Deputies
from London
in vain
petition the
King's Liberty.
Malmsb.As does the
Queen.Stephen's
Adherents
excommunicated.London de-
clares for
Matilda.
Malmsb.
Gervase.
R. de Dicet.Matilda
treats the
Queen ill.
Con. Flor.
Wig.
Brompt.
Gervase.

(1) When taken at *Gloucester*, *Gervase*, p. 1354. This Battle was fought on *Candlemas-day*. *Sax. Ann.* The chief Persons made Prisoners, were, *Richard de Bures*, *Richard de Maresay*, *Richard de Curcy*, *William de Basset*, *Baldwin*, *Richard Fitz-Urfin*, *William de Pevel*, *William de Certeby*, &c. *William de Bures*, &c. *Malmsb.* p. 269. *Gervase*, p. 1354.

(2) *Malmsb.* says, he was honourably used at first, but at length, by the Instigation of some who pretended, he had been seen several times beyond the Bounds of his Confinement, he was put in Irons. *Malmsb.* p. 187. He was not laid in Irons till after *Matilda's* Flight from *Oxford*. *Gervase*, *Malmsb.* p. 188.

(3) And likewise *Matilda* herself, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Brian Fitz Count* Marquis, i. e. Governor of *Wallingford*, and *Miles* (afterwards Earl of *Hereford*) received themselves by Oath to the Bishop of *Winchester*, that he should have the chief Management of Affairs, the Disposal of Church-Preferments, &c. For this Purpose there was a Convention in the Fields near *Winchester*. *Malmsb.* p. 180.

(4) Waiting upon her at *Wilton*. *Gervase*, p. 1354.

(5) ----- *Filius profici Regis* — in Angliæ Normannique dominam eligimus, & ei fidem & manuteneamentum promittimus. *Malmsb.* p. 189.

(6) Nam *A. Chichester*. *Malmsb.* p. 189.

(7) Particularly *William Martel* Sewer to the King, *ibid.*

(8) See *Malmsb.* *R. de Dicet*, a Monk of *Reading*, Bishop of *London*. *R. de Dicet*, p. 508. *Gervase*, p. 1355.

1141. on the Throne again, she desired nothing more than his Liberty. She promised, in the name of that unhappy Prince, that, content with living as a private Person, he would renounce the Crown, and to remove all suspicion, depart out of the Kingdom, and pass the residue of his Days in a Monastery. He even offered to swear never to return more, and give Hostages for the performance of his Promises. But such were the times, that there was no reliance on Words or Oaths, there having been so many late Instances of the ready Violation of both. Accordingly *Matilda* rejected all these Proposals with great haughtiness, forbidding the unfortunate Queen ever to come into her presence again.

Matilda falls out with the Bishop of Winchester, Malmsh. Gervase. J. Hagulst.
The Bishop of *Winchester* became also a Petitioner to her, but had as little reason to be satisfied with her Generosity. He imagined, the Service he had lately done her, highly deserved some return. Accordingly, he desired some Favour for *Eustace* his Nephew, which was proudly denied him (1). This was sufficient to stir up the Bishop to a Revenge. He was in hopes, the new Queen would be guided by his Councils; but plainly saw, she looked upon him as an Enemy. His turbulent and vindictive Temper not suffering him to rest under these Circumstances, he began from that instant to plot against *Matilda*, burning with Desire to make the ungrateful Princess know, it was no less in his power to pull her down, than to set her up. But perhaps he would have found it difficult to accomplish his Project, if the Empress herself had not furnished him with the means, by her extreme Pride, which made her regard her Subjects as so many Slaves. Fatal Policy! Which created her many Enemies, at a time when she ought rather to have laboured to gain the English by mild and popular methods. She drew upon herself chiefly the Hatred of the *Londoners*, by refusing to grant the only thing they petitioned, and which the King her Father had positively promised, namely, to mitigate the Severity of the *Norman* Laws, and revive those of King *Edward*. This ill-advised Princess thought herself so far above all contradiction, that she neglected to imitate the Conduct of her Predecessors, in amusing her Subjects with Promises at least, till her Authority was more firmly established. Her haughty Carriage soon wrought a great change in the Minds of the English. They began to be sensible what Danger they were in, of being unhappy under her Government, unless timely care was taken to prevent the impending Evils. The Bishop of *Winchester* cherished, to the utmost of his power, these Discontents; and by secret emissaries at *London*, stirred up the Citizens to revenge the Contempt *Matilda* had shown them. His Cabals were carried so far, that he drew them into a Plot to seize the Empress's Person. What care soever was taken to conceal this design, she had timely notice of it, and left the City in such haste and in so great a fright, that her Palace and Goods were exposed to the Fury of the Populace (2). Though the Legate missed his Aim, he thought, he had not a little forwarded the execution of his Project, in engaging the *Londoners* against *Matilda*. Secure of their Assistance, he privately concerted measures with the Queen his Sister-in-Law. After which, he sent word to *Eustace* to be ready to march with the *Kentish-men*, promising him, he should soon be at the head of a more considerable Army. Having taken these measures, and secretly gained to the King's Party several Lords that were displeased with the Empress, he ordered the Castle of *Winchester*, and some others that were at his disposal, to be stored with Provisions and Arms.

who lay a Plot to seize her Person. Sax. Ann. Brompt. Gervase.
As all this could not be transacted without *Matilda's* knowledge, she put herself at the head of her Troops, attended by the Earl of *Gloucester* (3) and the King of *Scotland*, who was come into *England* to assist at the Coronation (4). As soon as the approached *Winchester* (5), she sent the Bishop word, she had something to communicate to him, and therefore desired him to come to her. The Prelate suspecting she was informed of his Proceedings, easily perceived this was only an Artifice to ensnare

him. Accordingly, instead of waiting upon her, he sent her an ambiguous Answer (6). At the same time he stole out of the Town at an opposite Gate, and drew his Friends together, who only waited his Orders to put themselves in motion. As they were all ready, they were quickly in Arms. The *Kentish-men* joining the *Londoners*, *Stephen's* Queen, *Eustace* his Son, and *William d'Ypres*, headed them, and marched to *Winchester* with the utmost speed. They had like to have surprised the Empress, who scarce had time to retire into the Castle. As the Inhabitants of *Winchester* appeared a little too zealous in her cause, the Bishop, out of revenge, set fire to the City, though the Capital of his Diocese. Twenty Churches were burnt to ashes, with a Nunnery, which bore the Name of *St. Grimbald* (7).

The Bishop's care to provide the Castle well with Ammunition, rendered the Siege very long and difficult. The Besiegers applied themselves closely to it for two months (8), in hopes of putting an end to the War at once, by taking the Heads of the contrary Party. The same reason obliged the Besieged to think of their safety. When they found there was no possibility of holding out any longer, they resolved to hew themselves a passage with their swords, and run all Risks to secure the Empress's Person. To that purpose they sallied out in good Order, *Matilda* and the King of *Scotland* marching in the front (9), and the Earl of *Gloucester* bringing up the rear (10). They were no sooner out, but the King's Troops closely pursued, endeavouring by frequent Attacks to retard their march, whilst the rest of the Army was advancing to surround them. In all these little skirmishes, the Earl of *Gloucester* vigorously opposed his Enemies, and gave signal marks of his conduct and valour. But his efforts, which indeed were very serviceable to *Matilda*, as they gave her time to retire, proved fatal to himself. As the Empress's danger made him neglect his own Safety, he would march the last through a narrow Defile, where his Troops were hard pressed by the Enemies, and himself unfortunately taken Prisoner (11). *William de Ypres*, to whose charge he was committed, ordered him to be forthwith conducted to *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, where the King had more Friends than in any other part of the Kingdom.

Mean time, *Matilda* making all possible speed, escaped with a few Followers to the Castle of *Lutgershall*, and from thence to the *Devizes*. Here she reposed herself a little, thinking she had time enough to reach *Gloucester*. But when she came to pursue her Journey, she had intelligence, the road was lined with the King's Soldiers. If we may believe a Historian, much given to the marvellous, she escaped their Vigilance, by being carried to *Gloucester* in a Coffin, which no body would ever have thought to search. Be this as it will, it is certain the found means to avoid this danger.

Whilst the Empress was devising Expedients to resist her Enemies, the Bishop of *Winchester* and the rest of the King's Friends, were endeavouring to disengage the Earl of *Gloucester* from his Sister's party. But all their solicitations, and the considerations of his present State, could not shake him. He firmly persisted in his Allegiance he had sworn to her, and would not even dissemble to procure his Liberty. In fine, after six months imprisonment, *Matilda*, who had a tender Affection for him, and very justly, and besides could not well proceed without him, consented he should be exchanged for the King (12). In vain, were endeavours used on this occasion, to make Peace between *Stephen* and the Empress. As the thing they both claimed was of a nature not to admit of Division, there was no possibility of succeeding. The Exchange therefore was all that could be done, each being left at liberty to pursue the War.

After the Bishop of *Winchester* resolved to abandon the Empress, he writ to the Pope, to entreat him to authorize his Proceedings in behalf of the King his Brother. As the Pope had no information of what passed in *England*, but from his Legate, he did not fail to answer him ac-

1141. He drew out along together. Gervase. Huntingd. J. Hagulst. Brompton.

Bury W. Gervase. Malmsh. Gervase.

Matilda besieged in the Castle. Malmsh. Gervase. Brompton. Huntingd.

Earl of Gloucester taken Prisoner. R. Diceto. Brompton.

Matilda escaped by a Stratagem. Gervase.

Brompton. P. 1032. Gervase. Knighton.

The King is exchanged for the Earl of Gloucester. Malmsh. Brompton. Gervase.

The Pope's answer. Gervase. Brompton.

(1) The Bishop petitioned the Empress to confirm the Titles of Earl of *Mortagne* and *Boulogne* to *Eustace*, whose Mother was Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Balogne*. *Malmsh.* p. 107.

(2) She fled to *Oxford*, and from thence in a great Hurry went to *Gloucester*, where having conferred with *Matt*, she returned to *Oxford*; and, after some time, advanced towards *Winchester*, where she came about *August* 1; but finding that City was against her, she took her Lodging in the Castle. *Gervase*, p. 1355.

(3) *Gervase* says, he knew nothing of it. --- Ignorante fratris sui *Roberti*, p. 1355.

(4) There was likewise with the Empress, *Milo* (whom she had lately made Earl of *Hertford*) her constant Friend, and who had been the Expenses of her Household from her first coming to *Gloucester*, which was then two Years: And this the Continuator of *Worcester* says he had from his own Mouth.

(5) Or rather, after she was got into the Castle. *Malmsh.* p. 190.

(6) Parabo me, I will prepare myself. *Malmsh.* p. 100.

(7) *Malmsh.* says, whilst the Empress was blocked up, Fire was thrown from the Bishop's Tower upon the Citie de *Houses*, because they were more inclined to her than to him. This Fire took hold of a Nunnery within the City, and burnt it down, with the Abbey called the *Red* without the City, and above twenty Churches. *Malmsh.* 190. *Gervase*, p. 1356. This City was burnt down, *August* 2. *Gervase*, p. 1355. *Andover* was also burnt; and *Wharwell* by *William d'Ypres*. *Malmsh.* p. 190.

(8) Seven Weeks. *Gervase*, p. 1356.

(9) And *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, her Brother, *ibid.*

(10) He went out another way, and was taken in a place called *St. ubregge*, with the Earl of *Warren*, *ibid.*

(11) *Milo* the Constable escaped, and came, almost naked, to *Matilda* at *Gloucester*. *Gervase*, 1356. This Skirmish happened on the 14th of September. *Malmsh.* p. 190.

(12) About the beginning of November. *Id.* p. 191.

1141.

Synod at
Westmin-
ster,
Malmib.
Gervase.and the Ma-
tilda's Ad-
herents are
excommuni-
cated.

Malmib.

1142.
The Earl of
Gloucester
demands Aid
of the Earl
of Anjou.
Malmib.
Gervase.
M. Paris.Matilda be-
sieged in
Oxford.
Huntingd.
Malmib.
M. Paris.
Gervase.
J. Hagulst.
Brompt.She escapes
into great
Dorsetshire.
Malm.
Huntingd.
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Gervase.

according to his wish. His Answer was received a little after *Stephen's* release. In this Letter he blamed the Prelate for neglecting so long to replace his Brother on the Throne, ordering him to try all ways for his restoration. To this he added an express Permission to use both Temporal and Spiritual Arms to accomplish that end. Supported with this Authority, the Legate summoned a Council at *Westminster* (1), where the Pope's Letter was read. The King, who was present, bitterly complained of some of his Subjects, who not content with waging War against him, had long detained him in a dishonourable Imprisonment. Then the Bishop of *Winchester* in a Rhetorical Harangue, endeavoured to justify his late conduct and the frequent breach of his Oaths. But he would have found it very difficult to purge himself, had he not been favoured by the present juncture. He concluded his Speech with excommunicating all the Adherents of the Empress as so many Enemies to the publick Peace. The People were not pleased to see themselves thus liable to such opposite Excommunications, according to the humour of the Legate. However no one dared to complain, well knowing it would be to no purpose. Only a Lay-Messenger of the Empress, by her order, charged the Legate to his face, that it was by his invitation, she came into *England*. He had even the boldness to tell him, his Brother's hard treatment in his Imprisonment was owing to his advice. The Legate made no reply to these Reproaches, but resolved to complete his Revenge by entirely ruining *Matilda's* affairs.

Upon *Stephen's* recovering his Liberty, *Matilda's* party declined so visibly, that the Earl of *Gloucester* was afraid it would come to nothing, unless supported by foreign Aid. This apprehension made him resolve to pass into *Normandy*, and solicit the Earl of *Anjou* (2) to maintain his Wife the Empress's Right, which was also his Son's. But the Earl was too much embroiled in domestick troubles to send any great Succours into *England*. The *Anjouin* Nobility were dissatisfied with him, and the *Normans* were not yet sufficiently settled in his obedience, for him to venture to remove from them, or leave their Country unprotected with Troops (3). He contented himself therefore with sending an inconsiderable Aid (4) to *Matilda*, with *Henry* his eldest Son, to try whether his Presence would have any influence on the *English*.

During the Earl of *Gloucester's* absence, *Matilda* retired to *Oxford* (5), where she thought herself safe, till the Succours, expected from *Normandy*, should arrive. The King looking upon this as a favourable juncture, resolved to lay Siege to that City, in expectation of having his Rival in his power, before the Earl's return (6). The Siege was carried on with all possible vigour and diligence, and maintained in the same manner by the Empress, who had no other refuge, but a stout defence, in order to avoid the impending disaster. The approach of Winter gave her some hopes, the King would be obliged to retire. But *Stephen* being resolutely bent to continue his attacks notwithstanding the rigour of the Season (7), she was at last reduced to a necessity of desiring to capitulate. As she dreaded, above all things, the same lot she had inflicted on her Enemy, she did not think fit to wait the issue of the Capitulation, which could not but prove fatal to her. Whilst she amused the King with Demands that he would never grant, she took advantage of a dark Night, and went out of the City (8), clothed in white, to deceive the Centinels, by reason the ground was then covered with snow. She passed the *Thames* on the Ice, and walked above six Miles on foot, with the Snow beating in her face all the way. In spite of these difficulties, she came to *Abington*, and taking horse rid that same night (9) to *Wallingford*. The King was extreme-

ly surpris'd to find himself thus disappointed. He did not value the taking of *Oxford*, since it put not *Matilda* in his power. Mean time Prince *Henry* and the Earl of *Gloucester*, who were just arrived in *England*, being informed of the Empress's happy escape, waited upon her at *Wallingford*, where the sight of her Son blotted out, for a time, all remembrance of her Misfortunes. Here ends the History of *William of Malmesbury*, one of the most exact and judicious Writers of those days, and whom, for that reason, I have chiefly taken for my Guide.

In the beginning of the Year 1143, the Legate summoned a Council at *London* (10), where the King was present. He made a long Speech tending to convince the Bishops of the necessity of exerting themselves more vigorously than they had hitherto done, in order to put a speedy end to a War, so prejudicial to the Kingdom. He declared, he was ready to persevere in exposing his Life for the service of the State; but added, he could not flatter himself with any hopes of Success, without the Assistance of his Subjects. And therefore required, those that were able to bear Arms should attend him in his military Expeditions, and the rest furnish him with Money. This was addressed particularly to the Clergy, who, being entirely guided by the Bishop of *Winchester*, promised to grant an Aid (11). It was however upon this condition, that the Church should be better protected for the future. The King assuring them, it was his Intention, and that the Canons should be strictly observed, the Council passed two relating to the times. By the first it was declared, whoever killed an Ecclesiastick, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself. The second ordained, that the Husbandman and Plough should be under the same protection as was enjoyed by those that were retired into a Church or Church-yard.

The rest of this Year's Occurrences consists only of a tedious account of the Civil War, which laid waste the Kingdom. We meet with nothing but taking and surprising Castles (12), some little Skirmishes of no consequence, and many Barbarities committed on both sides. Not to tire the Reader with the recital of Matters of no moment, I shall only observe, that in this and the three next years, *Stephen's* Party visibly prevailed. To which the Death of the Earl of *Gloucester* (13), and of *Milo* Earl of *Hereford* (14), her chief Councillors and most faithful Friends, greatly contributed. After the loss of these two Earls, *Matilda* seeing no way to defend herself any longer, left *England* and retired to *Normandy*, where she had already sent the Prince her Son. The Earl of *Anjou* his Father had earnestly desired it, perceiving he fruitlessly exposed himself to continual Danger, to wrest from a Prince a Crown, on whose head it seemed to be too firmly fixed.

Upon the Empress's departure, *Stephen* finding himself in peaceable possession of the Crown, thought of means to secure it, after his death, to *Eustace* his eldest Son. For that purpose, he caused some of the Barons to take the Oath to him, imagining that Precaution capable to lead him to the end he proposed. But his own Experience should have taught him the insufficiency of that means.

Towards the latter end of the Year 1147, he kept his *Christmas* at *Lincoln*, where he affected to wear his Crown, notwithstanding a certain Prophecy, foretelling great misfortunes to the Kings, who should venture to appear crown'd in that City.

Whilst *Stephen* was enjoying the repose procured by *Matilda's* retreat, the Zeal of the Christian World rousing itself again, a fresh Crusade was undertaken against the *Saracens*. *Lewis the Young*, King of *France*, signalized himself in this Expedition, by the great number of Troops, he led in Person to the *Holy-Land* (15). He was

(1) About the end of November, *Malmib.* p. 191. *Stephen* about this time built a Castle at *Wilton*, but was soon beat out thence by *Matilda's* Party. *Huntingd.* p. 392.

(2) He sent Ambassadors before in Lent; but the Earl of *Anjou* refused to treat with any but the Earl of *Gloucester*; so he went over about Midsummer, and embarked at *Warham*. In his Absence King *Stephen* burnt that Town and seized the Castle. *Malmib.* p. 193, 194.

(3) The Earl of *Anjou* had taken Advantage of the King's Imprisonment, and conquered the greatest Part of *Normandy*. *Ord. Vital.*

(4) Between three and four hundred Men in fifty two Ships. *Robert* landed at *Warham*, which he retook. *Malmib.* p. 194. *Gervase.*

(5) About Michaelmas, *Gervase*, p. 1357.

(6) He burnt that City, September 26. and then laid Siege to the Castle. *Malmib.* p. 194.

(7) He besieged it from Michaelmas to Christmas. *Brompt.* p. 1032. *Gervase.*

(8) At a Back-stair and only with four Persons, *Malmib.* p. 195. The *Sax. Ann.* say, she was let down from a Tower by a Rope.

(9) The *Sax. Ann.* say, she went on foot.

(10) In Lent *M. Paris.* p. 79. This Year King *Stephen* seized *Geoffrey de Magnaville*, and before he would release him, made him surrender the Tower of *London*, with the Castles of *Wolke* and *Ploujeux*, *Huntingd.* p. 393. *Re. de Dicto*, p. 508. *Brompt.* p. 1033. *Hoved.* *Gervase* says, he did it out of necessity; for if he had not secured him, he would have been deprived by him of his Kingdom, p. 1360.

(11) It does not appear where *Rufen* had this Particular, for no Historian mentions any Scutages, Subsidies or Taxes during this Reign; both Armies living by Plunder, and maintaining themselves chiefly by the Ruin of their Adversaries, their Men and Tenants.

(12) In 1144, King *Stephen* tried to take *Lincoln*, but was repulsed. *Hunt. Brompt.* In 1145, he took the Castle of *Farrington*. *Gervase.*

(13) He was Son of *Nepos*, Daughter of *Rhys* Prince of *South-Wales*. King *Henry I.* his Father procured him in Marriage *Mabel*, or *Maud*, the Heiress of *Ratons* Lord of *Hereford* in *Normandy*, *Gardif* in *Scoti-Wales*, and *Trusbury* in *England*. By her he had *William*, Earl of *Gloucester*, after him, *Agnes* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard* Bishop of *Noyon*, *Hamon*, *Mabel*, Wife of *Aubrey de Vere*, and *Matilda* of *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*. Earl *Robert* died of a Fever at *Gloucester*, October 21. 1147. (*Gervase* says in November 1146. p. 1362.) and was buried at *Bristol* in *St. James's* Monastery which he built, and also *Cardiff* Castle.

(14) He was slain December 24. with an Arrow at a hunting Match. *J. Hagulst.* p. 273. *Milo* was created Earl of *Hereford* by Patent from *Matilda*, long daughter of that King that we know of. *Is to be seen in Rymer's Fædo.* Tom. I. p. 8. *Rapin.* The Patent begins thus: *Matilda imperatrix Henrici regis Anglorum in Darumay, Archiepiscopus, Episcopi, Abbatibus, Comitibus Baronibus, &c. salutem. Sciatis me fecisse Milonem de Glocestria Comitem de Hereford a dilectis suis Henricum, cum toto Castellum, in fœdo & hereditate sibi & hereditate suis ad tenendum de me & hereditate meis. Dedi etiam ei territorium redditum Burgi Hereford, &c.* Vide *Sid. Tales of Henry*, p. 681.

(15) He was attacked by many others, by *William* Earl of *Warren*, who was slain in this Expedition; and *Roger de Mowbray*, who signalized himself in it. *J. Hagulst.* p. 272, 273.

1142.

Gervase.

1143.

A Synod at
London
grants the
King a Sub-
sidy.
Hunt. I. 8.
Brompton.
M. Paris.

Hoved.

p. 279.
M. Paris.
p. 79.Continuation
of the War.
Brompt.
Gervase.

1144.

1145.

1146.

Death of the
Earl of
Gloucester.
J. Hagulst.
Gervase.
Matilda
goes into
Normandy.
Sax. Ann.

1147.

Stephen
Master of
the whole
Kingdom.
Hunting.
Gervase.
Hoved.He wears
his Crown
at Lincoln
notwith-
standing a
certain Pro-
phesy against
it.Huntingd.
Brompt.
Gervase.

1148.

A new Cru-
sade, where-
in Lewis
of France
distinguishes
himself.

1148.

*Falls out
with his
Queen.
Huntingd.*

accompanied by *Eleanor* of *Guyenne* his Queen, Heiress of the House of *Plantagenets*, with whom he had the Earldom of *Guyenne* with its Appurtenances, and all *Poitou*. During the voyage, which lasted near two years, *Lewis* fell out in such a manner with his Queen, upon some Suspicion, well or ill-grounded (1), that he resolved to divorce her as soon as he returned to *France*.

1149.

*Prince
Henry
forms a De-
sign of af-
fecting his
Claim to
England.
Huntingd.
Hoved.
Brompt.
Gervase.*

Since *Matilda* had in a manner relinquished all pretensions to *England*, *Stephen* thought only of reaping the fruits of his Labours, and repairing the mischiefs the Kingdom had suffered by a long war. But a new Rival, who was preparing to dispute the Crown with him, soon made him sensible, he was still far enough from the tranquillity he had flattered himself with. *Henry*, eldest Son of *Matilda* by the Earl of *Anjou*, a young Prince of sixteen years of age, and of a lively and enterprising Genius, thought he should not be discouraged by the Difficulties which the Empress his Mother met with in *England*. He did not question but the Persons that supported the Right of the lawful Heir, would always continue in the same mind, and a new Leader of more youth and vigour inspire them with fresh Courage. In this belief, he resolved to go to the King of *Scotland* his great Uncle, and concert measures with him to accomplish this design (2). *David*, having notice of the Prince's coming, met him in *Northumberland* (3). After conferring with him about their affairs, he knighted him according to the custom of those days, when this Ceremony was deemed necessary for all that took upon them the profession of Arms (4). Mean time, *Stephen*, who had received intelligence of this Interview, fearing they had some design upon *York*, speedily marched thither and reinforced the Garrison (5). Upon his approach the two Princes parted, *David* returning to *Scotland*, and *Henry* to *Normandy* (6). He was scarce arrived at *Roan*, when *Geoffrey* his Father departed this Life (7), leaving him the Earldom of *Anjou*, till the Empress his Mother's death should put him in possession of *Normandy*, after which he was to resign *Anjou* to *Geoffrey* his younger Brother.

1150.

*Earl of An-
jou dies.
Hunting.
Sax. Ann.
J. Hagulst.
Gervase.*

Lewis had deferred parting with *Eleanor* his wife only till he had brought her back to *France*. Immediately after his return, he put his resolution in practice, and generously restored to her *Guyenne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, with all the Dominions she had brought him in marriage, providing also for the two Daughters he had by her. As soon as this Divorce became publick, *Henry*, who with his Mother's consent had assumed the Title of *Duke of Normandy*, considered how to secure the possession of this rich Heiress (8). Matters were carried on with such secrecy, that the first News *Lewis* heard, was, that the Duke was gone to the Queen at *Bordeaux*, where their Nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary magnificence. This was a great mortification to that Monarch, who could not bear to see another deckt with his Spoils, though voluntarily relinquished by himself. Besides, he was sensible how formidable *Henry* would be to *France*, in case he should one day add to his present Dominions the Kingdom of *England*, to which he had so just a claim. On the other hand, this same Marriage made *Stephen* no less uneasy, who could not behold this increase of Power in his Rival without dreading the consequences. This jealousy of these two Monarchs being roused on this occasion, it was not long before they made an Alliance, the design of which was to humble a Prince who was grown very formidable to both. *Lewis* raised him disturbances in *Anjou* by means of *Geoffrey* his Brother, who thought he had a Right, by virtue of his Father's Will, to take possession of that Earldom. At the same time he invested once more *Eustace*, Son of *Stephen*, with *Normandy*; that *Henry*, attacked from two Quarters, might afford the King of *England* time to establish himself in the Throne. On the other side, *Stephen* took all the measures he thought capable of ruining the Duke's Party in *England*, in order to destroy his Hopes of ever coming to the Crown. The most proper means to this end was, in his opinion, to

*They enter
into a
League.
C. N.
Gervase.
M. Paris.*

*Huntingd.
M. Paris.*

*Stephen tries
to get his
Sister crowned,
but cannot.
Huntingd.
Gervase.
Col. 1371.*

cause his Son *Eustace* to be crowned before-hand (9). But he met with unexpected obstacles. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* flatly refused to comply with his request, and his reason was still more offensive than the denial itself. He told him, the Pope had expressly forbidden him to crown the Son of a Prince, who, contrary to his Oath, had usurped the Kingdom. If the Pope really gave any such Orders to the Archbishop, his sentiments were very different from those of his Predecessor *Innocent II.* But, very likely, this Prelate, as well as the rest of the Bishops, made use of this pretence to cover their Engagements with the Duke of *Normandy*. Be this as it will, the King, incensed at the obstinate denial of the Bishops, caused them all to be shut up in one House, resolving to keep them there till they complied with his Will. This was a very extraordinary way to obtain his desire; accordingly it proved unsuccessful. The House, where the Bishops were detained, not being carefully guarded, the Archbishop found means to escape and fly into *Normandy*. By his flight, the King's project entirely vanished.

Stephen was extremely offended with the Clergy's presumption, who claimed a Power of making and un-making Kings as they pleased, or as it suited with the interests of such as governed the rest. As he did not question but the Duke of *Normandy* had gained the Bishops to his party, and did not dare to attack them directly, he thought to bring them back to their duty, by seizing some Castles, still in the hands of the Duke's Friends, in order to deprive the Clergy of that Protection. At the same time, he sent his Son *Eustace* into *Normandy* to join the King of *France* and invade that Duchy. *Stephen*'s aim was to prevent *Henry* from coming into *England*, to the assistance of his Friends. But this War lasted not so long as he expected. *Henry*, by his extraordinary courage and diligence, drove out of *Anjou* his Brother *Geoffrey*, who was become master of some Places. Then he marched back to *Normandy*, where he found means, by making him some satisfaction, to conclude a Peace with the King of *France*. After that, it was easy to drive out *Eustace*, who was not yet firmly settled in that Duchy. *Eustace* finding no farther refuge there, returned to *England*, and joined his Father, who was then besieging *Wallingford*. This was one of the strongest places in the Kingdom. Accordingly, the King spent so much time in the Siege, that the Duke had leisure to come to its relief, after settling his affairs in *Normandy*.

The young Duke, perceiving of what importance it was to relieve his Friends in *England*, led over (10) to considerable a number of Forces (11), that he gave new life to his Party, which, since *Matilda*'s departure, seemed to be quite discouraged. Several Barons immediately joined him, and put into his hands thirty fortified Castles, whose Garrisons he reinforced (12). Then he halted to the relief of *Wallingford*, which was vigorously pressed, through the absence of the King, who was gone to *London* to make fresh preparations. *Henry* approaching the Town, and finding it very difficult to assault the Besiegers in their Intrenchments, contented himself with securing the Avenues, through which they were supplied with Provisions. This precaution would soon have been fatal to them, had not *Stephen* posted to their Succour. He approached the Duke of *Normandy*, and without attacking him, brought him into the same straits, as the Besiegers had some days laboured under.

It was scarce possible for the Armies to part without fighting. Accordingly the two Leaders were preparing for Battle with equal ardour, when by the prudent advice of the Earl of *Arundel*, who was on the King's side, they were prevented from coming to blows. He represented to the King the miseries the Kingdom was going to be exposed to, by a Battle, which must be very bloody, and almost as fatal to the Vanquishers as Vanquished. Adding it would be more becoming Christians to try, whether matters could not be adjusted by a Treaty,

1151.

*1152.
Heir of
the Duke of
Normandy
in London;
and the King
of France
intervene of
them.*

*He besieges
Wallingford.
Huntingd.
Gervase.*

*Henry goes
over to
England,
and is met
by the Duke
of Normandy
at Walling-
ford.
R. Dugdale.
Hunt.
Gervase.
Brompt.*

*The two
armies be-
ing equal
in strength,
the Earl of
Arundel per-
suades the
King to
Peace.
R. Dugdale.
Gervase.
M. Paris.*

- (1) He suspected her of Adultery with a young *Saracen*; but the Pretence he made use of to divorce her was that they were Cousins in the fourth Degree.
- (2) He had been absent from *England*, two Years and four Months: He now returned in the middle of *May*, with a choice Body of Troop; being sent by his Mother. *Gervase*, p. 1362, 1366. *Brompt.* 1036.
- (3) He met him at *Carlisle* about *Whitfastide*, having with him, *Ranulph* of *Clester*, *Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, Son of *Mile*, and others. *W. Newb.* *David* and *Henry* marched to *Lancaster*. *J. Hagulst.* p. 277, 278. *Huntingd.* p. 395.
- (4) This was about *Whitfastide*. *Gervase*, p. 1366.
- (5) He staid during the Month of *August*. *Huntingd.* p. 391. *Gervase*, p. 1366. This same Year he took and burnt *Worcester*. *Hunt.* ibid.
- (6) He went back in the beginning of *January*. *Gervase*, p. 1367.
- (7) He died in 1151, and was buried at *Mans*. *R. de Dicet.* p. 510. *Gervase*, p. 1370. In 1152, says *J. Hagulst.* p. 279.
- (8) *Gervase* says, he offered her self to him, p. 1371. *Hoved.*
- (9) King *Stephen*, by means of *Henry* Archbishop of *York*, who went to *Rome*, applied to the Pope, to desire him to appoint, by his Apostolical Authority, *Eustace* to be his Successor. *J. Hagulst.* p. 279.
- (10) In the middle of *Winter*. *Huntingd.* p. 396. In the beginning of *January*. *Gervase*, 1372.
- (11) He came with one hundred and forty Horses, and three thousand Foot, in thirty two Ships. *Brompt.* p. 1036. *M. Paris*, p. 86. *Huntingd.* says, he came over with a few Persons, p. 396. Soon after his landing he took *Malmesbury* Castle; and then *Stamford*, and *Nottingham*. *R. Dugdale*, p. 10. *Brompt.* 1037.
- (12) He coined then new Money; for at that time, the great Men, Bishops, Earls, and Barons coined their own Money. *Hoved.* p. 490.

1152. which would restore Peace to the unfortunate Kingdom. In fine, he plainly told him, it was not reasonable, a whole Nation should be exposed to the greatest calamities, on account of two Princes who aimed more at gratifying their own Ambition, than the Happiness of the *English*. Whether *Stephen* was moved by these remonstrances, or apprehensive of being deserted, in case he was bent upon fighting, he consented that an Accommodation should be proposed to the Duke. The young Prince, who had prepared for battle, was with difficulty brought to hearken to the King's proposal. But perceiving, the *English* Lords pressed him very earnestly to it, he thought proper to yield to their importunity, and consent to the Interview desired by *Stephen*. In a short conference between these two Princes on the opposite banks of the *Thames*, which is very narrow at that place, they agreed upon a Truce, in order to have time to negotiate a Peace.

Henry comes to the battle of Southwark.

A Truce made.

1153. Further news from the clergy. Gervase. p. 1374.

He dies. Gervase. Brompt. J. Hagulst. Huntingd.

The Barons side with the Duke. The Reason of it.

Gervase. Huntingd. J. Hagulst.

Acta. Publ. Jon. Tom. I. p. 12.

David King of Scotland dies.

Stephen resolved to make Peace with Henry. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

Earl *Eustace* could not see this Truce without trouble, knowing it would probably end in a Peace which must be prejudicial to him. And indeed, it was not to be supposed, that the Duke of *Normandy*, being unconquered, would depart from his pretensions to the Crown. To be excused from signing the Treaty, or perhaps to try to obstruct it, *Eustace* suddenly left the Army, and retired into *Suffolk* (1). Shortly after (2), as he was going to sit down at Table in the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*, he fell into a frenzy, and died in three days, being eighteen years of age. He was buried in the Abbey of *Feverham* with the Queen his Mother, who died a few months before (3). *Constance* his Widow, daughter of *Lewis the Great*, was afterwards married to *Raymond* Earl of *Thoulouse*.

Stephen was extremely concerned for the loss of his Queen and Son, which seemed to portend some farther misfortunes. And indeed, the Nobility openly abandoned him and went over to the Duke of *Normandy*. As there were few Barons but what were guilty of disloyalty, their dread that the King might think of being revenged, made them judge it necessary for their safety to put themselves under the Duke's protection. Their suspicions were confirmed by what had lately happened to the Earl of *Chester*. This Earl waiting on the King to offer his Service, was taken into close custody, from whence he could not free himself but by the delivery of *Lincoln* Castle into the King's hands (4). It was not however without cause that the King was willing to secure himself against the Earl, who was entered into private Engagements with the Duke of *Normandy*, as appears from a Charter in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, where *Henry* promises him the possession of certain Lands. It is probable therefore, *Stephen* had some intelligence of this matter (5). But whether he neglected to publish the Reasons of his suspecting the Earl, or could not convict him, this Action was considered by the rest of the Barons, as a preface of what they themselves were to expect. And indeed many of them, having entered into the like Engagements with the Duke, believed it safer to declare for him openly (6), than expose themselves to the King's resentment by staying at Court.

David King of *Scotland* died this year (7), leaving only some Grandchildren by *Henry* his Son, who died before him (8). *Malcolm* and *William*, the two eldest, successively mounted the Throne, and *David* their Brother was Earl of *Huntington*.

The Truce between *Stephen* and *Henry* was renewed several times, by reason of the great difficulties which occurred in the negotiation of the Peace (9). The main Obstacle sprung from *Stephen*'s desire to settle the Succession on his Son *William*, to which *Henry* would never consent. He was willing, *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown during his Life; but after his death, insisted upon succeeding him. Nay, he thought he had yielded very much

in obliging himself not to disturb a Rival, who was not yet fifty years old. In fine, *Stephen* reflecting on the state of his Affairs, and seeing the great obstacles in his way, resolved to purchase Peace by relinquishing his design. He was sensible, the Duke's noble qualities, and Title to the Crown, a Title powerfully supported, were difficulties that could not easily be surmounted. The inclination of the Nobles and People gave him further occasion to dread, they would not stay for his death, to put the Scepter into the hands of the young Prince. These considerations induced him at length to consent to the Peace, as proposed by *Henry* (10). As soon as it was signed, *Stephen* performed the ceremony of adopting the young Duke, who paid him the Respect due to a Father. On the other hand, *William* the King's Son, did Homage to the Duke; who promised on his part, to maintain him in the possession of the Estates of his Family (11), and of those, granted him by the King his Father, since his accession to the Crown (12).

The Terms of it. R. Diceto. He adopts Henry. Gervase. p. 1375. Huntingd. Brompt.

Act. Publ. T. 1. p. 13.

This Treaty was concluded and signed at *Winchester* (13), in an Assembly, convened for that purpose, of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. After this, the two Princes made their publick appearance together in the principal Cities, where they were received with great demonstrations of Joy. The People could not sufficiently express their satisfaction at seeing Peace and Tranquillity at length restored to the Kingdom after so many years of Troubles and Confusion. An Historian affirms, that amidst these rejoicings, *Henry* discovered a Conspiracy against him by *William* the King's Son (14); and adds, the Plot would have been executed, had not *William* accidentally fallen off his horse (15) and broke his thigh. To this he attributes the sudden departure of the Duke of *Normandy*; who, without showing any signs of mistrust, took his leave of the King, and returned to his Dominions, till *Stephen*'s death should put him in possession of the Throne of *England*. Another Historian does not scruple to assert, *Henry* was *Stephen*'s Son, with whom the Empress had lived too familiarly before her Second Marriage. But we are by no means to trust to this Author's account, since, by his own confession, it was entirely grounded on common report.

The People rejoice at the Peace.

Plot against Henry, who returns to Normandy. Gervase. Sax. Ann.

Although, after his Agreement with *Henry*, *Stephen* could have no hopes of leaving the Crown to his Son, he was so touched with the miseries, the Kingdom endured, that he resolved to use all his endeavours to repair them. He even seemed to take proper measures to that end. But death, which surprised him unawares, prevented him from executing so generous a design. He died (16) in the fiftieth year of his age, on the 25th of *October* (17) 1154, eleven months after the Treaty with *Henry*. He was buried by his Queen and Son *Eustace* in the Abbey of *Feverham*, which he himself had founded (18).

1154. Stephen's Death.

If this Prince's Character be considered in general only, he may be said to be worthy to live in better times, and his good qualities to outweigh his defects. However it would be very difficult to justify all his proceedings in acquiring the Crown, and particularly the breach of his Oath. Accordingly, though the consent of the Barons may seem to be of some weight, yet as the Crown was procured by unjust practices, many are of opinion, he ought, for all that, to be deemed an Usurper. His breaking his word on certain occasions, is moreover a stain to his memory. Perhaps the circumstances of the Times and Affairs hurried him beyond his natural inclination. But however, the commendations due to his Valour, Clemency, and Generosity, cannot be denied him. The first of these Vertues appeared chiefly at the Battle of *Lincoln*, where he was taken prisoner. The other two must be owned, when it is considered, that throughout his Reign there is not a single instance of Severity to be found, though several of the Barons, whom the chance of War

His Character.

(1) Threatning to lay the whole County waste. Gervase. p. 1734.

(2) In 1154. J. Hagulst. p. 282.

(3) She died May 11. 1152. at *Huntingd.*, a Castle belonging to *Alberic de Vere*. Gervase. p. 1372. M. Paris. p. 85.

(4) He was very ill with, and forced to give his Nephew *Gilbert*, Earl of *Clare*, for Hostage. J. Hagulst. p. 278. The only Remedy he could find was to invite *Henry* into *England* ibid.

(5) Earl *Ranulph* came to the King with his Men at the Siege of *Wallingford*, and made his Peace. A little after coming to the King's Court at *Normandy*, he was taken and kept in Prison till he delivered to the King the Castle of *Lincoln*, in which City he kept a most splendid Christmas; and wore the Crown in 1147. This was before the Earl's Engagements with *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*. Gervase. p. 1341.

(6) Particularly *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*. J. Hagulst. p. 279.

(7) He died April 20. 1154. (or according to others June 1.) at *Carlisle*. J. Hagulst. p. 281. Hoved. p. 490.

(8) Who died about *Winchester*, in 1153. J. Hagulst. p. 280.

(9) In the mean time *Henry* took *Stanford*, &c. and *Stephen* *Worcester*. Gervase. p. 1374.

(10) The chief Promoters of the Peace were *Neobald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*. Gervase. p. 1374. Huntingd. p. 397.

(11) The Earl of *Warwick*, County of *Norfolk*, *Devon*, *Feverham*. See *Brompt.*

(12) This Agreement is recorded and confirmed by *Stephen*'s Charter or Declaration under his Seal, in *Brompton's* Chronicle. [p. 1037, 1038.] directed to all the faithful People of *England*. The Articles of the Treaty were: I. That King *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown during his Life. II. That after his Death *Duke Henry* should succeed him as his Lawful Heir. To this *Hoveden* adds, that the King appointed the Duke Justiciary of *England* in his stead. See *Rymur's* *Fied.* T. 1. p. 13.

(13) At *Winchester*. Huntingd. p. 397. J. Hagulst. p. 282. In the end of November. Gervase. 1375.

(14) And the *Flemings*. Gervase. p. 1376.

(15) Upon *Barham-Doren*. ibid.

(16) Of the Chelkenden Pass, at *Canterbury*, where he was come to have an Interview with the Earl of *Flanders*. Gervase. ibid. Huntingd. p. 398.

(17) The twenty third, say *Diceto*, p. 529. and *Huntingd.*

(18) And there he lay till the Suppression of the Abbey, when for so small a Gain as the Lead of the Coffin, wherein his Body was wrapped, it was taken up and thrown into the next Water. Sandf. Gervase. p. 42.

1154. had put in his power, had given him but too much reason to use them with Rigour. It is true, there are Historians, that made it their business to blacken his Reputation. But it must be observed, most of them wrote in the Reign of Henry II, or his Sons. As for *William of Malmshury*, who was Cotemporary with *Stephen*, he is known to be the Earl of *Gloucester's* Creature, to whom he dedicated the last part of his History. This alone should make us read with Caution, what he relates to *Stephen's* disadvantage. After all, it is not easy to determine whether the Crown justly belonged to *Matilda*, or *Stephen's* Election entitled him to take possession. What may be said with more certainty, is, that, after the Conquest, the *Saxon* Laws were no longer observed, and it does not appear that the *Normans* had yet any settled Rules concerning the Succession to the Crown.

The Troubles during this Reign furnished the Clergy with a favourable opportunity to exalt the Mitre above the Crown. The Court of *Rome* improved also these Junctures, to introduce into *England* new Laws, which the

English doubtless would have opposed at any other Time. The Canon-Law compiled by *Gratian* in 1151, by the Authority of *Eugenius III.*, was brought into *England*, on occasion of the Contests between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* about the Legateship. These Differences gave the *Italian* Canonists opportunity to settle in *England*, and introduced by degrees the Study of the Canon Law into the University of *Oxford*, where *Vacarius* was the first Professor (1).

Stephen left one legitimate Son, called *William*, who was Earl of *Boulogne* in right of the Queen his Mother. He had also one Daughter named *Maria*, who after she had put on the Veil, was, notwithstanding, married to *Philip* of *Alsatia*; but upon the death of her Husband returned to the Nunnery (2).

A natural Son of *Stephen's*, called also *William*, has given occasion to some, deceived by the likeness of Names, to affirm this Prince left behind him only a Bastard Son (3).

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THE
STATE of the CHURCH,
DURING THE
Reigns of WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. HENRY I.
and STEPHEN.

The different
Character
of the Saxon
and Norman
Kings, with
regard to the
Church.

THE Revolution in England by the Norman Conquest introduced a great change both in Church and State. More especially the Pope and Clergy were considerable losers by it. Instead of the devout and submissive Saxon Princes, who were ready to embrace all opportunities, of augmenting the privileges and revenues of the Church, there arose in England a race of Norman Kings of a quite different character. Solely employed in grasping at arbitrary Power, they could not bear any distinction between the Clergy and Laity as to point of obedience. They challenged an equal authority over both. What Schemes soever the Court of Rome had formed to render the Clergy independent of the Crown, the reigns of the two Williams were not thought to afford any favourable opportunities to hasten their Execution. The Normans, out of interest, were entirely attached to their Sovereigns, and the English, in their low condition, were no proper Instruments to promote the cause of the Court of Rome. Matters standing thus in England, the most vigorous efforts of the Popes to enlarge their Power, would have been ineffectual. This probably was the reason that obliged Gregory VII, with all his Haughtiness, to stoop to the resolute and steady temper of William the Conqueror. This Monarch not content with boldly refusing the homage required by Gregory, openly contemned the Papal Decrees. He governed the Clergy of his Kingdom like the rest of his Subjects, with an absolute sway. If he suffered the Pope's Legates to preside at a Council, it was only to be freed with more ease from some Bishops that gave him disturbance. But when he found this same Synod unwilling to come into all his measures, he exerted his absolute Power. By his sole authority, he banished or imprisoned such Bishops as he did not like, without staying for a Canonical Sentence. On the other hand, whilst the Pope was thundering out Anathema's against the Emperor, and compelling him to dishonourable homage; William peaceably enjoyed, in his Dominions, the right of Investiture, which was the subject of the quarrel between the Emperor and the Court of Rome. He made the Church-Lands liable to the same services with the Lay-Fees. He seized the Gold and Silver deposited in the Monasteries, and spared not even the consecrated Vessels. Nothing was transacted in the Church but by his direction, and the Synodal Constitutions were no longer in force than during his pleasure. He went still further, and set himself, in some measure, above the Popes, by forbidding his Subjects to receive their orders, or acknowledge their authority, without his permission.

Edmer.
p. 6.

Edmer.
ibid.

The present
Policy of the
Court of
Rome to
establish her
Authority.

William Rufus had no greater regard to the Church's Immunities. All the Pope's Menaces were ineffectual to prevent him from keeping the vacant Bishopricks and Abbeys in his hands, and to dispose of them afterwards to the best bidder. I do not pretend to excuse the conduct of the two Monarchs in all these respects. My design is to show by these Instances, that the Court of Rome owes the progress and growth of its Power purely to its political Prudence. The Popes wisely gave way to Princes of Resolution and Steadiness, whilst at the same time they vigorously proceeded against such, whose circumstances would not permit them to oppose their designs. We have a plain instance of this Policy in the different behaviour of the Court of Rome with regard to the four first Norman

Kings. After yielding to the two Williams, she struggled a long time with Henry I. But when she saw, he was not to be conquered, she contented herself with what she would have scorned, in the beginning of the Contest. She compounded the matter with that Monarch, and consented the Bishops and Abbots should do him homage; at the very time she obstinately refused the same Terms to the Emperor, whose affairs were not in so prosperous a State. As for Stephen, she knew how to improve the Troubles in his Reign, by the help of the Bishop of Winchester. As she was ready to make use of all the advantages that offered, she took occasion from these Troubles to appoint a Legate, different from the Archbishop of Canterbury, which she durst not to have done at any other time. This Incroachment seemed at first of little consequence, but had afterwards too great an influence upon the affairs of England. By the means of these Legates it was that at length she set her Foot on the Necks both of the Kings and the Clergy. I say of the Clergy, since 'tis manifest, she aimed no less at humbling the Bishops and Archbishops than the Sovereigns.

She aims at
humbling the
Clergy as
well as the
Kings.

We have a remarkable proof of this design in the haughty Treatment of Lanfranc by the Court of Rome, when nominated to the See of Canterbury, upon Stigand's Deprivation. Lanfranc was a Prelate of distinguished Worth, equally esteemed by the King, the English, and the Normans, and consequently of very great Credit in England. And yet, he could never prevail to be excused going to Rome in Person, to receive the Pall at the Pope's hands. Hildebrand, then Archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards promoted to the Papal Chair, under the name of Gregory VII, wrote him a Letter on that subject, endeavouring to soften the Refusal. He told him, if there had been any Instance of the like favour being granted to his Predecessors, it would have been refused. But, either he was not well versed in the Ecclesiastical History of England, or else, supposed Lanfranc not to know of the Palls being sent to Austin, Justus, Honorius, all three Archbishops of Canterbury. It was not therefore from a scruple to introduce a new Custom, that Lanfranc was denied this favour, but for fear the Archbishops should by degrees forget their Dependance on the Pope. We shall frequently see in the course of this History, how much the Roman Pontiffs abused their exorbitant power over the Clergy of England. It is not yet time to insist on this Point. But, in order to give a general Knowledge of the most material Ecclesiastical Affairs in England, during the Interval we have passed through, it is necessary to show the rise of the dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. This long Contest is one of the chief Articles of the Ecclesiastical History of England.

The Pope re-
solves to send
the Pall to
Lanfranc.

The Reasons
of it.

Beck. l. 1.
c. 29. l. 2.
c. 3. c. 12.

Whilst Lanfranc was preparing for his Journey to Rome, Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, one of William the Conqueror's Chaplains, was nominated to the See of York. Shortly after, the new Prelate came to Canterbury to be consecrated according to Custom. But Lanfranc requiring him to make a Profession of Canonical Obedience to him in Writing, he refused to comply, and went away without Consecration. This Contest making a great noise, the King wanted to be informed of the matter, suspecting Lanfranc had carried his Prerogatives too high. But after several English Lords had shown that Lanfranc had Custom on his Side (1), William, without taking upon him to de-

The Rise of
the Dispute
between the
Archbishops
of York and
Canterbury.
See Ann.
Domest.
Chronol.
A.D. Pontif.

(1) Lanfranc came himself to the King's Court, (or Great Council,) and there gave his Reasons, which being attested by the English that were present, fa-
voured the King. *Mabius de Gest. Pontif.* l. 1. p. 206.

cide the Dispute, found an Expedient to satisfy the two Archbishops. This was, that *Thomas* should return to *Canterbury*, and deliver a written Profession of Obedience to *Lanfranc*, as senior; and that the settling the Rights of the two Sees should be referred to the Pope (1). This Expedient being approved of, the two Prelates set out together for *Rome* to receive the *Pall*, and cause both this Controversy and another concerning the Jurisdiction over the Sees of *Lincoln*, *Lichfield* and *Worcester*, to be decided. *Alexander II.*, who was then Pope, received *Lanfranc* with particular marks of Respect. As soon as he saw him, he rose up from his Chair to embrace him, declaring however, he did not treat him thus on the account of his Dignity, but for his Merit. *Thomas* met with a very different Reception. The Pope voided his Election, because he was incapable, as being the Son of a Priest, to hold any Church Preferment. However, a few days after, he was restored by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*. As for the Differences between the two Archbishops, not being perfect Master of the Cause, he referred the Decision to the *English* Bishops and Abbots.

Malmsh.
p. 206.

Malmsh.
p. 206. &c.

Reasons for
Canterbury.

This Affair not being decided at *Rome*, the two Archbishops returned to *England*. As they were equally desirous to see the Issue of their Difference, at their arrival they waited upon the King at *Windfor*, where, on account of the *Paschal* Solemnity, most of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were assembled (2). The Cause was argued before the King with great Warmth on both sides. *Lanfranc* founded his Claim upon the following Reasons.

1. That the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was to be considered as if the See was at *London*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, seeing *Gregory I.* designed to fix it there.
2. That the Church of *Canterbury* was the most ancient in the Kingdom, and the Mother of all the rest.
3. He alledged the Constitutions of several Popes, granting the Prerogative in question to his See.
4. He maintained that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had exercised Jurisdiction within the Province of *York*. To this purpose he produced the Example of *Theodore*, who had even deprived several Bishops in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*.
5. Lastly, he added, the Archbishops of *York* had made to his Predecessors a Profession of the Canonical Obedience, which *Thomas* refused. In proof of this, he instanced in *Ealdulph*, who made no scruple to profess Obedience to *Adelard*.

Reasons for
York.

The Archbishop of *York* replied it was true, *Gregory I.* did design to fix the Archiepiscopal See at *London*, but was very far from intending to give that See any Pre-eminence over *York*. To prove his assertion he cited the Authority

1. r. c. 29.

of *Bede*, who says in express Terms, *Gregory* decreed, that after the Death of *Austin*, the two Archbishopricks should be independent of each other. *Thomas* inferred from thence, that, supposing the Archiepiscopal See was at *London*, it would be no advantage to *Lanfranc*. 2. He said, it was not true, that the Church of *Canterbury* was the Mother of that of *York*, since every one knew, the Church of *York* was founded by the *Scotch* Monks, who had no relation to the Church of *Canterbury*. As for the Jurisdiction exercised by *Theodore* in *Northumberland*, he maintained, that Prelate took advantage of the Troubles then in the Church of that Kingdom, to extend his Authority; and a Right could not be built on a manifest Usurpation. *Lanfranc* would have found it difficult to answer the Argument brought by *Thomas*, from *Gregory's* Regulation concerning the Independency of the two Archbishops, if the Constitutions of several Popes had not been for him. Moreover, he supported his Right by Custom, for which the *English* gave Testimony. And by this it was that he carried the Cause. It was judged that the Popes, Successors to *Gregory*, had power to annul his Constitutions, and therefore the King and Lords thought it just that the Archbishop of *York* should make Profession of Canonical Obedience to the See of *Canterbury*. The other Controversy about the three Bishopricks, was decided likewise in favour of *Lanfranc*, and the Archbishop of *York* acquiesced in both these Sentences. But, to avoid any future Disputes, there was drawn up, in the name of the two Archbishops, a form of Canonical Obedience, adjusting their Differences. *Thomas* was made to own, he was in the wrong, to dispute *Lanfranc's* Superiority and Jurisdiction over the whole Church of *England*: Declaring that as Archbishop of *York* he owed Canonical Obedience, not only to the Person of *Lanfranc*, as his Senior, but to all the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as such. He dropped all his Pretensions to the three Bishopricks in question.

The sentence
of the King
at *London*.

Agreement
between the
two Arch-
bishops.
Malmsh.
de Gest.
Pontif. l. 1.

Lanfranc, on his part, yielded to the Archbishop of *York*, the Jurisdiction over all the Sees North of the *Humber* to the farthest Parts of *Scotland*. It was likewise agreed, that if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should call a National Synod, the Archbishop of *York* and his Suffragans, should be obliged to make their Appearance, in what part soever of the Kingdom the Synod should be held. The two Archbishops further covenanted, that upon the decease of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Archbishop of *York* should repair to that City, and with the Assistance of the Suffragan of the Southern Province, should consecrate the Primate-Elect. And that the Person nominated to the See of *York*, should be obliged to come and be consecrated within the Province of *Canterbury*. In fine, *Lanfranc* omitted nothing that should establish the Superiority of his See over that of *York*. As for the Oath *Lanfranc* required of *Thomas*, it is said in the Writing, that the King desiring it should be dispensed with, *Lanfranc* readily consented, reserving however a Right, to require this Oath of all future Archbishops of *York* (3).

Thus the Controversy between the two Metropolitan Sees was, or at least seemed to be, determined; for it was afterwards frequently renewed. Indeed, this was not a Regulation made by a Synod, but an Agreement between the two Archbishops, authorized by the King (4). Accordingly the Archbishops of *York* used this Pretence to revive the Dispute. They alledged, as the Sentence was not Synodal, their Right remained intire. In the time of *Anselm*, another *Thomas*, nominated to the See of *York*, refused to take the Oath, but at length was constrained to it.

Eadmer.
l. 4. p. 97.
p. 102.

Notwithstanding these two Precedents, *Thurstan* being elected Archbishop of *York* in the Reign of *Henry I.*, refused to make the customary Submissions to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But the King gave him to understand, he must either comply, or renounce his Archbishoprick. *Thurstan*, however grievous it might be to him, chose the latter. Nevertheless, he caused the Chapter of *York* to send Deputies to *Paschal II.*, to represent the Wrong done to their See. These Deputies remonstrated, the King had exceeded his Power, in compelling *Thurstan* to renounce his Election, for refusing to subject the See of *York* to an obedience, which was never canonically enjoined. This Argument prevailing with the Pope, he writ to the King, exhorting him to restore *Thurstan*; adding, that in case the Archbishops had any Dispute about Privileges, he himself would equitably decide it. *Paschal* being dead, and *Gelasius II.* succeeding him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent his Agents to *Rome*, to sound the new Pope's Sentiments concerning this Contest. These Agents reported, that they found by what the Pope said, he designed to send a Legate into *England* to decide the Controversy. But he was prevented by Death, which surprized him as he was travelling to *France*.

The Dispute
revived by
Thurstan.
Vide X.
Script.
p. 1735. &c.
Eadmer.
Hoved.

Calixtus II., Successor to *Gelasius*, repairing to *Rheims* to hold a Council, *Thurstan* obtained the King's Leave to go thither; but upon condition he would not receive Consecration from the Pope or any other Bishop. However, the King not confiding altogether on this Prelate's Word, sent a Letter to the Pope, protesting, if *Thurstan* was consecrated by any but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he should never more set foot in *England*. Notwithstanding this Protestation, *Calixtus* himself consecrated *Thurstan* in the presence of the Council. The Archdeacon of *Canterbury* would have opposed it, but was told by the Pope, he designed no manner of Injury to the See of *Canterbury*. *Henry* not having been able to prevent *Thurstan* from being consecrated, banished him the Kingdom with his whole Family. But he did not long remain in exile. The Pope, willing to stand by what he had done, threatened the King with Excommunication, and his Kingdom with an Interdict (5). The Pope's Resoluteness caused *Henry* to yield at length, that *Thurstan* should be installed, without making the customary Submission to the See of *Canterbury*. It is true, to save the King's Honour, this Prelate promised, not to perform any of his Archiepiscopal Functions out of the Diocese of *York*. Thus the See of *York* recovered, in some measure, part of the Ground it had lost. This Contest was afterwards revived several times: But there is no Necessity of pursuing this Subject any farther. What has been said is sufficient to show the State of the Cause between the

X. Scriptor.
Eadmer.
p. 124.

Eadmer.
p. 136.
Hoved.
p. 273.

(1) The Matter was to be referred to a Synod of Bishops, and not to the Pope. *Malmsh. de Gest. Pontif. l. 1. p. 206.*
(2) The Cause was first debated at *Windfor*, at the Feast of *Easter*; and afterwards at *Windfor*, where it received a final Determination at the Feast of *Pentecost*. *Malmsh. de Gest. Pont. l. 1. p. 212.*

(3) King *William I.* attested and confirmed the Supremacy of *Canterbury*, by a Decree, which is in *Spelman. Concil. Vol. II. p. 5. 6.* [if not forged.]
(4) The agreement was subscribed by the King and Queen, *Robert* the Pope's Legate, the two Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, and eleven great Abbots, who all of them added the Cross after their Names, according to the *Saxon* Custom.

(5) By Virtue of this Interdict, all Divine Service was to cease, and no part of the Sacramental Office to be executed, unless in the Baptism of Infants and Absolution of dying Penitents.

two Primates, and the Grounds on which each built his Pretensions.

Before we leave this Dispute concerning the Jurisdiction of the two Sees, it will not be improper to speak of some other matters relating to that Affair. We have seen, in the foregoing Book, that *Gucan*, a *Welsh* Priest, nominated to the Bishoprick of *Landaff* in *Wales*, was consecrated by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Bishop of *St. David's* exercised the Archiepiscopal Functions in that Country. This was a new acquisition of Power to the See of *Canterbury*, which 'till then had no Jurisdiction over the *Welsh* Bishops. *Gucan's* Successors following his Example, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* claimed the same Power with regard to all the Bishops in *Wales*. But they met with great Opposition. At length, in the Reign of *Henry I.*, *Bernard* the Queen's Chaplain, being nominated to the See of *St. David's*, was consecrated by *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Proceeding greatly strengthen'd the Archbishop's pretensions, who maintain'd, that since his Jurisdiction was own'd by the chief of the *Welsh* Bishops, the rest could not be excus'd from professing Obedience. However, as *Bernard* repented afterwards of what he had done, a long Contest arose, which was not decided 'till *Wales* was united to *England* in the Reign of *Edward I.*

Whilst *Ralph* sat in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he received a Letter from *Alexander I.* King of *Scotland*, acquainting him with the Death of *Turget* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and desiring his Recommendation of a worthy Successor. He pray'd him withal to remember, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had been possessed, time out of mind, of the Right to consecrate the Bishops of *St. Andrew's*; and that *Lanfranc* was the first that yielded that Privilege to the See of *York*. Wherefore, he declared, his intent was to set things upon their antient foot, and begg'd his Advice and Assistance. *Ralph* perceiving by this Letter, that *Alexander* sought occasion to vex the Archbishop of *York*, was unwilling to concern himself in the affair. And indeed *Alexander's* Supposition, that the *Scotch* Bishops were dependent on the See of *Canterbury*, was entirely groundless. On the contrary, 'twas very certain, the Popes had long put the Church of *Scotland* under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *York*. These antient Papal Constitutions were the foundation of the Agreement between *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*. However, in process of time, there were *Scotch* Bishops who refused to acknowledge the Archbishop of *York* for their Primate, and by that means were the Occasion of violent Contests. But at length Pope *Paschal II's* Bull, making them Suffragans to the See of *York*, put an end to the Dispute (1).

Though the Controversy between the two Archbishops about their Jurisdiction, does not seem to be very material, 'twas necessary however to show the Rise of it, by reason of the frequent allusions to these Differences in the *English* History. It is time now to proceed to matters wherein the whole Church was concerned, and in the front of which stands the Celibacy of the Clergy. So many Attempts were made to establish it in *England*, and such Obstacles rais'd against it, that it would be neglecting a considerable Article of the Ecclesiastical History, not to descend to Particulars.

It has been seen, how zealously *Dunstan* and the Partisans of *Rome* laboured to introduce the Celibacy of the Clergy, and how the *Danish* Wars obliged them to suspend their Design. From that time to the *Norman Conquest*, the *English* Priests lived on in a state of Marriage, notwithstanding the sundry Attempts of the Popes to put a stop to that pretended Licentiousness. It is difficult at first to conceive why the Popes were so obstinately bent upon this Undertaking, because one sees not immediately how much the Interest of the Court of *Rome* was concerned in the Case. But our wonder at their labouring so heartily in this Affair will cease, when we consider, it was a great Step towards executing the Project, of rendering the Clergy independent of the Civil Power, and making them a separate Body to be governed by their own Laws. And indeed, whilst the Priests had Children of their own, it was difficult to prevent them from depending on the Princes, whose Favour has so great an influence on the Fortune of private Persons. But being without Families, and consequently in expectation of no great matters from their Sovereign, they were more free to adhere to the Pope, who would be considered as the Sovereign of the Clergy. Be this as it will, after the Popes had undertaken this Work, nothing was forgot to compleat it. *Gregory VII.*, who

came to the Papacy in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, set his Heart more upon this Affair than any of his Predecessors. He called a Council at *Rome*, where the Clergy were forbid to marry under heavy Penalties. The *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans*, submitted at length, after long struggles. But the *English* not being of opinion, that a Council consisting mostly of *Italian* Bishops, had power to enact Laws for all *Christendom*, were much more difficult. However *Lanfranc*, either to make his Court to *Gregory*, or because he was persuaded of the Justice of the thing, endeavoured to introduce into *England* the Decrees of the Council of *Rome*. To this purpose he convened at *Winchester* a national Synod, where this Affair was debated. He met with so strong opposition, that he was going to desist from his design. Nevertheless, finding he could not bring the Synod, to prohibit all the Clergy in general from marrying, he procured, on what pretence I know not, a Decree that all Priests who had their Cures in Cities, should put away their Wives. But the Country Incumbents were not so rigorously used. However, to prevent for the future the married Priests from holding any Cures, the Synod ordained, by *Lanfranc's* suggestion, that none should be admitted into Orders, without a solemn Declaration against Marriage (2). This Restraint discouraging many Persons of merit from taking Orders, the Church of *England* was, in a little time, so ill provided with able Ministers, that there was a Necessity of relaxing a little on this point. This evidently appears in a Letter of *Paschal II.* to *Anselm*, *Lanfranc's* Successor. The Pope said, that being informed, most of the *English* Clergy were Sons of Priests, he was afraid it would prove a great Prejudice to the Church, if the Canons were rigorously executed. For this reason he gave a dispensing Power to the Archbishop, when the Church's Interest, and the Untractableness of the *English* should call for it. But instead of making use of this Power, *Anselm*, who was of an inflexible Temper, summoned a Synod at *London*, where the Marriage of Priests was condemned. This was incapable of entirely redressing the pretended Disorder. But, doubtless, *Anselm* would have carried matters much farther, if his Contest with King *Henry*, and his Death, which happened in 1109, had not hindered him from prosecuting his Design.

To complete the Work so far advanced by *Lanfranc* and *Anselm*, *Honorius II.* sent Cardinal *de Crema* into *England*, with the Character of Legate. The Cardinal called a Council at *Westminster*, where he strenuously inveighed against the married Clergy. Among other things he said, It was a horrible Crime to rise from the Side of a Harlot, and then handle the consecrated Body of *Christ*. And yet, after all his Invectives, he was caught that very Night in bed with a common Woman. A Thing, says an Historian, too notorious to be concealed, neither ought it to be passed over in silence. *Baronius* in vain attempted, many Ages after, to destroy the Credibility of this Fact by negative Proofs, which concluded nothing against the positive Testimony of those that relate it. But however, the Legates Incontinency prevented not the Synod's passing a Canon against the Priests Marriages. On the other hand, the Canon could not entirely stop this pretended Evil.

Five years after, *William de Curboil* Archbishop of *Canterbury* summoned another Council, where an admirable Expedient was thought to be found, to cause the Canons relating to this Subject to be strictly observed. This was to put the Execution of them in the King's Hands, who very readily took the trouble upon him. But it was purely with a view to increase his Revenues, by selling to the Priests a dispensation to keep their Wives. Accordingly we find abundance of the inferior Clergy married in *England*, after the Priests of other Countries had submitted to the Pope's Decree.

Celibacy was not the only Grievance inflicted by the Court of *Rome* on the *English* Clergy. To reduce them to an entire Obedience, another Expedient was used, which at first was not minded, but in the end was seen to have terrible Consequences. This was the frequent sending of Legates. During the Empire of the *Saxons* and *Danish* Kings, we find very rarely any Instances of the Pope's sending Legates into *England*. Though they had, in those days, formed the Project of becoming absolute in the Church, they had not yet bethought themselves of this method which was made use of so successfully afterwards. Perhaps they dared not put it in practice too frequently, for fear of alarming the Metropolitans, whom it was necessary to reduce first by other ways. In those days, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as

The See of
Canterbury
by the
canon of
the
Synod of
Canterbury
in 1072.

Contest as
to the Ju-
risdiction of
York and
Scotland.
Edm. I.

The Celibacy
of the Cler-
gy.

Reasons of
the Pope's
involvement
in the
controversy.

S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

1076.

Huntingd.

The Pope's
Legates.

(1) Within this Period the See of *Canterbury* extended also its Jurisdiction over *Ireland*; or rather continued to do it, *ex antiqua more*. See *Eadmer*, p. 3, 5.

(2) The Form ran thus: *Ego Frater, N. Promitto Deo, omnibusque Sanctis ejus, Castitatem Corporis mei secundum Canonem Decreta, & secundum Ordinem* *monasticum servare, Domino Praesule, N. praesente. Speciman. Conc. Vol. II. p. 11.*

Primates of the Church of *England*, were looked upon as the natural Legates of the Popes, who generally entrusted them with the execution of their Orders. But as they had for the most part two opposite things to manage, namely, the Interest of the Church of *England*, and that of the Pope, and as these very often clashed, it frequently happened that they gave the Preference to the former. This was the reason that the Popes so earnestly sought occasions of sending other Legates, who should have no other views but their Master's Interest. Accordingly, when, in the Reign of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, *Lichfield* was going to be erected into an Archbishoprick, the Pope embraced that opportunity. As it was not proper to commission the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom it was intended to deprive of part of his Jurisdiction, the Court of *Rome* easily obtained the King of *Mercia's* Consent to receive *Italian* Legates, to facilitate the Execution of that Design. This first Instance however was not followed by any other, 'till the time of *Edward the Confessor*, that is, for above two hundred and fifty Years. In the Reign of that Prince, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lying under the Church's Censures, the Pope took occasion to send into *England* two Legates, to execute a Commission, which *Stigand* could not be charged with. *William the Conqueror*, wanting to be rid of this *Stigand*, and some other troublesome Bishops, sent himself for Legates, to preside at a Council, where he designed to have these Prelates deposed. It is thus that Princes, to gratify their Passions, have all along been subservient to the growth of the Papal Power, without troubling themselves about the Consequences. We find moreover that in the same Reign, *Gregory VII*, sent a Legate into *England* called *Hubert*. But as this was done on account of some political Affairs, the *English* were not alarmed at it, never imagining, such a Legateship could any ways tend to their prejudice. But the Court of *Rome* had other aims. In process of time, these few Precedents were deemed a sufficient Ground for sending Legates, whenever the Pope should think fit. This Right however lay dormant during the Reigns of the two *Williams*, the Temper and Character of these Princes affording the Popes no prospect of Success in their Undertakings.

Henry I. was hardly warm in his Throne, when the Pope sent *Guido* Archbishop of *Vienne* to reside at *London*, with a Legatine Power over all *Great-Britain*. The Clergy of *England* looked upon this Commission as an attempt upon their Privileges; neither could the King and Council be prevailed with by former Precedents, to allow the Legate to exercise any part of his Office in the Kingdom. *Alford* the Jesuit, who has writ the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, plainly perceiving the great Difficulty of reconciling this Refusal with the Papal Authority, is forced to have recourse to a precarious Supposition, in order to clear this Point. He will have it that the Legate's Commission was rejected, because his Powers were not penned with a *Non obstante* to the Privileges of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But as he cites no Authorities in support of his Assertion, we are not obliged to believe him on his bare Word. Cardinal *Baronius* gets clear of this Difficulty more dextrously, by taking no notice at all of this Legateship.

Henry I. had some farther Contests with the Court of *Rome* upon the same occasion. *Paschal II*, sending into *France* a Legate, called *Cono*, this Prelate convened several Councils, at which he pretended, the Bishops of *Normandy* were obliged to be present; and upon their refusing to obey his Summons, excommunicated them. *Henry*, offended at the Legate's Rashness, sent the Bishop of *Exeter* to complain to the Pope. In all likelihood he received some Satisfaction, since the Historian, who mentions this Particular, says not a word of the Success of the Embassy.

In the Year 1116, King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, Abbot *Anselm*, Nephew to the Archbishop of the same Name, came to him and produced a Commission from the Pope for Legate in *England*. But the King would not suffer him to go over in that Character. The *English* Bishops, whom the King consulted on this occasion, unanimously declared, this Legateship was contrary to the Privileges of the Church of *England*. They desired the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as the Person most concerned, to wait upon the King with their Answer, and, in case the King should think proper, to go on unto *Rome*, to remonstrate against those Encroachments. The Archbishop actually set out for *Rome*; but hearing the Pope, hard pressed by the Arms of the Emperor, was retired to *Benaventum*, pursued not his Journey. He contented himself therefore with representing to him in a Letter, what he designed to tell him by word of mouth. The Circumstances of Pope *Paschal's* Affairs at that time, would not permit him to insist on his pretended Right, as he

would doubtless have done at any other time. He was unwilling to disoblige the *English*; but on the other hand, could not resolve to give up the Privilege of sending Legates when he should think proper. He chose therefore to return an ambiguous Answer, which, without binding him to any thing, might afford them a seeming Satisfaction. This Answer, which was not directly to the point, was not satisfactory to the Bishops. But the King, taking advantage of the Pope's Circumstances, understood it in a Sense the most favourable to the Church of *England*, and prevented the Legate from executing his Commission. Nevertheless, as he saw the Pope's Answer was too general, to be able from thence to inter that he desisted from his Pretensions, he demanded one more precise. At an Interview some time after with *Celestine II*, at *Gisors*, he very earnestly pressed the Pope on this head, but to no purpose. All the Satisfaction he could obtain, was, that the Pope gave his Word to send no more Legates into *England*, except in a case of Necessity.

Some Years after, *Honorius II* sent Cardinal *John de Crema* into *England* with the Character of Legate. However, it was with great difficulty that he was received as such, after waiting a long time in *Normandy*. This Legate summoned a Council at *London*, as hath been said, on account of the Priests Marriages. In his Summons to the Bishops, he says in express Words, this Council was convened by the Order and Concurrence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This appears by a Citation still extant, addressed to the Bishop of *Landaff*. Though the Legate might plainly see he was not very welcome to the *English*, he affected, in the exercise of his Function, a haughty demeanour, which very much increased their dislike. He would officiate in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, in the Place of the Archbishop, though he was only a Presbyter. In the Council of *London*, he ordered his Seat to be raised, like a sort of Throne, above the two Archbishops and all the Nobility that were present at the Synod. This proud Carriage gave great Offence to the *English*, who were not wont to see the Pope's Legates exalted so high. They openly shewed their Regret for their Condescension to this Legate, well knowing of what dangerous consequence Precedents were in things where the Court of *Rome* was concerned. However, this did not prevent, in the Reign of *Stephen*, *Alberic*, Bishop of *Ostia*, from being received in *England* as Legate. *Stephen* was not firmly enough fixed in his Throne to venture to disoblige the Court of *Rome*.

During this Reign, the Pope conferred the Dignity of Legate on the Bishop of *Winchester*, the King's Brother, in prejudice of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Distinction occasioned between the two Prelates a Contest, of which the Court of *Rome* made great advantage. For, on this occasion it was, that the two Parties frequently appealed to *Rome*, a thing very rarely practised in *England* before. At length, after long Disputes, the Legateship was taken from the Bishop of *Winchester* by Pope *Celestine II*, and given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, not as his Right, but as the free Gift of the Holy See. Thus the Popes artfully improved all occasions to extend their Authority. The Reader will see in the course of the History, the reason of my insisting thus on the Affair of the Legates. For by their means chiefly it was, that, in some of the following Reigns, the Popes rendered *England* liable to numberless Oppressions.

The Court of *Rome* would doubtless have run greater lengths in her Usurpations, if the frequent Schisms in those Days had not caused her to lose a great deal of ground. To gain or preserve the Obedience of the Christian Princes, the Popes were often forced to pass by many things, which they would not have done in other juncture. However, when they could not help making Concessions to their disadvantage, they seldom failed of adding some ambiguous Clause, which left room to explain them in their own favour at a more proper Season. I have related an Instance in the Proceeding of *Celestine II*, when he promised to send no more Legates into *England*, except in case of Necessity: For the Popes themselves were afterwards Judges when it was necessary. If all the King had been like the two *Williams*, they would have put their own Construction upon these Clauses. But as some were weak or superstitious, and others, that had more Resolution, were embroiled in Troubles, which obliged them to keep fair with *Rome*, the Popes never failed of improving these junctures. We are now going to see, in what manner the four first *Norman* Kings behaved with regard to the Pope, during the Schisms which happened in their Reigns.

England acknowledged *Gregory VII*, who came to the Papacy in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And yet, the Election of the Anti-pope *Clement III*, was no sooner over, but *William* resolved to stand neuter, 'till the Affair was decided. On occasion of this Schism it was, that he forbade his Subjects to own any Pope without his permission.

This

S. Dunelm.
p. 294.
Hoved.
p. 433.

Eadmer.
p. 53.

Eadmer.
p. 116.

Eadmer.
p. 118, 119.
C.

Eadmer.
p. 122.

Gervase.
p. 1003.

Gervase.

Gervase.
p. 1003.

Schism.

Eadmer.
p. 9.

This Neutrality of England evidently appears in *Lanfranc's* Answer to Cardinal *Hugo Candidus*, who solicited him to side with *Clement III.* The Letter runs thus in *Baronius.*

Baron.
Ann.
1092.

"I received your Letter, but can by no means approve of part of the Contents. Your Invectives against *Gregory*, whom you affect to call *Hildebrand*, and the strange Names you give his Legates, is what I don't understand. On the other hand, your excessive Commendations of *Clement*, and the extraordinary Character you give him, are doubtless carried too far. It is written, *We are not to pronounce a Man happy before his Death*, neither are we to detract from our Neighbour. The Merit of Men is a thing that lies out of fight: And therefore we cannot pronounce with truth upon their future Condition. However, I am persuaded the Emperor would not have embarked in so great an Undertaking, without having good reasons, nor could have thus prospered, without the signal Blessing of the Almighty. As for the Voyage you design to take into England, I would not advise you to it, unless the King's Leave can be first obtained. For as yet we have not entirely disclaimed *Gregory*, nor declared for his Competitor. But when the Cause of both Sides shall be maturely examined, we shall then be better able to come to a Resolution."

Eadmer.
p. 25.

Gregory VII was succeeded by *Victor III.* who died in 1087, about the Year before *William the Conqueror.* *Urban II* was chosen in his room, and presently after *William Rufus* ascended the Throne of England, whilst the Schism still continued between *Urban* and *Clement.* The English may be said to be for some Years without a Pope, since they recognized neither of the two Competitors. When *Anselm* would, by his own Authority, have owned *Urban II.* *William* opposed it, till by an Artifice; mentioned hereafter, *Urban* gained him to his Obedience. This Step being made, England remained under the Jurisdiction of this Pope, and his Successors *Paschal II.* *Gelasius II.* and *Honorius II.* After the death of this last, a fresh Schism was formed, by the double Election of *Innocent II.* and *Anacletus.* These two Popes, having each their Adherents, divided all Europe. *Innocent* stood in need of all the Credit and Eloquence of *St. Bernard* to be acknowledged in France, where was a strong Party against him. It was a long while before that Kingdom, as well as England, declared for either of the Rivals, so difficult was it to judge which had the best Title. Each alledged Reasons, which served rather to destroy his Adversary's Right than support his own. It may be easily guessed, that during the uncertainty with regard to these Popes, recourse was had to neither. A galling Circumstance to those that assert the necessity of a Pope in the Church.

Crusades.

If the Popes lost ground by these Schisms, the Loss was amply repaired by the *Crusades*, which furnished them with Opportunities of extending their Authority. 'Tis foreign to my purpose to examine what Right the Christian Princes of Europe had to Palestine, conquered by the *Saracens* upon the Emperors of *Constantinople.* It suffices to say, that the Project of wresting from the Infidels the Country bedewed with the Blood of *Christ*, seemed so noble and meritorious, that all the Princes of Christendom gloried in promoting it with their Wealth and Forces, and some even with their Persons. The People, in imitation of their Sovereigns, blindly engaged in this Undertaking upon *Peter the Hermit's* (1) setting forth the Miseries to which the Christians in Palestine were exposed under the Empire of the *Saracens.* *Urban II.* was the first that formed the Project of uniting all the Christians in Europe, to attempt the Deliverance of their Brethren in the East from Servitude, and to that purpose preached, in 1095, the first *Crusade* at the Council of *Clermont.* His Exhortations were so surprisingly effectual, that in a short time was seen marching towards the Holy Land a prodigious Army, the Success of which is known to all the World. The *Saracens* were driven out of Palestine, and a Christian Kingdom founded, which lasted but fourcore and ten Years. The Infidels becoming masters of the Country again, the Popes never ceased exhorting the Christians, to recover what the Church had lost in those Parts. This occasioned several fresh *Crusades* which procured the Popes many Advantages. In the first place, as they declared themselves Heads of these Expeditions, they took into their Protection all that were willing to embark in the same. By this means they had opportunity to interpose in all Affairs, there being few of any moment, but what some one of the *Croises* were concerned in. In the

second place, as these Expeditions could not be undertaken without an immense Charge, the Popes took occasion to impose on the Clergy, under the Name of *Tenth's*, Taxes, of which they had the whole disposal. In the next place, after once they were posses'd of the Privilege of publishing a *Crusade* whenever they thought fit, they drew from thence a Consequence of very great use to them. They pretended, the Extirpation of Heretics, tended as much to the Glory of God as that of Infidels. Now as they assumed to themselves the Power of declaring what was Heresy, the moment any Prince offered to oppose their Encroachments; they pronounced him Heretic, excommunicated him, and published a *Crusade* against him. Of this we shall meet with several remarkable Instances in the course of this History. It is no wonder then, the Popes stirred up and cherished this frenetic Zeal for *Crusades*, since they turned it so much to their Advantage. Thanks be to God, the Blindness of Christians in this respect has long since been cured.

In proportion to the Growth of the Pope's Authority, the Power of the Bishops, Archbishops, Provincial or National Synods, visibly decreased. The reason is, because their Decrees and Canons were liable to be annulled upon the least Appeal to the Pope. Accordingly in the Interval I am now going thro', we find but very few Councils worth notice.

The First was held at *Winchester* in 1070. *Hermenfred* Bishop of *Cisteron*, *John* and *Peter*, Cardinal Priests, presided as the Pope's Legates. As nothing material was transacted in this Synod, besides the depriving *Stigand* and some other Bishops, it is needless to say any more of it. I shall only take occasion from this Council to remark, that in those Days a Bishop was above a Cardinal, since in the Acts of this Synod, the Bishop of *Cisteron* is always named before the Cardinals his Collegues.

In 1075, *Lanfranc* called a Synod at *London*, where it was ordained, that for the future, Provincial and Diocesan Synods should be held more frequently, the use of them being discontinued since the Conquest. The Precedency of the Sees was also regulated according to the Decrees of the VIth Council of *Toledo* and others, and every Prelate was to take Place according to the Priority of his Ordination. It was agreed, that in the Councils, the Archbishop of *York* should be seated on the Right, and the Bishop of *London* on the Left Hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (2), and the Bishop of *Winchester*, next the Archbishop of *York* (3). Some Canons were also pass'd; the most remarkable are as follows:

The Vth forbids all Persons, Bishops and Abbots; excepted, to speak in the Councils without leave from the President.

By the VIth, Marriage is prohibited to the seventh Degree, for which the Authority of *Gregory the Great* is vouch'd. But we have seen that, according to the testimony of *Bede*, this Pope, in his Answer to *Austin's* Questions, limits the Prohibition to the second Degree only.

The VIIth is against Simony. This Canon, for some time, had pass'd in all the Councils. In all appearance this Disorder was become very common; or perhaps 'twas to prepare the way for the Prohibition of taking the Investiture of Benefices from the Hands of Lay-men, to which Simony serv'd for pretence.

The VIIIth is levelled against Sorcery and Divination, and the like superstitious Practices.

By the XIth no Ecclesiastick is to give his Vote to sentence a Person to die, or lose his Limbs.

In the following Year 1076, the same Archbishop convened a Synod on occasion of the Marriage of Priests.

In 1094, a Synod was held at *Rockingham* on occasion of the Contest between *William Rufus* and *Anselm.*

Eight Years after, in 1102, in the Reign of *Henry I.* *Anselm* summoned a national Synod, to which the temporal Lords were invited, to be Witnesses of the Proceedings. Some Canons were pass'd, the principal of which are:

The Ist against Simony.

The IVth forbids Archdeacons, Priests, Deacons, and Canons to marry, or to live with their Wives if already married. This was the first general Prohibition against the English Priests keeping their Wives, which was disapproved by many People.

(1) He was a French Priest, and had travelled in Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he was extremely afflicted with the Mischance the Christians endured. He pretended that our Saviour appeared to him in a Dream, and commanded him to go and engage the western Christian to undertake their Deliverance, promising him Success.

(2) Because he is Dean of the See of *Canterbury.*

(3) Because he is Chantor of the same See. *Godwin.* p. 1409.

By the VIth, Sons of Priests were not to succeed to their Fathers Churches.

The IXth enjoins the Priests to have open Crowns, that the Tonsure might be the more apparent.

The XIIIth forbids the Abbots to make Knights, tho' they had, 'till then, enjoyed that Privilege (1).

The XIVth declares all Promises of Marriage made without Witnesses to be void, in case either of the Parties denies the Engagement.

The XVth forbids Monks or Nuns to be Godfathers or Godmothers.

The XVIIth confirms the Prohibition of marrying within the seventh Degree.

The XVIIIth forbids the Burying the Dead of out their Parish (2).

The XIXth thunders Anathema's against such as sold Men like Horses. Notwithstanding this Canon, the Lords of Manors still retained the Right of Villanage, that is, of selling their Villans, who were considered as a sort of Slaves.

The XXth was against Sodomy. 'Tis remarkable, that Canons against this Crime were never thought of 'till the Clergy were obliged to Celibacy, it being scarce heard of in England before.

S. Dunelm.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Council in 1125, on occasion of the Marriage of Priests, in which Cardinal John de Crema preached.

The Council at Westminster. Cont. Flor. Wigor.

In 1127 William Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury, held a Synod at Westminster, where he presided as the Pope's Legate. The most considerable of the Canons that were passed are these:

The IIIrd forbids the taking Money for the receiving Monks and Nuns into religious Houses.

The VIth forbids a Plurality of Archdeaconries, under pain of Excommunication.

The VIIth makes it unlawful for Ecclesiasticks to turn Farmers.

The VIIIth enjoins the punctual Payment of Tithes, and calls them, *the Demises of the most High*.

Gerface. Sp. Iman. C. nc. Vol. II. P. 39.

In 1138, Alberic, the Pope's Legate, convened a Synod of seventeen Bishops and thirty Abbots. But this, which was summoned only to chuse an Archbishop of Canterbury, and several others, in the Reign of Stephen, assembled for political Affairs, have nothing worth noting.

Translations of the Sces. Brompt.

As, after the Conquest, we find the Names of some Bishops to disappear, and others, unknown in the Saxon time, to arise, it will not be improper to mention those Alterations, in order to avoid obscurity.

Brompt. P. 975.

In 1075, the See of Shireborn was removed to Salisbury; that of Selby to Chichester; and that of Lichfield to Chester.

In 1092, in the Reign of William Rufus, the See of Dorchester was removed to Lincoln (3), and the See of Wells to Bath. The Popes were not well pleased with these Removals, being done without their Leave. Paschal II loudly complained of it to Henry I; but as there was then a Schism on foot, he dared not to push the matter any further.

Ely made a Bishop's See. S. Dunelm,

In 1108, in the Reign of Henry I, Ely Monastery was erected into a Bishoprick, with the Approbation of the Pope, and Consent of the Bishop of Lincoln, who resigned part of his Diocese, for that purpose.

and Carlisle. Brompt.

In this same Reign Carlisle, called by the Romans, *Luguballia*, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and re-built by William Rufus, was made an Episcopal See, *Adelwalt* being the first Bishop. This Diocese was taken from that of Durham.

(1) Brand Abbot of Peterborough, knighted his Nephew Hereward, in the Reign of William the Conqueror. The manner was, by Confession of his Sins, and Watching, and Praying in the Church, the whole foregoing Night; then in the Morning before Mass, he offered up his Sword on the Altar, and after reading the Gospel, the Priest first having blessed the Sword, put it over the new Knight's Neck, and so having communicated, he was ever after held a lawful Knight. The word Knight, signifies a *Servant*, *Attendant*, or *Soldier*; hence *Knights*, and *Knights Fees*, for such as held their Estates by military Service, and were obliged to attend the King in his Wars. But the Honorary Knights were such as were *Glad Crefts*, as above. And we find not only Princes but Subjects, both Ecclesiastical and Lay, had Power to confer Knighthood. Lanfranc knighted William Rufus, and John Duke of Bedford, gave the same Dignity to Henry VI. A gilt Spurs were used on this Occasion, they were *Milites Aurati*. See *Seiden's Titles of Honour*.

(2) In order to deprive the Minister of the Parish of his Dues. *Spelman*, p. 24.

(3) By Remigius Bishop of Chichester, who built *Lincoln Cathedral*. *Hunt*, p. 371. *M. Paris*, p. 10.

(4) For an Account of the other Monasteries founded within this Period; see *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*.

(5) So called from *Chartreuse* in *Grenoble*, where they were first established in 1086, by one Bruno of *Clugny*, Canon of *Reims*. They are said to settle in England in 1180. They followed St. Benet's Rule.

(6) They had their Name from *Cistercium* or *Citeaux* in the Diocese of *Chalons*, where they first assembled under Harding, an Englishman, in 1097. St. Bernard was soon after received into their Society, whence they were styled *Cisterciens*. These reined also upon St. Benet's Rule. They came hither in 1128, being brought in by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester; and were first settled in the Abbey of *Waverley* in *Surrey*. In 1141, their Chapter made an Injunction, that there should be no more Monasteries of that Order founded; there being already five hundred at that time. *M. Paris*, p. 83.

(7) This Order was founded by St. Norbert of a noble Family in *Clugny*, in 1120, at a Place said to be pointed out to him by the *Divine Spirit*, thence called *Præmonstratum*, that is, *Foreseen*. They were brought into England in 1146, and settled at *Neuweuse* in *Lincolnshire*. They followed the Rule of St. Augustin. *Brompt.*

(8) The Canons were distinguished into Regular and Secular; the first reforming upon the last, gave them that Name by way of Reproach. They pretended to receive their Rules from St. Augustin. ----- In this Reign also was founded the famous Order of *Serapionham*, which Order was this *Isidore*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, having a Son named Gilbert, whom, for some imperfection in his Limbs, he thought unfit for the World, he made him a Priest, and gave him a Benefice in a Town of his in *Lincolnshire*, called *Serapionham*. This Gilbert was Founder of the Order of the *Gilbertines*, or of *Serapionham*. He inclosed within one House both Men and Women; but separated them with Walls, that they might neither see, nor hear one another. This Order in his Life-time increased to ten Houses, containing in all seven hundred Brethren, and one thousand five hundred Sisters. See *St. Chrysostom*, p. 144. See also *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. II. p. 669, &c.

(9) It was directed to Lanfranc in Normandy; but he being gone to Rome, it was sent by some Adversary to the Pope.

We find in *Anglia-Sacra*, and the History of the Church of *Winchester* by *Rudburn*, that in 1144, Pope Lucius sent the *Pall* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, King Stephen's Brother, with intent to erect that See into an Archbishoprick, and annex it to the seven Dioceses of the Kingdom of *Wessex*. But this Proceeding being generally disliked, and the Bishop fearing to meet with too strong opposition, deferred to another time the execution of his Project, which vanished by the Death of *Lucius*.

Battle-Abbey was founded by William the Conqueror, as above, was said in his Life. In 1101, Henry I founded the Monastery of *Clerkenwell*, and the Priory of St. John of *Jerusalem*. The Abbey of *Reading* was also of this King's founding (4).

Towards the end of the eleventh, or in the beginning of the twelfth Century, were instituted the Orders of the *Carthusians* (5), *Cistercians* (6), *Præmonstratenses* (7), who afterwards settled in England. To these may be added the Regular Canons reformed by *Ivo* of *Chartres* in 1098 (8).

Amongst the remarkable Occurrences in the Church, during the four Reigns we are going through, the famous Controversy about the Holy Eucharist is by no means to be passed over in silence. Though it made not so much noise in England as it did in France, yet being a Point wherein the whole Church was, and still is, greatly concerned, it will not be improper to give a brief Account of the Rise and Progress of this Dispute.

Towards the latter end of the eighth Century, *Paschasius Radbert*, a Monk of *Corbeil*, published a Treatise, asserting that the Bread in the Eucharist was the same Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin, and that the Wine was the same Blood which was shed on the Cross. This Opinion seemed to be entirely New to several learned Men, who vigorously and sharply wrote against it. *Johannes Scotus*, surnamed *Erigena*, that is, of Irish Extraction, *Raban* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Bertram* the Monk, were the principal Opposers of this Doctrine. On the other side, there were some that undertook its Defence. Without entering into the Arguments of both Parties, I shall content my self with making two Remarks. The first is, If Christians had all along been of *Paschasius's* Opinion, it is hard to conceive, that so many Persons of Learning should look upon his Doctrine as a Novelty. In the second place, it must be confessed, *Paschasius's* Notion prevailed in such a manner over the other, after the eighth Century, that when the Controversy was revived two hundred Years after, the Doctrine contrary to *Paschasius's*, had generally the imputation of Novelty fixed upon it.

This Dispute being at length ended, either because People were tired with it, or their Minds taken up with other matters, it lay dormant for near two hundred Years. In 1035, *Berengarius* Archdeacon of *Angers*, who had a great Character for his Learning, perceiving *Paschasius's* Opinion gained ground, attempted to stop its progress. He published a quite contrary Doctrine, and was suffered to strengthen himself in it for twelve or fifteen Years, without any opposition. The first that attacked him was *Adelmand*, a Prebend of *Liege*, and afterwards *Bedwin* Bishop of the same Church, who endeavoured to make him alter his Sentiments.

Mean time, *Berengarius* held a Correspondence with *Lanfranc*, then Abbot of St. *Stephen's* in *Caen*. The subject of their Letters ran upon the nature of the Eucharist. *Lanfranc* maintained *Paschasius's* Opinion; and *Berengarius*, on the contrary, vindicated the Doctrine lately published by himself. One of *Berengarius's* Letters happening to fall into the Hands of Pope *Leo IX* (9), he thought fit to call a Council upon that occasion. *Beren-*

Berengarius held a Correspondence with Lanfranc.

garius was condemned for differing from the common Opinion, and for alledging, in his Letter, the Arguments, formerly used by *Scotus* against *Paschasius*. *Lanfranc*, who was present at the Synod, was obliged to purge himself of the Suspicion of holding too close a Correspondence with this pretended Heretic. However, as *Berengarius* was condemned unheard, the Pope held another Synod at *Verceil*, and summoned him to appear. He came not in Person, but sent two Ecclesiasticks to make his Defence, who, as *Lanfranc* testifies, gave up their Master's Cause. *Berengarius* was therefore condemned a second time, and *Scotus's* Book, from whence he had borrowed his Arguments, involved in the same Sentence. Instead of submitting to the Decision of these two Synods, *Berengarius* wrote in Defence of *Scotus*, and dropped some satyrical Expressions against *Paschasius*, the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*. His Arguments appeared so convincing, that several openly declared for his Opinion, and even wrote in his favour. It is true indeed, all those Writings were suppressed; but the Fact, for all that is not the less certain. An antient Author remarks, all *France* was in combustion on account of *Berengarius*; many learned Men disputed for and against him, both by word of mouth and in writing.

Sigebert.

The Doctrine of *Berengarius* must needs have spread itself in several places, since *Victor II*, *Leo's* Successor, thought it necessary to hold another Council at *Tours*, to decide this Controversy. *Berengarius* not being able to avoid appearing at this Synod held in his Neighbourhood, it is pretended, he durst not maintain his Opinion, but acquiesced in the Decisions of the two former Councils. But we have only his Adversaries word for this. However, if he did recant, he repented of it afterwards, and continued, as before, to maintain his Opinion. Whereupon he was cited by *Stephen X*, to a Council held at *Rome* in 1059. *Berengarius* appeared, and if we may believe the remaining Historians, most of whom were his bitter Enemies, he durst not defend his Cause. Nay, he subscribed a Writing, wherein he is made to say, that the Body of Jesus Christ was handled in a sensible manner by the Priests, and ground by the Teeth of the Communicants. Afterwards, he was compelled by threats, to burn with his own Hand *Scotus's* Book, from whence it was pretended, he had sucked his Errors. It must be observed, that though some say he durst not defend his Cause, yet others affirm, he disputed a good while with *Lanfranc* and *Alberic* a Monk of *Mount Cassin*. However, his signing the Writing was not so much owing to his Adversaries Arguments, as to his being over-awed by their Threats. You did not do it (says *Lanfranc* to him in one of his Letters) for the sake of Truth, but to avoid the Death you were threatened with. Accordingly we find afterwards his Heart consented not to what his Hand had done, since, notwithstanding his many Recantations, he persisted in his old Opinion to his dying day.

1063.

In 1063, a Council was held at *Roan* upon the same occasion, and another at *Poitiers* in 1075. *Berengarius* was present at the latter, and even ran some risk of his Life, which served only to give him a worse Opinion of the other Party. At last *Gregory VII*, coming to the Papacy, and being desirous by all means to end this Affair, which was so often renewed, held a Council at *Rome* in 1079. Before the opening of the Synod, he proclaimed a Fast for thirty days, to beseech God, that he would be pleased to grant this Council the Grace to discover the Truth. It is somewhat strange, after so many Decisions, conformable, as it is pretended, to the Doctrine of the Church in all Ages, they should still be in suspense what to believe in this matter. *Berengarius* made his appearance, and signed a Recantation more full and explicate than any of the former. He declares, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, are substantially changed, by the miraculous Operation of the Words of our Saviour, into the true, visible, and living Body of Jesus Christ, not figuratively, and sacramentally, but truly, properly, and substantially. This Recantation was as far from causing him to alter his mind, as the others. This appears from his being cited once more to a Council at *Bourdeaux*, where he came and was condemned. He passed the rest of his Life in Retirement [near *Tours*,] where he died in peace in 1088.

Reflections on this Difficult.

These particulars afford matter for several Reflections. In the first place, if the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was manifestly contrary to the Belief of the Universal Church, since the time of the Apostles, it must be surprising, there should be occasion for so many Councils on this Subject. In the second place, the great Number of Councils, is a clear evidence that *Berengarius's* Opinion was spread far and wide, since so much pains was taken to stop its Pro-

gress. Thirdly, it is no less strange, that neither *Berengarius*, nor any of the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks his Friends, were ever deprived. If *Berengarius* had sincerely recanted, it would be easy to guess the Reason of his being so favourably dealt with by the Popes and Councils. But besides that these frequent Recantations were a presumption, that the last was no sincerer than the former, there are very strong Proofs of his dying in his old Opinion. And indeed, notwithstanding his recanting, *Lanfranc* always considered him as a *Schismatic*. An Anonymous Author, who wrote eight years after his last Recantation, calls him a *Heretic* (1). An evident Sign that he went out of the World in his pretended Error. It is true *Malmsbury* affirms, *Berengarius* died a Catholic, that is, in the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*. But he was led into this Mistake, either by believing his last Recantation real, or from the honourable Epitaph *Hildebrand*, Bishop of *Mans*, made for him after his death (2). Without doubt *Malmsbury*, who has inserted his Epitaph in this History, could not imagine that a Bishop would bestow so great Commendations on a Man that was actually a *Heretic*.

Lastly, It may be further observed, that although the Account we have of *Berengarius*, is from his Adversaries, several of them could not forbear mentioning the prodigious Progress of his Doctrine in *Germany*, *Italy*, and particularly in *France*. As for *England*, it is no wonder, this Controversy made less noise there than elsewhere. The late Revolution in that Island kept the *English* intent upon other matters. I shall close my Remarks with observing, that *Berengarius's* frequent Recantations were extremely prejudicial to his Doctrine. In an Age like that, few Persons being capable of judging for themselves in so intricate a Case, Example and Precedent swayed more in this matter than Knowledge and Conviction. Now it is certain, the Appearances were against *Berengarius*, because it was carefully given out, he recanted upon seeing his Error. Not a word was said of the Threats that extorted his Recantations, though nothing was more certain, as we have seen, by the Testimony of *Lanfranc* himself.

To finish what I have to say concerning the State of the Church, during the four first *Norman* Reigns, nothing remains, but to subjoin a brief Account of the most noted Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks.

Alfred Archbishop of *York*, who crowned *William the Conqueror*, was a good and pious Prelate. He had been Bishop of *Gloucester*, where he built the Cathedral. Afterwards he purchased several Estates in the Neighbourhood of *York*, and annexed them to his Archbishoprick. He was likewise a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Beverley* (3).

Tho' *Stigand*, according to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, intruded himself into the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury*, and was for that reason suspended by the Pope, he performed however the Functions of a Metropolitan, during the Reigns of *Edward* and *Harold*. If *William the Conqueror* refused to be crowned by his hand, it was purely to avoid a Contest with the Court of *Rome*; for otherwise he treated that Prelate at first with great Distinction. When *Stigand* attended him into *Normandy*, the Clergy there, without regarding the Pope's Censures, paid him all the Respect due to his Rank and Dignity. Afterwards, the *Conqueror* had quite other thoughts of him, and caused him to be deprived by the Council of *Winchester*. As soon as this Prelate was removed from his Dignity, the King no more regarded him, but threw him into Prison to force him to discover his hid Treasures, which were very considerable. But nothing being able to wrest this Secret from him, he ended his Days in Prison. After his Death a little key was found about his Neck, with a Note directing to the place where his Money was lodged, which was all seized to the King's use.

Marianus Scotus, born in *Scotland* in 1028, being thirty years of Age, retired to a Monastery at *Colign*. He was afterwards removed to the Abbey of *Fulde*, where he wrote a general History of *Europe* from the Creation to the Year of our Lord 1082. He died four Years after in 1086. The *Scots* were at that time very well received in *Germany*, where a Prince of that Nation, who had served under *Charles the Great*, founded fifteen Monasteries, whose Abbots were all to be *Scotchmen*.

Wulstan Bishop of *Worcester*, had a great Character for his Piety, which some have carried too far. It is pretended he wrought several Miracles, as well in his Life-time as after his Death. It appears however, that *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had no great Opinion of this Prelate's Merit, since he would have had him deprived by a Synod for Insufficiency and want of Learning. This gives room to suspect *Wulstan's* Virtue consisted in a great

(1) *Baennius* calls him a *Rotten Heretic*.

(2) He gives him a great Character for his Learning and Morals.

(3) He went in Pilgrimage through *Hungary* to *Jerusalem*, which no *English* Bishop was ever known to have done. *S. Dunelm.* p. 189. *Hoved.* p. 444.

Simplicity, which is industriously made to pass for an extraordinary Sanctity. *Malmesbury*, who has writ his Life, relates a Circumstance, which plainly shows this Prelate's great conceit of his own Merit. As the Monks, who stood by at his Death, expressed great Sorrow for the Loss of him, he comforted them by assuring them, they should have in him a more powerful Patron after his Death than during his Life.

Lanfranc, whom I have had frequent occasion to mention, was born at *Pavia*. After finishing his Studies, he turned Monk, chusing the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*, where he taught Logick, and gained a great Reputation. His frequent reproaching the rest of the Fraternity for their Ignorance, was the cause of his Fortune. The Monks preferring a Complaint against him to *William the Bastard*, who was then only Duke of *Normandy*, he was obliged to go to Court to justify himself. In his Conversation with the Duke, that Prince was so charmed with his Merit, that instead of punishing him, as his Accusers expected, he made him Abbot of *St. Stephen's* at *Caen*, from whence he afterwards promoted him to the See of *Canterbury*. *Lanfranc's* Credit, which was very great in the Conqueror's Reign, declined under *William Rufus*, for whom however he had procured the Crown. His Death, which happened soon after in 1089, saved him, it may be, a great deal of trouble. He re-built the Church of *Canterbury*, burnt by the *Danes* in Archbishop *Elphegus's* time, and fixed the Number of the Monks of *St. Augustin* at one hundred and fifty, which before was not limited. He gave them also a Prior, instead of a Chorepiscopus. A famous Trial, wherein he got the better of *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, put him in possession of twenty five *Manors*, which that Bishop had seized. He passed for a great Statesman, as well as for an able and learned Divine. His Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles, and his Ecclesiastical History, which is not extant, were Works of great Repute. But of all his Writings, his Treatise against *Berengarius*, concerning the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament, was the most remarkable. Notwithstanding this testimony of the Conformity of his Sentiments to those of the *Roman Church*, *Gregory VII* would fain have obliged him to come to *Rome*, and give an account of his Faith. Nay, he let him know, after several Summons, that he should be suspended, in case he came not to *Rome* within four months. But *Lanfranc* never went, though he had time enough for the Journey, for he did not die 'till eight Years after (1).

Anselm, who was Abbot of *Bec* before he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the most famous of all the *English* Bishops, for his Conteſts with *William Rufus* and *Henry I*. The former of these Disputes being of little consequence, I shall not lose time in descending to particulars, having elsewhere related what is material. I shall only observe one Circumstance, which shows *Pope Urban's* Address to get himself owned in *England*.

Clement the Anti-Pope being still alive when *Urban II* was chosen, *England* refused to acknowledge either of the Popes. In the mean time, *Anselm* falling at variance with *William Rufus*, openly declared for *Urban*, contrary to the King's Will and Pleasure. As their Quarrel daily increased, the King sought means to humble him. To that end, he let *Urban* know, if he would send him the *Pall* designed for *Anselm*, that the Archbishop might be obliged to receive it from him, he should be owned for Pope in *England*. *Urban* liking the Proposal, sent the Bishop of *Alba*, to do as the King desired. However this *Nuncio*, without saying any thing of his having the *Pall*, only told the King, the Pope was ready to comply with his Request, provided *England* would acknowledge his Authority. Upon this assurance, the King performed his Engagement, and then wanting to have *Anselm's* *Pall* in his disposal, the *Nuncio* told him, the thing was impracticable, because *Anselm* refused to receive the *Pall* from the hands of a Layman. In this manner was the King imposed upon, and forced to agree, the Archbishop should take up the *Pall* himself from the Altar, where the *Nuncio* had laid it [by Consent.] He never forgave the Archbishop, who, as has been related, was obliged to go to *Rome*, and afterwards to retire to *Lyons*, where he remained 'till the King's death.

During *Anselm's* stay at *Rome*, he was present at a Council, where it was decreed, that all Ecclesiasticks, who for the future received the Investiture of the Benefices from the hands of a Layman, should be excommunicated. In obedience to this Decree, after his return into *England* by *Henry's* own solicitations, he refused to do Homage to that Prince, and consecrate the Bishops invested by the King. This Refusal was the ground of a more important

Dispute than that with *William Rufus*, since the Point in question was a Prerogative, which the Kings of *England* had been long possessed of. However, *Henry* being willing to act with caution, at a time when the Court of *Rome* was grown very formidable by prevailing over the Emperor, consented that *Anselm* should send Agents to *Rome*, whilst himself dispatched Ambassadors thither to plead his Cause, and persuade the Pope to leave him in peaceable possession of his Right. *Paschal II* sent word, p. 63. he could not grant the King a thing so expressly forbidden by several Councils. Notwithstanding this refusal, *Henry* was firmly resolved to preserve a Privilege received from his Predecessors. Accordingly, he commanded the Archbishop to do him Homage, and consecrate the Bishops invested after the usual manner. *Anselm* made Answer, he could not obey the King without disobeying the Pope and the Decrees of the Synod of *Rome*, to which he had himself given his Vote. What's p. 69. this to me, reply'd the King, is the Synod of *Rome* to deprive me of the Prerogatives of my Predecessors? No, I will never suffer any Person, who refuses me the Securities of a Subject, to enjoy Estates in my Dominions. And then ordered the Archbishop to do as he required, or depart the Kingdom. *Anselm* answered, he could do neither; but would go down to *Canterbury*, and there wait God's good Pleasure. The King and the Lords of the Council were shocked at this Answer. After debating the matter, the Council was of Opinion, that the King should not have so great Regard to *Anselm* or the Pope himself, but should drive the one out of the Kingdom, and disengage himself from all dependance on the other. The King, not thinking it advisable to proceed to these Extremities, of his own accord, summoned a general Assembly or Parliament. He represented to them the Attempts of the Pope upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Arrogance of the Archbishop, who behaved to him, not as a Subject but as an Equal, or rather a Superior. Upon these Complaints the Assembly agreed, that *Anselm* should be allowed a longer time for deliberation; that in the mean while the King should send Ambassadors to the Pope, to try to persuade him to desist in an amicable manner from his Pretensions. The Archbishop p. 72. of *York*, and two other Bishops were charged with this Embassy, and accompanied with two Agents for *Anselm*. The Ambassadors had Instructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to relax in the point of Investitures, or be contented with the Banishment of *Anselm*, lose the Obedience of the *English*, and all the Profits accruing from thence. When these Prelates had their Audience of the Pope, they represented to him the Danger he exposed himself to, in case he refused to comply with the King. *Paschal* made answer, he would not only lose p. 73. *England*, but his Dignity too, rather than yield in the least. *Anselm's* Agents had likewise their Audience apart. After which, the Pope sent two Letters by them, p. 74. one for the King, exhorting him to desist from his Claim to Investitures; the other for *Anselm*, enjoining him to persist in his supporting the Cause of Truth. The King by no means relishing this Letter, would not communicate it to the Lords. But *Anselm* caused his to be publicly read.

Mean time, the King's Ambassadors and *Anselm's* Agents differed very much in their Reports. The Bishops declared, the Pope at a private Audience told them, he was willing to indulge the King the Liberty of Investitures, provided he would in return give him Satisfaction in other Points: But that he durst not openly declare so much, lest other Sovereigns should claim the same Privilege. *Anselm's* Agents, on the contrary, protested, the Pope said nothing like it, and appealed for the Truth of what they asserted to the Letter sent to the Archbishop. What they alleged was the more probable, as the King refused to produce the Pope's Letter. Nevertheless, there was no questioning the testimony of the Archbishop of *York* and the two other Bishops, without accusing them withal of falsehood and shameful prevarication. Even *Anselm* was in suspense, since they appealed to the Pope himself for the Truth of what they delivered. In this uncertainty he thought it most advisable to prolong the time, 'till he was better informed of the Pope's Intentions. To that purpose, he offered to communicate with the Bishops who had received Investiture from the King, which he had hitherto refused, on condition he should not consecrate them, before he had heard from the Pope. This temper giving the King and Council some satisfaction, he had time allowed him to send fresh Agents to *Rome*.

Whilst the Agents were at the Court of *Rome*, the King, who bore these Delays with impatience, sent to

(1) *Lanfranc* exempted all the Clerks, or Parish Priests of the Towns belonging to him, or where he was Lord, or presented to the Living in any Diocese, from the Jurisdiction and Visitation of the Bishops, which might be the Original of *Pecuniaries*. *Eadmer*, p. 12. *Baron*, p. 215.

the Archbishop to consecrate the three Bishops elect. *Anselm* answered, he was ready to consecrate one of the three, who had refused to be invested by the King: But for the others, he could not do it without the Pope's Consent. Upon his declining the Office, the King commanded the Archbishop of *York* to perform the Solemnity. But the Bishops who were to be consecrated, renounced the Authority, and would not submit to it. This Regard for the Pope provoked the King to that degree, that he confiscated all their Estates.

As soon as *Anselm's* Agents were returned from *Rome*, the King went down to *Canterbury*, and sent to the Archbishop to give him satisfaction, unless he would provoke him to new measures. *Anselm* answered, he had receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, which was yet unopen'd; that he would open it in his presence, and govern himself according to the Pope's Directions. *Henry*, enraged at the Preference the Archbishop always gave to the Pope's Orders, reply'd, The point in question was not to know what the Pope enjoined, for he did not intend to submit his Prerogatives to his Determination. However, the Archbishop was not to be prevailed with, but remained firm to his Resolution. At last, *Henry* willing to try all ways before he proceeded to other measures, advis'd *Anselm* himself to take a Journey to *Rome*, to see if he could persuade the Pope to relax. *Anselm* was very loth to go, but at length was prevailed upon, at the request of the Bishops and Barons, who represented to him, that the Journey could not possibly do him any Diservice.

Endmer.
p. 72.

1103.

As soon as he was arrived in *Normandy*, he open'd the Pope's Letters, where he found an absolute Denial of all that the King's Ambassadors had reported. However, he pursued his Journey to *Rome*, where he was quickly follow'd by *William Wareham* the King's Ambassador, formerly employed at the Court of *Rome* by *William Rufus*. The Ambassador being admitted to Audience, represented to the Pope, that he was in danger of losing *England*, if he persisted in depriving the King of his just Prerogatives: Adding, his Master was resolved to lose his Crown rather than part with the Right of Investitures. And *I*, answer'd *Paschal*, will sooner lose my Life, than suffer the Church's Privileges to be thus usurped. This so positive an Answer entirely breaking off the Negotiation, the Ambassador set out for *England*, and *Anselm*, who did not dare to return to his Church, went and staid at *Lyons*.

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This Attempt not succeeding, *Henry* sent another Embassy to *Rome*. But as nothing new was proposed, it serv'd only to exasperate the Pope, who excommunicated the Earl of *Mellent* and some other Lords of the Council. He even threatn'd *Henry* with the Church's Censures, but however declin'd pronouncing any against him. Mean time, *Anselm* perceiving the Pope dilatory in his Proceedings, grew apprehensive, he might long continue in Exile, and, sooner or later, the Pope and King come to an Accommodation, of which he might well be the Victim. Wherefore, he resolv'd to ingage the Pope so deeply in the Affair, that there should be no possibility of drawing back. For that purpose, he went and made a Visit to *Adela*, Countess of *Blais*, *Henry's* Sister, and told her, that after a great deal of Patience he must now be forc'd to excommunicate the King, unless he would forthwith desist from his Pretensions. *Adela* being extremely troubled at this Menace, endeavour'd to procure an Accommodation. To that end, she desired the King her Brother, who was then in *Normandy*, to come to her at the Castle of *P. Aigle*, where she designed to bring *Anselm*, that they might confer together. At this Interview, things began, by means of the Countess of *Blais*, to be in a better way. The King fearing the Archbishop's Threats, treated him very civilly. *Anselm* in return shew'd greater Respect to the King than he had hitherto done. They were not long together before they perceived in each other an equal Desire to put an end to the Contest in an honourable manner. Thus disposed, they amicably sought means to adjust the Affair to their mutual satisfaction. As soon as an Expedient was agreed upon, *Henry* sent *William de Wareham* to the Pope for his Approbation. *Paschal's* Affairs were then in such a situation, that he did not care to break with *England*. He was hard pressed by the *Germans*, who shortly after compelled him to fly for refuge into *France*. Matters therefore were accommodated upon these Terms; The King was to renounce the Right of Investitures, and the Pope to give the Bishops and Abbots Leave to do Homage to the King for their Temporalities. Thus the Pope and King equally got clear of this troublesome Business, by a method as just as it was natural,

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p. 78.

p. 80.

9th. King
and Anselm
p. 82.

and which should have been taken at first, if both had acted fairly and honestly. This will evidently appear, if we impartially inquire into the State of the Question, which perhaps may not be amiss, since this Affair formerly made so great noise, and *Anselm* was so much concern'd in it.

In the first place, I shall lay down what seems to me undeniable, that ever since the time of *Charles the Great*, Sovereign Princes had enjoyed the Right of Investitures to Bishopricks and Abbays, by the delivery of the Ring and Pastoral Staff (1.) *Gregory VII* was the first that attempted to deprive them of this Privilege, about the latter end of the XIth Century. The Popes, his Successors, pursued the execution of this Project with the same earnestness. It must be confess'd, the Kings themselves gave the Popes but too frequent occasion to exclaim against their Abuse of this Prerogative. Under pretence, that the Bishops and Abbots could not take possession of their Benefices before they had received Investiture, the Princes publicly sold the Bishopricks and Abbays to the best Bidder. I say, sold them; for, though the Elections appeared Canonical, yet the Sovereigns over-ruled them, by having it in their Power to refuse Investiture to those they did not like. This alone was sufficient to obtain the Election of such as they recommended, no Ecclesiastick desiring to be Bishop or Abbot without enjoying the Temporalities. It was necessary therefore, in order to be elected, to have the King's Consent, after which, the Bishop or Abbot, even before Consecration, received Investiture in the manner above-mentioned. But besides that Simony had too often a place in these Elections, there was another reason, which seem'd to justify the Popes in their Attempts to abolish Investitures; namely, the Princes, by investing the Ecclesiasticks not in the same manner as the Laymen, and even before their Consecration, seem'd as if they assum'd to themselves a Power to grant Spiritual Jurisdiction. And this the Popes represented as a clear Usurpation of the Church's Privileges. And indeed, it looked something like it, because of the two Characters which were confounded in the Prelate elect; namely, as Minister of the Church, and as Temporal Lord of the Lands annexed to his Dignity. If the Pope's and Princes had acted fairly, they would have carefully distinguished these two Characters; but, on the contrary, each thought it his Interest to leave them undistinguished. By that means the Princes over-ruled the Elections, and the Popes took occasion to dispute with the Sovereigns the Right they were possess'd of. For want of distinguishing therefore, arose all those Contests between the Princes and Popes. The former declared, they would never suffer any Person to take possession of Lands, held of the Crown, without receiving Investiture at their hands. The Popes, on their part, maintained, it was unreasonable, Princes should interpose in Elections, or pretend to convey a Character, which the Church alone had Power to confer. Thus both sides equally deviated from the true State of the Case. For it was very possible for a Man to be a Bishop or Abbot, without being possess'd of the Lands held of the Crown, in which case the Prince had nothing to do. On the other hand, Princes would have received no manner of Detriment from any one's conveying a Spiritual Character without their Consent, as long as it was in their Power to secure themselves, before they put the Prelates in possession of the Temporalities. But there was no possibility of bringing them to this Point, whilst both sides remained inflexible. Thus, it is manifest, the Expedient practis'd by *Paschal II*, and *Henry I*, was very reasonable, and not at all prejudicial to the Church's Rights, or the King's Prerogative. But in all appearance, this Affair would not have ended so happily, if the Pope's Circumstances had not forced him to relax. This may be infer'd from his Behaviour to the Emperor on the same occasion, to whom he could never be brought to grant, what he had now yielded to the King of *England*.

I have dwelt the longer on this part of *Anselm's* Life, because it discovers the Character of this Prelate, who was honoured with the glorious Title of Saint, as all were that zealously adhered to the Court of *Rome*. He was born in the Year 1033, at *Ast*, a small Town in *Italy*, belonging now to the Duke of *Savoy*. At seven and twenty Years of Age he turned Monk in the Abbey of *Bec*, of which *Lanfranc* was Prior. When *Lanfranc* was made Abbot of *St. Stephen's* at *Caen*, *Anselm* became Prior, and afterwards Abbot of *Bec*, from whence he was promoted to the See of *Canterbury*. He compos'd several Theological Treatises, of which Father *Gerbert* published the largest Edition in 1676. His Writings, according to the testimony of *du Pin*, are full of Metaphysical

The true
State of the
Question.

(1) *Sigebert of Gemblours* (ad An. 773.) relates that Pope *Adrian I*, at a Council of one hundred and fifty three Bishops and Abbots, granted *Charles the Great* the Privilege of electing the Pope, and the Right of Investitures. *Barenius* and *Peter de Marca* deny the Authority of this Council, and affirm, it was forged by *Sigebert* to serve the Interest of the Emperor against *Paschal II*.

Questions, argued with the appearance of a great deal of *Logic*. The same Author observes, that *Anselm's* Letters are written in a less elaborate Style than his other Works. He is also the first who composed long Prayers, in the form of Meditations. He passed for a Prelate of great Learning and an unblameable Life. He has been much applauded for his Firmness in his Contests with *William Rufus* and *Henry I.* But this same Firmness in maintaining the Cause of the Pope, which was gloried in for so many Centures, would not meet with that approbation at present. *Anselm* died in 1109, and was canonized in the Reign of *Henry VII.* at the instance of Cardinal *Morton* [then Archbishop of *Canterbury*.]

Gilbert Bishop of *London*, was famous in the Reign of *Henry I.* chiefly on account of his Learning, which gained him the appellation of Universalist. These kind of Names were much in vogue at that time, as Marks of Honour for such as were distinguished in the Sciences. He wrote a Commentary on *David's* Psalms; and an Exposition on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which are still extant in Manuscript.

Osmund Bishop of *Salisbury*, by birth a *Norman*, was Earl of *Dorset*, and Privy-Counsellor to *William the Conqueror*, when he was made a Bishop. As in those days every Diocese had a different Liturgy, *Osmund* undertook the correcting that which was used in his. He render'd it more pure than it was before, by discharging a great many barbarous and rude Expressions, and digesting the whole in a more commodious method. This Liturgy, *Secundum usum Sarum*, with these Emendations, was quickly received in the other Dioceses, and at length became common to all the Churches of the Kingdom. It is affirmed, that after *Osmund's* death, in the Year 1099, there were several Interpolations thrown in, which are by no means approved of at present.

(1) They were published by *Arnold Wyon*.

(2) Published by *Dr. Gale*. *INGULPHUS* was born at *London* in 1030. His Father was one of *King Edward the Confessor's* Courtiers. He was the first of our *English* Historians after the Conquest. In his History of *Croyland*, he has occasionally intermixed the Story of our Kings from the Year 664, to 1091. *Bishop Nicholson* observes, that the Relation he bore to the *Conqueror*, manifestly biases him in the ill Account he gives of *Harold*.

(3) This *JAFFRID*, about the Year 1114, began a Custom which was afterwards practised by all the Monks. Upon Good-Friday, stripping himself every Year to the Waste before all the Convent, he was severely scourged. This was done as a *Penance* for their Sins, and to make a deeper Impression of our Saviour's Sufferings.

(4) The principal Writers during the four first *Norman* Reigns not mentioned by *Rapin*, amongst his Persons of Note, are:

Pictaviensis. *WILLIAM* of *POICTIERS* or *PICTAVIENSIS*, who, though a Foreigner, and Chaplain to the *Conqueror*, has given us so fair an account of the *Norman Revolution*, that he has found good Credit with most of our Historians.

Florence of Worcester. *FLORENCE*, a Monk of *Worcester*, wrote a *Chronicle*, which ended with his Life, in 1119; but was continued fifty Years farther by another Monk of the same Monastery. He epitomized or transcribed *Marianus*, adding very many Collections out of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and other Writers with much Care and Judgment. He is blamed for adhering too scrupulously to his Authorities, as sometimes to retain their Mistakes.

Eadmer. *EADMER*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, in his *History Novorum*, &c. published by *Mr. Selden*, has given us the Story of the two *Williams* and *Henry I.* from the Year 1066, to 1122. It is a Work (as *Bishop Nicholson* observes) of great Gravity and unquestionable Authority. Tho' he was intimately acquainted with *Anselm*, yet he has given a fair Account of the mighty Dispute about *Innocent's* Legation. *Selden* says his Style equals *Malmesbury*, his Matter and Compotence exceeds him.

Vitalis. *ORDERICUS VITALIS* was a Monk of *St. Evroul's* in *Normandy*, where he lived fifty six Years. He wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in thirteen Books, wherein he has intermixed a great many things relating to our History. He is said to be immoderate in the Praise of his Friends, and the Dispraise of his Enemies; and to be too large in his Description of little Matters, whilst he passes too cursorily over things of Moment.

Malmesbury. *WILLIAM* (Monk and Library-keeper) of *MALMESBURY*, in his *Account of Gylis Regum Anglorum* in five Books, with an *Appendix* in two more, which he files *Historie Novellæ*, has made a judicious Collection of whatever he found on Record, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the eighth Year of the Reign of *King Stephen*, 1142. He has had the highest Commendations given him by some of our best Critics in *English* History. He is called *Eruditus, Levis* and *Fidelis*. *Usher* files him the *Chief of our Historians*.

Saxon Chronicle. The most noble Monument extant is the old *SAXON CHRONICLE*, or *ANNALS*. It begins from the Birth of our Saviour, and ends with *Stephen's* Death in 1154. By the difference of the Style, and other intangible Marks, it is plain that *Annals* were composed at several Times. To the Year 751, they chiefly follow *Bede* as to Church-Affairs: But their Account of the Wars between the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Danes* is borrowed from no Writer that we know of, and therefore to them it is that we are indebted for the Relation of what passed in those Days. *Affian's* History of *Arles* and the *Annals* correspond in many Things, that the one seems to be a Translation of the other. In a Word, they have been the Foundation of all our Histories to the *Norman Conquest*. They were published at *Oxford* in 1692, by *Dr. Gibson*, the present Bishop of *London*, who from all the *Manuscripts* has made up the Text as entire and complete as possible, with an elegant and proper *Vigil*, void of affected Strains and unlucky Mistakes, which used to abound in Works of this Kind.

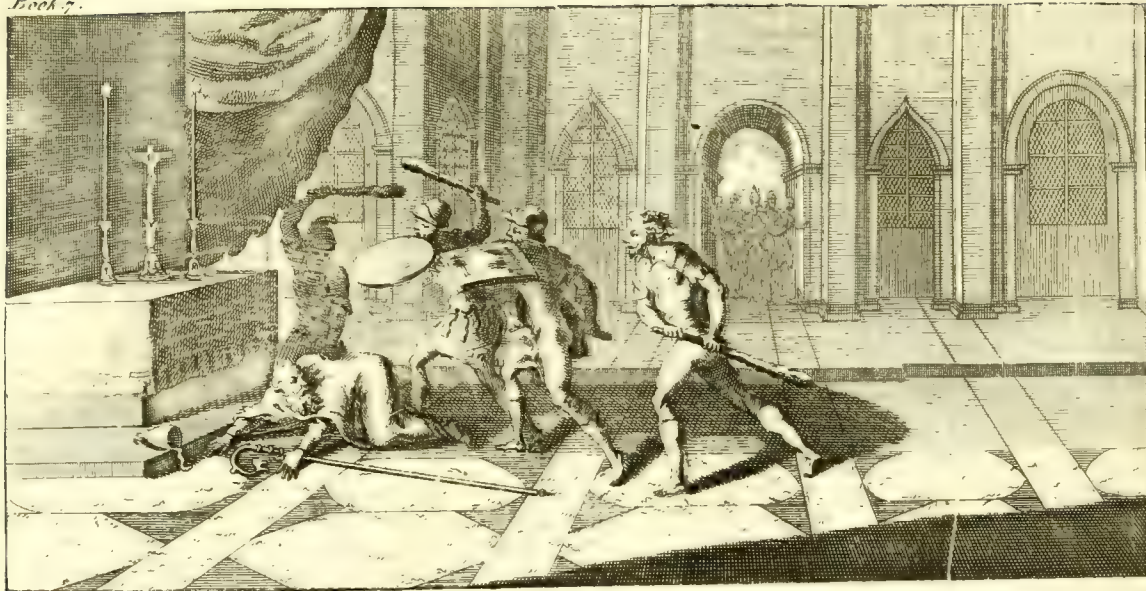
Malachy Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, is famous for his Prophecy, concerning the Popes which were to succeed to the Papal Chair after his time. These Predictions are still extant (1), and are a sort of Riddles, of which endeavours are used to give some Interpretation. He died in 1150, at the Monastery of *Clareval* in *France*. *St. Bernard* has given us his Life.

Ingulphus was known to *William the Conqueror*, when that Prince, then Duke of *Normandy* only, came into *England* to visit *King Edward*. He attended him into *Normandy* as Secretary; but, some time after, resigning this Office, went in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. At his return, he turned Monk in the Abbey of *Fontevraud*, from whence he was sent for, and made Abbot of *Croyland*, by *William the Conqueror*. He died in 1109, after writing the History of his Monastery, which is inserted in the Collection of the antient *English* Historians (2).

Joffrid Abbot of the same Monastery, and immediate Successor to *Ingulphus*, was the first, as some pretend, that erected Schools at *Cambridge*, where he settled four of his Monks as Professors. If this be true, that famous University falls very short of the Antiquity generally ascribed to it (3).

Godfrid Prior of *Winchester*, was one of the best Writers of his Time, if we may believe *William of Malmesbury*, who affirms, he writ with great Elegance and Politeness. He composed, amongst other Things, a Panegyrick upon the *English* Primates. But what is more considerable, he reformed the Breviary, by discharging all the barbarous Terms; and making the Style more pure and neat. *Alford* conjectures, this Prior had a principal Hand in correcting the Liturgy of *Sarum*, which went under *Osmund's* Name (4).





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.

*The Restoration of the Saxon Line: The Reigns of HENRY II. and RICHARD I.
Containing the Space of Forty Five Years.*

5. HENRY II. Surnamed PLANTAGENET.

1154.
Duke Henry
comes to the
Crown with-
out Opposi-
tion.
Gervase.
Brompt.
R. Diceto.



THE English were too weary of the Civil Wars, that had so long afflicted the Kingdom, willingly to run the Hazard of seeing them renewed. Though the death of Stephen might have easily furnished an occasion for fresh Commotions, they peaceably waited for the Duke of Normandy, who could not come into England, till six Weeks after he had received the News (1). During this interval, not a Man offered to dispute his Title. Besides, that Prince William, Son of the deceased King, was a Prince of little Merit, the late Proceedings of most of the Barons against the King his Father, kept them from adhering to the fortune of the young Prince, for fear of putting it in his power to be revenged. Moreover, Henry was not only powerful beyond Sea, but had also a great Party in the Kingdom, and the strongest Places were in the hands of his Creatures. And therefore, supposing William had been willing to try to place himself on the Throne, he would have wanted the necessary Assistance to accomplish his Design (2).

Henry then was crowned (3) the next Day after his Arrival, pursuant to the Agreement made with Stephen, of which all the Barons of the Realm were Guarantees (4). It was with extreme Satisfaction, that the English beheld on the Throne, a Prince descended by his Mother from their ancient Kings, and who gave the Crown a brighter

Lustre than ever. He added to it, as so many new Gems, Poitou, Guienne, Saintonge, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, of which he was in actual possession. Mean time England, the most considerable Part of his Dominions, had sustained such violent shocks in the late Reign, that, in order to recover its ancient Splendor, some Rest was entirely necessary. The most proper means to that end, was the putting it out of the power of the Factious to excite new Troubles. Accordingly Henry made That his chief business from the first hour of his Reign. He began with demolishing the great number of Castles that were fortified in Stephen's Reign, and served only for Sanctuaries to Robbers, and Disturbers of the publick (5). The Bishop of Winchester alone had six of the most considerable, which he forfeited for going out of the Kingdom without Leave. This first step, which demonstrated to the Barons the King's Resolution to keep them in Obedience, was followed by another no less beneficial to the Kingdom; and that was, the sending away the foreign Troops entertained by Stephen. These Soldiers, known in the English Historians by the name of Brabantons, and in French by that of Routiers or Cotteraux, were a mixture of People from several Parts of Europe, and particularly from Germany and the Low-Countries. As they professed themselves independent of any particular Prince, they served indifferently whoever had a mind to employ them, provided they found their account in it. Not to be regularly paid they even considered as an Ad-

1155.
Brompt.

He demolished
the Castles.
Brompt.
Gervase.
Hoved.
R. de Diceto.
M. Paris.

He disbanded
the foreign
Troops.
Gervase.
Brompt.
M. Paris.
Hoved.

(1) When he received the News he was besieging a Castle in Normandy; and, though persuaded to do it, would not quit the Siege till he had reduced the Place. After that he came to Barfleur (now Barfleur) where he waited above a Month for a good Wind. Brompt. p. 1043. Gervase. 1370. R. Dicet, p. 529. M. Paris. p. 92. He landed at Hestrebem. Gervase ibid.

(2) After his Landing, gathering together his Attendants that had been dispersed by a Storm, he came to Winchester, where he received the Fealty of the great Men, who came to wait upon him there. Gervase. Col. 1376.

(3) By Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, on the nineteenth of December, in the twenty third Year of his Age, at Westminster. Some Historians say, he landed December the 7th, and was crowned the 19th. R. Dicet. p. 529. M. Paris. p. 92. M. Wigh. p. 246. But, according to Gervase, he landed the 5th, and was crowned the 17th. p. 1376. His Queen Eleanor was crowned with him. Id. p. 1377. Roger, Archbishop of York, was not at the Coronation. Dicet. ibid.

(4) He was chosen by all with common Consent, and anointed King. R. Dicet. p. 529.

(5) He received however a few, that had been built by peaceable Men, and kept them in his own hands. Brompt. 1043. Hoved. p. 421.

1155. vantage, because they took occasion from thence to plunder the Friends as well as Enemies of those that entertained them. So that usually the Assistance of these Troops became very burthenfome to the Princes themselves for whom they fought, as the *English* had frequently experienced. *Henry*, willing to ease his people of this dead weight which had so long oppressed them, dismissed all the Foreigners, without suffering so much as one to remain in the Country. *William of Ypres*, their General, did not stay to be order'd to depart; the cold Reception he met with at Court, having already convinced him, his Absence would be very acceptable (1).

He recalls the Grants made by Stephen. Brompt. Mat. I.ais. Had the new King stopped here, he might have been justly supposed to have no other view but the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Kingdom. But he plainly discovered, he was sway'd by more self-interested Motives when, shortly after, he revoked all the Grants made by his Predecessor, and resumed all the Lands, alienated from the Crown. The Possessors were extremely mortified, and loudly murmured, affirming, it was very unjust to deprive them of the Reward of their Services (2). Those, especially, that had sided with the King and the Empress his Mother, were filled with indignation, to see themselves thus confounded with *Stephen's* Adherents. These last, on the other hand, maintained, that in serving the King who was actually on the Throne, they had done the part of faithful Subjects, and in depriving them of their Estates, a Precedent was established, which might one day be very prejudicial to the reigning King. There were several that even refused to comply; but upon the King's approach with an Army to compel them, they were unable to resist. Only *Hugh Mortimer* presumed to hold out one of his Castles, which cost him the loss of all his others (3).

M. Paris. *William of Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, fared no better than the rest. *Henry* despoiled him of whatever was given him by the King his Father (4), and of all his Lands, left him none but those that belonged to his Family, before *Stephen's* accession to the Crown. And yet, he had an incontestable Title by the Agreement of the King his Father made with *Henry*. But of what force are Treaties against Breach of Faith supported with Power? Thus the Nobility, enriched by the Liberality of the late King, or of the Empress *Matilda*, were suddenly impoverished by *Henry's* Policy, who had frequent occasions to remark, how arrogant their Riches had made them. *Henry* showed also, that he acted from a principle of Revenge, in depriving the Barons of the new Creation, of the honorable Titles conferred on them by *Stephen*, on pretence they were bestowed, as a recompence for favoring an Usurper.

He abuses a Council. After the King had taken all the Precautions he thought proper for restoring Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he chose a Council, of the most eminent Persons as well of the Clergy as the Nobility. *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas Becket* Archdeacon of the same See, lately made Chancellor; *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, Chief Justiciary of the Realm, were the principal. At the head of the Cabinet-Council was *Matilda* his Mother, whom long Experience and her own Misfortunes had rendered wise at her cost. These two Councils being established, *Henry* convened an Assembly-General or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caused the Barons to take the Oath to *William* and *Henry* (5) his Sons, the first of which died a few days after this Ceremony. Before the Assembly broke up, the King consented that the Laws of *Edward* should be in force, and, of his own accord, confirmed the Charter of *Henry I.*, his Grandfather. These first Proceedings of the new King gave great hopes to the honest and peaceable, whilst they struck the wicked and injurious with Terror, who found themselves obliged either to abandon the Kingdom, or behave very differently from what they had hitherto done. They were very sensible, they had to deal with a Prince, who was fully resolved to root out the Licentiousness introduced in the late Reign.

Adrian IV. Pope. Hoved. Pope *Anastasi*us dying this Year, *Adrian IV.*, an *Englishman*, succeeded to the Papacy (6).

Henry goes into Normandy. Hoved. Dicto. As soon as *Henry* had settled his Affairs in *England*, he crossed the Sea, to do Homage to the King of *France* for the Provinces he possessed in that Kingdom (7). These Possessions rendered him the most powerful Vassal of the Crown of *France*, and almost equalled him to the Sove-

reign himself, whose *Demefus* were inconsiderable, in comparison of what they were afterwards. As the Dominions, *Henry* and his Successors were possessed of in *France*, proved the occasion of numberless Wars between the *French* and *English*; it will not be improper briefly to explain, wherein consisted at that time the Strength of the Kings of *France*. Hence we shall be able to form a just Idea of their Power, and see withal the wide Difference, in that respect, between the first Successors of *Hugh Capet*, and those who, in these latter days, have sway'd the Scepter of that Kingdom.

Reflux from the crown of the King of France. When *Hugh Capet* usurped the Crown upon the House of *Charles the Great*, he thought the best way to fix himself on the Throne was to make the late Revolution turn to the advantage of the *French* Nobility. To engage them therefore to support his Usurpation, he granted the Provinces, of which they were only Governors, to them and their Heirs, by the Name of Fiefs. These Grants he confirmed by authentick Charters, stipulating, that the Fiefs should devolve to the Crown in default of Heirs. Moreover, he reserved the Right of confiscating them for Rebellion and other Crimes specified in the Charters. By this immense Bounty, he filled *France* at once with great numbers of powerful Lords, or rather Princes; who holding their Lands by Hereditary Right, became so many Sovereigns. The Crown therefore had nothing left, but the Governments *Hugh Capet* was possessed of before he mounted the Throne. But these *Demefus*, to which he added some vacant Governments, were very considerable, because his Family was grown exceeding powerful upon the decline of the House of *Charles the Great*. I am well aware, that all are not agreed *Hugh Capet* first changed the Governments into Fiefs; that some make this Alteration more remote; and others affirm it to spring from some of the first Kings of that Race. But, besides that the Opinion I have followed, is the most probable, the difference of a few Years, more or less, is of no moment with regard to the General State of *France*, of which I mean to speak.

Among these Fiefs, there were some distinguished for their great Extent, which were stiled Peerdoms. Of this sort there were six Ecclesiastical, and six Lay. But as the first have little Relation to the *English* History, it will be needless to mention them (8). Of the six Lay-Peerdoms, three were Dukedoms, viz. *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Guienne*; and three Earldoms, namely, *Flanders*, *Thoulouse*, and *Champagne*. Each of these six Peers had Vassals which held their Lands of him, in the same manner as he himself held his Peerdom of the Crown. For instance, the Duke of *Normandy* had for Vassal the Duke of *Bretagne*, by the Concession of *Charles the Simple*, who annexed this Right to the Grant made to *Rollo*. Hence we may see, how naked the Crown of *France* was, and how inconsiderable its Revenues, in comparison of what they were afterwards. To the Time of *Lewis VII.*, surnamed the *Young*, who reigned in *France* when our *Henry* mounted the Throne of *England*, the Kings of *France* had not yet united any of these great Fiefs to their *Demefus*. It is easy therefore to perceive, that the new King of *England*, who held the two most considerable Peerdoms, besides many other Provinces, was possessed of as much, or more Lands in the Kingdom, than the King of *France* himself. But, notwithstanding the narrow Extent of the *Demefus* of the Crown, the King of *France* was a very potent Prince, by the Aids he received from his Vassals; Aids that were furnished sometimes out of duty, and sometimes voluntarily. When the Kingdom was engaged in a War, with the Advice and Consent of the States, each Vassal was obliged to find a certain Number of Troops; and then it was, the Sovereign appeared at the head of a formidable Army. But when the King undertook a War of his own accord, or for his own private Interest, the Vassals were at liberty to supply or refuse their Quota of Troops. Nay, they looked upon themselves as privileged to take up Arms against him, in case of Oppression, or even for a bare denial of Justice. Such being the nature of the *French* Constitution, it is no wonder, that in the History of that Kingdom, we find their Kings marching one while with very inconsiderable Forces, and another while at the head of numerous Armies. Their main Strength consisted in the Aids

(1) This Year *William Peverel* was disinherited for poisoning *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheshire*: he turned Monk, to avoid the Punishment he justly deserved. *R. Dicto*, p. 531. *Gervais*, 1377.

(2) *William* Earl of *Albemarle* very unwillingly resigned to him his Castle of *Scarborough*. *Brompt.* p. 1046.

(3) Those of *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, *Bridgnath*, *Wigmers*, and *Chobheri*, or *Coleburgh*. *R. Dicto*, p. 531. *M. Woff.* p. 246. *Gervais* p. 1378. *M. Paris*.

(4) The Castle of *Norwich*, &c. *Tyriel*, p. 299.

(5) This Prince was born this Year, Feb. 28, in *London*. *M. Paris*, p. 94. *Gervais* says, it was in *March*, p. 1377.

(6) His Name was *Nicholas Break-spear*, said to be the Son of a *Brindman*, belonging to the Abbey of *St. Albans*, where being retained to be made a Monk, he went beyond-Sea, and improved so in Learning, that the Pope made him Bishop of *Alava*, and his Legate to *Germany*, and afterwards a Cardinal. *M. Woffm.* says, he was descended of a noble Family, in the Territory of *St. Albans*, p. 246. He proved a stout and active Pope: Though he held the Chair but four Years, he put the City of *Rome* under an Interdict, for insulting one of his Cardinals, and excommunicated *William* King of *Scots*. *Brompt.* p. 1047.

(7) *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, with all that belonged to them. *Hoved.* p. 491.

(8) They were the Archbishopricks of *Rheims*, *Laon*, and *Langres*, and the Bishopricks of *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Chalons*.

1156. they received from their Vassals. But matters were otherwise, when some of these large *Demesnes*, granted in Fee, came to be united to the Crown. Then by degrees they found means to abolish the Distinction between a necessary, and an unnecessary War. Without regarding the approbation of the States, they obliged their Vassals to furnish them with Aids at all times, confounding incessantly the private Views of the King, with the Interest of the Publick. They even made use of some of their Vassals to oppress the rest. This, added to the Opportunities that offered of course, to unite several Provinces to the Crown for want of Heirs, so encreased their Strength, that they were able at length to keep Great Men in obedience; but it was by degrees, and after a long space of time, that they arrived at this height of Power.

Henry
son of Matilda
Geoffrey.
Gervas.
Brompt.

The design to do Homage to the King of France was not the sole motive of Henry's crossing the Sea. His chief aim was to recover *Anjou*, seized by his Brother Geoffrey, upon the following Claim. Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of *Anjou*, Father of these two Princes, ordered by his last Will, that Henry his eldest Son should inherit the Possessions of *Matilda* their Mother, which included *Normandy*, and her Right to *England*. To Geoffrey his second Son, he left *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*; and to a third Son named *William*, gave only the Earldom of *Mortagne*. But, as it was unreasonable the Empress his Wife should be deprived of her Possessions during her Life, or Henry made to wait for her Death without any Inheritance; he added another Clause in his Will, namely, that Henry should enjoy, till the Empress's Death, the three Earldoms assigned to Geoffrey, reserving to this last the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, till his elder Brother should resign him the paternal Estate, when in possession of *Normandy*. To secure the performance of this Will, the Earl caused his Barons solemnly to swear, never to suffer his Body to be buried, till his eldest Son had taken an Oath to execute his last Will. It was with great difficulty, Henry was persuaded to take this Oath. He was of opinion, the Earl his Father egregiously wronged him, in depriving him of these three Earldoms, which, according to Custom, ought to devolve to the eldest Son. However, rather than leave his Father's Body unburied, he swore to execute his Will. Some time after, his Mother *Matilda* resigning *Normandy* to him, Geoffrey thought he might justly take possession of *Anjou*: but, as was related before, Henry drove him out of that Province. As soon as his Brother was on the Throne of *England*, Geoffrey renewed his Pretensions, and, whilst the King was employed in his Island, once more took possession of *Anjou*. The *Angevins* espoused his Cause, chusing rather to have a private Earl, than be in dependance on the Crown of *England*. Besides he was assisted by the King of France, who was ever ready to lessen Henry's Power, whom he looked upon as a very formidable Neighbour. When the Earl of *Anjou* made his Will, there was little appearance of his eldest Son's ever mounting the Throne of *England*; for Stephen's Affairs were in a prosperous Condition. For this reason he considered that Kingdom, only as a thing to which indeed his Son had a Right to aspire, but from which he was very remote. It was not reasonable therefore that Henry, whilst he waited for the Empress's death, should be deprived of his Father's Inheritance, and This was the ground of his Father's leaving him the three Earldoms during his Mother's Life. To consider only the intent of this Will, it was manifest, that as soon as Henry was in possession of *Normandy* and *England*, he should have resigned *Anjou* to Geoffrey, especially as he had bound himself by Oath. But he affirmed, the Will was void, and his Father had not power to deprive the First-born of the Patrimony received from his Ancestors. His Oath therefore was the only thing that gave him any trouble. But he found means to free himself from that Scruple, by the Pope's Dispensation, which he very easily obtain'd. As soon as he saw himself supported by this Authority, he immediately resolved upon a War with his Brother, the prosecution of which was the chief motive of his leaving *England*. After doing Homage to the King of France, he marched towards *Poitou*, and took from his Brother the Cities of *Mirebel*, *Chinon*, and *Lodun*; then entering *Anjou*, notwithstanding Geoffrey's resistance, he became master of all the fortified Places, and drove him out of the Country (1).

Henry dis-
possesses
Geoffrey of
Anjou.
R. Diceto.
M. Paris.
M. Weir.
The Affairs
of Bretagne.

The dispossessed Prince would have been in a wretched Condition, had not fortune thrown in his way the Earldom of *Nantes*, the Inhabitants whereof voluntarily sub-

mitted to him. As this Event had very remarkable Con- 1156.
sequences, it will not be improper to clear this matter a little. Conan the Gros, Duke of Bretagne, had a Son named Hoel, and a Daughter called Bertha, married to Eudo Earl of Pontievre her Relation, by whom she had a Son called Conan, from his Mother's Father. Some Suspensions, well or ill-grounded, inducing Conan the Gros to disown and disinherit his Son, Eudo, Husband of Bertha, got possession of Bretagne, after the death of his Father-in-law, notwithstanding Hoel's Efforts, who had only the City of Nantes from him. Bertha's death, four Years after, was the occasion of fresh Pretensions. Conan her Son, surnamed the Little, pretending Bretagne was his Mother's Inheritance, to which Eudo his Father had no manner of Right, assumed the Title of Duke of Bretagne. Eudo on his side, resolving to keep possession of the Dukedom, there arose between the Father and Son a War which lasted many Years, and ended in the entire Defeat of Eudo, who was obliged to fly for Refuge to the Court of France.

Conan the Little was no sooner in possession of Bretagne, but he undertook to reduce to his Obedience the City of Nantes, which, since the Death of Conan the Gros, made a separate State under the Dominion of Hoel. When the Inhabitants of Nantes espoused the Cause of Hoel, they did it from a motive of Justice, being persuaded, the Duke his Father had wronged him very much in disinheriting him. Afterwards, they found themselves so deceived in the good Opinion they had entertained of him, that they expelled him, believing him incapable of defending them against Conan, who was preparing to attack them. From that time, Hoel is no more mentioned in History. Mean while, the People of Nantes, not being able to resolve to submit to Conan, call in Geoffrey, Brother of the King of England, and own him for Sovereign. Thus Geoffrey became Earl of Nantes immediately after his Expulsion out of *Anjou*, but he did not long enjoy his new Earldom.

After Henry had reduced *Anjou*, he returned to Eng-
land. Upon his arrival he made a very advantageous Treaty with Malcolm King of Scotland, who resigned to him Carlisle, Newcastle, and Bamborough-Castle, contenting himself with the Earldom of Huntingdon, which Prince Henry his Father had possess'd. This Restitution was doubtless very just, since David, Grandfather of Malcolm, caused them to be surrendered to him by Treaties, at a time when Stephen regarded his own Interest more than the publick Good. But in all appearance Henry's great Power contributed more than any thing else to the King of Scotland's Moderation (2).

It is surprizing that the Welsh, when Henry was grown so formidable, should causelessly venture to attack him, and make Incurfions into his Frontiers. The Ravages they committed so provoked the King that he resolved to be severely revenged. To this end he drew together a powerful Army, and marched into Wales, where he put all to fire and sword. Upon his approach the Welsh retired to their Mountains, where it was not possible to reach them, how much soever he endeavoured it. Nay, it happened one day, that his Van-guard running into a narrow Defile, were intirely routed. The Terror this Accident struck into the rest of the English Troops, was farther increased by the imprudent Conduct of Henry de Essex, Hereditary Standard-Bearer of England. Upon a Rumour which run through the Army that the King was slain, he threw down the Standard, and fled, crying out the King is dead. This Action, for which he was afterwards punished (3), threw the English into so great Consternation, that, had not the King shewn himself to them to revive their Courage, he would have run the hazard of losing that day his whole Army. Notwithstanding these Advantages, the Welsh thought themselves very happy that the King, weary of so troublesome a War, was pleased to grant them a Peace (4). By the Treaty he reserved to himself the Liberty of cutting through their Woods large Roads, which might, whenever he had a mind, give him entrance into their Country. He caused them also to surrender certain Castles (5), taken by them during the Troubles of the late Reign (6).

In the beginning of the next Year, Henry's Family 1158.
was encreased by the Birth of a second Son (7), who was named Richard. A few days after he renewed the Ceremony of his Coronation in the Suburbs of Lincoln (8), not daring to do it within the Walls of the City. He shewed himself more superstitious in this point, or perhaps

(1) Thomas Becket, (made Chancellor in 1155. See M. Paris, and Tyndal, p. 301.) was of great Service to King Henry in this War. Gerv. p. 1378.

(2) This Year was born Matilda, the King's Daughter. R. Diceto p. 531.

(3) He was shut up in the Monastery of Reading, and had his Estate confiscated. Brompt. p. 1048. R. Diceto p. 535. M. Paris p. 59.

(4) He ordered a Fleet to be got ready, in order to invade them by Sea; which they submitted to him. Brompt. p. 1048.

(5) Next Year he recovered Radburn and Basingstoke Castles, and founded Basingstoke Monastery. Brompt. p. 1049. M. Paris p. 60.

(6) This Year also Matilda, King of Scotland, came to King Henry at Chester, and did him homage. — *Salis. annals. regit. Angl. p. 115.* The next Year they met at Glamorgan, but parted not very good Friends. *Harl. p. 491.*

(7) In September, at Oxford. Brompt. p. 1047. M. Weir.

(8) At Lincoln.

1158. more condescending to the prejudices of the People than his Predecessor Stephen.

1159. A year after, a third Son was born to the King, who was called *Geoffrey*. This same year he was crowned a third time at *Worcester*, together with the Queen. These superfluous Coronations, very frequent in those days, seem to be designed only to amuse the People, and intimate to them, that the King really intended to keep the Oath which was taken on these occasions. At this last solemnity, the King and Queen coming to the Oblation, laid their Crowns on the Altar, and vowed never to wear them more. From thenceforward the custom of the Kings wearing their Crowns during the celebration of the great Festivals, was by degrees disused; at least we find but few instances in the following Reigns. About this time *Henry* ordered the Money to be new coined, the current Coin of the Kingdom being very much adulterated during the Reign of *Stephen* (1).

These peaceful employments not at all suiting the warlike temper of this Monarch, the death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, which happened soon after, gave him an opportunity of entering upon action. As soon as this Prince was laid in his grave, the Duke of *Bretagne* seized the City of *Nantz*, with the whole Earldom of that name (2). But *Henry* claimed it as heir to his Brother, and to prosecute his pretensions, he passed into *Normandy*, with so considerable Forces, that it plainly appeared he would not be disappointed. Whilst he waited for the Season's permitting him to enter upon his Expedition, he made a visit to the King of *France*, with design to gain him to his side, or at least prevail with him to stand neuter. He was very sensible, if *Lewis* interposed not in this affair, the Duke of *Bretagne* could not give him much trouble.

Amidst the Civilities he received from *Lewis*, he so artfully flattered him, that before they parted, a Marriage was concluded between *Henry's* eldest Son, who was but five years of age, and *Margaret* the French King's Daughter, an Infant of five or six months old. Having thus secured *France*, he went and headed his Army, with a resolution to take the City by force, if *Conan* refused to give him peaceable possession. As *Conan* was by no means a match for the King of *England*, he was constrained to give way to his Power. But the conquest of *Nantz* was not the only benefit *Henry* reaped by this Expedition. Before he quitted *Bretagne*, he made a Treaty with *Conan*, whereby the Duke obliged himself to give his Daughter *Constance* in marriage to *Geoffrey*, *Henry's* Son, who was yet in his Cradle. By this marriage, celebrated five years after, notwithstanding the Bridegroom's Youth, *Geoffrey* became Duke of *Bretagne* upon the death of his Father-in-law.

The large Dominions *Henry* possessed, and the Earldom of *Nantz* which he had lately acquired, with hopes of adding one day to it all *Bretagne*, were not sufficient to content him. His Ambition still increasing as he made new Conquests, he undertook to revive his Queen's title to the Earldom of *Tholouse*, which was of a very great extent. His late Alliance with *Lewis the Young*, made him hope that Monarch would give him as little disturbance in *Languedoc* as in *Bretagne*, and leave him at liberty to extend his Frontiers on that side. But he was mistaken in his conjectures. I shall first clear Queen *Eleanor's* Title to *Tholouse*, and then see what was the issue of that Expedition.

William IV, Earl of *Tholouse*, cotemporary with the Conqueror, had but one Daughter called *Philippa*, married to *William VIII*, Earl of *Poitiers*, *Eleanor's* Grandfather. By this marriage the Earldom of *Tholouse* was to fall one day to the House of *Poitiers*, which was also in possession of *Guienne*. But *William*, Father of *Philippa*, imagined he could secure it in his own Family, by selling it to *Raymond* of *St. Giles* his younger Brother. This Sale, real or pretended, would have been but a weak means to deprive the Countess of *Poitiers* of her Father's Inheritance, if certain Accidents had not favoured *Raymond*, who continued in possession of the Earldom of *Tholouse*, after his Brother's death. The design of the Earl of *Poitiers*, Husband to *Philippa*, of mortgaging his Demesns to *William Rufus*, in order to equip himself for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, being frustrated by the death of *William*, he applied himself elsewhere; and at length raised the Money by mortgaging his Revenues for several years. His Expences on this occasion, and his misfortune in losing all his Equipage, constrained him to return home, where however he could expect no Supplies, by reason his Revenues were all mortgaged. *Raymond* of *St. Giles* embracing this juncture, offered him a considerable

Sum, to renounce his Right to the Earldom of *Tholouse*. As matters then stood with the Earl of *Poitiers*, he readily listened to this proposal, and made an Agreement with *Raymond*. By this Agreement, *Raymond* kept possession of the Earldom, which his Posterity enjoyed after him, without any disturbance from the Earl of *Poitiers*, or his Son *William IX*. After the death of this last, *Lewis the Young*, who married *Eleanor* his only Daughter and Heir, revived the pretensions of the House of *Poitiers* to the Earldom of *Tholouse*. He maintained that the Sale made by Earl *William* to *Raymond* was a feigned thing. And secondly, that *Raymond* imposed upon the easy nature of the Earl of *Poitiers*, and purchased his Right at too cheap a rate. Lastly, That he had not even paid the whole of the covenanted Sum. From hence he inferred, that the bargain was void, and consequently *Eleanor* ought to possess whatever *Philippa* her Grandmother was entitled to, repaying to the Earl of *Tholouse* what the Earl of *Poitiers* had received. *Raymond V*, who was then Earl of *Tholouse*, was extremely embarrassed on the account of these pretensions. In vain did he plead Prescription which is sometimes of service in private Affairs. That was too weak a fence against a Prince, who was able to break through it by force of Arms. However, after a long Negotiation the Affair was ended, by a marriage between Earl *Raymond* and *Constance*, Sister of *Lewis*, and Widow of *Eustace*, Son of King *Stephen*. On account of this marriage *Lewis* dropped his pretensions, and as long as he lived with *Eleanor*, the Earl of *Tholouse* remained unmolested.

Eleanor's second marriage created *Raymond* fresh disturbances. *Henry*, who was possessed of the same Rights the King of *France* had relinquished, laid claim to the Earldom of *Tholouse* for the same reasons *Lewis* had before urged. *Raymond* again pleaded the Sale made to his Grandfather; the Relinquishment of the House of *Poitiers*; besides a long Possession, which exceeded the time allowed by the Laws for a prescription. Upon these grounds he resolved to keep possession of the Earldom. This was the state of the case, which was to be decided by Arms. To execute his project the more easily, *Henry* made an Alliance with *Raymond* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, and engaged the King of *Scotland* to lend him a powerful Aid (3). As soon as his Army was ready, he marched towards *Languedoc*, took *Cahors* in his way, and went and sat down before *Tholouse*.

Lewis the Younger, who could not behold *Henry's* Greatness without jealousy, had used such expedition, that he had thrown himself into *Tholouse* a few days before. The large extent of that City, and the French King's Succours, rendered the Siege so difficult, that *Henry* did not think himself able to accomplish his Undertaking. Wherefore, he raised the Siege, and returned into his own Dominions. *Mezerai* says, he might easily have taken the City, if he had not made a conscience of besieging his Sovereign. But one can hardly believe this to be the real motive of his retreat, since on other occasions he did not seem to have so great a regard for the King of *France*. Be this as it will, he marched back to *Normandy*, leaving the custody of *Cahors* to *Thomas Becket* his Chancellor. In his return, he went into *le Beauvoisis*, where he committed great Ravages, in revenge of the King of *France's* breaking his measures. At the same time, *Simon*, Earl of *Montfort*, delivered to him his Castles in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, by means of which the communication with *Orleans* was entirely cut off. The advantage these Castles gave him, forced *Lewis* to send Proposals for a cessation of Arms, which was agreed upon for a year. During the Truce, the two Monarchs concluded a Peace, which confirmed the Treaty made at *Paris*, without any mention of *Tholouse*. So that *Henry* preserved, during his life, his pretensions to that Peerdom, and by his death left them to his Successor, who thought fit to resign them.

William Earl of *Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, died in his return from the *Tholouse* Expedition, where he had attended the King.

Pope *Adrian* dying in 1159, the election of a new Pope occasioned a Schism, which long divided Christendom. The majority of the Cardinals elected *Roland* a Native of *Siena*, who took the name of *Alexander III*. The rest chose Cardinal *Ottavian*, who filed himself *Victor V*. Almost all the Christian Princes owned *Alexander* for Pope. But the *Germans* espoused the cause of *Victor*, who finding himself supported by the Emperor *Barbarossa*, drove his Rival out of *Rome*, and forced him to seek for shelter in *France*.

1159.

Canal
Pol. Virg.1160.
1161.
1162.Henry's
sieges Tho-
louse.
Gervas.
Mezerai.
Brompt.
Hoved.
R. Diceto.

Fitz. Step.

Peace be-
tween Henry
and Lewis.
Brompt.
Hoved.Diceto.
Hoved.Death of
Adrian IV.
Schism.
M. Paris.
Hoveden.
Brompt.
Gervas.

(1) See note on the Coin, at the end of this Reign, &c.

(2) Whereupon *Henry* deprived him of the Earldom of *Ri Emard*, of which he was possessed in *England*. Brompt. p. 1049.

(3) He was accompanied, besides, with one of the Kings of *Wales*, and all the Earls and Barons of *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Gascogne*, &c. For the Charge of this War, he raised a Scutage, which amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand Pounds. At this Siege died *Hamo*, Son of the Earl of *Gloster*. Gervas. p. 1381.

1162. The last Peace between the Kings of France and England was only, as hath been said, a confirmation of the Treaty of Paris; wherein a marriage between Henry's eldest Son and Margaret, Daughter of Lewis, was agreed upon. The Princefs was to have for her Dower the City of Gisors, and part of the Vexin, which, for that purpose, were to remain in the custody of the Knights Templars (1), till the marriage was solemnized. Pursuant to this Treaty, Chancellor Becket was sent to Paris, with a magnificent retinue, to demand the young Princefs, who was to be educated in England till she became marriageable. Shortly after her arrival at London (2), Henry ordered the Nuptials to be celebrated, though the Bridegroom was but seven, and the Bride but three years old. Upon which the Knights Templars, thinking he had sufficiently performed his Promise, put him in possession of Gisors. This precipitation occasioned the renewal of the War between the two Kings. Lewis complained that the King of England had bribed the Grand Master of the Temple. Henry maintained, that, having performed his part of the Treaty, he had not injured the King of France in taking possession of Gisors. This war, which lasted but a very little while, was ended by the mediation of Alexander III, lately arrived in France. His Legates, who were sent before, preparing the way for an Accommodation, the two Kings went together to receive the Pope at Torcy upon the Loire. When they came near him, they both alighted, and, each taking hold of a rein of his Bridle, conducted him to the Lodgings prepared for him.

All these events, namely, the Conquest of Nantz, the Siege of Thoulouse, the marriage of Prince Henry, and the war with France, passed between the Years 1159 and 1163. I have suspended my judgment upon the particular Dates of each, by reason of the diversity among Historians on that head. Upon this account perhaps it is, that a famous Modern has comprised all these particulars within the compass of eight or nine Lines.

After settling the Affairs which detained him in France four years, Henry returned into England in 1163. His present condition gave him room to hope nothing could disturb his Happiness. He had just made a Peace with France, which probably would be lasting. The Welsh remained quiet in their own Country. The King of Scotland had given a sensible proof of his desire to live in Peace, by restoring all the Places that might have occasioned a War. On the other hand, England was in a profound tranquillity, the Normans and English being equally satisfied with their Sovereign. In this so quiet a situation, Henry thought he might congratulate himself upon his happiness, when on a sudden the pride and obstinacy of one of his Subjects raised a storm, the allaying of which cost him a thousand vexations, with the loss of his Honour: I mean Thomas Becket. He was son of a Citizen of London (3) by a Syrian Woman (4), and spent his youth in the study of the Law. He grew so famous at the Bar, that he was taken from thence, and made Archdeacon of Canterbury (5). In the beginning of this reign he had certain Affairs to manage at Court, which gave him opportunity of making himself known to the King, and gaining his esteem and good-will. Henry conceiving a great opinion of his merit, quickly gave him a sensible mark of his Esteem, by conferring on him the dignity of High-Chancellor (6). In the discharge of this eminent Office, Becket behaved to all the World with so much pride and haughtiness, as rendered him extremely troublesome to his Equals, and insupportable to his Inferiors. Above all things, he was a lover of Pageantry and Show (7). He is said in the War of Thoulouse, where he attended the King, to maintain at his own expence seven hundred Knights, and twelve hundred Foot. But if he was haughty to all others, he was not so with regard to the King. Upon all occasions he shewed himself so entirely devoted to his Will, that the King considered him as one always ready to sacrifice every thing to his service. Whilst he was thus prepossessed in his favour, he received the news, in Normandy, of the death of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. This appearing to him a favourable juncture to execute certain premeditated designs, he resolved to procure the Archbishoprick for Becket, as a Person who might be very serviceable to him. How little Inclination soever the Monks of St. Augustin's had for

Becket, whom they thought too much a Courtier, the King's Recommendation was so urgent in his behalf, that he was elected and consecrated a little before that Prince's return (8). As soon as he saw himself fixed in that high station, he sent the Great Seal to his Benefactor, who little expected it; and suddenly altering his manner of living, he wore a Monk's Habit with Sackcloth next to his skin, and kept only a few Domestick Servants clothed very plain. By these and several other things of the like nature, he shewed, that he was resolved thoroughly to reform his Life, or had some great design in his head. It was some time before his intentions could be discovered, till at length it was perceived, that on all occasions he was aspiring to an independent Power.

I have already remarked in several places, how much the Power of the Clergy was increased to the prejudice of the Royal Authority. Henry, who had seen very bad Effects of it in the Reign of Stephen, resolved at his accession to the Crown to endeavour to reduce this exorbitant Power within due bounds. For that purpose, he began with the Nobility, that their Union with the Clergy might the less obstruct his designs. The Affairs which employed him some years in France, prevented him from immediately setting about this Work. But as soon as he was clear of these Hindrances, he resolved to lose no time, and begin it the moment he returned to England. This was the cause of his so earnestly recommending Becket to be Archbishop of Canterbury, because he expected a greater Compliance from him than any other. The business in hand was the reforming several Abuses very detrimental to the State, but advantageous to the Clergy, and consequently very difficult to be remedied, unless the Bishops themselves lent their assistance. There was need therefore of great Address, and of acting in concert with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in so nice an affair. To that end, it was necessary to fill the See with a Person on whom he could depend, and none seemed so proper as Becket, whom he had loaded with Favours. The Archbishop's returning the Great Seal, made the King imagine he was mistaken in his conjectures. Perhaps his vexation at this Proceeding caused him not to humour the pride of this Prelate, to whom he could not forbear, at his arrival in England, to show some Coldness. In all likelihood, Becket had been acquainted with the King's Designs whilst Chancellor, and was then disposed to approve them; but, after his promotion to the Archbishoprick, had taken a contrary resolution. Notwithstanding his Obligations to the King, he was determined to cross him in the execution of his Projects. He flattered himself with gaining immortal glory in a vigorous defence of the Cause of the Clergy, which was affectedly called the Cause of God.

One of the greatest Grievances to be redressed, was the remissness in punishing Priests convicted of any Crime. The Clergy having by degrees acquired an absolute Power over all that belonged to their Body, when a Clergyman was accused, the matter was tried in the Ecclesiastical Court, from whence lay no appeal; but the Trials were formed with such indulgence to those the Court could not but condemn, that the most enormous Crimes were punished only with Degradation, and others with a short Suspension, or easy Confinement. The Laity could not, without extreme concern, see themselves subject to the utmost rigour of the Laws for Offences, which rendered Clergymen liable only to some very slight Corrections, and loudly complained of it. On the other hand, the Clergy, sure of impunity, daily committed upon the Laity Outrages which they durst not repel, for fear of incurring a Punishment. This Abuse, which was already carried too far, increased every day. It was proved in the presence of the King, that since his accession to the Crown, above a hundred Murders were committed in the Kingdom by the Ecclesiasticks, of whom not one was punished so much as with Degradation, which was the usual penalty enjoined in the like cases, by the Canons. What was still more astonishing, the Bishops gloried in this their indulgence: They were of opinion they could not give surer marks of their Zeal for Religion and the Service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmost of their power, these pretended Immunities of the Clergy, and consequently all the Abuses that sprang from thence.

(1) The Order of the Knights Templars, instituted by Gelasius in 1119, had the Name from dwelling in a part of the Temple at Jerusalem, assigned them by King Baldwin. They were not much at first, and their Business was to lead in their Armour, Christian Strangers and Pilgrims through the Holy Land. They increased so at length that they had great Estates in all Parts of Christendom; and growing too potent they were suppressed by Clement V. 1306, and by the Council of Vienna 1312. The Master of the Temple here in England, was summoned to Parliament; from whom the Minister of the Temple-Church has his Name.

(2) Brompton says, that it was not till some Year after. — Aliquot annis elapsis, p. 1050.

(3) Becket lived when St. Thomas died, p. 1042, 1044.

(4) None was Matilda, and to be Daughter of a Saracen, who had taken Gilbert Sheriff of London, Becket's Father, Prisoner, when he went to Palestine, p. 1042.

(5) The first Prelate he had was the Living of Baulfeld, to which he was presented by the Abbey of St. Albans. M. Westm. p. 247.

(6) Upon the Recommendation of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. Gervas. p. 1377. Brompt. p. 1057. Hoved. p. 491.

(7) He had Silver Bats in his Horses Bridles, and exceeded any Earl in his Expences. Brompt. p. 1058.

(8) After the See had been vacante one Year, one Month, and fourteen Days.

1163.
The first
Occasion of
the Quarrel
between the
King and
Becket.
Brompt.

The King
would have
the Clergy
tried in the
Civil Courts.
Dicto.
M. Paris.

Becket
opposes it.

Hoved.

Another
Reason of
their Con-
tents.

Gervase.

R. Dicto.

Henry sets
about re-
ducing the
Power of the
Clergy with-
in due
Bounds.

Things standing thus, it happened, a little after the King's return, that a Clergyman of the Diocese of *Sarum* (1) committed a murder. The matter being brought to the Archbishop's Court, it was decreed, the Murthrer, as a punishment for his Crime, should be deprived of his Benefice, and confined to a Monastery (2). The King being informed of this sentence, very warmly expostulated with the Archbishop (3), for punishing so slightly a Crime which was Death by the Laws of the Land. *Becket* received this expostulation as if it had been entirely groundless, and boldly asserted the immunities of the Church, and Privileges of the Clergy. He affirmed, an Ecclesiastick ought not to be put to death for any Crime whatever. *Henry* replied, that being appointed by God to administer Justice to all his Subjects, without distinction, he did not understand why these intended Immunities should screen Malefactors of what Order soever, from the punishments they deserved: That it was improbable God should take pleasure in authorizing Offences in his Ministers, who rather ought to be punished more severely than Laymen. Then, he declared, that since the Ecclesiastical Court was so favourable to Clergymen, his intent was, that heinous Offences, such as Murder, Robbery, and the like, should be tried in his Courts. *Becket* made answer, he would never allow that the Clergy should be tried any where but in the Ecclesiastical Courts, where care should be taken to punish them according to the Canons. That if they were condemned to be degraded, and afterwards committed other Crimes, the King's Judges might punish them as they thought fit; but it was unjust to punish them twice for the same Offence. This Dispute being carried on with great warmth, the King and the Archbishop parted extremely dissatisfied with one another. Nay, *Becket* had so little regard for the King, that, without considering the Passion he had put him into, he took this occasion to upbraid him for unjustly depriving him of the custody of the Castle of *Rocheſter*, and thereby notoriously violating the Privileges of the See of *Canterbury* (4). To these occasions of Complaint, which he then gave the King, he quickly added two others. He summoned the Earl of *Clare* to do him Homage for the Castle of *Tunbridge*, which he pretended was a Fief of the Archbishoprick, without vouchsafing to acquaint the King with his pretensions. The Earl answered, he held his Castle of the King by Knight's Service, which had no relation to the Archbishoprick (5). If we may judge by *Becket's* temper, his Claim to the Castle must have been very doubtful, since he let the affair drop without pushing it any farther. This attempt failing, he took occasion to extend his Jurisdiction, by collating one *Laurence* a Priest to the Rectory of *Ainesford*, without regarding the Patron's right of Presentation. But the Patron, who was a Baron of the Realm, being unwilling to lose his right, hindered *Laurence* from taking possession of the Benefice. The Archbishop looking upon this as an heinous offence, excommunicated the Patron, who applied to the King. As matters then stood with *Henry*, he was extremely provoked at the little regard shewn him by the Archbishop. For, since *William the Conqueror*, it had been the Prerogative Royal, that no Tenant in *Capite* should be excommunicated without the King's knowledge. But this was the very thing *Becket* designed to dispute. And perhaps he had made this Step purely to have occasion to move the Question.

Henry was extremely mortified to find himself so far from the execution of his Project. He was incensed to the last degree against *Becket*, who seemed to make it his business to cross him upon all occasions, and dispute even his very Prerogatives. And therefore he resolved to take new measures to accomplish his design. He was sensible, it would be in vain to expect any compliance from the Clergy, as long as the Archbishop of *Canterbury* so plainly opposed him. However, not to be too hasty, he was willing first to try gentle methods. He caused the Archbishop to be put in mind of the many Fa-

vours received from his Sovereign, and the mischiefs his Obstinacy was probably going to bring on the Church and Kingdom. But these Remonstrances proving ineffectual, he found himself obliged to contrive means to execute, in spite of the Archbishop, what he had resolved to accomplish with his help. So far was *Becket's* Opposition from causing him to alter his mind, that it made him the more eager to reduce the Power of the Clergy within its just bounds. To that purpose, he assembled the principal Lords of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to consider of methods to redress the Grievances introduced into the State. When they were met, he complained of the proceedings of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and endeavoured to make them sensible, that if care was not taken to curb that haughty and enterprising Prelate, he would at length usurp all the Prerogatives of the Crown, under vain pretences of Religion. He added, that the Steps already taken by the Archbishop, were plain indications of his Designs, which could not be too speedily prevented. The majority of the Temporal Lords, among whom were few but what were offended at *Becket's* haughtiness, rejoiced at this Occasion to humble him. Besides, they desired nothing more, than to have it in their power to clip the wings of the Clergy, who missed no opportunity to soar above the rest of the Nation. The King perceiving them thus disposed, moved a Regulation, which he assured them was absolutely necessary for the preservation of good Order and Tranquillity in the Kingdom. This Regulation consisted of five Articles, called by the King the Customs of *Henry I.* his Grandfather (6), because they were observed in the Reign of that Prince. The I. was, that none should appeal to *Rome* without the King's leave. II. That no Archbishop or Bishop should go to *Rome*, upon the Pope's summons, without the King's license. III. That no Tenant in chief, or any other of the King's Officers, should be excommunicated, or his Lands put under an interdict, without the King's Consent. IV. That all Clergymen charged with capital Crimes should be tried in the King's Courts. V. That the Laity, whether the King or others, should hold Pleas of Churches and Tithes and the like (7). These Articles were approved of without any difficulty by the Temporal Lords; but the Bishops and Abbots refused to subscribe them, unless this Clause, which rendered them of no effect, was added, *Saving the Rights and Privileges of the Clergy and Church* (8). The King provoked at their refusal, suddenly quitted the Assembly, and went to *Woodstock*, after having however given the chief among the Clergy to understand, he would take effectual measures to set bounds to their Pride (9). The Prelates were so terrified at this Threat, that before they broke up, they resolved to send Deputies to the King to beg his Pardon, and assure him they were ready to comply with his will. *Becket* long opposed this resolution, but at last pressed by his Brethren, yielded to their Importunity, and consented the Articles should be admitted without the Saving Clause. All his Party following his example, a Deputation was made (10), with which the King seemed highly satisfied, and the more, because it was done with unanimous consent. Nevertheless, fearing *Becket* might fly from what he had done, on pretence this Convention was not sufficiently authorized to enact Laws of this kind, he resolved to have them ratified by an Assembly-General, or Parliament. To this end he called a Parliament at *Clarendon* (11), and propounded the same Articles that were subscribed by the former Assembly. All the Lay-Lords ratifying them, the Prelates durst not openly oppose it. But when they came to sign, *Becket* and his Party scrupled it (12); and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to comply (13) at the instances of the other Bishops (14).

How unwilling soever the Archbishop subscribed the Articles (15), the King was highly pleased with it. He did not question in the least but the Pope would consent to Laws deemed necessary by the Bishops themselves. In this belief, he resolved to have them confirmed by a Bull,

1163.

H. Hoved.
Becket

H. Hoved.
Becket

H. Hoved.
Becket

They submit.
Gervase.
Hoved.

Dicto.
Fitz. Step.
Newb.
Parliament
at Clarendon.
Gervase.
R. Dicto.
H. Hoved.
M. West.

The Pope
condemns
the Articles.
Hoved.

(1) *Philip de Brie*, Canon of *Bedford*. *M. Paris*. p. 102.

(2) He was banished, says *M. Paris*. *ibid*.

(3) Who was convened at *Westminster* for that purpose, with the rest of the Bishops. *Gervase*. p. 1384.

(4) He also demanded *Salterwood* and *Hebbe*, as belonging to his See; and the Lands of *William de Reji*. *Gervase*. p. 1384.

(5) These last Words are erroneously added by *Rapin*. For most certainly the Archbishop had many Knight's Fees, and consequently they were held by Knight's Service. The Earl only alleged he held the Castle of the King, and not of the Archbishop.

(6) *M. Paris* calls them a Renewal of some Part of the Customs and Liberties of King *Henry's* Predecessors; namely, of his Grandfather *Henry I.* and others. *M. Paris*. p. 100.

(7) These Articles are obscurely translated by *Rapin* out of *Eckard*, and therefore are not rendered here literally. Both *Eckard* and *Rapin* are mistaken, in saying they were the same with the Constitutions of *Clarendon*.

(8) *Salvo ordine suo*,— & *bona fide*. *Gervase*. p. 1385. *Salvo in omnibus ordine suo, & honore Dei, & Sanctæ Ecclesiæ*. *Hoved*. p. 492.

(9) Pope *Alexander*, and the College of Cardinals, sent a Legate, to order *Becket* to make Peace with the King, and to promise him to observe his Laws without any exception. *Hoveden*. p. 493.

(10) *Becket* himself waited upon the King at *Woodstock*. *Hoveden*. *ibid*.

(11) He swore he would never sign, nor put his Seal to them. He had before accepted them. *Hoved*. p. 793.

(12) The Persons that prevailed upon him, were: The Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Norwich*; *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*; and two Templars, *Richard de Hastings*, and *Tistes de St. Omer*. *Hoved*. 493.

(13) The Laws made in this Assembly are called the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, and are well worth perusing, because they contain the chief Prerogatives and Privileges that were claimed as well by the King as the Clergy. They are divided into sixteen Articles, of which ten were voted by the Pope. The Reader may find them in *Gervase's* Chronicle, and in *Matthew Paris*, from whence they are translated into *English* by *Joytel*, Vol. II. B. 5. and in *Collier* *Ecc. Hist.* p. 351.

(14) He did not subscribe them, but only promised to do it; or at most assented to them. See *Gervase*, p. 1386, 1388. *Hoved*. p. 493, &c.

1163. in order to take from the Prelates all pretence of recanting; but upon seeing the Articles, the Pope not only refused to give them the sanction of his Authority, but even condemned them as very prejudicial to the Church, and destructive of her Privileges. Shortly after, *Becket* openly declared, he repented of signing the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, and thought himself guilty of so enormous a Crime, that he could hope for Pardon only from the Pope's mercy. Accordingly he suspended himself (1), as unworthy to perform the Archbishop's Functions, till the Pope (2) should be pleased to absolve him. The Pope's Absolution being readily obtained, he resumed his Functions, upon the Pope's Assurances he should be supported. Mean while, *Alexander*, who was still in *France*, willing to make *Henry* believe he intended to keep fair with him, sent the Archbishop of *Roan* with proposals of Accommodation; but as he had nothing positive to offer, and the King would not hearken to any proposals, unless the Pope would confirm the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, there was no possibility of an Agreement.

Becket re-
pents of his
signing
Gervas.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Hoved.

The King
favours
Becket.

Gervas.
R. Diceto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Becket re-
pents of his
signing.

Diceto.
Hoved.

Henry's
refusal to
grant the
King's
request.

When the King found the Archbishop, proud of the Pope's protection, daily grew more obstinate, he sought means to humble him. To this end, he involved him in Troubles, which indeed gave him great vexation, but were incapable of causing him to desist from his pretensions (3). Among several Actions that were entered against him, there were two of moment. The first related to a certain Manor which he was possessed of, and which [*John* the King's Marshal] pretended was unjustly detained from him. The Archbishop standing a trial, was cast and condemned in a Fine of five hundred Pounds. This Sentence convinced him, that a resolution was taken to plague him all manner of ways, and that he should lose all the Suits commenced against him. In this belief he resolved not to plead, chusing rather to be condemned for Non-appearance, than by a peremptory Decree. The King seemed hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole weight of his resentment; but soon after it appeared his design was to crush him. To this purpose he ordered him to be accused (4) of two capital crimes: The first was, for converting to his own use the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *York*, of which he had the custody whilst he was Chancellor (5). In the second, he was charged with imbezelling thirty thousand Pounds Sterling of the King's money. Instead of clearing himself from these Accusations, he answered, That when he was made Archbishop, Prince *Henry*, the King's Son, and the Justiciary (6) had acquitted him of all accounts. Adding, that supposing he had not been acquitted, he was not bound to answer before Laymen, since he was invested with the first Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Kingdom. The former part of his Answer was certainly to his disadvantage, since the Prince, from whom he had his Acquittance, was but seven or eight Years old, though he had the Title of *Guardian of the Realm*, in the absence of the King his Father. Besides, one would think, a Person of his character should have been always ready to render an account of his Administration, with regard both to the Profits of the vacant Benefices, and the King's Treasure; though from an Excess of Complaisance those that governed had dispensed with it. As for the latter part of his Answer, he himself had cut off that plea, by signing the Constitutions of *Clarendon*. But to this he replied, That the Pope having condemned these Constitutions, his Sentence was of more force than all the Laws of the Land. How proper soever this reply might be to gain the Pope's Favour, it could be of no use to him in the King's Court, where Judgment was to be given pursuant to the same Constitutions passed into a Law. He was therefore deemed not only as contumacious, but moreover as a Rebel against the authority of the Laws. All possible endeavours were used, to persuade him to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, but there was no obtaining that of him. He even refused to wait on the King (7), who sent for him (8) to try, whether, by discoursing with him in Person, he could bring him to some Temper (9).

This Refusal furnished the King with a fresh pretence to accuse him; first, for flying from Justice on frivolous Excuses; secondly, for disobedience to the King. Upon these Charges, to which he would not plead, all his moveable Goods were confiscated. How severe soever this Sentence might be, the King was not satisfied. As he observed the accusation was so formed as not to reach *Becket's* Person, he ordered him to be accused of Perjury and Treason, for violating the oath taken to his Sovereign, and refusing to pay the obedience due to him. The Archbishop was then thoroughly satisfied, the King was bent upon his ruin: But this belief, instead of inducing him to submit, served only to confirm him in his obstinacy. Perhaps his proud and wilful Spirit would not suffer him to bend; or rather, he was resolved to render himself famous, by a Firmness, which, in his opinion, ought to rank him among the most renowned Confessors in the Church. When it was found, there was no possibility of conquering him, the Court declared him guilty of Perjury; and the Bishops in particular sent him word, they considered him not as their Primate, neither would they hold communion with him any longer. All this not moving him in the least, he looked upon the Sentence passed upon him as void, and continued his Functions, regardless of the King's displeasure.

1163.
He is charged
with two
fresh Crimes.
His Goods
are confiscated.
Charged
with Perjury
and Treason.
Gervas.

The Court
declares him
perjured.
Gervas.

The Court of Peers seem to have avoided giving sentence on the charge of Treason, which would have been Death, on purpose to leave him room to come off by submitting to the King. But finding he was still the same, the Court met once more to think of means to subdue his perverseness. As soon as he was informed, the Barons were assembled in the presence of the King, he went to Church, and ordered these Words of the second *Psalms* to be sung; *The Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed* (10). Then taking his Cross in his hand, he entered the Room where the King and the Lords were, without being sent to, or asking leave, tho', since the Sentence passed upon him, he had no right to be there. The Archbishop of *York* seeing him enter in that posture, severely reprimanded him (11). He told him, that coming into the Royal Presence in that manner was bidding defiance to the King; and bid him consider, his Sovereign's weapon was sharper than his. *Becket* replied, *It was true, the King's Weapon could kill the Body, but his destroyed the Soul and sent it to Hell*. This Answer, which seemed to threaten the King with Excommunication, so provoked that Monarch, that he ordered the Lords to pass Sentence immediately on the new Crime *Becket* had just incurred. The Court, after a long debate, declared, he deserved to be committed to Prison and punished according to Law, for insulting the King, and coming into the Assembly in such manner as might raise a Sedition among the People. This being resolved, the Earls of *Chester* and *Cornwall* were sent to summon him to appear and hear his Sentence; but he refused to come, declaring the Peers had no Authority to judge him, and that he appealed to the Pope. The two Earls representing to him, that by refusing to submit to the Laws of the Realm, he incurred the Guilt of Treason; he replied, That were it not for the restraints of his Character, he would vindicate himself in single Combat against those that should charge him with that Crime, and make them repent of their Calumny. However, he did not think proper to wait the issue (12), but privately departed that very night in disguise, in order to retire into *Flanders*, going by the Name of *Devereaux* (13).

Gervas.
Hoved.

Ibid.

Hoved.
p. 494.

He is com-
demned to
Imprison-
ment.
Gervas.

Hoved.

M. Paris.

Gervas.

Goes into
Flanders in
Disguise.
Gervas.
Hoved.

The King of *France* gladly heard that the Quarrel between *Henry* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was not like to be adjusted. He was in hopes, *Becket*, being supported, would imbroil his Sovereign in troubles, of which *France* might make an advantage; and therefore, sent him an offer of his Protection, and a refuge in his Dominions. *Henry* being informed of *Lewis's* proceedings, sent Ambassadors (14) to represent to him, that it was very unbecoming a Sovereign to shelter Persons guilty of High-Treason. *Lewis* made answer, He could not dispense

1164.
The King of
France pro-
tests him.
Diceto.
Gervas.
Hoved.

(1) For forty Days. As soon as the Articles were read, he retired from Court, and went to *Winchester*. Gervas, p. 1388.

(2) Who was then at *Nice* in *France*. Ibid.

(3) He demanded the King's leave to go to *Pope Alexander*, but was refused: Whereupon he embarked at *Ramsey*, in order to depart out of the Kingdom; but the same day the King's Indignation, pretended there was no Wind, and brought him back. Hoved, p. 494. Gervas, p. 1389. M. Paris, p. 162.

(4) In a great Council at *Northampton*, October 13. M. Paris, p. 162. Hoved, p. 494. R. Diceto, p. 537.

(5) He was also called to an Account for the Castles of *Ely* and *Barkhamstead*, with the Revenues belonging to them, which he had enjoyed for several years. M. Paris, p. 162.

(6) *Archbishop of York*.

(7) Literally was, or pretended to be, all of the Church. Gervas, p. 1391. Hoved, p. 494.

(8) By *Prince Bishop of London*, and *Richard Earl of Cornwall*. Ibid.

(9) The Prince told him, that if he came to Court, he should either be imprisoned or murdered. Hoved, p. 494.

(10) As he says, he interpreted the *Psalm* of *David*, whose Office is, *Princes sit together, and speak against me*. p. 494.

(11) As related, *Gilbert Bishop of London*. Hoved, p. 494.

(12) He was immediately taken by *Henry* and *Lewis*, the People crying out after him, *Stay, Traitor*, and hear thy Sentence. Hoved, p. 495.

(13) He was sent to *London*, attended only by those Persons; from whence he travelled, through by wile, and in disguise, till he came to *Sandwich*, where he embarked, and went over to *Flanders*. Hoved, p. 495. R. Diceto, p. 537. This Year was born *Elanor* the King's Daughter.

(14) *Gilbert Bishop of London*, and *William Earl of Arundel*. Hoved, p. 495.

1164. with affording a Sanctuary in his Kingdom to the unfortunate: that *Becket* was of that number, and he could not but consider him as such, till condemned by the Pope. It was thus that Jealousy and political Interest induced that Prince to urge the Pope's Authority in a thing so prejudicial to all Sovereigns. His Passion prevented him from reflecting that in this affair he could not wound *Henry* but thro' his own sides. But his extreme desire to embarrass that Prince made him overlook these considerations. He was not content with sheltering the fugitive Prelate, but even importuned the Pope to espouse his cause, and turned solicitor against *Henry*, whose Interest, in good policy, he ought to have maintained.

Stirs up the Pope against Henry.
R. Dicto.
Gervas.
M. Paris.

There was no need of much entreaty to gain the Pope (1). He was of himself very sensible, that a favourable opportunity offered to enlarge his Authority. Besides, he was apprehensive that in case he deserted the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, none of the Clergy for the future would support the Rights of the Church. So that the downfall of this Prelate could not but prove of very dangerous consequence to the Interests of the Clergy. As soon as he heard *Becket* was condemned, and forced to fly like a Criminal, he was exceeding angry with *Henry* and the Barons of *England*, and threatened to make them repent of their Rashness. Mean time *Henry*, in hopes of prepossessing the Pope in his favour, sent Ambassadors (2) to inform him of all particulars, and desire him to send Legates to *England* with full Powers finally to decide the affair.

Henry sends an Embassy to the Pope.
Gervas.
Becket attacked.
R. Dicto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

The Archbishop of *York*, who was at the head of this Embassy, spoke with great vehemence against *Becket*. He charged him with want of Respect to the King, and even of threatening him with Excommunication. He maintained, the Archbishop was guilty of Rebellion, in refusing to stand to the Judgment of the Court of Barons, under the ridiculous pretence he was their Father, and that it was against decency for a Father to be judged by his Sons. *Becket*, who was present at this Audience (3), spoke likewise for himself, and endeavoured to justify his conduct. He said in the first place, he could not be obliged to answer in a Civil Court, without a direct violation of the Canons of the Church. Secondly, supposing he had thought proper to own the Authority of the Court, he should have been prevented from submitting to their Judgment by his certain knowledge of their Resolution to condemn him. Lastly, he declared, he could not see wherein he had done amiss in appealing to the Pope; since it could not be denied that he was the proper Judge from whom he expected an impartial Sentence.

He defends himself.

Then addressing himself to the Pope and Cardinals, he intreated them to consider the dangerous consequences this Affair might be attended with, if they suffered him to be oppressed: That they were not to look upon this business, as a contest between a Subject and his Sovereign, but as the Cause of the Universal Church; since it was certain, the King's intention was to strip the Clergy of their Privileges. The Ambassadors perceiving by this Discourse, that his design was to engage the whole Church in his Quarrel, took occasion from thence to insist still more earnestly on the King's request, that the affair might be tried in *England* by the Legates of the Holy See. By that they shewed, the King their Master had no design against the Church, since he was willing to abide by her Judgment. This demand was so reasonable, that the Pope had no other way to evade it, than by saying, he would take cognizance of the matter himself; adding, to justify this resolution, that, in imitation of the Almighty, *he would not give his Glory to another*. The Reason why the Pope declined sending Legates, was the fear of their being bribed. Mean while, he put off the Trial to a more convenient season. For the present conjuncture allowed him not leisure to examine a Cause which required so much time to discuss. He was impatient to be at *Rome*, where he was recalled upon the death of *Victor* his Rival. However the Schism was still kept on foot, by the Cardinals of the opposite Party electing another Pope, who assumed the Name of *Paschal III*.

Tries to engage the whole Church in his Quarrel.
Gervas.

The Ambassadors desire Legates may be sent to decide the Matter.
Gervas.

The Pope refuses, and why.

Hoved.
p. 496.

The Pope sent for to Rome.
Gervas.
Hoved.

1165.
Henry's Proceedings against the Pope and Becket.
Gervas.
Hoved.
p. 496.

Henry being extremely incensed at *Alexander's* proceedings, as a mark of his Repentment, forbid, under the severest penalties, all Appeals to *Rome* (4). This prohibition was quickly followed by an express order to commit to prison all the Relations of those that accompanied *Becket* in his flight, or were gone to join him since his departure. After this, he sequestered, in the hands of the Bishop of *London*, the Revenues of all the Ecclesiasticks

that openly espoused the Archbishop's Quarrel, to put it out of their power to assist him. Moreover he enjoined the Magistrates to punish upon the spot, as Traytors, all Persons that should be taken either with the Pope's or *Becket's* Letters or Mandates about them, importing the Excommunication of any private Person, or an Interdict upon the Kingdom. He ordered likewise the Revenues of the See of *Canterbury* to be seized, with all the Archbishop's Effects (5). Lastly, not content with forbidding Prayers for him in the Church, he banished all his Relations, not sparing even the most distant.

1165.
M. Paris.

Hoved.

These rigorous Proceedings served only to exasperate the Archbishop the more, who, on his part, excommunicated all that adhered to the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, and particularly some Lords of the Council (6), who however despised his Censures. At length, finding the King was bent to maintain his ground, he took the liberty to send him a threatening Letter, which it will not be amiss to insert, as a Piece very proper to discover the Character of that Prelate.

Becket excommunicates the Lords of the Council.
M. West.
Fitz-Step.
Dicto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

THOMAS Archbishop of Canterbury to the KING of England.

"I Have most earnestly desired to see you; and although I cannot deny, that in this I had a view to my own, yet was it your Interest that lay nearest my heart. I was in hopes that when you should see me again, you would call to mind the many Services I have done you, with all imaginable regard and affection. For the Truth of which I appeal to him who is to judge all mankind, when they shall appear before his Tribunal, to be rewarded according to their deeds. I flattered myself that you would be moved with compassion towards me, who am forced to beg my Bread in a strange Land, though, by the Grace of God, I have Plenty of all things necessary for my subsistence. I receive however great consolation from the words of the Apostle, *They that live in Christ shall suffer Persecution*; and likewise from that Saying of the Prophet, *I never saw the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread*. As to what relates to you, I cannot but be sensibly affected with it for three reasons: First, because you are my Liege-Lord: Secondly, because you are my King: Thirdly, because you are my Spiritual Son. As my Liege-Lord, I owe and offer you my best advice, such however as is due from a Bishop, saving the Honour of God, and the Head of the Church. As my King, I owe you a profound Respect, and withal am bound to direct my Admonitions to you. As my Son, it is my duty to correct and exhort you. Kings are anointed in three Places; the Head, the Breast, and the Arms, which denote Glory, Holiness, and Power. We find from several instances taken from the Scriptures, that the Kings who despised the Commandments of the Lord, were deprived of Glory, Understanding, and Might: Such were *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Solomon*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and many others. On the contrary, they that humbled themselves before God, received a larger measure of Grace, and in greater perfection. This was experienced by *David*, *Hezekiah*, and some others. Take therefore, my Liege-Lord, the advice of your Vassal; hearken, my King, to the admonitions of your Bishop; and receive, my Son, the corrections of your Father; lest you are drawn aside into Schism, or persuaded to hold Communion with Schismatics. All the world knows with what honour and devotion you received the Pope; how respectfully and zealously you protected the Church of *Rome*; and what suitable Returns the Church and Pope have made you. Remember therefore the declaration you made, and even laid upon the Altar at your Coronation, to protect the Church of God in all her Immunities. Restore the Church of *Canterbury*, from which you received your Authority, to the state it was in under your Predecessors and mine: Otherwise be assured, that you will draw down on your head the Wrath and Vengeance of God."

His Letter to the King.
R. Dicto.
Hoved.
p. 496, &c.
M. Paris.

This Letter was little capable of appeasing the incensed King. And truly, it is very hard to believe, the Writer

(1) He was still at Sens. Gervas. p. 1394.

(2) The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Exeter; and Wido Rufus, Richard de Incestre, and John de Oxford, Clergymen; and William Earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gournelle, Bernard de St. Valery, and Henry Fitz-Gerald. Hoved. p. 496.

(3) Hoveden says he did not come to the Pope till four Days after. Ibid.

(4) This he did before he went into Normandy this Year. Hoved. p. 496.

(5) He ordered also Peter-Pence to be collected, and not to be lent out of the Kingdom. Hoved. ibid.

(6) Richard de Luci, Richard Fitz-Peters, Jocelin de Bath, Alan de Newville: As also John de Oxford, Richard de Incestre, Ranulf de Brise, Hugh de St. Clare, Thomas Fitz-Bernard, &c. R. Dicto. p. 539. M. Paris.

1166. thought it proper for that end, or penn'd it with that Intent. Mean time, *Henry* knowing the King of *France* cherished the discord between him and the Court of *Rome*, by offering to assist the Pope, was willing to let his Holiness see on how weak a support he relied in case things came to an open rupture. To this end he levied a numerous Army (1), as well to prevent any Revolt the Pope might excite in his Dominions, as to be in a readiness to oppose the King of *France* in case of an attack (2). This precaution hindered, no doubt, *Alexander* from proceeding so vigorously as he intended, and made him sensible of the Danger of precipitating matters. The truth is, a Prince supported with a strong Army, has it always in his power to render himself formidable to those who have none but spiritual Weapons to brandish. Mean while, the Bishop of *London* and the rest of the Suffragans of the Province of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Archbishop, on occasion of his Letter to the King, and remonstrated to him his Pride in writing to his Sovereign without the customary Salutations, as if he had written to an inferior. They represented to him, moreover, the mean estate from whence the King had raised him to such Grandeur; his Ingratitude to a Prince whom he was so much indebted to; and his Arrogance in daring to threaten a Monarch so far exalted above him. In fine, they gave him notice, they appealed to the Pope from whatever he should act for the future against them or the Kingdom, and appointed *Ascension* Day to produce the reasons of their Appeal.

The King of *England's* Army threw the Pope under great apprehensions. He was afraid, *Henry* would at length unite with the Emperor, and if so, the King of *France* would not be able, or at least, willing to protect him. This consideration induced him to try to divert *Henry* from such a thought, with the hopes of seeing this Contest speedily ended to his advantage. Accordingly, when *Henry* least expected it, *Alexander* appointed Legates (3) to go and decide the affair in *England*, and ordered them to depart forthwith. He greatly extolled to the King this condescension. But the Legates were hardly set out, when he clogged their Powers with restrictions, that prevented them from giving a decisive Sentence. The Legates being arrived at *London* (4), and setting about the Business they were come upon, a fresh obstacle unexpectedly occurred. *Becket* refused to put his Cause into their hands, unless the King would first restore whatever he had taken from him or his Friends. He further insisted upon a general revocation of all the King's Orders since the beginning of the Contest; that is, in a word, that he would condemn himself beforehand. This is a clear evidence, the Legates had not full Powers to decide the matter, since the Archbishop's refusal to stand to their Judgment, without these Conditions, was sufficient to stop their Proceedings. Accordingly the King easily saw the Pope intended only to amuse him. Mean time, *Becket's* own Friends, dreading the King would go to extremities, advised him to give his Sovereign some satisfaction. He told them he was ready to comply with the King's Will, *Saving his Honour, the Church's Possessions, and his own, and the Right of others*. So many Salvo's must have shown, he was not inclinable in the least to relax. However, these same Friends, who had so good an opinion of him, as to believe he was willing to sacrifice his private Interest to the Church's Peace, made him another Proposal. They asked him, whether he would agree to resign the Archbishoprick, in case the King would, upon that Condition, give up the Constitutions of *Clarendon*? But they did not find him at all disposed to show that Proof of his Disinterestedness. He plainly told them, the Proposal was unequal, since he could not renounce his Dignity without betraying the Cause of God and of the Church; whereas the King was bound in conscience to annul his new Laws. This Reply, and the limited Powers of the Legates, entirely destroyed all the King's hopes, and made him resolve to create the Archbishop as much trouble as possible. To that end, he sent word to the Abbot of *Pontigni*, who

had for two Years entertained *Becket* in his Monastery, that if he sheltered him any longer, he would expel his Dominions all the Monks of his Order (5), and seize their Estates. Upon this, *Becket* was forced to quit the Abbey; but it was not long before he met with another retreat. The King of *France* admitted him into *Sens* (6), where he often resided, and handsomely furnished him with all things necessary. His frequent Conversations with that Monarch, were a great means of increasing the jealousy and animosity he had already entertained against *Henry* (7).

Towards the latter end of this year Queen *Eleanor* was delivered of a fourth Son, called *John*. The Birth of this Prince was quickly followed by the death of the Empress *Matilda*, the King's Mother, in the sixty-seventh Year of her Age (8). She left in her Will very considerable Legacies to the Poor and the Churches, and bequeath'd a large Sum for finishing the Bridge of *Roan*, of which she had laid the foundation.

Hitherto the Pope and Archbishop had but little reason to boast of the Success of their Contest with *Henry*. *Becket*, deprived of his Revenues, languished in a melancholy exile, whilst the Pope received no profits from *England*. His Holiness easily foresaw, if things remained in this state, his Authority was like to be contemned, not only in *England*, but in other parts of *Christendom*. Besides, he was of an exceeding haughty Temper. This is the same *Alexander*, that some years after, treated so shamefully the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* at *Venice* (9). There was no hopes therefore, that a Pope of his character would suffer the King to get the victory without long and violent struggles. Accordingly, as soon as his affairs were something settled, he began seriously to think of means to end this Contest to his advantage. To make the King uneasy, he shew'd an extraordinary regard for *Becket*, and confirm'd to him all the Privileges enjoyed by his Predecessors, affecting by this unreasonable Respect to insult the King. And indeed, there was no occasion of making this step, while the Archbishop was in exile, and out of favour with his Sovereign. *Henry* willing to be even with him, caus'd it to be rumoured, that he was going to withdraw his Obedience from *Alexander*, and recognize *Paschal III.* Nay, he even went so far as to write to some of the Princes of *Germany*, to acquaint them, he was just upon the point of taking this Resolution. The truth is, if the thing had been in his power, he would very probably have taken that step, without farther consideration; but it would have been difficult to bring the Nation to this change, and especially the Clergy. He had but few Bishops on his side. All the rest of the Clergy were for the Pope and *Becket* in their hearts, though Fear kept them from showing it openly. *Alexander*, knowing their inclinations, was the more stout, and express'd less regard for the King than he would have done, without doubt, had he been in any danger from that side. To let the King see his Threats gave him no concern, he sent a Letter to the Bishop of *London*, wherein he seem'd to throw off all regard for that Prince. He commanded the Bishop boldly to admonish him, and enjoin him, in his name, to restore the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his See, and annul the Constitutions of *Clarendon*. The Bishop discharged his Commission, though not so imperiously as the Pope had commanded. However, he writ to him afterwards, to represent that the King had made no Innovations, but only trod in the steps of his Predecessors; that his Conduct could not in reason be blamed, since he offered to submit to the Judgment of the Church, provided the affair was tried in the Kingdom (10).

Whatever advantage the King had hitherto gained, he wanted to clear his hands of this troublesome Business, which obstructed the execution of the Design he had formed to conquer *Ireland*. Besides, he foresaw, this Dispute would in the end turn to his disadvantage, and be very prejudicial to the Nation. In this belief, he desired the King of *France* to appoint a Place where they Two

(1) Which he was and attacked the *Hanse*, that had pillag'd *Flushing*, which then belonged to *England*. *Gervas.* p. 1398.
 (2) King *Henry* went into *Normandy* in 1166, in *June*, and returned to *England* the 11th Year. *Hoved.* p. 466, 500.
 (3) Cardinal *Stephen* was the late Pope *Hadrian's* successor, and the Advocate of the Court of *Rome*. *Gervas.* p. 1400.
 (4) *Gervas.* says they met in *France*, between *Caen* and *Bay*, *Normandy* 12. p. 1402. *Hoved.* p. 519.
 (5) *Cistercians*.
 (6) Where he resided 11 Years. *Gervas.* p. 1402.
 (7) This Year King *Henry* and his sister *Countess Matilda* of *France*, set out for *Germany*, to the *Crusade*. *M. W. A.* p. 200.
 (8) She was buried, *Oct. 11. 1167*, aged but thirty four Years, in the Abbey of *St. Edmund*, with *Francis* Pope. But *Gervas.* de *Matilda* tells us, she was interred in the Church of *St. John de Pie*, in the Suburb of *Rouen*. On account of her being the Daughter of a King, Wife of an Emperor, and Mother of a King, she had, according to *M. Paris*, these Words engraven on her Tomb:

Ortu magna, virginitate, sollemnitate parvo,
 Huic jussu Henrico Regis, Pontificis, Parisiens. p. 143.

Great born, match'd greater, greatness with small,
 Here *Henry's* Daughter, *W. 1167*, and *Matilda*, and.

Her Brother the Earl of *Arundel*, was I. *Henry Fitz-Timpre*, King of *England*. II. *Geoffrey* Earl of *Nantes*, who died 1157. III. *William*, called by *Sped* Earl of *Perche*; but he does not appear to be otherwise mentioned, than *William* brother Regis *Henry*. He died in 1163. IV. A Daughter, is said by *Hoved.* to be Wife of *Oswyn* Prince of *North Wales*. But she is mentioned by no other Author.

(9) He was the nineteenth Emperor of *Germany* from *Ottobon the Great*. Upon a Quarrel with *Alexander*, he was excommunicated, and at length forced to submit to the Pope, who absconded in his Neck.

(10) In 1167, the King of *England* and *France* came to blows; the *Normans* burnt *Chaumont*, and took several Prisoners in *Perche*; the King of *France* burnt *Arundel*, &c. *Re. D. 1167*, p. 517. *Hoved.* p. 517. *M. Paris*, &c.

1168.

might have an interview with the Archbishop, to hear what he had to say in his defence. *Lewis* agreeing to this request, *Becket* appeared before the two Kings (1), and very boldly pleaded his Cause. After which, being asked whether he would own that he ought to obey his Sovereign, he made answer, he was ready to pay obedience to him in all things, *fearing the Honour of God*. How reasonable soever this *Salvo* might appear, *Henry* looked upon it as an evasion. He told the King of *France* what *Becket* seem'd to promise was nothing at all: since by this restriction, he reserved a power to pronounce whatever displeased him, contrary to the Honour of God: But, continued he, I shall make him this Offer, which cannot be suspected of a double meaning: *There have been in England Kings not so powerful as my self, and Archbishops that have been great and holy Men; let him but pay me the same Regard as the Greatest of his Predecessors paid the Least of mine, and I will be satisfied*. This was not what *Becket* wanted. He knew very well, it would be difficult to justify his pretensions by any former precedents. And therefore he rejected the Offer, on pretence that the affair being now before the Pope, he could agree to nothing without his consent. How great Partiality soever the King of *France* had all along shown to *Becket*, he could not help owning on this occasion, that the Archbishop's Obstinacy was the sole Obstacle to a Peace. This Confession was very serviceable to *Henry*, as it quashed, in great measure, the Report so industriously spread in the world, of his designing to abolish in *England* the Privileges of the Clergy. However, it made no impression on *Becket*, as well knowing the Pope was too much interested, and too deeply engaged in the Affair ever to draw back.

1169.

It plainly appeared *Becket* was not mistaken; for presently after, *Alexander* sent the King notice he could not dispense with granting the Archbishop a power to revenge with the Sword of Excommunication the Injuries done the Church and his own Person. As soon as *Becket* received the Pope's Leave, he thundered Anathema's against such numbers of the Clergy, that there was scarce enough left unexcommunicated to officiate in the King's Chapel. Though most were inclined to favour the Cause he maintained, he was not satisfied, but charged them with shameful prevarication, in not openly espousing his Quarrel. *Henry*, provoked at these proceedings, appealed to a future Council, and sent the Pope word, that unless he immediately dispatched Legates, with power to decide the affair, he should take such measures as would not be agreeable to him. This pretence threw *Alexander* into great perplexity, because he could not help fearing the Union of the King with the Emperor. On the other hand, he was so engaged in the defence of the pretended Rights of the Church, that he could not desist without great prejudice to the Holy See. To free himself from this uneasiness, he had recourse to the usual methods always successfully practised by the Court of *Rome* on the like occasions. He feigned to be willing the affair should be tried in *England*; and, to allure *Henry* with these hopes, sent away Legates, who met the King in *Normandy*. But as they were preparing to wait on him, they received fresh Instructions, forbidding them to give a final Sentence, without imparting it to the Archbishop of *Sens*. This was sufficient to blast all hopes of a sudden Peace, none being more averse to it than that Prelate.

Another

Some time after, the Pope willing to keep *Henry* still in a belief that matters might be amicably adjusted, desired the two Kings of *England* and *France* to consider of means to end the Dispute. Whereupon, *Henry* repairing to *Paris*, *Becket* was ordered to appear once more before these two Princes. This Conference, purposely intended to amuse *Henry*, succeeded no better than the former (2). The Archbishop, without yielding the least point, still insisted, that before a Treaty was begun, the King ought to make entire Restitution (3), to which *Henry* would not consent, without knowing first the Terms of Reconciliation. This was all *Becket* could have expected by way of compensation, in case he himself had made any Concessions. But to pretend that the King should begin with condemning himself by this Restitution, without any

Advances on his Part, was in effect to declare, he would come to no agreement. The only thing he offered as a sign of his Inclination to Peace, was that he would stand to the Judgment of the *French* Divines. But this offer being rejected, the Negotiation broke off, with some Advantage however to the King, as it rendered his Disposition to Peace more conspicuous.

There is no adjusting a Quarrel with the Clergy, unless their Demands are all answered. Their Cause, as they pretend, is the Cause of God, and consequently no Concessions can be made without sin. Upon this principle it was that the Archbishop of *Sens* pressed the Pope to put *England* under an Interdict, and excommunicate *Henry* for an obstinate Heretic. *Henry* having advice of what this Prelate was soliciting at *Rome*, published a fresh Edict in *England*, forbidding the receiving any Orders from the Pope or *Becket*, and declaring, in case a Letter of Interdict should come into the Kingdom, all that submitted to it should be immediately hanged, as Traytors to their King and Country. In fine, he enjoined all absent Clergymen to return to their Churches on pain of forfeiting all their Revenues, and suspended the Payment of *Peter-Pence* till further Orders. These vigorous Proceedings making the Pope apprehensive of some dangerous Revolution, should he carry things to extremity, he left the Affair undetermined, in expectation of an Opportunity to push it with more advantage to himself.

During this calm *Henry*, who had spent near four years in *France*, returned home (4) in order to regulate some matters, which his Absence had hindered him from attending to. The Administration of Justice was so shamefully neglected, that at his arrival he found himself obliged to send Commissioners (5) into all the Counties, with full Powers to enquire into the misdemeanors of the Magistrates (6), and to punish the guilty.

This and some other Affairs concerning the publick Good being settled to the People's satisfaction, *Henry* convened a General Assembly (7), at which were present the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Aldermen of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. Before this numerous Assembly he caused *Henry* his eldest Son to be crowned (8) by the Archbishop of *York*, assisted by the Bishops of *London* and *Durham* (9). The next day the young King received the Fealties of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Magistrates of the Cities and Counties, who were summoned on purpose to be present at the Coronation. At the feast, made upon this occasion, the King himself would carry up the first Dish, and speaking to his Son, told him, *Never was Monarch serv'd in a more honorable manner*. Instead of returning his Compliment, the young King, who was of a very haughty Spirit, turning to the Archbishop of *York*, who stood by him, said in a low Voice, *It was no such great Condescension in the Son of an Earl to serve the Son of a King*.

This Coronation, performed with an universal approbation, gave the King a double satisfaction. He not only by that means secured the Crown in his Family, but moreover extremely mortified *Becket*. Indeed that Prelate was exceedingly vexed to hear that a Ceremony of that importance was solemnized without him; being, as he pretended, an Office annexed to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury* (10).

The King of *France* took great offence at his Daughter's not being crown'd with the Prince her Spouse. This disgust, joined to some other Occasions of Quarrel, which are but too frequent among neighbouring Princes, caused him to take up Arms (11). But this War was of so little consequence and short continuance, that it is entirely needless to descend to particulars. It suffices to say in two words, that it was almost as soon ended as begun, by a Treaty of Peace between the two Monarchs.

Shortly after *Henry* was seized with a violent Fever at *Domfront*, in the Province of *Maine*. He was so dangerously ill, that believing he was near his End, he hastily made his Will. To *Henry* his eldest Son he gave *England*, *Normandy*, *Maine* and *Anjou*; and to *Richard* his second Son *Guienne* and *Poitou*. As for *Geoffrey*, he thought *Bretagne* sufficient for him, which he was to enjoy

1169.

Gervas.

Henry's Proceedings against the King against the Pope.

The Pope gains time.

1170.

Henry returns to England.

Gervas. Hoved.

Henry the young King's eldest Son crowned.

Hoved. Gervas.

M. Paris.

Predecessor of the young King.

Pol. Virg.

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1170. after the death of Duke *Conan* his Brother-in-law. As for *John* his fourth Son, he was satisfied with recommending him to be provided for by his eldest Brother.

He resolves to make up matters with Becket. Hoved. Brompt. Gervais.

A Conference at Montmirail, comes to nothing by accident. M. Paris p. 122.

The Quarrel is decided. R. Dicto. Brompt. H. viden. M. Paris.

The revengeful Provocations of Becket. R. Dicto. Brompt. Gervais. Hoved. M. Paris.

Hoved.

Tynel.

The young King refuses to see him. R. Dicto. Gervais.

He enters Canterbury in Triumph. Hoved.

He excommunicates two Barons. Fitz. Step. Gervais. R. Dicto. Hoved. M. Paris.

Henry's indisposition produced another considerable effect. The approach of death having raised Scruples in the King, to which he was a stranger whilst in health, he resolved to be reconciled, at any rate, with *Becket*, in case he recovered. He considered, the Archbishop had been sufficiently punished by a six years Exile, during which he had been deprived of his Revenues. Besides, he was desirous, if God pleased to prolong his days, to enjoy himself a Repose, which the Pope threatened continually to disturb, by thundering the Church's Censures against him. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as his Health permitted, he held a Conference with the King of *France* at *Montmirail*, where *Becket* was present also. As the King then stood disposed, he agreed to almost every thing required by the Archbishop. But after all the Articles were settled, just as *Becket* was stepping up to the King to give him the Kiss of Peace, he took it in his head to say, that he was going to salute him to the Honour of God. The King, who was not thoroughly satisfied of his Sincerity, imagining there was some hidden Mystery in that Expression, refused to receive his Salute accompanied with those words, which to him seemed superfluous. The Archbishop on his part, insisting upon saying them, all the Pains taken to adjust matters became of no effect, by the over-strained Nicety of both Parties. However, *Henry* willing upon any terms to get clear of this business, ordered it so that another Interview was agreed upon at *Amboise* (1), where the King of *France* came attended by several Princes and Lords. Here at length all Difficulties were surmounted. *Henry* was sincerely reconciled with *Becket* (2), and swore to restore him to the same state he enjoyed before his Banishment; and likewise make restitution to his Relations and Friends of all that was seized since his departure. Thus this Contest seemed to be happily ended by the King's Generosity, who protested, he heartily forgave all that was passed (3).

But the Archbishop was not so easily appeased. Tho' he obliged *Henry* to pardon all those that had offended him, he himself could not resolve to forgive those whom he thought he had reason to complain of. He was chiefly exasperated against the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Exeter*, who had acted the most openly against him. Before he left *France* to return into *England*, he obtained the Pope's Licence to suspend the first, and excommunicate the others, and accordingly executed it the moment he landed (4). He had even no regard to the intreaties of the young King, who having notice of his Design, sent Messengers to divert him from it. Though by this refusal he gave that Prince just Cause to complain of him, he would go and salute him at *Woodstock*, where he resided. Some say, the desire of paying his Respects to the young King was not the principal motive of his intended Visit; but his real aim was to make a triumphant Entry into *London*, through which he was to pass. Be this as it will, he lodged in *Southwark*, with design to be at *Woodstock* next day; but he received a Letter from the young King (5), ordering him to repair forthwith to *Canterbury*. Though this was a great mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the Order. Accordingly he set forward for the Capital of his Diocese, where he made his entry with the Acclamations of the meaner sort of People, whilst the more considerate were sorry to see him thus triumphant; who, far from being humbled by his long Exile, was grown more proud and haughty. This they had quickly reason to perceive more particularly, when mounting his Archiepiscopal Chair on *Christmas-Day*, he solemnly excommunicated *Nigel de Sackvil* and *Robert Brock*, both distinguished by their Birth and Stations. He accused the former of unjustly detaining a Manor belonging to the Archbishoprick,

and the latter of cutting off the Tail of a Horse that was carrying Provisions to his Palace. This Proceeding was a plain indication, he was not humbled by his Disgrace, but was ready to revive the Quarrel whenever he saw occasion. The truth is, had he intended to keep fair with the King, he would not have excommunicated for such Trifles, two of the immediate Vassals of the Crown, since that was one of the Articles which occasioned his Contest with *Henry*.

Mean time, the suspended and excommunicated Prelates were gone to carry their complaints to the King, who was still in *Normandy* (6). When they came into his presence they threw themselves at his feet, and complained, the Peace made with *Becket* redoubled the Terrors and Troubles of those that had sacrificed themselves to his service (7). The Archbishop of *York* added, as long as *Becket* was alive it was impossible for *England* to enjoy any repose. *Henry*, exasperated by these complaints, and tired with being thus incessantly plagued, by the Insolence of a Subject whom he had raised from the dust, could not help uttering these words aloud: *I am very unhappy, that among the great numbers I maintain, there's not a Man that dares undertake to revenge the Affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a wretched Priest*. These words were not dropt in vain. Four of the King's Domesticks (8) reflecting on the King's reproaches combined together to free him from this Enemy. To this end, they came to *Canterbury*, where they agreed upon the method to execute their Design. One day, when the Archbishop was gone to the Cathedral (9) with few Attendants, they entered the Church armed, and came up to the Altar where he was standing. They began with outrageously upbraiding him for his Pride and Ingratitude: To which he returned so resolute an Answer, as gave them occasion to execute their Purpose. As they were not there with intent to reproach him only, they broke his Skull with their Clubs (10) in so violent a manner, that the Blood and Brains flew all over the Altar. After committing this action, they peaceably retired, no body offering to stop them (11). The Resolution, *Becket* showed on this occasion, the Zeal he expressed by recommending to God, with his last breath, the Cause of the Church, the time and manner of his Death, aggravated the guilt of his Murderers, and gained him more Friends after he was dead, than ever he had during his life.

Thus died this famous Archbishop, whom some have ranked among the most illustrious Martyrs, whilst others believed they might, without any injustice, deny him the Character of an honest Man, and a good Christian. About fifty years after his death, it was the Subject of a publick Dispute at the University of *Paris*, whether *Becket* was in heaven or hell, so ambiguous a point was his Sanctity. Some asserted, that for his extreme Pride, he deserved to be damned. Others on the contrary maintained, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were undoubted proofs of his Salvation. This last Argument indeed would have been unanswerable, if these Miracles were as evidently proved, as industriously spread. However this be, it is confessed *Becket* suffered Martyrdom; but it remains to determine, whether it was indeed for the Cause of God and Religion, or only for that of the Pope and Clergy. I shall leave the Reader to make what Reflections he thinks proper on this subject; whilst I content my self with relating the Consequences of this Prelate's death, which are no less remarkable than the incidents of his Life. He had deserved too well of the Court of *Rome*, not to have a place in the Catalogue of the Saints. There were many in that List, who, in the opinion of that Court it self, were not so worthy of the Honour, as one that had spilt his Blood in defence of the Church. He was therefore canoniz'd two or three years after his death. However desirous the Pope was to show his Gratitude to the memory of so faithful a Servant, the world must be first convinced that the Cause he died in, was approved by God; other-

1170.

The excommunicated Bishops complain to the King. Brompt. Gervais. Fitz-Step. M. Paris.

Indifference of the King. Gervais. p. 1414.

1171.

Four of the King's Domesticks plot against Becket. R. Dicto. Gervais. Hoved. and murder him at the Altar. Brompt.

Reflections on his Character.

(1) *Hoveden* says, this Interview was *October 12*, upon a Hill between *Tours* and *Amboise*, called *Mons Laudatus*. p. 520. Brompt. p. 1062. But *Gervais* says, it was *July 22*, near *Mans*, in a Meadow called the *Traytors Meadow*. p. 1412.

(2) Chiefly through the Means of *R. trow* Archbishop of *Roan*. R. de Dicto. p. 552.

(3) And held *Becket's* Stirrup, whilst he was getting on Horseback. Gervais. p. 1412.

(4) Several Persons went to oppose his landing in *England*. See *Gervais*. p. 1413. He landed at *Sandwich*, *November 30*. *ibid*. *Hoved*. 520. M. Paris says, it was *December 1*. p. 1412.

(5) By *Guodin*, the Queen's Brother. *Hoved*. p. 521.

(6) Whereupon *Becket* was ordered not to stir out of the Bounds of his Church. Brompt. p. 1062. Gervais. p. 1414.

(7) *Fitz-Stephens* calls them Barons and Servants of the Bed-chamber; *Brompton*, four Knights, belonging to the King's Household. p. 1063. and *Hoveden*, Men eminent for their Birth. p. 521. Their Names were *Reginald Fitz-Urse*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Britton*, and *Hugh Morvill*. *Dicto*. p. 555. *Hoveden*. p. 521.

(8) They went first to his House, and expostulated with him about the excommunicated Bishops, &c. after which they retired. The Archbishop in the mean while going into the Cathedral to *Offer*, they followed him there, &c. R. Dicto. p. 555. Gervais. p. 1415. *Brompton* says, they directly went into the Church, where he was. p. 1062.

(9) They used only Swords. See *Gervais*. p. 1415, 1416. Brompt. p. 1063, &c.

(10) Not daring to return to the King, they went and staid a Year at *Knevesborough* Castle in *Yorkshire*, belonging to *Hugh Morvill*; (M. Paris calls it a Castle of the King's. p. 125.) after which, *Hoveden* says, they went to *Rome* for Absolution, and were enjoined to go to *Jerusalem* and do Penance on the Black Mountain for Life. We have an Account of the Manner of the Archbishop's Death at large, by *Gervais* of *Canterbury*, and *Edward Ryme*, who were Eye-Witnesses. This last had his Arm almost cut off by receiving the first blow that was made at *Becket's* Head, occasioned, as he says, by the Archbishop's calling *Fitz-Urse*, *Pimp*. The Manuscript Relation of the Life and Sufferings of this Archbishop, written in a Hand of that Age, is preserved in the Library of *Grays-Inn-College*. He was assassinated in the fifty third Year of his Age, on the 30th of *December*, 1171, reckoning the Beginning of the Year from *Christmas-Day*. *Gervais*. p. 1064. Brompt. p. 1064. Some Chroniclers say, that all who were concerned in *Becket's* Murder, died miserably in three or four Years. See *M. Wylm*. p. 250. But the Annotator on *Mr. Camden* well observes, that this is false; for *William Tracy* retired, twenty three Years after the Fact, to *Mans* in *Normandy*. See *Camden* in *Devonshire*.

1171.

*Abundance of
Miracles
attributed
to him
his Death
Comm.*
R. Dicto.

wife, his Canonization might have been objected against. Nothing was more proper to infuse this Belief into the minds of the People than Miracles. Accordingly, such multitudes were forthwith wrought at the Tomb of the new Martyr, that in any other Age, the number and nature of these Miracles, instead of satisfying the World, would have had a quite contrary effect. Neither Christ nor his Apostles worked the like, or so many, to prove the Truth of Christianity, as this new Saint did to authorize the Privileges and Immunities of the Clergy. It was not thought sufficient to assert his restoring dead Men to life; but it was farther affirmed, he raised the very Beasts. It was given out for certain, that being exposed to view in the Church before he was buried, he rose out of his Coffin, and went and lighted the Wax-Candles which had been put out. It is said also, after the Funeral Ceremony was over, he held up his Hand to bless the People. To all these Miracles, many others are added, equally becoming the Majesty of God. Mean while, they were spread with that confidence, that not a Man was found hardy enough to shew the least sign of Doubt. The Pope's Legates, sent some time after to examine these matters, found the People of *Canterbury* so persuaded of the Truth of all these Facts, that, upon such publick Evidence, his Holiness thought he should run no great Hazard in canonizing *Becket* by the Name of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*. The Tomb of the new Saint was at first adorned with few Ornaments; but fifty years after his Death, his Body was laid in a *Shrine*, enriched with a prodigious Quantity of precious Stones. As a farther Honour to his memory, the Pope ordered every fiftieth year a Jubilee to be solemnized in the Church where he lay. From thenceforward Miracles became so common at his Tomb, and their fame spread so far, that they drew Votaries from all parts of *Christendom*, who came to *Canterbury* to obtain the Intercession of this new Saint. In 1420, they kept an Account of above fifty thousand Foreigners, of all Ages and Sexes, that came in Pilgrimage that Year to this renowned Tomb.

He is canonized.

To avoid interrupting the Narrative of this famous Contest, I was obliged to defer till now to speak of certain Occurrences which happened in that Interval, the most remarkable whereof were as follow:

*Marriage of
Matilda the
King's
Daughter
with the
Duke of
Saxony.
Dicto.
Brompt.
Hoved.
M. Paris.*

In 1165, during the heat of the Dispute, the Archbishop of *Cologne* came into *England*, to conduct *Matilda* the King's Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, to whom she was betrothed. As all the Princes of *Germany* were then for the Antipope *Paschal*, they were considered as Schismatics in all Places where *Alexander* was acknowledged. This is the reason, why after the departure of the Archbishop, the Churches, where he and the Priests that attended him said Mass, were all re-consecrated. The King durst not oppose this Resolution, for fear of making the Breach wider between him and *Alexander*, whom he was willing to keep fair with (1).

*German Heretics arrive in England, and are condemned at Oxford.
Brompton.
Neubrig.
Dicto.
M. Paris.*

In 1166, certain Heretics arrived from *Germany* in *England*, about thirty in number, being headed by one *Gerhard*. It is not distinctly known wherein their Heresy consisted; in all likelihood there were fathered upon them, by forced Inferences, Opinions which they entertained not. However this be, they were summoned before a Council held on purpose at *Oxford*, where they were condemned, and delivered over to the secular Power. The King, unwilling to give the Pope any handle against him, treated these People very severely. After branding them in the Cheek with a hot Iron, he forbade all his Subjects to give them any Relief. This Prohibition being punctually observed, all those Wretches miserably perished with Hunger, without being heard to utter the least Complaint of this most inhuman Usage. This is not the only Instance of its being the worst time for such as the Court of *Rome* marks out for Hereticks, when Princes are at variance with the Pope (2).

*King of Scotland dies.
Brompton.
Eleanor's Marriage.
Conan dies, and is succeeded by Geoffrey.
Henry's Son.*

Malcolm King of *Scotland* died much about this time (3), and was succeeded by *William* his Brother (4).

The Marriage of *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Henry*, with *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, was concluded in 1169, a little before *Becket*'s return into *England*.

Conan the Little, Duke of *Bretagne*, dying in 1171, *Prince Geoffrey*, who had married his Daughter, succeeded

him. But, as he was not above twelve Years old, the King his Father took the Guardianship upon himself, and went in Person into *Bretagne*, to receive the Fealty of the Barons.

These are the most considerable Events, during the Difference between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. I proceed now to what followed upon the Death of that Prelate.

Henry being freed from the disturbance of his Quiet, was in hopes to enjoy some tranquillity. But he found that *Becket*, when dead, created him no less Trouble than when alive. His Enemies, the chief of whom were the King of *France*, and Archbishop of *Sens*, omitted not this opportunity to raise him new Disturbances. They boldly charged him with being the Author of *Becket*'s Murder, and endeavoured by all sorts of means to stir up the Pope to revenge the Death of his faithful Servant. Though it was difficult to prove that *Henry* had any hand in the Assassination, *Alexander* was willing however to believe him guilty, that he might have occasion to humble a Prince that all along stoutly opposed him. He was sensible, this was a favourable Juncture to procure Advantages which that Monarch could never be brought to yield at any other time. Wherefore he threatened to excommunicate him, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict, unless he gave marks of a sincere Repentance. Had this Prince been more weak, or less able, he would never have got clear of so slippery and dangerous an Affair. But his Resolution on this occasion (5), his Presents to the Cardinals (6), and his repeated Protestations, to submit to the Sentence that should be pronounced in *England*, averted this terrible Blow (7).

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The Pope sends a papal legate to England.

Henry as a weak Prince, and a weak King, was not able to resist the Pope's threats, and was obliged to submit to the Sentence that should be pronounced in England, averted this terrible Blow (7).

Whilst this Affair was transacting at *Rome*, *Henry* resumed the Project of the Conquest of *Ireland*, formed some years before, but deferred on account of his Quarrel with *Becket*. The *Irish* taking some Englishmen Prisoners, and afterwards selling them for Slaves, furnished him with a Pretence to form this Enterprize. But the real motive was the Desire of enlarging his Dominions by the Conquest of an Island adjacent to *England* (8). Two favourable conjunctures induced him to think of this Conquest. In the first place, he was at Peace with all his Neighbours. And secondly, *Adrian IV*, a native of *England*, being then Pope, he hoped easily to obtain his Approbation. Though the Outrages committed by the *Irish* upon his Subjects might be one reason of his intended Expedition, that was not the thing he alledged to the Pope to obtain his consent. The Glory of God and the Salvation of Souls, plausible Pretences, but which rarely set Princes upon Projects of this nature, were the Arguments he urged to prevail with *Adrian* to approve his Design. To these he added another, and no less powerful Motive, the enlarging the Jurisdiction and Revenues of the Holy See. He pretended, the *Irish* being Schismatics and bad Christians, it was necessary to put them in the right way, and oblige them to acknowledge the Papal Authority, which till then had been disregarded by them: That the properest means to that end was to bring them into subjection to the Crown of *England*, which had ever been devoted to the Holy See. This is what we find in the *Bull* sent him by *Adrian* on this occasion, where we may further observe, what Power the Popes assumed to themselves, and how attentive they were to every thing that might help to increase their Authority.

He forms the Design of conquering Ireland. Brompt. Hoved. M. Paris.

This Prince had been approved by Adrian IV.

A D R I A N,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,
To his Son, in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY
King of ENGLAND;

Sends Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

"THE desire your Magnificence expresses to advance the Glory of your Name on Earth, and to obtain in Heaven the Prize of eternal Happiness, de-

Adrian's Bull to encourage the Irish Expedition. Gir. Camb. An. 1154. Dicto. M. Paris. p. 95.

(1) This Year the *Welsh* broke the Peace, and made IncurSIONS into the *English* Territories, but were soon reduced to Obedience; and the same Year was born *Johanna*, the King's Daughter. Brompt. p. 1059.

(2) This Year King *Henry* raised, by the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, *Two-pence* in the Pound, and for the four following Years *One-penny* for the Holy-War. See *Gervais*. p. 1399.

(3) In 1168, died *Robert de Bellomonte*, Earl of *Leicester*, and chief Justiciary of *England*. Hoved. p. 512.

(4) He ordered, that if any Person brought into *England* Letters of Excommunication from the Pope, he should be proceeded against as a publick Enemy, &c. Brompt. p. 1069. Hoved. p. 527.

(5) The Persons he sent to the Pope, were the Archbishop of *Roan*, the Bishop of *Evreux*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, *Richard Barre*, &c. Hoved. p. 526. The Pope refused at first to see them; but when they found no other Means would prevail, they began to intreat after the *Roman* manner, (as *Gervase* expresses it,) that is, they distributed five hundred Marks amongst the Pope and Cardinals, which soon gained them an Audience. Gervais. p. 1419.

(6) He returned to *England*, August 5, and visited *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was at the Point of Death. Brompt. p. 1069. R. Dicto. p. 557. M. Paris. p. 125.

(7) *Gervase* assigns this as the Reason of it, *Richard*, Nephew of *Hervey de Mont-Maurice*, having incurred King *Henry*'s Indignation, could no way be referred to his Favour; whereupon going to his Uncle *Hervey* to *Ireland*, he settles there, and in a little time, becomes master of large Dominions, and even takes *Dublin*: In order therefore to stop his Progress, the *Irish* invite *Henry* over, &c. *Gervase* thinks, another Motive of this Expedition was that *Henry* might the better secure himself against the Pope's Interdict, p. 1420. But see *Gervais Cambrens*.

1171. "serves, no doubt, great Commendations. As a good
 "Catholick Prince, you are very careful to enlarge the
 "Borders of the Church, to spread the knowledge of the
 "Truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to pluck
 "up Vice by the roots in the Field of the Lord: And
 "in order to this you apply to us for Countenance and
 "Direction. We are confident therefore, that by the
 "Blessing of the Almighty, your Undertaking will be
 "crowned with a Success suitable to the noble Motive
 "which sets you upon it. For whatever is taken in
 "hand from a principle of Faith and Religion, never
 "fails to succeed. It is certain, as you yourself acknow-
 "ledge, *Ireland*, as well as all other Islands which have
 "the Happiness to be enlighthened by the Sun of Righte-
 "ousness, and have submitted to the Doctrines of Chri-
 "stianity, are unquestionably *St. Peter's Right*, and be-
 "long to the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Church*. We
 "judge therefore, after maturely considering the Enter-
 "prize you propose to us, that it will be proper to settle
 "in that Island Colonies of the Faithful, who may be
 "well-pleasing to God.

"You have advertised us, most dear Son in Christ, of
 "your Design of an Expedition into *Ireland*, to subject
 "the Island to just Laws, and to root out Vice, which
 "has long flourished there. You promise to pay Us out
 "of every House a yearly Acknowledgment of one
 "Penny, and to maintain the Rights of the Church,
 "without the least Detriment or Diminution. Upon
 "which Promise, giving a ready ear to your Request,
 "we consent and allow that you make a Descent in
 "that Island, to enlarge the Bounds of the Church, to
 "check the Progress of Immorality, to reform the Man-
 "ners of the Natives, and to promote the Growth of
 "Virtue and the Christian Religion. We exhort you
 "to do whatever you think proper to advance the Ho-
 "nour of God and the Salvation of the People, whom
 "we charge to submit to your Jurisdiction, and own you
 "for their Sovereign Lord; provided always that the
 "Rights of the Church are inviolably preserved, and the
 "*Peter-Pence* duly paid. If therefore, you think fit to
 "put your Design in execution, labour above all things
 "to improve the Inhabitants of the Island in Virtue.
 "Use both your own and the Endeavours of such as you
 "shall judge worthy to be employed in this Work, that
 "the Church of God be enriched more and more, that
 "Religion flourish in the Country, and that the things
 "tending to the Honour of God and Salvation of Souls,
 "be in such manner disposed, as may entitle you to an
 "eternal Reward in Heaven, and an immortal Fame
 "upon Earth."

Remarks on
 Henry's Bull.

These are the Foundations of *Henry's Pretensions to Ireland*. In reading the *Bull*, it is hard to know, which of the two acted with the greatest Dissimulation, the King or the Pope. *Henry* alledged false Pretences to cover his Ambition, and *Adrian* pretended to believe him, in order to have the Disposal of a Country which belonged not to him, and the transferring it to a Prince who had no manner of Right to it. But it is easy to discover, through all these Disguises, the Motives which influenced the Pope. *Ireland* had not yet acknowledged the Superiority of the *Roman See* over the whole Christian Church. That was the Immorality which was to be rooted out of the Field of the Lord. Submission to the Bishop of *Rome*, was the Seed that was to be carefully sown and cherished, to the end the *Roman Church* might reap a plentiful Harvest. What else can be meant by spreading the Knowledge of the Truth, where the Christian Religion was so long before embraced? However this be, *Henry* supported with the Pope's Approbation, and authorized by his Exhortations, waited only a favourable opportunity to execute his Design, which was obstructed some Years by *Becket's* Affair. He was no sooner clear of that Incumbrance, but he resumed the same Project, bent upon executing it, the moment he should make a Peace with *France*, with which he was then at War. However, though the War was not yet ended, an opportunity offered, which he failed not to embrace. But before I relate the Success of this Undertaking, it will be necessary to give some Account of that Island, which we shall soon see united to the *English Monarchy*.

Ireland is situated on the West of *Great-Britain*, from which it is parted by an Arm of the Sea, called *St. George's Channel*, in some Places not above three Leagues wide. The Island is in length from South to North, about three hundred, and in breadth from East to West, two hundred Miles. It is certain, in all *Europe* there is not a more

temperate Climate than that of *Ireland*. Excessive Heat 1171.
 and Cold are seldom known there, because the Vapours, rising from the surrounding Sea, generally qualify these two Extremes. The soil is very fertile, especially in the southern Parts. They who say no wheat grows there, mean no doubt, the northern Parts, where the People commonly live upon Oat-Bread. But every where else there is good Wheat, and in Plenty sufficient for the subsistence of the Natives. However the Island abounds most with Pasture-Grounds, and its chiefest Wealth consists in a great Breed of Cattle. The Sea is stocked with such Plenty of Fish, that were the Inhabitants destitute of all other Food, that alone would be sufficient to sustain them. But the most considerable Advantage this Island enjoys, is a commodious Situation for Trade and Commerce, not only with all *Europe*, but other Parts of the World. Add to this the great Number of good Ports which facilitate the Exportation of its Commodities. These Advantages have so raised the Jealousy of the *English*, that ever since their Conquest of the Island, they have had nothing more at heart than the preventing of the *Irish* from extending their Commerce, lest the Trade of *England* should thereby receive too great a Prejudice. It is no wonder, an Island so fertile, so well situated, and so near *England*, should attract the Eyes of *Henry II*, who set no bounds to his Ambition.

If we may believe some *Irish* Historians, the first Inha-
 bitants of this Island are to be traced beyond the Flood. But others less prejudiced in this Point, give the following Account of their Origin. They pretend, that from the third Age of the World, *Ireland* was inhabited with *Scyths*, whose Number, in the fourth (1), were considerably augmented by Colonies of *Spaniards*. These two Nations, in process of time, not only peopled *Ireland*, but the *Hebrides* also, from whence part of them went and settled in *North-Britain*, as was observed in the Introduction.

Several Names have been given this Island, all formed
 from the Word *Erin*, the Name given it by the Natives themselves. Such as *Ierna*, *Juvena*, *Iouernia*, *Ouernia*, *Bernia*, *Hybernia*, which plainly own all the same Origin. The *Britons* styled it in their Language *Iwerdon*. The *Romans*, *Hybernia*, and the *Saxons*, *Iren-land*, that is, the Country of *Iren* or *Erin*. The Etymology of the Word *Erin* is not well known; but *Camden's* Conjecture, who derives it from an *Irish* Word signifying *West*, seems very probable, because in reality *Ireland* is the most western Island of *Europe* (2). *Isidore* and *Bede* call it *Scotia*, with respect to the Inhabitants, who for the most part came from *Scythia*, as was said before, and for that reason were called *Scots*. The same Writers term it also *Scotia Major*, to distinguish it from *North-Britain* inhabited by the same Nation. Others give it the Name of *Britannia Parva*, Ptolem. to distinguish it from *Great-Britain*, pretending that all the Isles in those Parts should be called the *Britannick* Islands. We are still more in the dark with regard to the Origin
 of the *Irish* Tongue, which has nothing, not even its Letters, in common with the Languages of the neighbouring Nations.

Pope *Celestinus I*, was the first that undertook the Con-
 version of the *Irish* to Christianity, by sending *Palladius* to preach the Gospel to them. But being deprived of this their first Bishop by an untimely Death, *Patrick*, Disciple of *St. Germanus*, was sent in his stead, who converted most of the Natives. Their Posterity have all along considered him as their Apostle, and still hold him in great veneration. Shortly after their Conversion, *Ireland* abounded with Monks, who for the most part became so famous for their Sanctity, that they were the occasion of the Island's being termed the Country of Saints. From hence great Numbers of learned and zealous Men came forth, who greatly promoted the Conversion of the *Albin-Scots*, *Picts*, and *Anglo-Saxons*. Such were *Columbanus*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Kilian*, and many others spoken of elsewhere.

Religion and Learning which flourished in *Ireland* (3),
 were expelled thence by foreign Invasions, to which that Island was frequently exposed. A King of *Northumberland* (4) sent a numerous Army thither, which committed great Ravages. Afterwards, the *Norwegians* waited the Country in a terrible manner above thirty Years, under the conduct of one *Turgesius*, who at length was cut off by an Ambuscade. This Devastation was quickly followed by an Invasion of certain People from *Germany*, called by Historians *Eftmanni*, that is, the Men of the East. Shortly after, *Edgar* King of *England* subdued *Ireland*, if a Charter that goes under his Name may be credited, where he makes his Boasts of that Conquest. But how great soever

(1) They have not explained what they mean by the third and fourth Ages of the World. *Rapin*.

(2) *Isidore* derives *Hibernia* from *Ithornia*, a *Phoenician* Word, signifying the farthest Habitation.

(3) *Camden* observes, that the *Saxons* in those Days flattered to *Ireland*, as to the great Mart of Learning; Which is the Reason why we so often find this in our Writers, *Such a one sent his Son over to Ireland to be educated*. Vide *Bede*. l. 3. c. vii. and xxvii.

(4) *Edgar*. See *History of Northumberland*, p. 51.

1171.
Dermot
Dyngent.

Ireland par-
cell'd out into
seven King-
doms.

An. 1066.

The King of
Leinster de-
sires Aid of
Henry.
Girald.
Cambrensis.

Henry pro-
mises him
Aid.

Two English
Lords make
an Alliance
with Der-
mot.

They arrive
in Ireland,
and take
Wexford.

the Desolations were that this Island suffered from the hands of Foreigners, intestine Divisions caused still greater Mischiefs. The *Irish* were hardly freed from the Invasions of the Foreigners, and particularly the *Danes*, who made them, no less than the *English*, feel the effects of their Fury, when a Civil War broke out among them, which ended in the Partition of the Island into several petty States. These Kingdoms, which at first were numerous, and consequently very small, were at length reduced to seven, namely, *Connaught*, *Cork*, *Leinster*, *Offery*, *Meath*, *Limerick*, and *Ulster* (1). The King of *Connaught*, the principal of these petty Sovereigns, kept the rest in a sort of Dependence, with much the same Authority as the *Anglo-Saxon* Monarchs formerly enjoyed during the *Heptarchy*. This is the reason why the *Irish Annals* give *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, who reigned in the Time of *Henry II.*, the Title of Monarch, tho' there were more Kings besides him in the Island. Such was the State and Condition of *Ireland*, when the *English* undertook the Conquest of it (2). A Difference between two of these Kings, the weakest of whom invited the *English* to his assistance, was the occasion of the *Irish* losing their Liberty. This was not the first time, the like Cause had produced the like Effect. An imprudence of the same nature furnished the *Moors* with an opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the *Anglo-Saxons* of subduing *Britain*. Hence it appears how dangerous it is to invite Foreigners into a Kingdom, who cannot be afterwards expelled with the same ease.

Among the Sovereigns then reigning in *Ireland*, *Dermot* King of *Leinster* was one of the most considerable, by the Extent of his Dominions. From this Prince's accession to the Throne, he had acted so arbitrarily, that he was grown extremely odious to his Subjects. But he made flight of his People's Hatred, being at Peace with his Neighbours, who concerned not themselves with what passed in that Kingdom. However, he afterwards gave them occasion himself, by [debauching and] carrying away the Wife of *O-Roric* King of *Meath*. *O-Roric*, to revenge the Affront, levied an Army, and with the help of *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, attacked *Dermot*, who, finding himself abandoned by his Subjects, was forced to leave *Ireland*, for fear of falling into the hands of his Enemy. As he had no refuge in the Island, where the rest of the Kings refused to engage in his Quarrel, he went and implored the Protection of the King of *England*, who was then in *France*. Having informed him of his Case, he promised to become his Vassal, if by his Aid he was restored to his Throne. Nothing could be more grateful than this Proposal, to a Prince who had been long meditating the Conquest of *Ireland*, and wanted only an opportunity to interpose in the Affairs of that Island. Mean while, as his War then with *France* permitted him not immediately to assist the fugitive King, he contented himself with promising, as soon as the War was over, to aid him to the utmost of his power. Nevertheless, he thought it his Interest to persuade *Dermot* to begin a War, from whence he hoped himself to reap great Advantage. To that end, he advised him to go into *England*, and endeavour to obtain what Assistance he could from some *English* Barons, in expectation of greater Forces. *Dermot* followed his Advice, and relying on *Henry's* Word, came into *England*, where *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Richard Strong-bow* (3) Earl of *Pembroke* agreed with him upon certain Conditions. The former was prevailed with in hopes of making a considerable Fortune in *Ireland*. The latter, who had large Possessions in *England* and *Wales*, was gained by *Dermot's* Promise, to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, and settle the Succession upon him.

These two Lords having drawn together some Troops among their Friends and Vassals, *Fitz-Stephen*, who was first ready, accompanied *Dermot* into *Ireland*, with four hundred Men (4). Being landed near *Waterford*, the King of *Leinster* led them before the City of *Wexford*, not far from thence. The City being presently taken, was given to *Fitz-Stephen*, who settled there a Colony of *English* (5). After this Exploit, the Adventurers re-in-

forcing their little Army to the Number of three thousand Men by the Junction of the Natives (6), marched against the King of *Offery*. This Prince, who did not expect to be attacked, being unprepared for his Defence, was forced to submit to what Terms the Conquerors were pleased to impose.

Mean time, *Roderic* the Monarch had convened the States of the Island, and caused them to resolve upon a War with *Dermot* and the *English*. Indeed, it was easy to perceive, their Designs were not confined to the Assistance of the King of *Leinster*. But as the Adventurers were now grown very formidable, he was willing, before he ran any hazard, to try by way of Negotiation, to get them out of the Island. He addressed himself first to *Fitz-Stephen*, and offered him a considerable Sum to retire. His Offer being rejected, he turned to *Dermot*, and endeavoured to persuade him to send away the *English*, by promising to restore him to his Kingdom. *Dermot* immediately closed with this Proposal; but when they came to perform their Covenants, mistrusting each other, they could agree neither upon the Time nor the Manner. Whilst they were employed in devising Expedients for their mutual Security, the Earl of *Pembroke* arrived from *England* with twelve hundred Men. His first Expedition was the taking of *Waterford*, and putting the Inhabitants all to the sword. This Conquest breaking off the Negotiation, the Earl of *Pembroke* married *Dermot's* Daughter, and quickly after took possession of the Kingdom of *Leinster*, fallen to him by the Death of his Father-in-law. The *Irish* gave that Prince the Sirname of *Ningal*, that is, *The Stranger's Friend*.

After the Death of *Dermot*, the Adventurers prepared to carry on their Conquests. As they saw, the Terror of their Arms was spread over *Ireland*, they improved the opportunity, and advancing farther, became masters of *Dublin*, and some other Places. *Roderic* and the rest of the Kings were in such Confusion, that they very faintly opposed the Progress of the Foreigners. It is almost incredible, that the *Irish*, who were exceeding numerous, should suffer themselves to be thus over-run by a handful of *Englishmen*. The reason is imputed to their great Dread of the *English* Cross-bows, the use of which, 'till then, was unknown to them.

Upon News of this extraordinary Success, *Henry* grew jealous of the Adventurers. He was in hopes they would have wanted his Assistance, and thereby given him a Pretence to pass into *Ireland* himself, and subdue the Island. But finding, the faint Resistance of the *Irish* rendered his Aid needless, he was afraid, the Conquerors would become masters of the whole Country, which he designed for himself. In this belief, he thought it necessary to oblige them to apply to him. To this end, he forbids the exporting Provisions or Ammunition to *Ireland*, and commands all his Subjects to return from thence. These Orders, which were issued on pretence the Adventurers had engaged in their Undertaking without his leave, succeeded to his expectation. As soon as the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Fitz-Stephen* were informed of the King's Edict, they sent Deputies to assure him of their Obedience, and tell him, all their present and future Conquests were at his Command. This Submission easily appeased the King, who had no farther thoughts of recalling them. Some time after, he made an agreement with them, that he should have all the Sea-ports, and the rest remain in the Conquerors, to hold of him and his Successors. Matters being thus settled, *Henry* went over himself into *Ireland* with a formidable Army (7), and landed at *Waterford*. The *Irish*, who before could not withstand a few private Persons, and consequently saw themselves unable to resist so great Forces, chose a voluntary Submission. During *Henry's* stay at *Waterford*, he saw all the Kings of the Island arrive at his Court, and with emulation strive who should first swear Allegiance.

Thus *Henry*, without spilling one drop of Blood, became master of *Ireland* in less time than was sufficient to travel over it. After he had placed fresh Garrisons in *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and some other maritime Towns,

(1) These seven Kingdoms were reduced to four large Provinces, into which the Island is at present divided, *Ulster*, *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*. *Rapin*. To which formerly was added *Meath*, now reckoned part of *Leinster*. These four Provinces are divided into thirty-two Counties or Shires, 127 Archbishops sees, and eighteen Bishopricks.

(2) Their Rendezvous was at *Pembroke*. *Gervais*, p. 1419. *Hozenden*, p. 527.

(3) *Richard de Clare*, surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earl of *Strigul*, or *Strigul*, (a Castle in *Minmouthshire*) and of *Pembroke*. See Camden. They were also joined by *Miles de Cogeban*. *Hozden*, p. 512.

(4) About four hundred and ninety, according to *Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 761.

(5) These were the first *English* settled in *Ireland*, where they have continued ever since, retaining still our ancient Garb, and much of our old Language, with a mixture of *Irish*. Camden has given us a List of such as went into *Ireland* with *Dermot*. Who (besides *Richard Strong-bow*, *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, *Miles de Cogban*, already mentioned) were, *Maurice de Prendergast*, *Hervey de Mont-Majib*, *Robert Barr*, *Meiler Meilerone*, *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, *Redmund*, *William Ferrand*, *Richard de Cogban*, *Gualter de Ridensford*, *Gualter and Alexander*, Sons of *Maurice Gerald*, *William Nore*, *Robert Fitz-Bernard*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *William Fitz-Aldelm*, *William Macavell*, *Humphrey Babur*, *Hugh de Gundewill*, *Philip de Hasting*, *Hugh Tordil*, *David Walsh*, *Robert Per*, *Offone de Harklar*, *William de Bendenges*, *Adam de Gervais*, *Philip de Bress*, *Griffin*, Nephew of *Stephen*, *Ralph Fitz-Stephen*, *Walter Bar*, *Philip Walsh*, *Adam de Hoveford*, *John de Carey*, *Hugh Cantillon*, *Redmund Gualmore*, *Redmund Fitz-Hugh*, *Miles of St. David's*, &c. Camden in *Ireland*.

(6) The Army was strengthened by the Arrival (in the same Place) of *Maurice de Prendergast*, with some Soldiers and Archers in two Shps. It does not appear they were joined by the Natives.

(7) He went over from *Pembroke* with four hundred Sail, and landed in *Ireland*, Oct. 18. *Gervais*, p. 1419. *R. Diceto*, p. 558. *Brompt.* p. 1070.

1171.
The King of
the North of
Ireland.

The King of
the North of
Ireland.

The Earl of
Pembroke
arrives.

Dermot dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by the
Earl.

The English
take Dublin.

The King of
the North of
Ireland.

Henry's
jealousy of the
Adventurers.

He calls
them home.

They treat
with him.

1172.
Henry goes
to Ireland.
Clarendon.
Camden.

The noble
Ireland sub-
mits.
R. Diceto.

Henry comes
to Dublin.
He receives
a submission
to England.
Brompton.

1172. pursuant to his Agreement with the Adventurers, he came to *Dublin*, where he made some Regulations for the Government of his new Conquest (1). Shortly after, he set out for *England* (2), leaving at *Dublin*, *Hugh Lacy*, to govern the Island in his Name, with the Title of *Justiciary of Ireland* (3).

If they who are acquainted with the Largeness and Importance of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, are surprized at the Ease wherewith the *English* subdued it, they will have no less reason to wonder, when they see, in the course of this History, how troublesome it was to keep it. There are who, considering the Blood and Treasure that were spent to maintain the *English* in their Conquests, scruple not to say, it would have been better for them, the Island had been in the bottom of the Sea. It is certain, their keeping it to this Day, is not so much for the Profit they receive from thence, as to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign Power. For, it cannot become subject to a new Master, without great Detriment to the Commerce of *England*.

Henry had not time to stay any longer in *Ireland*. He was in haste to go to *Normandy*, to meet the Pope's Legates (4), sent to examine into *Becket's* Murder. Four whole Months were spent in this matter. Though the Legates had Orders to give the King Absolution, they took from all hands Depositions, to try to prove him guilty, in order to enhance the Favor he was going to receive from his Holiness. In short, after many Difficulties and Delays, he was permitted to clear himself by a solemn Oath, that he neither commanded, nor consented to, *Becket's* Assassination. He publicly declared, He was extremely sorry for being the occasion, by the words he had imprudently dropped, and was ready to undergo what Penance the Legates should enjoin. Upon this Oath and Declaration, he was absolved from his pretended Crime (5), on Terms denoting the Pope's Favour more than his Innocence. To obtain this Absolution, he bound himself, I. Never to oppose the Pope's Will, so long as he was used as a Catholic Prince. II. Not to hinder Appeals to the Holy See. III. To lead an Army to the *Holy-Land* against the Infidels, and remain there at least three Years successively. However, he was at liberty to send thither only two hundred Men (6), in case he chose rather to go in Person against the *Saracens* in *Spain*. IV. To recall all that were banished on account of the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to restore to them their Estates and Revenues. V. Lastly, To abolish all Laws and Customs lately introduced to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or any other Church in *England*. To these which were made publick, was added a secret Article, whereby the King obliged himself to go barefoot to *Becket's* Tomb, and receive Discipline from the hands of the Monks of *St. Augustin*. Thus ended this Affair, which, notwithstanding *Henry's* Steadiness in the beginning, turned at length to the Pope's Advantage, and carried his Power and Authority to a greater height than ever. Indeed, this Instance was exceeding proper to strike Terror into all the Sovereigns, being an evident Demonstration, how dangerous it was to contradict the Pleasure of the Court of *Rome*. How just Cause had they to fear so formidable a Power, which had treated with such Indignity one of the most potent Princes in *Europe* (7)?

1173. In the beginning of the Year 1173, *Roger Abbot of Beek* in *Normandy*, was chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the See had been vacant a little above a Twelve-month (8).

Henry imagined, after mastering so many Difficulties, he should pass the residue of his Days in Peace, amidst the Grandeur and Glory he was encircled with. But he quickly found, there were other Vexations, besides those in *Becket's* Affair, capable of disturbing his Felicity. During his Absence, a Conspiracy was formed against him, so much the more dangerous, as his Queen, and his own Sons were the Authors. Besides, it was countenanced by some of the principal Barons of the Realm (9), and several foreign Princes. Queen *Eleanor* was moved to it by her extreme Jealousy, of which the King had given her but too just Cause. Among his many Mistresses, fair *Rosamund*, Daughter of the Lord *Clifford*, having the greatest Ascendant over him, became the principal Object of the Queen's Jealousy, who could not forbear threatening her. *Henry* fancied he had secured her from all Attempts, by keeping her in a *Labyrinth* built on purpose at *Woodstock*. But his great Care proved all in vain. Whilst he was in *Normandy*, the Queen taking advantage of his absence, found means to dispatch out of the way this hated Rival that created her so much Uneasiness (10). After this deed, despairing of ever regaining the King's Affection, she pursued her Revenge, and encouraged her Sons to revolt. *Henry*, his eldest Son, a young Prince of an exceeding haughty Temper, was weary of bearing the Title of King without the Authority. *Richard*, naturally turbulent and restless, was tired with being under the Discipline of the King, who indeed had made him Earl of *Poictou*, but suffered him not to enjoy that Favor. *Geoffrey* had still more Cause to complain than his Brothers. He saw himself deprived of the Government of *Bretagne*, under the specious Pretence of a Guardianship, for which he thought he had no longer occasion. It was not difficult for these young Princes, to draw into the Conspiracy several *English* Barons, who hoped to enjoy more Credit and Authority under young *Henry*, than under his Father. The King of *France*, ever jealous of *Henry's* flourishing Condition, very readily engaged in the Project of dethroning him. He was not satisfied with assisting the Princes himself, but caused the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blais* his Vassals, (the last of whom was his Brother-in-law) to enter into the League. *William* King of *Scotland* was prevailed with also, to be concerned in an Undertaking which might procure him an opportunity of recovering the Dominions, resigned by his Brother *Malcolm* to *England*. This Confederacy broke out on a sudden when *Henry* least expected it. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Bretagne*, were attacked all at once by the Arms of the Confederates. The King of *Scotland* invaded *Cumberland*, and *England* was divided into two Parties, one for the young King and the other for his Father. But before I descend to particulars, it will be necessary to see first what measures were taken by *Henry's* Enemies to surprize him.

After the Conquest of *Ireland*, *Henry* intending to go to *Normandy*, passed through *England* to take the King his Son along with him (11), being entirely ignorant of the Plots formed in his Absence. Upon his arrival at *Roan*, he received a Letter from the King of *France*, expressing an earnest Desire to see his Daughter and Son-in-law, and entreating him to let them come and spend a few Days at *Paris*. The young Prince, having leave, forthwith repaired to the King his Father-in-law, with whom he took measures that the Confederates might all act at the same time. Mean while, as he deferred his return under divers pretences, *Henry* grew uneasy. Perhaps he had received

(1) And there, without the City, had a Palace built of Wattle, according to the Fashion of that Country, where he kept his Court 'till the beginning of February. *Brompt.* p. 1079.

(2) And landed at *Milvern*, near *Pembroke*. *Girald.* *Cambr.* p. 778.

(3) In 1171, *Richard* King of *Cornwall*, sent Commissioners to King *Henry*, who concluded with him a Treaty on *Oct* ber 6, at *Windsor*; which see in *Rym.* Tom. I. p. 41. *Brompt.* p. 1106, 1107. *Hoved.* p. 546, &c. — In 1176, died *Richard* Earl of *Strigoul* and *Pembroke*, Justiciary of *Ireland*, and was succeeded by *William Fitz-Aldin*. *Hoved.* p. 553. — In 1177, King *Henry*, at a Parliament at *Oxford*, divided part of *Ireland* amongst several of his great Men. To *Hugh de Lacy*, he gave the whole County of *Meath*, with all its Appurtenances, to hold of him and his Son *John*, for the Service of an hundred Knights. He made him also Governor of *Dublin*, with its Appurtenances. On *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Miles de Cogan*, he bestowed the Kingdom of *Connaught*, to hold likewise of him and his Son *John*, for the Service of sixty Knights: Except the City of *Cork*, and one *Canter*, which the King retained in his hands. To *William Fitz-Herbert*, *William* Earl *Reginald's* Brother, and *Jehan de la Pomerai* their Nephew, he gave the Kingdom of *Limerick*, for the same Service, and by the same Tenure as the last; *Limerick*, and one *Canter* likewise excepted. *William Fitz-Aldin* his Sewer, he constituted Guardian, or Governor of *Wexford*, with its Appurtenances; and *Robert de Peir*, his Marshal, of *Wintonsford*, &c. *Hoved.* p. 567.

(4) *Tedmund* and *Adornatus*. *Gervas.* p. 1421. King *Henry* went to *Normandy* about the Attention, and embarked at *Portsmouth*. *Gervas.* *ibid.* *Brompt.* p. 1130.

(5) September 26. *Gervas.* p. 1422.

(6) He was to give the *Templars* as much Money as should be thought reasonable to maintain two hundred Soldiers for one Year. *Rapin*, by mistake, says, three hundred.

(7) The King of *France* in the mean while taking it ill, and being very troublesome, because his Daughter had not been crowned with her Husband Prince *Henry*; *Robert* Archbishop of *Roan*, *Giles* Bishop of *Evreux*, and *Roger* Bishop of *Windsor*, were sent to *England* to perform that Ceremony: They landed at *Sussex* about *August* 24, and the Prince and Princess were crowned on the Sunday following at *Windsor*. *Gervas.* p. 1421, 1422. *Brompt.* p. 1080.

(8) But he is mistaken to report that *Richard*, Prior of *Dover*, was chosen in his room. *Gervas.* p. 1423, 1429.

(9) *Ralph* was the Queen's Uncle, and *Hugh de Semtrem*. *M. Paris.* p. 126.

(10) *Tyrol* observes, that our Historians are wholly silent as to the Queen's getting at *Rosamund*; so that the Story of her making her drink Poison, has no better Foundation than the old Ballad made upon it. It is certain, she did not live long, though the Time of her Death is not mentioned. But after all, unless *Becket's* Authority is of less weight than that of the old Ballad, it is certain that *Rosamund* did not die in 1173, and that she was not poisoned by Queen *Eleanor*. For *Brompton* expressly says, That, after King *Henry* had imprisoned his Queen *Eleanor*, he became an Adulterer, and kept publicly, for a long while, *Rosamund*. p. 1151. She was buried in the Church belonging to *Guilford* Nunnery, near *Oxford*, where her Epitaph, which *Brompton* gives us, was to be seen in his Time; and is as follows:

Hic jacet in tumba, Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda;
Non rosula, sed olet, quæ redolere solet. p. 1151.

This Tomb doth here enshrine, The World's most beautiful Rose;
Rose, passing sweet to smell, Now no more but Odour gives Speed.

There are no remains of the *Labyrinth* at this Day; but her Monument has been lately repaired and beautified.

(11) He sent for him over about *All-Saints*. King *Henry* himself had been some time in *Normandy*. *Brompt.* p. 1082. *Hoved.* p. 581.

1173. some dark hints of what was contriving; or was apprehensive that by too long conversing with *Lewis*, ill impressions might be made upon the young Prince. Be this as it will, he sent for him, and the young King durst not disobey, for fear of giving him a suspicion of the Conspiracy, which it concerned him to keep secret. As soon as he came back, the King, with his Son, set out for *Montferrand*, a small Town in *Auvergne*, where he was to hold a Conference with *Hubert Earl of Maurienna*, *Alphonfus Earl of Arragon and Barcelona*, *Girard Earl of Vienna*, and *Raymond Earl of Tholouse* (1). What Business he had with these Princes, except the Earl of *Maurienna*, I know not. He was to treat with this last about a Marriage between *John* his fourth Son, and *Alice*, Daughter of that Earl. This Affair was begun at *Montferrand*, but as it could not be ended there, *Hubert* accompanied the King to *Limoges*, where he pressed him to declare what he would do for the Prince his Son, on account of the Marriage. *Henry* offered to settle on *John* the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, which the young King, who was present, opposed to the utmost of his power. He alledged, it was very strange, the King should assign an Appennage to his youngest Son, whilst he refused the same during his Life, to the eldest, who bore the Title of King without having wherewithal to support the Dignity. This Opposition created a great Coldness between the Father and Son, which was farther encreased by the young King's demanding *Normandy* of his Father (2), till he should come to the Crown of *England*. His aim in this Demand was only, to find a Pretence to complain in order to open the Scene concerted with the King of *France*.

Henry began from that time to suspect what his Son had in his mind (3). As he did not question but he had suffered himself to be corrupted by the King of *France*, he caused him to be so narrowly watched, that it was easy to see he was afraid of his getting away. On the other hand, the young Prince, dreading the Consequences if the King came to discover his Designs, resolved to prevent the Danger. What Care soever the Father might take, he could not hinder his Son from privately withdrawing from Court, and posting to the King of *France* (4). This entirely confirmed the old King in his Suspicions. But, he was still ignorant what his Son's Design might be. As soon as the Queen, who resided at *London*, had intelligence of the King her Son's Arrival at *Paris*, she sent thither likewise *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, before *Henry* had time to give Orders about them. Thus the old King saw himself forsaken on a sudden by his own Family, without knowing yet what all these Proceedings would tend to. His Wrath, which he could not then vent upon his Sons, fell upon the Queen, whom he caused to be closely confined; but reaped no other Benefit from thence, but the Pleasure of being revenged (5). Quickly after, the confederate Princes attacking him in several Places, he stood in need of all his Resolution to bear so many Vexations, and of all his Prudence, to oppose so many Enemies. *Richard* repaired to *Guienne*, where he caused the greatest part of the Country to rebel. *Geoffrey* raising an Insurrection in *Bretagne*, put himself at the head of it, with design to wrest from the King his Father the Government of that Dukedom. *Normandy* was attacked by the King of *France*, assisted by the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blois*. The King of *Scotland* made an Irruption into the northern parts of *England* (6). The Earl of *Leicester* (7) landed at *Southampton* (8) an Army levied in *France*, in expectation of a general Revolt of the *English* against the King. Thus *Henry* saw, in all Parts of his Dominions, hostile Armies, against whom he was wholly unprepared.

Mean while young *Henry*, who continued at *Paris*, acted as if he had been sole King of *England*. He received the Homage of the Vassals; made Grants and Donations of the Crown-Lands (9); assigned Penions out of the publick Revenues, and had his Seal apart (10), as if the King his Father had no more Right to intermeddle in the Government of his Kingdom. He would not keep so much as a single Person about him that did not swear Fealty to him, independent of that due to the old King. The young Prince thought he had taken such sure measures, that he looked upon the King his Father's Ruin as infallible. The King of *France*, willing to cherish this Belief, affected continually to throw out satirical Jestts against old *Henry*, and would hardly bear he should be called King in his presence. The truth is, the Ruin of that Monarch seemed to be at hand, since he had so many Enemies to deal with at once. But if he had shown some want of Resolution in his Quarrel with the Pope, it was otherwise on this occasion. Never did his Virtues shine with more lustre, than when he saw himself forced as it were to yield to his ill-fortune, and reduced to extremity. Animated with fresh Courage at the sight of the impending Danger, he managed his Affairs with so much Firmness, Prudence, and Forecast, that in spite of the Obstacles which started up incessantly, and from all Quarters, he obtained in the end a glorious Advantage over all his Enemies. The King of *France* was obliged to abandon *Vernuil* (11), which cost him a long Siege (12). An Army of *Brabant*, sent by *Henry* into *Bretagne* (13), vanquished the Rebels, upon which they returned to their duty. The Earl of *Leicester* was defeated in *England*, and taken Prisoner by *Humphrey Bohun* (14) General of the *English* Army, who took the opportunity of a Truce made with the King of *Scotland*, to give the Earl Battle (15). As soon as the Truce was expired, *William* renewed his Ravages in *Northumberland*. But whilst he was intent upon the Plunder, he unfortunately, or rather imprudently, suffered himself to be surprized by the *English* General, who routed his Army, and took him Prisoner (16). The Scots pretend this was during the Truce; but the *English* affirm, it was after the expiration. However it be, the King being fallen into the hands of the *English*, was carried first to *Richmond Castle*, and from thence conveyed into *Normandy* (17). Whilst the Arms of *Henry* were thus crowned with Success in *England*, he was employed in subduing the revolted Cities and Provinces. Though he could not be every where, he ordered it so, that in a few months, either by himself or by his Generals, he became master of the principal Places in *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Bretagne*. These Successes quite broke the measures of his Enemies, and intirely dissipated the Fears he was justly seized with in the beginning of the War (18).

Mean time, the King his Son, perceiving him embarrassed in *France*, took that opportunity of raising an Army of *Frenchmen* and *Flemings*. As soon as the Troops were ready for Action, he put himself at their head, and marched towards *Graveling*, where he designed to embark. His Project was to pass into *England*, and join the King of *Scotland* and Earl of *Leicester*, who were not yet defeated. Could he have crossed the Sea at that Juncture, he would have undoubtedly have been master of *England*. But the Wind remained so long contrary, that he could not execute this Project. Whilst he was waiting in vain for a favorable Gale, the King his Father had time to restore his Affairs in *France*; after which he embarked at *Barfleur*, and safely arrived in *England*. From *Southampton*, where he landed (16), he proceeded directly to *Canterbury*, to do Penance at *Becket's Tomb*, to which he had

- (1) *Raymond*, Earl of *Tholouse* and *St. Giles*, did Homage to King *Henry*, and his Sons *Henry* and *Richard*, for the Earldom of *Tholouse*, upon Terms which you have in *Brompton* p. 1082. *Diceto* p. 561. *Hoved.* p. 537.
 (2) *Brompton* says, the King of *France* advised him to demand, either all *England*, or all *Normandy*, which he accordingly did; or else *Aquitain*, at least; *Brompton* p. 1082, 1083. *Gervas.* p. 1424. *Hoved.* p. 537.
 (3) They both came back to *Chinon* together, about the middle of *Sept.* *Brompton* p. 1083.
 (4) He went first to *Paris*, and the next Day to *Argentan*. King *Henry* his Father sent to the Court of *France* to demand him, but received a very rough Answer. In the mean time he fortified his Castles upon the Frontiers, and provided them with all Necessaries. *Brompton* p. 1083.
 (5) He sent first a Legate from *Rome*, in order to be divorced from her. *Gervas.* p. 1433.
 (6) Because King *Henry* refused to grant him what his Predecessors had enjoyed in *England*. *Diceto* p. 573. *M. Paris.* p. 128.
 (7) The rest of the Conspirators in *England*, were, *Robert Earl of Ferrers*, *Hugh Earl of Norfolk*, *Peter Earl of Chester*, *John de Mareschall*, *Thomas de Malscamp*, *Robert de Land*, *Richard de Moreill*, *Geoffrey Paynell*, &c. who held out some Castles against him. *Brompton* p. 1083. The Earl of *Leicester* was joined by *Hugh Bigod*; they took *Norwich*, burnt *Wigornab Castle*, &c. but the Earl going to *Leicester* was defeated. *Diceto* p. 573.
 (8) At *Walton* in *Suffolk*, September 28. says *Diceto* p. 574.
 (9) To *William* King of *Scotland* he granted all *Northumberland*, as far as the *Tine*; to his Brother the Earl of *Huntington* and *Cambridge*; to *Hugh Bigod* the Castle of *Norwich*; to *Philip Earl of Flanders*, a thousand Pounds a Year in *England*, and all *East*, with the Castle of *Dorchester*; to *Matthew Earl of Boulogne*, the *Shire of Kirkstun* in *Lincolnshire*, with the Earldom of *Mortagne*, and Honour of *Hate*; to *Theobald Earl of Bar*, two hundred Pounds in *Anjou*, and the Castle of *Ambray*. *Hoved.* p. 533, 534.
 (10) *Richard de Barre* brought the Seal to King *Henry* the Father, upon which *Henry* his Son had a new one made. *Brompton* p. 1084.
 (11) The *English* were preparing to engage the *French* Army, but *Lewis* set *Vernuil* on fire, and cowardly ran away. The *English* General were *William de Albini* Earl of *Arundel*, and *William Earl of Mandeville*. And the commanding Officers in *Vernuil*, were, *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp*. *Brompton* p. 1086. *Hoved.* p. 534.
 (12) Of a Month. *Hoved.* p. 534.
 (13) Above ten thousand. *Brompton* p. 1086. The Earl of *Chester*, *Ralph Lord of Fougères*, *Ralph de Fais*, &c. were then taken Prisoners. *R. Diceto* p. 574. The *Bretons* were defeated, *Aug.* 19. *Brompton* p. 1087.
 (14) The High Constable, and *Richard de Luci*. *Brompton* p. 1089.
 (15) This Battle was fought towards the end of September, at *Furnham*, near *St. Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*: Above ten thousand *Flemings* were slain. *Brompton* *Hoved.* p. 526.
 (16) At *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, July 13. 1174. *Brompton* p. 1092.
 (17) And imprisoned at *Falaise*, with the Earl of *Leicester*. *Brompton* p. 1090, 1096.
 (18) *Philip Earl of Flanders* had sworn on the Gospels, that he would, within a Fortnight after *Misummer*, subdue *England* for *Henry* the Son; and accordingly sent over three hundred and eighteen choice Men, who besieged *Norwich*. *Diceto* p. 575.
 (19) The Historians vary much about the Day, *Diceto* says, it was June 6. p. 576. *Hoved.* July 3, and *Brompton*, July 12. p. 1095.

1173. obliged himself upon receiving Absolution. When he came in sight of the Town, he alighted, though he was yet three Miles distant, and pulling off his Boots, walked bare-foot in extreme Pain, to the sacred Tomb (1). There, after resting a while, he submitted to the shameful Penance enjoined him. He was scourged by the hands of the Prior and Monks of St. *Augustine's* (2), and spent the Night in Prayer in the Cathedral, lying on the cold Pavement. On the morrow, after assisting at a solemn Procession round the Tomb, he departed for *London* (3). Care was taken, in order to magnify this new Saint's Credit in the Celestial Court, to remark, that *Henry* was indebted for the Victory obtained by his Arms over the King of *Scotland*, to the Intercession of the blessed St. *Thomas* (4). It was further affirmed, the King himself was so persuaded of it, that he publicly returned him Thanks, thereby acknowledging he did not in the least question his Sanctity.

He is scourged by the Monks.

Diecto. Hoved. Walt. de Heming. Gervais.

He reduces all the Rebels in England. Brompt. Diecto. Hoved. M. Paris.

Lewis besieges Roan. Brompt. Gervais. Hoved.

Henry forces him to raise the Siege. Diecto.

Hoved.

Henry's prosperous State.

1174. *Scotland* disheartened by the Imprisonment of her King, *Ireland* continued in Obedience. The *Welsh* remained quiet within their own Bounds. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the other Provinces beyond Sea, were intirely reduced, except a few Castles in *Poitou* still in possession of Prince *Richard*. No wonder therefore *Lewis*, now above sixty Years of Age, despaired of accomplishing what he had projected in the beginning of the War. He found, the Confederacy, which he thought capable of pulling down *Henry*, had rather fixed him more firmly in his Throne. On the other hand, he was apprehensive in case he died during the War, *Philip* his Son, who was but ten Years of Age, would be too much incumbered to maintain it. These Considerations inspired him with a desire to make Peace. *Henry* was of the same mind. He ardently wished to deprive his Sons of their only Refuge, the Protection of *France*. *Richard* his second Son, a Prince of a fierce and restless Temper, was the only Person that opposed the wished for Peace. But neither his Brothers, nor the King of *France*, thought proper to continue the War for his sake. They consented therefore to a Truce, during which they obliged themselves to give him no Assistance. *Henry* his Father improved this Juncture to reduce his obstinate Son to obedience; who at last, seeing himself destitute of Support, came and threw himself at his Feet, humbly imploring his Pardon. He met with a better Re-

Richard in vain opposes the making Peace. Hoveden. Gervais. A Truce between the two Kings. Diecto. Hoved.

ception than he expected, and attended his Father to the Place, chosen by the two Monarchs to treat in Person of the Terms of Peace. As they both stood affected, it was not difficult to settle the Articles. *Henry* granted a general Pardon to all the Revolters, without any exception. The young King, his eldest Son, promised to be obedient for the future, and to let Prince *John* his Brother enjoy the Appennage granted him. *Geoffrey* and *Richard* were, or pretended to be, satisfied with what the King their Father allotted them. In fine, the King of *France* promised to surrender to *Henry*, what Castles he had taken in the beginning of the War (10). To strengthen the Reconciliation between the two Kings, a Marriage was resolved upon between *Richard* and *Alice*, Daughter of *Leois*. The Princess, who was very young, was delivered to *Henry* the Father, to be educated in *England* till she was marriageable. But he abused this Trust, as will be seen in the Sequel (11).

1174.

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It was further agreed by this Treaty, that all the Prisoners on both Sides should be released (12). But in order to exclude the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* inserted a Clause, importing that those whose Ransoms were already treated of, were not to have the Benefit of this Article. *William* was of this number, and perhaps the only One among all the Prisoners. His Impatience to be at Liberty caused him to submit to very hard Terms. He was to make Restitution of all he had taken from *England*, and do Homage for his Kingdom to that Crown. Upon his swearing to perform these Engagements, he was released. As soon as *Henry* had settled all his Affairs in *France* (13), he repaired to *York* (14), attended by the King his Son, and a numerous Train of Nobility (15). Here in the presence of the Barons of both Realms, *William* did Homage to the two Kings of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland* in general, and for the County of *Galloway* in particular. This Homage was confirmed by the solemn Oaths of the Barons of *Scotland*, that in case their King should recede from what he had done, they would withdraw their Obedience, and consent, the Kingdom of *Scotland* should be put under an Interdict. But as *Henry* did not altogether rely on these Engagements, *William*, for his further Security, put into his hands the Castles of *Roxborough*, *Berwick*, *Sterling*, and *Edinburgh* (16). This Affair being ended, the young King went back to *France*, where he remained three Years, laying out his time in improving in all the Exercises of the Body and Mind proper for a Prince.

The King of Scotland is released upon hard Terms. Act. Pub. T. 1 p. 39. Diecto. Pol. Vug. Brompt. Hoved.

He does Homage to both the Henry's for Scotland. Hoved. Brompt.

He delivers up several Castles.

Henry the Son goes to France. M. Paris. p. 136.

Peace being restored to *England*, where it had long been a Stranger, *Henry* (17) took this opportunity to enact new Laws (18), and revive others that were neglected. Generally the Laws which are for the Advantage of the Sovereigns are very strictly observed, because they themselves see it done; but they are too frequently apt to neglect those that are beneficial to the People. By this means they continually enlarge their Authority. But then it is often the cause of Rebellions, which sometimes are more prejudicial to Kings, than the Laws they neglect or evade. *Henry* lately experienced, in a sensible manner, how dangerous it is to deal with a discontented Nation. Moreover, his three Sons, who had improved this disposition, were still alive and well, and in appearance, not much altered by his late Peace with them. He thought therefore in order to prevent them from engaging in a fresh Rebellion, it was his Interest to gain the People's Affection by reviving the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. As these Laws were very advantageous for the Subject, in comparison of those of the *Norman* Kings, which tended solely to the augmenting the Revenues of the Prince, and stretching the Royal Prerogative, both Nobles and People passionately longed for their Re-establishment. They had

1175. Henry confirms the Laws of St. Edward. M. Paris. Brompt. p. 1108.

(1) He and his Son went again in Pilgrimage to it in 1175. June 10. R. Diecto. p. 577. Brompt. p. 1102.

(2) Receiving from each three or five Lashes. Diecto. p. 577. M. Paris. p. 130.

(3) And gave forty Pounds a Year, for finding perpetual Lights round *Becket's* Tomb. Diecto. p. 577.

(4) It happened, that very Day the King left *Canterbury*, being the 13th of July, the King's ship, which the Monks imputed to the Murder of *Becket*. And the same Day also, his Son *Henry's* Ships, wherewith he intended to pass into *England*, were dispersed by a Storm. R. Diecto. p. 577.

(5) These were *Huntington*, *Framlingham*, *Bungrey*, *Northampton*, *Alveston*, *Greby*, *Mannjell*, *Thesk*, *Tutbury*, *Driffield*. Brompt. p. 1095, 1096. Diecto. p. 577, 578. Hoved.

(6) *Henry* paid the King a thousand Marks, and was pardoned; as were also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers*, *Roger* de *Moubray*, *William* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, &c. Diecto. p. 578.

(7) At *Exeter*, and landed at *Barfleur*, August 6. He came to *Roan* the 10th. Brompt. p. 1095. Diecto. p. 578.

(8) About the middle of August. Gervais, p. 142.

(9) Which was concluded between *Tours* and *Ambuse*, October 11. Diecto. p. 578. About this time *Adolphus* de *Warneville*, Sacrist of *Roan*, and Treasurer of *York*, was made High Chancellor of *England*. Diecto. p. 567.

(10) See the Terms of this Peace at length in Diecto, p. 582. Hoved. p. 540, 541.

(11) In 1177, a Legate came from *Rome*, to lay *England* under an Interdict, unless King *Henry* would let them marry: Upon which they came to Terms of Agreement. Gervais, p. 1442.

(12) King *Henry* the Father, let nine hundred and sixty nine at Liberty, without ransom; but the Son made all his Prisoners pay. Diecto. p. 583.

(13) King *Henry* having kept his Court, during *Christmas* at *Argentan*, went into *Asia*; and February 24. had a Conference with *Leois* at *Gisors*; from whence *Henry* going into *Arjuz*, fortified his Castles, leaving his Son at *Roan*. After *Michaelmas*, he returned to *Caen*, and sent to his Son, who was still at *Roan*, orders to come along with him to *England*, but he refused. This he did through the persuasion of the King of *France*, but at last his Father's kind Messages melted his Heart into a Compliance, and young *Henry* came and did his Father Homage: After which King *Henry* the Son had, with his Father's permission, a Conference with the King of *France*. They spent their *Easter* at *Cherbourg*, and after that, had an interview at *Caen*, with *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, to whom they confirmed a Grant of one thousand Marks out of the Exchequer. And then embarking at *Barfleur*, they landed at *Pevensey* May 9. Brompt. p. 1110, 1111.

(14) June 10. Brompt. p. 1107. Diecto says, it was at *Kalends* in the *Constantin*. p. 584.

(15) See Brompt. p. 1105, and Hoved. p. 545.

(16) He returned to *England* December 11. but was not quite at Liberty, till he had delivered his Castles. Diecto.

(17) He came back to *England* in May, and his Son *Henry* along with him. Gervais, p. 1429.

(18) Because a Parliament at *Northampton*, and renewed the Constitutions of *Clarendon*. Gervais, p. 1433.

1751:

even used some endeavours in the foregoing Reigns to restore them but with little Success. Nothing therefore could be more grateful to the *English*, than to see them in force. But this Condescension of the King was a mere flourish, consisting only of some publick Orders; which were never executed (1).

1176.

Re-tution of the itinerant Judges.
Hoved.
p. 548.
Dieto.
p. 588.

About this time also Henry divided (2) England into six Parts or Districts, which were assigned to so many Judges (3), who were to go, at certain Times, and hold the Assizes, that is, to minister Justice to the People. This is what is still practised at this Day. At certain Seasons of the Year (4), the Chancellor sends the Judges into the several Counties to do Justice, each in his own Circuit; for so the Counties assigned to him are called.

Henry made use likewise of these peaceable Times, to demolish all the fortified Castles (5) still remaining in private hands, which were a great check to the Power of the Sovereign (9).

Whilst the King was employed in these publick Affairs, the Princess Joanna his Daughter was demanded in Marriage (7) by William the Good, King of Sicily. This Match seeming advantageous for his Daughter, he dispatched Ambassadors (8) to Sicily to settle the Articles; after which he sent away the young Queen with a splendid Retinue (9).

Prince John his fourth Son, who of all his Children, was his greatest Favourite, being arrived at the Age of eleven Years, he resolved to erect Ireland into a Kingdom on purpose to bestow it on his Darling Son (10). As the Pope's Consent was necessary, he sent Ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the Affair. But how impatient soever he might be to see the end, it could not be accomplished till some Years after, when it was no longer in his Power to make use of the Pope's Favour.

About this Time, the King of France perceiving himself broken with Age, formed the Design of crowning his Son Philip, according to the custom of his Predecessors. But a violent Distemper, which seized the young Prince, obstructed his Project, and made him almost despair of his Life. Lewis was so affected with his Son's Danger, that he went in Pilgrimage to Becket's Tomb (11), to obtain that Saint's Intercession for the Prince's Recovery. Henry met him at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both offered up their Prayers. When Lewis

left the City (12), he gave considerable Presents (13) to the Church, where the Saint lay interred (14).

I have slightly passed over the Occurrences of these last Years, as seeming to me of little consequence to Foreigners. However the *English* Reader might meet, in this Interval, with things worth his notice. For instance, the Assizes of Northampton (15) make a very considerable Article. This was a Revival of the Constitution of Clarendon, except those that concerned the Clergy, from whence sprung the Contest between the King and Becket (16). We find also, during this Time, Henry make several Regulations for the Administration of Justice and Government of the State, which may be of use to the *English*, but doubtless are of little moment to Foreigners. Wherefore I think it needless to descend to particulars. However I must not omit one Event, which greatly redounds to the Glory of this Monarch.

Alphonso King of Castile (17), and Sancho (18) King of Navarre, having great Contests about certain Castles and Territories, sent Ambassadors to Henry to entreat him to be their Umpire, promising to stand to his Sentence. So great a Trust redounding very much to that Prince's Honour, he thought himself obliged to use all possible care to give Content to both Parties, or at least to avoid the Imputation of pronouncing an unjust Sentence. To that end, he convened at London all the Barons and Judges of the Realm (19), to have their Advice. The Affair being maturely examined, he passed a Judgment in which both Kings thought proper to acquiesce (20).

There is, in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an agreement between Lewis and Henry, to go together to the Holy Land. But as this Record is without date, there is no setting down the precise Time (21). Very probably it was made whilst Lewis was at Canterbury. The Death of that Prince, which happened in 1180, prevented their intended Expedition. Philip his Son, who was afterwards surnamed the August, mounted the Throne of France (22).

Pope Alexander III departed this Life also in the Year 1181, and was succeeded by Lucius III. (23).

Whatever appearance of Tranquillity there was then in the Court of England, Ambition, Lust, Jealousy; in a word, all the Passions that raise the strongest Emotions in the Heart of Man, exercised their Empire over the

M. Paris.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.

Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.
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Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.

1180.
Act. 1180.
1. 1. p. 50
Brompt.
Dieto.

Lucius made Pope.
M. Paris.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.

1181.
Lucius made Pope.
M. Paris.
Th. de Mar.
Th. de Mar.

The King raises the Castles.
Brompt.
Dieto.

The Princess Joanna is married to the King of Sicily.
Act. Pub.
T. 1. p. 52.
Hoved.
Brompt.

He has a mind to erect Ireland into a Kingdom for Prince John.
Brompt.
Hoved.

1177.
The King of France visits Becket's Tomb.
Mezozai.

1178.

1179.

Gervas.
Brompt.
Dieto.
Hoved.

(1) King Henry's Sons Richard and Geoffrey did him Homage at Mans, and his Son Henry did it April 1. Dieto. p. 585. — After which the two Kings, Father and Son, returned to England May 1. 1175. Dieto. ibid. Hoved. p. 542.

(2) This he did in a great Council at Northampton January 26. See Hoved. p. 548. Dieto. p. 588. Hoved. says, it was at Nottingham; but by what follows, it appears to be a Mistake.

(3) Hoved. says, three Judges to each Circuit; his Words are these: *Justitiani itinerantes constituti per Henricum secundum, qui debet Regem suum in sex partes, per quarum singulas tres Justitiani itinerantes constituti, &c.* p. 548. Dieto's account is yet more particular, *Rege, juxta consuetudinem sui Regis, cum Episcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, & aliis hominibus suis in hoc consensu constituti Justitiani in sex partibus regni sui in unaqueque tres.* Dieto. p. 588. See a List of the Districts, and the Judges appointed in each, in Hoved. p. 548.

(4) Rapin says in Term-time, which is a Mistake, for it is not in Term-time, but immediately after Hilary-Term and Trinity-Term, that the twelve Judges go the Circuit, two by two; whence the Assizes, which are held but twice a Year, are called Lent Assizes, and Summer Assizes.

(5) About Michaelmas. He seized afterwards those that were not demolished now, and garrisoned them with his own Soldiers. Dieto. p. 594. Hoved. p. 555.

(6) Those of Huntingdon, Walton, Leicester, Groby, Stutesbury, Dudley, Tref, Haic, &c. belonging to the King of Scotland, Hugh Bigod, the Earl of Leicester, Earl Ferrars, Gervase Paganel, Roger de Mowbray. Dieto. p. 588. Hoved. p. 554. M. Paris. p. 132.

(7) King Henry assembled a Parliament, to consult them about the proposed Match. Brompt. p. 1112. Dieto. p. 590. See the Marriage-Articles in Gervase. p. 1436, 1437. Brompt. p. 1113.

(8) At the Head of which was the Archbishop of Canterbury. Gervas. p. 1434.

(9) And also William, Son of Robert Earl of Gloucester, appointed Prince John his Heir, and promised to give him his Daughter Aelfa in Marriage. Brompt. p. 1116. Dieto. p. 594. Hoved. p. 553.

(10) Hoved. says, he was advised in a Dream so to do. p. 592. He came to England, August 22d. Brompt. p. 1140. or, according to Gervase, August 23d. p. 1457.

(11) Which was August 26. M. Paris. p. 137.

(12) He offered at Becket's Tomb a massy Cup of pure Gold, and gave to the Monks one hundred Mark. i. e. seven thousand two hundred Gallons of Wine yearly, and freed them from all Toll or Custom, for whatever they should buy in his Kingdom. All which he confirmed by a Charter under his Seal. Hoved. Brompt. p. 1140.

(13) Mr. Rapin hath omitted several remarkable Occurrences, which happened within these three last Years. The Earl of Flanders had in 1177, an Interview with King Henry at Canterbury, after Easter, and went in Pilgrimage to Becket's Tomb. Soon after he went to Jerusalem, and with him William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, Henry de Lacy, &c. Brompt. p. 1127. — King Henry went into Normandy in 1177, about the middle of August, and landed again in England, July 15. 1178. Brompt. p. 1133, 1138. R. Dieto. p. 599. — In 1177, in December, Anselm Earl of March, sold King Henry that Earldom. Hoved. p. 572.

(14) This was a great Council or Parliament; and, according to Brompton, was twice held; first in 1176, June 29. and secondly, in 1177, about January 14. Brompt. p. 1108, 1118.

(15) In this great Council at Northampton, King Henry restored Robert, Earl of Leicester, to all his Estates in England, and in his French Dominions, except the Castles of Monfort, and Pafet: The like he did to Hugh Earl of Chester; and to William de Albany, he gave the Earldom of Argyll. Hoved. p. 560. At the same Council likewise Rees ap Griffin, King of South-Wales, David ap Owen, King of North-Wales, Cadwalan Prince of Deheubarth, Owen de Kevillan, Griffin de Birmfild, and Madoc ap Gervetog, and other Noblemen of Wales, came and did Homage, and were fealty to King Henry; who then gave Rees ap Griffin Merioneth-shire, and David ap Owen, Elymere. Hoved. p. 566.

(16) Who had married Eleanor, King Henry's Daughter, 1176. Hoved. p. 555.

(17) That is, he convened at Westminster, the first Sunday in Lent, a great Council or Parliament; on, as Brompton has it, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Earls, Barons, and great Men of England. Brompt. p. 1120. Hoved. p. 561.

(18) You have the Particulars of this Controversy, and the King's Judgment in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Tom. I. 42, 50. Rapin. — In 1179, Richard de Lucy, resigned his Place of Justiciar of England; upon which King Henry calling a great Council at Windsor, divided England in four Parts, or Circuits, and appointed five Persons to administer Justice in each District, whose Names see in Hoved. p. 598, 591. But the next Year Ranulph de Glanville was made Justiciar. Hoved. p. 600, 601. — August 27. 1179. King Henry called to an Account the *Procurators*, or Sheriffs. Dieto. p. 605.

(19) Brompton says, it was made September 21. 1178. at Roan. p. 1134, 1135.

(20) He and Henry entered into a Treaty of Peace. Hoved. p. 593. — Also this Year King Henry severely punished the Money-changers for adulterating the Coin; and in November, there was new Money issued out. Gervas. p. 1457. — About Mid-lent, King Henry the Son came over to England, to have a Conference with his Father, and from thence soon after went back into Flanders. Brompt. p. 1139. — January 14. this same Year, were celebrated at the Castle of Plermet in Essex, the Nuptials of William de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, and Haweswija, eldest Daughter of William, Earl of Ardenbury, in whose Right he became Earl of Albemarle. Dieto. p. 609.

(21) This Year King Henry the Father went over into Normandy, where he kept his Easter, and returned to England, July 25. Dieto. 610, 612. After this Return, he sent his Justiciaries throughout England, ordering both Rich and Poor to provide themselves with Arms, at their own Charge. His Regulations about this Matter were as follows: 1. Whoever hath a Knight's Fee, shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance; and every Knight shall have so many Coats of Mail, Helms, Shields, and Lances, as he hath Knight's Fees. 2. Every Free Layman, that hath in Goods or Rent, to the Value of sixteen Marks, shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance. 3. Every Free Layman, that hath in Goods ten Marks, shall have an Iron Gorget, an Iron Cap, and a Lance. 4. All Burgeffes, and the whole Community of Freemen, shall have a Gambais, (i. e. a Horseman's Coat) a Cap of Iron, and a Lance. &c. See Hoved. p. 614. — This Year died Hugh Raulph Earl of Chester, and was succeeded by his Son Ranulph. Brompt. p. 1142. — This Year also great Disputes arose between Philip King of France, and Philip Earl of Flanders. King Henry, who was their Guarantee and Umpire, went in March 1182. to make Peace between them; but before he went over, he made his Will near the Sea-side, (perhaps at Portsmouth,) which is extant in Gervas. p. 1439. and ordered one Copy to be deposited in his own Treasury, one in the Church of Canterbury, and one in the Treasury at Winchester.

1181. whole Royal Family. Young *Henry* was exceedingly dissatisfied to have the Title of King without the Power. The King his Father, who had all his Life been a Slave to his Lust, had not lost his amorous Inclinations, though he was in his fiftieth Year. He was fallen in Love with *Alice of France*, designed for his Son *Richard*; and most Historians intimate, the young Prince was too condescending. *Richard* demanded Leave to consummate his Marriage (1); but more to have a Pretence to complain, than from a desire to espouse a Princess suspected by all the World of a criminal Commerce with her future Father-in-law. *Geoffrey* being now in his four and twentieth Year (2), was tired with being under the Guardianship of the King his Father, who on the specious pretence of Protection, with-held *Bretagne* from him. *John* was still more displeased to have nothing settled upon him, whilst his Brothers were so well provided for. However, as the King showed a great Affection for him, it was very probable, before his Death he would provide for a Son he so tenderly loved. Queen *Eleanor* was still a Prisoner, notwithstanding the intercession of her Sons for her Release.

Henry was not ignorant of the Sentiments of his three eldest Sons (3). Though he carefully concealed his Fears, he was apprehensive, that another Conspiracy, like the former, would rob him of the Crown in his old Age. To screen himself from their Practices, he believed the best way would be, to sow Dissention among them, lest their Union should one day prove fatal to him. For that purpose, he hinted to his eldest Son, that his Brothers ought to do him Homage for the Dominions they possessed, or at least, bore the Titles of. The young King gladly embraced this Proposal, and resolved to demand Homage of his Brothers. But they were by no means disposed to comply. *Richard* affirmed, the Duchy of *Guienne*, which was to be his Portion, was not a Fief of the Crown of *England*; and in that he was very right. *Geoffrey* had not altogether the same reason to be excused, since he knew, the Duchy of *Bretagne* held of *Normandy*. But it was necessary the King should resign *Normandy* to his eldest Son, otherwise he could have no Right to demand Homage. Mean time the Father had no Intention, to divest himself of that Duchy before his Death, in favour of a Son, whose Ambition was too well known to him. And therefore, *Geoffrey* eluded his Brother's Demand. He feigned however to remain respectfully attached to the King his Father, though he privately held with his Brother *Richard* whose case was the same. Young *Henry*, whom the King his Father had politically engaged in this Dispute, soon discovered his Motive. However he used a profound dissimulation. Whilst he pretended to be incensed with his Brothers, he took private measures with them to bereave the King of the Supreme Power, which he had long wished to be invested with. But God permitted him not to pursue the execution of his unjust Design (4). A Disposition which took him out of the World (5), in the 28th Year of his Age, freed the King his Father from the impending Danger. The young Prince was now gone to *Guienne* with design to stir up the *Gaseons* to revolt, when he was seized with a slow Fever, which constrained him to remain in the Castle of *Martel* in *Quercy*. As soon as he perceived his Illness grew daily more dangerous, and that probably he should never recover, he expressed great Concern for all he had done or projected against the King his Father. He even desired to see him, to give him proofs of his Repentance. Before he died, he had the Satisfaction of receiving a Ring sent him by the King in token of his Pardon. If Historians have not aggravated the Prince's Repentance, it appears to have been very sincere. He shed abundance of Tears upon receiving the Ring, and finding himself then at the point of Death, caused himself to be laid on a Bed strewn with Ashes, habited in Sackcloth, with a Cord about his Neck, and in that posture

gave up the Ghost (6). The Father's Tenderness was renewed when he heard of his Son's Death. Though he had no reason to be pleased with him, he showed an extreme Concern for his Loss. But in all appearance, he was soon comforted.

This young Prince was certainly endowed with excellent Qualities, perhaps he would have behaved more to his Father's Satisfaction, had he been less indulged in his Childhood. The King's extraordinary Fondness, no doubt, helped to spoil him; or on the other hand, the Restraint he was under, after his Coronation, caused him to consider his own Father as an Enemy. And this led him into sundry Plots to dethrone him, till at length Death made him see things in another light. *Margaret of France* his Wife, by whom he had a Son which died an Infant, was sent home to King *Philip* her Brother who married her some time after to *Bela* King of *Hungary* (7).

The Death of young *Henry* put a stop for a while to the Troubles that were going to disturb the Royal Family. *Richard*, though naturally impetuous, remained some time in quiet, to see how the King would behave to him since he was become his Heir apparent (8).

During this Tranquillity arrived at Court *Heraclius*, The Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who was come to entreat the King's Aid in behalf of the Christians of the Holy-Land. He presented to him the Keys of the Holy-Sepulcher, and Tower of *David*, in token of their desire of having him for their Sovereign, as being Grandson to *Fulk of Anjou*, King of *Jerusalem*. Before an Answer was given the Patriarch, *Henry* convened an Assembly of the Barons at *Clerkenwel* near *London*, where that Prelate described with tears in his eyes, the Calamities the Christians of *Palestine* groaned under. Then he endeavoured to persuade the King, that he had an undoubted Right to the Crown of *Jerusalem*. But this Compliment was too gross, since it was notorious that *Fulk*, Grandfather to *Henry*, wore that Crown in Right of his second Wife; whereas *Geoffrey*, Father to *Henry*, was born of the first. To this Harangue the Patriarch added a Letter from the Pope, addressed to all Christian Princes, to exhort them to assist their Brethren in *Palestine*. *Henry* asking the Opinion of his Barons upon the Patriarch's Proposals, was told it was judged, that he ought not to venture his Person in an Expedition of that nature, but that a Supply of Money would suffice. The King followed their Advice, and furnishing the Patriarch with a considerable Sum (9), contented himself with giving his Subjects leave to take the Cross, without embarking himself in the Enterprize. Pursuant to the King's Permission, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (10), several Earls, Barons, Knights, with a World of People of a lower Rank, prepared for this Voyage. But the Patriarch willing to make his Court to the King, told him, when he took his leave, that he should have preferred his single Person before all the English that were engaged in the *Crusade* (11).

The Pope was not pleased with *Henry's* refusing to take the Cross. Nay, he showed his Resentment by denying him, in his turn, certain Requests which he would have granted, had he not been dissatisfied. However not to discourage him entirely, he gave him leave to crown his youngest Son Prince *John* King of *Ireland*, to whom he sent, for that purpose, a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold. In granting this Favour he expressly reserved a Penny from every House in *Ireland* yearly, and several other Advantages, procuring in exchange for his Leave, which cost him nothing, a considerable Addition to his Revenues. As soon as the King received the Pope's Answer, he knighted Prince *John*, and sent him Governor into *Ireland*, not daring to have him crowned there, lest *Richard* should make it a pretence to ask the same favour in *England*. *John* was very well received in the Island, where he was considered as

(1) In 1177, a Pope's Legate threatened to lay all *Henry's* Dominions under an Interdict unless he would let his Son *Richard* marry *Alice*: Whereupon *Henry* went over into *Normandy*, and had a Conference, September 21. at *Ivry*, with the King of *France*; and agreed here to deliver to his Son *Richard*, the Town of *Barry*, &c. according to the Articles of Marriage; and to his Son *Henry* the Vexin *France*, as had been stipulated between them; but *Lawrence* refused, and *Henry* said, his Son *Richard* should not marry *Alice*. However the two Kings entered into a Treaty of Peace, which see at *Hoveden* p. 520, 521, &c.

(2) King *Henry* his Father knighted him at *Windsor*, August 6. 1178. *Brompt.* p. 1138. *Dicet.* p. 620. *Hoveden* p. 520.

(3) He went over to *Normandy*, upon that account. *Hoved.* p. 615.

(4) King *Henry* convened about this time a great Council, or Parliament at *Bishop's Waltham*, near *Windsor*, and in their presence, and with their approbation, granted Money for the *Crusade*, viz. forty two thousand Marks of Silver, and five hundred of Gold; and then March the 30. 1183. went over from *Portsmouth* to *Normandy*. *Dicet.* p. 615.

(5) June 11. in 1183. *Gervas.* p. 1463.

(6) He was buried at first in the Church of *St. Julian* at *Mans*, but afterwards removed into the Cathedral of *Rean*. *Dicet.* p. 618. *Brompt.* p. 1143.

(7) This Year, September 10. King *Henry* did Homage to King *Philip* at a Conference between *Gisors* and *Tris*, for all his Dominions in *France*. *Hoved.* p. 622.

(8) This Year the King of *France*, and the Earl of *Flanders*, renewed again their Quarrels about the *Normandis*, but King *Henry* made Peace between them a second time; after which he returned to *England*, June 10. or 11. and sent an Army against the *Welsh*, who had made some Incursions. *Gervas.* p. 1466. *Dicet.* p. 619. *Hoved.* p. 622.

(9) Fifty thousand Marks of Silver. *Gervas.* p. 1474.

(10) *Ranulph* the Justicier, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, Bishop of *Durham*, &c. *Hoved.* p. 629.

(11) *Ranulph* says, that the Patriarch gave the King very hard Words, when he went with him to the Sea-side; and upon the King's still excusing himself from going to the Holy-Land, because his Sons would rebel against him in his Absence; the Patriarch in great Anger, said, *Adam* the son of *Adam*, the Devil they call, and to the Devil they would go. This he said, rejecting an old story of a certain Countess of *Arden*, the King's great Grandmother, who being reckoned a Witch, was said to have fallen out of a Window, while she was at Mass against her Will, and was never seen afterwards. *Brompt.* p. 1143.

1185.
He is re-
called.
Gir. Camd.

Urban III,
Pope, and
Baldwin
Archbishop.
Gervais.
Richard
raises Trou-
bles in
Guienne.
Gervais.
Hoved.

1186.
He makes
War with
the Bretons.
Hoved.

Henry pre-
pares to
chastise him.
Hoved.

Richard
submits.

Death of
Geoffrey
Duke of
Bretagne.
Gervais.
Brompt.
M. Paris

The Affairs
of Bretagne.
Argentre.
Gervais.
Hoved.

the future Sovereign. But suffering himself to be guided by the Advice of some young Persons that attended him thither, he so alienated the hearts of the *Irish*, that the King was forced at length to recall him (1).

Pope *Lucius* III. dying this Year, *Urban* III. his Successor, appointed the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Legate in *England*. *Baldwin*, a *Cistercian* Monk, was then Archbishop, having succeeded *Richard*, who died in 1184 (2).

The Affairs of *Ireland* created the King little uneasiness, in comparison of that caused by the violent Temper of his Son *Richard*. This young Prince having lain quiet ever since his elder Brother's death (3), was at length weary of a state so little agreeable to his Humour. He had been in *Guienne*, where he had taken upon him to rule with an absolute Authority, without any regard to the Orders of the King his Father. In this he was supported by the *Gascans* themselves, who chose much rather to have a Sovereign of their own than depend on the Crown of *England*. After *Richard* had laboured some time to gain that Province to his interests, he went into *Poitou*, and drawing some Troops together, made war upon the *Bretons*, who had disoblged him. *Geoffrey* his Brother, who was then in *Bretagne*, surprized at this unexpected Attack, speedily levied a small Army, and gave him battle. But as his Forces were inferior in number, he was easily defeated. *Richard* would have pursued his Undertaking, if the dread of his Father, who was preparing to come and chastise him (4), had not obliged him to retire into *Poitou*, where he pretended to stand upon his defence. In the mean time, *Henry* perfectly knowing his Son's Temper, which could not be tamed but by force, had prepared an Army sufficient to take away all his hopes of Resistance, but before he proceeded to Extremities, he sent him word, it was his absolute Command that he should not concern himself any more with the Affairs of *Guienne*, which he could not enjoy till after the death of the Queen his Mother, and upon that condition, would leave him in possession of *Poitou*. And if he refused to obey, he would not only compel him to it, but likewise disinherit him of the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, terrified at these Threats, and the King's great Preparations, thought fit to comply with his Will. But as this Submission was forced, he was uneasy in his mind, the Effects of which soon became visible. The Example of *William the Conqueror*, who preferred his second before his eldest Son, seemed in some measure to authorize the King thus to threaten *Richard*. Accordingly the young Prince could not forbear being concerned, in a dread of being supplanted by one of his Brothers. This consideration made him keep fair with the King his Father, and endeavour to curb his natural impetuosity. But he was freed in part from his Fears by the death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, at *Paris*, where he was gone to assist at a Tournament (5). This Prince, who had a Daughter called *Eleanor* (6), left *Constance* of *Bretagne* his Wife big with child, who was quickly after delivered of a Son named *Arthur* (7).

Henry was very desirous of having the Guardianship of these Infants, for a pretence to keep *Bretagne*. With this view he took a Journey thither, in expectation of obtaining the Consent of the States. But *Constance* his Daughter-in-law, strongly opposed it. She affirmed that being Mother of the Children, it belonged to her to take care of their Education. Moreover, she maintained, they had no claim to any thing till after her Death, since their Father was Duke of *Bretagne* only in her Right. But *Henry* as Grandfather, pretended to have an unquestionable Title to the Guardianship of his Grandchildren. The States of *Bretagne*, who were more afraid of his Power than convinced by his Reasons, were in great perplexity. Justice and their own Interest required, that *Constance*, to whom the Duchy belonged by Inheritance, should have the Government. But on the other hand, it was dangerous to send away the King without some Satisfaction. In short, they found an Expedient with which the King was well enough pleased, because he saw it would be difficult to obtain more. The Duchefs was made Guardian of her Children, and it was decreed, That all Orders and publick Acts should run jointly in her's and her Son's name; but with this Proviso, that nothing of moment should be transacted, without the Advice and Consent of the King of

England. Before he quitted *Bretagne*, *Henry* caused the States to swear Fealty to young *Arthur* as their Sovereign. He was apprehensive in case *Constance* should marry again, and have Children by a second Husband, she would prefer them before those by the first.

Henry would not perhaps have been satisfied with what he had obtained of the *Bretons*, had he not been afraid that *Philip* King of *France*, would have interposed in the affair. This Prince though very young, was meditating grand Projects. He could not help showing some uneasiness, that so many Provinces of his Kingdom should be possessed by the *English*. Since his accession to the Throne, he had formed a design to wrest them out of their hands, and make use, for that purpose, of all opportunities that should offer. Pursuant to this resolution, he imagined, the Dissension between *Henry* and his Son *Richard*, presented him with a favorable Juncture, which he should not neglect. He was persuaded, these Princes being divided and unarmed, and not suspecting they were going to be attacked, he might very possibly take from them some Part of their Dominions in *France*. In this Belief he made extraordinary Preparations, upon such Pretences as served best to conceal the real motive. As soon as he was ready to act, he summoned *Richard* to appear and do him Homage for *Poitou*, and required King *Henry* to restore the *Vexin* with all *Margaret's* Dowry, his eldest Son's Widow. But for this once he found he had taken his Measures wrong. For *Henry* and *Richard* uniting for their common Interest, kept him so well employed, one in *Normandy*, the other in *Guienne*, that he was forced to sue for a Truce, which was granted him for two years.

Having experienced how difficult it would be to compass his Ends, unless he fomented the Discord between *Henry* and *Richard*, he did not long defer his Endeavours. To succeed the more easily, he ordered it so, that during the Truce, *Richard* came and paid him a visit at *Paris*, where he seemingly gave him a very hearty Welcome, and even admitted him to his Bed. These Caresses wrought a sudden effect in the mind of the *English* Prince, who never once suspected the motive. In a little time he entertained so strong an Affection for *Philip*, that he imparted to him all his Reasons for being dissatisfied with his Father. *Philip* improving this openness, pretended to pity him, and have his Interest very much at heart. He wondered with him, that the King his Father should treat him so harshly, and after crowning his elder Brother in a less advanced Age, should refuse him the same Favour. He artfully hinted, there was reason to fear, he had formed a design to place on the Throne his youngest Son *John*, of whom he was very fond. From these considerations it was natural to infer, a Necessity of taking care to prevent so unjust a Proceeding. *Richard* received these marks of affection with that earnestness and confidence, that *Philip* was in great hopes of attaining his Ends.

Mean time, *Richard's* long Stay at *Paris* made his Father extremely uneasy (8), who never ceased sending for him (9). He was quickly sensible, his Suspensions were not groundless. At the time the Truce was about to expire, *Richard*, without quitting the Court of *France*, openly complained of his Father's preventing him from consummating his Marriage with the Princess designed for his Wife (10). But as *Henry* might recall him on pretence of solemnizing the Nuptials, he had another excuse ready. He pretended to have private intelligence that the King designed to apprehend him, and keep him in custody, in order to place with the more ease his younger Son on the Throne. These Proceedings of *Richard* threw *Henry* into great perplexity. He perceived, this Affair might be attended with ill consequences, unless a means was found to draw his Son from *Philip*. But this was no easy matter, if *Richard* himself was unwilling. As the main business therefore was to gain his Son, he privately dispatched a trusty Messenger, who made him sensible, he had imprudently fallen into the King of *France's* snare, whose sole Aim was to sow dissension between him and his Father, in order to make an advantage of their Misunderstanding. *Richard* being prevailed upon by these Remonstrances, suddenly left the Court of *France*, and returned to the King.

1186.

Philip comes.
Designs a-
gainst
Henry.

H. commences
a War.
Constance.

Truce
between
Henry and
Richard.
Philip
dictates.

1187.
Philip se-
duces *Richard*.
Hoved.
Dictates.

Complaints
of *Richard*
against his
Father.
Hoved.

He returns
home.

(1) This Year Queen *Eleanor* was released out of Prison, says *Gervais*, p. 1475. Though others say, it was not till after *Richard* the First's Accession to the Crown. (2) He died Feb. 16. 1184. *Gervais*. 1465.

(3) He had been very stirring in 1176. See *Brompton*, p. 1115, &c.

(4) He went over, and gathered a great Army together. *Hoved*. p. 630.

(5) Our Historians say, that being slung from his Horse, he was unfortunately trampled to death before he could be taken up. But the *French* Writers, who should know best, tell us he died of a Fever. He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church.

(6) The King of *France* demanded the Guardianship of her from King *Henry*, but could not obtain it. *Hoved*. p. 633.

(7) The next Year he married again *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, whom King *Henry* knighted, and gave him the Earldom of *Richmond*, and all *Bretagne* with her. *Brompt.* p. 1149. *Hoved*. p. 637.

(8) He went over this Year into *France*, and had a Conference with King *Philip* at *Val. St. Remi*. *Hoved*. p. 634.

(9) Pleading to come to the King his Father, he passed through *Clinton*, and carried off most of his Father's Treasure that was there. *Hoved*. p. 635.

(10) King *Henry* and *Philip* had, in the beginning of this Year, a Conference at *Gisors*, in which *Philip* surrendered to Prince *Richard* the Places stipulated in the Articles of Marriage, and *Henry* swore to deliver *Alice* to him. *Hoved*. p. 631.

1187. The Truce being expired, the two Monarchs took up Arms again. But just as they were renewing their Hostilities, their Animosity was suspended for a while, upon the melancholy news that the City of *Jerusalem* was taken by *Schahin Sultan of Babylon*, and that *Guy de Lusignan*, the last that swayed the Sceptre of that Kingdom, was in the hands of the Infidels. As the Union of the Christians had formerly been the means of conquering the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, their dissention was the cause of its Destruction, after subsisting near a whole Century. This News, which threw the Princes of *Europe* into great consternation, was particularly fatal to Pope *Urban III*, who died with Grief. He was soon followed by *Gregory VIII*, his Successor, who sitting in the Papal Chair but three Months, made room by his Death for *Clement III*.

The two Kings of *France* and *England* were very sensibly affected with the Christians late Loss in the East. Their zeal being rous'd upon that occasion, they resolved, with one consent, to drop their private Quarrel for the cause of God (for so it was term'd in those days) and met at *Gisors* (1), to consider of means to remedy this Misfortune. At this interview, their first business was to renew the Truce. Then the two Monarchs, as well as the Earl of *Flanders*, who was present at the Conference, took the Cross, distinguishing themselves by three different colours. *Philip* chose a Red, *Henry* a White, and the Earl of *Flanders* a Grey, Cross. Those of their Subjects that engaged in the *Crusade* imitated them in this distinction of Colours (2).

But the Zeal shown by the two Kings was not long-lived. Their Ardour soon gave place to an Animosity so much the more surprising, as the occasion was of little moment. Prince *Richard*, who was to be in the Expedition to the Holy Land, having occasion for a Sum of Money, came to *Paris* to raise it. Whilst he was employed in this Affair, one of *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouse's* Officers, passing through his Territories, and giving him some cause of Disgust, he committed him to prison. *Raymond* having notice of it, ordered, by way of Reprisal, two *Poitou* Gentlemen to be taken up, as they were going by *Tholouse*, in their return from a Pilgrimage to *St. James of Compostella*. These violent Proceedings causing a very warm Quarrel between the two Princes, *Richard* took occasion to revive the Pretensions of the House of *Poitou* to the Earldom of *Tholouse*. This furnished him with a Pretence to enter Earl *Raymond's* Country with a powerful Army, where he became master of *Moissac*, and several other Places. *Raymond* finding himself thus engaged in a War, of which he did not question but the King of *England* was the Author, demanded the Assistance of *France*. Though *Philip* knew better than the Earl of *Tholouse*, and was very sensible, *Richard* might possibly undertake the War without his Father's knowledge, he pretended to believe it done by *Henry's* Orders. Accordingly, under colour of assisting the Earl of *Tholouse* his Vassal, he made a Diversion in *Berry*, and took *Issoudun*. This was the occasion of the fresh Rupture between the two Kings, when they seemed to breathe nothing but Death and Destruction against the Infidels (3).

The beginning of this War not being remarkable, it will be needless to relate the particulars. It is sufficient to take notice of the Consequences, which proved very fatal to the King of *England*. Whilst it was vigorously prosecuted on both sides, all on a sudden, and when *Henry* least expected it, his Son *Richard* left him, and went to the King of *France*. Very probably, this was effected by *Philip's* Intrigues, which the Historians have not taken care to unfold. Be this as it will, *Richard* pretended to have two occasions of complaint against the King his Father. The first was, that he detained from him the Princess *Alice*, and had offered *Philip*, who press'd him to have the Nuptials solemnized, to marry her to Prince *John* upon more advantageous Terms. Whether this was fact, or *Philip* had told him a Falshood to set him at variance with *Henry*, he believed, or feign'd to believe, that a Project was formed to deprive him of his Birth-right, and place his younger Brother on the Throne. The other occasion of Complaint was, that *Philip* offering to consent to a Truce, *Henry* refused it, affirming it was better to conclude a Peace, and adjust their respective Pretensions,

before they engaged in their Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. This displeased *Richard*, and his reason was, because, by a Peace, he would have been obliged to restore his Conquest upon the Earl of *Tholouse*, whereas by a Truce he would have kept possession.

As much as *Richard's* Defection disquieted the King his Father, so much did it rejoice *Philip*, who, from that time, had a great Advantage over his Enemy. In withdrawing, *Richard* set against the King part of his Provinces in *France*, and thereby almost disabled him to maintain the War. For this reason *Henry* hastened to the utmost of his Power, the Conclusion of the Peace (4). But *Philip* proposed such hard Terms, that they could not be accepted. He required, that the Marriage between *Richard* and *Alice* should be consummated, and the Prince crowned before his Father's death, that his Right to the Crown might not be disputed for the future. *Henry* could not relish these Conditions. His Love for *Alice* would not suffer him to see her in the arms of another, and perhaps there were very strong Reasons against his giving her to his Son. On the other hand, he had experienced to his cost the ill Consequences of crowning his eldest Son *Henry*, to be willing to run the same hazard for one who seemed no less dangerous than his Brother. This first attempt failing, *Henry* made another Effort (5) for a Peace, but found that *Philip*, grown more untractable, added a new Article. He demanded that *Henry* should carry Prince *John* to the *Holy-Land*, lest in *Richard's* absence he should seize the Crown, in case their Father died in the Expedition. *Henry* offended at *Philip's* interposing thus in his Family-Affairs, broke off the Negotiation. This Rupture confirmed *Richard* in his Suspicion that his Father intended to deprive him of the Crown, and give it to his younger Brother.

All hopes of Peace vanishing (6), *Philip* received *Richard's* Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, pretending *Henry* had incurred the guilt of Rebellion, in warring against his Sovereign.

This Step being taken, the Effusion of Christian Blood was renewed with greater fury than ever, and the Zeal expressed against the Infidels insensibly cooled. *Henry* lay under a great disadvantage in this War (7). Most of his Subjects in *France* had abandoned him and joined with his Son. This Revolt was so general, that keeping his *Christmas* at *Saumur*, he had the mortification to see himself attended but with three or four Nobles. His Vexation was farther increased by the ill Success of the following Campaign. His Troops, every where defeated, were at length reduced to so small a number, that it was not in his power to continue the War. His Affairs being in this wretched condition, he desired the Pope to interpose his Authority, and procure a Peace. But this method proved ineffectual. Indeed, the Pope sent Legates into *France*, who threatened *Philip* with Excommunication, in case he prevented the King of *England* from accomplishing his Vow. But these Menaces had not the expected Effect. The French Monarch fiercely replied, the Pope had no right to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Kingdom, especially when the business in hand was the chastising a Vassal who had audaciously taken up Arms against him. Adding, with an insulting air, He did not question but that the Smell of [the King of *England's*] Sterlings made the Legates talk in that Strain (8). *Henry* dreading the Consequences of so unfortunate a War, and finding the Pope could do him no Service, was forced at length to agree to the Terms *Philip* was pleased to impose upon him, the principal of which were these (9):

That all *Henry's* Subjects, as well English as French, should swear Fealty to *Richard*; and that those who had sided with the Son, should not return to the Father till within one month before he set out for the *Holy-Land*.

That the two Kings, with Prince *Richard*, should meet at *Vezelay* in *le Nivernois*, in order to begin their Journey.

That all the King of *England's* Subjects should have free Passage all over *France*, paying only the old Customs.

(1) Between *Gisors* and *Paris*. *Gervais*, p. 1520.

(2) After which King *Henry* came to *England* and landed at *Winchelsea*, Jan. 29. *Gervais*, p. 1520. *Hoved*, p. 642. After his Return, he sent his Son *Richard* throughout *England*; and pitching upon the richest in every City, for instance, two hundred in *London*, and one hundred in *York*, charged them with his Father's Presents: Such as received, were imprisoned, till they had paid the utmost Farthing. *Hoved*, p. 642. *Gervais* complains, that during the year 1188, all *England* was grievously oppressed about the Tenth, (or Tax for the *Crusade*.) The English paid above seventy thousand Pounds towards it, and the French in *England* sixty thousand Pounds. *Hoved*.

(3) King *Henry* went over to *France*, July 18, and landed at *Ou*. *Gervais*, p. 1535.

(4) They had a Conference at about, August 19. 1188, between *Benignus* and *Suleimni*. *Hoved*, p. 649.

(5) At another Conference near *la Ferte Bernard*, at *Willebrord*. 1189. *Hoved*, p. 652.

(6) At their first Conference, they agreed upon a Truce till January 14. 1189. *Hoved*, p. 649.

(7) He burnt *Alens*, because he was afraid of being besieged in it. *Brompt*, p. 1150.

(8) *Richard* had like to have run the Legate through with his Sword, if he had not been hindered. *M. Paris*, p. 149.

(9) This Peace was concluded at the latter end of *June*. The first Article was, That *Alice* should be delivered to one Person in five whom Earl *Richard* should chuse, and that she should be married to him at his Return from *Jerusalem*. *Hoved*, p. 653.

1189.

That *Henry* should be obliged to pay the King of *France* twenty thousand Marks, for the Damages sustained in the War (1).

That all the Barons of the King of *England* should swear, that in case he violated the Treaty, they would assist the King of *France* against him.

That the Cities of *Tours* and *Mans* should remain in the hands of *Philip*, till the King of *England* performed all these Articles.

It was with extreme reluctance that a Prince of so high a Spirit as *Henry*, stooped to such hard Conditions. The remembrance of the Advantages, he had all along obtained over *France* before this fatal War, instead of comforting him, served only to render his Cup the more bitter. Upon this mortification followed another, which he could not resist. He discovered, that during the late War, his beloved Son *John* held intelligence with *Philip*, and was concerned in all his Brother's Plots to dethrone a Father who had ever shown a tender Affection for him. His Grief threw him into so violent a Passion (2), that he cursed the day of his Birth, and uttered imprecations against his Sons, which the Bishops then present could never bring him to revoke. Shortly after he fell sick at *Chinon*, and perceiving his End was at hand, caused himself to be carried into the Church before the Altar, where after confessing himself and expressing some signs of Repentance, he expired. His Eyes were no sooner closed but his Domesticks all left him, nay some had even the Insolence to strip him and leave him quite naked in the Church. His Corps was removed to *Fontevraud*, where he was buried according to his own Order (3). An extraordinary Accident rendered this Removal of his Body very remarkable. His Son *Richard* coming to meet the Funeral Pomp, in order to attend his Father to his Grave, upon his approach, the Blood in great abundance gushed out of the mouth and nostrils of the Corpse. *Richard*, though naturally very hard-hearted, was so moved at this Sight, that he burst out into Tears, and openly accused himself of being the occasion of his Father's Death.

Such was the end of *Henry II.* one of the most illustrious Princes of his Time, both for greatness of Genius and extent of Dominions. The mixture of Vices and Virtues, in this Monarch, makes it difficult to give him a general Character that perfectly agrees with him. He was valiant, prudent, generous, politick, studious, learned, and of an exalted Genius (4). On the other hand, he was excessive haughty, of an immeasurable Ambition (5), and a boundless Lust. Never satisfied with Love or Empire, he spent his whole Life in pursuit of new Conquests in both. He attempted the Chastity of all that came in his way, not excepting the Princess designed for his own Son (6): Failings which in great measure balance all his noble En-

dowments. In the beginning of his Reign, which was one of the happiest for some Years, there was not in *Europe* a King more feared or respected. Encircled with Glory and Honour, which seemed to promise him great Prosperity, he was looked upon as the happiest Prince in the world, before *Becket's* Affair interrupted his Felicity. But that fatal Quarrel, which created him so many Troubles, being followed by Dissentions in his Family, he beheld the Happiness, which till then had attended him, turned into Misfortunes. However, if this Prince was unhappy, his Misfortunes fell only on his own Head and not on his Kingdom, which had never been in so flourishing Condition as in his Reign. By his accession to the Crown, *England* became one of the most powerful States in *Europe*, and began from that time to be on a level with *France*, to which before it was very much inferior. Besides the large and rich Provinces annexed in his time to the *English* Monarchy, the Conquest of *Ireland* is what gives a great Lustre to his Reign, and ought to render his Memory dear to the *English*. He died on the sixth of *July* in 1189, and in the 57th Year of his Age, after a Reign of thirty four Years, eight Months and twelve Days (7).

Of the five Sons he had by *Eleanor* of *Guierne* his Wife (8), *Richard* and *John* only survived him: *Geoffrey*, his third Son, left a Son and a Daughter, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. *Matilda*, his eldest Daughter, married to the Duke of *Saxony* (9) died immediately after him. *Eleanor* was Wife to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and *Johanna* to *William II.* surnamed the Good King of *Sicily*.

Besides his lawful Issue, *Henry* had two natural Sons by *Rosamond Clifford*; *William* surnamed *Long-Sword*, who was Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geoffrey*, who was Archbishop of *York*. By a Daughter of *Sir Ralph Blewet*, *Henry* had also another natural Son called *Morgan*, who being elected Bishop of *Durham*, could not obtain the Pope's Confirmation, because he refused to take the Name of his Mother's Father.

Some Historians relate, that in the Reign of *Henry II.* there was found in the Church-Yard of *Glaffenbury* Abbey, a Grave containing three Bodies laid one upon another, each in a Coffin by it self. It was pretended, the first was *Guinevere's*, second Wife of the Great *Arthur*; the second, *Modred's* his Nephew; and the third, *Arthur's* distinguished by a leaden Cross, with this Inscription, *Here lies the illustrious King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon*. What is further asserted, that his Legs were a third longer than those of the largest Men, and that there was the distance of a Span between his Eye-brows, renders this Relation somewhat suspicious. However this Discovery, real or pretended, served to undeceive some weak people among the *Welsh*, who still expected the Return of their Heroe.

6. R I-

(1) Thirty thousand Pounds to the King of *France*, and twenty thousand to the Barons of that Kingdom. *Gerwas.* p. 1544.

(2) *Brompton* says, that his Grief at this, was the occasion of his Death. *Brompt.* p. 1154.

(3) He was interred in the Choir of the Nunnery which he himself had founded, with design to be buried there. A stately Tomb has been since erected for him and *Eleanor* his Queen, as also for his Son King *Richard* and his Queen, at the Charge of the Lady Abbess *Johanne Basset* at *Bacon*, natural Daughter to King *Henry* the fourth of *France*; their Effigies in Brass, which before lay in other parts of the Church, being removed and placed together in one Monument. See *Sanford's General Hist. of the Kings of England*, p. 64, 65.

(4) He was very mild towards those that hunted in his Forests, only punishing them. He was very bountiful to the Widows and Orphans. There being a Famine in *Mans* and *Anjou*, in 1176, he supplied ten thousand People with Food out of his Stores, *nam. sup.*, till the Corn was in. He never had any heavy Tax or Tribute upon his Subjects. He took care to secure Wrecks, and laid heavy Penalties upon any that should plunder upon that occasion. *Brompt.* p. 1152. *Dieta.* p. 582, 589.

(5) He said in his Prosperity, *The whole World was but sufficient for one Great Man*.

(6) An Historian says, he had a mind to marry her, and applied to *Hugo* the Pope's Legate, in order to be divorced from his Queen *Eleanor*. *Brompt.* p. 1151.

(7) Seven Months and four Days, says *Hoveden*, p. 654.

(8) *William*, his eldest Son, who died in 1156, was buried in *Reading* Monastery. *M. Paris.* p. 96. Concerning *Henry* and *Geoffrey*, See page 240, 241.

(9) *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, King *Henry's* Son-in-law, having been accused of Treason against the Emperor *Fredrick*, was condemned to Banishment for three Years, and deprived of his Dominions. Some Years after the Emperor returned to him that part of them, containing at this Day the Duchies of *Hanover*, *Zell*, and *Wolfsbuttel*. From this Duke *Henry* by *Matilda*, is descended his present Majesty King *GEORGE*.

I. King *Henry* held his great Councils or Parliaments, at the following Places: In 1154, at *Christchurch*, at *Beornedjey*. (*Gerwas.* p. 1377.) In 1155, at *Wallingford*. (*Id.* p. 1378.) In 1163, a Parliament. (*Hoved.* p. 492. *M. Paris.* p. 100.) Another at *Windsor*. (*Hoved.* p. 493. *M. Paris.* p. 101.) One at *Clarendon*. (*Hoved.* p. 494. *Id.*) One at *Northampton*. (*Id.* p. 13.) (*Hoved.* p. 494. *Dieta.* p. 57.) In 1164, a Parliament, at *Wimborne*. (*Brompt.* p. 1088.) In 1166, a Parliament. (*M. Wyl.* p. 249.) In 1170, at *Wimbor*, and afterwards at *Wimborne*. (*Brompt.* p. 1001. *Hoved.* p. 518.) One at *Christchurch*. (*Hoved.* p. 520, 521.) In 1171, one was held. (*Gerwas.* p. 1390.) In 1175, one at *Wimborne*, in *April*. (*Gerwas.* p. 1424.) In 1176, at *Windsor*. (*Hoved.* p. 545.) At *Reading* at *Whitfuntide*, (*Brompt.* p. 1102.) At *York*. (*Hoved.* p. 545. *Dieta.* p. 589.) At *Clarendon*. (*Hoved.* p. 545. *Id.*) At *Wimborne*. (*Id.* p. 545. *Id.*) In 1176, *January* 26, at *Northampton*. (*Dieta.* p. 588. *Hoved.* p. 545. *Id.*) One about *Whitfuntide*. (*Brompt.* p. 1112.) *June* 19, at *Wimborne*. (*Dieta.* p. 586.) *June* 29, at *Northampton*. (*Brompt.* p. 1108. *Hoved.* p. 545. *Id.*) In 1179, at *Christchurch*, at *Northampton*. (*Hoved.* p. 553. *Brompt.* p. 1117.) In 1177, at *Northampton*. *June* 14. (*Brompt.* p. 1118.) At *Ex*, and *Wimbor*. (*Brompt.* p. 1127.)

II. Remarkable Occurrences: King *Henry* brought into *England* the *Angerin* Fashion of wearing short Cloaks, or Mantles, for which Reason he is sometimes called short or *Court-Mantle*. *Brompt.* p. 1150.—About 1176, *London-Bridge* began to be built with stone, by *Peter Colman* a Priest. The King contributed to the advancement of so good a Work: A Cardinal, who was then Legate here, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gave one thousand Marks towards it. The Course of the River was, for the Time, turned another way; by a *Trench* cast for that Purpose, beginning at *Battersea*, and ending above *Rotherhithe*. It was thirty three Years in Building. See *the Survey*. Part. I. p. 53.—In 1178, King *Henry* laid the Foundation of *Marston* Castle. See *the Chron.* p. 152.—In 1177 the *Jesuits* obtained permission to have a Church-yard near every Town, where they lived: Before, they had but one in *England*, namely at *London*. *Brompt.* p. 1129, 1152. *Hoved.* p. 568.

III. The two first Branches of the Royal Revenue being spoken of already; namely, the Demeans of the Crown and Escheats, the third Branch is the Feudal, and other Profits arising from thence, as *Reliefs*; upon the Death of his Ancestor, every Heir that held his Lands by Barony, or Knight's Service, was obliged to pay a Sum of Money to the King, on his taking possession of the Inheritance. These Reliefs were at first uncertain till *Magna Charta*, when an Earl paid one hundred Pound, a Baron one hundred Marks, a Knight, for one Fee, five Pounds. Here it must be observed, that some Barons were much larger than others, and so of the Knight's Fees. This difference arose from the respective Charters of the Feoffment. For if the King enfeoffed a Man of forty Knight's Fees, to hold by Barony; or ten Knight's Fees, to hold by Barony; the Tenure was Barony in each Case. So also, if the King enfeoffed a Man of twenty Carues of Land, to hold by the Service of one Knight; or fifty Carues, to hold by the Service of one Knight; the Feoffee had in each Case, one Knight's Fee. For this reason, at certain times, a Distinction was made between the Baronies, and Fees of the old, and those of the new Feoffment; the old being commonly larger than those of the new. Notwithstanding this difference, the Relief of the Barony or Fee, whether it was a greater or lesser, was the same. But when two Baronies came to be vested in one Man, he was charged with a Relief for each. 2. Another feudal profit, was *Wardship* and *Marriage*. During the Nonage of the Heirs of the King's Tenants in Capite, the King could dispose of the Custody and Marriage of them to whom he pleased, which raised him a great Revenue. A fourth Branch of the Revenue, was the yearly Farms of the Counties. From the Reign of *William I.* the King used to let out the several Counties, upon a yearly Farm or Rent, or commit them to Custody. The Farmer or Committee, was usually styled Sheriff. Most, if not all the Counties, as appears by the Revenue Rolls, were thus let at Farm in King *Stephen's* Reign. When a County was let for more than formerly, the Improvement was called *Crummentum*, the *Increment*; which was sometimes an-

Henry finds that his Son John had held intelligence with Richard. Brompt. He curses his Sons. He dies at Chinon. Brompt. Hoved.

His Corps elected at the Approach of Richard. Brompt. p. 1151. Hoved.

Character of Henry II. Brompt. p. 1044, 1150, 1151.

Brompton, p. 1151.

1189

Brompt. Hoved.

Hoveden.

Hoved.

Hoved. Hoved.

It is pretended that the Captivity of the Queen was found in the Reign. Brompt. p. 1152, &c.

sawered

6. RICHARD I. Surnamed COEUR-de-LION.

1189.

R. c. as
n. in
cl. man. ing
Alicia.and shows
no jealousy
of his Bro-
ther John.
Dieton.He does Ho-
mage to
Philip, and
is crowned
Duke of
Normandy.
Hoved.
Gervase.
R. Dieton.
Brompt.He leaves
no jealousy
to his Mother.
Hoved.
Brompt.

AS soon as Henry was laid in his Grave, Richard's Complaints were easily perceived to be only Pretences to colour his Rebellion. He had earnestly desired Leave to consummate his Marriage with Alice of France, and complained of the King his Father's great Injustice in obstructing his Happiness. And yet, when this pretended Happiness was in his power, he thought no more of it. On the other hand, his Jealousies and Fears on account of Prince John his Brother, vanished on a sudden. Instead of returning forthwith into England, as he would certainly have done, had he been apprehensive of his Brother's cabals, he staid above a month in France (1), after Henry's Death, without having the least Uneasiness on that Account. His first Care was to do Homage to Philip, and thank him withal for the Protection he had granted him. This Visit procured him the Restitution of the Places conquered by that Monarch during the late War (2). After that, he went and received the Ducal Crown of Normandy at Roan (3), where he remained some time, showing by that he was not afraid his Absence might prejudice his Affairs in England. And indeed, so far were the English from disputing his Right to the Crown, that his Orders were executed as if he had already received it. The first he sent thither was to release his Mother Queen Eleanor, who languished in Prison sixteen Years. At the same time he entrusted her with the Administration of the Government during his Absence, and empowered her to release what Prisoners she pleased (4). The Queen, being taught by her own, to pity others Misfortunes, used with pleasure, for the Relief

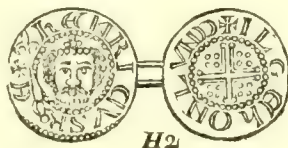
of the unhappy, the Power given her by the King. Nay, she was observed, during the residue of her Life, to omit no opportunity of exercising her Charity to such as were debarred the Sweets of Liberty, the Value of which she had but too well learnt, during her long Confinement.

Eleanor's Compassion for Prisoners was very natural. But Richard's treatment of those that had, for his sake, exposed themselves to his Father's Repentment, was very surprizing (5). Instead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbid them ever to appear in his presence. At the same time he affected to load with Favours all that had resisted his Sollicitations. Hence was seen an Instance of what has been often remarked, that such as make use of indirect means to compass their Ends, detect in their hearts the Instruments they employ, and approve of the Conduct of those that are not to be diverted from their Duty.

After Richard had settled all his Affairs in France, he came to London (6), where he was solemnly crowned (7) by Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, who administered to him the customary Oath (8). From William the Conqueror, there was no King but what had taken the same Oath; though not one had been careful to perform it. This the Archbishop took the Freedom to represent to Richard, conjuring him withal, in the name of God, to be mindful of the Vows and Oaths he had just taken in accepting the Royal Dignity. Richard made answer, that by God's assistance he would punctually perform them all (9).

The

twined in Pallaces, Hawks, &c. 2. The yearly Farms of the Towns, Burghs, and Gilds. It is to be remembered, that from the Time of the Conquest, the Cities and Towns were divided either in the Crown, or the Clergy, or the Baronage. Some of those Towns the King was possessed of, as part of the original Inheritance of the Crown; others by ancient Liege, just as his other Lands. When the King was seized of a City, or Town, in Demean, he was Lord of the Soil, &c. of all the Land within the Site and Precinct thereof, of all the Burghs Houses, Sheds, Stalls and Buildings, Herbage, Profits of Fairs and Markets, Pleas and Perquisites of Courts; in a word, of all Issues, Profits and Appurtenances, of the City or Town of any kind, that was not alienated by himself or Ancestors. For sometimes the Crown thought fit to grant some Part, or Profit, to a private Person or Monastery. Such a City or Town, was commonly called *Castellum Regis*, *Villa Regis*, *Burgum Regis*; and the Men, *Homines* or *Burgenses Regis*. The yearly Profit, made by the King, of his Cities and Towns, was paid him several ways. The Issues of some were included in the general Farms of the County where they lay, and were answered by the Sheriff. Sometimes the King committed them to *Tenants*, or *Custodes*, distinct from the Sheriffs. In a word, sometimes the King let his Town to the Townsmen, at Farm for Years, or on *Fee Farm*, that is, perpetual Farm for ever, since *Feodum*, *Fee* was used in England, to signify a perpetual Estate, it has been used to denote perpetuity in Office and in Rent. Thus inheritable Offices have been called *Offices in Fee*. When a Town was put to *Fee Farm*, the Tenure was *Burgage*. Particular Burgage, Tenements lying in the Town, as well as the Town itself, were said to be so holden. In process of Time, most of the Towns and Burghs, came to be let to the respective Townsmen or Burgesses at *Fee Farm*. To the Farms of the Towns, may be referred the Farms or yearly Payments to the Crown, by the *Gilds* and *Mysters*. The word *Gild*, signifies a *Company*, *Society*, *Fraternity*, by which last Name the Religious *Gilds* were called, that were founded for Devotion and Alms Deeds, as the secular *Gilds* were chiefly for Trade and Alms-Deeds. These *Gilds* could not be set up without the King's Warrant. The *Gilds* of Goldsmiths, Bochers, and others, were amerced in London, to the Crown, as *Adulterine*, in the Reign of Henry II. There was also in former Times a secular *Gild*, called *Gilda Mercatoria*, a *Mercantile Gild*. From these *Gilds*, perhaps, sprung the Practice of gildating or embodying whole Towns. In time, the several *Gilds* of Goldsmiths, Salters, &c. were called *Corporations* or *Companies*. All these *Gilds* paid a yearly Farm to the King. As for the *Mysters*, it is to be observed, that this Word has no relation to the Word *Mystery*, as it there was, as it is vulgarly said, some *Mystery* in every Trade. For though *Mystery* has been used for many Years past for a *Craft*, or *Occupation*, the true derivation is from the *Gallie Mystera*, *Mojtera*, or *Mesier*, signifying a Trade. Thus we find in Edward III. the *Mystere* of Tailors, Armorsers, and others. The other three remaining Branches of the Revenue, will be the Subject of the next Note on the Coin.



King Henry II's Coin is the same with those of his Predecessors, giving him full-faced, with a Scepter in his Right-Hand, a Crown of a Row of Pearls of five Points, with a Cross rated upon the Middlemost, and this Inscription, HENRICUS. REX. on the Reverse, a double-lined Cross, terminating at the inner Circle, and four Pellets in each Quarter: Which on some are conjoined by a small Stroke, in form of a Cross. DODELMON. WINC. (Wincchester) NICOLE. ON. LUND. one there is, ILGEH. ON. LUND. THOMAS. ON. EVE (York) RENAUD. ON. EVE. Whether his Son Henry, who died before him, coined any Money, is uncertain, but he had a great Seal. There appears to be in this Reign a foreign current Coin, called a *Bezant*, of the Value of two Shillings. For *Griffin*, the Jew of Winchester, was amerced one hundred Marks, and he paid instead thereof enamelled *Bezants*, which were accepted by the King, *moda gratia*. *Mag. Rot. Hen. II. Rot. 10. a. Substante*. This Coin was received from being coined at *Bezancon*, or *Constantinople*, says *Nicolson*, *Hist. Lib.* p. 252.

(1) The first thing he did there, was to imprison Stephen de Tours, Seneschal of Anjou, till he surrendered the Castles and Treasures, which the late King had committed to his Custody. *Hoved. p. 654. Brompt. p. 1154.*

(2) The Place where they met was between Chaumont and Trie, on July 22. Philip insisted upon the Restitution of *Gisors*, and other Places; but, instead of them, King Richard agreed to pay Philip four thousand Marks of Silver, besides the twenty thousand his Father Henry had engaged in the late Treaty to pay. *Hoved. p. 654. Brompt.*

(3) This was on July 20, the third Day before his Interview with Philip. *Hoved. p. 654.* He did not only receive the Ducal Crown; but, as *Hoveden* expresses it, was girt with the Sword of the Duke of Normandy, (for that was the Form of Investiture) by the Archbishop of Roan, in the presence of the Bishops, Earls, and Barons of Normandy. *Hoved. ibid. Brompt. p. 1155.*

(4) He also gave her whatever King Henry I. and Stephen had granted to their Queens for a Dowry; besides what Henry II. her Husband, had allowed her. *Brompt. p. 1169. Hoved. p. 665.*

(5) He restored Robert Earl of Leicester, and others to their Estates, of which they had been deprived by his Father. *Hoved. p. 654. Brompt. p. 1156.*

(6) He landed at Portsmouth, August 13, (or, according to *Gervase*, at Southampton, August 12. p. 1549.) being attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and Chichester. From thence he went to Winchester August 15. where he took an Account of his Father's Treasure. *Hoved. p. 655. Brompt. p. 1156. M. Paris, p. 152. Dieton. p. 646.*

(7) September 3. Brompton, p. 1157. Dieton, p. 647. *Gervase* says he came to London, September 10, and was crowned the 11th, p. 1549.

(8) The second Day after his Coronation he received the Homage of all the great Men. *Hoved. p. 657, 658. Brompt. p. 1160.*

(9) It may not be amiss from *Hoveden* and *Dieton* (who were Eye-Witnesses) to let down the Ceremonies at large, since we may learn from hence the whole Form of an ancient Coronation: The Archbishops of Canterbury, Roan, Trier, who came over with the King, and Dublin, with other Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers carried before them, received the Duke at the Door of his Privy-Chamber, and conducted him with a solemn Procession to the Abby-Church of Westminster. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy went four Barons, each carrying a golden

1189.
Some Jews
flam.
Neubrig.
l. 4.
Brompt.
Hoved.
Dieto.

The ceremony of the Coronation was somewhat disturbed by the massacre of some *Jews*, who by striving too eagerly to get into the Church to see the solemnity (1), gave occasion to the People to fall upon them and kill several before their fury could be restrained. But the Authors of this disorder were not suffered to go unpunished. The King ordering strict Inquisition to be made, the Chief Ring-Leaders were deservedly put to death (2).

Brompton.
p. 1171.

It is no wonder, the People should fall on the *Jews* upon so flight an occasion. Since the news of the taking of *Jerusalem* was spread over *Europe*, nothing but vengeance was breathed against the enemies of Christ. Though the *Jews* were not concerned in the late revolution in the East, their not being Christians was sufficient to render them odious. At such a juncture, they would doubtless have found themselves exposed to worse Persecutions, if the preparations for the Crusade had not at length turned the fury of the People against the *Saracens*. This Zeal, especially in *France* and *England*, ran so high, that the number of the *Croisfes* was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in lifting himself to go in person against the Infidels, or in advancing money for the War. *Richard* bound himself by the like Vow before his Father's death. He renewed his Engagement at the late interview between him and *Philip*, where these two Monarchs agreed to join their Forces, and go to the assistance of the Christians of *Palestine*. *Richard* was scarce on the Throne, when, for fear of forgetting his Promise, *Philip* sent to put him in mind of it (3). There was no need to use much sollicitation to incline him to that Undertaking. Far from desiring to be excused, he thought of only preparations for his Journey, neglecting for its sake all his other affairs. Whether this proceeded from a pure Principle of zeal and devotion, or from an eager desire of acquiring Fame, I dare not determine. However, if it be allowable to judge by the Character of *Richard*, it is to be presumed *Glory* had a greater share in it than Religion.

The Order
of the Chris-
tians for the
Crusade.

Philip puts
Richard in
mind of his
Vow.
Hoved.
p. 660.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 63.
Brompt.
Dieto.
M. Paris.

As this Prince had grand Views, and intended to lead a powerful Army into *Palestine*, it was necessary to raise vast Sums for its maintenance. Accordingly, he was wholly intent upon that, till the time came to begin his voyage. The late King left in his Coffers above a hundred thousand Marks (4), and *Richard* drew little less from the Treasurer and others, who managed the Revenues in the late reign. But thinking these Sums insufficient for the Charges of his Voyage, he used all manner of

The Means
used by
Richard to
raise Money.
Hoved.
Brompton.

ways to increase them. He sold almost all the Crown-Lands to such as would purchase them. The Bishops and Abbots having the most ready Money, made a greater advantage of this opportunity than others. The Bishop of *Durham* purchased the Earldom of *Northumberland* for himself and Successors (5); upon which the King jestingly said, *He had made a young Earl of an old Bishop* (6). But this new Dignity was not capable of satisfying the Prelate's ambition: He gave moreover one thousand Marks to be Justiciary during the King's absence (7). As *Richard* evidently appeared to be unwilling to omit any means that might procure him ready Money, to defray the Expences of his intended Voyage, the King of *Scotland* thought he should improve this opportunity (8). To that Purpose, he offered him ten thousand Marks to deliver up *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, and desist from his claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. *Richard*, very readily accepting the offer, gave up the two Places, and by authentick Charter, discharged the King of *Scotland*, and his Successors, from the Homage extorted from him by *Henry II.*

1189.
Brompt.
M. Paris.

Hoved.
p. 65.
Brompt.
M. Paris.

Dieto.
Hoved.
Brompt.
M. Paris.

Richard I.
the Devisers

Many People were uneasy at these Alienations. Nay, some took the liberty to represent to the King the ill consequences thereof. But he stopped their mouths with this reply, *I would sell London itself could I meet with a Chapman able to purchase it.* The sums amassed by these extraordinary ways, not answering yet to the vastness of his projects, he bethought himself of a new Expedient to augment them. As multitudes had hastily and unadvisedly engaged in the Crusade, he obtained of the Pope a Power to dispense with such as repented of their Vow (9), by which means he raised very great Sums. After practising these general methods, he proceeded to exact Money from the richest of his Subjects. He borrowed of those who led an unblameable life; but for such as gave him any handle, he threatened to call them to a strict account (10), and forced them to prevent it by Presents. It was by this means that he compelled *Glanville*, a rich Lawyer, whom he had committed to prison, to purchase his Liberty with fifteen thousand Pounds Sterling (11). Though he had resolved to leave the Great-Seal, in his absence, with *Longchamp* his Favourite, lately made Chancellor, he demanded of him however a large Sum to continue him in that post (12). Whilst he was thus heaping up Money, the Clergy were zealously labouring to procure him Soldiers; the Pulpits resounding with the great merit of serving in the Holy War. The Confessors enjoined

golden Candlestick, with a Taper; after whom came *Gosfrey de Lucy*, bearing the Royal Cap, and *John de Marshal* next, with a massy pair of Gold Spurs: Then *William Earl of Pembroke*, with the Royal Sceptre: After him *William Fitz-Patrick Earl of Salisbury*, with a golden Rod, having a Dove on the Top: Then three other Earls, *David Brother to the King of Scotland*, as Earl of *Huntingdon*; Prince *John Earl of Lancaster and Derby*; with *Robert Earl of Leicester*, each bearing a Sword upright, the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold: After them six Bishops and Barons bearing a checkered Table, on which were laid the Royal Robes, and other Regalia: Then came *William Maudslai Earl of Almonac and Essex*, bearing a large Crown of Gold set with precious Stones: Then Duke *Richard* himself, (between the Bishop of *Durham* and *Bath*) over whom a Canopy of State was borne by four Barons: Then followed a great Train of Earls, Barons, Knights, &c. In this Order he came into the Church, where before the high Altar, laying his Hand on the Evangelists and Relicks of Saints, he took a solemn Oath, "That he would observe Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and her Ministers, all the days of his Life; That he would exercise upright Justice and Equity towards the People committed to his Charge; and that he would abrogate and disannul all evil Laws and wrongful Customs, and make, keep, and sincerely maintain those that were good and laudable." Then they put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, except his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders, and put on his Shoes which were of gold Tissue, and the Archbishop painted him on the Head, the Breast, and the Arms; then covering his Head with a Linen Cloth, he set the Cap thereon which *Gosfrey de Lucy* carried; and when he had put on his Waistcoat, and on that his *Dalmatica*, or Upper Garment, the Archbishop delivered to him the Sword of the Kingdom; which done, two Earls put on his Spurs, and he was led, with the Royal Mantle hung on him, to the Altar, where the Archbishop charged him on God's behalf, *Not to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he rejected irresolvably to keep the Laws and Oaths he had just then made:* To which the King answered, *That by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all.* Then the Crown was taken from beside the Altar and given to the Archbishop, who set it upon the King's Head, delivering the Sceptre into his Right-hand, and the Rod Royal into his Left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his Throne with the same Solemnity as before. Then Mass began, and when they came to the Offertory, the King was led by the Bishops of *Durham* and *Bath* to the Altar, where he offered a Mark of pure Gold, as his Predecessors were wont to do, and afterwards was brought back to his Throne by the same Bishops. After Mass, he was attended, thus royally arrayed, to a Chamber adjoining in like Procession as before: Whence (after a short Repose) he with the same Procession returned into the Choir; and having put off his heavy Crown and Robes, he went to Dinner. At the Coronation-Feast, which was kept in *Westminster-Hall*, the Citizens of *London* were his Butlers, and those of *Winchester* served up the Meat. Then the Archbishop and Bishops sat down with the King, whilst the Earls and Barons served in the King's Palaces, as their Places and Dignities required. *Hoved. p. 660. Dieto. p. 647.* *Ralph de Dieto*, (who was then Dean of *St. Paul's*, and in the Vacancy of the Bishoprick of *London* assisted at the Coronation, and delivered the *Christm* or consecrated Oil, with which the King was anointed) has the remarkable Words just before his Account of the Coronation, "*Richard Earl of Poitou*, being by hereditary Right to be made King, [promissendus in Regem] after a solemn and due Election by the Clergy and Laity, took a threefold Oath, &c." By which Words it should seem that the Kings in those Days were not considered as completely Kings, till they were actually crowned, though the Custom be otherwise now. *Dieto. ibid.*

(1) They came to bring the King Presents; though Orders had been given, the Day before, that neither *Jews*, nor Women, should be at the Coronation. *Hoved. p. 657. Brompton. p. 1159. 1160. M. Paris. p. 154.*

(2) The Example of the *Londoners* was followed the next Year in the Towns of *Norwich*, on February 6; *Stamford*, March 7; *St. Edmundsbury*, March 13; *Lincoln* and *Lynn*, where the Rabble rose upon the *Jews*; but their greatest Fury was exerted against them at *York*, March 16, where five hundred Men, besides Women and Children, having prevailed with the Governor to let them into the Castle to avoid the Rage of the Populace; the High-Sheriff came and required them to deliver it up, which they refusing to do, the People drew up in a Body and attacked the Castle. At last the *Jews* offered a great Sum of Money to go off with their Lives; but the People denied to give them quarter. Upon which an ancient *Rabbin* proposed the killing themselves rather than fall into the Hands of the unmerciful Christians. This Motion was unanimously agreed to, and their Method in putting their tragical Resolve in Execution, was thus: Every Master of a Family cut his Wife's and Children's Throats first, then dispatched his Servants, and concluded with the Slaughter of himself. *Will. of Newburgh. l. 4. c. 9. Dieto. p. 651. Brompt. p. 1171. &c.* It is strange (says *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 422.) to observe the preposterous Zeal of some of our Monkish Writers, who do not only excuse but applaud this Barbarity, because (say they) it served to destroy the Enemies of the Christian Faith.

(3) He sent to him, in November, *Reiron Earl of Perche*; who addressed himself not only to the King, but also to the Earls and Barons of *England*; whereupon King *Richard* assembled a Parliament at *London* or *Westminster*, to consider of this Affair. *N. B.* This is the first time the Word *Parliamentum* occurs in the ancient Historians. *Brompt. p. 1166. Hoved. p. 660.*

(4) *Brompton* says, there was found in his Treasury above nine hundred thousand Pounds, besides Jewels, &c. *p. 1156. M. Paris. p. 152.*

(5) He bought it only for Lite. *Hoved. p. 638. M. Paris. p. 154.*

(6) He likewise bought the Minor of *Sedgefield*, with the Wapentake, and settled it upon the See of *Durham*. *Brompt. p. 1162. M. Paris. p. 154.* The Bishop of *Winchester* bought also of the King the two Manors of *Waregrave* and *Means*. *Brompt. 1162. Hoved. p. 659.*

(7) *Rapin* by mistake says Ten. See *Brompt. p. 1162. M. Paris. p. 154.*

(8) He came to *Richard* at *Canterbury*, in December. *Brompt. p. 1167.*

(9) The Bishop of *Norwich* paid him upon that account a thousand Marks. *Brompt. p. 1175. Hoved. p. 663.*

(10) By this means he squeezed a great deal of Money out of the Sheriffs and Bailiffs; and those Sheriffs that would not pay so much as the King exacted of them, were turned out, and others put in their room. *M. Paris. p. 154.*—The King also made a new Seal, and ordered all Persons to have their Charters or Grants renewed. *M. Paris. p. 156.*

(11) This was *Ranulph de Glanville*, whom *Henry II.* made Justiciary of all *England*, and who lately resigned that Office. *Cujus sapientia* (says *Hoveden*) *condita sunt Leges subscriptae quas Anglicanas vocamus;* after which he gave us the Laws of *Edward the Confessor* and *William I.*, as if there had never been brought into any regular Form before his Time. The Book that he wears his Name has kept the same Title in its several Editions, viz. *Tractatus de Legibus & Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, tempore Regis Henrici II. compiliatus*, &c. In which we have Forms of such Writs as were then (and are mostly still) in use, upon all the several Occasions there treated on. He is said to be the Inventor of the famous Writ of *Assize*, or *de novel Disputis*. He died in his Voyage to the Holy-Land, being very aged.

(12) Three thousand Pounds.

1189. no Penances but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering the *Holy-Land*. By these means the Army soon became very numerous, and so much better provided with all things, as there was not an Officer or common Soldier but what furnished themselves with Necessaries.

Amidst the King's satisfaction to see the Preparations for his Voyage in such forwardness, there was one thing that gave him disquiet. As he should probably be long absent, he was apprehensive his Brother might take advantage of his Absence and seize the Crown. He would fain have carried him along with him. But as *John* showed no inclination for the Voyage, he would not compel him to make an involuntary Vow. To free himself from this perplexity, he resolved to load with Favours the young Prince, whose Ambition was not yet known to him. He imagined the Grants he should make him would engage him to a grateful return. Accordingly he invested him with six Earldoms (1). *Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster* (2), and gave him to wife *Avis*, Heir of the House of *Glocester*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* forbade the Marriage, by reason of their being too near a kin (3). But there was a sort of necessity for it. The late Earl of *Glocester*, Father of *Avis*, for reasons unknown, made Prince *John* his Heir. This Settlement would infallibly have caused a great Law-Suit, in which there was danger of the Prince's being cast, and from thence taking occasion to raise disturbances. The death of his Wife, daughter of the Earl of *Montagne* (4), made the King easy in that respect. By her death a very natural way offered of reconciling the two Parties, by joining them in Marriage. And therefore, the Archbishop's Prohibition, though founded on the Canons, gave place for once to reasons of State (5), and *John* became also Earl of *Glocester* in right of *Avis*, his wife (6). Mean time, though *Richard* had, in a manner, shared his Kingdom with his Brother, he would not suffer him to have any hand in the Government during his absence, lest he should make him too powerful. Nay, led by this Fear, he caused him to swear to go and remain in *Normandy*; but before his departure released him from his Oath. To *Longchamp* his Favourite he committed the Regency (7), jointly with the Bishop of *Durham* (8). *Longchamp* was a *Norman* of mean extraction, who, by his interest with the King, was become Bishop of *Ely*, High-Chancellor, and the Pope's Legate over all *England*. All these Dignities together with the Regency, rendered him the most powerful Subject that had ever been in *England*. A Historian therefore very justly gives him the Titles of *Prince* and *Pontiff* of the *English*, since all the Power spiritual and temporal was united in his Person.

After *Richard* had taken all necessary care for the government of the State, he was willing to secure its Tranquillity, by renewing his Alliance with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*. To that end, he desired these two Princes to come into *England*, in order to adjust every thing that might occasion Disputes; and thereby take from them all pretence of disturbing the Peace of his Subjects. The former, who had reason to be satisfied, made a strict Alliance with him, and as some affirm, sent his Brother *David* to attend him in his Voyage with a thousand *Scotchmen*. *Griffin* King of *Wales* sent into *England* his eldest Son *Rees*, but some Difference in point of Ceremony arising, that Prince returned without seeing the

King (9). However, as *Richard*'s Affairs with the *Walls* were of no great moment, that Accident caused him not to delay his Voyage (10).

Every thing being ready for his Departure, *Richard* 1190. sailed into *France* (11) with all his Troops, and marched for *Marseilles*, where his Fleet had orders to expect him. The two Armies of *France* and *England* joined at *Veze-lai*, according to agreement. As soon as the two Kings arrived there, they renewed their Alliance, and obliged themselves to protect and defend one another upon all occasions. They agreed moreover, that all Quarrels in which their absence between their Subjects should be superse- dited till their return. The Bishops that attended them thus far, promised to excommunicate all that should attempt to disturb the Peace of the two Kingdoms. After the two Monarchs had concerted whatever was thought necessary to accomplish their designs (12), they marched together as far as *Lyons* (13), where they parted. *Philip* took the rout to *Genoa*, and *Richard* to *Marseilles* (14), where he was to meet his Fleet. But he waited there some time (15) to no purpose. A violent Storm had so dispersed his Ships, that they were not yet able to re-join. Nay, part being driven by stress of weather into *Portugal*, the King of that Country made use of the Assistance sent him by Providence, to relieve the City of *Santarin*, besieged by the *Miramelin* [or Emperor] of *Africa*. These hindrances preventing the Fleet from arriving at *Marseilles* by the time the King expected, he could not prevail with himself to wait any longer. Impatient to be at *Messina*, the general rendezvous of the *Croises*, he hired some Vessels (16) at *Marseilles*, and embarking part of his Troops, set sail for *Sicily*. Some Accident obliging him to come to an anchor at the mouth of the *Tyber*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Offia* to invite him to come and refresh himself a few days at *Rome*; but he refused the invitation. Presently after he had the satisfaction to see his Fleet arrive (17) with the rest of the Army, and continuing his course to *Messina*, arrived there the 20th of September (18). The sight of so great an armament caused no less admiration in the *Sicilians* than jealousy in the King of *France*, who was vexed to see the Forces of his Vassal superior to his own. As the stay these two Monarchs made in *Sicily* occasioned some remarkable Events, it will be necessary, for the greater perspicuity, to show whence they sprung.

Tancred, who reigned then in *Sicily*, was natural Son of King *Roger*, who left Issue *William*, surnamed the *Bad*, and *Constantia*, a Nun at *Palermo*. To *William* the *Bad* succeeded his Son, *William the Good*, who marrying *Joanna* of *England*, Sister of *Richard*, died without Heirs. After his death Pope *Clement III.* who sat then in the Papal chair, pretended that *Sicily*, as a Fief of the Church, was devolved to the Holy See. Mean time, *Tancred* the Bastard found means to get himself elected, on pretence that *Sicily* now wanted a King to defend her against the *Saracens*, that were possessed of part of the Island. *Clement* dying in the mean time, *Celestine III.* his successor kept up the same pretensions, and treating *Tancred* as an Usurper, resolved to exert his utmost to wrest the Crown from him. But perceiving he could not execute this design alone, he applied to the Emperour *Henry VI.* of the House of *Swabia*, and gave him the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in case he could conquer it. To add another Right to that of *Donation*, he caused the Prin-

(1) *Brompton* says he confirmed to him all the Lands which his Father had granted him, viz. four thousand Pounds in Land in *England*, p. 1155.
(2) He gave him, beside the Earldom of *Montagne*, the Honours of *Wiltshire, York, and Ebor*; and the Castles and Honours of *Marlborough, Lancaster, the Peck, the Castle of Blythe*, and all the Lands of *William Peterel*. *Head*, p. 633. *Brompt.* p. 1157.
(3) *Henry I.* was Great Grandfather to both. *Rufen*. She is called by *Sandford, Hubella*, third and youngest Daughter and Coheir of *William* Earl of *Glocester*, Son of *Robert Curial*, natural Son of *Henry I.* *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 82.

(4) In *Normandy*. He married in two Giants in the Chamber of the Duchy of *Lancaster*. *COMES MORITONIE*. On the Seals of these Grants he is represented on Horseback, with a Shield hanging at his Neck, on which are two Lions passant, which are the first Arms on any Seal of the Royal Family being in the Reign of *Henry II.* The Seal is fully depicted in *Speed's Chronicle*, the Lion being there *passant guardant*, and *John's* Arms supported, a Tower not in use till *Edward I.* The Arms of *Queen Isabel* his Wife, on the Tomb at *Westminster*, are *L. Argent, Or, and Gules, Sand. Geneal.* p. 82.

(5) They were married at *Marlborough*, *August 20.* *Brompt.* p. 1157.
(6) *Richard* did give *William* *Marschall*, the Daughter of *Richard* Earl of *Strigul*, together with that Earldom; and to *Gilbert Fitz-Roger*, the Daughter of *William de Lancaster*. *Head*, p. 633.

(7) He made him Chancellor, and delivered to him the Custody of the Tower of *London*. *Brompt.* p. 1170.
(8) Who was appointed Chief Justiciary of all *England*, and Governor of *Windsor-Castle*, and the Forest adjoining, with the County of *Dorset*. The King divided *England* between these two Regents, that the Bishop of *Durham's* Jurisdiction reached from the *Hammer* to *Scotland*; And *Longchamp's* extended over the rest of the Kingdom. *M. Paris.* p. 110.

(9) He came as far as *Cardiff*; but because King *Richard* did not come to meet him, as his Father used to do, he went back in a Passion. *Head*, loc. cit.

(10) *November 14*, died at *Evreux, William de Marschall*, Earl of *Essex* and *Gloucester*. *Ducet.* p. 650. *Head*, p. 660.
(11) He arrived at *Paris*, *December 5*, and the 11th, passed over to *Calais*. Immediately after *Christmas*, he had an Interview with the King of *France* at *La St. Remy*, and entered with him into an Alliance, the Terms of which see in *Brompton*, p. 1170. *Head*, p. 664. They agreed to meet at *Paris*, *June 24.* *Brompt.* and *Head*, loc. cit.

(12) At *Cyprus* King *Richard* issued many very remarkable Orders for the preserving Peace in the Navy, during the *Jerusalem Expedition*; viz. That if any one killed a Man in a Ship, he was to be bound to the dead Man, and flung into the Sea. If any one was convicted to have drawn his Dagger or Knife to hurt another, or touch his Hand, he was to lose his Hand. If any one struck another with his open Hand, without Effusion of Blood, he was to be ducked thrice over Head and Ear in the Sea. If any one gave his Companion's epithetous Language, to censure as he did it, he was to give him many Ounces of Silver. If any man stole any thing, his Head was to be shaved, and boiling Pitch poured upon it, and Feathers stuck therein, that he might be known; and the first Land the Ship touched, he was to be set on Shore. *Brompt.* p. 666. *M. Paris.* p. 158.

(13) Their Army consisted of above one hundred thousand Persons. *G. Vinifant.* p. 305.

(14) He met there abundance of *Papists*, who had spent all their Money, and offered him their Services, many of whom he retained. *Brompt.* p. 1173. *M. Paris.*

(15) Eight Days, *Brompt.* loc. cit. He sailed from *Marseilles*, *August 7*, or *9.* *Brompt.* loc. cit. *Head*, p. 667. *Ducet.* p. 656.

(16) He hired twenty Galleys, and ten other Ships. *Brompt.* p. 1173. *Head*, p. 667.

(17) His Fleet came to *Messina*, *August 22.* and to *Messina*, *September 14.* *Brompt.* p. 1179. *Head*, p. 673.

(18) The twenty third, *434 Head*, p. 673.

1190. cels *Constantia* to be taken out of the Nunnery of *Palermo*, and dispensing with her Vow, married her to *Henry*, though she was fifty years old. However unlikely it was there should be any Heirs, *Constantia* proved with child in her two and fiftieth year. And to remove all suspicion of foul play, she was publickly brought to bed, in a Tent, of a Son called *Frederick*. The Queen Dowager of *Sicily* being, probably, too far concerned with the Pope, *Tancred* shut her up in prison, where she was detained ever since. But upon *Richard's* arrival she was set at liberty, and sent to the King her Brother, who was not contented with so slight a Satisfaction. He demanded for the Queen his Sister the *Dower* assigned her by King *William II.* her Husband, and threatened to use Force in case *Tancred* refused to comply. This demand and the Menace that attended it, caused the King of *Sicily* to look upon *Richard* as his real Enemy. *Richard* finding *Tancred* was very backward to give him the Satisfaction required, and fearing perhaps some Treachery, thought best to provide for his safety. To that end, he seized a Castle and Monastery not far from *Messina* (1), where he laid up his Stores under a strong Garrison. *Tancred*, who was naturally mistrustful, did not question but the King of *England* was come at the Pope's instance, and sought occasion to deprive him of his Crown. To frustrate his imaginary design, he caused the Inhabitants of *Messina*, on account of some disorder in their City (2), to expel all the *English*; which could not be done without some effusion of Blood. *Richard*, incensed at this outrage, resolved to attack *Messina* forthwith. But *Tancred*, who was at *Palermo*, protesting he had no hand in the Riot, and would punish the Authors, he was patient, in expectation of the performance of his Promise. Mean time, the *Messinians* still refusing to open their gates to the *English*, and *Tancred* delaying too long the promised Satisfaction, *Richard* perceived at length, he sought only to amuse him. His indignation was so great, that without further demanding a Reparation, which he had in his power to procure himself, he resolved to enter *Messina* by force. Accordingly, he attacked the City so furiously, that he became master of it in the first Assault (3). He was no sooner entered but he ordered his Banners to be displayed on the Walls, even in that part of the Town which was allotted to the *French*. Upon their arrival at *Messina*, the two Kings agreed, that in order to prevent Quarrels among the Soldiers, the City should be divided into two parts, and each Nation should have one half to themselves for their necessary occasions. It was therefore manifest, that in setting up his Banners in the *French* Division, *Richard* broke his Agreement with *Philip*. Accordingly *Philip* complained so bitterly of it, that the two Monarchs would have come to an entire rupture, had not the matter been adjusted by the mediation of the great Men on both sides. *Richard* at length took down his Banners, protesting that, without any intention to affront *Philip*, he only designed to compel the King of *Sicily* to give him Satisfaction for the Injury done to the *English*. To shew his sincerity, he delivered the custody of *Messina* to the Templars, till the difference between him and *Tancred* should be decided. This agreement being made, *Tancred*, who till then kept at *Palermo*, came to *Richard* at *Messina* (4), and chose to satisfy his Demands in a handsome manner. He made a Treaty with him (5), obliging himself to pay the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Sister of *Richard*, twenty thousand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and as many to *Richard*, in lieu of certain Legacies, left by *William the Good* to *Henry II.* his Father-in-law. By this same Treaty, a marriage was agreed upon between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, nephew to *Richard*, and *Tancred's* daughter. Moreover, *Tancred* promised to fit out ten Gallies and six large Ships for the service of the *Croises*. Upon these terms, *Richard* desisted from all other Pretensions whatever, and subjected his Dominions to the Pope's censures, in case he violated his Oath. These two Princes being, in appearance, perfectly reconciled, *Richard* made a present to *Tancred* of King *Arthur's* Sword, to which the *Britons* had given the Name of *Caliburn*.

1191. Though outwardly *Tancred* seemed satisfied, he could not digest a Treaty which force alone had compelled

him to sign. He would fain have engaged the King of *France* in his Quarrel, and made a League with him against *Richard*. But this Proposal being rejected, he went another way to work. As it was not in his power to be revenged separately, either of *Richard* who had offended him, or of *Philip* who had denied him his assistance, he attempted to revenge himself upon both at once, by sowing dissention between them. To that purpose, he privately warned the King of *England*, that *Philip* had ill designs against him. He even showed him a Letter, as he said, from the Duke of *Burgundy*, wherein it appeared that what he told him was not groundless. *Richard* gave ear to this Information, and expostulated with *Philip*, who accused him of seeking pretences to dissolve their Union. This Quarrel went so far, that the two Monarchs came at length to an open rupture. *Philip* sent *Richard* word, that unless he consummated his marriage with *Alice*, according to his Promise, he should look upon him as his mortal foe. *Richard* as warmly replied, that he could by no means marry a Princess who had a child by the King his Father, offering to prove it by Witnesses then present. *Philip* not thinking proper to pursue this Affair, persuaded as he was, that the Honour of his Sister might greatly suffer, desisted from his Demand. After several Conferences, he agreed that *Richard* should have liberty to marry where he pleased (6), a liberty which that Prince had already taken, by concluding a marriage with *Berenguella* of *Navarre*. *Philip's* moderation (7) seemed an entire reconciliation between the two Kings. But *Tancred's* late information made so deep an impression on the mind of *Richard*, and what *Richard* offered to prove concerning *Alice*, so exasperated *Philip*, that from that time forward they were never more Friends. However, they made ready for the continuation of their Voyage.

An *English* Historian assures us, that whilst they were preparing for their departure, *Richard* touched with remorse for his Sins, made a general Confession of all his Excesses, which was followed by a very visible reformation and amendment of Life (8). It were to be wished, this Author had more fully shewn what were the fruits of his Repentance. It is surprising to find no other effect of it, but his desire to confer with one *Joachim*, a *Cistercian* Abbot, whom he sent for. This Abbot passed all over *Italy* for a Prophet; and from thence in all likelihood, sprung *Richard's* desire to see him. It is said, that preaching one day before the King, he asserted that *Anti-christ* was already born, that he was at *Rome*, that he would be placed in the Papal Chair, and exalt himself above all the Gods; that is, above all the Princes of the Earth. Shortly after the Emperor and Empress went and received on their knees the imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope; who after setting it on their heads, kicked it off with his foot to shew his Superiority. This Action afforded ample matter for Reflection, to such as were prepossessed in favour of *Joachim*. They maintained, his Prediction was accomplished by that Proceeding of the Pope's.

The two Monarchs having spent the Winter at *Messina*, made ready for their Voyage, as soon as the Season permitted. *Philip* sailed first (9), *Richard* not being able to go with him, because he expected his Mother *Eleanor*, who was bringing the Princess of *Navarre* his Bride. These two Princesses arrived a few days after *Philip's* Departure (10), but *Eleanor* returned home forthwith (11), leaving *Berenguella* with her Daughter the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who was to accompany the King her Brother to the *Holy-Land*. Immediately after *Eleanor's* departure, *Richard* put to Sea (12) with a Fleet of one hundred and fifty Sail, fifty two Gallies, ten large Ships of burden laden with Provisions, and many small Vessels for the service of the Fleet. It is no where said what Forces embarked on this occasion; but by the number of Ships employed in the Expedition, it is easy to guess, the *English* Army must have been very numerous. Whilst the Fleet was rowing between the Islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, a sudden and violent Storm arose, which dispersed the Ships, and drove part of them on shore on the coast of *Cyprus* (13). That Isle was then under the dominion of *Isaac* of the *Comnenian* Race, who from being Governour under the Emperour of *Constantinople*, had

(1) September 30. *Brumpt.* p. 117. *Hoved.* p. 673.

(3) October 4, and 5. *Brumpt.* p. 680.

(4) March 4. *Brumpt.* p. 1194.

(2) October 3. *Brumpt.* p. 1180.

(5) In November. See *Hoved.* p. 682.

(6) But King *Richard* was obliged to pay ten thousand Marks of Silver for the Use of *Alice*, according to an Agreement made between him and *Philip*. *Brumpt.* p. 1190. *Hoved.* p. 683. *Du Roy* says, it was ten thousand Pounds, p. 657.

(7) *Philip* moreover granted, that the sovereignty of *Bretagne* should, for the future, belong to *Normandy*. *Hoved.* p. 683.

(8) He committed his Sins to the Archbishops and Bishops that accompanied him, and, stripping himself naked, received the Discipline from them. *Brumpt.* p. 1197. *Hoved.*

(9) *Richard* gave him several of his Ships, and distributed his Money about in a very prodigal Manner. *Brumpt.* p. 1193. *Templ* sailed from *Messina* the 28th or 29th of March. *Id.* p. 1197. *Hoved.* p. 687. *M. Paris.* p. 102.

(10) The very same Day he sailed. *Brumpt.* p. 1197. *Hoved.* p. 689.

(11) The fourth Day after. *Brumpt.* p. 1197.

(12) April the 9th or 10th. *M. Paris.* *Dicto.* p. 660.

(13) Three were lost, in which several Persons belonging to the King's Household perished; and amongst the rest Roger *Mareschal*, the King's *Chamberlain*, or Deputy Chamberlain, who was afterwards found with the Great Seal about his Neck. *Brumpt.* p. 1197.

1191. usurped the supreme Power, and assumed the title of Emperor. He was a covetous and brutish Man, that by his continual Cruelties and Extortions had incurred the hatred of his Subjects; but they durst not openly shew it. They waited for a favourable opportunity to free themselves from his Tyranny, which his own Avarice, and the arrival of the *English* Fleet, furnished them with, sooner than they expected. This inhuman Prince, instead of assisting the *English* that were stranded near the Port of *Limisso*, imprisoned those that escaped, and seized their Effects. He would not so much as suffer the Ship, which had the Princesses on board, to enter the Harbour, but was so cruel as to leave them exposed to the Wind and Seas. The Fleet, which had been separated, joining again on the Coast of *Cyprus*, *Richard* heard with extreme indignation, *Isaac's* Barbarity to the *English*. However, not to retard his Voyage, he was contented with demanding the Prisoners, and what had been seized. The insulting Answer he received making him take other resolutions, he made a descent in the Isle. The Attack was so furious, that *Isaac* was forced to abandon the shore, after seeing a great Slaughter of his Troops. The *English*, improving this advantage, went directly and assaulted the City of *Limisso*, which was carried by the first attack, and *Isaac*, with his only Daughter, made prisoners (1). A few days after, the pretended Emperor found means to escape, but as none would harbour him, he chose to surrender voluntarily to the King of *England*, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in Irons. *Richard*, insulting over his misfortune, granted his Request in a literal Sense, by commanding him to be bound with Silver Fetters (2).

He treats the
English ill.
Vinifauf.
Brompt.
Dieto.

Richard be-
comes Master
of Cyprus.
Brompt.
Hoveden.

Guy of Lu-
signan comes
to Richard.
Hoved.
Richard con-
summates his
Marriage
with Beren-
guella.
Hoved.
Vinifauf.
Brompt.
M. Paris.

Troubles in
England.
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Neubrig.

The taking of *Limisso* inspiring *Richard* with the thought of subduing the whole Island of *Cyprus*, he met with few Difficulties in that undertaking. The *Cypriots* were so pleased to find themselves freed from their Tyrant, that, without making any resistance, they submitted to a Prince whom they looked upon as their Deliverer, and who confirmed to them all the Privileges enjoyed under the Emperors of *Constantinople*. During his Stay in the Island, arrived *Guy of Lusignan* King of *Jerusalem*, who had obtained his Liberty by the surrender of the City of *Afcalon* to the Sultan. *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Raymund* of *Antioch*, *Boamond* his Son, and other Princes and Lords of *Palestine*, attended the dispossessed King, who was come to implore the King of *England's* Protection. Here it was also, that *Richard* consummated his Marriage with *Berenguella* (3), and not at *Messina*, as some have affirmed. Before he left *Cyprus*, he sent *Isaac* his Prisoner to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, to be confined there, but for his Daughter she was to go with him to *Palestine*. His regard for that beautiful Princess, gave occasion to suspect, that Compassion was not the sole motive of his keeping her near him. This Suspicion was confirmed, when he was seen to cool by degrees in his Affection to his new Queen. But these are particulars more for a Romance than a History.

Whilst *Richard's* affairs were so successful abroad, *England* began to suffer by his absence. He had no sooner crossed the Sea, but the two Regents disagreeing, came at length, after several Disputes, to an open rupture. *Long-*

champ had a great advantage over his Colleague (4), as well by the high Post he enjoyed, as by his Abilities, which gave him a Superiority, he knew how to improve. By pretending their Dissension was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the State, he found means to exclude him by degrees from the Administration, and assume the whole Power to himself (5). Such an arbitrary Act might have been coloured with the necessity of the King's Service, had it been done by one of another character. But *Longchamp* was known to be proud and imperious, and of a boundless Ambition, which made him look upon all his Dignities, how high soever they were, as below his Deserts. He affected to appear in publick with a retinue more numerous and splendid than a King's. This excessive Magnificence made an Historian say, that when he lodged but one single night in a Monastery, he consumed three years Revenue (6). He treated all Persons with an intolerable insolence, using his Power with a Haughtiness scarce to be born in a crown'd Head (7). Besides, he was a *Norman*, and exceeding partial to the Foreigners, Qualities, which alone were sufficient to render him odious to the *English*. The dispossessed Bishop writ to the King, who receiving his Complaints at *Marfeilles*, sent him his Letters Patents appointing him Justiciary from the *Humber* to the Confines of *Scotland*. The Letters being arrived, the Bishop was so unwise as to give them into *Longchamp's* hands, who, under colour of examining them, refused to restore them, and thereby rendered them of no effect. To this imperious Act he added a no less bold Enterprize: he ordered the Bishop to be apprehended, and detained him in prison till he had delivered certain Castles (8), which gave him too great Power in the northern Parts.

1191.
Brompt.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Hoved.
Brompt.

Brompton.

Richard had appointed six Lords for Counsellors to the Regents (9). But *Longchamp*, who was not willing to be advised by any Person whatever, never communicated any Affairs to these Lords. On the contrary, he affected to treat them with extreme contempt (10). These arbitrary Proceedings obliged at length the Bishop of *Durham* and the six Counsellors to carry their complaints to Prince *John*, who had still the Title of *Earl of Mortagne*, which he bore during his first marriage. The young Prince readily promised them his Protection, being glad their discontent afforded him an opportunity and pretence to interpose in the Administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarred. From that time improving the disaffection of most of the great Men, with regard to the Regent, he managed them so dexterously that each promised to second him, and the downfall of *Longchamp* was resolved. There was nothing wanting but a Pretence, which quickly after offered.

He despises
the Counsellors ap-
pointed by
the King.
They com-
plain to
Prince John.
Hoved.

Some time before *Richard's* departure to the *Holy-Land*, *Geoffrey*, his Bastard Brother, was elected Archbishop of *York*. Whether his Consent was not asked (11), or he designed that Dignity for another, this election was displeasing to the King (12). In his Passion with *Geoffrey*, he was going to order him into custody (13). However, upon *Geoffrey's* protesting, he did not intend to insist upon his Election, he pardoned him, on condition he would never apply to the Pope for his Confirmation. Moreover, he enjoined him, on pain of his Displeasure, to remain in

The occasion
of Long-
champ's
Downfall.
Brompt.
Cervus.
Dieto.

(1) They were not then made Prisoners. *Isaac* having encamped about five Miles from *Limisso*, *Richard* came upon him unawares, whilst his Men were asleep; but *Isaac* escaped naked, leaving all his Riches behind him, particularly his fine Standard, which *Richard* presented to the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*. The next Day *Isaac* came and made Peace with *Richard*, the Terms of which see in *Brompton*, p. 1199, &c. But the Soldiers that had been let to watch him, falling asleep, he escaped, and hid himself in an Abbey. Afterwards, his Daughter being taken Prisoner, and finding himself deserted by all, he surrendered, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1199, 1200.

(2) An old Poet has told us with what Weapon King *Richard* subdued *Cyprus*.

This King *Richard* I understand,
Ere he went of *England*,
Let make an Axe for the Nones
Therewith to cleave the Saracens bones.

The Head in sooth was wrought full weele;
Thereon were twenty pound of Steele.
And when he came in *Cyprus* Land,
This likon Axe he took in hand. *Matt. Pride. M. A.* p. 320.

(3) May 12. *Brompt.* p. 1199. *Hoved.* p. 691. She was crowned at the same time. *Hoved.* ibid.

(4) In 1189, he took, for the King's Use, out of every Town in *England*, two Saddle and two Cart-Horses; out of every Abbey, one of each sort; and out of every one of the King's Manors, one likewise of each. *Brompt.* p. 1171. *Hoved.* p. 665. *M. Paris.* p. 157.

(5) Upon the Bishop of *Durham's* Return to *England*, he carried him to *Southwell*, and there kept him Prisoner, till he surrendered *Windsor Castle*. *Hoved.* p. 665.

(6) He had usually fifteen hundred in his Retinue. And had besides Guards in his House. *Brompt.* p. 1193. He was originally but a Farmer's Son.

(7) The Laity found him more than a King, and the Clergy than a Pope, says *Brompton*, p. 1193.

(8) The Castle of *Windsor*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, the Earl's of *Northumberland*, and the Manor of *Sahburg*, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1171.

(9) Their Names were *Hugh Bardolf*, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Marshall*, *Geoffrey Fitz-Peters*, *William* Brewer, *Robert de Winchelsea*, and *Robert Fitz-Ranfrank*. *Brompt.* p. 1162, 1178. *Dieto.* p. 659. *Hoved.* p. 659, 663. Prince *John*, and other great Men, writ to the King at *Messina*, who sent from thence the Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, with Orders that *Longchamp* should be guided by them, and the other Counsellors here mentioned. *Hoved.* p. 687.

(10) Among other Instances of his Insolence, *Geoffrey de Carville* having bought of King *Richard* the Government of the Castle of *Lincoln*, and of the Country adjoining, *Longchamp* ordered him to resign it to him: Which *Camville* refusing to do, *Longchamp* went about to compel him thereto by Force, and besieged the Castle. Whereupon Prince *John* sent him Orders to desist, and, soon after, the Chancellor made his Peace with him. But upon the Arrival of foreign Troops, sent for by *Longchamp*, he resolved either to die in Battle, or to drive Prince *John* out of the Kingdom. At last they were reconciled. *Brompt.* p. 1223, 1224. *Hoved.* p. 702.

(11) He was elected by order of King *Richard*. *Brompt.* p. 1156.

(12) The Reason of the King's Anger was, that he having filled the Deanry, *Treasureship*, and some other Dignities in the Church of *York*, *Geoffrey* swore that those Promotions should not stand good without his Consent and Approbation; upon which a great Quarrel arose between the King and him. *Hoved.* p. 659. Besides, *Geoffrey* refused to be consecrated by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and make to him Profession of Canonical Obedience. *Brompt.* p. 1161. *Cervus.* p. 1570, &c. *Dieto.* p. 653.

(13) *Geoffrey* seeing his Brother's Affection could not be obtained without Money, promised him three thousand Pounds, and then he was put in Possession of the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick. The King also continued to him all the Lay-Fees granted him by his Father, viz *Wimbor* in *England*, the Earl's of *Gloucester* in *Normandy*, and the Honour of *Buergi* in *Artois*. *Brompt.* p. 1169. *Hoved.* p. 665.

1191.
Hoved.
Brompt.

Dicto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

He is cited,
accused, and
condemned.
Brompt.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Die to.

Hoved.
p. 683.
Brompt.

He is cited
of all his
Facts;
Brompt.

and im-
pugned.

He escapes,
and is taken
again;
Brompt.

Normandy till the Expedition to the Holy Land was over (1). After the King was gone, *Geoffrey*, contrary to his Promise, demanded and obtained the Pope's Bull, to confirm his Election; and without vouchsafing to give the Regent notice, designed to repair into *England* and take possession of his Dignity. *Longchamp* being advised of what passed, sent Orders to *Dover* to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his Arrival (2), the Bishop had but just time to get into a Church (3), where he thought himself safe from all Insults. But this Precaution not preventing the execution of the Regent's Orders, *Geoffrey* was drawn from the Altar (4), and imprisoned in *Dover* Castle. Prince *John* took occasion from this Outrage to act openly against *Longchamp* (5). As he found himself supported by all the Lords, he sent him positive Word to release the Archbishop. *Longchamp* not being disposed to receive such absolute Orders from a Prince, who had no Right to command him, refused to comply (6). This was directly what *John* wanted. A few days after (7), the Regent was summoned to appear before an Assembly of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, convened at *London* in *St. Paul's* Church. The Combination was so strong, that *Longchamp* saw himself on a sudden forsaken by all the World, and constrained to appear before the Assembly (8), which was bent upon his Ruin. He was charged with exceeding his Commission in divers particulars, chiefly with usurping to himself the Authority which ought to have been shared between him, the Bishop of *Durham*, and the six Counsellors. The Archbishop of *Rean* (9), and Earl of *Pembroke* complained also, that having received a Patent from the King, dated at *Melfina* (10), whereby they were made joint Commissioners with *Longchamp* in the Government, that Prelate would never consent they should have any concern in the Administration. Some Historians however affirm, these two Lords durst not shew their Patent to the Regent (11), for fear he should serve them as he had done the Bishop of *Durham*. Be this as it will, upon these Accusations *Longchamp* was turned out of the Regency (12), which was lodged in the hands of the Archbishop of *Rean*, till the King's Pleasure should be known (13). They took from him likewise the custody of the Tower of *London* and of *Windfor* Castle (14), which the same Archbishop was invested with. Not content with this Severity, his Enemies compelled him by Threats to lay down his Legate's Cross in the Church of *Canterbury*, after which, he was thrown into Prison. Some days after he found means to escape; but was seized again on the Sea-side, disguised in a Woman's Habit, with a Bundle of Linnen under his Arm. In this Garb he was carried to *Dover* Castle (15), with a great Mob at his heels (16). However, Prince *John* dreading the Pope's Resentment, if he detained his Legate in Pri-

son, ordered him to be set at Liberty (17), with permission to retire into *Normandy* (18). As soon as he found himself safe, he writ to the Pope and the King, setting forth the ill-Treatment he had met with. This Letter came very late to the King: But the Pope, who was much sooner informed of the Affront done his Legate, was extremely incensed at this Contempt of the Legatine Character. Without staying to hear what Prince *John* could alledge to justify his Conduct, he sent express Orders to the Bishops to excommunicate him. *John* terrified at the Pope's Menaces, would have restored *Longchamp*, if the Bishops themselves, who dreaded to be again under that imperious Prelate, had not opposed it. Thus the Pope's Orders lay unexecuted, and *Longchamp* durst not return into *England* (19).

The deposing of the Regent procuring the Prince an opportunity of having a greater Share in the Government than the King his Brother desired, he made use of it to pave his way to the Crown. If he had not then thoughts of taking advantage of the King's Absence to mount the Throne in his Life-time, it is at least certain his Aim was to secure it, in case the King died during his Expedition (20). He was sensible, there was another Prince that had a better Title than himself, namely, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, his Nephew, Son of his elder Brother *Geoffrey*. This put him upon taking beforehand such measures as should free him from the Competition of that Rival. His sole care was to render himself popular, in order to gain the Affection of the *English*, particularly the *Londoners*, whose Rights and Privileges he caused to be confirmed by an Assembly-General. This won him the Hearts of the Citizens to such a degree, that when they swore Fealty to the King, they voluntarily made a solemn Promise to receive *John* for their Sovereign, in case the King died without Issue. In this manner did the Prince gain ground by degrees, and endeavoured by secret Practices, to secure a Party capable of supporting him against his Nephew, and which also he would have afterwards used in much blacker Designs against the King his Brother. Mean time, *Richard* by his valiant Exploits, which attracted the Admiration of the whole World, was rendering his Name immortal (21), and inspiring the *Saracens* with a dread of the approaching Downfall of their Empire. But before I relate that Prince's Actions in *Palestine*, it will be proper briefly to shew the then State of the *Holy Land*, and what had passed there since the Recovery of it by the Christians.

All the Conquests made by the Christians in the East, were erected into a Kingdom, of which *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* was the first King. This Kingdom consisted of *Palestine* and part of *Syria*, taken from the *Saracens*. *Godfrey* reigned about one Year (22). *Baldwin* his Brother suc-

1191.
Hoved.
Dicto.

1191.
Hoved.
Dicto.

1191.
Hoved.
Dicto.

The Affairs
of the King-
dom of Jeru-
salem.
Brompt.

(1) Till after three Years. Brompt. p. 1171. Gervas. p. 1576.

(2) September 14. Gervas. p. 1576.

(3) Before he landed he changed his Cloaths, and the moment he arrived, mounting a swift Horse, got to the Monastery of *St. Martins*, in *Dover*, or rather *Canterbury*, as *Ann. Margan.* p. 10, have it; and taking Sanctuary in the Church, he was dragged from the Altar in his Episcopal Vestments through the dirty Streets, and delivered to *Matthieu de Clare*, Constable of *Dover* Castle, who had married *Longchamp's* Sister. Hoved. p. 701. Brompt. p. 1224. Gervas. p. 1576.

(4) After he had been four Days there. Gervas. ibid.

(5) Brompton says, *Longchamp* had sent his two Brothers to the King of *Scots*, to concert Measures with him to place the Crown on Prince *Arthur's* Head, in case King *Richard* died in his Expedition. This Prince *John* had been informed of, p. 1194.

(6) Prince *John* gathered numerous Forces together, not only out of the Counties belonging to him, but also out of *Wales*; and was joined by several Earls and Barons, as also by the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bath*, and *Chesler* or *Lichfield*: And then sent *Longchamp* word, That if he did not let the Archbishop at Liberty, he would come and rescue him by force. So the Chancellor, frightened at the Prince's Threats, released the Archbishop; who went immediately and complained to Prince *John* of the Indignity that had been offered him: For which *Longchamp* refusing to make Satisfaction, the Archbishop of *Rean* and six Bishops denounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and summoned him to appear before Prince *John* and them at *Reading* on a Sunday; but he took no notice of the Summons, though he was no farther than *Windfor*. Hearing that Prince *John* was advancing towards *London*, he hastened thither, and shut himself in the Tower. Brompt. p. 1225, 1226. Gervas. p. 1577. Dicto. p. 663, 664. Hoved. p. 701.

(7) October 3. Brompton, p. 1226.

(8) He did not appear before them, but kept himself shut in the Tower of *London*. Brompt. p. 1226. Prince *John*, with the Earls and Barons and the Citizens of *London*, besieged him in the Tower. After he had held out one Night, he desired leave to go out of the Kingdom: Which was granted him, but upon condition he should resign the Castles he was possessed of to some certain Persons; accordingly he gave Sureties for the Performance of it. From thence he went to *Canterbury*, and afterwards to *Dover*, where he spent some time with *Matthieu de Clare*, his Brother-in-Law, Constable of the Castle; and here, attempting to go out of the Kingdom after he had given caution, and after the Lords Justices had given the Inhabitants of *Dover* Orders not to let him go out of the Realm, he was served in the manner related by *Rapin*. Brompt. p. 1226, 1227. Gervas. p. 1577, 1578. Hoved. p. 701.

(9) *Canterbury* is here put by Mistake in the French for *Rean*; for it was the Archbishop of *Rean* and not of *Canterbury* that was joined in Commission with *William Marshal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peers*; *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury* went with the King, and died during the Siege of *Acre*.

(10) Which the King granted them, when he heard of *Longchamp's* Misdemeanors. Brompt. p. 1194. See the Patent in *Dicto*, p. 659.

(11) They did not shew it till now, when they produced it before the Parliament. Brompt. p. 1226.

(12) By a Parliament. See Brompt. ibid. Dicto, p. 664.

(13) *Dicto* says, that the King ordained in his Letters Patents, that in case *Longchamp* did not faithfully manage the Affairs of the Kingdom according to the Advice of his Counsellors, they might act without him; particularly he enjoined that nothing should be transacted without the Archbishop of *Rean*, whom, as he said, he had sent over for the better Defence of the Kingdom; which if true, vindicates the Proceedings of that Assembly. Dicto, p. 659.

(14) And of the Castles of *Cambridge*, *Dover*, and *Hanford*. Dicto, p. 665.

(15) Into a Cellar. Brompt. p. 1227.

(16) As he was sitting on a Rock, waiting for a Boat with an Ell in his Hand, and a Parcel of Linnen, as if he had been a Pedlar; a Seaman came, and taking him for a Woman, went to kiss him; and then offering at further Indecencies, discovered him to be a Man; but however marched off without saying any thing. A little after, some Women coming by began to cheapen his Linnen; but being a Frenchman, and understanding little *English*, he could make them no answer. Finding he would not speak, they pulled up the Head which was over his Face, and then presently saw his black Beard: upon which coming out, the People came running in, and used him in the manner above. Hoved. p. 403.

(17) After eight Days Imprisonment. Brompt. p. 1228. Then a Parliament was called, which approved of, and confirmed the Archbishop of *Rean*, &c. as Justiciars of the Realm. Ibid.

(18) He went to *Flanders*, thence to *Paris*, and afterwards to *Normandy*, October 29. Brompt. ibid. Dicto, p. 663.

(19) While he had the Custody of the Tower of *London*, he built a Wall, and made the Ditch that is round it. Brompt. p. 1171. Hoved. p. 663. M. West. p. 248.

(20) The Citizens of *London* swore fealty to him, in case his Brother died in his Expedition. Hoved. p. 702.

(21) Before he left *Asyria*, in October, he made a Law concerning Shipwrecks, namely, That every Person which distressed Shipwreck, and got safe on shore, should enjoy all his Goods; but if he died on Ship-board, his Children or other near Relations were to have the Goods, as long as they could make out their being next of kin; but if they had no Heirs nor near Relations, then the King was to have their Goods. Brompt. p. 1187. Hoved. p. 673.

(22) He was crowned with a Crown of Thorns in the Year 1098.

1191. reeded him, and governed eighteen years, leaving the Crown by his Death to his Cousin Baldwin II, who enjoyed it thirteen years. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* marrying his Daughter, became King of *Jerusalem* after his Father-in-law's decease, and reigned eleven years. He had by his first Wife, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, and Father of *Henry II.* King of *England*. By his second Wife, *Fulk* had two Sons, of whom *Baldwin* the eldest sat on the Throne of *Jerusalem* twenty four years, and was succeeded by his Brother *Amery*, who reigned twelve years. *Baldwin IV.* his Son and Successor, finding himself childless, and without hopes of Issue, made his Nephew *Baldwin*, Son of his eldest Sister *Sibyl*, by *William* of *Montferrat*, his Heir. He died after a Reign of twelve years, leaving the Guardianship of young *Baldwin V.* and the Regency of the Kingdom, to *Raymund* Earl of *Tripoli*. Mean time *Sibyl*, the King's Mother, married *Guy* of *Lusignan*, who, in Right of the Princess his Wife, claimed the Guardianship of the King, and the Government of the State. The Earl of *Tripoli* in vain opposed his Pretensions by urging the late King's Will. *Guy*, supported by his Wife, seized the Regency, and quickly after became King himself by *Baldwin's* decease, not without Suspicion of having hastened his Death by Poison, in order to mount the Throne.

The Cause of the Loss of Jerusalem.

Saladine becomes Master of Palestine.

End of Jerusalem.

The Christians besiege Acres.

Philip arrives and the Richard.

Vinifauf. City surrenders.

Richard takes the Lion of Austria.

This Revolution soon proved the occasion of one more fatal. The Earl of *Tripoli* preparing to endeavour to dethrone *Guy*, whom he looked upon as an Usurper, and the Murderer of the late King, unfortunately for the Christians of *Palestine*, *Guy* bethought himself of applying to *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt* for aid. The Infidel Prince gladly embraced so fair an opportunity of recovering a Country, from whence his Predecessors were expelled ninety years before. Under colour of assisting the King of *Jerusalem*, he entered *Palestine* with a formidable Army, and immediately took *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, *Astus*, *Berytus*, and some other Places. At first he pretended to act only for the King; but at length thought he might safely pull off the mask; and openly shew, that his Design was to drive the Christians out of *Palestine*. In vain did *Guy*, who too late was sensible of his Error, shut himself up in his Capital. As the City was but ill provided, it was not possible for him to hold out above a Month, or escape falling into the hands of his Enemy. After which he was forced to deliver up *Acre* to the Sultan to obtain his Liberty. Thus *Saladine* found means to destroy at once both the Competitors, whose Quarrel furnished him with an opportunity to carry his Arms into *Palestine*.

For the recovery of this lost Kingdom, the Kings of *France* and *England* had undertaken the present Expedition, with numerous Armies consisting of all the Nations in *Europe*, but chiefly of the *French* and *English*. Before *Philip's* Arrival in *Palestine*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, *James* of *Avesnes*, and several other Princes and Lords, with some *German*, *Flemish*, and *Italian* Troops had begun the Siege of *Acres*, which had now lasted a whole year. As soon as *Philip*, who sailed first from *Messina*, landed his Men (1), he encamped round the City, and continued the Siege, though with little Success. *Richard* arriving afterwards (2) with fresh Troops, vigorously carried it on, and at length, after divers fruitless Attempts to raise the Siege, *Saladine* surrender'd the City by Capitulation (3).

Among the occurrences of this famous Siege, I must not forget one, which though in itself of no great importance, was attended with Consequences very remarkable, and withal very fatal to the King of *England*. In an Assault made by the Christians, *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* carrying one of the Towers, ordered his Banner to be immediately erected. *Richard* taking this Action as an Injury to the two Kings, who commanded in chief, sent some of his Men to pull it down and tread it under foot. *Leopold* resented this Affront very heinously, but, as it was not then in his power to be revenged, concealed his Resentment till he had an opportunity to shew it. Unhappily for *Richard*, this opportunity offered when he least expected it, and it will be seen in the Sequel, that the Duke of *Austria* was but too well revenged.

The taking of *Acres* seemed to encourage the two Kings to form fresh Projects. But just as the Christian Army expected to march to *Jerusalem*, the Diffention which arose between the two Leaders, frustrated their Expectations. Since their junction, *Richard* had acquired a certain Superiority, which extremely mortified the King of *France*. The number and good condition of his Forces, his personal Valour, of which he had given several Proofs at the Siege of *Acres*, and the very taking of that City, of which he had all the Honour, gained the particular Esteem and Regard of the whole Army. *Philip* could not bear to see a Distinction so advantageous to the King of *England*. His Jealousy shewed itself on all occasions, but as he durst not openly complain that his Rival was more respected than himself, he sought other pretences to colour his Resentment. The first he used was to demand of *Richard* half the Isle of *Cyprus* (4), pretending they had agreed to share all their Conquests. *Richard* made answer, their Agreement related only to what was conquered upon the Infidels (5). Adding, that *Philip* understood it in that Sense, since he had taken to himself what belonged to the Earl of *Flanders* (6), who died at the Siege of *Acres*, without ever thinking to give him a share. To this was added another occasion of Quarrel. The Crown of *Jerusalem* was in Dispute between *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Richard* took *Guy's* part, and *Philip* openly declared for the Marquis. The Grounds and Reasons of their respective Pretensions were briefly these.

Almeric King of *Jerusalem*, had by his first Wife, of the House of *Courtenay*, *Baldwin IV.* his Successor, and a Daughter called *Sibylla*. By his second Wife, Niece to *Emanuel* Emperor of *Constantinople*, he had a Daughter named *Isabella*. *Sibylla* was married first to *William* of *Montferrat*, by whom she had *Baldwin V.* Heir to *Baldwin IV.* his Uncle. *Sibylla's* second Husband was *Guy* of *Lusignan*, by whom she had several Children, who all died before their Mother. *Isabella*, Sister of *Sibylla*, by a second venter, had also two Husbands. The first was *Humphrey* de *Toron*, who refused the Crown offered him by the Barons of *Jerusalem*, after the Death of *Baldwin V.* Her second Husband was *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, who claimed the Title of King of *Jerusalem*, in Right of his Wife, whose eldest Sister was lately dead without Issue. The Question therefore was to know, whether *Guy* of *Lusignan* ought to keep the Title of King of *Jerusalem*, after his Wife *Sibylla's* decease; or resign it to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, whose Wife was then sole Heiress of the Kingdom. Indeed, they were disputing about an empty Title, for *Saladine* was Master of the Capital, and almost all the Country. But however, the Title was of consequence, at a juncture when it was expected, the Kingdom would be restored by the Arms of the *Croises*. *Philip* espoused the Cause of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and perhaps for that very reason *Richard* supported *Guy* of *Lusignan*; so jealous were these Monarchs one of another: Scarce a day passed, but something or other happened which served to inflame their mutual Enmity. *Philip* was jealous of *Richard's* Glory, who in his turn, complained that *Philip*, out of spite and envy, obstructed the Progress of the Arms of the Christians. In the midst of these Contests, they were both seized with the same Distemper (7), of which they were like to die, but escaped with the loss of their Hair.

After their Recovery, *Richard* appeared more eager than ever to pursue the Conquests upon the Infidels. But *Philip* resolved to return to *France*, his Weakness caused by his late Illness scarce permitting him any more to enter upon action. But he had another and no less powerful Reason, which was, his extreme Impatience to take possession of *Artois*, fallen to him by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*. He imparted this Resolution to *Richard* (8), who seemed very much surprized at it, fearing that *Philip* in returning to *Europe*, had some design upon his Dominions in *France*. One of the Articles of their Agreement was, that neither should desert the Cause without the other's Consent. *Richard* insisted upon that Article, and refused to agree to *Philip's* departure, before they were

(1) *Memoirs*, 22. *Ducl.*, p. 660. *M. Paris*, p. 163.

(2) *Journal*, *Ducl.*, p. 661. *M. Paris*, *ibid.*

(3) This City surrendered, July 12. Upon what Terms, see in *Ann. Barten*, p. 251. *Brompt.* p. 1205. *Diceto*, p. 661. The Siege is said to last above two Years, and the Author of *Richard's* Travels to *Jerusalem* affirms, that three hundred thousand Pilgrims perished in this Siege. Among whom were many Princes and noble Persons, viz. *Conrade* Duke of *Saragosa*, and several foreign Earls; *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Ralph* de *Glansville*, Chief Justice of *England*; *William* de *Mander*, *William* Earl *Ferrers*; and some whose Posterity still flourish, as *Ingelram* de *Fiennes*, Ancestor of the Lord *Say* and *Seal*; the Lord *Douers*; *Theobald* Clinton, Earl of *London*, whose Arms retain the Badge of the Holy War, Stars, Crescents and Crosses; as also *St. John*, *Marshall*, *Titney*, *Scoope*, *Pigot*, *Laiburne*, *Marsay*, *Talbot*, *Waler*, &c. See *Brompt.* p. 1101. *Hoved.* p. 685. *Vinifauf.* p. 334. The 13th of July, *Acres* was equally divided between the Kings of *England* and *France*; the Person appointed by the King of *England* to see it done, was *Hugh* de *Gurnay*; and by the King of *France*, *Dracade* *Marion*; each of them was attended with one hundred Soldiers. *Brompt.* p. 1206. The Earls and Barons that attended the two Kings in this Expedition desired, they might be Shareers in the Gain, as well as in the Labour; but receiving no Satisfaction, most of them were forced to sell their Arms, and return home. *Brompt.* p. 1207. *Hoved.* p. 696.

(4) By the Persuasion of *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Brompt.* p. 1202.

(5) The words of the Agreement were, Upon the Saracens in the Land of *Israel*. *Brompt.* *ibid.*

(6) King *Richard* told him, If you will give me the half of *Flanders*, and of the other Dominions you have acquired by the Death of the Earl of *Fland.*

(7) I will give you half of *Cyprus*. *Brompt.* p. 1202. *Hoved.* p. 693.

(8) Offered by the Hibernians *Arnaldus*. *Brompt.* p. 1201. *Hoved.* p. 695.

(9) July 20. by the Bishop of *Beauvais*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Duke* of *Amiens*, and *William* de *Merleu*. *Hoved.* p. 696.

1192. Masters of *Jerusalem*. However, as he could not constrain him to stay, he left him to do as he pleased, upon his taking a solemn Oath, in the presence of the Bishops and principal Officers of both Armies, not to attack any Place belonging to *Richard*, either in *France* or in *England*, till forty days after the return of that Prince into his own Territories. Upon quitting *Palestine* (1), *Philip* left ten thousand Men under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, publicly ordering him to pay the same Obedience to the King of *England* as to himself (2). But in all likelihood, he gave him other Instructions in private. This *Mezerai* does as good as own, when he says, *Richard* would have become Master of *Jerusalem*, if the Duke of *Burgundy's* Jealousy had not obstructed it.

A little after the King of *France's* Departure, *Richard* and *Saladine* exhibited a Spectacle of Horror to their Armies, by commanding the Prisoners each had in his power, to be put to death (3). It is difficult to determine which of the two Princes was the first Author of this Barbarity. Some Historians lay the blame on *Saladine*, others accuse the King of *England*. These last seem to me to have most reason. The *Saracen* Monarch refused to perform the Articles of the Surrender of *Acres* (4), whereas no other reason is alledged that could induce the Infidel to this Cruelty but his natural Fierceness, though he appears upon other occasions to have been a very generous Prince. Thus much is certain, the Duke of *Burgundy*, following *Richard's* Example, ordered also what Captives were in his hands, to be beheaded. I do not pretend to determine what may be the Law of Arms, with respect to Prisoners whose Sovereign refuses to perform a Capitulation, or how far Reprisals may extend. But methinks one can hardly be mistaken in saying, that whoever goes to the extent of his Power, on such occasions, is in danger of committing a very great Injustice. Be this as it will, Instances of the like Barbarity are very rare in History.

After the departure of the *French*, *Richard* held a great Council of War, where the Siege of *Ascalon* was resolved (5). To execute this Project, he marched along the Sea-Side, whilst his Fleet, freighted with all manner of Stores, rowed in sight of the Troops, and supplied them with Necessaries. *Saladine* having intelligence of the *Croises* Designs, posted himself advantageously in their way, with an Army of three hundred thousand Men. Whatever disproportion there might be between their Forces, *Richard* resolved to attack him thus posted. He was sensible, could he defeat that Army, not only the taking of *Ascalon* would be the Fruits of his Victory, but even the Siege of *Jerusalem* would become much less difficult; on the contrary, if he declined the Fight, such a numerous Army of Infidels would continually obstruct the execution of his Designs. Pursuant to this resolution, he approached the Enemy, and drawing up his Army, undauntedly marched against them. *James de Avesnes* commanded the Right Wing, the Duke of *Burgundy* the Left, and the King headed the main Body. *Saladine* had concealed part of his Army, on his right side, behind some Hills which prevented the Christians from seeing them. As he expected great matters from this Ambuscade, he resolved not to lose the advantage of the Ground. Accordingly, without stirring from his Post, he waited for the Enemy to attack him.

The Right Wing of the Christians beginning the Fight, the *Saracens* received *James de Avesnes* with a Resolution, which, supported by the Superiority of their Number, put that Body in such a Disorder that it could not be repaired for a considerable while. *James de Avesnes* was slain in striving to revive the Courage of his frightened Troops, and bring them again to charge. At the same time, the Duke of *Burgundy* furiously attacked the right Wing of the *Saracens*, which, pursuant to the General's Orders, retreating as they fought, caused the Duke to advance, with more Courage than Conduct, a good way beyond the Body of the Army. *Saladine*, finding all in good order on his left, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his left Wing was detached from the rest of the Army, ordered the Body that lay concealed to move forward. These Troops descending down the Hills in great multitudes, surrounded the Wing commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and made a terrible Slaughter.

It lay then upon *Richard* to save the Honour of the Christians, and repair their Loss. He had fought on his side with better Success, and though he had met with a stout Resistance in the Body that opposed him, had compelled them to retreat in disorder. He was still pursuing his Enemies, when he was informed of the ill state of his Right Wing, and the danger of his Left. Upon which he gave over the Pursuit, and marching to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Relief, fell upon the victorious Troops of *Saladine*, in order to wrest from them a Victory of which they thought themselves sure. On this famous occasion he was seen to perform such astonishing Acts of Valour, that those who envied him most, could not but admire him. Some tell us, he was personally engaged with *Saladine*, and dismounting him would have taken him Prisoner, had not the *Saracens* used their utmost Efforts to rescue him out of his hands. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that *Richard's* Valour so altered the state of the Battle, that *Saladine* saw himself obliged to reinforce his Right Wing, with part of the victorious Troops of the Left. This motion, which could not be done without causing some disorder, gave the Right Wing of the Christians time to come to themselves. Finding they were not so vigorously pressed as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiously on the *Saracen* Troops that opposed them, forced them at length to take to Flight.

Mean while, *Richard* maintained the Fight on the left, with a Firmness that seemed more than natural, in spite of the Superiority of his Enemies, who had drawn all their Forces against him. He was however in danger of being over-powered by Numbers, had not his Right Wing, which met with no farther Resistance, come to his Aid. Then the *Saracens*, finding they were attacked in Flank by the fresh Troops, began to break their Ranks with such confusion, that it was not possible for *Saladine* to rally them. The Christians taking advantage of their disorder, pressed them so vigorously, that they entirely routed at length that prodigious Army. Thus *Richard* by his Valour and Conduct, obtained a complete Victory over the Enemies of the Christian Name, of whom forty thousand lay dead in the Field of Battle. *James de Avesnes* was the only Officer of Distinction that was slain on the side of the Christians.

After this important Victory, *Richard* continued his march to the maritime Cities of *Ascalon*, *Joppa* and *Cæsarea*, which *Saladine* thought fit to abandon, after demolishing their Walls. It was of the utmost consequence to the Christians to repair these Cities, and erect Magazines for the Army, when they should be farther advanced into the Enemy's Country. This probably, was the sole reason which obliged the victorious Prince to stay some time at *Joppa*. Some however have taxed him with not improving his Victory, by marching directly to *Jerusalem*. But I can't tell whether he is to be blamed upon their Authority. There are so few capable of judging rightly of these matters, especially when the Circumstances are but imperfectly known, that I do not think it Prudence to pass one's Verdict thereon.

During *Richard's* stay at *Joppa*, an Adventure befel him, which had like to prove very fatal to him, and from which he was delivered by a sort of Miracle. One day, being tired with hunting, as he lay asleep under a Tree, with only six Persons about him, he was roused by the sudden Approach of some *Saracen* Horse, who were near the Place where he slept. As they were but few in number, he had no manner of dread upon him, but immediately mounting his Horse, rode after them; which they perceiving, feigned to fly before him, and by that means drew him into an Ambuscade, where he saw himself surrounded on a sudden by a Squadron of Horse. He defended himself a long time with a wonderful Bravery, without any thoughts of retreating, notwithstanding the number of his Enemies. At length, Four of his Attendants being killed, he was upon the point of being slain or taken, when *William Despreaux* (6), one of his Company, cried out in the *Saracen* Language, *I am the King of England*. At which Words, those that were upon *Richard* left him, to have a hand in the taking of *Despreaux*, whom they imagined to be the King. This Device gave *Richard* time to ride off full speed, whilst the *Saracens* content with their

(1) Which he did July 31, with fourteen Gallies, and went to *Tyre*. *Brompt.* p. 1209. *Hoved.*

(2) And yet when he came to *Italy*, he complained to the Pope and Cardinals, that *Richard* had given him out of the Holy Land, and desired leave of the Pope, to revenge himself for it upon *Normandy*, and his other Dominions. He arrived at *Paris*, December 27. 1197. *Dietz.* p. 667. *M. Paris.*

(3) This was August 18. *Richard* beheaded his Prisoners, August 20. *Brompt.* p. 1212, 1213. *Hoved.* p. 697.

(4) It was article, that three thousand Captives should be delivered, and that the *Turks* should redeem their Heads by paying a certain Sum of Money, and remain in Custody till payment was made. And that in case these Articles were not made good within forty Days, they should be put to death. *Richard* was obliged to perform them. Upon which it is likely *Richard* began with beheading the *Turkish* Captives. *Hoved.* l. 5, to the Number of five thousand; but *Vingolf* reckons but two thousand seven hundred. *Brompt.* 1212, &c.

(5) King *Richard* made *Bertrand Verdon*, and *Stephen de Marulani* Governors of *Acre*; and left there his Wife *Benengella*, and his Sister *Juanna*, &c. *Brompt.* p. 1213.

(6) *De Purcellis* or *Parcel*. *Brompt.* p. 1241, 1250.

1192. Success, conducted their Prisoner to *Saladine*. *Despreaux* had the Prudence not to discover himself till he came before the Sultan, to whom he ingenuously confessed what he had done to save his Master. *Saladine* commended his Fidelity, and did him a great deal of Honour. But as he was very sensible *Richard* would never suffer one that had done him so signal a Service to remain long a Captive, he set his ransom so high, that he procured ten *Emirs*, or *Saracen* Princes, in exchange for that faithful Servant.

Brompt.
p. 1250.

He takes the
great Baby-
lon Caravan
Vintauf.
R. Dicto.
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Brompt.

As soon as the maritime Places were sufficiently repaired, *Richard* marched to *Jerusalem*, which he had resolved to besiege. In his way he had the good fortune to meet the *Babylon* Caravan, carrying to *Jerusalem* a prodigious Quantity of rich Merchandizes and Provisions of all kinds. The Caravan was guarded by ten thousand (1) Horse, who finding themselves near the Christian Army, would immediately have retreated. But *Richard* taking with him five thousand chosen Horsemen, fell upon them with great Fury, and putting them to Flight, became master of the Caravan. He took on this occasion three thousand loaded Camels, and four thousand Horses or Mules, with an inestimable Booty, which he ordered to be distributed all among his Soldiers. After this happy Success, continuing his March to *Jerusalem*, he came to a Hill, from whence he had the Pleasure to survey that famous City, the taking of which was the chief End of his Expedition. Mean time, as the Country round was destitute of Forage, he saw himself under the fatal Necessity of deferring the Siege till the Spring. This Delay furnished his Enemies, and those that envied him, with a Pretence to desert him. The Duke of *Austria* led the Way, and the Duke of *Burgundy* quickly followed him, not being able to bear the Thoughts of contributing any longer to the Glory of a Prince whom he considered as the King of *France's* Rival (2). His Death, which happened at *Acre* as he was going to embark, prevented not the *French* Troops from sailing to *Europe*. The Retreat of the *Germans* and *French*; the Marquis of

He comes
within view
of Jerusalem,
and puts off
the Siege till
the Spring.
Hoved.
Brompt.

The Duke of
Austria and
Burgundy
desert.
Hoved.
M. Paris.
Brompt.

The Italian
Troops refuse
to serve any
longer.
Hoved.
Vindication
of Richard.

Montferrat's Refusal to assist with the *Italian* Troops in a Conquest to which he laid claim, but was designed for another; the News *Richard* received of what passed in *England*; his Apprehensions that *Philip* would take advantage of his Absence and declare War against him (3); the decrease of his Troops, as well by Sickness as Battles; all these reasons were but too capable to make him think of retreating, and were sufficient to justify his Truce with *Saladine*, without regarding the vain Declarations of those who confidently blamed him for deserting the Cause, when within View of *Jerusalem* (4). It is easy to see, that with the few Troops that remained, it was not possible for him to accomplish an Enterprize of so difficult a nature as was then the Siege of that City. During the whole Winter they had found time to lay in all manner of Stores, and the Garrison was little inferior to the Christian Army.

Richard
makes a Truce
with Saladine.
Hoved.
G. Vintauf.

Saladine having notice of *Richard's* Design to retire, thought it his Interest to hasten the Departure of so formidable an Enemy, by offering him a three Years Truce. All the principal Officers of the Christian Army, joyfully embraced this Offer. Every one was glad, after so many Hardships, to go and enjoy some Repose in his own Country. *Richard* therefore accepted of the Truce which was proposed upon these Conditions: That the City of *Ascalon* should be dismantled, and not fortified again by their Party during the Truce: That *Joppa* or *Jaffa*, and *Acre* or *Ptolemais*, should remain in the hands of the Christians, with the rest of the Cities they were possessed of in *Palestine*: That the Christians should have Liberty to go in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* without charge, and free Commerce throughout all *Saladine's* Dominions. The Treaty being concluded, *Richard* sent *Saladine* word, that he might depend upon seeing him again, to try once more to recover the *Holy Land* out of his hands. The Sultan, with a Politeness that favoured not of the Barbarian, replied, That, if it must be his fate to lose that Part of his Dominions, he had rather it should be to the King of *England*, than to any other Monarch in the World. Thus ended the famous Crusade, which had drained *France* and *England* both of Men and Money. It proved of very little Bene-

Articles of
the Truce.
G. Vintauf.
1. 6. c. 23.
R. Dicto.
Brompt.

Vintauf
1. c. 23.

fit to the Eastern Christians, whilst it ruined those of *Europe*, by the prodigious Sums therein expended. But that was not all; it became the occasion of destructive Wars between *France* and *England*, as we shall see presently.

Richard, fearing that in his Absence *Saladine* would break the Truce, assembled the principal Officers of the Army, in order to elect a General capable of commanding the Troops designed to be left in *Palestine*. The choice fell upon the Marquis of *Montferrat*, to *Richard's* great surprize, who had openly declared against him. However he gave his Consent, and sacrificed his private Resentment to the publick Good of the Christians. Shortly after the Marquis was stabbed by two Villains, sent for that purpose by the *Old Man of the Mountain*: For that was the Appellation given to the Head or chief Master of a sort of People inhabiting about *Antioch*, called *Chassins*, or some such Name. The *Old Man of the Mountain* always kept in his service a set of People devoted to his Will, whom he dispatched into all parts of the World upon the like occasions. Hence the *French* called him the Prince of the Assassins, or perhaps the word Assassin is derived from the Name of these People (5). As the Author of this Murder was at first unknown, *Richard*, because he was no Friend to the Marquis, was by some suspected. But the Marquis himself was so far from such a thought, that, just as he died, he ordered his Wife to deliver into the hands of the King of *England* the City of *Tyre*, of which he was in possession. After the Death of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, *Richard* so ordered it that *Henry* Earl of *Champagne*, his, as well as the King of *France's* Nephew, was chosen in his place. After which, he caused him to marry *Isabella*, the deceased's Widow, who brought him for her Dowry the Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As for *Guy* of *Lusignan*, the King made up his loss of an empty Title with the real Donation of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, though he had sold it before to the *Templars*. Upon the repeated Complaints of the *Cypriots*, to whom the Tyranny of their new Masters was become insupportable, *Richard* thought he had a Right to revoke the Sale. Whether this was consistent with Justice, is needless now to inquire. It is sufficient to observe, *Guy* was put in possession of his Kingdom, which remained near two Centuries in his Family.

The Mar-
quis of
Montferrat
was killed
by two
Christians in
Palestine.
Brompt.

Henry assassi-
nated.
Hemingford.

Vintauf.
Brompt.
Hemingford.

Henry Earl
of Cham-
pagne chosen
in his Place.
Giblet.
Hist. de
Re Lusig.
1. 1.
Brompt.

The Affairs of the East being thus settled (6), *Richard* impatient to return to *England*, embarked at *Ptolemais*, from whence he sailed to *Corfu*, an Island situated at the Entrance of the *Adriatick Gulph*. Probably, his design was to land somewhere in the bottom of the *Gulph*, and continue his Journey by Land through *Germany*. However some say, he was driven against his Will by stress of Weather into those Parts. Whatever his Design might be, he was exposed to a violent Storm, which forced him on the Coast of *Istria*, and from thence between *Aquileia* and *Venice*, where the Galliot, he was on Board, split upon a Rock. It was with great difficulty that he escaped this Danger, to run immediately into another. Whether he was ignorant of the Country, or for some other unknown reason, he entered the Territories of the Duke of *Austria*, and took the Road to *Vienna*. If this was not done through Ignorance, it will be difficult to dive into his design. Besides that this was by no means his way to *England*, it was great Imprudence to hazard his Person in the Dominions of a Prince, whom he had so mortally offended at the Siege of *Acre*. However this it is discern'd, taken, and given up to the Emperor. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 70. Hoved. Hemingford. M. Paris. Brompton.

Richard em-
barks for
Europe.
M. Paris.
Hoved.
R. Dicto.
Brompt.
against his
Will.

An. Borton.
Hem ngi.
Is ship-
wreck'd near
Aquileia.
Goes into the
Dominions of
the Duke of
Austria.
Brompt.
Gervus.
M. Paris.

It is discern'd,
taken, and
given up to
the Emperor.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 70.
Hoved.
Hemingford.
M. Paris.
Brompton.

(1) Hoved. say eleven thousand. p. 716.

(2) Immediately after his Return to his Dominions, he loaded King *Richard* with Calumnies, and had a Controversy, January 22, 1192, between *Clare* and *Tire*, wherein he demonstrated that *Philip*, Seneschal of *Normandy*, his Sister *Alice*, but the Seneschal refused to send him, though *Philip* showed him the Convention made between King *Richard* and her at *Melfina*. After that, the King of *France* gathered a large Army together, and would have invaded *Normandy*; but the great Men of his Kingdom would not let him. Hoved. p. 712, 717. Brompt. p. 1236.

(3) These Assassins were a proper Sort of *Mulanners* dwelling in six Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*, being about forty thousand in Number. They were ready to stab any Prince whom the *Old Man of the Mountain* should appoint them, or to go upon any other dangerous Attempt. *Conrad* Marquis of *Montferrat* was murdered in the Streets of *Tyre* by two of them, whom he entertained in his Service, they having pretended to two Christians. M. Paris. p. 33, &c.

(4) King *Richard's* Queen, and his Sister *Joanna* Queen of *Sicily*, embarked at *Acre*, September 29, and King *Richard* himself, October 9. Dict. p. 668. Hemingford.

(5) December 20. Dicto. p. 668. Brompt.

(6) Called *Gyrenis*. M. Paris. p. 122. M. H. 2. p. 243.

(7) Having travelled some time with his Attendants like so many Pilgrims with their Hair and Beards grown to a great length, he dismissed them all, and taking Home with one Servant came to the Village, where sending out his Servant to buy Provisions, he was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Austria*, and being taken, was forced by Torture to tell where the King was, who was taken as he lay asleep. Hoved. p. 47. M. Paris. p. 172.

1193. Thus *Richard*, whose Fame filled the whole Earth, and whose noble Actions had exalted him above all the Princes of his time, lost his Liberty, and saw himself in the power of the most fordid and ungenerous of Princes.

The News of *Richard's* Imprisonment quickly flew over *Europe*, and particularly into *England*, where it caused a great Consternation. Queen *Eleanor*, his Mother, immediately took all possible care to prevent this Accident from occasioning some fatal Revolution. She represented to the principal Barons, that they could not give the King more effectual Proofs of their Fidelity, than by opposing, to the utmost of their power, the Attempts of Prince *John*, whose ill designs were no secret. That it was necessary to begin with this, in order to preserve the Peace of the Realm; and that afterwards other Affairs might be taken care of. The Queen's Exhortations, the King's unfortunate Condition, and the Fame he had acquired in the *East*, concurred to keep the *English* Barons in the Fidelity due to their Sovereign. As they did not question but *John* would improve this Juncture to disturb the State, they entered into an Association to exclude him from the Government, at the very time he was taking measures to seize it. The Opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had formed a design to take the Administration of Affairs into his hands, that he might more easily wrest the Crown from the King's Brother. But he was prevented by the Diligence of the Queen his Mother, and the Barons. He had the mortification to see other Regents appointed during the King's Imprisonment. However, he forbore not to use his endeavours to break an Association so prejudicial to him. He affirmed, his sole Aim was to secure himself against the Pretensions of his Nephew, the Duke of *Bretagne*, in case *Richard* should die in Prison. But all his Proceedings plainly shewed, his design was rather to obstruct the King's return, supposing he should be so fortunate as to obtain his Liberty.

And indeed he neglected nothing to become master of the fortified Towns, or gain the Governours to his Interests. It is no wonder, that at such a Juncture he prevailed with some, but in general he met with so great opposition to his designs, that he found at length there was no possibility of succeeding without the King of *France's* Assistance. As soon as he was determined, he departed (1) in order to confer with *Philip*. As he went through *Normandy*, he staid some days at *Roan*, where he tried all ways to corrupt the Loyalty of the *Normans*; but not succeeding, repaired to *Paris*, where he made a Treaty with *Philip*, who desired nothing more than to embroil *Richard's* Affairs.

If certain Historians may be credited, *John* obliged himself to marry the Princess *Alice*, refused by *Richard*, and do Homage to the Crown of *France* for the Kingdom of *England*. I do not know whether these Authors had sufficient Authority to assert these two Particulars. It is certain the Treaty itself, which is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, says nothing like it; neither is it probable that *John*, who was already married, should promise to espouse another Wife. It seems more likely therefore, that *Philip*, as the Treaty imports, was satisfied with admitting *John* to do Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England* (2), which, as Sovereign Lord, he pretended to dispose of.

As soon as *John* had finished his Affairs in *France*, he embarked for *England*, with design to use his utmost endeavours to gain the King of *Scotland*: But *William* remembering *Richard's* generous Usage, would give no ear to his Solicitations, whatever means *John* employed to make him believe the imprisoned King would never recover his Liberty. All his endeavours, as well with regard to the *Normans* as the King of *Scotland*, proving ineffectual, he bethought himself of another Expedient. He caused it to be rumoured that *Richard* was dead in Prison, and upon that foundation, demanded the Crown. But as there was no other Advice of the King's Death, he did not find the *English* inclined to take this rash step in his favour, without further Confirmation. Mean time, their refusal furnished him with a Pretence to seize some places of Strength (3), as being willing to take by Force what he could not obtain by fair Means. But his Party was so inconsiderable, that it was not possible for him to make any great Progress.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, *Philip* was not idle in *France*. In a belief, that the *English* employed at Home with *John's* Pretensions, would not be able to send any Succours beyond Sea, he resolved to seize the Pro-

vinces held by *Richard* in *France*. Pursuant to this Project, forgetting the Oath taken upon quitting *Palestine*, he made himself master of *Gisors*, *Evreux*, and all *le Vexin*, after which he laid Siege to *Roan*. He hoped to surprize that City, the taking of which would have drawn after it all the rest of *Normandy*, but had the mortification to miss his Aim. The Earl of *Leicester*, who had thrown himself into the City some days before, made so brave a Defence, that after an Assault, wherein the *French* were repulsed with great Loss, *Philip* was forced to raise the Siege.

Mean time, Queen *Eleanor* not content with opposing a strong Fence against the Ambition of her younger Son, laboured with all her power the King's Release. As the Emperor had no plausible Colour to detain him in Prison, she imagined, a powerful Mediation, such as the Pope's, might have a good Effect. In this Belief she frequently writ to his Holiness, intreating him to take in hand the King her Son's Cause. All her Solicitations not prevailing, she sent him at length a very expostulatory Letter, plainly shewing how highly she was provoked at his Indifference. She complained, that he was unwilling to take the least Step in behalf of the imprisoned King: That he refused to send a *Nuntio* to the Emperor, though he often sent Legates to all the Christian States, on much less important occasions: That this Behaviour was so much the more strange, as it would be no Disparagement to his Dignity, should he go in Person and solicit the Release of so great a King, who had lately exposed his Life in the Service of the Church. In short, she represented to him, That the many good Offices for which the Holy See stood indebted to the Kings of *England*, well deserved some return; and that the Services done the Popes during the Schisms, could not be forgotten without Ingratitude. But all these Instances were to no purpose. The Pope did not think fit to concern himself about an unfortunate Prince, for fear of displeasing the King of *France*, by whom he was pressed, on the other hand, not to interpose in the Affair.

Whilst the Queen laboured in vain to move the Pope, the Emperor, who wanted a Cloak for his Injustice, ordered *Richard* to be conducted to *Hagenaw*, where the Diet of the Empire was assembled. The Deputies, sent by the Queen and Council to the King to acquaint him with what passed in *England*, met on the road their unfortunate Prince, ignominiously conducted like a Criminal. This melancholy sight drew Tears from their Eyes, at which the King could not forbear weeping. After they had, by many affectionate Expressions, shewn their Concern for his Misfortune, and assured him of the Loyalty of his Subjects in general, they informed him of his Brother's Attempts, and his strict Union with the King of *France*. These Informations made him sensible, that in the present posture of his Affairs, it was very improper to dispute with the Emperor, upon the Terms of his Freedom. In this resolution, he was brought before the Assembly of the German Princes, where the Emperor charged him with six Articles, of which but one could concern himself, and none the German Nation in particular. I. He accused *Richard* of joining in a League with *Tancred* to support that Usurper in the Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. II. He alledged, that by his Contests with the King of *France* he had obstructed the Conquest of *Jerusalem*. III. He charged him with unjustly invading the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and employing the Arms of the *Croisades* to dethrone a Christian Prince. IV. He taxed him with affronting the Duke of *Austria*, at the Siege of *Ptolemais*. V. He accused him of being concerned in the Murder of the Marquis of *Monterrat*. VI. And lastly, he laid to his Charge, as a great Crime, the Truce concluded with *Saladine*, and accused him of holding intelligence with that Infidel Prince, to the great Detriment of Christendom in general.

Tho' neither the Emperor nor the Princes of *Germany* had any Right to sit as Judges upon the King of *England*, *Richard* did not think proper to dispute their Authority. He was too apprehensive of giving occasion for Delays, which must have been very prejudicial to him. In all appearance, that was the Emperor's sole Aim. He was contented therefore with briefly saying, Tho' he looked upon himself as accountable to none for his Actions, he was willing however to vindicate himself before that Illustrious Assembly; not that he considered them as his Judges, but because it greatly concerned his Honour that the World should think him innocent. Then he made his Defence against the Em-

(1) Soon after Christmas. *Hoveden*, p. 724.

(2) *John* quitted all claim to *Gisors* and *le Vexin Normand*, and *Philip* granted him with *Alice* that part of *Flanders* which was adjoining to *France*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 85. *Hoveden*, p. 724.

(3) The Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor*, with the Assistance of several Foreigners he had brought over. But all the Great Men of the Kingdom assembled, and laid Siege to *Windsor*. *Hoveden*, p. 724, 725. *Brompton*, p. 1252. *Gervase*, p. 1382.

1193. peror's six Allegations. To the first he replied, That his Treaty with *Tancred* no way related to the Emperor: That he did not make *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, but found him so; and treated with him, as with a King in actual possession of the Crown. To the second he answered, That the King of *France's* Jealousy was the sole Cause of the little Progress in the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, and the whole Blame ought to be laid on that Prince, since he first deserted the Cause. To the third, which related to the Conquest of *Cyprus*, he made answer, That he took not that Kingdom from a lawful Prince, but an Usurper and Tyrant, who, by his Barbarity, had justly provoked his Vengeance. That he hath demonstrated, he acted not in that Affair from a principle of Ambition or Avarice, since he voluntarily resigned the Island to *Guy of Lusignan*, to make him amends for the loss of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As to the fourth Article, he contented himself with saying, the Duke of *Austria* was sufficiently revenged of an Affront, for which he might have demanded Satisfaction in a more honorable manner. As for the Marquis of *Montferrat's* Murder, he said, with some emotion, all his past Actions were so many Evidences of his being incapable to use such infamous Means to be revenged on his Enemies; adding, the Marquis himself cleared him before he expired, in desiring the Princess his Wife to put into his hands the City of *Tyre*, which doubtless he would never have done, had he suspected him to be the Author of his Death (1). He spoke more fully to the Charge of holding Intelligence with *Saladine*. He represented, though with great Modesty, the share he had in the Victory obtained over the Infidel Prince. He accused the Duke of *Burgundy* of deserting him purely out of Jealousy, when he was just going to besiege *Jerusalem*. In fine, he added, it was easy to see that in making a Truce with the *Saracens*, he had no fordid Views; since of all the Booty he acquired by taking the *Babylon* Caravan, he reserved nothing to himself but only the Ring on his Finger.

Brompt.
p. 1232.

The German
Emperor
Richard.
Brompt.

Philip and
John make
a compact
Hoved.
Brompt.
H. 2. c. 1.
Richard
An. Burton.
Hoved.
p. 724.

The Emperor
makes a
treaty with
King of Arles.
Hoved.

Pub.
T. 1. p. 81, 85.

This Defence, which very much confounded the Emperor, raised the Compassion of the German Princes for *Richard*. They were so convinced of the great Injury done to that illustrious Prince, that with one consent they besought the Emperor to deal more generously by him. But their Intreaties could not induce that covetous and selfish Prince to release his Prisoner, before he had extorted an exorbitant ransom. He was the more extravagant in his demands, as the King of *France* had sent the Bishop of *Beauvais* to offer him a large Sum to keep *Richard* in perpetual Imprisonment. The Captive King therefore was forced, in order to obtain his Liberty, to promise to pay a hundred and fifty thousand Marks of Silver, of which the Duke of *Austria* was to have a Third for his share. The Emperor required further, that this Sum should be brought into *Germany* at *Richard's* Peril and Charge. To these hard Terms he added, that *Richard* should release the Emperor of *Cyprus* and his Daughter, and give his Niece *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* in Marriage to the Duke of *Austria's* eldest Son. Some say, the Emperor, not content with these Advantages, obliged *Richard* to make him an absolute Renunciation of the Kingdom of *England*; which however he presently re-invested him with, to hold of him by the annual Tribute of five thousand Pounds Sterling. Indeed, this Fact cannot be said to be altogether improbable, considering *Richard's* sad state. However, it is hardly credible, that Prince, though a Prisoner, could be brought to so unworthy an Action. Besides, we do not find, the Emperor ever formed any Pretension upon *England*, by virtue of this pretended Renunciation. Therefore, the same Historians which relate this particular, add, that *Henry*, before his Death, renounced all Right to *England*. To make the thing more probable, the Emperor's Donation of the Kingdom of *Arles* to *Richard* is urged, and pretended to be in return for the Sovereignty of *England*. But it is this that makes it presumed, *Richard's* Homage for that Kingdom, given him by the Emperor, is confounded with the Homage for *England*. And indeed, it appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts, that *Henry* conferred the Title of King of *Arles* on *Richard*; who, no doubt, did him Homage for that imaginary

Kingdom, which the Emperors had not enjoyed for many Years. 1193.

As soon as the Treaty was signed, *Richard* sent word of it to the Queen his Mother, desiring her to use all possible means speedily to raise the Money for his ransom. This was no inconsiderable Sum at that time in *England*. *Richard* himself when he went to the *Holy Land*, almost drained the Kingdom of all the Coin. Besides, the *Croises* likewise carried away large Sums. For this reason, it was no easy matter to supply this new Expence. However, the Zeal of the Justiciaries caused them to find means to raise a hundred thousand Marks, by Taxes (2), and by borrowing one year's Wool of the Abbeyes of the *Cistercians* and Religious Houses of the Order of *Sempringham* (3). To this was added the Plate belonging to the Churches, upon the Queen's Promise to restore it, after the King's Return (4).

Whilst the *English* were employed in raising the King's ransom, *Philip* and *John* tried all ways to break his Agreement with the Emperor. As soon as *Philip* heard of it, he sent *John* word, to look to himself, since the Devil was like to get loose. This News threw the Prince into great consternation. He saw all his hopes vanish, and himself upon the point of falling into the hands of a justly incensed Brother, without knowing how to divert the terrible Blow. In this perplexity, he had no other Remedy but to unite still more strictly with *Philip*, and endeavour, with his help, to break *Richard's* measures for his Deliverance. As these two Princes had one common Interest, they agreed to act together to engage the Emperor by advantageous Offers, to detain *Richard* in Prison. The Bishop of *Beauvais* was again commissioned to make *Henry* the following Proposals: That provided he would promise to detain *Richard* till *Michaelmas*, *Philip* would pay him down fifty thousand, and *John* thirty thousand Marks: That after that Term, they would return him monthly one thousand Pounds Sterling, as long as *Richard* was kept Prisoner: That in case he would deliver him into their hands, they would pay the whole Ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks. In fine, if he refused this offer, the Ambassador was ordered to tender him the same Sum, to keep him Prisoner one Year. These offers had such an effect on the covetous Emperor, that he deferred the King's Deliverance 'till the next Diet, which was to meet at *Spires* in a few Months, though *Eleanor* was come to *Worms* with a hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the payment of the rest. It is easy to guess *Richard's* Consternation, when he heard this unwelcome News. He was not ignorant of his Brother's Endeavours to seize his Crown, and was satisfied, *Philip* would employ all his Forces to support him in his unjust Designs. On the other hand, he too well knew the Emperor's Temper, to hope to soften a Heart that was a stranger to all generous Sentiments. In this melancholy State, believing himself entirely ruined, the time he passed 'till the Diet, was the heaviest and most grievous of his Life. He was very justly alarmed, for the Emperor had actually determined to comply with the King of *France*, and sacrifice his Honour to fordid Interest. The Diet being assembled at *Spires* in *February* (5), the Emperor addressed himself to the German Princes in Terms plainly importing, he made no Account of his Agreement with the King of *England*. Surprized at this Proceeding, they could not forbear telling him their Thoughts. They strongly represented to him, that being themselves Pledges of the Treaty, they could not in Honour see it violated, and even intimated he should not break it with Impunity. Whether *Henry* stood in fear of their Threats, or shame made some impression on his Mind, he was prevailed with to set his Prisoner free, upon receiving the hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the fifty thousand that were unpaid. *Richard* was no sooner at Liberty, but he speedily left *Germany*, and repaired to the *Low-Countries*, staying by the way no longer than was absolutely necessary. This speed was requisite, for *Henry* repenting of his release, sent after him to seize him, but it was too late. As soon as he came to *Antwerp*, he embarked for *England*, and safely arrived at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *March*, 1194, after a four year's Absence, fifteen Months whereof he had passed in Prison.

1193.
M. Paris.
Hoved.

1194.
Philip and
John endeavour
to break the
Treaty.
Richard
returned in
Prison.
Neubrig.
Hoved.
Brompt.
An. Burton.

They make
Offers to the
Emperor:
Hoved.
Brompt.
An. Burton.

Henry puts
off the King's
Deliverance.
Hoved.
Brompt.
An. Burton.

He endeavours
to break the
Treaty
but in vain.
Hoved.
Brompt.

Richard is
at Liberty.
Hoved.
Brompt.
M. West.

Brompt.
He arrives
in England.
R. Dicto.

(1) In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, T. 1. p. 71, there is a Letter from the *Old Man of the Mountain* to the Duke of *Austria*, wherein he owns himself the Author of the Marquis's Murder: But the Authority of this Letter is doubtful upon several Accounts, particularly for being dated in the Year of the Pontificate of the Pope. *See* Brompton, p. 1232, 1235. *Dicto*, p. 680. *Hemingsford*, p. 544.

(2) *Hoveden* says, every Knight's Fee was taxed a twelfth Shilling, and all, as well Clergy as Laity, gave one fourth Part, and some Clergymen even the third of their Revenue. *See* *Hoveden*, p. 720, 721, 722. And the Clergy moreover gave all the Gold and Silver in their Churches. The same is said in the *King's* *Chronicle*. *Hoveden*, p. 720, 721, 722. Mr. *Tyrol* observes, That this Tax was not imposed by the King's Prerogative; but by *R. Dicto*, p. 680, all the Money was raised by a General Tax, that is, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom. *Dicto*, p. 680. *Tyrol*, p. 521. The Money, as it was raised, was deposited in the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Humfrey* Earl of *Worcester*, and the Mayor of *London*. *Hoveden*, p. 727. *William* King of *Scotland* paid two thousand Marks towards the King's Ransom. *Cer. Mag. Scot.* 1193.

(3) The Order was here established at *Scorpey* in *Lancashire* (now a Seat of the *Clintons* Earls of *Lincoln*) in the Year 1198. *See* above, p. 222.

(4) It was resolved to send. *See* *Hoveden*, p. 723. *Brompton*, p. 1232. *Reg. Hen. 2. c. 1. in antiquis.* *See* *Hoveden*, p. 724.

1194. Before I finish what relates to *Richard's* Imprisonment, not to return hereafter to the Payment of the residue of his Ransom, I shall add here what passed on that head, both with respect to the Emperor and the Duke of *Austria*. The last, after frequently soliciting *Richard* to satisfy him, sent *Baldwin* of *Estune*, one of the Hostages, to let him know, that he would come upon those he had in his power, if the Treaty of *Haguenau* was not speedily executed. *Richard*, who knew by Experience the cruel Temper of that Prince, forthwith sent back the same *Baldwin* with the Princess *Eleanor*, that the stipulated Marriage might be consummated, till the rest of the Ransom was paid. In all appearance, the Emperor had taken for himself the hundred thousand Marks, and turned over the debt to the Duke of *Austria*. Be this as it will, *Eleanor* and *Baldwin* found, upon their Arrival at *Vienna*, that the Duke was dead of a Fall from his Horse. Before he resigned his last Breath, he made his Will, wherein he ordered the King of *England's* Hostages to be released; confessing, he had unjustly detained him, and could not in Conscience demand a Ransom. Notwithstanding this express Order, the Prince his Son, who succeeded him, would have detained the Hostages, had not the Bishops opposed it. They declared, they would not permit his Father's Corpse to be buried 'till his last Will was performed. The Pope likewise sent him a Letter, telling him, he had ordered the Archbishop of *Salzburg* to excommunicate him, if he deferred any longer the Execution of his Father's Will. Prevailed upon by these Menaces, he released the Hostages, and finding he had no great Inclination for the Princess of *Bretagne*, sent her back also to *England*. As for the Emperor, his Diffidence with the Pope, and the War he was meditating against *France*, making him sensible he might have occasion for the King of *England*, he wished to be reconciled to him. To that purpose, he sent a Bishop to beg his pardon, and assure him that he intended to restore what had been extorted from him. But he died shortly after at *Messina*, before he performed his Promise.

Richard was received by his Subjects with Demonstrations of Joy and Affection, which made him forget all the Disgraces he had suffered during his Captivity (1). His first care was to discharge his Vow, to offer to God the rich Standard of *Cyprus* in *St. Edmund's* Church. Which done, he marched to reduce some Castles still in the hands of *John's* Adherents, of which *Nottingham* Castle was the only one that held out a Siege of some days. Mean time, he ordered the Prince his Brother, who was retired to *France*, to be summoned to appear within forty days, and answer the Accusations exhibited against him. *John* not appearing within the Time limited, the King caused a sentence to be passed against him, confiscating all his Lands, and declaring him incapable of succeeding to the Crown.

This Affair being ended, *Richard* was crowned again, for fear his Imprisonment might have raised any Scruples in the Minds of his Subjects. *William* King of *Scotland* assisted at the Solemnity, and carried the Sword of State before the King (2). This Deference, and his constant Attachment to *Richard* whilst a Captive, entirely gained him the Affection of that Prince, who gave him all possible Marks of his Friendship. Indeed, he did not think fit to resign him *Northumberland*, the Possession whereof he very earnestly demanded, upon a dubious Title that was even renounced by his Predecessor. However, to soften in some measure this Refusal, he granted him a Charter of certain Honours and Privileges to be enjoyed by the Kings of *Scotland* whenever they came into *England* (3).

1195. *Richard* was too much bent upon being revenged of the King of *France*, to deny himself any longer that Satisfaction. The Forgiveness of Injuries is a Virtue too rare among Men, to be met with in a Prince who was none of the most scrupulous in point of Religion. To execute this Design, he stood in need of a powerful Army, which could be neither raised nor maintained without an extraordinary Charge. His Kingdom, already drained, was but little able to furnish him with the necessary Supplies. However, Money must be had at any rate, and for that purpose, divers not very honorable Ways and Means were used. In the first place, he revoked all the Alienations of

the Crown-Lands made before his departure to the *Holy-Land*. His Pretence for so doing, was, that the Purchasers had sufficiently reimbursed themselves, out of the Profits of the Estates, though they had enjoyed them but a very few Years. He used also another, and no less unlawful, means, to fill his empty Coffers. The Great Seal, which he carried with him, being lost during his Voyage, he ordered another to be made, and obliged all those that had any Patents or Commissions under the old, to have them renewed, and sealed with the new Seal. His sole Aim was, to extort Money from private Persons for renewing their Charters. These two Methods not appearing sufficient, he invented two more. The first was, to prohibit Tournaments and then grant the Nobility a License to hold, or be present at them, upon payment of a certain Sum, in proportion to their Rank (4). The second was, to restore to his Favour his natural Brother *Geoffrey*, and permit him to enjoy the Archbishoprick of *York*. The Bishop of *Coventry*, a zealous Friend of Prince *John*, and like him condemned, received also the same Favor. But it cost the former two thousand Marks, and the latter purchased his Pardon with a present of five thousand.

All the Forces *Richard* designed against *France* being ready, News was brought him, as he sat at Table, that *Philip* was besieging *Verneuil*. His Indignation to be thus prevented, transported him so, that he swore he would not turn his Face, 'till he had joined his Enemies: To keep his Oath, he caused part of the Wall of the Room to be pulled down, and going out through the Opening, embarked immediately with his Troops which waited for him on the Sea-side, and safely arrived in *Normandy*. Upon his Approach, *Philip* raised the Siege, just as he was going to take the City. Some say, he was forced to it by his Army, which, being seized by a Pannick, took to Flight, leaving the Tents and Baggage in the Camp.

Some time after, *Richard* being at *Roan*, the Queen his Mother introduced Prince *John*, who throwing himself at his Feet, begged his Pardon. The King received him civilly, as he promised the Queen, but however intimated to him, he was not satisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentance. *I forgive you* (says he, raising him up) *and wish I could as easily forget your Offences, as you will my Pardon*.

I shall not undertake to relate the particulars of the War which was carried on by the two contending Monarchs. They are not material enough to deserve insisting upon. I shall content my self with observing that the War lasted five Years, and was often interrupted by Truces, constantly broken by both Parties, without any possibility of knowing which side is to be blamed. The Historians of the two Nations were so bent upon vindicating their respective Kings, that it is easy to see, both were too much swayed by their Inclinations or Prejudices. Be this as it will, the two Princes met with frequent Occasions in this War to signalize their Conduct and Courage. But as the various Success of their Arms occasioned the Continuation of the War, they may both be said to lose more by it than they gained. *Philip*, among others, suffered an irreparable Damage in the Loss of all the ancient Records of the Crown, which were taken with all its Baggage in an Action near *Blis*. It was customary then for the King to carry with him where-ever he went, the Archives of the Kingdom. *Mezerai* laments the Loss *France* sustained on that occasion, and the notable Prejudice the History of that Kingdom received, with respect to the Events before that Engagement (5).

The Advantages the two Kings obtained over each other not being very considerable, they agreed at length upon a Truce, in order to a Peace. Some say, *Philip* proposed to *Richard* to decide their Quarrel by five Combatants on each side; and that *Richard* consented to it, provided the two Kings were to be of the number. If this be true, which however is questionable, the Proposal, very probably, was not serious. Thus much is certain, many Endeavours were used to bring the two Monarchs to a Peace, to which it was believed, an Interview might conduce. But after several Conferences, they parted without any Determination.

At one of these Conferences, the Princess *Alice* was restored to the King her Brother, who gave her in Marriage to the Earl of *Ponthieu*. Upon going to the *Holy*

(1) April 1. at a Parliament, King *Richard* demanded two Shillings out of every *Carucate*, a Tax formerly called *Tmantale*. And then ordered all those that held by Knight's Service, to give him the third part of a Knight's Fee, for his Expedition to *France*. *Head*. p. 737.

(2) He did this as Earl of *Hereford*. *Head*.
(3) They were to be conducted by the *Abbot* of every County from *Bowick* to the Court, and allowed a hundred Shillings a Day for the Journey, and thirty whilst they staid; and also twelve Loaves of fine Bread, twelve of the King's *Maner*, with four Gallons of the best, and eight of the ordinary Wine, &c. See *Act. Pub.* Vol. I. p. 87. This was settled by a Parliament. *Head*. p. 737.

(4) An Earl twenty Marks, a Baron ten, and a Knight four, without Land, two.

(5) In 1198, King *Richard* ordered that Weights and Measures should be the same all over the Kingdom. *M. Paris*. p. 191. *Ann. B. R.* p. 255. *Head*. p. 744. He also desired his Subjects to maintain him three hundred Soldiers for a Year, or allow him Money to maintain that Number; namely, three Shillings a Day of *English* Money, to each. *Head*. p. 776. The same Year he took five Shillings of every *Carucate* or Hide in *England*. *Head*. p. 773, 779.

1195-9. *Land*, Richard had committed her to the Custody of the Seneschal of *Normandy*, who had refused to deliver her without his Master's express Order, though *Philip* had often demanded her.

At the same time Joanna (1), Sister to *Richard*, and Widow of the King of *Sicily*, married the Earl of *Thoulouze*. She obtained of the King her Brother an entire Resignation of all Right and Title, as Heir of the House of *Poitiers*, to the Earldom of *Thoulouze*.

It happened, during this War, that *Philip de Dreux*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, a near Relation of the King of *France*, being in a Battle, was taken Prisoner by the *English*. His Quality and Character, but chiefly some injurious Expressions in speaking of *Richard*, occasioned his Ransom to be set at so high a rate, that he applied to the Pope for his Protection. His Holiness strongly interceded for his dearly beloved Son, as he called him, in a Letter to the King in his behalf. *Richard* in Answer sent the Bishop's Armour, all bloody as it was, and asked him, whether he knew his Son's Coat? This clear Evidence of the warlike Temper of the Bishop, caused the Pope to desist from his Solicitations, and to say, since he had quitted the Warfare of Christ for that of the World, it was but just, he should suffer the Consequences of so ill a Choice. Upon this Answer, the Bishop despairing of Assistance from *Rome*, compounded for his Ransom, which was set at two thousand Marks (2).

In the Account Historians give of this War, the *French* talk of nothing but the Advantages gained by *Philip*, and slightly pass over his Losses. The *English*, on the contrary, taking little notice of several Engagements, where the others pretend *Richard* was worsted, carefully extoll his great Success. Among other Advantages, they magnify a Victory obtained over his Enemy between *Courfelles* and *Gisors*, which the *French* slightly mention, as an Event of little importance. They say, *Philip* advancing with five hundred Horse to view the Enemy, was like to be surrounded, and forced to retreat to *Gisors* with some precipitation. They add, the Bridge of that City falling down under him, he was in danger of losing his Life by that Accident. It is certain, however, *Richard* sent to *England* a Letter concerning that Action, now to be seen in the Collection of the Publick Acts, wherein he boasts of gaining that day a glorious Victory. That Prince, very probably, would not have expressed himself thus, had he only routed five hundred Horse. Some *English* Historians even affirm, that on occasion of this Victory, *Richard* added to the Arms of *England* the Motto, *Dieu et mon Droit*. But I can hardly believe this Motto to be so antient, or to owe its Original to that Event.

The Forces of the two Kings were too much upon an Equality for either to hope to make any great Progress in the War. After having sufficiently tired one another, finding that all their Advantages amounted only to the taking some paltry Towns, which very often were retaken immediately, they gladly embraced an opportunity which offered to put an honorable end to the War: And that was by yielding to the Pope's Exhortations, who sent his Legate into *France* to try to induce them to a Peace. The Pope's aim was to engage them in a fresh Crusade for the recovery of *Jerusalem*. But they were both too much discouraged by the first, to have any thoughts of a second Expedition. The Legate's Arrival however had a good Effect, as it procured between the two Monarchs a Truce for five Years, which put some stop to the Calamities their Subjects groaned under. This Truce was concluded at a Conference, where it was agreed each should remain in possession of what was in his hands.

At this Conference, *Philip* feigning to espouse the Interests of *Richard*, shewed him some Papers, whereby his Brother Prince *John* appeared to have ill designs against him. *Richard* too hastily giving Credit to him, dispossessed his Brother once more of all he had been restored to. But *John* openly vindicated himself, in sending to the Court of *France* two Knights who offered to maintain by Arms, that the Prince was falsely accused. *Philip* not thinking fit to accept of the Challenge, *Richard* perceived his Brother's Innocence, and restored him to his Estates.

Whilst *Richard* was employed in *France*, the City of *London* was all on a sudden in great Danger, by reason of a Sedition raised by one *William Fitz-Osborn*, commonly called *William Long-Beard*, from the great Length of his Beard. This daring and seditious Man, by affecting continually to be an Advocate for the poor and meanest of the People, had gained the hearts of the Populace, who held him in extreme Veneration. He made use of this Advantage to stir up a Sedition in the City, on account of a Tax, the Burden of which, according to him, would wholly fall on the Poor. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was then the Justiciary, could not appease the Tumult without causing the principal Citizens to take to their Arms. *Long-Beard* finding himself hard pressed, fled to the Church of *St. Mary le Bow*, where he was seized, and afterwards hanged in Chains with nine of his Accomplices (3).

Richard's late Truce with *France* gave him opportunity of going to *England*, and enjoying some Repose, after all his Fatigues since his first Accession to the Crown. His Presence was moreover necessary in *England*, to reform divers Abuses crept in during his Absence. Accordingly this was what he resolved to do, but an unexpected Accident obstructed his Design. A *Limosin* Gentleman finding in his Estate a Treasure which had been hid there for many Ages, the King pretended, as it was found in a Country of which he had the Sovereignty (4), it belonged to him. The Gentleman was willing to compound the matter, by giving him part; but finding he would have the whole, applied to *Vidomar* Viscount of *Limoges* for Protection, who sheltered him in his Castle of *Chaluz*. *Richard*, who was not used to meet with opposition from his Inferiors, marched directly into *le Limosin*, to lay Siege to the Castle where the Gentleman had taken refuge. When he came nigh the Place, he went round it, in order to view it. But approaching too near, one *Bertram* [*Gordon*] an Archer, who was upon the Walls shot him with an Arrow in the Shoulder, close to his Neck (5). The Wound in it self was not mortal, but made so by the Unskilfulness of the Surgeon that dressed it. It is said, the King himself by his Intemperance did not a little help to inflame it. Be this as it will, the Wound gangrened, and he died of it the eleventh day (6), after enduring a great deal of Misery. The Castle being taken whilst he was yet alive (7), and the Person that wounded him brought into his presence, he asked him the Reason why he fought his Life. *Bertram* replied with an astonishing Boldness, it was in revenge of his Father and Brother, slain by the King's own hand; and added, he gave God Thanks for having so well succeeded, and was ready to undergo with pleasure the most grievous Torments, since he was so fortunate as to free the World from such a Tyrant. Though such an Answer was very like to exasperate the King against him, the dying Prince forgave him, and ordered him to be set at Liberty with a present of a hundred Shillings. But immediately after the King's Death, *Marchad* General of the *Flemings*, caused the miserable Wretch to be fled alive.

(1) She and Queen *Boreguella* leaving the Holy Land a little before the King, arrived at last in *Italy*, where having staid six Months for fear of the Emperor, they went to *Genoa*, and embarked for *Marcellis*, from whence they came to *Poitiers*. It does not appear that *Boreguella*, *Richard*'s Queen, ever came into *England*. *Hoved.* p. 732, 733.

(2) *Benenguerius* says, he was used thus by the King, for having incensed the Emperor against him whilst in *Durance*, who caused him to be loaded with so much iron, as an Ass could bear; as he said himself to those that interceded for the Bishop.

(3) His Body being taken away and buried, his Followers pretended that Miracles were wrought at his Grave; but Guards being set at the Place, and those that came in thither, gravely, roundly beaten for their Pains, the Cheat was seen through, and the People quickly left off their Devotions to the pretended Saint. *Rapin de Diction.* About this time lived also the famous *Robin Hood*, with his Companion *Little John*, who are said to infect *Yorkshire* with their Robberies. Some will have him to have been of a great Family, and reduced to that Course of Life by riotous Living. He never hunted either Man or Woman, spall the Poor, and robbed only the Rich. Proclamations being issued out against him, he fell sick at the Nunnery of *Berkley*, and desiring to be let Blood, was betrayed and bled to Death.—In 1197, King *Philip* gave *Richard* Bishop of *Durham* leave to coin Money in that City. *Hoved.* p. 768. The same Year there was a great Famine and Mortality through out *England*. *Ibid.* During this Famine, King *Richard* finding Ships at *St. Valer* full of Corn, exported from *England*, he ordered all the People belonging to those Vessels to be hanged. *Ibid.* p. 770.

(4) The Country of *Limosin* was held of the Dutchy of *Guenna*. *Rapin.* *Hoved.* says, it was *Vidomar* himself that found it in his own Estate. *Ibid.* p. 760.

(5) This was March 26. *Brompton.* p. 1277. *Dietz* says, the Person who wounded him was named *Peter Bass*, p. 703, and *Gervase*, that it was one *John Sabraw*. He says moreover, that *Richard* was wounded not at *Chaluz*, but at the Siege of a Castle in *Argentine*, named *Nantrem*, p. 1628. *Wals.* *Hamfrid* makes *Richard* to have been wounded near the Castle of *Gallard* which he had lately built in the Isle of *Aradale*. The King of *France* having taken that Castle, King *Richard* went to retake it, and there received his Death's Wound, p. 550, &c.

(6) He died April 6. *Brompt.* p. 1278. *Dietz.* p. 705.

(7) King *Richard* ordered all the Persons in it to be hanged, except he that had wounded him. *Knighton.* 2413.

1199.
He makes
John his
Heir.
Hoved.

Ad. Pub.
T. l. p. 23.

Brompt.
M. West.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

Richard's
Character.
Brompt.
G. Vindict.

Before he died, *Richard* made his Will, leaving his Kingdom with all his other Dominions, and three Parts in four of his Money to his Brother *John*, reserving the rest for the Poor and his Domesticks. He had formerly at *Messina* settled matters otherwise, and made his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* his Heir. This appears in his Letter from thence to the Pope, now to be seen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But probably, the Fear of raising Commotions in his Dominions, made him alter his mind. Indeed there could be no other reason to induce him to favour his Brother, whom he had no cause to love, to the prejudice of his Nephew, whose Title was no less just than Prince *John's*. In his last Will he ordered his Body to be interred at *Fontevraud*, at the Feet of his Father, to testify his Sorrow for the many Uneasinesses he created him during his Life. His Heart was to be carried to *Roan*, for a testimony of his Affection to the *Normans*. But his Bowels he ordered to be sent into *Poitou*, designing to shew by that his little Esteem for the *Poitouvins*, with whom he was displeased. He left only a natural Son called *Philip*, to whom he bequeathed the Lordship of *Cognac* in the Duchy of *Guienne* (1).

Such was the Life and Death of this valiant Prince, who for the Greatness of his Courage was surnamed *Cœur de Lion*. After commending his Valour, which was something like a brutish Fierceness, in vain do we seek in him some other Virtue to afford matter for his Panegyrick. Those that praise him for his Bounty and Magnificence, do not consider, if he was liberal and splendid, it was at the expense of his Subjects, from whom he extorted several large Sums by unjustifiable means. But on the other hand, we find in him abundance of Vices, and some of the most enormous. His Rebellion against his own Father is a Blemish, may justly be cast on his Memory. It is even apparent, God was pleased to punish him for it, by a continual Scene of Troubles during his ten years Reign, and particularly by a fifteen months Captivity. We find likewise in this Prince an insatiable Love of Money, which proved the cause of his Death; A Pride, which made him look upon his equals with Contempt, and his Inferiors as Slaves. In fine, if what certain Historians say of him be true, an unbridled Lust hurried him, not only to neglect

the Queen his Wife, in order to abandon himself to an infamous Debauchery, but even to Sins against Nature. It is affirmed, a poor Hermit took the freedom to upbraid him with that detestable Crime before his whole Court, and conjure him, in the name of God, to reflect on the Destruction of *Sodom*. Be this as it will, all those that have writ his Life agree, that Pride, Avarice and Lust were his three reigning Vices. It is said, that being one day admonished by *Fulk*, Curate of *Neuilly* (2), a Man famous for his Zeal, to throw off those wicked Habits, which were commonly called his *Three Daughters*, he replied jestingly, that it was his Design; and to that end he resolved to give the first to the Templars, the second to the Monks, and the third to the Bishops.

Richard was tall and well made. His Eyes were blue, and sparkling, and his Hair of a bright Yellow, inclining to Red. It may be said that *England*, where he never was above eight Months, during the whole course of his Reign, which lasted near ten Years, was very unhappy under his Government. He loaded his Subjects with frequent Impositions and excessive Taxes. And yet no other Benefit accrued to the People for these prodigious Sums, but a little Glory for their King, with which however they were satisfied, as redounding to the Honour of the Nation.

It is remarked as a thing deserving particular notice, that this Prince, who restored the Use of the *Crofs-Bow*, received his Death's Wound from that Instrument, as if Heaven intended to punish him for reviving that diabolical Invention. But I question whether this remark is built on a good foundation. We have observed the *English* made use of the *Crofs-Bow* in the Conquest of *Ireland*, in the Reign of *Henry II*, and it is not likely they should discontinue it, in the few Years that were since passed.

Richard was the first King of *England*, who carried in his Shield *Three Lions Passant*, wherein, he was imitated by his Successors (3).

During this Reign, the City of *London* began to put on a new Face with respect to its Government (4), and was divided into several Corporations or Societies, or as they are called at present Companies (5).

(1) At *Fontevraud*, where his Body was interred with a gilt Image, were these six Verses written in gold Letters, containing his greatest and most glorious Atchievements: As his Victory over the *Saracens*; his Conquest of *Cyprus*; the Sinking of the great Galeas of the *Saracens*; which he met as he was sailing from *Cyprus* to the Holy Land; the taking of the *Babylon-Caravan*, and the defending of *Joppa* against the Infidels.

Scribitor hoc tumultu, Rex auree, laus tua, tota
Aurea, materiae conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit *Siculi*, *Cyprus* altera, *Dromi*
Tertia, *Caravana* quarta, suprema *Joppæ*.
Suppressi *Siculi*, *Cyprus* pellundata, *Dromo*
Meisus, *Caravana* capta, retenta *Joppæ*. *Camd. Rem. p. 353.*

(2) He is said by *Brompton* to have also received the same Admonition from the Archbishop of *Roan*, and to have returned the same Answer, p. 1278.

(3) See the great Seals of each King in *Sandford* and *Speed*. It does not appear that the *Norman* Kings of *England*, *Richard's* Predecessors, bore any Arms, at least such as are ascribed to them. This is attested by a learned Antiquary. "I cannot find (says he) either by Monuments, Coins, Seals, or any contemporary Author, that such Arms as are assigned to our three *Norman* Kings, were in use with these several Princes, but that following Ages did assign or fix them upon the *Norman* Line, to distinguish it from the succeeding *Plantagenets*, that did bear *Gules, three Lions, passant, guardant, Or.*" *Sandford. Gen. Hist. p. 1.*—In, or about this time, *Coats of Arms* came also to be hereditary in Families: They owe their Origin to the Badges, which People painted for distinction sake, upon their Shields, or Coats of Armour, in those mad Expeditions in the East, called the *Crusades*. See *Dugdale's Preface to Baron. Vol. I. p. 4. Col. 2. Tyrrel's Hist. of England. Vol. II. p. 30. Speuman's Asplaga, &c.*

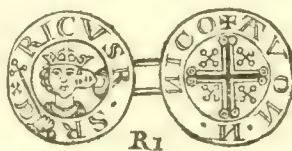
(4) In the first Year of King *Richard*, 1189, the Citizens of *London* obtained to be governed by two *Bailiffs*, or *Sheriffs*; and also to have a Mayor to be their principal Governor. The two first Bailiffs or Sheriffs, were *Henry Cornhill*, and *Richard Raynere*; and the first Mayor was *Henry Fitz-Albin*, who continued Mayor above twenty-four Years. See *Stow's Survey, Vol. II. Book V. p. 100, &c.*

(5) I. The Parliaments in King *Richard's* Reign; that is, as many of them as stand upon Record, were: In 1189, September 15, a General Convention at *Pipewell* in *Northamptonshire*. (*Dietz, p. 648. Hoved. p. 638.*) In November, a Parliament at *Westminster*. (*Brompt. p. 1166. Hoved. p. 660.*) In 1191, one at *Reading*; (*Brompt. p. 1223, &c.*) one at *London*; (*Id. p. 1226, &c. Hoved.*) another there. (*Id. p. 1228.*) In 1192, at *Northampton*; (*Gervas, p. 1369.*) one at *London*, or *Westminster*, December 10. (*Id. p. 1280.*) In 1194, at *Westminster*, at *Easter*; (*M. Paris, p. 176. Hoved. p. 735.*) at *Northampton*, March 30. (*Hoved. p. 736.*) at *Northampton*, April 10, 11. (*Hoved. p. 737.*)

II. The next great Branch of the Revenue was, V. *Fines, Oblatus, and Amerciaments* of many Kinds, in civil and criminal Cases, and for the Forest. It is surprising to see, how numerous the *Fines* and *Amerciaments*, appearing upon the Revenue-Roll, of the ancient Times, were. As to *Fines* for the Forest, it suffices to observe, that by the Revenue-Rolls of *Henry II*, and *Richard I*, and King *John*, an ample Revenue was raised, by *Trespassers, Defaults, Purpoitures, &c.* As to the *Fines* in civil and criminal Cases, they may be reduced to these three general Heads: *Fines* for Liberties, *Fines* in Law-Proceedings, and *Fines* of a mixt Nature. But first it may be observed, after a Fine was preferred and accepted, if the Party could not have the Thing for which he fined, he was then acquitted of the Fine, in such like words; *Sed non debet inde summen: quia nec lausit restam nec habere potuit.* However, a small Fine was sometimes paid for such acquittal. When the Party obtained the Thing for which he fined, he was wont to have the King's Charter made to him. If the Party failing, failed in payment of his Fine, he could not have his Charter for the Thing desired. When a Fine was preferred and refused, if the Party offered an Addition, it was called *Cremetum Fines*. 1. As for *Fines* of the first Sort, for Grants and Confirmations of Liberties, Franchises and Exemptions, there are numberless Instances on the Revenue Rolls. 2. The *Fines* in Law Proceedings were likewise very numerous, and brought in a very considerable Revenue. The several Instances may be reduced to these Heads: *Fines* to have Justice and Right, *Fines* for Writs, Pleas, Trials, and Judgments; *Fines* for Expedition, or speeding their Right. *Fines*, for stopping, or Delay of Pleas, Trials and Judgments. Sometimes the Parties litigant preferred the Crown a certain portion out of the Debts which they recover'd. Some prefer'd Half, others a Fourth, or some other proportional part, in order to have or recover the same at Law. Here we may see the occasion of this Clause in King *John's* and *Henry III's Magna Charta*, viz. *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum vel justitiam.* By means of this Clause, excessive *Fines* to have Justice were moderated, and actual denial of Right and delaying of it, which before, upon paying of Money or *Fines*, used to be practised, were quite taken away, or by Degrees brought into disuse. Moderate *Fines* for having Justice were constantly paid, as well after the great Charters as before. 3. *Fines* of a mixt nature. Many *Fines* were made for moderate to hold or quit certain Offices or Bailiwicks. For Licences of divers Kinds, especially to Marry, or not to be compelled to Marry, &c. Many *Fines* were made relating to Trade or Merchandize, with its Incidents. Hither also refer the *Fines* and *Dismes*, paid by Merchants upon several Occasions, of which hereafter. Besides these *Fines* for Licences, there were others, that may be called Miscellaneous, as being of divers Sorts: As for the concord of a Duel, for opening a Mine, &c. There were also *Fines* for the King's Favor, and that he would remit his Displeasure. For the King's Protection and Aid. To obtain his Mediation or Interposal in Men's Affairs. To have Seizin or Restitution of their Lands or Chattels, and that Men might not be distressed. *Fines* were made that Men might be discharged out of Prison, and replevied or bailed to the Custody of lawful Men. For Acquittals in divers Cases. Concurrent *Fines* were, when both Parties fined to obtain the same Thing: Counter *Fines*, when two Parties fined, one for a Thing, the other against it. I shall conclude this Head with observing, that Men fined for Respite of Knighthood; and shall subjoin the Form of the Summons, to take Knighthood directed to the Sheriff. "Rex Vicecomiti Norf. & Suff. Salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod, visis literis istis per totam Ballivam tuam clamari facias, quod omnes illi qui de nobis tenent in capite feudum unius militis vel plus, & Milites non sunt, circa festum Nativitatis Domini nostri regni decimo nono arma capiant & se milites faciant sicut tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenent, diligenter. Tette Rege apud Wallingford, Vlt die Nov." *Clarf. 19 Hen. III.* And as it was usual to let Amercement for not taking Knighthood after Summons, so the King sometimes seized the Lands of military Tenants for the same Reason. I proceed now to the Revenue arising by *Misericordia's* or *Amerciaments*; which in ancient Times are hardly to be distinguished from *Fines* by a nice Observer. It is likely there was some difference between a *Misericordia* and an *Amerciament*. For Instance, it was called an *Amerciament*, after it was reduced to a certain Sum, and a *Misericordia*, both before and afterwards. When a *Misericordia* (or discretionary Fine) was reduced to a certain Sum, it was said to be *admesuratum*, or *assessatum*, e. g. *Warrinus de Wyedie debet C. Marcas de Misericordia, sed p'sea ammesuratur per Justiciarium et Barones ad LX Marcas.* *Mag. Ket. 9 Joh. per Magna Charta*, *Exils* and *Barons* are not to be assessed unless by their Peers, and according to their Treipais. Concerning *Amerciaments* in general, it may be observed, it was frequent for some Persons to be amerced for the *Trespasses* or *Defaults* of others. Lords of *Seigneuries* for their Men, and for such as were *de manupallio suo*; *Tedings* and *Frank-pledges*, for such as were within their *Teding* or *Frank-pledge*, and the like. When general *Amerciaments* were set upon Hundreds, Towns, &c. for Murders or the like; so much thereof as was charged upon Lands, within the said Hundred, &c. which

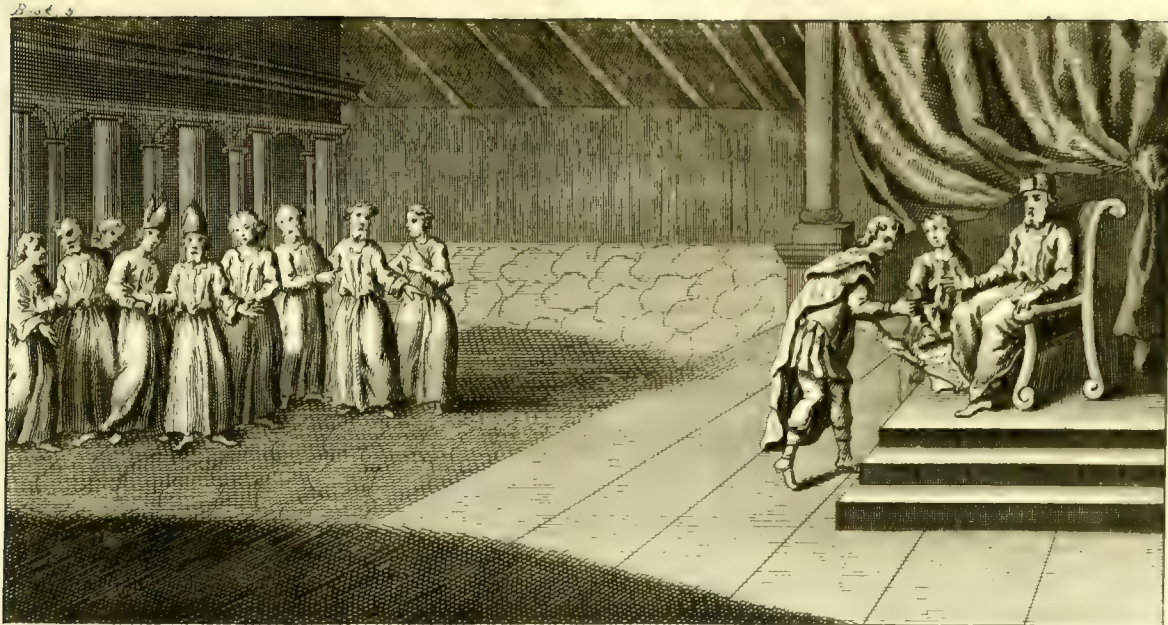
the King held in Demein, was discharged of Courfe. Lands holden by the Queen, were alfo free from common Amerciament. Several Barons and Lords of Seigneries had the like Freedom by Charter, probably, from the King. Barons of the Exchequer had freedom from common Amerciaments for their Lands and Tenants, by their Privilege of fitting at the Exchequer. Ecclefiaftical Fees were likewife exempt from the fame, and other Perfons by virtue of Charters. Divers Lords of Seigneries were, by Charter, intitled to have to their own ufe the Amerciaments that arofe within their Seignery. However, the Lords were to claim the fame at the Exchequer. This is frequently done at this Day. Amerciaments *pro Forefta*, and in criminal and common Pleas, are very numerous on the Revenue Rolls, thefe laft containing many things Ufeul and Hiftorical, as the curious Reader may fee in *Madox's History of the Exchequer*, &c. Thefe Amerciaments were for Murder- and Manflaughters, for Mifemeanors, for Diffidings, for Recreancy, for Non-appearance, for falfe Judgments, for not making purfuit on Hue and Cry: To thefe may be added, Miscellaneous Amerciaments for Treppaffes of divers Kinds.

The next great Branch of the Revenue was, VI. Aid, Scutages, Tallages, and Customs. In former times the Preflations or Payments to the King were called by feveral Names, as Danegelt, Aid, Donum, *Affifa*, Scutage, Tallage; and in fucceeding times, Subfidy, *Quanzime*, *Pinifm*, &c. feveral of the former then continuing in Ufe. I fhall begin with the Aid payable out of Barones and military Fees, which was an honourable Service or Duty, rendered by a free Vaffal to his Lord. There were three Sorts of Aid due to the Crown of common Right, or by Reafon of Seignery. Aid to make the King's eldeft Son a Knight, to marry his eldeft Daughter, and to ransome his Perfon, when taken in War. Thefe Aids were rendered to the King by all Perfons, who held of him *in Capite*; that is, immediately, *fine Medo*. All the King's Tenants were to pay Aid, whether they held *in Seruicio*, or *in Demein*; that is, in elder times, Aid was to be rendered by Perfons, who held of the King immediately, by Barony, or Knight's Service, or by Serjeanty, with Knight's Service annexed; and by Perfons who held of the King immediately, either by Rent-Service, Scutage, or other Service, that was not Military, whether they lived upon the Lands that were antient Demein, or upon Honours and Lands efcheated to the King, and upon Land: of his Wardships or Purchafes. King William I. took fix Shillings, of each Hide, through England. King Henry I. took three Shillings for each Hide, as *aid pro fide mariti*. But, for want of requifite Notices concerning thefe Aids, nothing diftinctly can be learnt of them. The firft that gives us any Infight into thefe Matters, is an Aid levied by Henry II. for the Marriage of his Daughter *Maud*, to the Duke of Saxony; namely, one Mark per Fee. It was paid by the feveral Barons and Knights, holding *in Capite*, according to the Number of their refpective Fees. In order to the due levying this Aid, the Barons and Tenants *in Capite* were commanded to certify to the King what Fees they had, how many of the Old, and how many of the New Feoffment, and of whom the fame were holden. Thefe Certificates were called *Cartæ Baronum*, and were ordered to be laid up in the Exchequer, a Huch being made to keep them. But the Originals are not now to be found, except that of the Bifhop of *Gloucefter*. The Contents of many other Certificates may be feen in an orderly manner in the Red-book of the Exchequer. The Fees of the new Feoffment were fmall, and paid but twelve Shillings per Fee, when thofe of the old paid twenty Shillings. The Temporal Barons and Tenants *in Capite*, were generally charged to the Aid for the Number of Fees in their Certificates. But if no Certificates were fent, they were charged according to what appeared by the King's Records, or Teftimony of his Officers. It was the fame with the Bifhops and Abbots. But it may be obferved, that feveral Ecclefiaftical Perfons, befides the Aid for their Fees rendered a farther Sum, under the Terms de *Præmiſſione fua*. The fame, *Madox* obferved, was fometimes paid alfo by Laves, and therefore thinks, when it was paid by the Laity, it was a *Donum*; and when by Ecclefiafticks, *Donum Prælatorum*. When Aid was collected, it could not by fome cuftom Impediment, be rendered by the Tenant to his Lord, it might be paid to the King, though he was not his immediate Lord. The vacant Bifhopricks and Abbays of Royal Foundation render'd Aid, being reckon'd among the Efcheats. It was alfo paid by the Towns and Mannors, or Lands, which the King held in Demein, and was actually affeffed by the Jufticers Itinerant, or with their Approbation. King Richard I. levied an Aid for the Ransom of his Perfon. It was paid by the Tenants *in Capite*, under the Name of *Scutage*, at the Rate of twenty Shillings per Fee. Another Part of this Aid was anfwered at the Exchequer, by the Name of *Hidage*, by which was meant the Aid charged on Lands holden by other Service, than that of the Shields. In Edward II's Reign, *Hidage* imported either Tenure in Scutage, or other inferior Tenure, and was oppofed to Tenure in Chivalry. This *Hidage* was affeffed by the King's Juftices, and is exprefly faid to be raifed in Aid of the King's Ransom. The Caruage paid for the fame Ransom, is likewife called an Aid. King Henry III. had an Aid to make his eldeft Son a Knight, forty Shillings of every Knight's Fee. This Aid was paid to the King by his Tenants *in Capite*, and to the King's Tenants *in Capite*, by Knight's Service. When the King's Tenants *in Capite* paid Aid to him, he ufed to grant them, that they might receive Aid *pro rata* of their Tenants *in Capite*. It was ufuall (in and after Henry III's Reign) for the King's laud Tenants to have a Writ, commanding the Sheriff to levy the Aid on the Perfons, that held of them *in Capite*. The Aid to make a Son a Knight, or for marrying a Daughter, was not demandable from Lands held either in *Franchalmoigne*, or *Præbende*. Befides thefe three noted Aids, there were alfo other Aids, which appear to be of a different Kind. In the fifth of Stephen, an Aid was paid to the Crown by the Burghs or Towns. This Aid feems to have been a yearly Payment, and indeed, it is accounted for in the like formal Words, wherein annual Firms are wont to be. In accounting for the Aid of the prefent Year, they faid, *reddid computum de auxilio*; for the Year next before, *reddid computum de præteritis auxilio*; and for the third Year, *reddid computum de veteri auxilio*; which are the Words ufed in accounting for Firms. An Aid was render'd at this time alfo (as it feems) by the Countees of the like Sort. Thefe Aids were affeffed by the Jufticers Itinerant. King Richard I. took five Shillings out of every Carue, or Hide of Land, through all England. This Aid is called *Tallagium*, by *Hoveden*. In Procefs of Time, the Word Aid came to be ufed in a large indefinite Senfe; and there came into Ufe a new Word, *Subfidium*, which was not at all, or not frequently ufed in the more antient Times. A Subfidy was granted to Edward II. for his War with Scotland. It is called a *Donum*. The City of London paid two thoufand Marks. Befides the general Aids, or thofe, which were *per communem Affiffam Angliæ*, extending through the whole Kingdom, there were certain Aids impofed upon the Demeins, Efcheats, &c. of particular Countees or Places, for certain Purpofes relating to thofe Countees or Places. An Aid by way of *Hidage*, was laid on *Devon* and *Cornwall*, for the Siege of the Ifle of *William de Marisco*. Inferior Lords of Seigneries had of their Tenants, the three notable Aids, to make his eldeft Son a Knight, to marry his eldeft Daughter, and to ransome his Perfon. They had alfo of their Tenants upon occafion, other Aids, as to enable them to pay their Relief or Seifin, or other Fine to the King, and alfo to pay their Debts. This was done by the King's Letters Patent, directed to the Tenants. But it may be noted, thefe were only Letters of Request. For it is provided by King John's Charter, that the King fhould not for the future grant to any one leave to take an Aid of his Freemen, fave in the three Cafes above mentioned. The Revenue arifing from *Scutage* and *Tallage*, will be fpoken of in the next Coin Note.



King Richard I. is represented as a Corrupter rather than a Refiner of the *Engliſh* Coins. And indeed his Parade in the Holy Land, with his Ransom, was fo very chargeable, that it is no Wonder to find him put to all imaginable Shifts for multiplying his Money at home. However his Money is very rare. His Penny, in *Speed*, is very remarkable, having two Faces, infcribed *RICVS REX*: *S REX*. And on the Reverse, *AV ON N*: *NICO*. And *REX ANGL*. Reverse, *LONDON*, three Pellets, in each Quarter of the Crofs. In the fifth Year of this Reign, *Bennet*, Son of *Iſaac* a Jew, flands charged on the Revenue Rolls with a hundred Pounds and one Mark of Gold, de *Obol. Muſee* or *Murſei* for a Fine. The Words are: "*Benedictus Filius Iſaac debet Cl & j marcæ auri de Obol. Muſee vel x. Marcas argenti, pro fine ſuo de cartis Aaron emptis a Cancellariis*" *Mag. Rot. 5. R. l. Rot. 3. a. m. 1.* a little lower in the Roll it was written *Muſei*. But what was meant by *Oboli de Muſee*, *Madox* ſays he cannot find.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VIII.

The Reigns of King JOHN, and HENRY III. Containing the Space of Seventy Three Years; with the State of the Church from 1154 to 1272.

7. JOHN Surnamed LACK-LAND (I).

1199.
*Reflections on
John's Right
to Richard's
Succession.*



THOUGH Richard made the Prince his Brother Heir to all his Dominions, *John's* Right was not thereby rendered incontestable. How absolute soever a Prince may be in his Life-time, as soon as his Eyes are closed, his last Will is no further regarded, than as consonant to the Laws, unless supported by Force.

In the affair of the noble Succession Richard left by his Decease, two Queries offered, not easy to be decided. The first was, whether, according to Law, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, as representing his Father *Geoffrey*, elder Brother of *John*, had not as much or more Right than his Uncle *John*, who was one Degree nearer. In the second Query, the Business was to know, whether in case the Laws favoured the Nephew, *Richard* had Power to dispose of his Dominions by a Will contrary to Custom.

Two things rendered the Decision of these Queries exceeding difficult. First, the Diversity between the Laws of the several States, this Succession consisted of. Secondly, in the Kingdom of *England*, the largest and most considerable part, there was no settled Law concerning the Succession to the Crown, by which the Kings were allowed or debarred the Power of disposing of it as they pleased. And if, for want of such a Law, the *English* History had been searched for Examples to establish a Precedent, that method would have been no less perplexing. From the Conquest to the time I am speaking of, there had been no occasion to establish or exclude the Right of Representation in respect to the Crown. It is very true, that in running over the times of the *Saxon* Empire, several Instances might have been found, but as there were others directly opposite, it was not easy to decide the matter from thence. Besides it was now above a hundred Years since the *Saxon* Laws and Customs were in force, the *Normans* ha-

ving introduced a new System into the Kingdom. The strongest Augment in favour of *John* was, that, there being no established Law concerning this matter, his Title was as good as *Arthur's*; and moreover, he had for him King *Richard's* Will. But on the other hand, in most of the Provinces possessed by the *English* in *France*, the Right of Representation in the lineal Descent was generally received. This Affair therefore would have been liable to great Discussions, had it been to be determined in a Court of Justice, or in the General Assembly of the States, by an impartial Judgment. But *John* not thinking proper to commit his Right to the Decision of any Tribunal, took a Course, which to him seemed not so uncertain. He believed his Right indisputable, or perhaps his Ambition would not permit him to be more scrupulous to his Nephew, than he had been with regard to the King his Brother. Be this as it will, he judged that Diligence was a more effectual means to gain his Point than a Decision which might be to his disadvantage. He had with him beyond Sea, two Men, who seemed proper Instruments for his Designs, by reason of their great Interest in *England*. The first was *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the other *William Marshal*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*. These two Lords being wholly devoted to his Service, because they believed his Title good, or for other private Reasons, promised to use all their Credit in his favour. Not to lose time, which to him was so precious, he dispatched them forthwith into *England*, enjoining them to act in concert with the Queen his Mother, and the Chief Justiciary, who had been for some time in his Interests. As for Queen *Eleanor*, though it seemed she should have been in Suspence, between her Son and Grandson, there was a secret Reason which biased her in favour of her Son: Namely, her Fear that if *Arthur* ascended the Throne, his Mother *Constantia* would come and seize the Administration of Affairs, during her Son's

1199.

*John takes
Measures to
secure the
Crown.*

*Hoved.
M. Paris*

(1) King *Henry* his Father gave him that Nickname, because he left him in his Will no Lands nor Inheritance, but recommended him to be provided for by his elder Brother. *Brompt.* p. 1059, 1061. See above, p. 232.

1199. Minority, then thirteen Years of Age. Her high Spirit would have made her extremely uneasy if she had been obliged to live under her Daughter-in-law.

*His Friends
were soon
reconciling and
friendly.
M. Paris.
Hoved.*

The four Persons on whom *John* relied, served him with zeal and success. The Judiciary had great Power during the *Interregnum*. The Archbishop was at the head of the Clergy. *Eleanor* was exceedingly beloved and respected in the Kingdom; and *William Marshal* was a Lord distinguished by his Merit, though not yet by his Dignities. After concerting together the properest methods to serve the Prince effectually, they laboured to gain the Magistrates of the Cities and Towns (1). Their Aim was, by their help to win the People, that they might afterwards meet with less opposition from the Nobles. Their Endeavours being crowned with all the Success they expected, they thought themselves sufficiently strong to venture upon summoning the lesser Nobility to take the Oath to *John*. There were but few that refused it, both because they imagined it agreeable to the general Sentiment of the Nation, and were unacquainted with the young Duke of *Britagne*, who had never been in *England*. These two first steps being taken, the Bishops and Barons were summoned to take the same Oath; but these were not so easily managed. Besides, that many questioned whether *John's* Pretensions were just, they looked upon themselves as the proper Judges in the affair, instead of being obliged to submit to the Decisions of others. However, as the Body of the People had now declared for *John*, they did not think themselves in a condition absolutely to refuse taking the required Oath. Accordingly, on pretence of examining into the Laws of the Realm they demanded a Delay. In the mean time, believing a Civil War unavoidable, they began to fortify their Castles (2), and make Preparations to support the most just Cause, or at least, that which to them seemed most agreeable to their Interest. These Proceedings alarmed the Prince's Friends: As they knew he was not beloved, they were apprehensive, the Barons were determined to oppose him. To prevent this Design they convened at *Northampton* an Assembly General, where they used their utmost Endeavours to gain those they most suspected (3). Among other things, they promised in *John's* name, that he would fully restore all the Rights and Privileges of the Nobles and People. This Promise, joined to others privately made to the most obstinate, produced the Effect they expected. All the Lords unanimously engaged to swear Fealty to *John*, and by that means the whole Kingdom was well disposed in his favour before his Arrival. An Embassy sent at this time from the King of *Scotland* to demand *Northumberland* (4), gave some uneasiness to those that were at the Helm. They were afraid, he intended to take advantage of so favourable a Juncture, to become master of that Country, as indeed, it would have been very easy, *England* not being then in condition to maintain a War. However, they found means to content the Ambassadors with fair Words, promising them, as soon as *John* was arrived, he would give their Master Satisfaction.

*M. Paris.
Hoved.*

*The King of
Scotland's
Demands
eluded.
Hoved.
M. Paris.*

Whilst *John's* Adherents were labouring for him in *England*, he himself was not idle in *France*, where he was detained by two important Affairs. The first was a Negotiation with *Robert of Turnham*, who had the Custody of *Richard's* Treasure in the Castle of *Chinon*, of which he was willing to see the Issue, before he crossed the Sea. He was at length so fortunate as to gain that Officer, who delivered him the Money in his keeping, and surrendered to him the two important Cities of *Saumur* and *Chinon*, of which he was Governour (5). The other Affair which kept *John* beyond Sea, was to cause himself to be owned for Sovereign by the Provinces the *English* held in *France*. Though in *England* every thing went to his wish, it was not so in *France*, where young *Arthur* his Nephew created him great Uneasiness. Besides his natural Right to these Provinces, it was to be feared, the King of *France* would assist him with all his Forces to take possession. And indeed, nothing could be more advantageous for that Monarch, than to see them rent from the *English* Monarchy. Moreover, all seemed inclined to favour *Arthur*. The Governor of *Angers* (6) had already delivered that Place to him, and all the Lords of *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, were resolved to acknowledge him for Sovereign (7). So that *John* now

*Hoved.
M. Paris.*

saw himself as it were excluded from a great Part of his Brother's Inheritance. As this Example might prove of dangerous consequence with regard to *Normandy*, and even have some Influence in *England*, *John* was in great perplexity. However, as he had *Richard's* Treasure in his hands, he seasonably used it to gain the principal Lords of *Normandy*. By the same means, he levied an Army, and laid Siege to *Alençon*, which had sided with the Duke of *Britagne*. This Place not making a long resistance, he believed it necessary to strike a Terror into the *Normans*, by an Instance of Severity, which should frighten them from declaring against him. For that purpose, he ordered the Walls of *Alençon* to be razed, and the chief Butchers made Prisoners. These rigorous Proceedings had the desired Effect. However inclined the *Normans* were to *Arthur*, they thought it prudent to submit to his Uncle, in order to avoid the impending Evils. As soon as they had taken this Resolution, *John* came to *Roan*, where he was crowned Duke of *Normandy* (8) by the Archbishop of that City, who had been a great Instrument in disposing the People in his favour.

1199.

*John takes
Alençon and
razes the
Walls.
Frighten-
ed.
M. Paris.
Hoved.*

*M. Paris.
Hoved.*

It was by no means proper for *John* to think of reducing the other Provinces in *France*, before he had taken possession of the Crown of *England*. Besides that a too long Delay might be prejudicial to him, so great an Undertaking would be impracticable, without the Assistance of the *English*. He was determined therefore to pass the Sea, and arriving at *London* the 25th of May (9), he caused himself to be crowned next day in *Westminster Abbey*. Before the Ceremony began, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made the following Speech to the Lords and People assembled.

"NO Person can have a Right to the Crown of this Kingdom, unless, after humbly invoking God's Holy Spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his extraordinary Virtues, and then solemnly anointed King after the Example of *Saul* and *David*, whom God was pleased to set over his People, though neither was Son of a King, or royally descended. The former was chosen for his Valour, the latter for his Humility and Piety; it pleased God that such as were to be clothed with Sovereign Power, should be eminently distinguished by their Virtues. If therefore any one of the Family of the late King excels the rest, we ought readily to consent to his Election. I speak this in favour of the noble Duke *John* here present, Brother to our illustrious King *Richard*, who died without Issue. This Prince, being endowed with all sorts of Virtues, and particularly with great Valour and Prudence, as well in respect of his Merits as Birth, with the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, we elect King."

*Archbishop
of Canterbury's
Speech.
M. Paris,
p. 197.*

After this short Harangue, the Archbishop set the Crown on *John's* head, having first administered to him the customary Oath. The Bishop of *Durham* protested against the Coronation, as done in the Absence of the Archbishop of *York*. But this Pretension being founded neither on Law nor Custom, was not regarded.

*John is
crowned.
M. Paris.
Hoved.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Speech well deserves some Remarks. Several pretend to prove from thence, that by Election only the Kings of *England* in those days ascended the Throne. They ground their Opinion upon the Archbishop's declaring it, on so solemn an occasion without any opposition. They urge likewise the Silence of the Prince elected, who must have been offended at so bold an assertion, if he had not been satisfied, the People had such a Right. But I do not see how this Consequence can be drawn. *Hubert* takes upon him to declare, *John* comes to the Crown only by Election, without the States appearing to have been first consulted about it. Nay, it does not appear, that after he had ended his Speech, he so much as asked the Assembly's Opinion but proceeded immediately to the Coronation of the King, upon the People's Acclamations, who were got together to see the Ceremony. Besides, if *John* was elected at that time, whence is it that all *England* had already sworn Fealty to him? Was it usual to take the Oath before the Election? Do we find any such thing practised in Elective Kingdoms? Moreover, if the Right of Election was then established in *England*, what made the Archbishop alledge the Ex-

*Remarks on
the Archbi-
shop's Speech.*

(1) *Homines regni tam de Civitatibus, quam de Burgis, & Comitibus, & Baronibus, & liberis tenentibus.* *Hoved. p. 793.*

(2) All the Bishops, Earls, and Barons that had Castles, furnished them with Arms and Provisions. *Hoved. p. 793.*

(3) *Duac*, Brother to the King of *Scots*; *Richard*, Earl of *Gloucester*; *Ranulf*, Earl of *Chester*; *William*, Earl of *Wales*; *Waleran*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Reginald*, Count of *Ulster*; *William de Mowbray*, &c. *Hoved. ibid.*

(4) *And Cumberland*, with their Appurtenances. *Hoved. ibid.*

(5) And all the other Castles in his Custody. *Hoved. p. 792. M. Paris, p. 196.*

(6) *Thomas de Fumes*, Nephew to *Robert de Turnham*. *Hoved. ibid. M. Paris.*

(7) Deeming it to be the Right and Custom of those Territories, for the Son of the elder Brother deceased, to succeed before the younger. *Hoved. ibid. M. Paris, p. 196.*

(8) On April 25. He was girt with the sword of that Dukedom (as *M. Paris* expresses it) in the Cathedral of *Roan*; and the Archbishop put on his Head a golden Circle, or Coronet, adorned all round with golden Roses, curiously wrought, p. 196. He took an Oath at the same time, which see *ibid.* and in *Hoved. p. 792, 793.*

(9) He landed at *Seacombe* in *Suffex*, May 25, and came the next Day to *London* to be crowned. *Hoved.*

1199. amplexes of *Saul* and *David*? Would it not have been more to the purpose to produce those of the former Kings of *England*? But of these he says not a word. He contents himself with insinuating upon the Examples of two Kings of *Israel*, much more proper to establish a new Right than to prove its Antiquity. There are even some Authors that affirm, the whole Assembly was extremely surprized at the Archbishop's Discourse: Adding, that after the Ceremony, being asked the reason of so extraordinary a Proceeding, he replied, *That he foresaw John would bring the Kingdom into great Confusion, and therefore had judged it proper to let him know, that he mounted the Throne by ELECTION, and not by HEREDITARY SUCCESSION, to the end he might always remember, that those who gave him the Crown, had likewise the Power to take it away.* If this particular was certain, the Right of Election would be overthrown by the Archbishop's own words. For there is no need of any private reasons for the use of a Right, when it is certainly established. But it is not likely that *Hubert* had the gift of foreseeing what did not happen till several years after.

To understand the motive of this Speech, we need only consider the Circumstances of this pretended Election. *Hubert*, as was said, was entirely in *John's* Interest. The business was to procure that Prince a Crown, to which the Duke of *Bretagne* had Pretensions, not altogether groundless. However, by Promises or Threats the *English* were brought to swear to *John*. It was not therefore proper to say, he ascended the Throne by Hereditary Right, since the question between him and *Arthur* had been neither examined nor decided. Consequently it would have been acting contrary to *John's* Interest to revive it. But it was very advantageous for him to mount the Throne by a sort of Election, upon a double account. First, as it gave him a title to his Coronation: Secondly, as it gained him the People of *England*, who were thereby more likely to support their Choice, than maintain him in his pretended Hereditary Right, which was liable to many difficulties.

John was thirty two years of age when he came to the so much desired Crown, but which, by the just Judgment of God, served only to render him more unhappy. During the whole course of his Reign, he met with nothing but misfortunes, and those the most terrible; having to deal with three irreconcilable Enemies, namely, *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, *Pope Innocent III.*, and the Barons of his own Realm. The first stript him of almost all the Provinces held by his Predecessors in *France*. The second wrested from him the Crown of *England*, and though he restored it afterwards, it was upon the Terms of a dishonorable Homage. In fine, the Barons of *England* compelled him to give up all the Prerogatives enjoyed by his Predecessors since *William the Conqueror*. These are the three principal Events of this Reign, the particulars whereof I am going to relate, as briefly as the subject will permit.

As soon as *John* was crowned (1), his first care was to reward those who had been instrumental in placing him on the Throne. *William Marshal* was created Earl of *Pembroke*; *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, the Justiciary, received the title of Earl of *Essex*: Archbishop *Hubert* considered as a recompence, the Office of High-Chancellor, conferred on him by the King; though many were of opinion, his accepting it was a disparagement to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Indeed, Chancellors had been made Archbishops of *Canterbury*, for instance, *Thomas Becket*; but this was the first time an Archbishop was invested with the Chancellorship.

The new King being secure of the *English*, stayed no longer in the Kingdom than was necessary to amuse the King of *Scotland*. This Prince was very urgent for the restitution of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and threatened to carry War into those Counties, unless he had speedy satisfaction. *John* had no design to comply with his demands, but however, did not think proper to reject them at such a juncture. To free himself from this difficulty, he chose to perfwade him gently to be satisfied with a general Promise, till his urgent affairs in *France* permitted him to enter into Negotiation with him (2). Indeed, this was his only course, since he could not relinquish his affairs in *France*, without danger of losing all.

Constance, Mother of *Arthur*, perceived by *John's* Proceedings, that he designed to seize all the Provinces in *France*, possessed by *Henry II.*, and *Richard*. But as she found herself unable to oppose it, she resolved to put the Duke her Son under the King of *France's* Protection. To

that end, she desired that Monarch to give her a meeting at *Tours*, where she delivered the young Duke into his hands (3), surrendering to him withal, the principal Places, of *Bretagne*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, to hold them for *Arthur*.

Philip desired nothing so much as the recovery of the Provinces enjoyed by the *English* in *France*. He had even undertaken several Wars to that end, though with little Success. It is no wonder therefore, if he did not fail to embrace so favorable an opportunity. Under colour of acting for *Arthur*, he had now broke the five years Truce made with *Richard*. He had even made himself master of *Evreux*, and the Provinces of *Maine*, whilst the *Bretons* had surprized *Angers*, from whence *Marchad*, King *John's* General, had driven them a little before. News of these things, being brought to *England*, caused *John* to depart with precipitation, to look after his affairs beyond Sea (4). Upon his arrival at *Roan* (5), he assembled an army of *English* and *Normans*, which was quickly reinforced with the Troops brought by the Lords of his Party from the other Provinces. This great Armament surprized *Philip*. As he was unwilling to run any hazard, he pretended to desire to end his differences with the King of *England* by way of Negotiation, and for that purpose demanded a Truce for fifty days. Instead of improving his Advantages, *John* suffered himself to be deceived by his Enemy, and granted him a Truce. He imagined, the Terror of his Arms obliged the King of *France* to desist from his Projects. Before the Truce was expired, the two Monarchs had an Interview between *Butvant* and *Gaillon*, to try to adjust their differences. *Philip* talked very high, and in such a strain, as shewed he was void of all fear. He demanded the *Norman-Mexin* for himself, and *Poitou*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, for *Arthur*, for which Provinces he had now received that Prince's Homage. A demand so opposite to *John's* designs, breaking off the Conference, and causing to vanish all hopes of Peace, Hostilities commenced on both sides.

Joanna Countess of *Tholouse*, and Queen-Dowager of *Sicily*, Sister of King *John*, died in the beginning of this War at *Roan* (6), where she was come to visit the King her Brother. She was buried at *Fontevrand*, in a very splendid manner, near the Kings *Henry* and *Richard* her Father and Brother.

Whilst *John* was taken up with his Sister's Funeral, *Philip* was in *Bretagne*, where he made himself master of certain Places that had declared for *John*. Among these was the Castle of *Belun* (7), which *Philip* ordered to be demolished as soon as it was in his power. This Proceeding offending *William de la Roche*, Governor of the young Duke, he complained of it as a Breach of the Treaty made with *Philip*, in the name of his Pupil. Indeed, they had agreed, that all the Places, taken from the Enemy, should be delivered into the hands of the Duke, as soon as he came of age. But instead of excusing the thing from the Circumstances of the War, *Philip* scornfully replied, *It was not to be expected that the Consideration of the Duke of Bretagne's Interest should hinder him from consulting his own.* At the same time, without giving the Governor other satisfaction, he marched on to besiege *Lavardin*. But upon King *John's* approach at the head of a numerous Army, he thought fit to retire into *Maine*. For the same reason, he found himself obliged also to quit that Province, and shelter himself in his own Dominions.

Mean time, what he had done in *Bretagne*, and his reply upon that occasion, opened the Eyes of *William de la Roche*. This prudent Governor, finding *Philip* had no other view than to use his young master as an Instrument to advance his own affairs, thought it his duty to endeavour to blast his designs. Accordingly, he carried away *Constance* and *Arthur* from the Court of *Philip*, and after a Reconciliation, brought them to King *John* (8). This might have proved fatal to the King of *France*, if he had not by good fortune, or perhaps by good management, recovered his loss, which he looked upon as very necessary to serve as a mark to his Ambition. There were some in the Court of King *John*, who, bribed by *Philip*, or out of affection to the young Duke, intimated to *Constance*, that her own and her Son's Life were in danger near a Prince, who would be so great a gainer by their death. These Intimations often repeated, made such an Impression on the Princess and the young Duke, that they privately withdrew from King *John's* Court, and threw themselves into the Arms of their former Protector.

(1) On the day of his Coronation. *Hoved.* p. 793.

(2) King *John* sent the Bishop of *Durham* to meet him, thinking he would come and have an Interview with him, and went himself as far as *Nor-*

tingham. *Idem.* p. 794.

(3) Who immediately sent the Duke to *Paris*, to his Son *Lewis.* *Idem.* p. 792. *M. Paris.* p. 196.

(4) He sailed from *Shrewsbury*, June 19, with a numerous Army. *Brompt.* p. 1282.

(5) *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* entered here into a Treaty with him. *M. Paris.* p. 198. *Hoved.*

(6) He took it in *October.* *Hoved.* *Idem.*

(7) To whom he also delivered *Maine.* *Idem.*

(8) In *September.* *Idem.* p. 795.

90. As *Arthur's* return furnished *Philip* with a plausible pretence to continue the War, it caused *John* to lose all the hopes he had entertained, whilst the young Prince was in his custody. In all appearance, this War was like to be of long continuance. *John* had strengthened himself with the Alliance of the Emperor *Otho* of *Saxony* his Nephew, who promised to make a powerful diversion in his favour. He had likewise gained the Earl of *Flanders*, and by an unexpected turn, all *Guienne* had just declared for him. All these Advantages were sufficient to enable him to carry on the War without dreading his Enemy. The Province of *Guienne* was so considerable, that *John* immediately laid aside his other designs to go and take possession.

1200. His Affairs standing thus, he had reason to flatter himself with the hopes of Success in the continuation of the War. However, he chose rather to listen to the Proposals of Peace, insinuated to him from *Philip* by the Cardinal of *Capua*. The King's numerous Forces, his Alliance with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Succours he might expect from the *Gascons*, made *Philip* sensible, it would not be possible at such a Juncture to make any great progress. And therefore, finding the War promised him no advantage, he turned about to procure by a Peace, what he could not expect by Arms. As he considered the young Duke of *Bretagne's* Interests, only with a view to his own, he relinquished that Prince, to obtain the better Terms for himself. After a short Truce, which brought on a Treaty, a Peace was concluded (1) by the Mediation of the Cardinal of *Capua*, the Pope's Legate, upon these Conditions :

Treaty of Peace between the two Kings. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 117. That *Philip* should give no assistance to the Duke of *Bretagne*, but suffer *John* to take possession of *Poitou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Anjou*, without molestation.

That he should restore to *John* the Earldom of *Evreux*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, and in general whatever was taken from the *English* since *Richard's* death.

That immediately after the restitution of *Berry*, and *Auvergne*, *John* should resign these two Provinces, for a certain time, to Prince *Lewis* Son of *Philip*, and pay him twenty thousand (2) Marks of Silver for the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Castile* his Niece (3), whom that Prince was to marry.

That in case *John* died without Issue, he should leave these two Provinces to *Lewis*.

That *John* should not assist, directly, or indirectly, the Emperor *Otho* his Nephew, who was at war with *France*.

This Treaty was fatal to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The young Prince finding he was too weak to resist the King his Uncle, without the Assistance of *France*, quickly lost all the Provinces that had declared for him. Nay, he saw himself obliged to do Homage for *Bretagne* to King *John*, as his Predecessors had always done to the Dukes of *Normandy*. However, though the King of *France* had thus deserted him, he chose rather to stay with him, than to trust himself with an Uncle, of whom he had entertained a Suspicion, which could not be blotted out of his mind.

As soon as the Peace was signed, Queen *Eleanor* set out for *Spain* to fetch *Blanche* of *Castile* her Grand-daughter, who was to be married to Prince *Lewis*. As the Kingdom of *France* was then under an Interdict, she conducted the young Princess to *Roan*, where the Nuptials were solemnized. All the Articles of the Treaty being executed, except the delivery of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, to the Prince of *France*, *John* faithfully performed his Engagement. Thus the two Courts parted, in appearance, in perfect Union.

Mean while the Emperor, offended at the Peace made without consulting him, sent Ambassadors to the King his Uncle to upbraid him, and to demand withal some Jewels, left him by King *Richard* in his Will (4). But as *John* had no farther occasion for his assistance, he found Reasons or Pretences to dispense with giving him satisfaction.

If *John* faithfully executed his part of the Treaty, *Philip* was no less punctual to perform whatever he had promised. He beheld with a seeming Unconcern, the Progress of the King of *England*, who taking advantage of *Arthur's* Weakness, dispossessed him of all the Provinces that were

given him. *Bretagne* alone, to which *John* could lay no manner of Claim, remained in subjection to the Duke.

But whilst *John* was making all these Conquests, he himself was vanquished by the Charms of *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, one of the greatest Beauties in her time. She had been contracted to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*; but, being then too young, the Marriage was not consummated. Several Obstacles afterwards intervened, which prevented the Consummation, though the Contract still remained in force. The violent Passion *John* entertained for this Lady, made him with all imaginable ardor seek means to possess her. But his ends could not be attained without very great difficulties. There were no less than two Marriages to break through at once; namely, his own with *Aviza* of *Glocester*, (who during the nine years they had been together, had never given him any cause to complain,) and that of *Isabella*, with the Earl of *Marche*. However, his new Passion putting him in mind, that *Aviza* was related to him within the degrees forbidden by the Canons, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* protested against his Marriage, he desired the Pope to annul it. Whether the Pope was willing to do the King a Pleasure, or was glad of an occasion to exert the Authority of the Church, he appointed the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* and two other Bishops, Judges of the Case. After a slender Examination, the Commissioners declared *John's* Marriage with *Aviza* null and void; which done, the King demanded *Isabella* of the Earl of *Angoulême* her Father, who gave her to him, without scrupling to break his word, to procure a Crown for his Daughter.

In this manner most Historians speak of *John's* second Marriage. They assure us, his Love for *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, was the real Motive of his annulling the first (5). There is one however, who undertakes to vindicate the King, by intimating, that *Aviza* was divorced before his Passion for *Isabella*. But I question whether the Authority of a single Historian can out-weigh the Testimony of all the rest (6).

A little after the King's Marriage, *Constance* of *Bretagne*, who was married to *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, having lost her second Husband, or, as some say, voluntarily quitted him, espoused for her third *Guy* de *Thouars*. She died in 1201, having lived about a year with her new Spouse. By this third Marriage he left a Daughter called *Alice*, who was Duchess of *Bretagne*, after the death of her Brother *Arthur*.

John thought himself happy in obtaining for a moderate Sum, and the resignation of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, the Provinces in *France*, enjoyed by his Ancestors. But the *English* deemed the Treaty so dishonourable, that they could not forbear murmuring. They considered their King as a slothful and cowardly Prince, who was so mean-spirited as to purchase a Peace, when all things seemed to promise him a good Issue of the War. But these Murmurings gave him but little Uneasiness. He imagined he had done enough, in depriving the Duke his Nephew of the Protection of *France*, and reducing him to *Bretagne* alone, of which also he did not despair of one day dispossessing him.

As soon as he had settled his Affairs in *France*, and secured his new Acquisitions, he returned to *England* (7), where presently after he convened an Assembly or Parliament, and demanded an Aid of three Shillings upon every Hide of Land, for the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Castile* his Niece, according to his Agreement with *Philip*. This demand met at first with great opposition. People could not understand what business the *English* had to pay the Dowry of a Spanish Princess, to marry her to a French Prince. Nevertheless, as it was the first Aid he had demanded, it was not thought proper to deny it. But it was consented to with so much reluctance, that he easily saw how difficult it would be for the future to raise Money upon the People, unless he rendered himself absolute. And this, it is pretended, he began from that time to labour to effect.

Mean while, *Geoffrey* his natural Brother, who was Archbishop of *York*, making light of the Consent of the States for this Tax, forbade the Collectors to levy it within his Diocese. Nothing could be more groundless than the Archbishop's Pretensions. He had no right to oppose what was resolved by the Body of the Nation. But he was a turbulent and ambitious Person, who wanting to set himself forward, would have been very glad to find himself

(1) May 22. Hoved. p. 802.

(2) She was Daughter of *Alphonso* VIII. and *Flower* Daughter of *Henry* II. of *Spain*.

(3) As to the Earldoms of *Poitou* and *Pondau*, which he said the late King *Richard* had given him. Ann. Burt. p. 258. Hoved.

(4) *M. Paris* says, the King of *France* advised King *John* to marry her. p. 200.

(5) *Isabella* was crowned at *Westminster*, October 8. *M. Paris*, p. 200. An. Burt. l. p. 166.

(6) In October, Hoved. p. 811. and ordered, That Wine of *Poitou* should not be sold in *England* for above twenty Shillings per Tun; Wine of *Aquitaine* not above four and twenty Shillings; and French Wine not above five and twenty Shillings. And by retail, that *Poitou* Wine should not be sold above four pence a Quart, and French Wine, Sixpence. But this Order being found too strict, it was afterwards mitigated, and People were allowed to sell Red-wine Six pence a Quart, and White Eight pence. Hoved. p. 790, 791. Ann. Burt. p. 257.

(7) Thirty thousand. *M. Paris*, p. 199. Hoved. p. 799.

1200. seconded. *John* never expected to meet with opposition from that Prelate, after the signal service he had done him during *Richard's* absence, in delivering him from Prison, and openly espousing his cause against *Longchamp*. But however, notwithstanding the reason he had to be displeased with him, he was willing to use him gently, and therefore was contented with requiring him to attend him in *France*, imagining that, by his absence, this affair would fall to the ground. But the Archbishop refusing to comply with his orders, furnished the King with a pretence to seize his Temporalities. This punishment was not capable of humbling his daring spirit. He communicated the Sheriff of the County of *York* (1), with all his Officers employed in levying the Tax, and laid his whole Diocese under an Interdict, because the People were not forward to support him. He flattered himself that the whole Kingdom would be ready to declare for him. But when he saw no body stir, and himself left to act alone, he sought means to be reconciled to the King. The present juncture was favourable to him. *John*, being about to be crowned with his new Queen (2), thought it unbecoming, at such a Season, to refuse a Brother the pardon he desired.

John first
dons him, and
is crowned
again.
Hoved.
p. 811.

M. Paris.
Hoved.

An Inter-
view be-
tween the
Kings of
England and
Scotland at
Lincoln.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 121.
Hoved.
M. Paris.

The King of
Scotland does
Homage to
John.
Knighton.
Hoved.
Brompt.
Hemingsf.

Remarks up-
on it.

John shifts
off the King
of Scotland's
demands.

M. Paris.
Hoved.
Dicto.

The King
receives the
Cistercians
into favour.
Hoved.

The Canons
of Lincoln
refuse to do
a Bishop
nominated by
the King.
Hoved.

Immediately after the King's Coronation, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln* dyed at *London*, with the reputation of sanctity. Since the death of *Richard*, the King of *Scotland* was very importunate for the restitution of the two Counties, to which he laid claim. He had been often amused with general promises, that were never performed. At length, finding there was no haste made to content him, he openly threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. Whereupon, *John* could no longer refuse to set about this affair, which began to make him uneasy. But, instead of treating by Ambassadors, he believed he should do better by talking in Person with *William*; and for that purpose desired him to come to *Lincoln* (3), where he went himself to meet him. Before the Negotiation began (4), *John* required *William* to do him homage. To which *William* consenting, the ceremony was performed on a Hill (5), without the City, in the presence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who administered the Oath of Fealty to the vassal King. It is not known for what Lands *William* did this Homage. As the *Scotch* Writers have not positively determined the matter, the *English* infer it was for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. But this inference is not altogether just. Besides, it is unlikely this Prince should voluntarily return to the Vassalage, from which he had been freed by King *Richard*, before his departure for the *Holy Land*. And indeed it does not appear there was any alteration in this respect, since *Richard* by an authentick Charter had renounced his right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. Be this as it will, the Homage being done, the King of *Scotland* would have moved his affair, but the King had the address to refer it till another time, pretending he could do nothing without the consent of the States (6). He even obliged *William* to swear he would not marry his Daughter without his approbation.

Whilst these two Monarchs were at *Lincoln*, the Body of *Hugh*, late Bishop of that City, being removed thither from *London*, they both went forth to meet it, and for some time bore the Coffin on their shoulders.

It was here likewise that the *Cistercians*, who refused to pay the late Tax, sent to the King twelve Abbots, who falling prostrate at his Feet, humbly implored his mercy. The King, struck with the sight, fell on his Knees and asked their blessing, promising them to found an Abbey for their Order. Some time after he performed his promise, and built the Abby of *Bowley*, called by some *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*, which he endowed with the privilege of sanctuary, and with large revenues.

The respect shown by *John* to the Body of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and his condescension for the *Cistercian* Monks, were not sufficient to gain him the affection of the Clergy. He fancied, the Ecclesiasticks, prepossessed in his favour by the late proofs of his attachment to the Church, would industriously decline all occasions of creating him uneasiness. But it was not long before he was sensible his proceedings had not the effect he expected. The See of *Lincoln* being vacant, the King, according to the custom of his Ancestors, recommended a Person to the Canons of that Church. But though the Prince's nomination had till then been always regarded, this was rejected with outra-

geous contempt, the refusal not being softened with the soft civility (7). *Innocent III.*, who sat then in the papal Chair, having resolved to deprive Princes of their share in the elections of Bishops and Abbots, had taken measures beforehand to cause the King's nomination to be rejected. For this reason doubtless, finding themselves secure of the Pope's protection, the Canons showed so little regard for their Sovereign.

Some time after, *John* received a fresh mortification. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had expressed himself great an attachment for him, lost it when the rights of the Clergy, and the privileges of his See, came to be supported. Hitherto there had been no Synod held in *England* without the King's licence. This was a deference paid the King without being thought injurious to the Church or Clergy. But it seems *Innocent III.*, mounting the papal Throne at thirty five years of age, formed the project of depriving Princes of every thing that looked like jurisdiction over the Church. *Hubert*, informed of this design, and directed by the Pope, began the first to disregard the King's commands. He not only convened a Synod without asking his leave, but even held it notwithstanding the King's positive prohibition by his Justiciary (8). Probably, the little resentment expressed by the King at this boldness, was very prejudicial to him afterwards. It was easy to see, that, terrified by the example of the King his Father, he resolved to avoid all occasions of quarrel with the Clergy. His enemies made a very ill use of this knowledge on more important occasions. *Hubert*, not content with thus slighting the orders of his Sovereign, endeavoured to equal him in some measure, and even to surpass him in magnificence. Whilst the King was celebrating the Feast of *Christmas* at *Guilford* with great solemnity, the Archbishop affected to do the same thing at *Canterbury*, with such pomp and splendor that the King was piqued at it, and considered it as a sort of Bravado. To punish in some measure the Archbishop's vanity, he caused himself to be crowned again at *Canterbury*, with the sole view of putting him to a very great expence. But this petty revenge served only to show, how much the King dreaded to attack directly those who were in credit.

If the Treaty *John* had made with *France*, gave his Subjects an ill opinion of him, his behaviour after his return into *England* did not help to undeceive them. Most of the Barons were not over-satisfied of the goodness of his title to the Crown. If they had taken the Oath to him, it was upon condition he would restore the privileges of the Nobles and People. But in vain had they expected the performance of this promise, ever since he was clear of the War, wherein he was at first engaged. On the contrary, they saw him daily usurping an arbitrary power, which made them apprehensive of a design upon their Liberties. They were now highly displeased with the aid he had obtained by a sort of compulsion. After that, he was seen to take a progress into the North, where on pretence of trespasses on his Forests, he had, contrary to the privileges of the People, arbitrarily exacted large sums from the northern Counties. To all this he added fresh occasions of complaint, by debauching their Wives and Daughters, without regard to the quality or merit of those that were dishonoured by these actions. All these things together bred in the minds of the Barons a prejudice against him, which induced them by degrees to take measures to avoid greater evils, which they believed themselves threatened with. They began to hold private conferences, where they agreed mutually to assist each other, in case any one should be oppressed. At those conferences it was resolved to embrace the first opportunity, to let the King know they never intended to submit to an absolute power. An opportunity presented sooner than they expected. The *Pointecins* revolting, and the King designing to go and chastise them, summoned all the Barons to appear with their arms at *Portsmouth* (9), to attend him into *France*. The Barons looking upon this as a favorable juncture, assembled at *Leicester* on some pretence. A few days after they sent this message to the King, That before they went over with him, they expected he should restore to them their privileges, pursuant to his promise before his Coronation. *John* was of an impetuous temper, more capable of being governed by Counsels, agreeable to his Passions, than of near-kening to sober advice. Several of his Ministers advised him to give the Barons some satisfaction, or at least

Innocent III.
a letter,
to the King.
Hoved.
p. 806.

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Hubert dies
with the
King.
M. Paris.
Hoved.
Matt. West.

The King is
crowned a
third time.
M. Paris.
Hoved.
An. Burton.

The English
are discon-
tented.
Knighton

The Reasons
of the Nobil-
ity's disgust.
Hoved.
p. 811.
M. Paris.

The Nobles
refuse to
assist the
King.
Hoved.
An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

Hoved.

An. Burton.

(1) *James de Piere*. Hoved. p. 811.

(2) They were crowned, October 8. Hoved. p. 811. See Note 10. p. 262.

(3) At a Parliament holden there. Brompt. p. 128. He sent the following Persons to him, with a safe conduct; *Philip*, Bishop of *Barham*; *Roger*, Earl of *Northfolk*; *Henry de Bham*, Earl of *Hereford*; *David*, Earl of *Huntington*; *Roger de Lujci*, Constable of *Leicester*; *William de Vesp*, and *Robert de Roff*, the King of *Scotland's* Sons-in-law; and *Robert Fitz-Roger*, Sheriff of *Northumberland*. Hoved. p. 811.

(4) Which was on November 22, in the presence of the great Men of both Nations, and in the Sight of all the People. Brompt. p. 128. Hoved. p. 811. See what persons were witnesses of this Homage in Hoved. ibid.

(5) *William* demanded of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*. Hoved. p. 811.

(6) *Hoveden* says, the King would nominate one himself, and the Canons insisted upon a free Election. p. 816.

(7) *Guillelmus Fitz-cers* Earl of *Felix*. Hoved. p. 806.

(8) By *William de*, with *Hans* and *Alms*. Hoved. p. 818.

1201. some fair promises till their heat was somewhat abated. But he was not so wise or so fortunate as to follow their wholesome advice. He was so provoked at the insolence of the Barons, that, without considering he was going to draw on himself their hatred by his violent measures, he demanded of them their Castles as pledges of their Fidelity. At the same time he marched himself, at the head of some Troops, against *Beauvoir* Castle, which he took in a few days (1). This first success terrifying the Barons, who had not yet taken any measures for their defence, they saw themselves under a necessity of submitting, and, having put their Children into his hands as Hostages, came to *Portsmouth*. Whether *John* pretended to go and chastise the *Poitevins*, in order to have a pretence to raise Money upon the Nobility, or was afraid to leave the Kingdom at such a juncture, he dispensed with the Barons attendance, for two marks of Silver upon every [Knight's] Fee. However, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* (2) with some Troops into *Normandy*, and followed him in Person (3), as soon as he thought he might do it with safety.

Upon his arrival at *Roan*, *Philip* desired to have a conference with him, in which he gave him such marks of esteem and friendship, that a Prince of greater penetration than *John*, would have been deceived. At this Interview the Treaty was renewed, and several great Lords of both Courts were reciprocally made Sureties, who promised to serve against the aggressor, in case of a rupture between the two Kings. But such engagements, though very common in those days, were hardly ever observed. And therefore Princes have long since ceased to give one another the like Securities, which they have so often found to be unserviceable. Before they parted, the two Monarchs agreed to contribute the fortieth part of their Revenues to the Holy War; and exhorted the wealthiest of their Subjects to follow their examples. *Philip*, not content with caressing *John* in an extraordinary manner, desired the favour of his company for some days at *Paris*, where he lodged him in his own Palace. In short, he omitted nothing to convince him he had a real affection for him (4).

The friendship which the two Monarchs had mutually sworn to preserve, seemed indeed likely to prove firm and lasting, since their engagement was entirely voluntary. And yet, it quickly appeared, that *Philip's* carelesness to his pretended friend, were only to ensnare him. At the very time he was giving him all these marks of affection, he was projecting to deprive him of all his Dominions in *France*. *Hugh* Earl of *Marche* was his instrument to begin to bring matters to the point he desired. This Earl could not without extreme concern, see King *John* in possession of a Lady that was designed for him. To this was added a deep resentment of the injury received. These things gave room to presume, he would eagerly embrace any opportunity of being revenged. *Philip* forming his scheme upon the Earl of *Marche's* inclination, spared no pains to excite him to revenge, assuring him of a powerful assistance. As soon as the Earl was secure of the protection of *France*, he began by secret cabals to corrupt the *Poitevins*. He succeeded so well, that in a short time they were all ready to rebel against King *John*,

verſions and entertainments with his new Queen, without
 the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger. He was rouſed out of this
 ſupine careleſſneſs, by *Philip's* haughty treatment at a ſecond
 Interview near *Gaillon*. The *French* Monarch, whoſe
 matters were ripe, talked very high. He demanded for
Arthur all King *John's* Provinces in *France*, with reaſon-
 able ſatisfaction for the Earl of *Marche*; and in caſe of
 refusal, ſummoned him to appear before the Court of Peers,
 and abide by their judgment. *John* was extremely ſur-
 prized, to hear him talk in ſo different a ſtrain from what
 he had done at their late Interview. As he did not think
 his affairs were in ſo bad a ſituation, as to be obliged to
 purchaſe a Peace upon ſuch hard terms, he reſuſed to
 comply with *Philip's* demands, and diſdained his citation.
 His reſuſal furniſhed the King of *France* with the pretence
 he wanted to invade *Normandy*, where he took ſeveral
 places (5) before *John* could oppoſe his progreſs.

Towards the middle of Autumn, *Philip* satisfied with his first Campaign, returned to *Paris*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of *Mary* his eldest Daughter with *Arthur*. His aim was thereby to justify his present undertaking, under colour of maintaining the cause of his Son-in-law. A few days after, *Arthur* departed, attended with two hundred Lances, to take upon him the command of the revolted *Poitevins*. When he came near *Poitou*, he was informed, that *Queen Eleanor* his Grandmother was in *Mirabel* with a weak Garrison, upon which, resolving to surprize that place, he marched directly thither (6), and soon became master of the Town. But it was otherwise with the Castle, where the Queen was retired.

The resistance he met with, making him sensible it M. Paris. would be difficult to carry the place with so few Troops, he called the Earl of *Marche* to his assistance, who ran to the expedition, as to a certain Victory.

Mean time, King *John*, who had received intelligence of his Mother's danger, was marching day and night to her relief. His speed was such, that he approached his enemies before they had made any great progress in the Siege. However, it was in their power to retreat, but the animosity of the two Leaders against *John*, made them resolve to give him Battle. The success answered not their expectations. Upon the first onset, *John* routed the *Poitevin* Troops, and drove them back to *Mirabel*, where he made a great slaughter (7). This Victory was rendered still more compleat by the taking of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Princess *Eleanor* his Sister (8), the Earl of *Marche*, and two hundred Knights, who fell into the hands of the Conqueror. *John* believed he had reason to rejoice at so favorable success. But the ill use he afterwards made of it, rendered it so fatal, that it would have been better for him to have been vanquished. *Arthur* was immediately sent to *Falaise*, and the Princess *Eleanor* his Sister to *Bristol* Castle in *England*, where she was confined forty years. Some of the *French* Writers give another idea of this action, and say only that *Arthur* was surprized in *Mirabel*, from whence it may be inferred that he went not out to fight his Uncle. But King *John's* Letter to *England* after the Victory, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, shews that it was something more than a surprize, and confirms what the *English* Historians say of it. *Philip* was so confounded at the news of *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche* being made Prisoners, that he raised the Siege of *Arques*, begun some days before (9), and returned to *Paris*.

John was very impatient to see the Duke his Nephew, in order to persuade him to renounce the protection of *France*. He hoped by that means to deprive *Philip* of the pretence, he perpetually used to involve him in Wars. To that end, he immediately went back to *Normandy*, not at all questioning but *Arthur*, in his present condition, would gladly embrace the opportunity of being reconciled to him. Upon his arrival at *Falaise*, he caused him to be brought before him, and in a very kind and obliging manner, endeavoured to persuade him to relinquish the King of *France*. He represented to him, that *Philip*, under colour of protecting him, had only his own interest in view, and

(1) But *William de Aubeney*, the Owner of it, giving his Son for an Hostage, remained in possession of the Castle. *Ibid.* p. 818.----- This year *William de Stuteville* was made Sheriff of *Yorkshire*. *Ibid.*

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by his Conduct hitherto, it was easy to see what he was to expect from such a Protector. He tried to make him sensible, it was equally his Duty and Interest, to adhere to an Uncle, who found his own advantage in supporting him, and desired nothing so much as to live in a good Understanding with him, and gave him marks of his Affection. In fine, he bid him consider that in his present Circumstances, his good or ill Fortune depended entirely on the Person that was suing for his Friendship. The young Prince, who was not yet well instructed in the maxims of Politicks, the chief of which is Diffimulation, could not resolve to conceal his Sentiments. Instead of accepting the King's offers, he took the freedom to upbraid him with usurping the Crown of *England*, as well as the Provinces of *France*. Without considering that he lay at his Mercy, he was so transported with Passion, as to threaten, *that to the last Moment of his Life he would never cease seeking occasion to be revenged*. After so plain a Declaration, *John* despairing of overcoming his obstinacy, ordered him to be conducted to *Roan*, and confined in the new *Tower* under the care of *Robert de Pipant*. It is pretended, that, pursuant to the advice of some of his Counsellors, the King intended to put out his Eyes, and render him incapable of having Children, in order to free himself from all uneasiness on his account, but was disappointed by those who were to be the Agents. However this be, a few days after the young Prince was brought to *Roan*, he disappeared on a sudden, and it could never be known for certain what became of him. The King's Friends reported, that *Arthur*, endeavouring to escape out of Prison, was drowned in the River *Seine*. But very few gave credit to this report. On the contrary, it was the general opinion, the Prince was murdered by the command of the King his Uncle (1). There are even some Historians (2) who relate the Circumstances of his death. They tell us, that *John* himself, in a very dark night, came in a Boat to the foot of the *Tower* where his Nephew was in custody, and causing him to be brought before him, stabbed him with his own hand, and ordered his Body to be thrown into the *Seine*, some Leagues below the Town (3). In whatever manner this Prince's death happened, it is certain *John* never fully cleared himself of it. There was so much the more reason to believe him guilty, as he made no Inquiry into it, which he should have done with great strictness, had he not been concerned.

The same year, the Pope demanded a fortieth part of all the Ecclesiastical Revenues in *England*, towards the charge of the Holy War.

Immediately after the death of *Arthur*, *John* returned into *England*, and caused himself to be crowned a fourth time (4), after which he repassed into *Normandy*. He found, the report of the Duke of *Bretagne's* murder was every where spread, with Circumstances very injurious to his Reputation and Honour; and yet he was in no haste to discover the manner of the Prince's death. For which reason all the World was convinced, he himself was the Author of that barbarous deed. The *Bretons* especially complained of the tragical death of their Sovereign. They maintained, if *John* did not kill him with his own hand, it was at least evident, the murder could not be committed without his consent, or even his orders. The King of *France*, who wanted to improve this juncture, exasperated them as much as possible, by means of his Emisaries. He caused it to be suggested to them, that in case they applied to him, as *John's* Sovereign Lord, he would do

them ample Justice. This was sufficient to excite them to the *Bretons*, who burned with desire to revenge the death of their Duke. *Guy de Thouars*, Husband of the deceased Duchess, and Guardian of *Alice* her Daughter, assembled the Nobility of *Bretagne* at *Vannes* upon this occasion. At this Meeting it was unanimously resolved to apply to the King of *France* for Justice. Pursuant to the Resolution, the Bishop of *Rems*, and another Lord were commissioned to carry their Complaints to *Philip*, who gave them a very gracious Answer. He appeared more incensed against *John* than the *Bretons* themselves, and openly declared, that neither Honour, nor Justice, nor Conscience would suffer him to let such a Parricide go unpunished. To show his Threats were not in vain, he himself demanded Justice of the Court of Peers, before whom he displayed the barbarity of the Murder committed on the Body of the Duke of *Bretagne*, in a Place held of the Crown of *France*, and of which the King of *England* his Vassal was accused. It was not difficult to obtain whatever he desired. The Court ordered *John* to appear before them, and answer to what was laid to his Charge. Upon the receipt of the Summons, *John* immediately dispatched Ambassadors to *Philip* (5), to request to know, that their master could not come to *France* without a Safe-conduct; to which the King answered, *It was one of Peace*. But when the Ambassador demanded a Safe-conduct for his return, he rudely told them, *that depended on the Sentence which should be passed upon him*. Then the Ambassadors remonstrated, their master was not only Duke of *Normandy*, but also King of *England*; and that he himself should think fit to expose his Person to so manifest a danger, the Barons of the Realm would never consent to it: *What is it to me?* replied *Philip*; *is not the Duke of Normandy my Vassal? If he has thought fit to acquire a higher Title, ought I upon that account to lose my Right of Sovereignty?* The Ambassadors plainly perceiving *Philip* was resolved to push the affair, retired without making any Answer, and returned with all speed to inform their master how the Court of *France* stood affected.

As soon as the time appointed in the Summons was expired, *Philip* caused *John* to be condemned for Non-appearance, and ordered all his Dominions in *France* to be united to the Crown. It is remarkable, that in the Sentence (6) there is not a word of the satisfaction due to the *Bretons* for the death of their Sovereign, though they were Parties in the affair, and *Philip* seemed to concern himself in it only upon their account. This is a clear Evidence, his aim was not so much to do them Justice, as to make use of this occasion to dispossess the Kings of *England*. The *English* loudly murmured at these Proceedings, and the more, because the King being actually in War with *France*, he was under an absolute necessity of not appearing, both by being summoned before Peace was concluded, and denied a Safe-conduct for his return. But without troubling himself about their Complaints, *Philip* endeavoured to put the Sentence in execution (7).

Whilst the King of *France* was making his Preparations, *John* took no measures for his defence. He preposterously considered the Sentence as a Bravado of *Philip's*, and not as a fixed resolution to invade his Dominions. Mean time, as soon as the Season permitted, the King of *France* took the Field at the head of a powerful Army, and as he met with very little opposition, reduced the best part of *Normandy* to his Obedience. The progress of his Arms was incapable of rousing King *John*, who seeming insensi-

(1) *Normani* post *Arthurum* subito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignota, utinam non ut fama refert irruida. *M. Paris*, p. 174.

(2) Particulariv *W. R. B. de Gyl. R. Philp*, p. 166, 167. The *Ann. Margan* say, that his body was found by Fishermen, and privately buried in the Monastery of *St. Mary de Piez*, p. 43.

(3) *Margan* gives this account of *D. Arthur's* death. *John* leading his Nephew after him, like a Lamb to the Slaughter, bore him from *Roan* to *Caen*, for more privacy and better opportunities to dispatch him. There, late in the Evening, followed only by a few, he sat on Horse back, making the Prince sit before him. Then leaving his Attendants behind, he went on along the Coast, till he had found a place fit for his purpose, and waded a high Cold bounding over the Sea. Being got there with the Prince, he spurned his Horse up to him, and with his Sword ran him through the heart, the poor Prince crying in vain for mercy. That done, he pulled him to the ground, and dragging him by the feet to the brink of the precipice, threw him into the Sea, not being yet quite dead, nor was the body ever seen afterward. *Hist. de Bret.* c. 78. p. 211.

(4) April 14, at *Canterbury*. *M. Paris*, p. 208. *M. Wesim*, p. 264.

(5) *Joseph*, Bishop of *Eliz*, and *Hulert de Burgh*. *M. Paris*, p. 283.

(6) *Philip*, in his Letter to *Philip*, has recorded the Sentence to this effect: That *John* Duke of *Normandy*, being summoned by his Oath to appear before the King of *France*, and to answer for the death of his Son, an Heir to the Crown of *France*, within the Seignory of that Kingdom; yet, as he is judged a Traytor, and is an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, I forfeit all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Revenue be made by force of Arms. *Paul. Arnul. de vita Philip.*

(7) This year King *John* caused the following Allize of Bread to be proclaimed through the whole Kingdom. It was to be of, or, as that the Baker might gain in every Quarter Three pence, besides the Bran, and two Loaves at the Oven; with the following allowances: For four Servants, Two pence for two Bays, a Farthing; for Salt, a Half penny; for Yest, a Half penny; for Candle, a Farthing; for Wood, three Farthings; for coaling, a Half penny. Then follows the Allize. When Wheat is sold for six Shillings the Quarter, then a Farthing white Loaf, well baked, shall weigh sixteen Shillings; and a brown one of the same price twenty four Shillings.

At five Shillings and Sixpence a Quarter, the Farthing white Loaf shall weigh twenty Shillings, and the brown twenty eight Shillings.

At five Shillings, the white twenty-four Shillings, the brown thirty two Shillings.

At four Shillings and Sixpence, the whitethirty-two Shillings, the brown forty-two Shillings.

At four Shillings, the white thirty-six Shillings, the brown forty-six Shillings.

At three Shillings and Sixpence, the white forty-two Shillings, the brown fifty-four Shillings.

At three Shillings, the white forty-eight Shillings, the brown fifty-four Shillings.

At two Shilling and Sixpence, the white fifty-four Shillings, the brown seventy-two Shillings.

At two Shillings, the white sixty-two Shillings, the brown four Pounds.

At Lighreen pence, the white seventy-seven Shillings, the brown four Pounds eight Shillings.

The Reader, to have a right notion of these Weights, is to take notice, That Silver was then but at Twenty-pence an Ounce, every Pound being at that time a pound Weight, where is now every pound of Silver makes three Pounds Sterling: And accordingly, the Weight of every Shilling was then the twentieth part of a pound. *M. Paris*, p. 208.

le of his Losses, thought of nothing but his Diversions (1), as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous condition. When News were brought him that Philip had taken such a Place, he only replied with great confidence, *I will soon recover it again.* However, without stirring from Roan, or making the least Preparations, he gave his Enemy time to secure, and daily enlarge his Conquests. In fine, he carried his Insensibility so far, that the People said publicly, *he was bewitched.* It is easy to judge what difficulties Philip would have met with in his Undertaking, if he had been to deal with a less slothful Enemy, by the Resistance of one single Place called *Castle-Gaillard*, which cost him a five months Siege (2).

The English Barons who attended the King into Normandy, earnestly besought him to exert himself. But finding he was deaf to all their Remonstrances, they returned to England, tired with being witnesses of his invincible Sloth. Mean time, Philip taking advantage of his Indolence, daily gained ground (3). Not content with what he obtained by his Arms, he endeavoured, by his Embassaries, to stir up in Normandy a general Revolt, which might give him opportunity of becoming at once master of the whole Provinces. He caused it to be intimated to the Normans, that seeing they could hope for no assistance from England, it would be better for them to return freely to the Crown of France, from whence they were wrested, than be compelled to it by Arms: That by a voluntary Submission, they would be sure to preserve their antient Privileges, whereas a Resistance, which could not but prove ineffectual, would infallibly deprive them of their Liberties. In however deep a Lethargy King John seemed to be buried, his Presence kept several of the principal Cities of Normandy in Obedience. But the moment they saw him about to depart for England, they thought it lawful to provide for their safety. Hardly was he embarked (4), before they concluded a Treaty with Philip, obliging themselves to own him for their Sovereign, provided they were not relieved in a year. But when they heard there were no Preparations making in England, most of them came in before the year was expired. Thus, of all Normandy, the City of Roan only continued obedient to the King of England.

That unhappy Prince was far from any thoughts of giving the Normans the assistance they expected. Upon his arrival in England, instead of trying by all sorts of ways to gain his People's Affection, so necessary at that juncture, he charged his Barons with deserting him, and occasioning the loss of Normandy. Under this pretence, the most unreasonable that ever was, he extorted from his Barons the seventh part of their moveables, and though he had not the same cause of Complaint against the Clergy, made them liable to the same Imposition. Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, was himself his Instrument in oppressing the Clergy, whilst the Justiciary rigorously exacted the Money from the Laicks. All England beheld with astonishment the King's Indolence. They could not conceive that a Prince, who till then had not wanted Courage, and appeared exceedingly attached to his Interest, could see Normandy lost with so much indifference. So strange a Conduct made most of the English imagine, he had some great design in his head, which would be discovered at a proper Season. This notion did not a little contribute to his obtaining of the Parliament (5), an Aid of two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee, which was granted, in expectation the Money would be usefully employed in the recovery of what he had lately lost. But instead of using this Aid, according to the Intention of the Parliament, he laid it out in vain Expences, being satisfied with sending Ambassadors to France, to endeavour to procure a Peace. Philip, exalted with his good Success, was so far from lessening his Demands, that he further required the Princess Eleanor, Sister of the late Duke of Bretagne, for his second Son, with all the Territories the English enjoyed in France for her Dower. This demand could not but be rejected. John not only could never resolve to give his Niece such a Dower, but it would have been very dangerous to deliver Philip, a Princess, who, since the death of the Duke her Brother, had the same Claim as he to the Crown of England. Thus the Negotiation broke off, and the English reaped no Benefit from the Aid granted the King.

Shortly after the departure of the English Ambassadors,

Philip sent one into England as his Champion, who challenged all that should maintain the King his master was in the wrong, for what he had done against John. The Court of England did not think fit to commit to the decision of a single Combat, their Right to complain of the King of France's Proceedings. However, this valorous Champion was given to understand, that since he was so desirous of fighting, a Man should be found with whom he might try his Strength. There was then confined in the Tower, an Irish Lord, John Curcy by name (6), Earl of Ulster, a Person of gigantick Stature, and of known intrepidity, who was judged very proper to quell the French Hector. The Prisoner being brought to Court, the King asked him, whether he would fight in his Cause? No, not in thine, answered the Earl fiercely, but the Kingdom's Right I will fight to the last drop of my Blood. But whilst he was recovering his Strength, which was much impaired by a long Imprisonment; the French Champion hearing of the prodigious Strength of his Adversary, privately withdrew into Spain, not daring to appear any more either in France or England. It is related of this same Earl of Ulster, that afterwards being in France in the English Army, Philip, at a Conference with John, desired to see some Trial of his Strength. The Earl being come into the presence of the two Kings, ordered a large Stake to be fixed in the ground, on which was placed a Helmet. Then looking round with a menacing Aspect, he cut the Helmet in two pieces with his Sword. The Blow was so violent, that the Sword stuck so fast in the Stake, that none but himself could remove it. Philip asking him, why he looked round so fiercely, he made answer, that in case he had missed his Blow, he would have cut off the Heads of all the Spectators, that no Man living might be witness of his Shame.

What Philip could not compass by a single Champion, he performed by the help of many. Towards the end of Autumn, he laid Siege to Roan, the Citizens whereof seeing no likelihood of being relieved, surrendered upon condition they should enjoy their antient Privileges. But as a famous Historian judiciously observes, *This Precaution proved as feeble against absolute Power, as Parliament against Iron.* As soon as Philip was master of Roan, he ordered the Walls to be demolished. Thus all Normandy was reduced under the Dominion of France, and united again to that Monarchy, after a three hundred years separation (7).

After the Conquest of Normandy, Philip invaded the rest of the English Provinces (8), which at length were forced to submit to the Conqueror (9), after having in vain expected assistance from England. Of all that John's Ancestors enjoyed in France, nothing remained but the Duchy of Guienne, which Philip did not think fit to invade.

Queen Eleanor, Widow of Henry II, and Mother of John, died this year in a very advanced Age. She had the mortification, before her death, to behold the decline of the Monarchy, to which she had given so great a Lustre, by the addition of so many Provinces.

So many and great Losses, joined to the murmurs of the English, roused John from his profound Lethargy. When least expected, he seemed resolved strenuously to endeavour to regain both his Reputation, and the Territories conquered by Philip. The Poitevins, dissatisfied with being under the Dominion of the King of France, determining to revolt, sent to John for Assistance. As he imagined, all the other Provinces were in the same mind, he thought he could never have a fairer opportunity. Wherefore he summoned all the Barons to meet him with their Troops at Poitiers, where he had ordered his Fleet to be ready. But as he was going to embark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Earl of Pembroke, threw themselves at his feet, beseeching him to desist from this Expedition, which he could not expect to be successful. They represented to him, that neither in Poitou, nor in any other neighbouring Province, had he any one Place to retire to in case of necessity: That Philip would make War with too much advantage, since he was master of all the fortified Towns: That it was exposing himself to manifest danger to trust the Poitevins, who had so often deceived him, and pretended perhaps to invite him to their assistance, only to deliver him to his Enemy. In fine, they told him, that in an Enterprize of this nature, he

1204.
Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

Mezerai.
M. Paris.
An. Waverl.

The English Barons leave the King, and return to England.
Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

1209.

He makes a Treaty with the Normans.
1204.

John takes the English.
1204.

1204.
Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

He tries in vain to recover Poitiers.
1204.

Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

1204.
Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

Mezerai.

The other Provinces submit to him.
M. Paris.
An. Waverl.

Death of Queen Eleanor.
1204.
M. West.

1205.
John takes Poitiers.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

Philip takes Roan.
Chr. Norm.
M. West.

(1) M. Paris says, he continued at Caen, feasting magnificently with his new Queen, and lying in bed with her every day till noon, p. 1204.
(2) It was defended by Hugh, or Roger de Lucy, Constable of Chester; who signalized himself in the defence of it. See M. Paris, p. 1204. It was taken March 6. King Richard built it on the Rock of Andely, on the Seine.
(3) Hugh de Gournai surrendered to him the Castle of Montfort; and Robert Fitz Walter, and Saer de Quincy the Town and Castle of Reims, of which they were Governors. M. Paris, p. 209.
(4) He landed at Portsmouth, December 6. 1204.
(5) The brave John de Curcy, who in the year 1177, conquered the Kingdom of Ulster in Ireland. See Chr. Camb. in Hibern. expugnata. p. 204. 1177; and who had been treacherously taken Prisoner, as is related above, p. 264, Note (4).
(6) It had been governed by twelve Dukes of the Norman Race, of which King John was the last. For the space of three hundred and twenty years, Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Poitou, with all the Castles and Towns belonging to them, except Rochelle, Tennes, and M. de M. Paris, p. 1204.
(7) Through the Treachery or ill Conduct of William de Hamur, whom King John had made Governor of Normandy. See M. Paris, p. 1204.

1205. so visibly hazarded his own life, with his and the Nation's honour, that his faithful Subjects could not see it with indifference, but must use their utmost endeavours to divert him from it. These remonstrances making no impression upon him, they talked in a higher strain, and added such threats, that he was forced at last to follow their advice. Therefore, suddenly altering his resolution, he was content with sending succours to the *Poitevins*, under the command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, his natural Brother. After which, he dismissed the Army and Fleet, who cursed the authors of this advice (1). He was no sooner returned to *London*, but he repented of following the Counsel of the Earl and Archbishop. But instead of quarrelling with them, he vented his anger on the Nobility, from whom he extorted large sums on pretence they had refused to attend him. He supposed, without any grounds, that the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* spoke for the whole Body. This was the second time he had arbitrarily exacted Money from his Subjects, without the consent of the States. But he did not do it with impunity. The sequel will show, that though vengeance was deferred, it only became the more terrible, when the Barons found an opportunity to make him feel the effects (2).

Hitherto we have seen the first part of *John's* misfortunes, occasioned as well by his own fault, as by the ambition of the King of *France*. But these, how great soever, were scarce to be compared with those that followed; especially, as he appeared but little sensible of the first, whereas the others created him infinite vexation and trouble. It was not the ambition of a hostile King, which threw him into a gulph of misfortunes, during the second part of his Reign, but the pride of him who called himself the common Father of all Christians: I mean Pope *Innocent III.*, who, for a very slight cause, treated this Prince so cruelly, that should a Pope now behave in the like manner, there is no question but all *Christendom* would rise up against him. Let us proceed to the particulars of this affair, which makes the chief subject of King *John's* Reign. But without dwelling on reflexions, which every reader may easily make without our help, let us content our selves with relating the facts as advanced by the Historians, most devoted to the Court of *Rome*.

John scarce began to forget the loss of the *French Provinces*, when the death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (3) threw him into fresh troubles. The election of the Archbishops had for some time been a continual subject of disputes between the Suffragan Bishops and the Monks of *St. Augustin's*. The former claimed a right to interpose in the election, as had been several times practised. The Monks affirmed, on the contrary, that this right belonged only to them, according to ancient custom, and used their utmost endeavours to keep possession. Immediately after the death of *Hubert*, some of the Monks combining together, whether out of fear the Fraternity would not insist on their right, or for some other reason, resolved to elect themselves an Archbishop. To that purpose, meeting at midnight in the Cathedral, they chose *Reginald* their Sub-prior, in expectation of having afterwards credit enough to obtain the Pope's confirmation. This irregular election was transacted with all possible secrecy. The Sub-prior bound himself [by Oath] not to divulge it, till he had himself informed the Pope of it: So that the other Monks had not the least suspicion thereof. The electors, willing to bring their undertaking to an issue, found means to cause him to be sent to *Rome*, on some pretence, attended by some of their cabal. But he had not the power to keep the secret. Upon his arrival in *Flanders*, he took upon him the title of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks his companions had no more discretion than himself.

This news coming to the King's ears, he imagined the whole Monastery was concerned in this fraud, and prepared to make the Monks repent of their rashness in electing an Archbishop without his Licence. But they cleared themselves, and appeased him by their submissions. The clamours of the Monks, who were not in the intrigue, convincing the electors, that after the discovery of their secret, it would be very difficult to accomplish their undertaking, they chose to desist. Then the whole Society jointly proceeding to a new election, the King recom-

mended [*John de Gray*] Bishop of *Norwich*, who was, 1206, unanimously chosen, placed in the Archiepiscopal Chair, and invested with the Temporalities. Shortly after, fourteen Monks were sent to the Pope, to inform him of what had passed, and to demand his confirmation of the new Archbishop. At the same time, the Suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury* sent a deputation also to *Rome*, to complain of the Monks assuming the sole right of electing the Archbishop, and to inform his Holiness of their reasons against it.

Whilst the Deputies were on the road, the King, whose courage was somewhat roused, led a considerable Army into *Poitou* (4), and reduced to his obedience the greatest part of that Province. But he was so weak, as to suffer himself to be once more outwitted by *Philip*, who finding himself unprepared, demanded and obtained a Truce for two years (5).

Mean while, the Sub-prior of *St. Augustin's*, who was come to *Rome*, earnestly solicited the Pope to confirm his election. But *Innocent* perceiving some irregularity in the affair, took time to consider of it. In the interim, the other Deputies being arrived, told him all the circumstances, and petitioned him to confirm the former election. On the other hand, the Agents of the Bishops brought also their complaints against the Monks, and showed him the reasons on which they built their pretensions. To decide these difference, the Pope ordered the Deputies to come on a day appointed to *Viterbo*, where he intended to pass some time. Here it was, that in the presence of the Pope, these affairs were debated with great warmth, though as to the first, the reasons of both sides were not very effectual. *Innocent*, who was already resolved, voided both the elections, and ordered the Deputies of the Monks to proceed to a new choice, enjoining them withal to elect Cardinal *Stephen Langton*, an *Englishman*, then at his Court. The Monks, surprized at this unprecedented Order (6), would at first have disobeyed it. They alledged in vindication of their Non-compliance, that they were not empowered by their Monastery, and besides the King's consent was necessary. But the Pope would not hearken to these reasons. He told them, as Deputies they represented the whole Monastery, and the consent of Princes was needless for elections made in his presence. Therefore, without giving them time to reply, he commanded them on pain of excommunication, to elect Cardinal *Langton* for their Archbishop. The Monks, awed by the presence and threatnings of the Pope, complied, though unwillingly, with his Orders (7). There was but one (8), who had the courage to stand out. This extraordinary election was immediately confirmed by the Pope, who would himself consecrate the Archbishop elect (9).

According to the rule established by *Innocent*, in empowering fourteen Monks deputed by their Monastery, to elect an Archbishop, the Suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury* could not but lose their cause with the Monks. Accordingly, the Pope gave it in favour of these last, and forbade the Bishops to interpose for the future, in the election of their Metropolitans.

While these things were transacting in *Italy*, *John* entirely lost the hearts of his Subjects (10), by extorting from them the thirteenth part of their moveables. In vain did the Clergy, as far as it concerned them, oppose it; the Act passed in Parliament (11), and the Tax was levied as well upon the Clergy as Laity, though the former never gave their consent, and the latter granted it by a sort of compulsion. This violence occasioned many complaints and murmurings among the Clergy, who till then had enjoyed the privilege of not being taxed without their consent (12). However, as it was not in their power to resist, they endeavoured to be revenged, by exclaiming against the King's conduct, and rendering him odious to the People. The Archbishop of *York* himself, the King's natural Brother, a Prelate of an impatient temper, excommunicated all the Collectors of the Tax, and withdrew out of the Kingdom. Though the Clergy's complaints were not groundless, the King's friends looked upon them as impertinent. They said, it was strange the Ecclesiastics should refuse to assist the King in his necessity; when a little before they had suffered without the least murmur, a Legate to exact of all the beneficed Clergy, large sums for the pre-

(1) The Nobles and Knights having been put to vast Charges for this Expedition.

(2) This year died *Peter of Colerbach*, who began to build *London Bridge* with Stone, and was buried in the Chapel upon that Bridge. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 168.

(3) He embarked at *Portsmouth*, June 25, and landed at *Revelle*, July 9. *Idem* p. 214.

(4) The *French* Historians say, *John* used to a Truce. We frequently meet with the like Contradictions between the Historians of the two Nations. *Reginald*, Vol. III. p. 206. says, that both Armies being ready to engage, a Truce was concluded for two years.

(5) The *Annals of Magon* say, it was contrary to the ancient Laws and Liberties of the King and Kingdom, p. 14.

(6) Licet inviti, & cum immutatione, assensum prebuerunt. *M. Paris. Roper.*

(7) His name was *Esa de Beaufield*. *M. Paris.*

(8) He returned to *England*, Decemb. 12. *M. Paris*, p. 214.

(9) In communi Concilio. *Annals of Waverl.* An. 1207. ----- Coadunatis Magni bus terre apud *Oxford*, &c. assensu eorum cepit xiii. partem catenarum hanc totius Anglie. *Ann. Magon*, p. 14. This instrument was held in *February*. *M. Paris*, p. 221.

(10) The *Annals of Waverl.* say, That the King following better advice, released the clergy from it: but afterwards he took the thirteenth part of all the Goods in general, of those that held by Knight's Service, p. 169.

occasions of the Holy See. If the Money which
ed to the King from this Tax, had been employed in
the service of the State, it would have been some satis-
faction to the Nation. But they had the vexation to see
it vainly squandered away, in the reception of the Empe-
ror, who was come to visit the King his Uncle. His de-
sign was to persuade him to break the Truce with France.
But how urgent soever he might be, it was impossible to
bring John to this rupture. However, to soften in some
measure his denial, the King made him a present of five
thousand Marks, which served to pay the charges of his
Journey.

Innocent very much suspected, John would not be pleased
with Langton's election, extorted by manifest force and an
unprecedented incroachment. Indeed for some time after
the conversion of the English, the Popes chose such as
were capable of well-governing the rising Church, and
generally Italians, because there were but few Ecclesiasti-
cks in England qualified for that high station. But ever
since Archbishop Theodorus, who was the last sent from
Rome, the Popes had never pretended to chuse of their ac-
cord the Archbishops without the consent of the Kings.
They were satisfied with confirming the elections, and ob-
liging the Archbishops to come and demand the Pall at
Rome. Since the Conquest, they had not so much as
named the election of an Archbishop. And therefore to
mollify the King, and induce him the more calmly to over-
look this incroachment, Innocent wrote him the following
Letter, which for its singularity deserves to be inserted.

Pope INNOCENT

TO

JOHN King of ENGLAND.

AMONG the riches that Mortals prize as the most
valuable, and desire with the greatest earnest-
ness, it is our opinion that pure Gold and precious Stones
hold the first rank. Though we are persuaded your
Royal Excellence has no want of such things, we
have thought proper to send you, as a mark of our
Good-will, four Rings set with Stones. We beg the
favour you would consider the Mysteries contained in
their Form, their Matter, their Number, and their Co-
lour, rather than their Value. Their Roundness de-
notes Eternity, which having neither beginning nor
end, ought to induce you to tend without ceasing from
earthly things to heavenly, and from things tem-
poral to things eternal. The number four, which is a
Square, signifies firmness of Mind, not to be shaken by
Adversity, nor elevated by Prosperity, but always conti-
nuing in the same State. This is a perfection to which
yours will not fail to arrive, when it shall be adorned
with the four Cardinal virtues, Justice, Fortitude, Pru-
dence and Temperance. The first will be of service to
you in Judgments, the second in Adversity, the third
in dubious Cases, the fourth in Prosperity. By the
Gold is signified Wisdom. But as Gold is the most
precious of Metals, Wisdom is of all endowments the
most excellent, as the Prophet witnesses in these words,
The Spirit of Wisdom shall rest upon him: And indeed,
there is nothing more requisite in a Sovereign. Ac-
cordingly, Solomon, that pacifick King, only asked of
God Wisdom, to enable him to well govern his People.
The green colour of the Emerald denotes Faith, the
clearness of the Sapphire, Hope; the redness of the Ruby,
Charity; and the colour of the Topaz, Good Works;
concerning which our Saviour said, *Let your Light so
shine before Men, that they may see your good Works*. In
the Emerald therefore you have, what you are to be-
lieve; in the Sapphire what you are to hope; in the Ruby
what you are to love; and in the Topaz what you are
to practise; to the end you may proceed from virtue
to virtue, till you come to the vision of the God of
Gods in *Sion*.

It is difficult to guess the drift of this mysterious Let-
ter; whether it was a witty conceit of the Pope's, or an
intimation to the King, that he would need all the virtues
represented by the Rings, to withstand his attacks. How-
ever this be, lest John should mistake his meaning, he
sent him soon after, a more intelligible Brief (1); exhort-
ing him to own Cardinal Langton for Archbishop of Can-
terbury. He represented to him, that he was a Native of
England, Cardinal of the Roman Church, and learned in
all the Sciences. Moreover, he assured him, his exem-
plary Life and Christian Virtues would be very advanta-
geous to England, for spiritual, as his prudence and politi-
cal virtues would be for temporal, concerns. However,
as he did not intend to make Langton's election depend on
the good pleasure of the King, nor submit it to his ex-
amination; in another Letter he sent his commands
to the Monks of St. Augustin's and the Suffragan Bishops
of Canterbury, to receive the Cardinal for their Metropoli-
tan.

As soon as John was informed of the transactions at
Rome, he fell into an inconceivable fury. He accused the
Monks of St. Augustin's of deceiving him, as well in the
third as in the first election, and resolved to be revenged
of them. To that end he sent two Knights (2), who en-
tering the Monastery with drawn Swords, commanded the
Monks, in the King's name, to avoid the place forthwith,
unless they would have their Monastery burnt about their
ears, and likewise to depart the Kingdom within three
days. So terrible a threat frightened the Monks in such
a manner, that, without the least reply, they withdrew
into Flanders to the Abby of St. Bertin, and other neigh-
bouring Monasteries. But this revenge not procuring him
all the satisfaction he required, he thought by vigorously
exerting himself, he should bring the Pope to revoke what
was done. In this belief he wrote Innocent a very sharp
Letter, "upbraiding him with his injurious annulling the
canonical election of the Bishop of Norwich, without
having the least pretence for it. Moreover, he com-
plained of his causing to be elected by violence, and con-
trary to all manner of right, a Person educated in
France, an intire stranger to him, and who had al-
ways held a strict correspondence with his enemies. He added, "This encroachment was directly contrary to
the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which he was re-
solved never to depart, nor from the election of the
Bishop of Norwich. Then, he plainly told him, if
the satisfaction he demanded was denied, he would
break off all intercourse with Rome, which was of no
small consequence, since it was certain, the Holy See
received more Money from England than from any o-
ther Christian State; and for that reason, greater re-
gard ought to be paid the King of England than any
Prince whatever. He concluded with saying, there were
Prelates enough in the Kingdom qualified to govern the
Church, and therefore it was not necessary to have re-
course to the Popes, if they so manifestly abused their
authority."

Innocent had not undertaken this affair to desert from it
on the King's bare expostulation. He returned a very
civil and mild answer in appearance, though, in the
main, it was more proper to irritate than appease him.
He begins with blaming John for answering his humble
and kind Letter in so rough a manner, that he seem-
ed rather to design to affront him, than require the
reasons of his conduct. Then he proceeds to extol
the merits of Cardinal Langton, assuring he was a Pre-
late of a great understanding, and profound learning,
and one that had long studied at the University of
Paris, where he had taken his degree of Doctor of Di-
vinity. He adds, that John was in the wrong to com-
plain, since the consent of Princes was not requisite at
elections made in the presence of the Pope: That
however, out of pure condescension, he had sent two
Monks to inform him of it, who by contrary Winds
were detained at Boulogne. In fine, after trying to
prove Langton's Election agreeable to the Canons, he re-
presents to him that Henry II, his Father, and Richard
his Brother, had renounced the right of nominating
Bishops and Abbots; and therefore, without meddling
with Elections, he ought to receive, without exami-

on the King's bare expostulation. He returned a very
civil and mild answer in appearance, though, in the
main, it was more proper to irritate than appease him.
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and kind Letter in so rough a manner, that he seem-
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presents to him that Henry II, his Father, and Richard
his Brother, had renounced the right of nominating
Bishops and Abbots; and therefore, without meddling
with Elections, he ought to receive, without exami-

(1) It must be observed, the Apostolical Letters are of two sorts. Some are called *Briefs*, because comprised in a compendious way of writing, and are sealed
on Wax only. Others are called *Patentes*, that is, with the Impression of a Signet Ring, which the Romans are so weak as to have used to the Seal of St.
Peter the Fisherman. The other sort are called *Bulls* from the Lead Bulla hanging thereon. Bulla is thought to be a proper
Budge, which persons that triumphed over their enemies wore on their breasts like a Medal, and it came afterward to signify a Decree, Instrument, or Writing,
described on Parchment or Vellum, with a piece of Lead hanging thereto by a string, and such writing is called a *Bulla*, from the Lead Bulla that hangs
thereon. This piece of Lead, the heads of the two Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul are impressed from the Papal Seal, which being affixed to the Paper Letters, they
become a terror to weak people for some ages, till at length from their frequent demands, these Fumblings were turned into a trifle. And when
the Bulla had long been used as a word of Scorn and Contempt, to frighten Children with. *Fulcrum* (they say) he made a Crucifix, which
was set in six Fingers, which gave a full view of the wonderful Craft of the Hierarch, in raising such a structure of Power and mystery to it, which
was supported by the Almighty Hand of God alone. For therein we see the Church of Rome almost in its beginning, how it reared first by
the power of Princes, and how the weak parts of the building have been since strengthened by the cunning of the several Unsubmitters, the Popes and
their Cardinals. See more a good use of this Collection in his Introduction to the History of Europe. Langton, p. 137.

(2) Henry II. sent Henry de Cornubie. M. Paris, p. 223.

1207.
The Pope
exhibits the
King's name
Langton's
Archbishop
M. Paris,
p. 223.

He enjoins
the Monks
to receive him.

The King
desires the
Monks of St.
Augustin
out of their
Monastery.
M. Paris,
Knighton.

He writes
a very sharp
Letter to
the King.
M. Paris,
p. 224.

Langton
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 145.
M. Paris,
p. 224.

1207.

"nation, the Prelates judged by the Church capable of directing the Spiritual affairs of his Kingdom. He concludes with this notable threat, that Submission to him would be more for his advantage than an obstinate resistance against God and his Church, in a Cause for which the blessed *Thomas Becket* shed his Blood." These last words were terrible to a Prince, whose Father had suffered so greatly on much the same occasion. But *John*, far from being frightened, resolved, on the contrary, to use his utmost endeavours, and run all hazards, to free himself from the galling Yoke of *Rome*.

1208.

The Pope orders three Bishops to interdict the Kingdom. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 447. M. Paris. Matt. West.

The Pope's Letter was quickly followed by an Order to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, to persuade the King to submit to the Orders of the Church, and, if they found him contumacious, to put the Kingdom under an Interdict. The Bishops thus commissioned by the Pope, being obliged to obey him, acquainted the King with his Holiness's Orders, and intreated him to avoid by Submission, a scandal which would fall no less on his Subjects than on himself. But the King remained inflexible. He swore (1), that if the Kingdom was interdicted, he would forthwith send all the Ecclesiasticks to seek their Subsistence at *Rome*, and put out the Eyes, and cut off the Ears and Noses of all the *Roman* Priests, that should be found in his Dominions. Then he commanded the three Prelates to depart his Presence. His Passion, which was already very violent, was still increased by the Insolence of *Simon Langton*, Brother of the Cardinal, who insultingly pressed him to own his Brother for Archbishop. The King, tired with his Importunities, told him it was very strange, an *Englishman* should press him to renounce the Prerogatives of the Crown. To which *Langton* insolently replied, nothing could be done in his behalf, unless he would wholly throw himself upon his Brother's Mercy.

Insolence of Langton's Brother. Brady, p. 471.

Henry and Richard born. M. West. M. Paris.

The last year, *John* had a Son by *Ijabella of Angoulême*, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry* (2). And this year (3) the Queen brought into the World another called *Richard*.

The Interdict published. M. Paris. p. 226. M. West. An. Waverl. Hemingsf.

Mean time, the three Prelates, who had already addressed the King, finding they could not prevail, pronounced at length the Sentence of Interdict upon the whole Kingdom (4), and retired beyond Sea. Immediately divine Service ceased in all the Churches, and the Sacraments were no longer administered, except to Infants and dying Persons. Publick Prayers, and all Ecclesiastical Functions were laid aside. The Church-yards were shut up, and the Bodies of the dead thrown into Ditches like Dogs, without any Priest daring or being willing to assist at the Funerals. It might justly be demanded, why the People should suffer for the fault of their Sovereign; and certainly it would be difficult to alledge a reason founded on Justice or Equity. But the Policy of *Rome* required, that the Subjects should be liable to Punishment, to the end that considering their King as the sole cause of their Evils, they might be the sooner inclined to force him to submit to the Pope's Yoke. It was requisite therefore to sow Dissention between the King and the People, in order to tie up his hands from resisting. And indeed, it is evident, Kings have no more power than private persons, when deserted by their Subjects. Accordingly the Popes, who intended to stretch their Authority, have generally taken a time of discord between the People and their Sovereigns. If sometimes they have launched out at unseasonable Junctures, they have, for the most part, found their pretended Authority to be little regarded. Of this we shall see a remarkable Instance in the Sequel of this very Reign.

The King's Severity upon the Clergy. M. Paris. An. Waverl.

The Pope's rigour was insufficient to bring the King to a compliance. On the contrary, *John*, finding the Court of *Rome* had thrown off all regard for him, resolved to act with the same haughtiness, and make the Pope know he was able to withstand him. Pursuant to this resolution, he confiscated the Estates of all the Ecclesiasticks who obeyed the Interdict, and sent orders to the Sheriffs to make Inquiry after them, and expel them the Kingdom. But the Sheriffs perceiving they could not execute the King's Orders, without using great violence, durst not push matters so far. So that, notwithstanding the King's intention, none went out of the Kingdom, but such as ha-

ving too zealously espoused the Pope's quarrel, chose rather to go into voluntary Banishment, than remain exposed to the King's Indignation. However, they who stayed, were in no better Circumstances: Outrages were daily committed upon them, for which they could find no redress from the Magistrates, who always sent them to the Pope for Justice.

As in those days there was scarce a Priest but what kept a Concubine, the King, under pretence of cauling the Canons of the Council to be observed, ordered all their Concubines to be imprisoned, who were forced to pay great Fines for their Liberty. Among the great number of Ecclesiasticks in the Kingdom, there were some, who in spite of the Interdict, administered the Sacraments. But as they were incessantly exposed to the Insults of the Zealots, the King took them under his Protection, and ordered such as should do them any outrage, to be hanged upon the next Tree. The Pope was no sooner informed of this, but he excommunicated all who disobeyed the Interdict, or executed the King's Orders. Such was the wretched State of the People of *England*. Those that were faithful to their Sovereign, fell under the Pope's Censures, and the King took care to persecute those who submitted to the Orders of *Rome*.

Whilst the Kingdom was in this sad situation, *Henry* Brother of *Otho* the Emperor came to King *John*, in the beginning of the year 1209. The design of his Journey was, to demand, for the Emperor his Brother, an Aid of Money, which the King liberally granted him (5), though he was himself in extreme want.

The Calamities of the *English* moved neither the King nor the Pope. They both continued inflexible, each resolving to run all hazards, rather than yield to his Adversary. However, *John* was not without his uneasiness. Indeed, he did not fear the Pope's Thunders with respect to Spirituals. But he could not see without extreme trouble, the generality of the People inclined to the Court of *Rome*. This observation inspiring him with a dread that sooner or later, some Plot would be formed against him, he thought proper to prevent the designs of his Enemies, by raising an Army. For a pretence, he complained, that the King of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaty of *Lincoln*, had married one of his Daughters, without his consent. It was easy to foresee, that a Prince, who had suffered so many Provinces in *France* to be taken, without any resistance, did not intend vigorously to prosecute this War, upon so slight an occasion. Accordingly he contented himself with the first offers made him by the King of *Scotland*, to give him fifteen thousand Marks, and his two Daughters in Hostage. In his return from the northern Frontiers, where he had led his Army, he ordered all the Hedges to be cut down, and the Ditches to be filled up throughout his Forests, that the Deer might have liberty to feed every where. In all likelihood, the People of those Parts having too openly declared for the Pope, he had a mind to punish them for it (6). Perhaps too, he designed to shew the rest of his Subjects, that in like case he would not want means to chastise them. When he came to *Northampton* (7), he was met by the Prince of *Wales*, who, fearing he intended to carry the War into his Country, made haste to prevent him by his Submission. This Prince accompanied the King as far as *Woodstock*, where he did him Homage (8).

The continuation of the Interdict was a clear Evidence to the King, that the Pope had no design to desist from his Pretensions, but would, upon this means not succeeding, use more violent methods. Wherefore, he judged it requisite to take care before-hand, to screen himself from his Thunders. Nothing seemed to him more proper to frustrate the designs of the Court of *Rome* (9), than to cause his Vassals to renew their Homage. He hoped to secure them by that Bond, and restrain them from too readily joining with the Court of *Rome*.

Mean while, the Pope perceiving, the Interdict, which had now continued above a year, did not answer his Expectations, resolved at length to pronounce upon *John* the Sentence of Excommunication, and committed the Publication thereof to certain Bishops (10). But as these

1208.

M. Paris. p. 227. An. Waverl.

1209.

John sends money to the Emperor. M. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 154.

John levies a great Army on pretence to war against Scotland. Knighton. M. Paris. M. West.

He grants a Peace to the King of Scotland. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 155. He chastises the northern Counties. M. Paris.

The Prince of Wales does him Homage. Ibid.

John causes all his Vassals to renew their Homage. Ibid.

The King excommunicated. M. Paris. p. 228.

(1) By God's Teeth. (his usual Oath.) M. Paris, p. 226.

(2) He was born at *Winchester*, October 1. 1207. An. Waverl. p. 169. M. West. p. 269. M. Paris, p. 225.

(3) January 5. M. West. p. 269.

(4) A thousand Marks. Rymer's Fed. Tom. I. p. 154.

(4) March 13. M. Paris, p. 226. M. Westm. p. 268.

(5) This year also the King issued a Proclamation at *Bristol*, forbidding the taking of all sorts of feathered Game throughout *England*. M. West. p. 268. M. Paris, p. 227. Which was the first Edict of this kind made by any King before, as *Tyrol* observes, B. vii. p. 739.

(6) Where he removed his Exchequer after *Richard's* death, because the *Londoners* had disobliged him. M. Paris, p. 227.

(7) An unlucky Accident happened at this time, which was a great prejudice to *Oxford*, and serves to shew the flourishing Condition of the University in those days. A certain Clerk having by chance killed a Woman, made his escape. The Mayor coming to his Lodging, found three other Clerks that lived in the same House which they had hired together. These being seized, were a few days after, by the King's Order, hanged up, in Contempt of the Ecclesiastical Liberty; upon which near three thousand Scholars left that University, some going to *Cambridge*, others to *Reading*. M. Paris. M. West.

(8) He made all the Freeholders in *England*, from twelve years old and upwards, renew their Homage. The reason of his doing it, was, that he daily feared the Pope should excommunicate him, and abolish his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. M. Paris, p. 228. M. West. p. 268.

(10) *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, who were to have it published every Sunday and Holiday in all the Churches throughout *England*. M. Paris.

1209. Prelates had still great regard for the King, they did not think fit to execute their orders with that readiness the Pope desired. However, the news of the King's Excommunication was so spread over the Kingdom, that not a Soul was ignorant of it, tho' the Sentence was not yet published. The Archdeacon of *Norwich*, one of the Officers of the Exchequer, having notice of it, quitted his Office without leave, alledging, his Conscience would not suffer him to serve an excommunicated Prince. This Proceeding cost him dear. The King, provoked at his disrespect, ordered him to be confined in a close Prison (1), where it is affirmed, his death was hastened by violent means (2).

He is imposed upon by the Bishop of Lincoln.
M. Paris, p. 229.
This Instance of the King's Severity was not capable of preventing *Hugh de Wells*, lately elected Bishop of *Lincoln*, from wounding the King in a more sensible part. This Prelate having obtained leave to be consecrated by the Archbishop of *Roan*, instead of going to *Normandy*, went directly to *Rome* (3), where he received Consecration at the hands of Cardinal *Langton*. Had he been in the King's power, he would, doubtless, have been no more spared than the Archdeacon of *Norwich*. But the King, being all he could do, was content with seizing his Revenues (4). The Prelate was unconcerned, plainly foreseeing that the King would be obliged in the end to submit to the Pope; whereas by disobeying his Holiness, he was in danger of losing his Bishoprick (5).

1210.
John leads an Army into Ireland; M. Paris, An. Waverl.
The Excommunication made no Impression on the King, who still remained unmoved. Besides, as the Sentence was not yet published, and Ignorance might be pleaded, the greatest part of the Nobility still adhered to their Prince (6), notwithstanding his being excommunicated. Nay, he was not without hopes, that the Sentence was only a penal threatening which might be revoked, upon his shewing some steadiness. However, as it would have been imprudent to depend upon that, he levied a great Army, well-knowing, nothing was more capable of breaking the Pope's measures, than to be always well armed. Some Commotions in *Ireland* were made the occasion and pretence for this Armament, the Charges whereof were paid by the *Jews*, not voluntarily, but by a Seizure of their Effects (7). *John* himself imbarcking with his Army (8), safely arrived at *Dublin*, where he was met by above thirty (9) petty Princes, who came to swear Fealty to him. After receiving their Homage, he marched against the King of *Connaught*, Author of the disturbances that had brought him into *Ireland*. This Prince being taken Prisoner in a Battle, the War was happily ended, and the whole Island reduced to the King's Obedience as formerly. Before he returned, *John* caused the Laws and Customs of *England* to be established for the future in *Ireland*, and made the Bishop of *Norwich* his Justiciary (10). It was expected in *England*, that at his return the Army would be disbanded. But, to have a pretence to keep it still on foot, he quarrelled with the Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time, as Money was wanted for the maintenance of the Troops, he imposed, by his own Authority, a Tax of a hundred thousand Marks (11) upon the Estates of the Ecclesiasticks. After which he marched against the *Welsh*, and compelled them to deliver twenty eight Hostages (12).

and establishes there the Laws of England.
M. Paris.
He taxes the Clergy.
Id. p. 230.
1211.
The Pope sends two Nuncios into England
M. Paris.
The measures taken by *John* to render himself formidable, created no small uneasiness in the Pope, who could not bear to see the King's Inflexibility. He perceived, it was equally dangerous to the Holy See to give over the Contest, and to prosecute it any farther, uncertain of the Issue. And indeed, it might be of great consequence, even with respect to other States. Before he came to any resolution in this matter, *Innocent* sent two Nuncios into *England* (13), under colour of procuring Peace between the King and his Clergy. However, nothing was farther from his Intention, than to endeavour a reconciliation, which could not but be very prejudicial to him. His sole aim was to discover *John's* designs, that he might take

his measures accordingly. The two Nuncios being arrived, so wrought on the King, that at length he yielded so far, as to promise the Ecclesiasticks leave to return to their Churches. He farther agreed, that Cardinal *Langton* should take possession of the See of *Canterbury*, and promised, that the Church of *England* should have all the Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities, enjoyed in the time of *Edward the Confessor*. One would think to considerable Advances should have satisfied the Nuncios. And indeed, the King gave up the main Point, in offering to receive Cardinal *Langton* as Archbishop. Besides, they should have previously supposed, that in an Accommodation, it was reasonable, the Pope and Clergy should likewise make some Concessions on their part. But this rule takes not place in affairs where the Church is concerned. What she calls an Accommodation, is an entire Submission to her orders, and a perfect Compliance with all her demands. We have seen a remarkable Instance of this in the affair of *Thomas Becket*: And here is another which confirms the same truth, besides those that will appear in the course of this History. Had *John* shewn more resolution, or at least staid till the Nuncio's had, of themselves, made these Proposals, and then seemed to accept them with reluctance, perhaps there might possibly have been a reconciliation upon these Terms. But he had to deal with Persons more subtle than himself, and whose sole aim was to discover his Sentiments, in order to take advantage of it against himself. When they saw he complied so far, they demanded farther the restitution of all that was taken from the Ecclesiasticks, and full reparation for the damages sustained by them on occasion of this Controversy. And because he would not agree to this, which in effect was impossible, the Negotiation broke off, and the Nuncio's returned (14), after publishing the King's Excommunication (15), which the Bishops till then declined (16).

John makes advances towards an Accommodation.
M. Paris, An. Burton, p. 263.
They are rejected by the Nuncios.
The Pope saw, by *John's* Advances, that he really wanted to be clear of this affair at any rate. He manifestly knew, it was only through Inability that he had rejected the last Article proposed him. As this Pope was very politick, and had great Views, he formed the Project of reaping advantages, before unthought of, from this same Inability. But as the discovery of his Intentions might greatly obstruct their execution, he carefully concealed them, till he had forced the disobedient King to cast himself upon his Mercy. Though he had nothing less in view than the Clergy of *England's* reparation, he continued always to insist on that Article, in order to have occasion to carry things to the point he desired. He knew *John* was not beloved by the People, and still less by the Nobility, who had great cause to complain of him, and were kept in Obedience, only by their Oath of Fealty. He believed therefore, that, to alienate entirely the hearts of the *English*, it was necessary to break that bond by which they still were attached to their Sovereign. For that purpose, taking occasion from the King's Inability, which he was pleased to stile Rebellion and Obstinacy, he published a Bull, absolving *John's* Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoining them, upon pain of Excommunication, to refuse him all Obedience. This terrible blow had so great an effect, that most of the Barons, overjoyed at having an opportunity to be revenged of the King, began to combine together to place another on the Throne. Some Historians even assure us, the Majority signed an Address to the King of *France*, inviting him to *England*, and promising to own him for their Sovereign.

John absolves the English from their Oath of Allegiance.
M. Paris, An. Burt. M. West.
Mean time, *John*, who had no Intelligence of their designs, lived in a Security that astonished all the world. Far from foreseeing the impending danger, he spent his time in Entertainments and Diversions, as if he had no affairs upon his hands, and the Pope's Bull was of no consequence. At the same time the *Welsh*, who could never long remain quiet, making Incursions into the *English* Territories, *John* fell into so great a rage, that he com-

(1) By *William Talbot*, a Knight. M. Paris, p. 228.

(2) A leaden Cope was put upon him, with the pressure of which, and for want of victuals, he died in a few days. Ibid.

(3) He went only as far as the Abbey of *Pontigny*, where *Langton* then resided. See *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 741.

(4) *Hugh* was also Chancellor, but the King delivered the Seal to *Walter de Gray*, and made him Chancellor. M. Paris, p. 228.

(5) This year the King sent Commissioners to *Canterbury*, to meet the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, who came to treat of a reconciliation between him and *Langton*; but when matters were nearly adjusted, the Treaty broke off, and so nothing was brought to a Conclusion. See *Ann. Waverl.* p. 171.

(6) All the great Men of the Kingdom attended him at *Windfor* this year, notwithstanding he was excommunicated. M. Paris, p. 229.

(7) M. Paris says, the *Jews* of both Sexes were seized all over *England*, and cruelly treated, till they would ransom themselves according to the King's pleasure. Among the rest, a *Jew* at *Bristol*, though cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the King ordered, that his Tormentors should every day pull out one of his Cheek Teeth, till he would pay down ten thousand Marks. Accordingly they pulled out seven in six many days, but on the eighth day he relented, and so with the help of seven Teeth, parted with the ten thousand Marks to save the rest, p. 229. King *John* got from the *Jews* about sixty thousand Marks. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 172.

(8) At *Pembroke*, and arrived at *Dublin*, June 6. M. Paris, p. 230. He returned to *England*, August 20. Ibid.

(9) Above twenty, says M. Paris, *Ibid.* He drove out of the Kingdom *Hugh de Lacy* Earl of *Ulster*, and took *Currierfurgus* Castle. *Ann. Margav.* p. 14. *T. Wikes*, p. 36.

(10) *John de Gray*, who caused the Money to be coined of the same weight and fineness as in *England*; that the like Money might be common in both Kingdoms. M. Paris, p. 230. He left there *William Marzoull*, a Lieutenant. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 172.

(11) A hundred thousand Pounds, says M. Paris, p. 230.

(12) *Pandulph* a Subdeacon, and *Durand* a Knight Templar. They met the King at *Northampton*, in his return from his Expedition into *Wales*. Ibid.

(13) They went into *Wales*. Ibid.

(14) What Persons were excommunicated with him, see in M. Paris, p. 231. M. West, p. 270.

(15) The King took, of all those that held by Knight's Service, and had not attended him into *Wales*, a Scutage of two Marks of Silver. M. Paris,

1212.

manded the twenty-eight Hostages, he had in his power, to be hanged. After which, as if he had nothing else to do, he resolved to carry War into their Country and utterly root them out.

He receives
Intelligence
of a Plot
against him.
M. Paris,
p. 231, 232.

Whilst he was preparing for this expedition, the King of Scotland sent him notice of a dangerous Conspiracy forming against him in England. But John imagined, none would dare stir, whilst he was at the head of the Army. So without giving the least heed to this information, he continued his march to Chester, with design to begin the War with the Welsh. Upon his arrival at that City, he received fresh intelligence about the Conspiracy, which was confirmed from so many different places, that he could no longer doubt. Then it was, that his security giving place to his fears, he began to consider the Officers of his Army, as so many secret enemies whom he could not trust. Possessed with this notion, he dismissed his Troops and retired to London, where he thought himself more safe (1). Some time after, his fears being somewhat abated, by certain advice, that the Barons were in no readiness to execute their designs, he demanded Hostages of them as pledges of their obedience. There were but few that ventured to deny him (2), for fear of being sacrificed to his suspicions, before they were in a state of defence. Indeed, their measures were yet very uncertain. If it be true, that they had applied to the King of France, that Monarch had not yet given them any positive promise. In all appearance, he had a mind to stay till matters were more embroiled, before he openly declared his intention (3).

He mistrusts
and disbands
his Army.
M. Paris.

Remark on
the Historians
of King
John's
Reign.
M. Paris,
p. 232.

In this place it is, that Matthew Paris the Historian takes occasion to display the tyrannical conduct of John in very black colours. He says, that he had no manner of regard for the English; debauched the Wives and Daughters of the prime Nobility; banished some the Realm, upon bare suspicions, and reduced others, who were the most favorably treated, to extreme poverty, by the confiscation of their Estates, and other illegal practices. But the same remark is to be made here, that was made elsewhere: Namely, we must read with great caution the Monkish Historians, when they relate any thing in which the Court of Rome was concerned. It is true, this Historian inveighs now and then very sharply against the Person of Innocent III. But however, it is visible, his aim was to vindicate the Pope's extreme rigour to King John. This he could not do more artfully than by blackening the reputation of that Prince, in order to divert the Reader's compassion.

The remarkable
prediction
of a
Hermit.
M. Paris,
ibid.

Whilst John was anxiously waiting the Issue of his enemy's Plots, he met with a mortification, which troubled him very much, though he pretended to slight it. One Peter de Pontfract a Hermit, who was famous in the Kingdom for foretelling things to come, prophesied publicly, that by Ascension-day following, John should be deposed, and the Crown transferred to another. The King being informed of it, sent for the Hermit, who in his presence stood to what he had said, whereupon he was ordered to Prison (4).

The Pope
deposes John.
ibid.

Mean time the Pope, who had no mind to halt in so fair a way, took at Rome all necessary measures to accomplish his project. As he was desirous, it should appear to the World, that zeal for justice and Religion was the sole motive of his actions, he took particular care to shew he had no personal interest in his quarrel with the King of England. The better to hide his design, he caused a Petition to be presented him by Cardinal Langton, and the rest of the proscribed Bishops, humbly intreating him to apply a remedy to the evils, the Church of England had so long endured. This petition furnishing him with a pretence to call a Consistory, he made a Speech to the Cardinals, aggravating to the utmost of his power, the injuries King John had done, and daily did do to the Church. He concluded with saying, the obstinacy of that Prince not being to be conquered by the Church's censures, he had called them together to consider of means

to make this stiff-necked Son return to his duty. The result of the Council was, that John being convicted of Rebellion against the Holy See, deserved to be deposed, and his Holiness should place another King over England. Pursuant to this advice, Innocent thundered out the sentence of deposition against King John. After that, he commissioned Philip King of France to execute the sentence, promising for reward, the remission of all his Sins, together with the Crown of England to him and his Heirs for ever, when once he had dethroned the present Tyrant. A few days after, he published a Bull, exhorting all Christian Princes to promote, as far as in them lay, this expedition, which was solely intended to revenge the injuries done to the Catholick Church. In this Bull he took into his protection whoever should contribute either Money or other assistance, to subdue the enemy of the Church, granting them the same privileges, with those who visited the Holy Sepulchre (5).

1212.

And employs
the King of
France to
execute the
Sentence.
M. Paris.

Towards the end of this year, Geoffrey Archbishop of York, natural Son of Henry II, departed this Life. He was a Prelate of a narrow genius, but proud, pragmatical, and exceeding passionate, one that would have done a world of mischief, had he been as able as he was willing (6).

Geoffrey
Archbishop
of York dies.
ibid.

The Commission Philip lately received of the Pope, set him at the height of his wishes. Not content with depriving King John of great part of his Dominions, he devoured already in his imagination the Kingdom of England. By his preparations it was evident, how extremely desirous he was to succeed in this undertaking. The Ships, of which his Fleet was to consist, came from all parts to the Mouth of the Seine, whilst the Princes his Vassals, and the great Men of his Realm led their Troops to Roan, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his Army. Such vast preparations could not be long concealed from King John, who for his part used his utmost endeavours to oppose the threatened Invasion. He summoned all the Tenants in chief to meet him at Dover with their Troops, under pain of forfeiting their Fiefs, and being exemplarily punished in their Persons. At the same time, he issued orders, that all the Ships belonging to his Subjects should be ready at the same place, threatening to banish the Masters that should fail to be there on any pretence whatever. His orders were so urgent, and his threats had so sudden an effect, that in a little time he assembled more Ships and Troops than he could maintain. Upon which account, he was forced to send away part of his Fleet, and to keep but sixty thousand of the most warlike Men (7), a sufficient number to defend him from all insults, had they heartily served him. But this Prince knew better how to make himself feared, than beloved (8).

1213.
Philip ac-
cuses the
King's Com-
mission;
and makes
great prepa-
rations.

M. Paris,
p. 233, 234.

Whilst the two Monarchs were with equal ardor preparing, the one to attack, and the other to defend; whilst the Sea was covered with Ships, and both shores overspread with Troops, expecting every moment to enter upon action, the Pope gave his last instructions to Pandolph. He was one of the two forementioned Nuntio's, who, upon this occasion, was made Legate for England. His publick instructions, were to use his utmost endeavours to prevail with King John to submit to the Church. But his private ones were, to put the last hand to the project framed by the Pope. He passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great armament, and commended his zeal and diligence; after which he went to meet the King of England at Dover. When he came into his presence, he represented to him, that his enemy's Forces were so numerous, that they were sufficient to conquer England, though the whole Nation were united for their common defence; but that John was very far from being able to rely on the People's affections. And to convince him of it beyond all doubt, he discovered to him, that Philip had received private assurances, from most of the great Men of England, that, instead of opposing his arms, they would assist him to the utmost of their power. This intelligence cor-

Pandolph
the Pope's
Legate comes
to John.
M. Paris.

M. Paris,
p. 234.
M. Weir.

(1) He shut himself in Nottingham Castle, and hired foreign Archers for his defence. Ann. Warwicl. p. 173.

(2) Eustace de Vesli, and Robert Fitz-Walter, who were concerned in the Conspiracy against him, retired; the first into Scotland, and the latter into France. M. Paris, p. 232.

(3) This year, in Lent, King John knighted Alexander, Son to William King of Scotland, at London. Idem. p. 231.

(4) Matthew Paris says, John was very inquisitive to know of the Hermit, whether it was by death or otherwise that he was to lose his Crown; but as he could get from him was, that he might be assured he would not on that day be King; and said, if he were convicted of a Lie, he might then deal with him as he pleased. Upon which the King had him confined till he should see the Issue of his Prediction. M. Paris.

(5) The Pope wrote also to the great Men, Knights, and Warriors of divers Nations, to undertake this War, signing themselves with the Cross, as if it were for that of the Holy Land. M. Paris, p. 232.

(6) This year also, on July 10, great part of London was burnt down; the Fire began in Southwark, and having consumed the Church of St. Mary Overy, went on to the Bridge; and whilst great numbers of People ran, time to behold, others to quench the Flames, the Houses on the other end of the Bridge took fire; so that the Multitudes being thus inclosed, many were forced to leap into the Thames, whilst others crowding into the Boats that came to their relief, were the Cause of their own destruction, the Boats and People sinking together; so that what with the Fire, and what with the Water, near three thousand persons perished by this unfortunate accident, which happened on the tenth of July. M. Paris, p. 233. Ann. Warwicl. p. 173. M. Weir.

(7) Who were encamped upon Barlow-Den in Kent. The Bishop of Norwich brought him five hundred Knights, and bodies of more from Ireland. M. Paris, p. 234.

(8) The Writs, which were issued out upon this occasion, (and which you may see at large in M. Paris,) plainly make appear, that there was no such thing in those days as standing Armies either in England or France; but that the only Forces for the defence of the Kingdom were the Militia of England, consisting of the Earls and Barons, with their Tenants and Vassals under them, who were obliged by their Tenures to come into the Field in case of an Invasion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home. The Writs are directed to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, commanding them to summon all the Earls, Barons, Knights, Freeman, and Knights. The Writs for the Ships were directed to all the Bayliffs of Sea-ports, &c. Idem. p. 233.

1213.
He offers him
the Pope's
Protection.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 166,
167.

The King's
Resolution.

He yields to
the Terms
proposed by
the Legate.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 170.
Forma Pa-
cis, &c.
The Condi-
tions.
M. Paris.
p. 235.
An. Burton.

Another
Condition
that the
King should
reign his
Crown to
the Pope.
Knighton.
M. Paris.

He resigns
his Crown,
and does
Homage to
the Pope.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 176.
M. Paris.
Knighton.

responding with what *John* had already received, he was visibly shaken, neither could he hide from the Legate the fears that had seized his Soul. This was precisely the situation wherein *Pandulph* intended to put him. As soon as he saw him thus disposed, he took occasion to intimate to him, that there was but one way to secure himself from the impending danger; and that was to put himself under the Pope's protection, who, as a kind and merciful Father, was still willing to receive him with open arms. But, added he, to deserve this favor, you must become a dutiful Son to the Church; and to that end must promise to perform faithfully whatever the Pope shall enjoin you; who, in imitation of him, whose Representative he is on earth, desires not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he should turn from his evil ways.

Never was Prince in such circumstances as *John*. Standing between two precipices equally dangerous, he was under a necessity of casting himself down one or other, without having time to consider which was most eligible. *Pandulph* pressed him incessantly to embrace the Pope's gracious offer. On the other hand, *Philip*, ready to embark, afforded him no time to consult what course he should take. But what perplexed him most, was, his distrust of his Army and his dread of a treachery, the consequences whereof stared him in the face. On which side soever he turned, he saw himself on the point, either of falling into the hands of his most inveterate enemy, or of lying at the mercy of a Pope, whom he had for so long braved, and who was the sole author of his misfortunes. Of these two extremities, the last seemed the least insupportable, because he saw not the Pope's whole design. The Legate took care, not to impart to him at first all the conditions required by the Pope, for his favour and protection. He was satisfied for the present, with obliging him by a solemn Oath, to obey the Pope in all things, for which he was excommunicated (1); to make a full satisfaction to the Clergy and Laicks for what damages they had suffered on account of the Interdict; to pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds Sterling; to receive into favour the proscribed Bishops, and others, particularly Cardinal *Langton*, and the Prior and Monks of *St. Augustin's* (2); to confirm all these things by his Letters Patents, and cause such Bishops and Barons as the Pope or his Legate should appoint to stand Sureties for him; to declare solemnly, if he, or any other by his order, should violate this agreement, he would for ever lose the custody of vacant Churches, and the Bishops and Barons his Sureties, should be authorized to serve the Pope against him. Moreover, he promised to send Letters of safe-conduct to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops, that they might return to their respective Churches. Lastly, he swore not to prosecute any Person, whether Layman, or Ecclesiastick, for any matter relating to the affair in hand (3).

In the state *John* was reduced to, he would have thought these conditions tolerable, had there been nothing added. But the Oath exacted from him, to obey the Pope in all things, included a tacit condition, the extent whereof *Pandulph* did not think proper to tell him, before he was entirely engaged. When this Article came to be explained, the Legate plainly told him, his offences against God and the Church were of such a nature, that there could be no atonement without a resignation of his Crown to the Pope: Adding, upon that condition only he could give him absolution. Such a proposal could not but extremely surprize the unfortunate King; but he was too far engaged to recede. His late proceeding had entirely alienated those of his Subjects, who still preserved some remains of affection. On the other hand, he perceived, as he could not confide in his Troops, he had no other means to resist *Philip's* powerful attacks. He lay therefore under an indispensable necessity to submit to this hard condition, which he would have infallibly rejected, could he have known the full extent of his Oath. Wherefore, on the morrow, he repaired to *Dover* Church, attended by the Legate, and a numerous train of Lords and Officers of the Army, to perform his engagements. There, in the presence of all the People, taking off his Crown, he laid it, with the other ensigns of Royalty, at the Legate's feet, as the Pope's Representative. After

which, he signed a Charter, whereby he resigned to the Pope the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordship of *Ireland*. He declared in this Charter, that, neither out of fear or constraint, but of his own free Will, and with the advice and consent of all the Barons of the Realm, he made this resignation, as having no other way to atone for his offences against God and his Church. From that moment he acknowledged himself a Vassal of the Holy See, and, as such, bound himself to pay the yearly rent of a thousand marks; namely, seven hundred for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*. In fine, he agreed, that if himself, or any of his Successors, denied the submission due to the Holy See, he should forfeit his right to the Crown (4). After this, he did Homage to the Pope in the Person of the Legate; who, to shew the grandeur of his Master, spurned with his foot the Money offered him by the King as an earnest of his subjection. They that were present at this shameful Ceremony, could not behold such abject submissions without indignation; but not one dared to speak against them; only the Archbishop of *Dublin* protested against them, but to no purpose (5). The Legate having obtained whatever he desired, kept the Crown and Sceptre five whole days; and then restored them to *John*, with an intimation that he was to consider it as a singular favor from the Holy See. So extraordinary a transaction had its natural effect on the People. If hitherto the King had been little regarded, this base submission rendered him entirely contemptible. From that time he was deemed unworthy to wear a Crown, which he had so shamefully resigned to another. On the other side, *Innocent's* extreme pride gave occasion for reflections to his disadvantage. Though *John* should seem to have been very sensibly touched with what had happened, he appeared to be the first that forgot it. He even seemed to triumph in preserving his Crown in spite of the Hermit's prediction. Though his Prophecy was but too fully accomplished, *John* was so cruel as to order him to be hanged (6) for a false Prophet.

Mean time, *Pandulph*, who had no farther business in *England*, was departed from *Dover* (7), without taking off the Interdict, or giving the King Absolution. He was gone to *Philip*, who considered the Conquest of *England* as a thing certain. When he came to that Monarch, he enjoined him, in the Pope's name, to desist from the intended Expedition. He told him, the King of *England* being now a dutiful Son of the Church, and the occasion of the armament ceasing, it was no longer necessary to execute the Pope's sentence. *Philip* was extremely surprized at this discourse (8). But as he had not acted in this affair from a religious motive, he openly refused to obey the Legate's orders. He told him, he had made these preparations against *England*, at the Pope's pressing instances, for the remission of his Sins, and therefore no contrary orders, nor all the threats in the World, should hinder him from prosecuting his design. Thus resolved, he called a Council of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and of the Princes his Vassals who were then about him. As he was extremely provoked with *Innocent*, the terms he used in speaking of him to the Assembly were not very respectful; and the more, as it was greatly for his purpose, to paint out the Pope's proceedings in the strongest and most lively colours. His aim was to persuade all the Lords to swear, they would not forsake him, though the Pope should thunder his censures against him. Accordingly this was the drift of his Speech.

The Princes and Lords who were present at the Council seemed inclined to comply. The Earl of *Flanders* alone opposed it, and in a manner very reproachful to *Philip*. He represented, that the intended Expedition against the King of *England*, was in itself neither just nor honorable, and besides was become impracticable, since the Pope refused his approbation. He added, it would be much more agreeable to the rules of honour and equity, to restore to that Prince what had been taken from him in *France*, than to frame new projects to make an advantage of his misfortunes. *Philip* offended at these bold words, mixed with reproaches upon his conduct, thought it necessary before all things, to humble the Earl of *Flanders*. His view was to terrify the rest of his Vassals by this example, and withal deprive the King of *England*

(1) Sixteen of the chief Earls and Barons of the Kingdom, swore on *John's* behalf, that they would do their utmost to compel him to keep what he had agreed, if he should happen to depart from it. M. Paris, p. 235.

(2) The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Barth*, and *Lincoln*, are mentioned by name, as are *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *Enfance de Jesu*, who had withdrawn from the King into *France*. Ibid.

(3) You have these Articles at large in *M. Paris*, drawn up in the Form of a Charter, dated the 13th of May, being the Monday before *Ascension* Day, in which are recited the names of four great Barons, viz. *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earl of *Bouligne*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, who all swore on the King's behalf, p. 235.

(4) *Cadet a sure Regni*, M. Paris, where the Charter is at large, and witnessed by the King himself, in the Presence of *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*; *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, and divers Bishops and Noblemen of the Kingdom, p. 236, 237.

(5) *M. Paris* says only, that he was offended at the haughty Carriage of the Legate in spurning the Money, p. 237.

(6) He caused him to be dragged about the Streets of *London*, and then hanged, with his Son. M. Paris, p. 237.

(7) And carried with him eight thousand Pounds to be distributed, by way of restitution, among the Archbishop, the Bishops, and others that had been molested. Ibid.

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of the assistance he might receive from so firm a Friend. It may be, he was very glad, the Earl furnished him with an opportunity to free himself from his present embarrassment. He could not, without dishonour, submit to the Pope's orders, neither could he make War upon King John, without exposing his Person to an Excommunication, and his Kingdom to an Interdict. Be this as it will, he ordered his Fleet to sail to the Coast of Flanders, whilst he marched himself with his Army to attack the Earl by land. The progress of his Arms was at first very considerable. Probably, the Earl of Flanders would have been ruined, if John had not sent his naval Force to his Aid. The Earl of Salisbury, who commanded the English Fleet, surprizing that of Philip, entirely destroyed it. It is said, the English took three hundred Ships, and sunk one hundred, and that the French themselves set fire to the rest, to prevent their falling into the Enemy's hands. This fatal loss blasted all Philip's grand Projects, and obliged him to relinquish his undertaking, and return to Paris extremely mortified.

This Victory suddenly raised the Courage of King John. As he was assured for the future of the Pope's assistance, he resolved to carry the War into France, and try to recover his lost Dominions. He was the more encouraged to this Enterprize, as the Emperor and the Earl of Flanders promised to make a powerful Diversion in his favour. Wherefore he caused his Army to march to Portsmouth, where he ordered his Fleet to meet him. But just as he was ready to embark, the Barons sent him word, they could not attend him, unless he was first absolved from his Excommunication (1). This Declaration made him dispatch a Safe-conduct to Cardinal Langton, and the rest of the Exiles, that they might come and absolve him. At the same time, he acquainted them, he was ready to perform all his Engagements, and particularly those which concerned them. Upon their arrival (2) the Bishops went to the King at Winchester, who, throwing himself at their feet, besought them to have pity on him and the Kingdom. The Cardinal lifting him up, led him to the Church, where in the presence of all the People, he administered to him the following Oath: "That he would protect Holy Church to the utmost of his power; re-establish the good Laws of his Predecessors, and especially those of King Edward; cause Justice to be ministered to his Subjects according to the just Judgment of his Court; restore to Corporations and private Persons their Rights and Liberties; and before Easter next, make full Satisfaction for all the damages he had caused." This done, the King renewed his Oath of Fealty and Obedience to the Pope, according to the Tenor of his late Charter to the Legate; after which, the Cardinal gave him Absolution. The King appeared so well pleased to see himself at length freed from so many troubles, that to show the Cardinal, he bore him no secret grudge, he made him that very day dine at the same Table with him.

This affair being thus ended, John came to Portsmouth (3), where he unexpectedly met with fresh obstacles. When he talked of embarking, the Barons, who were there upon his Summons, declared, they could not go with him. They told him, they had stayed so long at Portsmouth, that all their Money, designed for the Expedition, was spent, and therefore they were unable to attend him. Though this disappointment heartily vexed him, he thought best to conceal it; and, imagining he should encourage them upon the Point of Honour, took shipping himself with his own Family, and sailed for Jersey. But after waiting there some days, and finding himself forsaken by all, he returned to England, with a resolution to chastise the disobedience of the Barons (4). Upon his arrival, he raised some Troops, and marched towards the Center of the Kingdom. His design was to have it in his power to prevent them from taking Arms, or to oppress those that should first venture to appear. The Cardinal Archbishop perceiving his Intention, came to him at Northampton, and represented to him, that none of the Barons having been legally (5) condemned, he could not make War upon them without violating his late Oath. The King, offended at this Remonstrance, answered with a loud Voice, he had no need of his Advice, and refusing

to hear him any more, continued his march as far as Nottingham. Langton, not discouraged at this repulse, followed him next day, and declared he would excommunicate all that should take Arms before the relaxation of the Interdict. This threat making the King apprehensive his Troops would desert him, he was forced to desist from his Enterprize. However, he appointed a day for the Barons to appear and answer for their disobedience.

Langton's Proceedings were sufficient to satisfy the King, he was not heartily reconciled to him. But he had soon a more convincing proof.

In an Assembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, held at London about the restitution promised by the King, Langton took occasion to speak very warmly against him. He said, "That before he gave the King Absolution, he caused him to swear to restore the Church, the Nobility, and the Commonalty, to their Rights and Privileges (6): But it was visible he had not yet made the least step towards the performance of his Oath: That on the contrary, he would have made War on his Barons, before they were legally tried, which was a clear Evidence of his ill designs. And therefore, continued he, it was absolutely necessary for the good of the Publick, to press him to perform his Engagements. But as difficulties might occur in the particulars to be required of the King, he said, a Charter might be used of one of their former Kings, of which he had fortunately found a Copy, notwithstanding the pains taken to bury it in oblivion." The Charter mentioned by the Cardinal, was that granted by Henry I to his Subjects, in the beginning of his Reign (7). Authentick Copies had been sent to all the principal monasteries, which were lost by the negligence of those who had the Custody of them, or perhaps by the means of Henry I himself, or his Successors. This, which perhaps, was the only one left, falling into the Cardinal's hands, he publicly caused it to be read before the Assembly. The Barons, who had only a confused Notion of this Charter, were very well pleased with its being found, but more so with the Contents. Therefore, without further consideration, they resolved to make it the Foundation of their demands. Then they entered into a Confederacy, and bound themselves by Oath, to use their utmost endeavours to obtain the Re-establishment of their ancient Privileges, and mutually stand by one another. The Cardinal promised for his part, to do all that lay in his power to promote their designs. This is the first League or Confederacy made in England, in defence of the Nation's Interest against the King.

Though the Barons intended to keep their League private, till a favorable opportunity offered to discover their designs, the King was soon informed of it. He foresaw the consequences, but as it was not in his power to break it, believed the only way to be safe, was to put himself under the Pope's powerful Protection. Pursuant to this resolution, he sent a trusty Messenger to his Holiness, to inform him of what passed, and entreat him to grant him his assistance in so pressing a necessity. His request was attended with a very handsome Present, in order to obtain more readily what he desired (8). Innocent was overjoyed at the news of the Dissention, like to break out between the King and the Barons. If any thing was capable of depriving him of the Sovereignty lately acquired over the Kingdom of England, it was, doubtless, a strict and hearty Union between the King and the Nobles. The Resignation extorted from John, was of itself so repugnant to all Right, and so full of nullities, that it must have fallen to the ground, if the King and his Subjects could have been brought to so necessary a Union. And therefore nothing being more agreeable to the Pope, than to see the King and the Barons in no way to support one another, he resolved to make their Discord a means, more firmly to establish his Authority in the Kingdom (9). To that end, without discovering his knowledge of the Confederacy of the Barons, he sent (10) Cardinal Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, (now Frascati,) as his Legate into England, with power to relax the Interdict, and reconcile the King and the Clergy, concerning the promised restitution. John offering a hundred thousand Marks, the Legate seemed satisfied with the Sum; but the Bi-

1213.

The King desists.

Langton gives the Barons a sight of the Charter of Henry I. M. Paris, p. 240.

The Barons league against the King.

John implores the Pope's Protection. Ibid. p. 245.

1214.

The Pope sends a Legate into England. AG. Pub. T. I. p. 174. M. Paris, p. 240.

(1) M. Paris says, it had hitherto been deferred, under pretence that the Archbishop of Canterbury was to come over, and perform it in Person, on the Pope's behalf.

(2) After having appointed the Bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peters Regents of the Kingdom. Ibid.

(3) Rastouac Coggehal lays the miscarriage of this Voyage chiefly upon the Barons of the North, who being summoned, affirmed, they were not obliged to follow him, according to the Tenure of their Estates. This is a clear evidence, that the Barons of the Realm were not obliged to attend the King, when he made War of his own head, but only in case of an Invasion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home.

(4) Abique judicio Curie fuit. M. Paris, p. 239.

(5) His words were, That the King had sworn he would abolish unjust Laws, and restore the good ones, namely, those of Edward. Ibid. p. 240.

(6) See the Charter at the end of this Reign.

(7) Noverat enim Rex, & multiplice didicerat experientia, quod Papa super omnes Mortales ambitiosus erat & superbus, pecunieque sitior insatiabilis, & ad omnia Scelerata pro promissis datis vel promissis, ceruicem & preclivum, &c. M. Paris, An. 1213. Rapin.

(8) This year died Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, Justiciary of England. He was a generous and learned Man, and the main support of the Kingdom; so that at his death, England became like a Ship without a Rudder. He had the chief hand in the management of all affairs; and was more feared, than loved by the King. When News was brought to King John of his death, he said, Now I shall be King and Lord of England. M. Paris, p. 246.

(9) About Michaelmas. Ibid. p. 246.

1214.

subdemon-
a second R-
signation of
the Crown.
M. Paris.

shops openly rejected this offer, chusing rather to let the Kingdom groan under the intolerable Burden of an Interdict, than recede in the least from their Pretensions. The Legate was not displeased with their obstinacy, which gave him an occasion to acquaint the King with the orders he had received from the Pope. He represented to him, he could never expect to live in Peace, till he had put himself entirely under the Protection of the Apostolick See: "That therefore, it was necessary to make a second Renunciation of his Crown, the first being liable to many Exceptions: That afterwards the Pope, finding himself indispensably obliged to support him, would infallibly free him from all his troubles."

John's
Ibid.

John found himself in an ill situation; surrounded with difficulties, and having almost as many Enemies as Lords in the Kingdom, he had no other refuge but the Pope's Protection. Accordingly, though this Protection could not be obtained but by a second renunciation of his Crown, he was once more persuaded to that servile Compliance. This resolution being taken, he convened a general Assembly at *Westminster*, where, in the presence of all the Lords, he solemnly resigned a second time his Crown to the Pope, with all the Formalities the Legate was pleased to require. He signed also another Charter, wherein care was taken to supply all the defects of the former. To render it more authentick, it was sealed with Gold, the first being sealed only with Wax. Then the King delivered it to the Legate, for the use of the Pope his master. It was not difficult for the confederate Barons to perceive, their Secret was discovered, and that John's second renunciation, was the price of the Pope's Protection. As nothing was more opposite to their design of recovering their antient Privileges, than the Vassalage to which John had subjected the Kingdom, Cardinal *Langton* solemnly protested against it, and laid his Protestation upon the Altar.

Langton
protests a-
gainst it.

Innocent having notice of *Langton's* Protestation, was extremely incensed, that a Cardinal should act so directly contrary to the Interests of the Holy See. He durst not however fall upon him, for fear of putting the whole Kingdom in commotion, and inducing the *English* to join with *Langton* in defence of their Liberties. Indeed, it was by no means proper to let the Nation feel so soon the weight of their new Servitude. On the contrary, it was the Court of *Rome's* Interest to let her Rights lie dormant a while, that the *English*, perceiving no alteration, might be less inclined to shake off their late Yoke. Mean time, the Pope however took occasion to mortify the Archbishop, by empowering his Legate, Cardinal *Nicholas*, to fill all the vacant Benefices in *England*. The Legate abused his power most shamefully. Not content with conferring the Benefices on *Italians*, on his Relations and Creatures, he even gave some to Persons unborn. *Langton*, angry that his Commission should be given to another, took occasion from the Legate's ill Conduct to appeal to the Pope against his Proceedings, and sent his Brother *Simon* to *Rome* to prosecute the Appeal. He found *Innocent* little inclined to give ear to complaints against the Legate, who had just done him such signal Services. Besides, *Pandulph*, who was sent to *Rome* with the Charter sealed with Gold, had very much blasted the Credit of the Archbishop, and all the *English* Lords. He represented them as turbulent Persons, and extolled the King as the most pious of Princes. This account caused *Innocent*, regardless of *Langton's* Remonstrances, to dispatch orders to his Legate to take off the Interdict (1), which had now lasted above six years. As for the Satisfaction demanded by the Clergy, he ordered, the King should pay but forty thousand Marks, in lieu of all the restitution.

The Interd-
is taken off,
and a very
moderate
Restitution
granted to
the Bishops.
Id. p. 249.

Thus ended this grand affair, which rendered the King of *England* the Pope's Vassal and Homager. An Event of this nature affords ample matter for reflections, which the Reader is left to make. I shall content my self with observing, that, if in the first Negotiation, the Pope would have been satisfied with exacting from John so moderate a restitution, things would then have been, doubtless, adjusted. For that was the only obstacle to a reconciliation, since the Nuncio's were pleased with all the rest of the King's Proposals. But John had not yet resigned his Crown to the Pope, whereas after his resignation, the hundred thousand Marks offered by him, were reduced to forty thousand. The Clergy, who were in hopes of receiving immense Sums for this restitution, were very much disappointed. Nevertheless, not daring to contradict the Pope's express orders, they were forced to be satisfied

with a very moderate Sum, in comparison of what they expected. The Bishops however found means to indemnify themselves, by not giving any share of the forty thousand Marks to the inferior Clergy and Monasteries. These last made their complaints to the Legate; but could get no other answer, save only, that having no orders from the Pope, it was not in his power to give them any redress.

John finding himself freed, though to his eternal shame, from an affair, which had created him so much trouble, resolved to prosecute the design which the disobedience of the Barons had obliged him to give over. He hoped to meet with more Submission from his Subjects, since the Pope had openly declared himself his Protector, than whilst he lay under the Sentence of Excommunication. After making the necessary Preparations for so important an Enterprise (2), he came to *Rochel* with a numerous Army, and entering *Poitou*, subdued that Province with the same ease it was taken from him. Encouraged by this good Success, he marched into *Anjou*, and rebuilt the Walls of *Angers*, which he had formerly demolished. This sudden attack surprized *Philip*, who being then employed in the Low-Countries, in an important War with the Emperor, and the Earl of *Flanders*, could not timely enough oppose this new Enemy. However, his Son Prince *Lewis*, raising an Army with all possible expedition, advanced towards *Anjou*, whilst the *English* were besieging the strong Castle of *La Roche au Moine*. The approach of the French Army causing to vanish John's hopes of being able to continue the Siege, he resolved to raise it, and give *Lewis* battle. But the *Poitouins* refusing to follow him, he was not only forced to relinquish that design, but even to retreat with some precipitation. The French Historians say, he was briskly attacked in his retreat, and received a great loss. The *English*, on the contrary affirm, that *Lewis*, satisfied with raising the Siege, retired without pursuing him. Notwithstanding this accident, John had Troops sufficient to expect a good issue of the War, had it continued. But the news of the Battle of *Bovines*, gained by *Philip* in *Flanders*, made him think of retreating. This Victory, the most considerable *France* had ever obtained (3), making John apprehensive the whole burden of the War would lie upon him, demanded a Truce for five years, by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate. Though a famous Historian affirms, *Philip* granted this Truce only at the pressing Instances of the Pope, it may be presumed, he was not very unwilling to consent to it. For he could not desire any thing more advantageous, than to see the *English* return home, since he could gain but little upon them, whereas he had a great deal to lose (4).

John's
the War into
France.
M. Paris.

Aff. Pub.
T. I. p. 124
--- 129.
He subdued
Poitou, and
entered An-
jou.
M. Paris,
p. 248.

Prince
Lewis stops
his Progress.

Rigord.

Philip gains
the Battle of
Bovines.
John obtains
a Truce.
Aff. Pub.
T. I. p. 123
--- 129.
M. Paris,
p. 250, 251.
Mezerai.

We are now come to the third Period of King John's Reign, which was no less full of troubles and misfortunes than the two former. We have seen him in the two first, struggling with two foreign Powers, who triumphed over him. In this we shall see him contending with his own Subjects, and reduced, in order to support himself in the Throne, to lay waste his own Kingdom, with an Army of divers Nations, and at length behold a foreign Prince receive the Oath of Fealty from the *English*.

The third
part of
John's
Reign.

After being exposed to so many misfortunes, John, as it seemed, thought at the expence of his honour, to pass the residue of his Life in Peace. But his Lot was otherwise. His past Conduct, mixt with Haughtiness, Caprice, Tyranny, Imprudence, Cowardice, had bred among his Subjects a general discontent, that could not fail of producing ill Effects. As he lost the People's Esteem, the Barons became less tractable. Their hopes of succeeding in their designs, were properly built on the little Affection of the People for their Sovereign. As soon as the King was returned from his French Expedition, the Barons, who had always their former Projects in view, resolved to demand in a Body, the Re-establishment of their Privileges. Under colour of a Pilgrimage, the chief Earls and Barons met at *St. Edmund's-bury*, where they came to a resolution, to demand of the King the confirmation of the Charter of *Henry I.* This Charter, as was observed, contained in substance, the Liberties enjoyed by the People of *England*, during the Dominion of the Saxon Kings. Before they parted, it was agreed, that immediately after *Christmas*, they would go to the King in a Body, and present him their Petition. Mean time, every one went to his own home, to provide himself with Men, Horses, and Arms, to be in condition to compel the King, if there was occasion, to grant their desires. But before I proceed, it will not be amiss to examine the occasion of this Quarrel.

The Barons
league for
the Restora-
tion of their
Liberties.

M. Paris,
p. 252.

Aff. Pub.
T. I. p. 127.

(1) It was taken off, July 2. *T. Wikes*, p. 37; or June 29, according to *M. Paris*, p. 249.

(2) He embarked, with his Queen, at *Portsmouth*, Feb. 2. *Idem*, p. 248.

(3) This famous battle was fought on the 27th of July, between *Tourney* and *Lisle*. Though the Allies, even the Emperor *Otto*, *Frederick* Earl of *Flanders*, with the Dukes of *Lothain* and *Brabant*, had no less than a hundred and twenty thousand Men, and though the King of *France* had not more than twenty thousand, yet at length he entirely vanquished his Enemies. *Otto* was put to flight, and did not return with grief; the Earls were taken Prisoners, one of which was *William Long-Sword*, King John's base Brother. No Prince after that dared to withstand *Philip*. *Chro. Mathieu*, p. 250, &c.

(4) John returned to *England*, October 20. *M. Paris*, p. 251.

1214. Now the foundation of the Barons pretensions, and of the King's refusal of what they so earnestly demanded, was as follows.

Examina-
tion of the
King's and
Barons Pre-
tensions.

It cannot be denied, that in the Reigns of the first Norman Kings, and particularly under *William the Conqueror*, the *English* were oppressed. They were so unjustly dealt with, that not an *Englishman* was left in possession of any considerable Fee (1). The *Normans* and other Foreigners were decked with their spoils. At that time the *English*, who had so great cause to complain, in vain alledged their privileges; all ears were deaf to their complaints. On the contrary, the *Normans* thought it no injustice for the King to use a despotick power, as long as it was for their advantage. The Laws of *Edward the Confessor* were in such disrepute, that it was almost treason to mention them. But when once these same *Normans* saw themselves firmly settled on their new acquisitions, they began to perceive how dangerous it was to live under an arbitrary Power, which might deprive them of what the Conqueror had given their Ancestors. Therefore by degrees they put on the *English* genius, wholly addicted to liberty, and wanted to have the *Saxon* Laws re-established. All distinction between the two Nations was intirely removed. Every one was desirous of being *English* rather than *Norman*. Probably this was the chief reason why the *Norman* Language prevailed not in *England*, notwithstanding the care and pains of *William I.* to that end. Upon all fair occasions, the *Normans* spoke like true *Englishmen*, and earnestly demanded the revival of the Laws of *Edward*. They particularly took advantage of the circumstances of *William Rufus*, *Henry I.*, and *Stephen*, when they mounted the Throne. As these Princes had not properly any right to the Crown, they were forced to be indulgent to their Subjects, and promise them the re-establishment of their antient Laws. Indeed, what the Barons demanded would have been very right in the mouth of an *Englishman*; but these same pretensions, with respect to the *Normans*, might be very justly contested. Accordingly we have seen in the history of these three Princes, though they solemnly promised to revive these Laws, they never heartily set about the being as good as their word. Nevertheless those solemn and repeated engagements gave the Barons of the *Norman* Race, a right which they had not before. The circumstances of the three first *Norman* Kings, when they ascended the Throne, were therefore the true cause of these wrong proceedings, which afterwards became so prejudicial to their Successors. They knew, their *Norman* Subjects had no right to demand the revival of the *Saxon* Laws, which must have been evidently violated, to settle them in the Estates they possessed in *England*. But necessity compelled these Princes to promise what they never intended to perform. The Charter of *Henry I.* was never executed either by himself or any of his Successors. What care soever was taken to send Copies to the principal Monasteries, it was with great difficulty that a single one was found, a hundred years after, and shewn by Cardinal *Langton* to the Lords. If therefore the rights of the Barons are originally considered, they must be concluded to be built upon no good foundation; because the principal Fiefs were in the hands of the descendants of those, to whom they were granted by *William the Conqueror*. But on the other side, it must be confessed, that the many solemn promises of all the Kings since the Conqueror, to restore the *Saxon* Laws, commonly called the Laws of *St. Edward*, gave the *English* *Normans* a very plausible right to demand the performance thereof.

From what has been said it may be easily inferred, that if the Barons thought themselves intitled to demand the re-establishment of the privileges of the *English* Nation, *John* believed himself no less authorized to refuse it. This contest remaining undecided during several Reigns, both

Parties had kept up their respective pretensions. When the King was weak, or in such circumstances as permitted him not to contend, the Barons tried to get the Liberties of the *English* restored, and the Prince not knowing what to do better, put them off with fair promise, which he had no design to perform. But, under able Kings, who were in prosperity, the contest was stifled, and the Barons waited for a more favorable opportunity to compute their ends. They thought they had now met with one, and resolved to improve it. *John's* circumstances were just as they wished. Hated and despised by the People, to whom he had given great occasion of discontent, he could never hope to regain their affection. On the other hand, he was without hopes of assistance from King *Philip*, his most mortal enemy. Much less could he expect any Succours from the Emperor his Nephew, or the *Lord of Flanders*, who were equally crushed by the Battle of *Bosworth*. Neither was it likely, that the King of *Scotland* would disengage the quarrel of a Prince, with whom he was extremely displeased. As for the assistance *John* might expect from the Pope, as it was to consist only of spiritual Arms, the Barons were in no concern about it; well knowing such Weapons have no edge, but what fear, and the circumstances of time and place give them. But as they had reason to hope, the People would join with them, in defence of their common interests, they were not afraid the Pope's Thunder-bolts would do them much hurt. *John* therefore was necessarily forced to yield on this occasion; for having lost the *French* Provinces, he had no refuge against the *English*.

Full of these hopes, and holding themselves sure of success, the Barons (2) came to the King at *London* (3), and demanded in plain and express terms, the re-establishment (4) of the Laws of *St. Edward*, with the other rights and privileges contained in the Charter of *Henry I.* They alledged, they required only, what he himself had promised with a solemn Oath, before he received his absolution, and for that reason, their most humble petition could not be looked upon as an innovation, much less as proceeding from a spirit of Rebellion. This petition, though expressed in the most respectful terms, alarmed the King. As he found, they had taken their resolution in case it was rejected, he believed his best course would be to gain time. He desired them therefore to stay for his answer till *Easter*, assuring them, he would then declare his intentions. Though it was very easy to see, the King only sought to amuse them, they were afraid of being blamed, should they refuse this delay, and retire (5).

Mean time, the King taking advantage of this delay, caused the Oath of Fealty to be renewed by all his Subjects, and Homage by all his immediate Vassals. After which, he took upon him the Cross (6), as if he intended to go to the *Holy-Land*, to the end he might shelter himself under the Church's protection (7). On the other hand, the Pope being informed of the Barons petition, sent them a Letter, exhorting them to continue in obedience to their Sovereign; but that did not hinder them from prosecuting their design.

As soon as *Easter* was come, the great Men met at *Stanford*, consisting of almost all the Nobility, and making a powerful Army, in which were above two thousand Knights, besides other Horse and Foot, armed with divers Weapons (8). The King, who was at *Oxford* in expectation of their coming, hearing of their number and posture, did not think fit to expose his Person in a conference with them. Before they advanced any nearer (9), he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* (10) to know, what the Laws and Liberties were, which they mentioned in their petition. Upon which, they delivered a long memorial of the Laws and Customs observed in the time of the *Saxon* Kings; declaring, if the King would not confirm them, they were resolved to compel him, by seizing his Castles.

(1) Not only Knights Fees, and part of Knights Fees, but also Honours and Baronies (which were the greater Fees) were called Fees. And not without cause, for, except they were held by grand Serjeanty only, they were usually composed of Knights Fees. In general, Fee is a Name applicable to all Seigneuries. *Hors de sa Fee*, *Hors de sa Barony*, is as much as to say, out of his Barony. It may be observed, that Feudism signified originally the Grant of a Fee or Fief. Nevertheless, by Custom it came afterwards to signify also, a Grant (with Livery and Seisin) of a free Inheritance, to a Man and his Heir, respect being had rather to the Perpetuity of the Estate granted, than the Feudal Tenure. And this has been called a Feudment in Fee simple. Out of the Fee-simple there has been derived another kind of inheritable Estate, which has been called a conditional Fee, or Fee-tail. There are likewise Feudments for Life. See *Wadley's Differt. on Chart. and Instrum.* p. 4.

(2) The Names of the Barons were, Robert Fitz-Walter, Eustace de Veset, Richard de Percy, Robert de Rols, Peter de Bruns, Nicholas de Stutewill, Sir Earl of Winchester, Robert and Henry Earls of Clare, Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, William de Montbrey, Roger de Gressil, Ranulph Fitz-Robert, Robert de Vere, Eustace Fitz-Warin, William Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchamp, S. de Kere, William Aveling, all the younger, William Maucluf, Roger de Mont-Begon, John Fitz Robert, John Fitz-Alan, C. de Laval, O. Fitz-Alan, W. de Hebrug, O. de Vail, G. de Gart, Maurice de Gart, R. de Brezele, R. de Monhebet, W. de Lanzelet, G. de Mandeville Earl of Essex, William his Brother, William de Hartingfield, Robert de Gressil, G. Constable of Meutun, Alexander de Pointum, Peter Fitz-John, Alexander de Surin, Osbert de Bels, John Constable of Chester, Thomas de Muscatene, Conan Fitz-Herbas, &c. *M. Paris*, p. 254.

(3) Who was then at the New Temple; which was where the Inner and Middle Temple now stand: They came to him in a military Apparel. *M. Paris*, p. 253.

(4) Or Confirmation. *Ibid.*

(5) Matthew Paris says, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and William Earl-Marshal were Sureties for the King, that on the day appointed he would give them satisfaction, p. 253.

(6) On February 2. More out of Fear than Religion, as *M. Paris* observes, p. 253.

(7) About the same time also the King granted a Charter for the Freedom of Elections to Bishopricks and Abbies, to chuse their Bishops and Abbots, without any Letters of Nomination or Recommendation from the King, which was contrary to the usage of his Ancestors. So that the nominating to Abbies, Deans, and Chapters, six Persons to be elected Bishops, was never after fully restored to the Crown till the 25th of Henry VIII. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. I.* p. 197. *M. Paris*, p. 262.

(8) The words of the Original, viz. *M. Paris*, are here taken instead of *Rapin's*, which are not so clear.

(9) They were then at *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*. *M. Paris*.

(10) And the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. *Idem* p. 254.

1215. John had no sooner read this Memorial, but he fell into a violent passion. He said aloud, the Barons wanted no less than to deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, and swore a great Oath, *he would never grant his Subjects such Liberties as would make himself a Slave.*

The King's answer convincing the Barons, they expected in vain to obtain their demands otherwise than by force, they chose the Lord [Robert] Fitz-Walter for their General, styling him *the Marshal of the Army of God, and of Holy Church.* At the same time they marched to Northampton, and besieged the Castle fifteen days. That place holding out longer than they expected, they raised the Siege and went to Bedford, of which they became masters (1). A few days after, they received advice, that a secret Negotiation with some of the chief Burghers of London, had succeeded to their wish, and that one of the Gates of the City was to be put into their hands. The hopes of strengthening themselves with the assistance of so rich and powerful a City, caused them to make such speed, that in two marches (2) they came to Aldgate. This Gate being opened to them, they entered the City at break of day (3), before the King, who was in the Tower, had the least notice of their approach. So great an advantage enabling them to undertake any thing, they resolved to besiege the King in the Tower. Whilst they were employed in the Siege, which however they could not begin without great preparations, they sent circular Letters to all the Lords of the King's Party, and to those that stood Neuter (4). Without any preface, they let them know, their estates would be plundered, and their Houses demolished, if they did not come and join with them, in support of the common cause of the Kingdom. These threats had so good an effect, that all the neutral Lords sided with the Barons. Nay, some on whom the King chiefly relied, deserted him for fear of the impending evils. This defection rendering the King more tractable, he sent the Earl of Pembroke to inform the Barons, he was ready to grant their demands. This was properly throwing himself upon their mercy. But as matters then stood, he had no other course to take. After a short Negotiation, it was agreed, the King and the Barons should meet on a day prefixed, in a Meadow called Runnemedes (5), to conclude this affair.

The Barons came in great numbers to the place appointed, whilst the King appeared attended only by five or six Lords. Among whom was the Cardinal Archbishop, who affected to perform the Office of Mediator, though he was the principal author of the troubles. It was soon agreed, what satisfaction the King should give the Barons. As they would make no concessions, it was not in the King's power to deny any thing. Besides, he considered, the higher they ran in their demands, the more plausible would his pretence be, to retract when a favorable opportunity offered. And therefore, without objecting to any of the Articles proposed, he pretended freely to grant, what in reality was extorted by Force. He signed two Charters, wherein the Barons inserted whatever they pleased. The first was called the *Charter of Liberties*, or the *Great Charter* (6), the other, the *Charter of the Liberties of the Forest.* By perusing these Charters, which will be inserted at the end of this Reign, the Reader may see what oppressions the English had been liable to since the Conquest, and what Privileges they gained on this occasion. From that time these two Charters have been the foundation of the English Liberties, notwithstanding the endeavours of John himself and some of his Successors, to annul them.

These Charters were signed by the King, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Realm, sealed with the Great Seal, and confirmed by the King's solemn Oath.

1) The Castle was put into their hands by William Beauchamp the Owner. M. Paris, p. 234.
 2) In the first day's march they came to Ware. Ibid.
 3) Namely, to William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, Ranulph Earl of Chester, William Earl of Salisbury, William Earl of Warren, William Earl of Arundel, H. Earl of Cornwall, &c. and Philip de Albini, Robert de Vipont, Peter Fitz-Hubert, Brian de l'Isle, G. de Luci, G. de Furnwal, Thomas Bayly, Henry de Beauchamp, John de Bassingbrun, William de Cantelu, Henry de Cornhill, John Fitz-Hugh, Hugh de Neville, John Marshall, William de Warenne, &c. Ibid. p. 235.
 4) Between Strain and Windsor. Runnemedes, says M. West. signifies the *Mead of Council*; because, from antient times, Treaties concerning the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there. Both Parties met on the 5th of June, and pitched their Tents alunder in the Meadow. On the King's Side appeared the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, with the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Coventry and Rochester; Pandulph the Pope's Legate, and Aimeric Master of the Knights-Templars in England. And of the Laity, William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, the Earls of Salisbury, Warren, and Arundel, with the Barons, Alan de Galloway, William Fitz-Gerald, Peter and Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas and Alan Bassett, Hugh de Arundel, Hubert de Burgh, Seneschal of Poitou, Robert de Roppeley, John Marshall, and Philip de Albini. As for those on the Barons Side, they are likewise numbered, as you may see in M. Paris, under the year 1215. The chief were, Robert Fitz-Walter the General, &c. See their Names above, in Note (2), p. 235.
 5) *Charta Communium Libertatum, or Magna Charta.* M. Paris, An. 1215.
 6) By another Agreement, printed in Dr. Brady's Appendix, the City of London was to remain in the Hands of the Barons mentioned in the Note above, till the 15th of August that year, and that the Archbishop should hold the Tower for the same Term. See Rymer's Fed. Tom. I. p. 201.
 7) His Agents were, Walter Bishop of Worcester his Chancellor, John Bishop of Norwich, Richard de Marisco, or Maris, who went to the Pope, William Gorron, and Hugh de Beves. M. Paris, p. 264.
 8) He ordered, that those foreign Troops should be at Dover by Michaelmas. Ibid. p. 265. M. Paris says, the King counterfeited the Bishops Seal, and wrote in their Names to all Nations, saying, That all the English were become Apostates; and whoever would invade them, the King, with the Consent of the Pope and Bishops, would give them the Lands of these Apostates, p. 255.
 9) He sent orders also to all the Wardens of his Castles, to furnish them with arms and Provisions. Ibid. p. 265.
 10) The King's Letter to the Pope concludes with these words: *Pro certo habentes, quod post Deum, propriam salutem, & auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ, habemus unum & singulare subsidium, & sub vestri Confidentia patriam respiciamus.* Rymer.

But for the better securing the observance thereof, there were chosen, with the King's consent, five and twenty Barons (7), to any of whom all Persons might apply, to complain of the breach of the Charters. It was further agreed, that the four Barons, who were first to be informed of any grievance, should acquaint the King with it, and if it was not redressed within forty days, should give notice of it to all the Barons, for whom, in that case, it should be lawful to take up Arms, and seize the King's Castles, in order to oblige him to redress the grievance. All violence, however, to the King's Person, the Queen, and their Issue, was excepted. But to remove the People's scruples, about taking up Arms against their Sovereign, the King consented that all Persons should swear to assist the Barons, in all cases relating to the two Charters. Lastly, To all these concessions he added Letters Patents, directed to all his Sheriffs, empowering them to take the Oaths of all his Subjects, that they would punctually observe the two Charters, and if it was necessary, to compel the King to observe the same (8).

The saying of a Historian upon the like occasion, is very applicable here, *that the King intended not to bind himself with Chains of Parchment.* All the precautions taken by the Barons to tie up their Sovereign, served only to make him the more eager to find means to free himself from a yoke, which to him seemed intolerable. Those that were about him being mostly Foreigners, helped also to exasperate him, by aggravating the pride and insolence of the Barons. As they were sensible, these Charters, which set bounds to the Regal Power, must be prejudicial to them, they never ceased representing to him the injury he had done himself in signing them. In short, all their discourses tended only, to put him upon measures to free himself from the subjection, to which his concessions had rendered him liable. They very easily succeeded in their design; but the greatest difficulty lay in the execution. This unhappy Prince, continually tormented by his own thoughts, and the virulent reproaches of his Courtiers, grew so reserved and melancholy, as sufficiently discovered his vexation. He considered with himself, of means to be revenged; but knew not where to have Men and Money, to that end. And indeed he saw no other remedy than to apply to the Barons themselves, against whom he designed to use them. But it was not easy to deceive them, in their continual jealousy of him. In fine, after turning himself every way, his despair suggested to him a means of raising Troops, without having wherewithal to pay them; which was, to send some of his Confidants (9) into France, Germany, and Flanders, with orders to promise such as would enter into his Service, the confiscated estates of the rebellious Barons, as he called them. He gave these Agents likewise a power to make Grants beforehand of the Lands of the English Lords, and to pass the deeds in form (10). By the like engagements William the Conqueror had formerly assembled a numerous Army, which rendered him master of England. They that were engaged with that Prince were very successful. So the consideration of the noble Estates they had acquired in the Kingdom, induced great numbers to try the same way, in expectation of John's procuring them the same advantages. At all times, there are but too many ambitious or desperate Persons, who eagerly embrace all opportunities of enriching themselves, without regarding the justice or injustice of the side they espouse (11).

Whilst his Agents were employed in levying Troops, John was taking care to secure the Court of Rome. He knew by fatal experience, how capable the Pope's formidable power was, of promoting or hindering the execution of his designs. And therefore he sent the Pope a Letter (12), informing him of the constraint put upon him, though, as he assured him, he had protested, that, being a

1215. John represents the signing of the Charters. M. Paris, p. 262.
 He endeavours to annul them. M. Paris, p. 267.
 He raises a sort of Adventurers in foreign Countries. M. Paris, p. 267.
 He demands the Pope's Assistance. Aft. Pub. T. I. p. 200, 202. M. Paris, p. 265.

1215. Vassal of the Holy See, he could do nothing without his consent. With this Letter he sent a Copy of the Charters, and desired the Pope to observe, that all the Articles were to many Inroachments upon the Regal Power, and consequently upon the Lord Paramount. This was flattering the Pope in the most sensible part. Upon this foundation he entreated him to absolve him from his Oath, that he might, with a safe conscience, use his endeavours to free himself from so heavy a Yoke. After taking these measures with all possible secrecy, fearing, if he appeared too much in publick, his designs might be discovered, or guess'd at, he chose the Isle of *Wight* for his residence. In this retirement he kept himself as it were concealed a good while, conversing only with Fishermen and Sailors, and diverting himself by walking on the Sea-Shore with his Donesticks. When the King was known to be retired to the Isle of *Wight*, People were in vain inquisitive about the cause of his Retreat. Some jok'd, and said he was become a Fisherman or Merchant, others, that he design'd to turn Pyrate. But though he was not ignorant of these Scoffs, he never regarded them. During three Months, he waited patiently for the return of his Agents, and the Arrival of the foreign Troops, which he was made to expect.

Innocent threatened the Barons. He met with no difficulties at the Court of *Rome*, whose interest it was to support him. *Innocent* fell into a strange Passion with the Barons, for daring, without consulting him, to cause their King to sign Charters of that nature, and put a constraint upon a Prince, who had taken the Cross, and was under the Church's Protection. In his Rage, he swore [by *St. Peter*] that let what would be the consequence, their rashness should not go unpunished. At the same time he sent them a Letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their Sovereign, unless they would incur the Indignation of the Holy See. But the Barons made light of his Injunctions, and without fearing his Thunders, seized upon *Rocheſter* (1), which *Cardinal Langton* put into their hands (2). They found there a prodigious quantity of Ammunition, laid in by the King, to be used upon occasion. This was, probably, the reason of their taking that place.

The Pope annuls the Charters, and absolves the King from his Oath. Mean time the Pope annulling the two Charters, and absolving the King from his Oath, *John's* Affairs began to have a new face; by the advice he received, that his Agents had lifted great numbers of Adventurers in his service. Whereupon, *John* hastily quitted the Isle of *Wight*, and went to receive them at *Dover*. In a short time, he had the satisfaction to see vast numbers arrive from *Brabant*, *Flanders* (3), *Normandy*, *Poitou*, *Gascogne*, all Soldiers of Fortune, and ready to venture their lives to gain an Estate. The number of these Adventurers was so considerable, that the Historians who mention it, are scarce to be credited. But by an unexpected Accident, one of the Leaders, *Hugh de Boues*, with no less, as it is said, than forty thousand Men, perished in the Sea. If these had safely arrived, *John* would, doubtless, have had it in his power, to treat the *Normans* settled in *England*, in the same manner as *William the Conqueror* had formerly treated the *English*. But, notwithstanding this great loss, there were Troops enough left to enable him to trample upon the Barons, who little expected such a revolution. His first undertaking was the Siege of *Rocheſter*, which, after a long resistance, surrendered at last, in spite of the Barons endeavours to throw in some Succours. He was so exasperated, that he would have hanged the whole Garrison, if his Generals had not represented to him, that he would expose his own Troops to the same cruel Usage (4). After the taking of *Rocheſter*, he divided his Army into two Bodies. He gave one to his natural Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, to go and ravage the southern Counties, whilst with the other he marched into the northern parts, to make them feel the effects of his vengeance. Never was *England* in so deplorable a condition: She had two Armies of hungry Foreigners in her Bowels, ravaging the Country in a merciless manner. We may easily guess that they spared not the Houses and Lands of the Barons, who, perceiving themselves not strong enough to appear in the Field, were retired to *London*.

Mean while, the Pope thundered out an Excommunication against the Barons, and ordered *Parulph*, and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, to enjoin *Cardinal Langton* in his Name to publish the Bull. But the Archbishop pretending the Pope was imposed upon, refused to comply, till he himself had informed his Holiness of all particulars. His true reason was, because he could not resolve to proceed against those whom he had himself encouraged to take Arms. Upon his refusal, the two Commissioners published the Excommunication themselves, and suspended the Archbishop, pursuant to their orders. The Barons not valuing this Censure, on pretence they were not particularly named in the Bull, continued their Endeavours to defend themselves against the King. As for the *Cardinal Archbishop*, he was sent for to *Rome*, where he was like to be deposed, but the Pope relenting at the Intreaties of the other Cardinals, only confirmed his Suspension. Some time after, he found another occasion to mortify him, by voiding his Brother *Simon's* Election, who was chosen Archbishop of *York*, and putting his Enemy, *Walter de Grey* in his room; from whom however he exacted [for his Pall] ten thousand Pounds Sterling (5), for the occasions of the Holy See. In fine, after several mortifications at *Rome*, *Langton's* Suspension was taken off, on condition, he would not return to *England* till the Troubles were entirely appeased.

When *Innocent* was informed of the Barons pretence for not submitting to the Excommunication, he published another Bull, wherein they were all excommunicated by Name. Their Lands were put under an Interdict, as well as the City of *London*, which had taken their part. As the Barons expected this second Bull, they were resolved not to regard it, and prevent its being published in *London*. They alledged in their vindication, that the Bull was obtained by false Suggestions, and consequently of no force; that besides, it was not the Pope's Business to meddle with Temporal Affairs, since *St. Peter* received from Christ only Spiritual Power; for which reason it was neither just nor right, that Christians should suffer themselves to be governed by the Ambition and Avarice of the Popes. One would hardly believe, they who talked at this rate, were the same Persons who refused to serve the King, because he was excommunicated, were there not a thousand instances to show, how apt Men are to square their opinions by their interests. Mean time, the Pope had the mortification to see his Authority contemned, without being able to help it; since the People were not for him, in which case he ever darts his Thunders to no manner of purpose. Whilst the Barons and *Londoners* were taking these vigorous resolutions against the Pope, *John* continued ravaging the Kingdom, and especially the Lands of the confederate Barons (6). It is easy to conceive, that the manner of the foreign Troops executing his orders, was none of the mildest, and that numberless outrages and cruelties were committed on this occasion, which increased the Animosity of the Barons against the King (7).

Mean time the confederate Barons were in a deplorable condition. Instead of recovering their privileges, they beheld their Estates plundered and given to Foreigners, whilst the King was with pleasure glutting his revenge. Their wretched State caused them at last to take a desperate course, which engaged them to hazard their own with the whole Kingdom's Ruin, to have the satisfaction of being revenged on the King, though at the expence of the poor People. They acquainted the King of *France* (8), that if he would send *Prince Lewis* his Son, they promised to set the Crown of *England* on his head, provided he brought sufficient Forces to free them from the Tyranny of King *John*. *Philip* did not want much intreaty to accept of the Barons Offer. He had once before thought of conquering *England*, and if the loss of his Fleet, much more than the Threats of the Pope, had made him desist from his Enterprize, he had still a longing desire to accomplish it, if a fair opportunity should offer. And as this, which the Rupture between *John* and the Barons furnished him with, seemed very favorable, he embraced it immediately. He only desired the Barons to deliver twenty five Hostages,

1215. The Pope excommunicates the Barons. Act. Pub. T. 1. p. 228. M. Paris. Langton refuses to publish the Bull.

He is suspended and the Bull published. The Barons value it not. The Pope is revenged of Langton. M. Paris. p. 271, &c.

Id. p. 274.

The Barons are excommunicated again. Act. Pub. T. 1. p. 231. They oppose the Pope's Bulls. M. Paris. p. 278.

John continues his Ravages. M. Paris. p. 274. M. West.

The Barons make an Offer of the Crown to Prince Lewis of France. M. Paris. p. 279. M. West. An. Waver. Monast.

Philip proposes to them. M. Paris. Ibid.

(1) Their Leader in this Adventure, was *William Albiney*. M. Paris, p. 268.

(2) Qui, quod conscientia nescio, illud Regis inimicis tradidit. M. Paris. Rapin.

(3) The Troops from *Brabant* and *Flanders* were commanded by *Walter Buck*, *Gerard Sotini*, and *Godeſcall*; those from *Poitou* and *Gascogne*, by *Sawin de Moulton*, *Geoffrey*, and *Oliver de Buteville*, Brothers. M. Paris, p. 268.

(4) *William de Albiney*, whom the Barons had sent for and made Governor under the Archbishop, *William de Lancaſter*, and *William de Emesford*, and some others, were sent close Prisoners to *Corſ* Castle. The ordinary Soldiers, except the Cross-bow Men, were all hanged. Ibid. p. 270.

(5) Hence may be guess'd what vast Sums of Money the Pope in those Days extorted out of *England*, and what great Riches the Clergy possessed, when this Archbishop was to pay the Pope as much as would now be equal to fifty thousand Pounds. He is said to be promoted to the See of *York* for not having known *Walter*. Ibid.

(6) He marched through *St. Albans*, to *Dunstable*, *Northampton*, and *Nottingham*; whilst *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Fulk* with an Army of Foreigners, ravaged *Essex*, *Hertford*, *Middlesex*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonshire*. M. Paris, p. 274, 275. But in return for these Outrages, a strong Party of the Barons spoiled and ravaged the Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and *Hertford*; or those parts of them at least, that belonged to the King's Adherents. M. West. p. 274.

(7) *Roger de Wendeſſer*, (who was then alive,) as well as *Radulph of Coggeſhal*, has given us a particular Account of the Barbarities committed by King *John's* Mercenaries, whom he calls, *The Guards of Satan*, and *Ministers of the Devil*.

(8) By *Sauſer* Earl of *Wincheſter*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, who carried Letters sealed with the Barons Seal. The Reason of their applying particularly to him, was, That most of the Foreigners in King *John's* Service, were *Philip's* Subjects; and so they should withdraw King *John's* main Support, by having *Philip* on their Side. M. Paris, p. 279.

1215, for the performance of their Promise, to which they readily consented. Upon the arrival of the Hostages at *Paris*, Prince *Lewis*, then in *Languedoc* warring against the *Albigenses*, came to the King his Father, to prepare for this important expedition. Some Troops were immediately sent to the Barons (1), with assurances that he would soon (2) follow in person with a greater Supply.

1216. The preparations in *France* coming to the Pope's ears, he dispatched thither one *Gallo*, as his Legate, to try to put a stop to them. The Legate having an audience of the King, forbade him in the Pope's name to carry his arms into *England*, as being part of *St. Peter's* patrimony, and threatened all persons whatsoever with Excommunication that should, directly or indirectly, assist the *English* Barons. *Philip* regardless of these Threats, replied, that *England* was no patrimony of *St. Peter*, for it was evident, King *John* could not subject his Kingdom, without the consent of the States; that an Act of such a nature was beyond the power of any King, and that the Maxims which the Pope would introduce, were too pernicious to all States to be received (3). The person that said this, was however the same *Philip*, who three years before, by the Pope's sole authority, thought himself entitled to *England*: Which is a clear evidence that the Pope's exorbitant power, was not allowed from a religious principle, but from a motive of interest or fear. Thus the Court of *Rome* received, at certain times, mortifications, which she readily wink'd at, whilst, on other occasions, she exerted her authority, with extraordinary haughtiness.

The Pope's prohibition not interrupting the *French* Armament, *Lewis* was soon ready to sail for *England* with a Fleet of seven hundred Ships (4). Mean time *John*, who went to *Dover* upon the first news of the design of the *French*, not thinking himself able to hinder their descent, was retired to *Winchester*; so *Lewis* meeting no opposition, landed his Troops at *Sandwich* (5) without molestation. After that, he marched against *Rocheſter*, which made but a faint resistance. The taking of that City drew after it the whole County of *Kent*, except *Dover* Castle, where *John* had left a strong Garrison with a brave and faithful Governor (6).

Mean while, the Pope sent *Gallo* his Legate orders to repair into *England*, and solemnly publish the Bull of excommunication against the Barons. At the same time he commissioned the Abbot of *St. Augustin's*, to denounce Prince *Lewis* excommunicated, the moment he set foot in *England*. *Lewis* endeavoured to divert this Blow, by representing to the Abbot, in a Letter (7), his right to the Crown of *England*. Among other reasons, he alledged, that *John* mounting the Throne only by the consent of the Barons, the same authority might depose him and put another in his place (8). The Abbot not being gained by his arguments, declared Prince *Lewis* and his Adherents excommunicated, pursuant to the Pope's exprefs orders. But this was not sufficient to deter that Prince from his enterprize. As soon as he became master of *Rocheſter*, he marched to *London*, where the Barons (9) and Citizens swore Fealty to him, after his solemn Oath to restore to all their lost Inheritances, and to the Nation their antient Privileges. It does not appear in the *English* Historians that this Prince was crowned. However he certainly acted as King, and disposed of every thing relating to the Government, as if he had been lawfully invested with the Royal authority (10). He made *Simon Langton* his Chancellor, who being incensed against the Pope, perſwaded the Barons and *Londoners* to despise the Court of *Rome's* Censures, and notwithstanding the Interdict, to be present at divine service, which was celebrated as usual. *Lewis* for his part readily consented to what was so agree-

able to his intentions. When he resolved upon this undertaking, he plainly foresaw, he should meet with obstacles from the Pope, and therefore was determined not to value his Censures. Herein he only followed the example of his Father and the *French* Bishops, who appealed to the Pope when better informed, from the Sentence of Interdict denounced upon the whole Kingdom (11). Appeals to a future general Council were not yet much in use, nor the commodious distinction between the Holy See and the person of the Pope.

Lewis's Party daily increasing, as he continued his Progress, he quickly became master of most of the Southern Counties. After that he marched towards *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, which likewise submitted to him. During these successes, he met with no resistance except from *William de Collingham*, who with a thousand Archers, keeping close to the Prince's Army, fell upon the *French* that straggled for plunder (12). Shortly after, *Lewis's* Adherents in the North (13) took the City of *York*, and desired him to come into those parts to finish the conquest of all the Country beyond the *Humber* (14). But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, he received a Letter from the King his Father, reproving him for leaving behind him the Castles of *Dover* and *Winſor*, which were of greater moment than the northern Counties. Upon this he marched back to besiege *Dover*, whilst the *English* Barons, with their own Troops, invested *Winſor*. About the same time, *Alexander I.* King of *Scotland*, pursuant to *Lewis's* Summons, came and did him Homage in person, for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England* (15). Which done, *Lewis* and the *English* Barons swore, that they would never make peace without his knowledge. But this promise was not afterwards well performed. A little after, *John* had the mortification to see himself deserted by the *Flemish* and *Poitevin* Troops, whom *Lewis* had found means to entice away from his Service.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the Ambassadors sent by *Lewis* to *Rome*, were trying all ways, to vindicate their master's claim to the Crown of *England*. They founded his right chiefly upon his marriage with *Blanch* of *Castile*, pretending that *John* being lawfully deposed by the Barons the Crown was devolved to *Blanch's* Niece. As the account given by a Historian (16) of the Ambassadors conference with *Innocent*, may serve to clear this Affair, it will not be amiss to relate some of the particulars. The Pope objected to the Ambassadors, that supposing *John* was lawfully deposed, his Children ought not to be involved in his misfortune. But supposing his Children, young as they were, to be partakers of their Father's crimes, *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* (17), who was still alive, preceded all others. In fine, that the Emperor *Otho*, Son of *Henry II's* eldest Daughter, ought manifestly to go before *Blanch* of *Castile*, who was born of the youngest. The Ambassadors replied, *Eleanor's* Father and *Otho's* Mother being dead, representation could not take place, but the Mother of *Blanch* being still living, her Daughter might justly represent her. But, answered the Pope, why should *Blanch* be preferred to the King of *Castile's* her Brother, and the Queen of *Leon* her eldest Sister? This was a puzzling objection. But however, as on this occasion, the thing was not so much to give good reasons, as to alledge some good or bad, in order to satisfy the Pope, the Ambassadors were not at a loss for an answer. They affirmed, that when there were several Heirs, and the next of Kin did not appear and put in his Claim, a more distant relation might take possession of the Inheritance, saving to the other his right: That upon this foundation their master had entered *England*, but if afterwards a nearer than he

1216.

Lewis makes great gains in the West.

He besieges *Dover*, and the Barons, *Winſor*. M. Paris. p. 286. M. West.

The Scotch King does him Homage. Li. p. 287.

Lewis defends his Claim to *England* before the Pope. M. Paris. p. 283, &c.

The Objections and Replies.

The Barons swear Fealty to *Lewis*. M. Paris. p. 282.

He makes *Simon Langton* Chancellor. M. Paris.

(1) Under the Command of the Castellan of *St. Omers*, the Castellan of *Arras*, *Hugh Chacun*, *Eustace de Neville*, *Giles de Melan*, *Baldwin Bretel*, *William de Wines*, *William de Beaumont*, *Giles de Herſy*, and *Brice de Ferſy*; who came up the *Thames* to *London* on the 27th of *February*. Some of the *English* Barons holding a Tournament with these *French* Noblemen, one of them mortally wounded *Geoffrey de Mandeville* Earl of *Essex*, to the great Grief of his Party. M. Paris. p. 279.

(2) *Matthew Paris* says, that all the great Men of *France* unanimously declared, they would maintain this point even to death, That no King or Prince, without the Consent of his Barons, had Power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enslave his Nobility. These things were transacted at *Lyons*, about fifteen days after Easter. M. Paris. p. 280. M. West. p. 275.

(4) Six hundred Ship, and four score other Vessels, called by *M. Paris*, Cogges. p. 281.

(5) They first came to land, May 21. in the Isle of *Tbanet*, in a place called *Stanbore*; but finding no body to molest them, they came and landed at *Sandwich*. M. Paris. p. 282.

(6) *Hubert de Burgh*. M. Paris.

(7) This Letter is still extant in *Thorn's* History of that Abbey. Col. 1868.

(8) Alluding to Archbishop *Hubert's* Speech at his Coronation.

(9) The chief of the Barons that related to him, were *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William* Marshal the younger, &c. M. Paris. p. 282.

(10) He summoned, on the fourteenth of *June*, the King of *Scotland* and all the great Men of *England* to do him Homage, or forthwith to depart the Kingdom. M. Paris. p. 282.

(11) Pope *Boniface VIII.* upon a quarrel with *Philip*, excommunicated him, and absolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, which so incensed him, that he got the Pope condemned in a Synod for Simony, Murder, Atheism, Adultery, &c; and his Bull, wherein he asserted that he was supreme Lord in Temporal, was burnt by the Parliament of *Paris*, and by the States of *France*, who declared against the papal Usurpations.

(12) *Hugh de Neville* surrendered to him the Castle of *Marlborough*; and *William de Mandeville*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *William de Huntingfield* reduced *Essex* and *Suffolk* to his obedience. In the mean time King *John* furnished the Castles of *Wallingford*, *Corſe*, *Warham*, *Bristol*, the *Dewſes*, &c. with Arms and Provisions. M. Paris. p. 282, 283.

(13) Commanded by *Robert de Ros*, *Peter de Brus*, and *Richard de Parcy*. M. Paris. p. 285.

(14) *Lewis* marched through the eastern parts of *England*, and spoiled *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, seized upon the Castle of *Norwich*, reduced *Lyn*, and made all those Counties tributary. *Gilbert de Gaunt* surrendered *Lincolnſhire* to him; and took *Lincoln*. M. Paris. p. 285, 286.

(15) He also subdued *Northumberland* for *Lewis*. M. Paris. p. 286.

(16) *Matthew Paris*, An. 1216, hath set forth at large the Reasons presented to the Pope on *Lewis's* behalf, with the Pope's Replies, which contain not only the clear Controversy, but also many curious points in the feudal Law of that Age. See M. Paris, p. 283;---285.

(17) *Arthur's* Sister, in C. confinement in *Bristol* Castle.

should

1216. should claim, he should be always ready to give him a reasonable satisfaction. *Innocent* was forced to be satisfied with this reply, alledged not so much to prove the Justice of *Lewis's* Title, as to shew a Deference to the Pope in debating the matter before him. Whatever his decision might be, *Lewis* was resolved to prosecute his pretended right, which he grounded much more upon force than equity.

The *French* and *English* Troops being employed in the Siege of *Dover* and *Windsor*, *John*, who till then thought himself too weak to venture to take the field, left *Winchester*, and marched into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he committed great ravages (1). But hearing the Barons had raised the Siege of *Windsor*, with intent to give him battle, he retired to an advantageous Post near *Stanford*, where it would have been very difficult to attack him (2). He took care not to hazard a battle, apprehensive as he was, that the Officers of his Army, most of whom were Subjects of the King of *France*, would make their Peace with *Lewis* by some notable Treachery. He was further induced to avoid fighting, by the advantages he expected from prolonging the War. He believed he had reason to hope, the *English* would quickly grow weary of the *French*, who began already to take very much upon them, never troubling themselves to conform to their temper and ways. *John's* expectations were not groundless. The Barons were extremely grieved to see all the rewards distributed to the Foreigners, and their own Inheritances bestowed on the Favorites of the Prince whom they had sent for, as if the *English* had no right to the conquests that were making. But all this would not perhaps have been sufficient to engage them to take other measures, if what they learnt from the mouth of the Viscount de *Melun*, one of *Lewis's* prime Confidants, had not as it were forced them to think of their safety. If certain Historians are to be credited, this Nobleman being seized by a mortal distemper at *London*, caused such of the Barons as were posted there for the security of the City, to be sent for. When they came, he told them, he could not forbear discovering a secret, which lay heavy upon his conscience, and if longer concealed from the *English* would infallibly bring them into utter destruction. Then he disclosed to them, that the Prince was resolved to banish all the Barons that had taken arms against King *John*, as Traitors to their Country (3). He added, this resolution was taken in a Council of sixteen *French* Lords, (of whom he himself was one,) and confirmed by the Prince with an oath. He declared upon the word of a dying man, what he said was true, and ought to be less questioned as he was just going to appear before the Tribunal of God. The *French* Historians call this secret a fiction. It must be confessed, it is hard to conceive what should induce Prince *Lewis* to make such an Oath beforehand, in the presence of sixteen Witnesses, supposing he intended thereby to insinuate, that this would be a means amply to reward their services. For it would have been very imprudent to reveal so early so black a design. However, whether the thing was true, or invented to sow discord between the *French* and *English*, this pretended secret being whispered about, made a very deep impression on the minds of the Barons. It had the greater effect, as it agreed with the suspicions the Barons had already conceived of the *French*. From thenceforward many began to repent of calling in the Foreigners, and seriously to think of returning to the obedience of their Sovereign. Nay, no less than forty privately gave the King assurances of their good intentions. But the rest durst not venture to trust a Prince whom they had so grievously offended, and with whose cruel and revengeful temper they were too well acquainted.

A Secret discovered by the Count of Melun, one of Lewis's prime Confidants, had not as it were forced them to think of their safety. If certain Historians are to be credited, this Nobleman being seized by a mortal distemper at London, caused such of the Barons as were posted there for the security of the City, to be sent for. When they came, he told them, he could not forbear discovering a secret, which lay heavy upon his conscience, and if longer concealed from the English would infallibly bring them into utter destruction. Then he disclosed to them, that the Prince was resolved to banish all the Barons that had taken arms against King John, as Traitors to their Country (3). He added, this resolution was taken in a Council of sixteen French Lords, (of whom he himself was one,) and confirmed by the Prince with an oath. He declared upon the word of a dying man, what he said was true, and ought to be less questioned as he was just going to appear before the Tribunal of God. The French Historians call this secret a fiction. It must be confessed, it is hard to conceive what should induce Prince Lewis to make such an Oath beforehand, in the presence of sixteen Witnesses, supposing he intended thereby to insinuate, that this would be a means amply to reward their services. For it would have been very imprudent to reveal so early so black a design. However, whether the thing was true, or invented to sow discord between the French and English, this pretended secret being whispered about, made a very deep impression on the minds of the Barons. It had the greater effect, as it agreed with the suspicions the Barons had already conceived of the French. From thenceforward many began to repent of calling in the Foreigners, and seriously to think of returning to the obedience of their Sovereign. Nay, no less than forty privately gave the King assurances of their good intentions. But the rest durst not venture to trust a Prince whom they had so grievously offended, and with whose cruel and revengeful temper they were too well acquainted.

Remarks on this Secret.

Several Barons think of returning to the King. M. Paris, p. 288.

John carries his Crown to Lynn. M. Paris.

He grants that town great Privileges.

Mean time that unhappy Prince was in perpetual motion, not knowing whom to trust, being suspicious of his own friends. For which reason he carefully avoided fighting, and incessantly marched from place to place, to break the measures of his Enemies. He thought himself safest in the County of *Norfolk*, where he chose the little Town of *Lynn* to secure his Treasures, his Crown, Sceptre, and other things of value. This Town had expressed for him such Affection and Loyalty, that as a mark of his gratitude he granted it great privileges. Among

other things, he made it a Mayor-Town, and presented the first Mayor with his own sword, which is still carefully kept there. However, as he found himself pressed by the Barons, and fearing his Treasures were not safe at *Lynn*, he resolved to remove them to a certain place in *Lincolnshire*, where he intended to retire. He very narrowly escaped drowning with his whole Army in the large Marsh (4), which parts the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Norfolk*. Before he was quite over, the Tide coming up the River *Well-stream*, which overflows the Marsh-land at High-water put him in extreme danger. But if he escaped himself he could not save his Baggage, which was all swallowed up by the Waters. He arrived that night at *Swines-head Abbey*, where he lodged. His vexation for his loss, which was irretrievable in his present circumstances, threw him into a violent Fever, which was heightened by inconsiderately eating Peaches (5). On the morrow, not being able to ride, he was carried in a Litter to *Steford Castle*, from whence the next day he proceeded to *Newark*. Here finding his illness encrease, he made his will, and appointed *Henry* his eldest Son, then but ten years of age, his Heir. The care of his Salvation employed his thoughts during the rest of his sickness, which put an end to his days on the 18th of October 1216, in the fifty first year of his age, after an unhappy Reign of seventeen years, seven months, and ten days. His Body was carried to *Worcester* according to his own order, and buried with little Funeral Pomp in the Cathedral, where his Tomb [with his Image upon it] is still to be seen (6). Some will have it that he was poisoned by a Monk of *Swines-head Abbey*; but that is very improbable, since it is not mentioned by any of the Cotemporary Historians (7).

If this Prince's character be drawn according to *Matthew Paris*, his chief Historian, he must be represented as one of the vilest Wretches that ever lived. But, as I have elsewhere observed, the Histories of Princes, who have had any contests with the Court of *Rome*, are to be read with great caution. It is better therefore, without regarding the particular Sentiments and Expressions of the Historians, solely to examine the Actions of this Monarch, in order to discover his Temper and Inclinations. It is certain, one must frame a very disadvantageous Idea of him, when his unjust proceedings with regard to his Brother *Richard* are considered: The Death of Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, of which he never cleared himself thoroughly: The perpetual Imprisonment of *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* his Niece: His putting away *Avis* of *Glocester*: His extreme Indolence, when *Philip Augustus* was conquering his Dominions in *France*: His base resignation of his Crown to the Pope: His Breach of Faith with his Barons: And lastly, his bringing into the Kingdom an Army of foreign Mercenaries, to be revenged on his Subjects. However, if one had a mind to undertake his vindication upon most of these Articles, it would not perhaps be so difficult as it seems at first sight. But without meddling with a Subject, which would lead me too far, I shall content my self with saying of this Prince, what I elsewhere said of *William Rufus*: That finding in King *John* scarce one valuable Qualification, it is not worth while to stay to justify some particular actions, though it evidently appears, that the Writers of his Life have drawn him in blacker colours than he deserved. This Prince had great failings, which would not have been so visible or so aggravated by the Historians, had he been Cotemporary with a King of *France* of less Policy and Ambition, with a Pope of less Pride and more Conscience, and with a Nobility of a less turbulent Spirit. As for raising Taxes; without the consent of the States, it may be said, it was not very unusual since *William the Conqueror*, as the Reader may have observed in some former Reigns. And yet this is what several modern Historians bitterly exclaim against, as if in those days *England* enjoyed the same privileges as at present. It is easy to see things were then upon a different foot, when it is considered, that there was a necessity to recur to the time of the *Saxon* Kings, to find the foundations of these privileges.

King *John's* fortune never agreed with his temper. He was a lover of ease and quiet, and his fortune was to

(1) Particularly upon the Estates belonging to the Earl of *Arundel*, *Roger Bigot*, *William de Huntingfield*, *Roger de Cressi*, &c. M. Paris, p. 286.

(2) From thence he advanced towards the Confines of *Wales*, where he took and razed the Castles belonging to the Barons that sided with *Lewis*. M. Paris, p. 287.

(3) *Rapin* says, to their King and country; but King is not mentioned in M. Paris, who adds, and destroy their Posterity.

(4) The Washes between a place called the *Cress Keys* in *Norfolk*, and *Fordike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*.

(5) And also attended with a Flux. M. Paris, p. 286.

(6) His Tomb of grey Marble is placed between the Choir and the high Altar: The Figure of the King as big as the Life, and the Bishops, St. Oswald and St. Wulfstan, at his Head in little, with their Centers in their Hands, which seems to be as ancient as the time of *Henry III*. But the Altar Tomb on which 'tis placed is of a modern Fabric. There is no inscription. *Sandf. General*. p. 85.

(7) *Caxton* is the first that mentions it in *English*, from whom *Speed* and *Baker* have borrowed it. He says, that the King hearing it said how cheap Corn then was, answered, He would ere long make it so dear, that a Penny-Loaf should be sold for a Shilling. At which a Monk there present took such Indignation, that he went and put the poyson of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and came and drank to the King, which made him pledge him the more readily. But finding himself very much out of order upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him he was dead, God woe mercy upon me, says the King I doubted as much. But it is a very improbable Story, for a Man to poison himself to be revenged of another. But *Walter Hemingford* tells it a different way; he says, The Abbot persuaded the Monk to poison the King, because he would have lain with his Sister; and that he did it by a dish of Peas which he poisoned all but three, and then presenting them to the King, he bid him taste them himself, which he did eating only the three that he had marked; and so escaped, whilst the King was poisoned with the rest. From *Hemingford*, *Higden* and *Knigton* copied this Story, which is not mentioned by any Historian that lived within sixty Years of that Time. See *Knigton*, p. 242.

1216. be perpetually in action. He was fit neither for Prosperity nor Adversity. The former rendered him extremely insolent, and the latter surprisingly dejected. So that a middle Fortune would doubtless have been most suitable to his Temper.

M. Paris. H. Huntingd. He is accused of exceeding his Father Henry II. in Lust, a Failing which Princes are seldom very reproachfully tax'd with, unless there is a settled design to defame them for other reasons. It can't be denied, that the Monks have endeavoured to paint King John in the blackest colours, in order to excuse the Pope's proceedings against him. This evidently appears in the Calumny cast on his memory, of sending Ambassadors to the *Miramolin of Africa*, with an Offer of his Kingdom, and a Promise to embrace the *Mahometan Religion*, which is altogether improbable. However, as unlikely as this Charge is, there are modern Historians who scruple not to vent it for truth, in a belief that *Matthew Paris* (1), who wrote in the Reign of Henry III, Son of John, would not have ventured to advance it, had it been groundless. But this Argument seems of little weight, since that Historian dared to speak in very disrespectful Terms of Henry III, himself, without any dread of his Repentment, from which perhaps he was screened when he wrote. Add to this, that in those days, Books were not immediately dispersed, but remained many times a long while concealed in the Monasteries, before they were published.

John was always unfortunate, and if we may believe the Historians, always hated by his Subjects. One can't however reconcile this constant hatred of the English, with the great ease wherewith he levied Armies when he wanted them, and even whilst he was under the Sentence

of Excommunication. We must therefore distinguish two 1216. Periods in this Prince's Reign. The first includes the time from his Coronation, to his Resignation of the Crown to the Pope. During this space, if he was not in great esteem, at least it does not appear he was so odious, as his ill Conduct afterwards rendered him. The second Period begins at his Resignation, and ends with his Life. It cannot be denied, that during this Period, his Subjects had a strong Aversion to him. And yet, if his Government be considered separately from his personal qualities, it may be said to be none of the worst. He was the first or chiefest, that appointed those excellent forms of Civil Government in London (2), and most other Cities of the Kingdom. According to Camden, and others, John was the first that coined Sterling Money. The Ceremonies observed in the Creation of Earls, had him for their Author. In fine, he established the English Laws in Ireland, and gave the Cinque-Ports the Privileges they enjoy at this day (3).

John had no Issue by his two first Wives. Isabella of Angoulême his third Wife, brought him two Sons and three Daughters. Henry succeeded him. Richard was Earl of Cornwall, and afterwards chosen King of the Romans. Of his three Daughters, Joanna was married to Alexander II. King of Scotland; Eleanor was married first to William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, and after his death to Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester. The Emperor Frederick II, espoused the third, whose Name was Isabella (4).

The most remarkable foreign Events during this Reign, were the taking of Constantinople by the Arms of the French and Venetians in 1204, and the Crusade against the Albigenses (5), which gave birth to the Inquisition (6).

(1) He not only gives the Names of the Ambassadors, viz. Thomas Hardington, and Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, Knights, with Robert of London, a Priest, but also describes at large the manner of the Audience, and their Conversation with the black King, and how he despised the King their Master for his Meanness of spirit, and despised them with contempt. It is likewise recorded of King John, that he should say some time after he had made his Peace with Innocent, *That nothing had prospered with him since he was reconciled to God and the Pope.* Again, having been a Hunting, at the opening of the Luck, it is affirmed he should say, *See how fat that Deer is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Mass.* See M. Paris, p. 243, 245, 252.

(2) King John in the Year 1208, by his Letters Patents, granted the Citizens of London Liberty and Authority yearly to choose themselves a Mayor, which Office before continued during Life. He also gave them leave to choose a Common Council of the most substantial Citizens; and to elect and deprive their Sheriff at pleasure. See *Statute's Survey*, B. V. p. 101.

(3) On consideration that they obliged themselves, and their Heirs, to provide the King upon reasonable Summons, fourscore able Vessels, at their own Charge, for the Space of Forty Days, and after that to receive Wages of the King. See *Knights*, 2424.

(4) King John's natural Issue were: I. Richard, who married *Rohesia*, Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, who built *Chilham Castle* in Kent; by her he had *Lora* (Wife of *William Marston*, from whom are descended the *Dinwicks* in Lincolnshire, the *Terrers* of *Tamworth* and *Baddesley*, the *Wistlinghams* of *Wallaton*, and the *Astons* of *Staffordshire*) and *Isabella* married to *David de Strabrigy* Earl of *Arboul*, who had with her *Chilham*, whose Heirs general were the Lord *Burgh* and the *Zouches* of *Codnor*. II. *Geoffrey Fitz-Ry*, who was sent over to *Rachel* and there died. III. *Sir John Courcy*, who was *Robert* the Monk of *Gloster*. IV. *Osbert Gifford*, to whom his Father King John, in the seventeenth Year of his Reign, commanded the Sheriff of *Oxfordshire* to deliver thirty Pounds, the Estate of *Thomas de Arden* in that County. V. *Oliver*, called *Oliverius* *frater Henrici tertii*, in Records of Henry III. He was at the Siege of *Damietta*, with *Saber de Quincy* Earl of *Winchester*, and *William de Albemarle* Earl of *Arundel*, and others. VI. *Jean*, Wife of *Isabelle* the great Prince of *North Wales*, to whom King John gave with her the Lordship of *Ellefmere* in the *Marches of Wales*. She had Issue by him *Duend* (who did Homage to Henry III. at *Westminster*, 1229) and two Daughters, *Wenelina*, Wife of *Sir Reginald de Dreux*, and *Margaret*, Wife of *John de Breves*, (Son of the said *Reginald*) by whom she had *William de Breves* Lord of *Gower*, &c. from whom many noble Families are descended. *Sandif.* p. 87.

(5) About the Year 1160, one *Waldo* a Merchant of *Lyons*, applying himself to the Study of the Scriptures, and finding there were no Grounds there for several of the *Romish* Doctrines, particularly *Transubstantiation*, publicly opposed them. His Followers, from him called *Waldenses*, being chased from *Lyons*, spread over *Dauphine* and *Provence*. Upon which *Philip Augustus* is said in order to stop their Growth, to have razed three hundred Gentlemen's Seats, and destroyed several wall'd Towns. But this instead of decreasing their Numbers, made them overspread a great part of *Europe*, and multiply to such, that in less than an hundred Years after *Waldo*, in the small Bishoprick of *Fassau* alone, there were above eighty thousand. It appears from the Articles of their Faith, which they drew up and dedicated to the King of *France*, that they agreed in most points with the present Protestants. In 1200, those People in the Province of *Albigens* in *Languedoc*, from whence they were called *Albigenses*, stood upon their Defence. Upon which *Philip Augustus* warring against them, drove them into *Bohemia* and *Saxony*, and several fled into England. The Crusade against them is said to consist of five hundred thousand Men, who wore their crosses on their Breasts, in order to distinguish them selves from those that went to the Holy Land, who wore them on their Shoulders.

(6) Pope Gregory IX was the first that set on foot this horrid Tribunal, and established it at *Touluse*, where it was soon pulled down for its Cruelties. *Italy* and *Spain* embraced it, but *Charles V.* endeavouring to set it up in the *Low-Countries*, lost those Provinces by it. This Court is in the Hands of the *Dominicans*, and take Cognizance of Heresy, Judaism, &c. The Delinquents are imprisoned in Dungeons, and never see the Light till they accuse themselves and their Accomplices, for they never know or are confronted with their Accusers. The Congregation of the Inquisition was established by *Paul III.* and confirmed by *Nicolas V.* It consists of twelve Cardinals, and abundance of Prelates and Divines. The Cardinals are Inquisitors General, and depute Substitutes in the Provinces. See *Relig. Customs*.

I. The Parliaments in King John's Reign were as follows: In 1199, at *Northampton*; (*Hoved.* p. 793. *M. Paris.* p. 196.) another at *Westminster*, May 26. (*M. Paris.* p. 197.) In 1200, a Parliament; (*Id.* p. 200.) another at *Lincoln*, in November. (*Brompt.* p. 1282.) In 1201, a Parliament at *Lincolnshire*, in Lent. (*Hoved.* p. 803.) In 1204, Jan. 2. a Parliament at *Oxford*. (*M. Paris.* p. 209.) In 1207, Jan. 8. a Parliament at *London*; and another, Feb. 9. at *Oxford*. (*An. Waverl.* p. 109.) In 1209, at *Windsor*, at *Christmas*. (*M. Paris.* p. 229.) In 1210, at *York*; likewise at *Christmas*. (*Id.* p. 230.) In 1211, a Parliament at *Northampton*; (*An. Burton.* p. 263.) another at *Windsor*. (*M. Paris.* p. 231.) In 1212, in Lent, at *Chichester*, on *London*. (*Id.* p. 231.) at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*. (*Id.* p. 233.) In 1213, a Parliament at *St. Albans*. (*Id.* p. 239.) at *London*. (*Id.* p. 240.) another there, (*Id.* p. 246.) one at *Reading*, Decemb. 6. (*Id.* p. 247.) at *Windsor*, at *Christmas*. (*Id.* p. 255.) In 1214, a Parliament at *London*. (*Id.* p. 249.) In 1215, June 15, in *Runnymede*, near *Windsor*. (*Id.* p. 255.)

II. Having spoken of the Revenue arising from *Aids*, I proceed to *Scutages* and *Tallages*. *Ecuage* or *Scutage*, was a Duty or Service, arising out of Baronies and Knights Fees. It denoted *Scutatum Scuti*, the Service of the Shield; and was wont to be rendered thus, viz. for every Knight's Fee, the Service of one Knight; for every half Fee, the Service of half a Knight; and so in proportion. Baronies were charged after the like manner, according to the Number of the Knights Fees, whereof the Barony by its original Enfeoffment, did consist. This Service of Scutage was performed, either personally in the King's Army, or else by pecuniary Commutation. Indeed the word *Scutagium*, in an extensive Sense, did antiently signify any payment, agreed upon Knights Fees; whether for the King's Army, or not. But here, it will be considered only as a Duty, arising out of Baronies and Knights Fees, for the Service of the King's Army. The antient way of charging or answering it was, so much *De Scutagio Wallie*, &c. or *pro Militibus*, for his Knight's Fees, or *de Exeritu Wallie*, &c. These *Ecuages*, *pro exercitu*, were wont to be paid by the King's Tenants in *Capite*, by Knight's Service. *Tenant in Capite*, signifies immediate Tenant. And here it may be observed, that a Man might hold of the King in *Capite*, either by Barony, or by Knight's Service, or by Serjeanty, or by Socage, or by Fee-Farm; consequently it is a mistake, that some great Men have been guilty of, that a Baron, and a Tenant in *Capite*, was all one. For though every Baron, properly so called, was a Tenant in *Capite*, yet every Tenant in *Capite*, (there being some of half, or quarter, or a tenth part of a Knight's Fee,) was not a Baron. The phrase in *Capite*, was commonly used to signify immediate. *Alexander de Savernford*, whilst he resided at the Exchequer, collected out of the Revenue Rolls of the Pipe, many Memorials concerning the Scutages, assailed in the Reigns of Henry II. Richard I. and John; till the fifteenth of Henry III: These he put together in the *Red Book*. He could it seems give no account of Scutages, older than Henry II. though it is more than probable, there were Scutages in the time of Henry I. The annual Rolls of his Reign are lost. When it Scutage (says *Alexander*) was assailed 2 Henry II. For the Army of *Wales*, twenty Shillings for each Knight's Fee, and was assailed only upon those Prelates who were bound to military Services. The second Scutage, (says he, was for the same 5 Hen. II. but assailed not only upon the Prelates, but others, according to the Number of their Fees: This Scutage is entitled, *De Dono*. And here he observes, that the *Donum* of the Prelates makes a Sum answerable to the Number of Fees, held of the King in *Capite*; and therefore by him supposed to be a real Scutage. This was two Marks per Fee. In the 18th of Hen. II. the *Ecuage* of *Ireland* came to be put in Charge. To this *Ecuage*, several Persons are charged, under this Title, *De Scutagio Militum qui in itinere*, &c. 1. 2. The *Ecuage* of Knights, who did not go into *Ireland*, nor send thither any Knights or Money. It has been before observed, in the last Com. Note, that Charters or Certificates of Knight's Fees were sent in, when *Aid* for marrying Henry II's Daughter was levied; and it seems that in ancient times, whenever Scutages were to be levied, the Barons and Tenants in *Capite*, did send in Certificates of their respective Fees, either *factis quibus*, or at least *pro* usually. This appears by the *Red Book* of the Exchequer, and *Testa de Nevil*. The Reader may see the Certificate of *Robert de Beaufort* at *Havert*, for his Barony, in *Neville's Formularie*. No. 11. As *Ecuage* was rendered for Fees holden of the King in *Capite*, by Knight's Service, and *Coronati*, so it was rendered for Fees holden of Honours and Escheats, which were in the King's hands, and for Fees holden of the Land purchased by the King, and for Fees holden of the King's Wards. For the Tenants holding of the King's Wards and Escheats, were immediate Tenants, of the King, whilst they resided in him. It is to be understood, that in general, *Ecuage* was paid according to the Sum that was assailed; in part, at the Rate of one, two, or three Marks, for each Fee. Nevertheless, many doubts arose about the payment of it. Sometimes the Service due from a Tenant

by Knight's Service, was uncertain; that is, it was sometimes doubtful, of how many Knight's Fees a Man or his Ancestor was entitled to, and consequently what Sum he was to pay for Eſcuage. This frequently happened in the Case of Ecclesiastical Persons, by reason of the antiquity of their Lands, so that the Form of their Entailment could not be easily known in succeeding times; and because it was many times doubtful, whether they held their Lands by Barony and military Service, or in *Frankalmagne*. Again, in the Case of other Persons, some Honours or Baronies, consisted of more Knight's Fees than others did, and some Fees were much larger than others; inasmuch that it was doubtful, whether a Man held by Barony or Knight's Service, whether by the Service of one Knight's Fee, or of more, or of how many Knight's Fees. On the other hand, some Knight's Fees were remarkably small; such, for Instance, were the Fees of the Honour of *Moretton*, which were called *parva Feuda Moretonae*, and paid less Eſcuage, than the generality of other Fees, about a third part less. As Eſcuage was paid out of Knight's Fees; so there were also some Serjeanties, paid the same. Perhaps these Serjeanties were holden by military Tenure. For sometimes Knight's Service was annexed to a Serjeanty; that is, Lands were holden both by Serjeanty, and the Service of a Knight's Fee, or part of a Knight's Fee. And if the Tenure (either in whole or in part) was Knight's Service, the Tenant paid Eſcuage. But Land holden by serjeanty only, paid no Eſcuage. Eſcuage Money was in lieu of personal Service. And therefore, the Barons and Knights were commonly charged with Eſcuage, or Fines for Eſcuage, under the Terms, *Pro exercitu, De his qui non abierunt cum rege domus nostrae militibus pro se miserunt, Fines pro Poſſagio*, or the like. But it is to be understood, that personal Service was required most strictly, if not fully, of the Tenants holding by Knight's Service in *Capite ut de Corona*. For if a Man held his Land of the King by Knight's Service, as of an Honour, then in the King's Hands, and not of the Crown, such Tenant was not indispensably obliged to do personal Service in the King's Army, but only to pay the King Eſcuage, when it was called for: At least, this was alledged to be the Usage in the Reign of *Edward II.* When the King went forth with his Army, he was wont to summon his Barons and Tenants in *Capite* by Knight's Service, to be ready to do their Service in his Army, according to the Number of their Fees, and Quantity of their Tenure. This was called *Summons ad habendum servitium*. This *Summons* ran thus: "Vicecomiti Cantuariensi Praeceptum tibi quod siue dilacione Summoneri facias per totam ballivam tuam, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Abates, Priores, Comites, Barones, Milites, & liberos tenentes & omnes alios qui servitium nobis debent siue servitium militare vel serjeantie: quodque similiter clamari facias per totam ballivam tuam quod sint apud Wigorniam in Crastino S. Trinitatis, anno regni nostri Septimo omni dilacione & occasione postposita cum toto bagagio suo parati cum equis & armis ad eundem in servitium nostrum quo eis preceperimus. T. H. &c. apud Westmonasterium die Martis." Eodem modo scribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus. Cl. 7. Hen. 3. m. 10. dorp. When a Man was to prove that he had done his Service in the King's Army, he commonly made his Proof by Certificate or Testimony of the commander in Chief, or of the Constable, Marshal, or their Lieutenant, or by the Rolls of the Marshals of the Army. If the Barons and Knights holding in *Capite*, did not go in person with the King in his Army, they sometimes sent Knights in their stead, and sometimes made Fine with the King, *ne transirent, or pro remanendo ab exercitu, or quia non attulerunt cum rege, &c.* When King *Edward II.* summoned his Army to march into *Scotland*, he commanded the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to accept of Fines at the rate of forty Pounds for each Knight's Fee, to be paid by Archbishops, Bishops, the Religious, Widows, and other Women who owed Service, and were desirous to make Fines for the same. 15 Ed. 2. Rot. 65. Sometimes the Barons and Tenants by Knight's Service were amerced for not leading their Knights to serve for them in the King's Army. When they did actual Service with their Knights for so many Fees as they were answerable for, or sent Knights in their stead, or made Fine for the same, they were wont to be acquitted of Eſcuage. Eſcuage was not chargeable upon Lands holden in *Frankalmagne* or Royal Foundation. If a Subject gave Land to a religious House in *Frankalmagne*, such Land was not to be distrained for Eſcuage, as long as the Donor or his Heirs had other Lands in the same County on which the Eſcuage might be levied. Again, Lands holden purely in Socage paid not Eſcuage, neither was it paid by Persons to whom the King by Charter granted Freedom from Eſcuage. As the Lord who held of the King in *Capite* by Knight's Service, paid Eſcuage to the King for his Knight's Fee; so the Tenants of such Lord, who held the same Fee, by Knight's Service, paid Eſcuage for the same to their Lord, according to the Quantity of their Tenure; and then the Lord was said, *habere Scutage factum*, to have his Eſcuage, to wit, of his Tenants. The Tenants paid Eſcuage to their Lord, to enable him to pay his Eſcuage to the King, or to reimburse him when he had paid it. When the Lord holding in *Capite* did personal Service in the King's Army, or paid or became duly charged with his Eſcuage to the King, he was entitled to have Eſcuage of his Tenants, for the Fees which they held of him, and which he held of the King in *Capite*. In this case, the Lord might *justitiate Tenentes suos*, compel them by distress to pay him Eſcuage: Or if he could not compel them himself, he often had a Writ of *Aid* directed to the Sheriff to assist him. But sometimes the Lord was forced to make Fine with the King, *pro habendo Scutagio suo*, to have his Scutages. In these, it seems that Eſcuage was due to the Lord from Lands which were holden by Knight's Service, *ab antiquo*, but not from Lands holden by Knight's Service newly created. For where a Manor passed by Grant from the King, with the Tenure of Knight's Service annexed to it, the Lord could not have Eſcuage of the Tenants of that Manor, if the Tenants were not wont to do any military Service to the King, whilst the Manor was vested in the King. In elder times, in case the Lord was entitled to receive Eſcuage of his Tenants, such Eſcuage was usually collected by the Lord, *per manum suam*, who used to justify or distrain his Tenants to pay it. Whether it was all along necessary for the Lord to have the King's Leave to collect his Eſcuage *per manum suam* or no, such Leave was sometimes granted by the King to particular Lords. But as, in process of time, it was very often doubtful, whether Lands were holden by Knight's Service, or other Tenure; or if holden by Knight's Service, whether they were holden immediately of the King or of some other Lord, or by how many Knight's Fees they were holden, or the like: I say, for these and other Causes, it became almost necessary that Eſcuage should be collected by the Sheriffs of Counties, who might take Inquisition by the Oath of Jurors, concerning these and the like Articles. In the 19th of *Henry III.* the Earls, Barons, and all others of the Realm, granted to the King an *Efficax Auxilium*, (called in the Writ a *Scutage*) viz. two Marks of every Knight's Fee holden in *Capite*, and of his Wards: Hereupon, the Sheriff of *Somersetshire* was ordered by Writ, That at the instance of the Earls, &c. he should distrain all the Knights and Freeholders, who held of them by Knight's Service, to pay the said two Marks *per Fee*. To conclude, several Particulars relating to the manner of collecting the King's Eſcuage, may be observed from a Commission (in the 10th *Edw. II.*) made to certain Persons. These Commissioners were appointed to levy the Eſcuages of the Armies of *Scotland* of the 28th, 31st, and 34th Years of *Edward I.* within the County of *York*, at the Rate of forty Shillings *per Fee*. In order thereto, they were to enquire by Oath of lawful Men of the County, what Fees were held in *Capite* of the King, at the time of those Armies; and what of Eſcheats, Honours, and Purchases; what Heirs were under Age, and in Custody of King *Edward I.*; and what Archbishopsricks, Bishopsricks, Abbies, Priors, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities, or Offices, then void, the Temporalities whereof did belong to the King; and who held the Knight's Fees belonging to such Heirs, Archbishopsricks, &c. and for what portion of a Knight's Fee each one held, and where. And the Sheriff was commanded to summon lawful Men to appear before the Commissioners, to make Inquisition touching the matters aforesaid. And the Commissioners were to amerce severely such as they should find rebellious or disobedient. From what has been said, it appears, that Lord Chief Justice *Coke* was mistaken in speaking of Eſcuage, as if it was a Tenure. His words are: "Every Tenure by Eſcuage is a Tenure by Knight's Service: but every Tenure that holds by Knight's Service holdeth not by Eſcuage. For he that holdeth by Castle-guard or Cornage, holdeth by Knight's Service, and yet he shall pay no Eſcuage, because he holdeth not to go to War." *Coke, Com. p. 69.* But the Reason (as Mr. *Madox* observes) why Eſcuage was not paid by those that held by Castle-guard, was, because when a military Tenant did actual Service in an Army, or in a Castle, then he paid no Eſcuage. So that *Littleton's* Words, *quo tunc se terre per Eſcuage*, are to be understood as if he had said, *per le Service de Eſcuage*. Having thus largely treated of Eſcuage, before I proceed to *Tallage*, I will conclude this Note with briefly speaking of *Danegeld*, which was different from either *Aid*, *Eſcuage*, or *Tallage*. It was first set on foot in the *Anglo-Saxon* Times: However, it continued many Years after the Conquest. In the Reign of *Henry I.* in the Year 1114, it was paid throughout the Kingdom. And in *Stephen's*, it is accounted for in every County, as if it were a settled yearly Revenue; that is to say, in the like Words which were then wont to be used in accounting for the yearly Revenue. *Danegeldum nostrum* for the first Year, *praeteritum Danegeldum* for the preceding Year, and *vetus Danegeldum* for the third preceding Year: However, it is not certain, that *Danegeld* was a settled yearly Revenue. The famous Author of the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer seems to have thought it a yearly Revenue before, but not after the Conquest. It may be traced by the Rolls to the Reign of *Henry II.* but it does not appear, that *Danegeld* was paid in the latter part of *Henry II's* Reign, nor in those of *Richard I.* and *John*. In all or most of the Accounts of *Danegeld* in 2 *Henry II.* there is a large Deduction made, under the Terms in *Wasto*, which is supposed to be by reason of the Realm being so wasted by the long intestine Wars between *Stephen* and *Maud*. Hence it should seem that *Danegeld* was a sort of Hidage, or a Revenue arising from Lands, as divided or measured by Hides. Again, it seems that *Danegeld* was charged upon Land, because it is paid by the Men of the Counties only, the Cities and Towns answering at the same time under the Name of an *Auxilium* or *Donum*. *Tallage* and Custom will be the Subject of the next Coin Note.



King *John* in his Coins, gives his Face full, in a Triangle, with a Sceptre in his Right-hand, inscribed, *JOHANNES REX*. On the Reverse, another Triangle, with a half Moon and a Star, and this Inscription: *ROBERT. ON. DIVE.* which last words shew the Money was coined at *Dublin*, or *Droghda*. This King was the first that had the Title of *Dominus Hibernie*, or Lord of Ireland; accordingly he is stiled on his Great Seal, *JOHANNES DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE*; and on the Counter Seal, *IOANNES DUX NOR-MANNIE ET AQUITANIE COMES ANDEGAVIE*. It is observable, that all the Pennies that have the Head in a Triangle were *Irish* Coins. The *Irish* Head was antiently of that Shape.

(1) Charta Regis W I L L I E L M I conquifitoris.

W I L L I E L M U S rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum, omnibus hominibus fuis Francis & Anglis, falutem.

De religione & pace publica.

I. Statuimus imprimis ſuper omnia, unum Deum per totum regnum noſtrum venerari, unam fidem Chriſti ſemper inviolatam cuſtodiri, pacem, & ſecuritatem & concordiam, judicium & juſtitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos & Britones Walliæ & Cornubiæ, Pictos, & Scotos Albanæ, ſimiliter inter Francos & Infulanos, provincias & patrias, quæ pertinent ad coronam & dignitatem, deſenſionem & obſervationem & honorem regni noſtri, & inter omnes nobis ſubjectos per univerſam monarchiam regni Britannæ firmiter & inviolabiliter obſervari. Ita quod nullus alii forisfaciat in ullo ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

De fide & obſequio erga regem.

II. Statuimus etiam ut omnes liberi homines ſœdera & ſacramento affirmant, quod intra & extra univerſum regnum Angliæ (quod olim vocabatur regnum Britannæ) Willielmo regi domino ſuo fideles eſſe volunt, terras & honores illius omni fidelitate ubique ſervare cum eo, & contra inimicos & alienigenas defendere.

De Normanni ſeu Francigenæ cæde.

III. Volumus autem & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes homines, quos nobiſcum adduximus, aut poſt nos venerint, ſint ſub protectione & in pace noſtra per univerſum regnum prædictum; & ſi quis de illis occiſus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat intra V. dies homicidam ejus ſi poterit; ſin autem, incipiat perſolvere nobis XLVI marcas argenti, quamdiu ſubſtantia domini illius perduraverit: Ubi vero ſubſtantia domini deſecerit, totus hundredus in quo occiſio facta eſt, communiter ſolvat quod remanet.

De jure Normannorum qui ante adventum regis Gulielmi cives fuerant Anglicani.

IV. Et omnis Francigena, qui tempore Edwardi propinqui noſtri fuit in Anglia particeps conſuetudinum Anglorum, quod ipſi dicunt (2) Anhote & Ancote, perſolvat ſecundum legem Anglorum.

De clientelari ſeu Feudorum jure, & Inguenorum immunitate.

V. Volumus etiam ac firmiter præcipimus & concedimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius Monarchiæ regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant terras ſuas & poſſeſſiones ſuas bene & in pace, libere ab omni exactione injuſta, & ab omni tallagio, ita quod nichil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur, niſi ſervicium ſuum liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent & facere tenentur; & prout ſtatutum eſt eis & illis a nobis datum & conſeſſum jure hæreditario imperpetuum, per commune concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti.

De nocturnis cuſtodiis.

VI. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes Civitates & Burgi & Caſtella & Hundredi & Wapentachia totius regni noſtri prædicti, ſingulis noctibus vigilentur & cuſtodiantur in gyrum, pro maleficis & inimicis, prout vicecomes & aldermanni, & præpoſiti & cæteri ballivi & miniſtri noſtri melius, per Commune Conſilium ad utilitatem regni, providebunt.

De menſuris & ponderibus.

VII. Et quod habeant per univerſum regnum menſuras fideliffimas & ſignatas, & pondera fideliffima & ſignata, ſicut boni prædeceſſores ſtatuverunt.

De Clientum ſeu Vaſſallorum præſtationibus.

VIII. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes comites & barones, milites, & ſervientes, & univerſi liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant ſe ſemper bene in armis & in equis, ut decet & oportet, & quod ſint ſemper prompti & bene parati ad ſervicium ſuum integrum nobis explendum & peragendum, cum ſemper opus adſuerit, ſecundum quod nobis debent de ſeodis & tenementis ſuis, de jure facere, & ſicut illis ſtatuiſmus, per Commune Concilium totius regni noſtri prædicti, & illis dedimus & conſeſſimus in feodo jure hæreditario; hoc præceptum non ſit violatum ullo modo, ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

Ut jura regia illæſa ſervare pro viribus conentur ſubditi.

IX. Statuimus etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius regni noſtri prædicti ſint fratres conjurati ad monarchiam noſtram & ad regnum noſtrum pro viribus ſuis & facultatibus, contra inimicos pro poſſe ſuo defendendum & viriliter ſervandum, & pacem & dignitatem coronæ noſtræ integram obſervandam, & ad judicium rectum, & juſtitiam conſtanter omnibus modis pro poſſe ſuo ſine dolo & ſine dilatione faciendam. [Hoc Decretum fancitum eſt in Civitate London.]

Ne venditio & emptio fiat niſi coram teſtibus & in civitatibus.

X. Interdicimus etiam, ut nulla viva (3) pecunia vendatur aut ematur niſi intra civitates, & hoc ante tres fideles teſtes, nec aliquam rem vetitam, ſine fidejuſſore & warranto: quod ſi aliter fecerit, ſolvat & perſolvat & poſtea forisfacturam.

De emporiis & jure urbium, pagorumque notæ melioris.

XI. Item nullum mercatum vel forum ſit, nec fieri permittantur, niſi in civitatibus regni noſtri, in burgis & muro vallatis, & in caſtellis & in locis tutiſſimis, ubi conſuetudines regni noſtri & jus noſtrum commune & dignitatis coronæ noſtræ, quæ conſtituta ſunt a bonis prædeceſſoribus noſtris deperiri non poſſunt, nec defraudari, nec violari, ſed omnia rite & in aperto & per judicium & juſtitiam fieri debent. Et ideo caſtella, & burgi & civitates fitæ ſunt & fundatæ, & ædificatæ, ſcilicet, ad tuitionem gentium & populorum regni, & ad deſenſionem regni, & idcirco obſervari debent cum omni libertate & integritate & ratione.

De purgatione forenſi in judiciis publicis.

XII. Decretum eſt etiam (4) ibi, ut ſi Francigena appellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut murthero, furto, homicidio, (Ran quod dicunt) apertam rapinam quæ negari non poteſt, Anglus ſe defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri, aut duello: Si autem Anglus infirmus fuerit, inveniat alium, qui pro eo faciat: Si quis eorum victus fuerit, emendet regi XL ſolid. Si autem Anglus Francigenam appellaverit, & probare voluerit judicio aut duello, volo tunc Francigenam purgare ſe ſacramento, non ferro.

Firmantur leges Edwardi regis.

XIII. Hoc quoque præcipimus ut omnes habeant & teneant leges Edwardi regis in omnibus rebus, adauctis hiis, quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.

De juſtitia publicæ fidejuſſoribus.

XIV. Omnis homo qui voluerit ſe teneri pro libero, ſit in plegio, ut plegius eam habeat ad juſtitiam, ſi quid offenderit, & quiſquam evaſerit, talium videant plegii, ut ſolvant, quod calumniatum eſt, & purgent ſe quod in evaſo

(1) Printed in Mr. Lambard's *Archeionom.* and in Sir Roger Twiſſen's Edition of the ſame Work, from the ancient Manuſcript Copy in the Red Book in the Exchequer.

(2) i. e. Payment of Scot and Lot.

(3) i. e. Penny.

(4) i. e. Law.

nullam fraudem noverint. Requiritur hundredus & comitatus (sicut antecessores statuerunt) & qui iuste venire debent & noluerint, summoneantur semel; & si secundo non venerint, accipiat unus bos; & si tertio, alius bos; & si quarto, reddatur de rebus huius hominis quod calumpniatum est, quod dicitur Ceatigel, & insuper regis forisfactura.

De servis & eorum manumissione.

XV. Et prohibemus ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam; si qui vero velit servum suum liberum facere, tradat eum vicecomiti per manum dextram in pleno comitatu, quietum illum clamare debet a iugo servitutis suæ per manumissionem, & ostendat ei liberas vias & portas, & tradat illi libera arma, scilicet lanceam & gladium, deinde liber homo efficitur.

De servis.

XVI. Item si servi permanferint sine calumnia per annum & diem in civitatibus nostris, vel in burgis muro vallatis, vel in castris nostris, a die illa liberi efficiuntur, & liberi a iugo servitutis suæ sint imperpetuum.

De supplicorum modo.

XVII. Interdicimus etiam, ne quis occidatur vel suspendatur pro aliqua culpa, sed enervantur oculi & abscindantur pedes, vel testiculi vel manus, ita quod truncus remaneat vivus in signum prodicionis & nequitie suæ, secundum enim quantitatem delicti debet poena maleficis infligi: ista præcepta non sint violata super forisfacturam nostram plenam. Testibus, &c.

Alia charta continens institutiones five leges Regis Willielmi; quæ videntur additiones prioribus (1).

Willielmus Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, omnibus ad quos

scriptum hoc perveniat, salutem & amicitiam, quod mando & præcipio per totam Angliæ nationem custodiri.

De examine forensi.

XVIII. Si Anglicus homo compellet aliquem Francigenam per (2) bellum de furto vel homicidio vel aliqua re pro qua bellum fieri debeat, vel iudicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam faciendi. Et si Anglicus bellum nolit, Francigena compellatur adlegiet se in iurejurando contra eum per suos testes secundum legem Normanniae.

De eodem.

XIX. Item si Francigena compellat Anglicum per bellum de eisdem rebus, Anglicus plena licentia defendat se per bellum vel per iudicium, si magis ei placeat. Et si untrum sit, (id est invalidus) & nolit bellum vel non possit, quærat sibi legalem defensores.

De eodem.

XX. Si Francigena victus fuerit, persolvat regi LX solidi. Et si Anglicus nolit se defendere per bellum vel per testimonium, adlegiet semper (3) Dei iudicium.

De examine forensi.

XXI. De omnibus Utlagarie rebus, rex instituit, ut Anglicus se purget ad iudicium; & si Anglicus appellet Francigenam, de Utlagarie & hoc super eum invenire velit, defendat se Francigena per bellum. Et si Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat se Francigena pleno juramento, non in verborum observantiis.

Charta Libertatum Regis HENRICI primi.

M. Paris.
p. 55.

HENRICUS Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, &c. Hugoni de Boclande vicecomiti & omnibus fidelibus suis tam Francis quam Anglicis in Herefordshire salutem. Sciatis me Dei misericordia & Communi Consilio baronum regni Angliæ regem esse coronatum.

I. Et quia regnum oppressum erat injustis exactionibus, ego respectu Dei, & amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, sanctam Dei ecclesiam liberam facio, ita quod nec eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo archiepiscopo vel episcopo, vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio ecclesiæ, vel de hominibus, donec successor in eam ingreditur.

II. Et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum Angliæ injuste opprimebatur, inde aufero, quas malas consuetudines in parte hic pono.

III. Siquis baronum meorum, comitum, vel aliorum, qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus non redimet terram suam, sicut facere consueverat tempore patris mei, sed iusta & legitima relevatione relevabit eam: similiter & (4) homines baronum meorum legitima & iusta relevatione relevabunt terras suas de dominis suis.

IV. Et si quis baronum vel aliorum hominum meorum, filiam suam tradere voluerit, five sororem, five neptem, five cognatam, mecum inde loquatur, sed neque ego aliquid de suo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei, quin eam det, excepto si eam dare voluerit inimico meo.

V. Et si mortuo barone vel alio homine meo, filia hæres remanserit, dabo illam cum consilio baronum meorum cum terra sua.

VI. Et si mortuo marito, uxor ejus remanserit, & sine liberis fuerit, dotem suam, & maritagium habebit, & eam

non dabo marito, nisi secundum velle suum. Si vero uxor cum liberis remanserit, dotem suam & maritagium habebit, dum corpus suum legitime servabit; & eam non dabo nisi secundum velle suum, & terræ liberorum custos erit five uxor, five alius propinquior, qui iustus esse debet: & præcipio, ut homines mei similiter se contineant erga filios & filias & uxores, hominum suorum.

VII. Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates vel comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.

VIII. Si quis captus fuerit five monetarius five alius cum falsa moneta, iustitia recta inde fiat.

IX. Omnia placita & omnia debita, quæ regi fratri meo debebantur, condono, exceptis firmis meis, & exceptis illis, quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro illis rebus, quæ iustius alios contingebant. Et si quis aliquid pro hæreditate sua pepigerat, illud condono & omnes relevationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

X. Et si quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, sicut ipse dabit vel dare disposuerit, pecuniam suam: ita datum esse concedo.

XI. Quod si ipse præventus, vel armis, vel infirmitate, pecuniam suam nec dederit, nec dare disposuerit, uxor sua, five liberi aut parentes, & legitimi homines sui, pro anima ejus eam dividant: sicut eis melius viium fuerit.

XII. Si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit, non dabit vadium in miseria pecuniæ suæ, sicut faciebat tempore patris, vel fratris mei, sed secundum forisfacturæ modum: nec ita emendabit sicut emendasset retro tempore patris mei vel fratris.

(1) These are not in the Red Book of the Exchequer, but to be found in *Brompton's Chronicle*, Col. 682, and are also in the Manuscript belonging to the D. and C. of *Exeter*, called *Textus Roffensis*, p. 47.

(2) i. e. Gages, or Dash.

(3) i. e. Ordeal.

(4) i. e. Tenentes.

XIII. Quod si perfidiæ vel sceleris convictus fuerit, sicut culpa, sic emendet.

XIV. Murdra etiam retro ab illa die, qua in regem coronatus sum, omnia condono, & ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, iuste emendentur secundum legem regis Edwardi.

XV. Forestas Communi Consilio baronum meorum in manu mea, ita retinui, sicut pater meus eas habuit.

XVI. Militibus, qui per loricas terras suas defendunt, terras dominicarum carucarum suarum quietas ab omnibus geldis & omni proprio, dono meo concedo; ut sicut tam magno gravamine alleviati sunt, ita equis & armis bene se instruant, ut apti & parati sint ad servitium meum, & ad defensionem regni mei.

XVII. Pacem firmam pono in toto regno meo, & teneri amodo præcipio. Legem regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater meus eam emendavit, consilio baronum suorum.

XVIII. Si quis aliquid de modo, vel de rebus alicujus post obitum regis Willielmi fratris mei cepit, totum cito reddatur absque emendatione; & si quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille super quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit.

His testibus Mauricio Londoniensi episcopo, Willielmo Wintoniensi electo, Girardo Herefordensi episcopo, Henrico comite, Simone comite, Waltero Giffard comite, Roberto de Monte forti, Rogero Bigod, & aliis multis.

Charta Regis STEPHANI.

3.
W. Malm.
de gest. Reg.
p. 179.

I. **E**GO Stephanus Dei gratia, assensu cleri & populi in regem Angliæ electus, & a domino Willielmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariæ & sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ legato consecratus, & ab Innocentio sanctæ sedis Romanæ pontifice postmodum confirmatus, respectu & amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, & debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

II. Nihil me in ecclesia, vel in rebus ecclesiasticis symoniace acturum, vel permitturum esse promitto.

III. Ecclesiasticarum personarum & omnium clericorum, & rerum eorum justitiam & potestatem & distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum manu episcoporum esse, prohibeo & confirmo.

IV. Dignitates ecclesiarum, privilegiis earum confirmatas, & consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere concedo & statuo.

V. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones, & tenuras, quas die illa habuerant, qua Willielmus rex avus meus fuit vivus & mortuus, sine omnium calumniantium reclamazione eis liberas & absolutas esse concedo.

VI. Si quid vero de habitis aut possessis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat, ecclesia, deinceps repeteret, indulgentiæ & dispensationi meæ vel discutiendum, vel restituendum reservo.

VII. Quæcunque vero post mortem regis liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione, vel comparatione, vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium collata sunt confirmo.

VIII. Pacem meam & justitiam in omnibus facturum & pro posse meo conservaturum promitto.

IX. Forestas quas Willielmus rex avus meus, & Willielmus avunculus meus instituerunt & tenuerunt, mihi reservo. Cæteras omnes, quas Henricus rex superaddidit, ecclesiis & regno quietas reddo & concedo.

X. Si quis autem episcopus vel abbas, vel alia ecclesiastica persona ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit, vel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo.

XI. Si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus, ecclesiæ consilio eadem fiat distributio.

XII. Dum vero sedes propriis fuerint pastoribus vacuæ, & ipsæ, & omnes earum possessiones, in manu & custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum, ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonice substituitur.

XIII. Omnes exactiones & Mæscheningas, & injustitias, five per vice-comites, vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges & antiquas & justas consuetudines in murdris, & placitis & aliis causis observabo, & observari præcipio, & constituo: apud Oxeneford anno incarnationis Domini 1136. regni mei primo.

Charta libertatum Angliæ HENRICI II.

4.
Ex. Vol. II.
Concil. Brit.
tan. Do. Henr.
Spelman,
p. 51.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Anglorum, dux Normanniæ & Aquitaniæ, comes Andegaviæ, baronibus & fidelibus suis Francis & Anglicis, salutem.

I. Sciatis me ad honorem Dei & sanctæ ecclesiæ & pro communi emendatione totius regni mei, concessisse & reddidisse & præsentī charta mea confirmasse, Deo & sanctæ ecclesiæ & omnibus comitibus & baronibus & omnibus hominibus meis, omnes consuetudines quas rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & concessit; similiter etiam omnes malas

consuetudines, quas ipse delevit & remisit, ego remitto & deleri concedo pro me & hæredibus meis.

II. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut sancta ecclesia, & omnes comites & barones, & omnes mei homines, omnes illas consuetudines & donationes & libertates, & liberas consuetudines habeant & teneant, libere & quiete, bene & in pace, integre, de me & hæredibus meis, sibi & hæredibus suis, adeo libere & plenarie in omnibus, sicut rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit & concessit, & charta sua confirmavit. Test. Richardo de Luci.

CHARTA Communium Libertatum ; ' The CHARTER of Liberties, or
 five MAGNA CHARTA regis ' the GREAT CHARTER granted
 JOHANNIS ; ex Autographo Cot- ' by King J O H N to his Subjects
 toniano (1). ' in the year 1255.

JOHANNES dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie, & comes Andegavie, archiepiscopus, episcopus, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, forestariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ministris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos intuitu dei & pro salute anime nostre & omnium antecessorum & heredum nostrorum, ad honorem dei, & exaltationem sancte ecclesie, & emendationem regni nostri, per consilium venerabilium Patrum nostrorum Stephani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, totius Anglie Primatis & Sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis, Henrici Dublinensis Archiepiscopi, Willielmi Londoniensis, Petri Wintoniensis, Joscelini Bathoniensis & Glaston, Hugonis Lincolnensis, Walteri Wygorniensis, Willielmi Coventrensis, & Benedicti Roffensis episcoporum; magistris Pandulphi domini pape subdiaconi & familiaris, fratris Eymerici magistris militie templi in Anglia; & nobilium virorum Willielmi Mariscalli comitis Penbrok, Willielmi comitis Sarum, Willielmi comitis Warenne, Willielmi comitis Arundell, Alani de Galweya constabularii Scottie, Warini filii Geroldi, Petri filii Hereberti, Huberti de Burgo senescalli Pictavie, Hugonis de Nevill, Matthei filii Hereberti, Thome Basset, Alani Basset, Philippi de Albiniaco, Roberti de Roppele, Johannis Marecalli, Johannis filii Hugonis, & aliorum fidelium nostrorum, In primis concessisse deo, & hac presente charta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis & heredibus nostris in perpetuum;

I. Quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, & habeat jura sua integra, & libertates suas illesas; & ita volumus observari, quod apparet ex eo, quod libertatem electionum que maxima & magis necessaria reputatur ecclesie Anglicane, mera & spontanea voluntate, ante discordiam inter nos & barones nostros motam, concessimus & carta nostra confirmavimus, & eam optinimus a domino papa Innocentio tertio confirmari; quam & nos observabimus, & ab heredibus nostris in perpetuum bona fide volumus observari.

II. Concessimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus regni nostri pro nobis & heredibus nostris in perpetuum, omnes libertates subscriptas, habendas & tenendas eis & heredibus suis, de nobis & heredibus nostris.

III. Si quis comitum vel baronum nostrorum, five aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per servitium militare, mortuus fuerit, & cum decesserit heres suus plene etatis fuerit, & relevium debeat, habeat hereditatem suam per antiquum relevium, scilicet heres vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum libras. Heres vel heredes baronis de baronia integra per centum libras. Heres vel

JOHN by the Grace of God, King of England, ^{The GREAT} Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, ^{CHARTER} and Earl of Anjou: To the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Foresters, Sheriffs, Governors, Officers, and to all Bailiffs and other his faithful Subjects, Greeting. Know ye, that we (2), in the presence of God, and for the health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Ancestors and Heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of Holy Church, and amendment of our Kingdom, by the advice of our venerable Fathers, Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; Henry Archbishop of Dublin, William Bishop of London, Peter of Winchester, Joscelin of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, Bishops; and Master Pandulph the Pope's Sub-Deacon and Servant, Brother Aymeric Master of the Temple in England; and the noble Persons William Marecall Earl of Pembroke, William Earl of Salisbury, William Earl of Warren, William Earl of Arundel, Alan de Galwey Constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, and Hubert de Burgh Seneschal of Poictou, Hugo de Neville, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip de Albiney, Robert de Roppele, John Marecall, John Fitz-Hugh, and others our Liegemen; have in the first place granted to God, and by this our present Charter, confirmed for us and our Heirs for ever,

I. That the Church of England shall be free (3), and enjoy her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable. [(4) And we will have them so to be observed, which appears from hence, that the freedom of Elections, which is reckoned most necessary for the Church of England (5) of our own free Will and Pleasure we have granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the Confirmation thereof from Pope Innocent the Third, before the Discord between Us and our Barons, which Charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our Heirs for ever.]

II. We have also granted to all the Freemen of our Kingdom, for Us and our Heirs for ever, all the under-written Liberties, to have and to hold, them and their Heirs, of Us and our Heirs.

III. If any of our Earls (6), or Barons, or others who hold of Us in Chief by military Service, shall die, and at the time of his death his Heir is of full Age, and owes a Relief, he shall have his Inheritance by the antient Relief (7); that is to say, the Heir or Heirs of an Earl, for a whole Earl's Barony, by a hundred Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for a whole

(1) Exactly printed from an authentic Copy of the Original in the Cotton Library; and carefully compared with the Original.

The Notes at the Bottom in the larger Character, referred to by the Letters (A, and B, &c.) are such Paragraphs, or Articles, as occur in the *Magna Charta*, extant in *Mat. Paris*, p. 255, and are left out in the *Cottonian* Copy. And whatsoever is inserted between these two Marks [] are such Clauses as were omitted in the *Magna Charta* of Henry III., and all the Charters that followed. So that the Reader hath at one View, a faithful Copy of the Original, as it is extant in the *Cotton Library*, and also in what Particulars the Charter in *Mat. Paris*, and that of Henry III. do vary from it.

(2) King John was the first of the Kings of England (as Sir Edward Coke observes) that in his Grants wrote in the plural Number: Other Kings before him wrote in the singular Number; they used *Ego*, I; and King John, and all the Kings after him, *Nos*, We. 2d *Institute*, p. 2.

(3) That is, all Ecclesiastical Persons within the Realm, their Possessions and Goods shall be freed from all unjust Exactions and Oppressions; but notwithstanding shall yield all lawful Duties, either to the King, or to any of his Subjects. *Coke*, *ibid*.

(4) No new Rights were heresy given unto Ecclesiastical Persons, but such as they had before, were confirmed unto them. *Coke*, p. 3.

(5) See above, p. 267. *Col* 1.

(6) There was never a Duke, Marquis, or Viscount then in England. The first Duke was Edward the Black Prince, who was created Duke of Cornwall, in 11 Edw. III. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was created Marquis of Dublin in 8 Ric. II. The first Viscount or Reord, and that sat in Parliament by that Name, was John Viscount Beaumont, created 13 Henry VI. *Coke*, p. 5. For an account of the Titles of Earls and Barons, see above, p. 149, 150; and *Selden's* Titles of Honour.

(7) For the understanding of this Article, it must be observed, That when any of the King's Tenants in chief died, the King, as Guardian to his Heir, seized his Lands; which remained in his Hands, till the Heir was of Age. But when the Heir came to be twenty one Years old, he could sue to have his Estate, upon doing Homage to the King, and paying a certain Composition called *Relief*, which at first was settled, according to every Man's Degree, from an Earl to a Farmer. (See above, p. 191. Note (I); and p. 243. Note (III).) But it seems, that sometimes before King John's Reign, there had been a heavy Increment of an uncertain Relief, at will and pleasure, which, under a fair Term, was called *Ransome Relievum*, a reasonable Relief. This Clause therefore sets this Matter again upon its ancient Footing. See Sir Edw. Coke's 2d *Inst*. p. 7.

heredes militis de feodo militis integro per centum solidos ad plus : & qui minus debuerit, minus det secundum antiquam consuetudinem feodorum.

IV. Si autem heres alicujus talium fuerit infra etatem, & fuerit in custodia : cum ad etatem pervenerit, habeat hereditatem suam sine relevio & sine fine.

V. Custos terre hujusmodi heredis qui infra etatem fuerit, non capiat de terra heredis nisi rationabiles exitus, & rationabiles consuetudines, & rationabilia servitia, & hoc sine destructione & vasto hominum vel rerum. Et si nos commiserimus custodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus illius nobis respondere debeat, & ille destructionem de custodia fecerit vel vastum, nos ab illo capiemus emendam, & terra committatur duobus legalibus & discretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui de exitibus respondeant nobis vel ei cui eos assignaverimus. Et si dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui custodiam alicujus talis terre, & ille destructionem inde fecerit vel vastum, amittat ipsam custodiam, & tradatur duobus legalibus & discretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui similiter nobis respondeant, sicut predictum est.

VI. Custos autem quamdiu custodiam terre habuerit, sustentet domos, parcos, vivaria, stagna, molendina, & cetera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terre ejusdem, & reddat heredi cum ad plenam etatem pervenerit terram suam totam instauratam de carrucis & wainnagiis secundum quod tempus wainnagii exigit, & exitus terre rationabiliter poterunt sustinere.

VII. Heredes maritentur absque disparagatione ; ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium, ostendatur propinquis de consanguinitate ipsius heredis.

VIII. Vidua post mortem mariti sui statim & sine difficultate habeat maritagium & hereditatem suam ; nec aliquid det pro dote sua vel pro maritagio suo, vel hereditate sua, quam hereditatem maritus suus & ipsa tenuerint die obitus ipsius mariti ; & maneat in domo mariti sui per quadraginta dies post mortem ipsius, infra quos assignetur ei dos sua.

IX. Nulla vidua distringatur ad se maritandum, dum voluerit vivere sine marito. Ita tamen quod securitatem faciat quod se non maritabit sine assensu nostro, si de nobis tenuerit, vel sine assensu domini sui de quo tenuerit si de alio tenuerit.

X. Nec nos, nec ballivi nostri seisiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catalla debitoris sufficiunt ad debitum reddendum : Nec pleggii ipsius debitoris distringantur, quamdiu ipse capitalis debitor sufficit ad solutionem debiti.

XI. Et

(a) [His Lord shall not have the Wardship of him, nor his Land, before he hath received his Homage ; and after such Heir shall be in Ward, and shall attain to the Age of one and twenty years.]

(b) [Yet so, that if he be made a Knight (3) while he is under Age, nevertheless the Lands shall remain in the Custody of the Lord, untill the aforesaid time.]

(c) [Upon the Estate.]

(d) [And all these things shall be observed in the Custodies of vacant Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbies, Priories, Churches and Dignities which appertain to us ; except that these Wardships are not to be sold.]

(e) [If it was not assigned before, or unless the House shall be a Castle ; and if she departs from the Castle, there shall forthwith be provided for her a complete House, in which she may decently dwell, till her Dower be to her assigned, as hath been said ; and she shall in the mean time have her reasonable *Eftover*, (i. e. competent Maintenance) out of the common [Revenue.] And there shall be assigned to her for her Dower, the third part of all her Husband's Lands which were his in his Life time, except she were endowed with less at the Church-Door.]

(f) [And that the Debtor is ready to satisfy it.]

1. The *Copy* in Copy has a hundred Pounds ; which seems to be a mistake. For the antient Relief of an Earldom, a Barony, and the Living of a Knight, was the fourth part of the yearly Value of them. Now, the yearly Value of a Barony was to consist of thirteen Knight's Fees and a quarter, which, by just Account, amounted to four hundred Marks a Year, therefore his Relief was a hundred Marks, and not a hundred Pounds. See *ibid.* p. 7.

2. As long as the Heirs of the King's Tenants in chief were under Age, they were said to be *in Ward*, but this *Wardship* was taken away by the Statute 12. *Edw.* II. c. 24.

3. By being made a Knight, the Heir was out of Ward as to his Body ; but his Land remained in the Custody of the Lord, as is said in this Article. See *ibid.* p. 11.

4. By *Issues*, are meant, the Rents and Profits issuing out, or coming of the Lands or Tenements of the Ward. By *Customs*, things due by Custom or Prescription, and appendant to the Lands or Tenements in Ward ; as Advowsons, Commons, Stray, &c. also Fines of Tenants by Copy of Court-Roll. By *Servitia*, the Drudgery and Labour due from Copy holders to their Lords. See above, p. 150. and Notes, and *Coke*, p. 12, 13.

5. That is, according to their Rank, &c. *Disparagement* in a legal Sense, was used for matching an Heir in Marriage under his Degree, or against Dignity. See *Little* 107. *Jauch.*

6. *Maintenance*, that is, shall have liberty to marry where she will. It appears by *Bracton*, that a Woman who was an Heir, could not marry, without the Leave and Consent of the Lords of whom her Estates were held ; otherwise she forfeited them. *Bract.* l. 2. p. 88. *Coke*, p. 16.

7. Connected by seizing her Goods.

8. In the place the Sheriff and his Under Bailiffs are intended and meant, says Sir *Edward Coke*, p. 19.

9. By *assent* of the Common Law, the King for his Debt had Execution of the Body, Lands, and Goods of the Debtor ; so that this is an Act of Grace retaining the Power, the King had before. *Coke*, *ibid.*

Barony, by an hundred Pounds (1) ; the Heir or Heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's Fee, by an hundred Shillings at most ; and he that oweth less shall give less, according to the antient Custom of Fees.

IV. But if the Heir of any such be under Age, and shall be in (2) Ward (a) when he comes of Age, he shall have his Inheritance without Relief or without Fine (b).

V. The Warden of the Land of such Heir, who shall be under Age, shall take of the Land of such Heir only reasonable Issues, reasonable Customs, and reasonable Services (4) ; and that without destruction and waste of the Men or Things (c) : And if we commit the Guardianship of those Lands to the Sheriff, or any other, who is answerable to us for the Issues of the Land, and he make destruction and waste upon the Ward-Lands, we will compel him to give satisfaction, and the Land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet Tenants of that Fee, who shall be answerable for the Issues to us, or to him whom we shall assign. And if we give or sell the Wardship of any such Lands to any one, and he makes destruction or waste upon them, he shall lose the Wardship, which shall be committed to two lawful and discreet Tenants of that Fee, who shall in like manner be answerable to us, as hath been said.

VI. But the Warden, so long as he hath the Wardship of the Land, shall keep up and maintain the Houses, Parks, Warrens, Ponds, Mills, and other things pertaining to the Land, out of the Issues of the same Land ; and shall restore to the Heir, when he comes of full Age, his whole Land stocked with Ploughs and Carriages, according as the time of Wainage shall require, and the Issues of the Land can reasonably bear (d).

VII. Heirs shall be married without disparagement (5), [so as that before Matrimony is contracted, those who are nearest to the Heir in Blood be made acquainted with it.]

VIII. A Widow, after the death of her Husband, shall forthwith, and without any difficulty, have her Marriage (6), and her Inheritance ; nor shall she give any thing for her Dower, or her Marriage, or her Inheritance, which her Husband and she held at the day of his death : And she may remain in the Capital Mesuage or Mansion-House of her Husband, forty days after his death ; within which Term her Dower shall be assigned (e).

IX. No Widow shall be restrain'd (7) to marry herself so long as she has a mind to live without a Husband. But yet she shall give Security that she will not marry without our Assent, if she holds of Us ; or without the Consent of the Lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

X. Neither we nor our Bailiffs (8) shall seize any Land (9) or Rent for any Debt, so long as there are Chattles of the Debtor's upon the Premises, sufficient to pay the Debt (f). Nor shall the Sureties of the Debtor be distrained, so long as the principal Debtor is sufficient for the payment of the Debt.

XI. And

XI. Et si capitalis debitor defecerit in solutione debiti, non habens unde solvat, pleggii respondeant de debito, & si voluerint habeant terras & redditus debitoris, donec sit eis satisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo solverint, nisi capitalis debitor monstraverit se esse quietum inde versus eosdem pleggios.

XII. Si quis mutuo ceperit aliquid a Judeis plus vel minus, & moriatur antequam debitum illud solvatur, debitum non ufuret quamdiu heres fuerit infra etatem, de quocumque teneat; & si debitum illud inciderit in manus nostras, nos non capiemus nisi catallum contentum in charta.

XIII. Et si quis moriatur, & debitum debeat Judeis, uxor ejus habeat dotem suam, & nichil reddat de debito illo; & si liberi ipsius defuncti, qui fuerint infra etatem, remanserint, provideantur iis necessaria secundum tenementum quod fuerit defuncti; & de residuo solvatur debitum, salvo servitio dominorum. Simili modo fiat de debitis que debentur aliis quam Judeis.

XIV. Nullum scutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno nostro nisi per Commune Consilium regni nostri, nisi ad corpus nostrum redimendum; & primogenitum filium nostrum militem faciendum; & ad filiam nostram primogenitam semel maritandam: & ad hec non fiat nisi rationabile auxilium.

XV. Simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate London. & civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas libertates, & liberas consuetudines suas tam per terras quam per aquas.

XVI. Preterea volumus & concedimus, quod omnes alie civitates, & burgi, & ville & portus habeant omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines suas, & ad habendum Commune Consilium regni de auxilio assidendo aliter quam in tribus calibus predictis.

XVII. Vel de scutagio assidendo, summoneri faciemus archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites, & majores barones sigillatim per literas nostras.

XVIII. Et preterea faciemus summoneri in generali per vicecomites, & ballivos nostros omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite ad certum diem, scilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum, & in omnibus litteris illius summonitionis causam summonitionis exprimemus.

XIX. Et sic facta summonitione negotium ad diem assignatum procedat secundum consilium illorum qui presentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes summoniti venerint.

XX. Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus suis, nisi ad corpus suum redimendum; & ad faciendum primogenitum filium suum militem; & ad primogenitam filiam suam semel maritandam; & ad hec non fiat nisi rationabile auxilium.

XXI. Nullus distringatur ad faciendum majus Servitium de feodo militis, nec de alio libero tenemento, quam inde debetur.

XXII. Communia placita non sequantur curiam nostram, fed teneantur in aliquo loco certo. Recognitiones de nova dissimina;

XI. And if the principal Debtor fail in the payment of the Debt, not having wherewithal to discharge it (a), then the Sureties shall answer the Debt, and if they will, they shall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, untill they be satisfied for the Debt which they paid for him; unless the principal Debtor can shew himself acquitted thereof, against the said Sureties.

XII. [If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jew: more or less, and dies before the Debt be satisfied, there shall be no Interest paid for that Debt, so long as the Heir is under Age, of whomsoever he may hold: And if the Debt falls into our hands, we will take only the Chattel mentioned in the Charter or Instrument.]

XIII. [And if any one die indebted to the Jews, his Wife shall have her Dower, and pay nothing of that Debt; and if the deceased left Children under Age, they shall have necessaries provided for them according to the Tenement (or real Estate) of the deceased, and out of the residue the Debt shall be paid; saving however the Service of the Lords. In like manner let it be with the Debts due to other Persons than Jews.]

XIV. No Scutage (1) or Aid shall be imposed in our Kingdom, unless by the Common Council of our Kingdom, except to redeem our Person, and to make our eldest Son a Knight, and once to marry our eldest Daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable Aid.

XV. [In like manner it shall be concerning the Aids of the City of London; and] the City of London shall have all her antient Liberties and free Customs, as well by Land as by Water.

XVI. Furthermore, we will and grant that all other Cities and Burroughs, and Towns (b), and Ports, shall have all their Liberties and free Customs; and shall have the Common Council of the Kingdom concerning the Assessment of their Aids (3), except in the three Cases aforesaid.

XVII. [And for the assessing of Scutages we shall cause to be summoned the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons of the Realm singly by our Letters.]

XVIII. [And furthermore, we will cause to be summoned in general by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief (4), at a certain day, that is to say, forty days before their Meeting at least, to a certain Place; and in all Letters of such Summons, we will declare the cause of the Summons.]

XIX. [And Summons being thus made, the Business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the Advice of such as are present, although all that were summoned come not.]

XX. We will not for the future grant to any one, that he may take Aid of his own Free-Tenants, unless to redeem his Body; and to make his eldest Son a Knight, and once to marry his eldest Daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable Aid.

XXI. No Man shall be distrained to perform more Service for a Knight's Fee, or other free Tenement, than is due from thence (5).

XXII. Common Pleas (6), shall not follow our Court, but be holden in some certain Place: Tryals upon

(a) [Or will not discharge it when he is able.]

(b) [And Barons of the Cinque Ports (2).]

(1) Scutage was military Service, due to the King from the Tenants in Chief. It is to be understood also of what the Feudataries paid the King in lieu of that Service, and likewise of the Tax which was imposed on each Vassal for the Service of the Publick. Since William the Conqueror, the Kings had frequently imposed Scutages, without the consent of the States. Rapin. See above, p. 258, 280. Note II.

(2) The Cinque Ports lay in the County of Kent. They had great Privileges, which King John himself had augmented. The Governors of them were called Barons, as they are at this Day. Rapin.

(3) That is according to Dr. Brady's Explanation, they shall send their Representatives or Commissioners to the Common Council of the Kingdom.

(4) It seems to follow from this Article, that none but Tenants in Chief had a right to sit in the Common Council or Parliament. Otherwise it was natural to mention here the Representatives of the Commons, had they enjoyed that Right in those Days. Rapin.

(5) This was the ancient Law of England, as appears by Glanvill, l. 12. c. 9, 10. Coke, p. 21. See above, p. 154. Note.

(6) It may not be amiss to give an Abstract of Madox's Hypothesis concerning the Division of the King's Court, and Erection of the Bank or common Bench. That the King's Court or Palace was antiently the great and principal Seat of Judicature in this Realm, has been observed in a former Essay on the Exchequer. But in process of time, namely, about the end of King John's Reign, the Judicature of the King's Court came to be divided. And by that Division, Common Pleas were referred to a Court then newly erected; which Court was called the Bank, because it was fixed at Westminter, at which place the Justices thereof were to sit and not to follow the King's Court. The Bank was, probably, set up in aid of the King's Court, as the Iters formerly were. It has been, indeed, for some time past a received Opinion, that the four superior Courts holden at this Day in Westminster Hall are of coeval Antiquity. This may serve to silence needless Disputes concerning the Pre-eminence of one or other of the King's Courts, but does not seem to agree with the antient Records. For the Name or Style of the Bank, or Justiciars of the Bank, does not occur till long after the Norman Conquest, consequently the Bank or Common Bench was a Court different from the Curia Regis, and erected at some subsequent time. And as the Bank hath all along, since the time of the first Notice of it, dealt only or chiefly in common Pleas; so it falls out, that the Curia Regis continued to deal ordinarily in common Pleas, about the same time the Bank is supposed to be erected. Now this Division of the King's Court seems to have been begun in the Reign of Richard I. or King John, and completed in the Reign of Henry III. And to this the Great Charter, no doubt, was very conducive. In this Article of the Magna Charta therefore, by Curiam nostram may be understood the King's Court holden in his

diffaisina, de morte antecessoris, & de ultima presentatione non capiantur nisi in suis comitatibus, & hoc modo : nos, vel si extra regnum fuerimus, capitalis iusticiarius noster, mittemus duos iusticiarios per unumquemque comitatum, per quatuor vices in anno : qui cum quatuor militibus cuilibet comitatus electis per comitatum, capiant in comitatu, & in die & loco comitatus assisas predictas.

XXIII. Et si, in die comitatus, assise predictæ capi non possint, tot milites & libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui illo, per quos possint judicia sufficienter fieri, secundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

XXIV. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, nisi secundum modum delicti ; & pro magno delicto amercietur, secundum magnitudinem delicti : salvo contememento suo ; & mercator eodem modo salva mercandisia sua.

XXV. Et villanus eodem modo amercietur salvo wainagio suo, si inciderint in misericordiam nostram ; & nulla dictarum misericordiarum ponatur nisi per sacramentum proborum hominum de visneto.

XXVI. Comites & barones non amercientur, nisi per pares suos, & non nisi secundum modum delicti.

XXVII. Nullus clericus amercietur de laico tenemento suo, nisi secundum modum aliorum predictorum, & non secundum quantitatem beneficii sui ecclesiastici.

XXVIII. Nec villa, nec homo distringatur facere pontes ad riparias, nisi qui ab antiquo & de jure facere debent.

XXIX. Nullus vicecomes, constabularius, coronatores, vel alii ballivi nostri teneant placita corone nostre.

XXX. Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakia, & trethingi sint ad antiquas firmas, absque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis nostris.

XXXI. Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum, moriatur, & vicecomes vel ballivus noster ostendat literas nostras patentes de summonitione nostra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit ; liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo nostro attachiare & inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti, per visum legalium hominum, ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur, donec perfolvatur nobis debitum ; quod clarum fuerit & residuum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum testamentum defuncti, & si nichil nobis debeatur

upon the Writs of *Novel Diffaisin*, and of *Mort d' Antecessor*, and of *Darrene Presentment* (1), shall be taken ; but in their proper Counties and after this manner : We, or (if we are out of the Realm) our Chief Justiciary, shall send two Justiciaries through every County four times a year ; who with the four Knights chosen out of every Shire, by the People, shall hold the said Assizes in the County, on the day, and at the Place, appointed (2).

XXIII. And if any Matters cannot be determined on the day appointed to hold the Assizes in each County, so many of the Knights and Freeholders as have been at the Assizes aforesaid, shall be appointed to decide them, as is necessary, according as there is more or less Business (a).

XXIV. A Free-Man (3) shall not be amerced for a small Fault, but according to the degree of the Fault ; and for a great Crime, in proportion to the Heinousness of it : Saving to him his Contemement (4), and after the same manner a Merchant, saving to him his Merchandise.

XXV. And a Villain (b) shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his Wainage (5), if he falls under our Mercy ; and none of the aforesaid Amerciaments (6) shall be assessed but by the Oath of honest Men of the neighbourhood (c).

XXVI. Earls and Barons shall not be amerced but by their Peers (7), and according to the Quality of the Offence.

XXVII. No Ecclesiastical Person shall be amerced for his Lay-Tenement, but according to the proportion aforesaid, and not according to the value of his Ecclesiastical Benefice.

XXVIII. Neither a Town, nor any Person, shall be distrained to make Bridges over Rivers, unless that anciently and of Right they are bound to do it (d).

XXIX. No Sheriff, Constable (8), Coroners, or other our Bailiffs, shall hold Pleas of the Crown.

XXX. [All Counties, Hundreds, Wapentakes, and Trethings, shall stand at the old Ferm, without any Increase, except in our Demefne Lands.]

XXXI. If any one that holds of us a Lay-Fee, dies, and the Sheriff or our Bailiff shew our Letters Patents of Summons concerning the Debt, due to us from the deceased ; it shall be lawful for the Sheriff or our Bailiff to attach and register the Chattles of the deceased found upon his Lay-Fee, to the value of the Debt, by the view of lawful Men, so as nothing be removed until our whole Debt be paid ; and the rest shall be left to the Executors to fulfil the Will of the deceased : and

(a) 24. [Assizes of *Darrene Presentment* to Churches shall be always taken before the Justiciaries of the Bench.]

(b) [Of any other than our own.]

(c) [Of the County.]

(d) 30. [No River for the future shall be imbanked, but what was imbanked in the time of King Henry our Grandfather.]

his Palace ; and by *aliquo certo loco*, the Banks. So that by this Clause, the Bank might be erected, or rather confirmed and established. It is likely however, the Bank was not first erected in the seventeenth of King John. For there is mention in the twenty third and twenty fourth Chapters of that King's Charters, of the *Justiciarii nostri de Banco*, which shews, there was a Court called the Bank, before, or at least, at that time. In truth, there was a Court called the Bank, and Justiciaries styled *Justiciarii de Banco* several Years before, as appears by Records. About the time the Common Pleas were moving off from the King's Court, certain Phrases were introduced, that were not before in general Use. Such as *Curia Regis apud Westmynasterium*, *Justiciarii Regis de West*, or *apud West*, *Bancus*, and *Justiciarii de Banco*. See *Mag. Rot.* 7 R. 1. Rot. 18. 9 R. 1. Rot. 11. 2 J. Rot. 5. &c. So that it seems likely, that the Bank not being yet completely settled, the Person who was the chief Justicer of England, used to sit and act at this time, as well in the Bank, as in the King's Court, and the Exchequer. Moreover, though there was a Bank in the former part of King John's Reign, yet it seems, even at the end of his Reign, Common Pleas were not completely separated from the King's Court. For in the Clause, *Communia Placita non sequantur nostram Curiam*, it is implied that Common Pleas did then, in some measure, follow the King's Court. Upon which ground it is ordered, they should not for the future follow the King's Court, but be held in *aliquo certo loco*. However this Clause in King John's Charter, did not presently quite take away from the King's Court the former usage of dealing in Common Pleas, or completely annex them to the Bank. For the time Clause was inserted Verbatim in the Great Charter of the 9th of Henry III. See *Mag. Rot.* 2 H. III. Rot. 21. 10 Hen. III. &c. In the Reign of King John, after the erecting of the Bank, the Style of the superior Court began to alter. By degrees the Phrase *Curia Regis*, went into disuse. And the Pleas and Proceedings in that Court, were frequently said to be *Coram Rege*, or *Domino Rege* ; and in process of time, *Coram Domino Rege*, *adventurans*, &c. See *Mag. Rot.* 6 J. Rot. 16. 11 J. Rot. 4. &c. Against what has been said, are urged Glanvil's words, *Coram Justiciis in Banco adventantibus* or *residentibus*, which, it is said, prove the Bank was in being in his Time, namely, in the Reign of Henry II. But Madock shews, these words mean only the Justices sitting in the *Curia Regis* in Banco, upon the Bench, that is, in open and solemn Court. See *Hist. Exceq.* Chap. xix.

(1) A Writ of *Assize of Novel Diffaisin* lies, where a Tenant, for ever, or for Life, is put out and dispossessed of his Lands or Tenements, Rents, Common or Pasture, Common Way, or of an Office, Toll, &c. that he may recover his Right. *G. Jacob.* A Writ of *Mort d' Antecessor*, is that which lies, where any of a Man's near Relations die, seized of Lands, Rents, or Tenements, and after their Deaths, a stranger, seizes upon them. A Writ of *Darrene Presentment*, lies, where a Man and his Ancestors have presented to a Church, and after it is become void, a stranger presents there, whereby the Person having Right is disturbed. *Id.*—This Article tended greatly to the ease of the Jurors, and to the saving of Oaths to the Parties concerned ; for, before this Statute, the Writs of *Novel Diffaisin*, &c. were returnable, either before the King, or in the Court of Common Pleas, and to be taken there. *Case*, p. 24.

(2) In all appearance, since the Conquest, the Kings had abolished or very much altered this way of trying Causes, and they might have the Decision of Matters in their own Power. *Rapin.*

(3) By Freemen here and in most Places must be understood Freeholders, i. e. those that held their Lands of the King or some other Lord by a certain Relcon.

(4) Contemement is to be understood of the Means of a Man's livelihood, as the Arms of a Soldier, the Ploughs and Cattle of a Husbandman, &c.

(5) That is, his Cattle and Implements of Husbandry.

(6) See a Law, p. 207, Note II. Amerciament is derived from the French Word *Mercer*, and signifies the penalty or punishment of an Offender against

the King, or other Lord to his Court, that is bound to have offenders, and to sit at the Mercy of the King or his Lord. *Jacob.*

(7) In England there are two Orders or Degrees of Subjects, *Peers of the Realm*, and *Commoners*. The Nobles have for their *Peers*, all the Peers of the Realm ; and the *Commoners* are all reckoned *Peers* of one another. *Rapin.*

(8) is here taken for Constable of a Castle. They were Men in ancient Times of Account and Authority ; and for Pieces of the Crown, &c. had the like Authority within their precincts, as the Sheriff had within his Bailiwick, before this Act ; and they commonly sealed with their countenance as Hariback. Regularly every Castle contains a Manor, so that every Constable of a Castle is Constable of a Manor.

debeatur ab ipso omnia catalla cedant defuncto, falvis uxori ipsius & pueris rationabilibus partibus suis.

XXXII. Si aliquis liber homo intestatus decesserit, catalla sua per manus propinquorum, parentum, & amicorum suorum per visum ecclesie distribuatur; falvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat.

XXXIII. Nullus constabularius vel alius ballivus noster capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, nisi statim inde reddat denarios, aut respectum inde habere possit de voluntate venditoris.

XXXIV. Nullus constabularius distringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro custodia castri si facere voluerit custodiam illam in propria persona sua, vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit propter rationabilem causam.

XXXV. Et si nos duxerimus vel miserimus eum in exercitum, erit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

XXXVI. Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis pro caragio faciendo nisi de voluntate ipsius liberi hominis.

XXXVII. Nec nos, nec ballivi nostri capiemus alienum boscum ad castra vel alia agenda nostra, nisi per voluntatem ipsius cujus boscum ille fuerit.

XXXVIII. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de feloniam, nisi per unum annum & unum diem, & tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum.

XXXIX. Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamisia & de Medewaye, & per totam Angliam nisi per cofteram maris.

XL. Breve quod vocatur *precipe* de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento, unde liber homo amittere possit curiam suam.

XLI. Una mensura vini sit per totum regnum nostrum, & una mensura cervisie, & una mensura bladi, scilicet quarterium Londoniense, & una latitudo pannorum tinctorum & ruffetorum & halbergettorum, scilicet due ulne infra listas. De ponderibus autem sit ut de mensuris.

XLII. Nichil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquisitionis de vita vel membris, sed gratis concedatur, & non negetur.

XLIII. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodifirmam, vel per fokagium, vel per burgagium, & de alio terram teneat per servitium militare, nos non habebimus custodiam heredis nec terre sue que est de feodo alterius, occasione illius feodifirme vel fokagii, vel burgagii, nec habebimus custodiam illius feodifirme, vel fokagii vel burgagii, nisi ipsa feodifirma debeat servitium militare.

XLIV. Nos non habebimus custodiam heredis vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per servitium militare, occasione alicujus parve fergenterie quam tenet de nobis per servitium reddendi nobis cultellos vel sagittas vel hujusmodi.

XLV. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem simpliciter loquela sua sine testibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

(a) [Who is not of the Town where the Castle is.]

(b) [But if he be of the same Town, he shall pay him within forty days.]

(c) [For the Fee, for which he did service in the Army.]

(d) [Without paying according to the Rate antiently appointed, that is to say, for a Cart and two Horses Ten-pence a day; and for a Cart with three Horses Fourteen-pence a day.]

(e) [No Demesne Cart of any Ecclesiastical Person, or Knight, or any Lady, shall be taken by our Officers.]

(f) [Nor to an Oath.]

(1) The Writ called *Præcipe quod reddat*, from the first Words in it, has several Uses. It signifies in general an Order from the King, or some Court of Justice, to put in possession one that complains of having been unjustly outed. Apparently several Abuses had crept in upon this Article. *Rapin.*

(2) A sort of coarse Cloth.

(3) This was a Writ directed to the Sheriff, to enquire, whether a Man committed to Prison on Suspicion of Murder, was committed on just Cause of Suspicion, or only out of Malice and ill will. *Jacob.*

(4) To hold in *Fee-farm*, is when there is some Rent reserved by the Lord upon the Creation of the Tenancy. In *Socage*, upon Condition of plowing the Lord's Land, and doing other inferior Offices of Husbandry: And in *Burgage*, when the Inhabitants of a Borough held their Tenements of the King at a certain Rent. See above, p. 150.

(5) To make his Law, is as much as to say, to take his Oath, &c.

and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the Chattels shall remain to the Deceased, saving to his Wife and Children their reasonable Share.

XXXII. [If any Freeman dies Intestate, his Chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest Relations and Friends by view of the Church, saving to every one his Debts, which the deceased owed.]

XXXIII. No Constable or Bailiff of ours shall take Corn or other Chattels of any Man (a), unless he presently gives him Money for it, or hath respite of payment from the Seller (b).

XXXIV. No Constable shall distrain any Knight to give Money for Cattle-Guard, if he himself will do it in his own Person, or by another able Man, in case he is hindered by any reasonable Cause.

XXXV. And if we lead him, or send him into the Army, he shall be free from Cattle-Guard, for the time he shall be in the Army, by our Command (c).

XXXVI. No Sheriff or Bailiff of ours, or any other, shall take Horses or Carts of any for Carriage (d).

XXXVII. Neither we, or our Officers, or others, shall take any Man's Timber for our Castles, or other uses, unless by the Consent of the owner of the Timber (e).

XXXVIII. We will retain the Lands of those that are convicted of Felony but one year and a day, and then they shall be delivered to the Lord of the Fee.

XXXIX. All Wears for the time to come shall be destroyed in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and throughout all *England*, except upon the Sea-Coast.

XL. The Writ, which is called *Præcipe* (1), for the future, shall not be granted to any one of any Tenement, whereby a Freeman may lose his Cause.

XLI. There shall be one Measure of Wine and one of Ale, through our whole Realm, and one Measure of Corn; that is to say, the *London-Quarter*; and one breadth of dyed Cloth, and *Ruffs* and *Haberjeets* (2), that is to say, two Ells within the List; and the Weights shall be as the Measures.

XLII. From henceforward nothing shall be given or taken for a Writ of Inquisition (3), from him that desires an Inquisition of Life or Limbs, but shall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. If any one holds of us by Fee-Farm, or Socage, or Burgage (4), and holds Lands of another by military Service, We will not have the Wardship of the Heir or Land, which belongs to another Man's Fee, by reason of what he holds of us by Fee-Farm, Socage or Burgage: Nor will we have the Wardship of the Fee-Farm, Socage or Burgage, unless the Fee-Farm is bound to perform military Service.

XLIV. We will not have the Wardship of an Heir, nor of any Land, which he holds of another by military Service, by reason of any *Petit-Serjeanty* he holds of us, as by the Service of giving us Daggers, Arrows, or the like.

XLV. No Bailiff for the future shall put any Man to his Law (5), (f) upon his single Accusation, without credible Witnesses produced to prove it.

XLVI. Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisietur, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruat; nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi, per legale iudicium parium suorum, vel per legem terre.

XLVII. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut iusticiam.

XLVIII. Omnes mercatores habeant saluum & securum exire de Anglia & venire in Angliam, & morari & ire per Angliam, tam per terram quam per aquam, ad emendum & vendendum, sine omnibus malis tollis, per antiquas & rectas consuetudines preterquam in tempore gwerre, & si sint de terra contra nos gwerrina.

XLIX. Et si tales inveniantur in terra nostra in principio gwerre, attachientur sine dampno corporum & rerum, donec sciatur a nobis vel capitali Iusticiario nostro quomodo Mercatores terre nostre tractentur qui tunc invenientur in terra contra nos gwerrina; & si nostri salvi sint ibi, alii salvi sint in terra nostra.

L. Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno nostro, & redire, salvo & securo per terram & per aquam salva fide nostra, nisi tempore gwerre per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni, exceptis inprisonatis & utlagatis secundum legem regni, & gente de terra contra nos gwerrina, & Mercatoribus de quibus fiat sicut predictum est.

LI. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua Escaeta sicut de honore Walingeford, Notingham, Bononia, Lankastrie, vel de aliis Escaetis que sunt in manu nostra, & sunt Baronie, & obierit, heres ejus non det aliud Relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud servitium quam faceret Baroni si Baronia illa esset in manu Baronis, & nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo Baro eam tenuit.

LII. Homines qui manent extra forestam non veniant de cetero coram Iusticiariis nostris de Foresta pro communibus summonitiones, nisi sint in placito, vel Pleggi aliqujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati sint pro foresta.

LIII. Nos non faciemus Iusticiarios Constabularios, Vicecomites, vel Ballivos nisi de talibus qui sciant legem regni, & eam bene velint observare.

LIV. Omnes Barones qui fundaverunt Abbatis unde habent cartas regum Anglie, vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum custodiam cum vacaverint, sicut habere debent.

LV. Omnes Foreste que aforestate sunt tempore nostro, statim deaforestentur, & ita fiat de Ripariis que per nos tempore nostro posite sunt in defenso.

LVI. Omnes male consuetudines de Forestis, Warrenis, & de Forestariis & Warennariis, Vicecomitibus, & eorum ministris, Ripariis & earum custodibus statim inquir-

XLVI. No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseis'd (a), or out-law'd, or banish'd, or any ways destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to Prison, unless by the legal Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land (1).

XLVII. We will sell to no Man, we will deny no Man, or defer Right nor Justice.

XLVIII. All Merchants (b) shall have safe and secure Conduct to go out of, and to come into England (2); and to stay there, and to pass as well by Land as by Water, to buy and sell by the antient and allowed Customs, without any evil Tolls, except in time of War, or when they are of any Nation in War with us.

XLIX. And if there be found any such in our Land in the beginning of a War, they shall be attached, without damage to their Bodies or Goods, until it may be known unto us, or our Chief Justiciary, how our Merchants be treated in the Nation at War with us; and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe in our Dominions.

L. [It shall be lawful for the time to come, for any one to go out of our Kingdom, and return safely and securely by Land or by Water, saving his Allegiance to us; unless in time of War by some short space for the common benefit of the Kingdom, except Prisoners and Out-laws, (according to the Law of the Land) and People in war with us, and Merchants who shall be in such condition as is above-mentioned.]

LI. If any Man holds of any Escheat, as of the Honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other Escheats which are in our hands, and are Baronies, and dies, his Heir shall not give any other Relief, or perform any other Service to us than he would to the Baron, if the Barony were in possession of the Baron; we will hold it after the same manner the Baron held it (c).

LII. [Those Men who dwell without the Forest, from henceforth shall not come before our Justiciaries of the Forest upon common Summons, but such as are impleaded, or are Pledges for any that were attached for something concerning the Forest] (d).

LIII. We will not make any Justiciaries, Constables, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, but what are knowing in the Law of the Realm, and are disposed duly to observe it.

LIV. All Barons, who are Founders of Abbies, and have Charters of the Kings of England for the Advowson, or are entitled to it by antient Tenure, may have the custody of them, when void, as they ought to have.

LV. All Woods that have been taken into the Forests (e), in our own time, shall forthwith be laid out again (f), and the like shall be done with the Rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us, during our Reign.

LVI. All evil Customs concerning Forests, Warrens, and Foresters, Warreners, Sheriffs, and their Officers, Rivers and their Keepers, shall forthwith be enquired into

(a) [Of his Free-hold or Liberties, or Free-Customs.]

(b) [Unless they be publickly prohibited.]

(c) [Nor will we by reason of such Barony or Escheat, have any Escheat or Wardship of any of our Men, unless he that held the Barony or Escheat, held of us in Chief elsewhere.]

(d) 59. [No County-Court for the future shall be holden, but from Month to Month; and where there used to be a greater Interval, let it be so continued. 60. Neither any Sheriff, nor his Bailiff, shall keep his Turn in the Hundred oftner than twice in a Year, and only in the accustomed place; that is, once after Easter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of Frank-Pledge shall be held after Michaelmas, without occasion (3), and so that every one shall have his Liberties, which he had and was wont to have in the time of King Henry our Grandfather, or such as he obtained afterwards. 61. But the view of Frank-Pledge shall be so made, that our Peace may be kept, and that the Tything be full, as it was wont to be. 62. And the Sheriffs shall not seek occasions (4), but shall be content with what the Sheriff was wont to have for making his View in the time of King Henry our Grandfather. 63. For the time to come it shall not be lawful for any Man to give his Land to a Religious House, so as to take it again, and hold it of that House. 64. Nor shall it be lawful for any Religious House to receive Land, so as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any Man for the future shall so give his Land to a Religious House, and be convicted thereof, his Gift shall be void, and the Land shall be forfeited to the Lord of the Fee (5). 65. Scutage for the future shall not be taken as it was used to be taken in the time of King Henry our Grandfather; [and that the Sheriff shall oppress no Man, but be content with what he was wont to have.] 66. Saving to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Templars, Hospitallers, Earls, Barons, Knights, and all others, as well Ecclesiasticks as Seculars, the Liberties and free Customs which they had before: These being Witnesses, &c.

(e) [By King Richard our Brother.]

(f) [Unless they were our Demesne Woods.]

(1) That is, says Dr. Brady, by legal Process, &c.

(2) By some antient Laws of England, foreign Merchants were forbid coming into the Kingdom, except in Fair Time, and then were not to stay above forty Days. See Brady, p. 57.

(3) See Occasion, i. e. without Oppression. Brady.

(4) Occasions, Causes to oppress any Man. Brady.

(5) The Reasons of these two Articles were, because by holding their Lands of the Church, the Service due from the Fees, which were intended for the Defence of the Realm were usually withdrawn; and because the chief Lords lost the Escheats, Wardships, Reliefs, and the like. Advantage it was wont used to evade the Force of the Law. But an effectual Step was put to them at last by the Statute of Mortmain. See Brady.

inquirantur in quolibet Comitatu per duodecim Milites juratos de eodem Comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejusdem Comitatus, & infra quadraginta dies post inquisitionem factam, penitus, ita quod numquam revocentur, deleantur. o---

LVII. Omnes obfides & cartas statim reddemus que liberate fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in securitatem pacis, vel fidelis servitii.

LVIII. Nos amovebimus penitus de balliviis parentes Gerardi de Athyes, quod de cetero nullam habeant balliviam in Anglia; Engeldardum de Cygony, Andream, Petrum, & Gyonem, de Cancell. Gyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martyni, & fratres ejus, Philippum Marcum, & fratres ejus, & Galfridum nepotem ejus, & totam sequelam eorundem.

LIX. Et statim post pacis reformationem, amovebimus de regno, omnes alienigenas Milites, Balistarios, servientes stipendiarios, qui venerint cum equis & armis ad nocumentum regni.

LX. Si quis fuerit discessitus, vel elongatus per nos, sine legali judicio parium suorum, de terris, castallis, libertatibus, vel jure suo, statim ea ei restituemus; & si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque Baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in securitate pacis.

LXI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis discessitus fuerit, vel elongatus, sine legali judicio parium suorum per Henricum regem patrem nostrum, vel per Ricardum regem fratrem nostrum, que in manu nostra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warrantizare respectum habebimus usque ad communem terminum cruce-signatorum. Exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuit, vel inquisitio facta per preceptum nostrum, ante susceptionem crucis nostre; cum autem redierimus de peregrinatione nostra, vel si forte remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra, statim inde plenam justiciam exhibebimus.

LXII. Eundem autem respectum habebimus, ---o de forestis deafforestandis, quas Henricus pater noster vel Ricardus frater noster afforestaverunt, & de custodiis terrarum que sunt de alieno feodo, cujusmodi custodias hucusque habuimus, occasione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per *Servitium militare*, & de Abbatis que fundate fuerint in feodo alterius quam nostro, in quibus dominus feodi dixerit se jus habere; & cum redierimus, vel si remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra, super hiis conquerentibus plenam justiciam statim exhibebimus.

LXIII. Nullus capiatur nec imprisonetur, propter appellum femine, de morte alterius, quam viri sui.

LXIV. Omnes fines, qui injuste & contra legem terre facti sunt nobiscum, & omnia amerciamenta facta injuste & contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque Baronum de quibus fit mentio inferius in securitate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorundem, una cum predicto Stephano Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, si interesse poterit, & aliis quos secum ad hoc vocare voluerit; & si interesse non poterit, nichilominus procedat negotium sine eo. Ita quod, si aliquis vel aliqui, de predictis viginti quinque Baronibus, fuerint in simili querela, amoveantur, quantum ad hoc judicium, & alii loco illorum per residuos de eisdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi, & jurati substituantur.

LXV. Si nos discessimus, vel elongavimus Walenses de terris, vel libertatibus, vel rebus aliis, sine legali judicio parium suorum, eis statim reddantur; & si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium suorum; de tenementis Anglie, secundum legem Anglie, de tenementis Wallie, secundum legem Wallie, de tenementis Marchie, secundum legem Marchie: idem facient Walenses nobis & nostris.

LXVI. De

(a) 54. [No Freeman for the future shall give or sell any more of his Land, but so that out of the Residue, the Service due to the Lord of the Fee may be sufficiently performed.]

(1) Their Names, according to *M. Paris*, were the Earls of *Clare*, *Albemarle*, *Gloucester*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, Earl *Euger*, Earl *Robert*, Earl *Marshall* junior, *Robert Fitz-Walter* senior, *Gilbert de Clare*, *Enfisee de Veger*, *Hugh Bigot*, *William de Maribay*, the Mayor of *London*, *Guillelmus de Lancia*, *Robert de Rie*, the Countess of *Cheshire*, *Richard de Percy*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *William Malet*, *Geoffrey de St. Remy*, *de Maribay*, *William de St. Remy*, *Richard de Montfort*, *William de Arden*, p. 262.

'into in each County, by twelve Knights of the same Shire, chosen by the most creditable Persons in the same County, and upon Oath; and, within forty days after the said Inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored (a).

'LVII. We will immediately give up all Hostages and Engagements, delivered unto us by our *English* Subjects, as Securites for their keeping the Peace, and yielding us faithful Service.

'LVIII. We will entirely remove from our Bailiwick, the Relations of *Gerard de Athyes*, so as that for the future they shall have no Bailiwick in *England*. We will also remove *Engelard de Cygony*, *Andrew*, *Peter*, and *Gyon*, *de Canceles*, *Gyon de Cygony*, *Geoffrey de Martyn*, and his Brothers, *Philip Malet*, and his Brothers, and his Nephew *Geoffrey*, and their whole Retinue.

'LIX. And as soon as Peace is restored, we will send out of the Kingdom all foreign Soldiers, Crossbowmen, and Stipendiaries, who are come with Horses and Arms, to the Injury of our People.

'LX. If any one hath been dispossessed, or deprived by us without the legal Judgment of his Peers, of his Lands, Castles, Liberties or Right, we will forthwith restore them to him; and if any dispute arises upon this head, let the matter be decided by the five and twenty Barons hereafter mentioned (1), for the preservation of the Peace.

'LXI. As for all those things, of which any Person has without the legal Judgment of his Peers been dispossessed or deprived, either by King *Henry* our Father, or our Brother King *Richard*, and which we have in our hands, or are possessed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we shall have a respite, til the Term usually allowed the Croises; excepting those things about which there is a Suit depending, or whereof an Inquest hath been made by our order, before we undertook the Crusade. But when we return from our Pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cause full Justice to be administered therein.

'LXII. The same respite we shall have for disafforesting the Forests, which *Henry* our Father, or our Brother *Richard* have afforested; and for the Wardship of the Lands which are in another's Fee, in the same manner as we have hitherto enjoyed those Wardships, by reason of a Fee held of us by Knight's Service; and for the Abbies founded in any other Fee than our own, in which the Lord of the Fee claims a Right: And when we return from our Pilgrimage, or if we should not perform it, we will immediately do full Justice to all the Complainants in this behalf.

'LXIII. No Man shall be taken or imprisoned, upon the Appeal of a Woman, for the death of any other Man than her Husband.

'LXIV. All unjust and illegal Fines, and all Amerciaments imposed unjustly, and contrary to the Law of the Land, shall be entirely forgiven or else be left to the decision, of the five and twenty Barons hereafter mentioned, for the preservation of the Peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforesaid *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to take along with him: And if he cannot be present, the Business shall notwithstanding go on without him. But so, that if one or more of the foresaid five and twenty Barons be Plaintiffs in the same cause, they shall be set aside, as to what concerns this particular Affair; and others be chosen in their room out of the said five and twenty, and sworn by the rest to decide that matter.

'LXV. If we have disseised or dispossessed the *Heiress* of any Lands, Liberties, or other things, without the legal Judgment of their Peers, they shall immediately be restored to them. And if any Dispute arises upon this head, the matter shall be determined in the *Marches*, by the Judgment of their Peers: For Tenements in *England* according to the Law of *England*: For Tenements in *Wales* according to the Law of *Wales*: The same shall the *Heiress* do to us and our Subjects.

LXVI. As

LXVI. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walensium disfaistatus fuerit, vel elongatus, sine legali iudicio parium suorum, ÷ per Henricum regem patrem nostrum vel Ricardum regem fratrem nostrum, que nos in manu nostra habemus, vel que alii tenent, que nos oporteat warrantizare, respectum habebimus usque ad communem terminum cruce-signatorum : illis exceptis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquisitio facta per preceptum nostrum, ante susceptionem crucis nostre ; cum autem redierimus, vel si forte remanserimus a peregrinatione nostra, statim eis inde plenam justiciam exhibebimus, secundum leges Walensium, & partes predictas.

LXVII. Nos reddemus filium Lewelini statim, & omnes obsides de Wallia, & cartas que nobis liberate fuerunt in securitatem pacis.

LXVIII. Nos faciemus Alexandro Regi Scottorum, de sororibus suis & obsidibus reddendis, & libertatibus suis, & jure suo, secundum formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus nostris Anglie, nisi aliter esse debeat per cartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipsius, quondam rege Scottorum ; & hoc erit per iudicium parium suorum in curia nostra.

LXIX. Omnes autem istas consuetudines predictas, & libertates quas nos concessissimus in regno nostro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga nostros omnes de regno nostro, tam clerici quam laici observent, quantum ad se pertinet erga suos.

LXX. Cum autem pro Deo, & ad emendationem regni nostri, & ad melius sopiendam discordiam inter nos & barones nostros ortam, hec omnia predicta concesserimus, volentes ea integra & firma stabilitate gaudere ., facimus & concedimus eis securitatem subscriptam ; videlicet quod barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno, quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus suis, observare, tenere, & facere observari, pacem & libertates quas eis concessimus, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus. Ita scilicet quod si nos, vel justiciarius noster, vel Ballivi nostri, vel aliquis de Ministris nostris, in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut securitatis transgressi fuerimus, & delictum ostensum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos, vel ad justiciarium nostrum si fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis excessum, petent, ut excessum illum sine dilatione faciamus emendari : & si nos excessum non emendaverimus, vel si fuerimus extra regnum justiciarius noster non emendaverit, infra tempus quadraginta dierum, computandum a tempore quo monstratum fuerit nobis, vel justiciario nostro, si extra regnum fuerimus, predicti quatuor Barones referent causam illam ad residuos de viginti quinque baronibus, & illi viginti quinque barones cum communa totius terre, distringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, scilicet per captionem castrorum, terrarum, possessionum, & aliis modis quibus poterunt donec fuerit emendatum secundum arbitrium eorum ; salva persona nostra, & Regine nostre, & liberorum nostrorum, & cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis sicut prius fecerunt.

LXXI. Et quicumque voluerit de terra, juret, quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum, & quod gravabit nos pro posse suo cum ipsis ; & nos publice & libere damus licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, & nulli unquam jurare prohibebimus.

LXXII. Omnes autem illos de terra qui per se & sponte sua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de distringendo & gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eisdem de mandato nostro, sicut predictum est.

LXXIII. Et si aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus decesserit, vel a terra receperit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quo minus ista predicta possent exequi, qui residui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, eligant alium loco ipsius, pro arbitrio suo, qui simili modo erit juratus quo & ceteri.

LXXIV. In

‘ LXVI. As for all those things, of which any *Welsh* man hath, without the legal Judgment of his Peers, been disseised or deprived, by King *Henry* our Father, or our Brother King *Richard*, and which we either have in our hands, or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it ; we shall have a respite till the time generally allowed the Croises : Excepting those things about which a Suit is depending, or whereof of an Inquest hath been made by our order, before we undertook the Crusade. But when we return, or if we stay at home and do not perform our Pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full Justice according to the Laws of the *Welsh*, and of the Parts afore-mentioned.

‘ LXVII. We will without delay dismiss the Son of *Lewelin*, and all the *Welsh* Hostages, and release them from the Engagements they entered into with us for the preservation of the Peace.

‘ LXVIII. We shall treat with *Alexander* King of *Scots*, concerning the restoring of his Sisters and Hostages, and his Right and Liberties, in the same form and manner as we shall do to the rest of our Barons of *England* ; unless by the Engagements which his Father *William* late King of *Scots* hath entered into with us it ought to be otherwise ; and this shall be left to the Determination of his Peers in our Court.

‘ LXIX. All the aforesaid Customs and Liberties which we have granted, to be holden in our Kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our People ; all our Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, shall observe as far as they are concerned, towards their Dependents.

‘ LXX. And, whereas for the Honour of God, and the Amendment of our Kingdom, and for quieting the Discord that has arisen between us and our Barons, we have granted all the things aforesaid ; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant our Subjects the following Security ; namely, that the Barons may chuse five and twenty Barons of the Kingdom, whom they think convenient, who shall take care, with all their might, to hold and observe, and cause to be observed, the Peace and Liberties we have granted them, and by this our present Charter confirmed. So as that, if we, our Justiciary, our Bailiffs, or any of our Officers, shall in any case fail in the performance of them, towards any Person ; or shall break through any of these Articles of Peace and Security, and the Offence is notified to four Barons, chosen out of the five and twenty aforementioned, the said four Barons shall repair to us, or our Justiciary if we are out of the Realm ; and laying open the Grievance, shall petition to have it redressed without delay ; and if it is not redressed by us, or, if we should chance to be out of the Realm, if it is not redressed by our Justiciary within forty Days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our Justiciary if we should be out of the Realm ; the four Barons aforeaid shall lay the Cause before the rest of the five and twenty Barons ; and the said five and twenty Barons, together with the Community of the whole Kingdom, shall distrain and distress us all the ways possible ; namely, by seizing our Castles, Lands, Possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the Grievance is redressed according to their Pleasure, saving harmless our own Person, and the Person of our Queen and Children ; and when it is redressed, they shall obey us as before.

‘ LXXI. And any Person whatsoever in the Kingdom may swear, that he will obey the Orders of the five and twenty Barons aforeaid, in the Execution of the Premises, and that he will distress us, jointly with them, to the utmost of his Power ; and we give publick and free Liberty to any one that will swear to them, and never shall hinder any Person from taking the same Oath.

‘ LXXII. As for all those of our Subjects, who will not, of their own accord, swear to join the five and twenty Barons, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our Order to make them take the same Oath, as aforeaid.

‘ LXXIII. And if any one of the five and twenty Barons dies, or goes out of the Kingdom, or is hindered any other way, from putting the things aforeaid in execution ; the rest of the said five and twenty Barons may chuse another in his room, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner, as the rest.

LXXIV. In

LXXIV. In omnibus autem, que istis viginti quinque baronibus committantur exequenda, si forte ipsi viginti quinque presentes fuerint, & inter se super re aliqua discordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis summoniti, nolint, vel nequeant interelle, ratum habeatur & firmum, quod major pars eorum qui presentes fuerint providerit, vel preceperit, & si omnes viginti quinque in hoc contulerint, & predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fideliter observabunt & pro toto posse suo facient observari.

LXXV. Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo, per nos, nec per alium, per quod aliqua istarum concessionum & libertatum revocetur vel minuat, & si aliquid tale impetratum fuerit irritum sit & inane; & nunquam eo utemur per nos, nec per alium.

LXXVI. Et omnes malas voluntates, indignationes, & rancores ortos inter nos & homines nostros, clericos & laicos, a tempore discordie, plene omnibus remittimus, & condonamus. Preterea, omnes transgressionem factas occasione ejusdem discordie, a pascha anno regni nostri sextodecimo, usque ad pacem reformatam, plene remittimus omnibus clericis & laicis, & quantum ad nos pertinet plene condonamus.

LXXVII. Et insuper, fecimus eis fieri litteras testimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, domini Henrici Dublinensis archiepiscopi, & episcoporum predictorum, & magistrum Pandulphi, super securitate ista, & concessionibus prefatis.

LXXVIII. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus, quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, & quod homines in regno nostro habeant, & teneant, omnes prefatas libertates, jura, & concessionem, bene & in pace, libere & quiete, plene & integre, sibi & heredibus suis, de nobis & heredibus nostris in omnibus rebus & locis in perpetuum, sicut predictum est.

LXXIX. Juratum est tam autem ex parte nostra, quam ex parte baronum, quod hec omnia supradicta, bona fide, & sine malo ingenio observabuntur.

Testibus supradictis, & multis aliis. Data per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Runingmede inter Windelesfor. & Stanes quinto decimo die junii anno regni nostri septimo decimo.

o--- Deleantur per eodem ita quod nos hoc sciamus prius vel Justiciarius noster si in Anglia non fuerimus.

---o Eandem autem respectum habebimus, & eodem modo de Justicia exhibenda, De forestis deafforestandis vel remanentibus forestis.

÷ Parium suorum in Angl. vel in Wallia.

∴ Gaudere in perpetuum. ---

Examined and compared with the Original in the Cottonian Library,

By DAVID CASSLEY, Deputy-Librarian.

There are two Copies of this Charter in the Cotton Library, which are as old as the time of King John. One has still the Great Seal, though some of it was melted by the Flames, which on October 23. 1731, consumed part of the above-said Library, and which also made a few Letters of the Charter not legible: But they were supplied out of the other by the learned Mr. David Casley, from whose Copy this is printed; and are distinguished above by **Black Letters**. Both Charters were wisely writ by the same Hand. That which hath no Seal, has two Slits at the bottom, from which, without question, hung two Seals.--- The few words printed here at the end, are placed so in the Original, and referred to by the same Marks.

‘ LXXIV. In all things that are committed to the charge of these five and twenty Baron, if, when they are all assembled together, they should happen to differ about any matter, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot come; whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined by the major part of those who are present, shall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and twenty had given their Consent, and the foresaid five and twenty shall swear, that all the Premises they shall faithfully observe, and cause with all their power to be observed.

‘ LXXV. And we will not, by ourselves, or other, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked, or lessened; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other.

‘ LXXVI. And all the Ill-will, Anger, and Malice, that hath arisen between us and our Subjects, of the Clergy and Laity, from the first breaking out of the dissension between us, we do fully remit and forgive. Moreover all Trespasses occasioned by the said dissension, from *Easter*, in the sixteenth year of our Reign, till the Restoration of Peace and Tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit, to all, Clergy as well as Laity, and as far as in us lies, do fully forgive.

‘ LXXVII. We have moreover granted them our Letters Patents testimonial of *Stephen* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Henry* Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and the Bishops aforesaid, as also of Master *Pandulph*, for the Security and Concessions aforesaid.

LXXVIII. Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the Church of *England* be free, and that all Men in our Kingdom, have and hold, all the foresaid Liberties, Rights, and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themselves and their Heirs, of Us and our Heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforesaid.

‘ LXXIX. It is also sworn, as well on our part, as on the part of the Barons, that all the things aforesaid shall faithfully and sincerely be observed.’

Given under our hand, in the presence of the Witnesses above-named, and many others, in the Meadow called Runingmede, between Windelesfore and Stanes, the 15th day of June, in the 17th year of our Reign.

‘ o--- So as we are first acquainted therewith, or our Justiciary, if we should not be in *England*.

‘ ---o And in the same manner, about administering Justice, deafforesting the Forests, or letting them continue.

‘ ÷ Either in *England* or *Wales*.---

‘ ∴ For ever.---

T H E CHARTER of FORESTS (1)

*Granted by King JOHN to his Subjects in the Year
1215 (2).*

JOHANNES Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis quod intuitu Dei & pro salute animæ nostræ & animarum antecessorum & successorum, ad exaltationem sanctæ ecclesiæ, & emendationem regni nostri; spontanea & bona voluntate nostra dedimus, & concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, has libertates subscriptas, habendas & tenendas in regno nostro Angliæ in perpetuum.

I. In primis omnes forestæ quas rex Henricus avus noster afforestavit, videantur per probos & legales homines; & si boscum aliquem alium quam suam dominicum, afforestaverit ad damnum illius cujus boscus fuerit, statim deafforestetur. Et si boscum suum proprium afforestaverit, remaneat foresta, salva communia de herbagio & rebus aliis in eadem foresta, illis qui eam prius habere consueverunt.

II. Homines qui manent extra forestam, non veniant de cætero coram iusticiariis nostris de foresta, per communes submonitiones; nisi sint in placito, vel plegii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati sunt propter forestam: omnes autem bosci qui fuerunt afforestati per regem Richardum fratrem nostrum, statim deafforestentur; nisi fuerint domini bosci nostri.

III. Archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, priores, comites, barones, milites, & libere tenentes, qui boscos habent in foresta, habeant boscos suos sicut eos habuerunt tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi nostri; ita quod quieti sint in perpetuum de omnibus purpresturis, vastis & affartis factis in illis boscis post illud tempus, usque ad principium secundi anni coronationis nostræ. Et qui de cætero vastum, purpresturam, vel affartum facient sine licentia nostra in illis boscis, de vastis, purpresturis, & affartis respondeant.

IV. Regardatores nostri eant per forestas, ad faciendum regardum, sicut fieri consuevit tempore primæ coronationis prædicti regis Henrici avi nostri, & non aliter.

V. Inquisitio vel visus de expeditione canum existentium in foresta de cætero fiat, quando fieri debet regardum; scilicet de tertio anno in tertium annum; & tunc fiat per visum & testimonium legalium hominum, & non aliter. Et ille cujus canis inventus fuerit tunc non expeditatus, pro misericordia det tres solidos; & de cætero nullus bos capiatur pro expeditione. Talis autem expeditatio fit per affisam communiter, quod tres ortelli ascendantur de pede anteriori five poleta. Non expeditentur canes de cætero, nisi in locis ubi expeditari solent tempore primæ coronationis prædicti Henrici regis avi nostri.

VI. Nullus forestarius vel bedellus, faciat de cætero scotallum, vel colligat garbas, vel avenam, vel bladum aliud, vel agnos, vel porcellos, nec aliquam collectam faciat; & per visum & sacramentum duodecim regardatorum, quando facient regardum, tot forestarii ponantur ad forestas custodiendas,

JOH N, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, &c. Know ye, that for the honour of God, and the health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Ancestors and Successors, and for the exaltation of Holy Church, and for the reformation of our Kingdom, We have of our free and good Will given and granted for Us and our Heirs, these Liberties hereafter specified, to be had and observed in our Kingdom of *England* for ever.

I. *Imprimis*, All the Forests made by our Grandfather King *Henry*, shall be viewed by honest and lawful Men; and if he turned any other than his own proper Woods into Forests, to the damage of him whose Wood it was, it shall forthwith be laid out again and *disafforested*. And if he turned his own Woods into Forest, they shall remain so, saving the Common of Pasture to such as were formerly wont to have it.

II. *Is the LII and LV of the Great Charter put into one Chapter.*

III. The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free-Tenants, who have Woods in any Forests, shall have their Woods as they had them at the time of the first Coronation of our Grandfather King *Henry*, so as they shall be discharged for ever of all Purprestures (3), Wastes and Affarts (4), made in those Woods, after that time, to the beginning of the second year of our Coronation; and those who for the time to come shall make Waste, Purpresture or Affart in those Woods without our Licence, shall answer for them (5).

IV. Our Inspectors or Viewers shall go through the Forests to make a View, as it was wont to be at the time of the first Coronation of our said Grandfather King *Henry*, and not otherwise.

V. The Inquisition, or view for Lawing (6) of Dogs which are kept within the Forest, for the future shall be when the View is made, that is, every three years, and then shall be done by the View and Testimony of lawful Men, and not otherwise; and he whose Dogs at such time shall be found unlawed, shall be fined three Shillings; and for the future, no Ox shall be taken for Lawing, and such Lawing shall be according to the common Affize; namely, the three Claws of the Dog's Forefoot shall be cut off, or the Ball of the Foot taken out. And from henceforward Dogs shall not be lawed, unless in such places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

VI. No Forester or *Bedel* (7) for the future, shall make any Ale-Shots (8), or collect Sheaves of Corn, or Oats, or other Grain, or Lambs, or Pigs; nor shall make any gathering whatsoever, but by the View and Oath of twelve Inspectors; and when they make their View,

(1) The Forests belonged originally to the Crown, and the Kings had granted several parts and parcels to private Men, who had grubbed them up and made them Arable or Pasture. But yet all that was thus grubbed was still called Forest. These Forests belonging to the King as his own Demains, were the Sovereign Lord, were a continual Source of vexatious Suits, as well against those which held them of the King, as against the neighbouring Freeman, under pretence of the Rights of the Crown.

(2) As it is to be found in *Matthew Paris*. p. 250.

(3) *i. e.* Encroachments upon the King's Lands.

(4) *i. e.* Grubbing up Wood, and making it Arable, without Licence.

(5) Every Article of this Charter is a clear Evidence how much the Subject was oppressed under pretence of preserving the Royal Forests.

(6) Cutting off their Claws, &c.

(7) Bailiff of the Forest.

(8) Trials, taking Advantage of the Offences.

custodiendas, quot ad illas custodiendas, rationabiliter viderint sufficere.

VII. Nullum suanimotum de cætero teneatur in regno nostro, nisi ter in anno; videlicet in principio quindecim dierum ante festum sancti Michaelis, quando agistatores veniunt ad agistandum dominicos boscos, & circa festum sancti Martini quando agistatores nostri debent accipere panagium suum. Et ad ista duo suanimota, convenient forestarii, viridarii, & agistatores; & nullus alius per districtiōnem. Et tertium suanimotum teneatur in initio XV dierum ante festum sancti Johannis Baptistæ pro scœnatione bestiarum nostrarum; & ad istum suanimotum convenient forestarii, viridarii, & non alii per districtiōnem.

VIII. Et præterea singulis quadraginta diebus, per totum annum convenient viridarii & forestarii ad videndum attachiamenta de foresta tam de viridi quam de venatione, per præsentationem ipsorum forestariorum, & coram ipsis attachientur: prædicta autem suanimota non teneantur, nisi in comitatibus in quibus teneri consueverunt.

IX. Unusquisque liber homo agisset boscum suum in foresta pro voluntate sua, & habeat panagium suum.

X. Concedimus etiam quod unusquisque liber homo possit ducere porcos suos per dominicum boscum nostrum, libere & sine impedimento; & ad agistandum eos in boscis suis propriis, vel alibi ubi voluerit. Et si porci alicujus liberi hominis una nocte pernoctaverint in foresta nostra, non inde occasione, ita quod aliquid de suo perdat.

XI. Nullus de cætero amittat vitam vel membra pro venatione nostra; sed si aliquis captus fuerit & convictus de captione venationis, graviter redimatur, si habeat unde redimi possit, & si non unde redimi possit, jaceat in prisona nostra per annum unum & unum diem. Et si post annum unum & unum diem plegios invenire possit, exeat a prisona; sin autem, abjuret regnum nostrum Angliæ.

XII. Quicumque archiepiscopus, episcopus, comes vel baro veniens ad nos per mandatum nostrum, transierit per forestam nostram, licet illi capere unam vel duas bestias per visum forestarii si præsens fuerit; sin autem, faciat cornari, ne videatur hoc furtive facere: item licet in redeundo idem eis facere, sicut prædictum est.

XIII. Unusquisque liber homo de cætero sine occasione, faciat in bosco suo vel in terra sua, quam habet in foresta molendinum, vivarium, stagnum, marleram, fossatum vel terram arabilem, extra co-opertum in terra arabili, ita quod non sit ad nocumentum alicujus vicini.

XIV. Unusquisque liber homo habeat in boscis suis ærias accipitrum, spervariarum, falconum, aquilarum & heironum; & habeant similiter mel quod inventum fuerit in boscis suis.

XV. Nullus forestarius de cætero, qui non sit forestarius de feudo, reddens firmam nobis pro balliva sua, capiat cheminagium, scilicet pro careta per dimidium annum, duos denarios, & per alium dimidium duos denarios; & pro equo, qui portat summagium, per dimidium annum, unum obolum, & per alium dimidium annum, unum obolum; & non nisi de illis, qui extra ballivam suam tanquam mercatores veniunt, per licentiam suam in ballivam suam, ad buscam, meiremium, corticem, vel carbonem emendum, & alias ducendum ad vendendum ubi voluerint. Et de nulla careta alia, vel summagio, aliquod cheminagium capiatur; non capiatur cheminagium, nisi in locis illis, ubi antiquitus capi solebat & debuit: illi autem qui portant super dorsum suum, buscam, corticem vel carbonem ad vendendum, quamvis inde vivant, nullum de cætero dent cheminagium de boscis aliorum; nullum detur cheminagium forestariis nostris præterquam de dominicis boscis nostris.

XVI. Omnes utlagati pro foresta a tempore regis Henrici avi nostri, usque ad primam coronationem nostram, veniant

View, so many Foresters shall be appointed to keep the Forest as they shall reasonably think sufficient.

VII. No Swainmote for the time to come shall be holden in our Kingdom oftner than thrice a year: that is to say, in the beginning of fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the Agisters, come to agist the demesne Woods; and about the feast of St. Martin, when our Agisters are to receive their Pannage (1); and in these two Swainmotes, the Foresters, Verderers, and Agisters shall meet, and no other by Compulsion or Distress; and the third Swainmote shall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen days before the Feast of St. John Baptist, concerning the Fawning of our Does: and at this Swainmote shall meet the Foresters and Verderers, and no others shall be compelled to be there.

VIII. And furthermore, every forty days throughout the year, the Verderers and Foresters shall meet to view the Attachments of the Forest, as well of Vert (2) as Venison, by Presentment of the Foresters themselves: and they who committed the Offences, shall be forced to appear before them: But the aforesaid Swainmote shall be holden but in such Counties as they were wont to be holden.

IX. Every Freeman shall agist (3) his Wood in the Forest at his pleasure, and shall receive his Pannage.

X. We grant also, that every Freeman may drive his Hogs through our demesne Woods, freely and without Impediment, and may agist them in his own Woods, or elsewhere, as he will; and if the Hogs of any Freeman shall remain one Night in our Forest, he shall not be troubled, so as to lose any thing for it.

XI. No Man for the time to come shall lose Life or Limb for taking our Venison; but if any one be seized and convicted of taking Venison, he shall be grievously fined, if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he shall lye in our Prison a year and a day. And if after that time he can find Sureties, he shall be released; if not, he shall abjure our Realm of England.

XII. It shall be lawful for every Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron, coming to us by our Command, and passing through our Forest, to take one or two Deer by view of the Forester, if present, if not, he shall cause a Horn to be sounded, lest he should seem to steal them. Also in their return, it shall be lawful for them to do the same thing.

XIII. Every Freeman for the future may erect a Mill in his own Wood, or upon his own Land, which he hath in the Forest; or make a Warren, or Pond, a Marl-pit, or Ditch, or turn it into Arable, without the Covert in the Arable Land, so as it be not to the detriment of his Neighbour.

XIV. Every Freeman may have in his Woods the Ayries of Hawks, of Spar-Hawks, Falcons, Eagles, and Herons; and they shall have likewise the Honey which shall be found in their Woods.

XV. No Forester for the future, who is not a Forester in Fee, paying us Rent for his Office, shall take Cheminage (4); that is to say, for every Cart Two-pence for half a year, and for the other half year Two-pence; and for a Horse that carries Burthens, for half a year a half-penny, and for the other half year a half-penny; and then only of those, who come as Buyers, out of their Bailiwick, to buy Underwood, Timber, Bark, or Charcoal, to carry it to sell in other places, where they will: And for the time to come there shall be no Cheminage taken for any other Cart or Carriage-Horse, unless in those places where anciently it was wont, and ought to be taken; but they who carry Wood, Bark, or Coal upon their Backs to sell, though they get their livelihood by it, shall for the future pay no Cheminage for Passage through the Woods of other Men. No Cheminage shall be given to our Foresters, but only in our own Woods.

XVI. All Persons outlawed for Offences committed in our Forests from the time of King Henry our Grandfather

(1) Money for the feeding of Hogs with *Mast* in the King's Forest.

(2) That is, the Offences that have been committed in cutting Wood, or killing Deer.

(3) That is, take in his Neighbour's Cattle to feed.

(4) Money for passing through the Forest.

ut a pacem sine impedimento, & salvos plegios inveniant quod de cætero non torisfacient nobis de foresta nostra.

XVII. Nulius castellanus vel alius teneat placitum de foresta five de viridi five de venatione ; sed quilibet forestarius de feudo attachiet placita de foresta, tam de viridi quam de venatione, & ea præsentet viridariis provinciarum ; & cum rotulata fuerint, & sub sigillis viridarium inclusa, præsententur capitali forestario cum in partes illas venerit ad tenendum placita forestæ, & coram eo terminentur.

XVIII. Omnes autem consuetudines prædictas & libertates, quas nos concessimus in regno tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga nostros, omnes de regno nostro, tam laici quam clerici observent, quantum ad se pertinet erga suos.

Grandfather, untill our first Coronation, may reverse their Outlawries without Impediment, but shall find Pledges that for the future they will not forfeit to us (1) in our Forest.

XVII. No *Castellan* or other Person shall hold Pleas of the Forest, whether concerning Vert or Venison : But every Forester in Fee shall attach Pleas of the Forest (2), as well concerning Vert as Venison, and shall present the Pleas or Offences to the Verderers of the several Counties ; and when they shall be enrolled and sealed under the Seals of the Verderers, they shall be presented to the chief Forester, when he comes into those Parts, to hold Pleas of the Forest, and shall be determined before him.

XVIII. And all the Customs and Liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden in our Kingdom ; as much as belongs to us towards our Vassals, all of our Kingdom, as well Laicks as Clerks, shall observe as much as belongs to them towards their Vassals (3).

8. HENRY III. *Sirnam'd of WINCHESTER.*

1216.
HENRY
III.
Pembroke
Earl of
Pembroke.

WE are going to enter upon a long Reign embarras'd with divers events, most of which have little connexion together. Were I to dwell upon every the least remarkable thing occasioned by the long Administration of *Henry III.* I should, by my tediousness, be more apt to tire the Reader, than give him any clear knowledge of the Affairs of those days. I shall confine my self therefore to certain principal Heads, which are, as it were, the Substance of what happened during this Reign. First, I shall endeavour to represent the State of the Kingdom, the particular Genius of the King, and the Character and pernicious designs of his Ministers. Secondly, will be shewn the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. Thirdly, the Barons League, to oppose the arbitrary and tyrannical Power intending to be introduced into the Kingdom. And lastly, the Barons abuse of the Authority they usurped on that pretence, and the unfortunate Successes which rendered all their Proceedings ineffectual. These are the chief Heads we are going to run over, as briefly as the great length of this Reign will permit, and to which almost whatever shall be afterwards said will refer.

The State of
the Kingdom.

King *John* left his Crown to his eldest Son. But the young Prince, who was but ten years of age (4), was very incapable of curing the disorders of so distempered a State. A few Lords, who firmly adhered to the Service of the King his Father, and an Army of Foreigners, whom *John* himself never ventured to trust, formed very unlikely Instruments to restore the royal Family. There was the less room to hope for so favorable a turn, as almost all the Peers of the Realm, supported with the Forces of *France*, appeared strictly united against the Family of the late King. Besides, *Lewis's* great Progress seem'd in some measure to promise him the reduction of the whole Kingdom. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, young *Henry* found in the wise and brave Earl of *Pembroke* (5), a loyal Subject, and capable withal of projecting and executing the greatest designs. Without being disheartned in this extremity, the generous Earl undertook to raise the hopes of the honest *English*, and drive the Foreigners out of the Kingdom.

The Earl of
Pembroke
suffices
Henry.
M. Paris.

Henry III.
The two Lords
of the King's
Party.
Homage to
Lambert.
p. 124.

As soon as *John* resigned his last Breath, the Earl of *Pembroke* assembled the Lords, who remained firm to that Prince, and presenting young *Henry* to them, made a Speech, beginning with these words : Behold our King. Then (after a short pause) he represented to them, " Though the Conduct of the late King gave the

" it was not reasonable to take the Crown from a Family, that had worn it so long, much less to give it to a Foreigner. As King *John's* faults were personal, it would be unjust to inflict a Punishment on his Son, whose tender years rendered him blameless. He said farther, the remedy used by the confederate Barons was worse than the disease, since it tended to reduce the Kingdom under a dishonourable Servitude. And therefore, in the present posture of Affairs, nothing was able to deliver them from the impending Yoke, but the firm Union, under a Prince who was undeniably the lawful Heir to the Crown." This Speech met with applause from the whole Assembly, who cried out with one Voice, *We will have Henry for our King* (6). Whereupon, though the Earl of *Chester* (7) made some opposition at first ; however, he afterwards desisting, a day was appointed for the Coronation. The Ceremony was performed with little pomp, by the Bishops of *Bath* and *Winchester*, in the presence of an inconsiderable number of Lords (8) with *Gallo* the Legate, who espoused young *Henry's* Interest to the utmost of his power. King *John's* Crown being lately lost in the Well-stream, as was related, they were forced to use a plain Circle or Chaplet of Gold, because they had neither time nor means to make a better. Before the Crown was set on his head, the usual Oath was administered to him. Which done, the Legate, who had ever his master's Interest in view, caused the young Prince to do Homage to the Holy See. It was not then proper to oppose this Homage, for fear of losing the Pope's Affiance, and increasing the difficulties, *Henry* was, probably, to struggle with in the beginning of his Reign.

1216.

Henry III.
crowned.
M. Paris.
An. Waverl.

T. Wikes.

M. Paris.
p. 289.

These Ceremonies being over, the Assembly of the Lords, who represented at that time the whole Nation, chose the Earl of *Pembroke*, Guardian of the King, and declared him Protector, that is, Regent of the Kingdom. They could not chuse to that high Office, a person of greater Abilities, of more Zeal for the Publick Good, or a faster friend to the Royal Family. From the beginning of King *John's* Reign, for whom he partly procured the Crown by his diligence and address, he had always remained attached to the service of that Prince, without ever deserting him in his greatest distress. This constant Loyalty gaining him his master's favour and confidence, he was always trusted with his Secrets, and therefore was better qualified than any other to be at the Helm, in so tempestuous a Season. He perfectly knew the cause of the troubles, and the Interests and Intrigues of those that excited them. He was not ignorant that most of the Barons were

The Earl of
Pembroke
made Regent.
M. Paris.
How qualified
for that
Office.

(1) That is, commit no Offence. Brady.
(2) Make use the Body or Good of the Offenders to make them appear.
(3) There is no Original of this Charter extant, nor any Copy older than the first of *Henry III.*
(4) He was but in the tenth year of his Age. See above, p. 269.
(5) *William Marshall*.

(6) *Ecce Rex, Ecce Rex.* Hemmelford, l. 3. p. 562.
(7) *Homage* is say, it was the Earl of *Gloucester*, p. 562. But that Earldom was then in the Crown. See *Tyrrh*, p. 824.
(8) The Coronation was solemnized at *Gloucester*, on October 28. in the presence of the Pope's Legate, *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, *John* Bishop of *Bath*, *Salvator* of *Winchester*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, *William Marshall* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William de Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Mar. all, *Piers* de *Abiney*, *William Briscoe*, *Savary* de *Malotau*, with the Abbots and Priors. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (says *Ham* of *Canterbury* was then at *Rome*, soliciting the taking off his suspension. M. Paris, p. 289. T. Wikes, p. 38. An. Waverl. p. 182.

1216.

extremely dissatisfied with the Prince they had sent for, and upon that he chiefly built his hopes. The private submissions of forty of them to the King, gave him room to believe that dissensions were rising among them, and that their example would quickly be followed by the rest. Indeed nothing but despair of Pardon prevented the majority from deserting Prince *Lewis*. And therefore, the Regent believed he had reason to hope, that a Declaration of the new King's readiness to pardon, would soon dissolve the Confederacy. Besides, there was no likelihood, that after the death of King *John*, so many Lords could resolve to continue in obedience to a foreign Prince, who too gave them every day fresh occasions of Complaint. In this expectation the Earl of *Pembroke* sent Letters to all the Barons and Corporations in the Kingdom (1), to inform them of *Henry's* Accession to the Crown, promising withal great rewards to such as would return to their Duty (2). These assurances, and the Regent's known probity, shaking many of the confederate Barons, they began to think seriously of making their Peace with their lawful Sovereign. The excommunication of Prince *Lewis*, published every Sunday, furnished them with a further, and no less powerful motive to change. It was not possible, but among all these Lords, there were tender consciences, that were concerned at following the Banners of an excommunicated Prince. Much less could they bear to see themselves involved in the same Sentence, what endeavours soever were used to remove their Scruples. So that *Lewis's* affairs began to decline, at the very time they seemed to be most prosperous. The raising the Siege of *Dover* contributed likewise very much to disconcert them. Prince *Lewis* frequently tried to corrupt *Hubert de Burgh*, Governor of that Place; but always found in that brave Man a Loyalty proof against all temptations. Force had been still less available, for he was repulsed with loss in all his assaults. The death of King *John* happening during this Siege, *Lewis* hoped the Governor would become more tractable. Accordingly, he ordered him to be summoned afresh to surrender; representing to him withal, that since, by *John's* death, he was released from his Oath, he might without scruple swear fealty to a Prince, whom his Countrymen had owned for their Sovereign, and who would be glad to shew him marks of his esteem. *Hubert* answered, The late King having left a Successor, to whom his allegiance was due, he would maintain his Cause to the last drop of his Blood: Adding, he could never believe, the esteem of any brave Prince could be gained by a notorious baseness. Promises proving ineffectual, *Lewis* threatened *Hubert* to put his Brother, who was in his power, to death. This Threat made no impression on the faithful Governor, who continued to defend, with the same resolution, the important place committed to his Trust. *Lewis* finding he did but lose time before *Dover*, raised the Siege, and invested the Castle of *Hertford*, which made but a faint resistance (3). The taking of this Place, gave the *English* Lords fresh cause of complaint. *Robert Fitz-Walter*, claiming the custody of the Castle, as belonging to him by ancient right, had the mortification to be denied, and see a *French* Governor placed there with Troops of the same Nation. This Injustice caused great murmurings among the *English* Barons. They were extremely vexed to behold their own Inheritances given to Foreigners, without any regard to their complaints. Their discontent was farther inflamed by the indiscretion of some *Frenchmen*, who upbraided the *English* Barons for Traytors, declaring, it was not safe to trust them with the custody of Castles. These expressions, added to what the Viscount of *Melun* is reported to say, caused among the *English*, and especially among the Nobility, an universal dissatisfaction, which *Lewis* perceived not as yet, but of which

he soon felt the effects. Mean while, continuing his progress, he became master of some other places before he returned to *London*, where he came not till towards the latter end of the year.

Whilst *Lewis* was improving his advantages, the Regent omitted nothing that might help to support the just Rights of young *Henry*. His first, and, as he thought, most necessary precaution in the present juncture, was, to send speedy notice to the Pope of the death of King *John*, and the Coronation of his Son; intreating him withal, to take into his protection the young Prince, who was surrounded with foreign and domestick enemies. *Innocent* took care not to be wanting in what concerned his own Interests. The preservation of *England*, which he considered as the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, and even gave it that name, was in danger. Wherefore he sent fresh powers to his Legate to renew the Excommunication of the Prince of *France*, and the confederate Barons. *Lewis*, to whom the Legate communicated his new orders, solemnly protested against all that should be done to his prejudice. Mean time, to prevent the new Censure from having any effect, he required all the *English* Lords to renew their Homage to him, on a day appointed. His Protestation hindered not the Legate from executing the Pope's orders. He held a Synod at *Bristol*, where he re-excommunicated *Lewis* with all the customary formalities. He thereby furnished some of the Barons with a pretence to refuse the Homage required by *Lewis*.

Christmas's approaching, both sides agreed upon a Truce during the Holidays. *Lewis* made use of that opportunity to hold a General Assembly at *Oxford*, whilst the Regent held another, though much less numerous, at *Cambridge*. The King's party proposing that the Truce should be prolonged, *Lewis* at first refused to agree to it (4). But hearing soon after, that the Pope intended to confirm, in full Consistory, the Excommunication denounced by his Legate, caused him to consent to prolong the Truce till a month after *Easter*. His design was to go to *Paris*, and consult the King his Father (5).

This Truce was very advantageous to the Earl of *Pembroke*. He wisely made use of it to reinforce his Army with new Levies, and to gain by secret practices some of the confederate Barons. On the contrary, it was extremely prejudicial to *Lewis*, whose absence gave the Barons opportunity of taking measures to free themselves from his Yoke, by returning to the obedience of their lawful Sovereign (6). Several took that time to treat with the King. Among whom was *William Marshal*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who till then had been one of the most zealous Partisans of *France* (7). The *Cinque-Ports* declared likewise for *Henry*, and sent out a Fleet to oppose *Lewis's* return. But though their Fleet fought the *French*, and destroyed several of their Ships, they could not hinder the Prince's landing at *Sandwich*. He was so exasperated at this bold attack, that he burnt the Town where he landed, as being one of the *Cinque-Ports*.

Upon the expiration of the Truce, the Regent sent the Earl of *Chester* (8) to besiege *Mont-Sorel* in *Leicestershire*, where was a *French* Garrison. (9). The loss of this Place might have proved of great prejudice to *Lewis*, not so much on account of its importance, as because, at such a juncture, it highly concerned him to hinder the King's Party from appearing to be in condition to recover themselves. For this reason *Lewis* thought it necessary, at any rate, to raise the Siege. To do it effectually, he put the Earl of *Perche* (10) at the head of twenty thousand Men, with orders to march to the enemy. Upon the approach of this Army, the Earl of *Chester*, who was not so strong, raised the Siege and returned to the Regent (11). But the *French* General was not satisfied with this advantage. As he believed the Earl of *Pembroke* unable to withstand so great Forces, he formed the design of besieging *Lincoln* Castle, which held out for the King, though the City had

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1216.
The Regent
His first
most necessary
to send speedy
King John
Coronation of
his Son
intreating him
withal, to take
into his protection
the young Prince
who was surrounded
with foreign and
domestick enemies
Innocent took
care not to be
wanting in what
concerned his
own Interests
The preservation
of England
which he considered
as the Patrimony
of St. Peter
and even gave it
that name
was in danger
Wherefore he sent
fresh powers
to his Legate
to renew the
Excommunication
of the Prince
of France
and the confederate
Barons
Lewis to whom
the Legate
communicated
his new orders
solemnly protested
against all that
should be done
to his prejudice
Mean time
to prevent the
new Censure
from having any
effect
he required all
the English Lords
to renew their
Homage to him
on a day appointed
His Protestation
hindered not
the Legate
from executing
the Pope's orders
He held a Synod
at Bristol
where he re-excommunicated
Lewis with all
the customary
formalities
He thereby
furnished some
of the Barons
with a pretence
to refuse the
Homage required
by Lewis

A Truce
between the
two Parties
Walter
C. v.
M. Paris.
p. 292

1217.
The Truce
turns to
Henry's
Advantage.
M. Paris.
p. 292

1217.

Cinque-
Ports declare
for the King.

Lewis burns
Sandwich.

The Earl of
Perche raises
the Siege of
Mont Sorel.
M. Paris.
p. 293

(1) As also to all the *Viscounts*, or *Sheriffs*, Wardens of Castles, &c. M. Paris. p. 289.

(2) There is a Letter still extant to *Hugh de Lacy* a Baron of Note, containing a Safe-Conduct to some and treat with the King, with a promise of the Restitution of his Estate and Privileges. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Name is affixed alone to the Letter, which is dated November 18. in the first Year of this Reign. The Letter runs thus: Rex *Hugoni de Lacy* salutem. Mandamus vobis quod secure & sine dilatione veniatis ad *Fidelitatem* & *Servitium nostrum*, & concedimus vobis saluum conductum nostrum in veniendo ad nos & in itinere quocumque & inde salvo revertendo. Et vos scire volumus quod si ad nos venire volueritis jura vestra & libertates vestras per consilium dilectorum fidelium nostrorum *Ranulphi Comitis Cellie*, *Willielmi Comitis de Flessingh*, & aliorum fidelium nostrorum integre vobis restituerimus licet vero bone memorie *Johannes pater noster* in aliquo erga vos deliquerit ipsius delicti delictis esse immunes, non delictum suum ad posteros nris debet imputari. Et in hujus, &c. Quia Sigillum, &c. vobis inde mittimus. Teille Comite decimo octavo die Novembris Anno regni nostri primo. Pars 1 Hen. III. M. 16.

(3) He also took the Castle of *Barkhamsted* in the same County, on Decemb. 12. Ann. Waverl. p. 182. M. Paris, p. 290. but not without some difficulty, the besieged making a Sally, in which the Standard of *William de Mandevill* was taken. Ibid.

(4) And took the Castles of *Odun*, *Sleford*, *Norwich*, and *Colechester*. Walt. Covent.

(5) *Walter of Coventry* says, the Pope ordered his Nuncio in *France* to hold a Synod at *Melun*, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict, unless the King recalled his Son out of *England*. Upon which the King presently ordered him to come over, and be himself in Person at the Synod. This Year King *Henry* held his Christmas at *Bristol*. M. Paris. p. 292.

(6) The Castles of *Mariborough*, *Furnham*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, &c. declared for *Henry*. Walt. Covent.

(7) At the same time came over to the King, *William Longsword* Earl of *Salisbury*, with the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*.

(8) Together with *William* Earl of *Abemarle*, *William* Earl *Ferrers*, *Robert* de *Pieupont*, *Brian* de *L'Isle*, *William* de *Cantelers*, *Robert* de *Gaugi*, *Galafias*, &c. M. Paris. p. 293.

(9) *Henry* de *Brabrie* was the Commander in chief in it. M. Paris. Ibid.

(10) *Marshal of France*, a young Man of great Courage, whom he had just brought over with him. *Saler* Earl of *Winton* was Lord of this City. They marched from *London* May 1. M. Paris. p. 293.

(11) At *Nottingham*. M. Paris. p. 294.

declared for the Barons (1). In this March, the French Troops committed such terrible ravages, that the Historians describe them as an army of Devils rather than Men. But perhaps things are represented worse than they really were.

The Castle of Lincoln was of so great importance, that the Regent could not resolve to lose it, without using his utmost endeavours to relieve it. Whilst the French were battering the Castle with all possible vigor, and the Besieged making as brave a defence, he assembled all his Force, with a resolution to run all hazards to save that Place. He used such expedition, that he advanced as far as Newark, within twelve miles of Lincoln, before the Besiegers were determined, whether to expect him, or march and give him battle. They had all along hoped to take the Castle, before he could draw his Army together. Surprized at the sudden approach of the Enemy, the French General called a Council of War, to consult what was to be done on this occasion. Some were for meeting the enemy, because if a victory fortunately ensued, the Castle would immediately surrender. Adding, that by going out of the City, they might use their Cavalry, in which consisted their chief strength, whereas they would be of no service, if it was resolved to expect the enemies within the Walls. This advice was the safest, but others were of a contrary opinion. They affirmed, as the Castle was reduced to extremities, it was better to keep within the Walls, and continue the Siege; that it was easy to defend the Walls, till the Castle surrendered; after which the Earl of Pembroke would only think of retreating, or however, might always be fought. This advice prevailing, all things were prepared for the defence of the City, whilst the Siege of the Castle was continued. Mean time, the English Army approaching without opposition, the Regent caused a body of chosen Troops, commanded by Faulk de Brent, to enter the Castle at a Postern Gate, which opened into the Fields. It is strange, the Besiegers should never think of that inconvenience. Faulk was no sooner entered, but, pursuant to the measures taken with the Regent, he sallied out upon the Besiegers, whilst the King's Army stormed one of the Gates of the City.

The Earl of Perche perceiving himself thus attacked from two different quarters, exerted his utmost in his defence. But his Troops not having room to fight, and besides, being deprived of the assistance of the Horse, were quickly put in confusion. On the other side, the Royal Army, encouraged by the presence of the Regent, and the indulgences liberally bestowed by the Legate upon all that should be slain in Battle, continued in a furious manner to storm the Gate. This assault was so vigorous, that, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the French, the King's Troops at length entered the City, whilst Faulk de Brent pressed the Enemy on the other side. The Earl of Perche perceiving all was lost, resolved not to survive the shame of his defeat. He was slain, upbraiding the English of his Party, for betraying him by their Counsels. After the death of the General, a dreadful slaughter was made of the French Troops, who almost all perished on this occasion. The City of Lincoln, which had all along sided with the Barons, was abandoned to a general plunder, where the Soldiers found an inestimable Booty, and therefore called it Lincoln Fair (2).

Whilst the Earl of Perche was employed in these parts, Prince Lewis made a fresh attempt upon Dover Castle, but meeting with no less resistance than before, made no great progress in the Siege. The news of the defeat at Lincoln, made him resolve to retire to London, and take new measures. Upon his arrival, his first care was to send to the King his Father for speedy supplies, and answerable to his wants, without which he let him know there was no likelihood of retrieving his affairs. Philip, willing to keep fair with the Pope, pretended he would not interpose any more in his Son's concerns. He publicly sent him word, to take care of himself as he could. However, he ordered it so, that Blanch his Daughter-in-law, in her own name, quickly got ready a body of Troops, with Ships to transport them into England. Had these succours safely arrived, they might have repaired Lewis's loss at Lincoln. But his fortune was no better at Sea than at Land. The Com-

manders of the Fleet of the Cinque Ports, hearing the French Troops were to embark at Calais, laid wait for them in their passage, and giving them battle, took and sunk the greatest part of the French Fleet (3).

These two successive losses threw Lewis into great straits, which were farther increased by the approach of the English Army. He had scarce received news of the defeat of the succours that were coming from France, when he saw himself besieged in London, or at least closely blocked up (4). So many misfortunes one after another; the discontent of the English, which now shewed itself openly; the Pope's Thunders, which, upon the decline of his affairs, began to inspire him with terror, made him sensible it was time to think of retreating. He determined therefore to sue to the Regent for Peace. But, notwithstanding his ill situation, he intimated to him, that he would consent to none but an honorable Peace, that should screen his English Adherents from all prosecution. By the way, this Prince's generous care of the English Barons, is hardly reconcilable with the resolution, imputed to him by the Viscount of Melun. The Earl of Pembroke immediately granted his demand. He considered, the King of France was not so drained of Men and Money, but that he could still powerfully assist the Prince his Son. On the other hand, he was afraid the Barons would become desperate, if they were denied a Pardon; and that too great a severity would involve the Kingdom in fresh troubles. In short, he saw the using his success with moderation, would restore Peace to the Kingdom, and put the young King in quiet possession of the Crown, which was the sole aim of all his desires. These considerations induced him readily to agree to a Treaty of Peace (5) upon the following Terms:

That all Persons who had taken part with Lewis, since the beginning of the War, should be restored to all the Rights they enjoyed before the troubles.

That the City of London should have her antient Privileges.

That all the Prisoners taken since the first arrival of Lewis into England, should be released. But as to those that were taken on either side, before that time, Commissioners should be appointed, to enquire whether those of his Party were engaged with him, at the time of their being made Prisoners.

That the Ransoms already paid should not be returned, and that such as were become due should be punctually paid: But that nothing should be demanded of the Prisoners, whose Ransoms were not settled.

That all the English, of what rank and condition soever, Prisoners or others, who took up arms against King John, should swear fealty to King Henry.

That the Hostages given to Prince Lewis for the payment of the Ransoms that were become due, should be released immediately, upon payment of the Money.

That all the Places, Towns and Castles, in Lewis's possession, should be delivered to the King.

That the King of Scotland should be included in the Treaty, upon restoring all he had taken during the War, and that the King of England should make the like restitution to him.

The same thing was stipulated in favour of the Prince of Wales.

That Lewis should cause all the Islands to be restored that were taken in his name.

That he should renounce the Homages received from the Subjects of the King of England.

That whatever was due to him, and of which the time of payment was expired, should be punctually paid him.

That in the first Article, where Lewis's Adherents are mentioned, Ecclesiasticks were not included, but with respect to the Lay-Fees they held before the War.

An Historian adds two Articles more, which are not found in the Treaty. First, That Lewis should use his utmost endeavours to oblige his Father to restore whatever was taken from King John beyond Sea. Secondly, That in case he could not prevail, he himself should make this

(1) Gilbert de Gant had besieged it a long time in vain, and been vigorously repulsed in all his Assaults. He was made Earl of Lincoln by Lewis. M. Paris.

(2) One may guess at the great Riches of the Cathedral, which was pillaged, when Geoffrey de Dringepes, the Precentor, complained that he had lost an thousand Marks for his own Share. M. Paris. p. 297. The Persons of Note taken in this Battle (which was fought on May 19) were, Sir Earl of Winchester, Henry de Beaumont Earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant Earl of Lincoln, Commanders; and of the other Barons, Robert Fitz-Walter, Richard de Maribet, William de Mumbrey, William de Beauchamp, William Mauduit, Oliver de Craigh, William de Colclough, William de Ros, Robert de Rokepe, Ralph Counduit, &c. M. Paris. p. 296.

(3) This Sea-Engagement was about the twenty fourth of August. As the English had but forty, and the French eighty large Ships, the King's Fleet did not attack them in the Front, but tacking about, and getting to the Windward, they bore down upon them and made great slaughter of them with their Arrows; but what contributed most to their Victory, was their having great Quantities of Quick-Lime in Powder, which being cast into the Air, was blown by the Wind into the Frenchmen's Eyes and blinded them. The Commanders of the English Fleet were Philip de Albany and John Marston. The French Admiral was one Eustace, who from a Monk turned Pirate, and at last was made Admiral of the French Fleet. M. Paris says, Richard de Bona, the King's Admiral, cut off his Head. p. 298.

(4) The Regent, gathered a numerous Army, and besieged him both by Land, and by Water. M. Paris. p. 298. Which was concluded in an Island in the Thames, near Stanes, on September 11. M. Paris. p. 299.

1217. Restitution whenever he came to the Crown. Though these two Conditions were not inserted in the Treaty itself, it is very likely, they were stipulated in the secret Articles, since the *French* Historians do not scruple to own them. Besides, we shall see in the sequel, that when *Lewis* came to the Crown, the Court of *England* called upon him to perform his promise, and that *St. Lewis* his Son had very great Scruples on that account.

Mozet.

Lewis re-
turns to
France.

Henry makes
his Entry
into London.
Walt. Coven.

Scotches to
maintain the
People in
their Pri-
vileges.

The Legate
proceeds a-
gainst the
Ecclesiasticks
that adhered
to Lewis.
M. Paris.

The King of
Scotland does
Homage to
Henry.
C. Maistro.

Honorius III.
made Pope.

1218.
Disturbances
in England.
M. Paris.
p. 300.

The Treaty being signed, and afterwards confirmed by the Authority of the Legate, the King and Prince *Lewis* swore to observe it, with the usual Formalities. After which, *Lewis* received Absolution from the Legate (1). Every thing being thus concluded, the Prince set sail for *France*, after borrowing five thousand Marks (2) of the City of *London* to pay his debts.

Immediately after the Prince's departure, *Henry* made his Entry into *London*, where he was received with great Pomp, and demonstrations of an universal satisfaction. It was not without reason that the People expressed so great Joy, since, notwithstanding the advantages lately gained by the young King, he took a solemn Oath, to maintain the Nation in their Privileges. Thus by the prudent management of the Regent, the vanquished Barons obtained more solid advantages, than they could have expected from a Victory, which would have subjected them, and perhaps beyond all redress, to a foreign power.

Of all *Lewis*'s Party, the Ecclesiasticks were the only Persons that had no reason to rejoice at the Peace, which left them to the Pope's Mercy, whom they had offended in the most sensible part. He bore, with Impatience, the contempt of his Censures by *Lewis* and the Barons; but the Clergy's disobedience made him still more outrageous. As soon as the Legate was at liberty to proceed against the Ecclesiasticks, pursuant to the last Article of the Treaty, he ordered a strict Inquiry to be made throughout the Kingdom, after those who contemned the Interdict. All that were found guilty were suspended or deprived of their Benefices, or constrained to repair their fault by large Sums of Money (3). A remarkable Instance of the wide difference between the Ecclesiastical and the Civil Power.

The King of *Scotland*, who was excommunicated for doing Homage to a foreign Prince, embraced the offer of being included in the Treaty. He came to *Northampton*, where he was absolved by the Legate, after doing Homage to *Henry* for the Fees he held in *England*. Then he delivered up *Carlisle*, which he had taken during the Troubles.

Pope *Innocent III.*, dying this year, *Honorius III.*, was promoted to the Papal Chair (4).

It seemed that after the departure of the *French*, *England* at length would enjoy some repose, to which she had been so long a Stranger. But it was not possible that a perfect Calm should immediately succeed so violent a Storm. The Treaty with *Lewis* gave Birth to new Troubles, which threw the Regent into great perplexities. Those Barons (5) that had faithfully served King *John*, and to whom were given the confiscated Estates of the Rebels, could not bear the thoughts of restoring them to the old Proprietors, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. On the other hand, the Ecclesiasticks loudly complained of being abandoned to the Legate's Persecutions, without the least care being taken of their concerns. However, the Regent was resolved, at any rate, to execute the Treaty, believing it to be the only means to root out all disturbances. Pursuant to this resolution, he marched with a good Body of Troops, to bring to reason such as forcibly with-held divers Castles and Lands from the former Owners. *Robert de Gauzy* was the only one however that stood a Siege of eight days, in the Castle of *Newark* (6), belonging to the Bishop of *Lincoln*. But, at length, finding there was no hopes of Assistance, he surrendered the Ca-

stle to the Bishop, upon payment of one hundred Pounds Sterling. The rest that were in the same case, discouraged by this Example, made the like Composition. The executing the Treaty was so necessary for restoring Tranquillity to the Kingdom, that the Regent thought the interests of a few private Persons, how faithfully soever they had served the King, ought not to be preferred to the general Good, which would result from the punctual performance of his word. Mean time, to establish the young King firmly in the Throne, it still remained to satisfy the Pope, who was not inclined to pardon the Ecclesiasticks, that dared to despise the Interdict. In the beginning of a Reign, when the Fidelity of the Subjects was yet wavering, and the King a Minor, it would have been very imprudent in the Earl to exasperate the Court of *Rome*, by maintaining the interests of the Clergy. On the contrary, it was but too likely, that the young King would need the Pope's Protection. For this reason, he readily published, at the instance of the Legate, a Proclamation, commanding all the excommunicated Ecclesiasticks that were absolved, to depart the Kingdom on pain of Imprisonment: This Severity caused them to make haste and satisfy the Legate, who only wanted their Money.

All the Troubles being thus happily appeased, the *English* impatiently expected the performance of the King's Promises, with regard to their Liberties, the effectual Re-establishment whereof they had been made to hope. However zealous the Regent might be for the King's Service, he did not think proper to make him violate his word. Wherefore, he sent express orders (7) to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to see the two Charters of King *John* duly observed (8), and to punish without mercy all Violators thereof. How happy would the *English* have been, if the Successors of this great Man in his Post and Credit with the King, had followed the same Maxims, and imbued with them betimes the mind of this young Monarch! But by taking a contrary course, they were the cause of all the troubles of this Reign.

Whilst the *French* were in *England*, *Lewellen*, Prince of *Wales*, who was in League with them, had taken several places, of which it would have been difficult to dispossess him, without re-assembling the disbanded Troops. This however the Regent was willing to avoid, that he might not be forced to disoblige the Subjects, by levies of Men and Money; at a time when it was necessary to gain their Affection, by causing them to enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For this reason, he granted the Prince of *Wales* an honorable and advantageous Peace, and procured him the Legate's Absolution, hoping thereby to induce that turbulent Prince to remain in quiet (9).

This affair being ended, *Gallo* the Legate, who was recalled, set out for *Rome* (10). *Pandulph*, whom I have had frequent occasion to mention in King *John*'s Reign, succeeded him in his Office (11).

The Orders concerning the two Charters not having been duly executed, the Regent sent Itinerant Justices into all the Counties to cause them to be better observed. He was persuaded, he could not without Injustice, and great Injury to the Honour and Interests of the young King, leave unexecuted, what the Prince and the King his Father had promised with an Oath. Had he lived any longer, he would have infallibly so ordered that affair, as not to be easily alterable. But this great Man, equally qualified for War and Peace, died shortly after, lamented by the whole Kingdom, which he had freed from Slavery, by his Prudence and Valour (12). *Peter des Roches* (13), Bishop of *Winchester*, was made Regent, and *Hubert de Burgh*, who defended *Dover*, Chief Justiciary of *England* (14).

(1) The Chronicle of *Maistre* says, that Prince *Lewis* walked barefoot and ungirt from his own, to the Pavilion of the Legate, where he and his Followers were absolved.

(2) *M. Paris* says, it was five thousand Pounds. p. 299.

(3) *Hugh*, Bishop of *London*, paid to the Pope's Use one thousand Marks, and one hundred to the Legate, whose Example being followed by many of the Bishops, and other Religious Persons, vast Sums of Money were raised for the Pope, who was always sure to gain, whoever lost. *M. Paris*, p. 299.

(4) This Year King *Henry* kept his Christmas at *Northampton*. *M. Paris*. p. 300.

(5) The chief of them were, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Faulk de Brent*, *Robert de Virepont*, *Brian de L'Isle*, *Hugh de Barthelemy*, *Philip Marc*, *Robert de Gauzy*, &c. *M. Paris*. ibid.

(6) *Ropin* by mistake says, *Nottingham*.

(7) These Letters or Orders are not to be found in our Histories, but remain upon Record in the Tower on the Clause-Roll of this Year. See *Dr. Brady's Appendix*. No. 144. and *Tyrell's Appendix*. No. 8.

(8) The *Ann. of Waverley* say, that the Witemen of *England*, or the Parliament, met at *London* after *Michaelmas*, and revived the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, according to King *John*'s Charter. p. 184.

(9) He had the Custody of the Castles of *Caermarthen*, and *Cardigan*, with the Lands and Appurtenances, delivered to him during the King's Minority, after which he was to restore them. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 225.

(10) Though the Kingdom was then reduced to the lowest degree of Poverty, yet he made a shift to carry off twelve thousand Marks with him. *M. Paris*. ----- This Year in May, *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, returned to *England*. *Cbr. Maistro*. p. 196.

(11) This Year also was held a Common Council, or Parliament, (though the exact time is not mentioned) wherein it was ordained, that no Letters Patents should be sealed with the King's Great Seal, till he came to be of full Age. *Brady*, p. 528. ----- King *Henry* at *Corlham*, kept his Court at *Winchester*. *M. Paris*. p. 304.

(12) He died about the middle of *March*, and his Body was deposited, on the 16th of the same Month, in the Church of the Knights Templars, (now the Temple Church,) where his Effigy in a Coat of Mail is still to be seen in the middle of the Round. *M. Paris*. p. 304. *M. Wyl.* p. 299.

(13) *Ropin* by mistake calls him *William*. See *M. Paris*. p. 309.

(14) The Justiciary was as it were the King's Lieutenant General. *Azpin.* See above p. 178. Not. (6). ----- This Year King *Henry* kept his Christmas at *Marlborough*. *M. Paris*, p. 309.

1220.
Henry is
crowned at
Paris.
M. Paris.
T. Warton.
M. West.

The Coronation of the King had been performed at *Gloucester* (1), in the presence of few Lords, and with so little Solemnity, that it was thought proper to renew the Ceremony with more Pomp, in the usual place. Cardinal *Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who returned into *England* after the troubles were over, set the Crown on the King's head, having first administered to him the customary Oath (2).

1221.
The Earl of
Albemarle
resists the
King.
M. Paris.

Immediately after his Coronation, *Henry*, attended by the new Regent, made a Progress into several Counties (3). His design was to make some alteration with regard to the Custodies of the Castles, committed by the King his Father to such, as the new Regent thought he could not confide in. He met with no opposition but from *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Rockingham* Castle, who, setting up for a petty Sovereign, or rather a Tyrant, took little or no notice of the orders sent from Court. The Garrison made a shew of defending themselves, but when they saw the whole Country in arms to assist the King, and free themselves from this oppression, they did not stay to be compelled to surrender, but chose rather to procure some little advantages by a Capitulation.

M. Paris.
M. West.

This year, the new Building of the Abbey-Church of *Westminster* (4) was begun, the King himself laying the first Stone.

The Earl of
Albemarle
rebels.
M. Paris.
W. Cowen.
M. West.

William [de Forz] Earl of *Albemarle*, was very uneasy at the loss of his Castle, of which he thought himself unjustly deprived. In revenge of this pretended Injury, he fortified himself in his Castle of *Biham* (5), by means of which he held the whole Country round in Subjection. He even compelled Merchants and Tradesmen to take Passes of him, for leave to go through the Neighbourhood, without which they were in danger of being rifled. The complaints of these oppressions being laid before the Parliament, then assembled at *Westminster*, he was summoned to appear (6) and answer for himself (7). He pretended to obey, and accordingly set out, with design, as was thought, to repair to *London*. Mean time, he took the road to *Northamptonshire*, and by surprize seized the Castle of *Fotheringay*, where he placed a strong Garrison, and then returned to *Biham*. Upon this news, the Parliament resolved, that an Army should be immediately raised, to lay Siege to *Biham*, and the Earl punished for his Insolence according to the utmost rigour of the Law. When Earl *William* found, the King's Army was on the march, he retired into the North, leaving in his Castle a Governor who surrendered not till after a long resistance. It was believed, the Rebel would be pursued, or at least compelled to quit the Kingdom: but he found means to make his peace by the Mediation of the Archbishop of *York* (8). That Prelate representing in his behalf, that it was but just to balance this offence with the great Services he had done the late King, the Regent was prevailed with by that Consideration. A fatal Precedent, which afterwards encouraged other Barons to commit the same Fault without dread of Punishment!

He is par-
doned.
M. Paris.

Joanna the
King's Sister
is married to
the King of
Scotland.
Ant. Pub.
T. I. p. 193,
& 240.
M. Paris.

The Court had made a Progress last year to *York*, where a Marriage was agreed upon between the King of *Scotland*, and the Princess *Joanna*, Sister of the King. But as she was in the hands of the Earl of *March*, to whose eldest Son she was contracted, it was no easy matter to get her thence. However, after some Negotiations, she was at length sent back to the King her Brother; and her Nuptials with the King of *Scotland* were solemnized this year. Shortly after, *Hubert de Burgh*, Chief Justiciary, espoused the eldest Sister of that Prince: An Honour, which by procuring him the Alliance of two Monarchs, might one day raise some one of his Posterity to the Throne of *Scotland*.

Pandulph
made Bishop
of Norwich.
An. Waverl.

The Term of *Pandulph's* Legateship being expired, he laid down his Office, and retired at his See of *Norwich* (9), procured him by the Pope in reward of his Services.

A quarrel
between the
Londoners
and Monks
of Westminster.
M. Paris.
M. West.

What care soever was taken by the late Earl of *Pem-*

broke, and the present Ministry, to keep the Peace of the Kingdom, there was Persons who made it their business to disturb it. They laid hold of an opportunity, which a quarrel between the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster*, furnished them with. A great Wrestling Match being made between the *Londoners* and the Country-People (10), abundance of *Westminster* Men came to the Place appointed; and being desirous to dispute the Prize, had the mortification to see their Neighbours gain the Honour of the Victory. This Honour, though in itself very small, raised however the Jealousy of the *Westminster* Men, who were exposed to the insulting Raileries of the Conquerors. The Steward of the Abbot of *Westminster*, preposterously imagining, his master's and his own Honour were concerned in the case, undertook to revenge his Fellow-Citizens, and cause them to be even with their Neighbours. To that end, he appointed another Match (11) at *Westminster*, to which the Citizens of *London* flocked in great numbers. But as they went without arms, they were rudely attacked by the *Westminster* Men, who wounded several, and put the rest to flight. This Treachery caused a terrible commotion in *London*. The Mob being got together, resolved to be revenged for this outrage; the Authority of the Mayor (12) not being able to curb them. A Citizen of *London*, one *Constantine*, an Incendiary, who had been a zealous stickler for the *French*, during the Troubles, heading the Rabble, did all he could to inflame their rage. He represented to them, it was in vain to expect Justice from Magistrates, regardless of the Honour of the City; and therefore they ought, without delay, to make their Enemies know, the Citizens of *London* were not to be attacked with Impunity. His Speech meeting with applause, he cried with a loud Voice, *Monjoye St. Dennis*, the Watch-word of the *French*; and marching towards *Westminster* at the head of the Mob, caused the Steward's House to be pulled down to the ground, after which he returned in Triumph to *London*. The Tumult being appeased, *Hubert*, Chief Justiciary, came to the Tower, and commanded several of the Citizens to appear before him. *Constantine* was there among the rest, and maintained to the Justiciary's Face, that the Citizens of *London* had done nothing punishable by the Law, and were resolved to stand by what they had done. *Hubert* seeing this Insolence, dismissed all the rest, and detaining *Constantine*, ordered him to be hanged next Morning (13), though he offered a thousand Marks (14) for his Life. The Justiciary's Severity did not stop here. A few days after, he caused to be seized in their Houses the chief Rioters, some of whom had their Hands, and others their Noses and Ears cut off, and then were sent back thus maimed into the City. After this he turned out all the Magistrates of *London*, and obliged thirty of the most considerable Citizens to be Pledges for the good Behaviour of the City, to which the Communities agreed by a Charter, sealed with their common Seal (15). This rigour might have been justifiable, if *Hubert* had not acted in an arbitrary manner, and directly contrary to the Tenor of the Great Charter, which ordered, pursuant to the antient Custom of the Kingdom, that every Man should be tried by his Peers (16). Hence he became odious to the Nation, and especially to the *Londoners*, who did not fail to make him feel the effects of their hatred, when it was in their Power.

1222.
Constantine
Arrested by
the Londoners
and hanged.

Hubert
orders some
of the Rioters
to be hanged.

and punish
some more of
the Rioters.

These arbitrary Proceedings of the chief Justiciary, obliged the Parliament, which met some time after at *London* (17), to request the King, that he would be pleased to cause the Charter of Liberties, which he had sworn to confirm, to be observed throughout the Kingdom. This request was not at all relished by those who were then at the Helm. Since the death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Court, with the new Ministry, had taken up new Maxims, inasmuch that what appeared to the former Regent to be highly just, seemed the reverse to the present Ministers. When the Parliament presented their Petition to the King, one of his Counsellors (18) replied, it

1223.
The Parliam-
ent petition
the King
that the
Charter may
be observed.
M. Paris.
p. 306.
M. West.

- (1) Rapin by mistake says, at *Winchester*. See above p. 296. M. Paris, p. 289.
(2) *Walter* of *Chewsey* says, the King was crowned with St. Edward's Crown on the 24th of May. See M. Paris, p. 290.
(3) King *Henry* took a Talsie this Year, of two Shillings upon every Carucate. An. Waverl. p. 185. Moreover he kept his Court at Ox. &c.
(4) *Cérismaj*, where he was attended by the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom. M. Paris, p. 310.
(5) Then called St. Mary's Chapel. See above, p. 196.
(6) He was rather summoned to a Parliament, which met about this time at *Westminster*, but did not come. M. Paris, p. 310.
(7) He was joined by *Euise de Breteuil*, *Philip Marc*, *Peter de Mauldon*, *Engelard de Abbie*, &c. M. Paris, p. 310.
(8) M. Paris says, it was by the Mediation of *Pandulph*. p. 310.
(9) M. Paris says, he returned to Rome, p. 313. M. West. p. 280.
(10) On the first of May. Id. p. 315.
(11) August 1. Id.
(12) With his Nephew, and another Incendiary. M. Paris, p. 315.
(13) M. Paris says fifteen thousand, for it seems he was very rich. p. 315.
(14) They bound themselves to deliver up the Sureties to the King's Justiciary, whenever they were called for; and if any of them died, to add more in his stead. This is mentioned by no Historian, but the Recognizance is found upon Record in the Tower. See Dr. Brady's Appendix. No. 147.
(15) See Chap. XLVI. of the Great Charter.
(16) Rapin by mistake says at *Oxford*; King *Henry* kept his Court indeed at *Cérismaj* at *Oxford*. But this Parliament was held at *London*, or *Westminster*. See M. Paris, p. 316. M. West. p. 281.
(17) M. Paris B. I. p. 316. M. Paris.

1223. was reasonable to desire the execution of a Charter extorted by violence. This imprudent answer gave great Offence to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who sharply reproved the Counsellor, telling him, if he really loved the King, whose Interest he seemed to have so much at heart, he would not seek to involve the Kingdom again in Troubles, from which it was happily freed. Henry, who was then but sixteen years of Age, approved of what the Archbishop said, and declared, it was his Intention to cause the Charters of the King his Father to be strictly observed. Accordingly, some days after, he sent his orders to all the Sheriffs to see them put in execution (1). If he had always continued in these Dispositions, it would have saved him a world of Vexations and Misfortunes, to which he was afterwards exposed. Mean time the Parliament, satisfied with what the King had done, granted an Aid of three Marks for every Earl, one Mark for every Baron, a Shilling for every Knight, and for every House in the Kingdom one Penny (2).

W. Convent.
An. Waverl.

The King of France dies, and is succeeded by Lewis his Son, who refuses to perform his Oath.
M. Paris.
P. 317.
M. Weir.

M. Paris.

Great credit of the Justiciary.
Id. p. 318.

He gets the Pope to declare the King of Age.
ibid.

The Barons agree not to do.

Hubert's Artifice to get the Castles from the Barons.
Rad. de Cogge.

M. Paris.

lity. A proceeding so unworthy of a Prince, began from thenceforward to breed in the Barons an ill opinion of the King. They were chiefly incensed against the Favourite, whom they looked upon as the principal contriver of the Cheat. Most of those that had Places at Court, not being able to bear the Pride and Haughtiness of this Minister, resigned them, and retired into the Country, with a Resolution to embrace the first opportunity to be revenged. Mean time, all the Lords not falling into the Snare, Hubert tried to bring them to obedience, by causing them to be threatened with excommunication. Some were frightened into a Compliance; but others resolved to stand their ground, in spite of the King and his Justiciary (5).

These domestick Broils were somewhat interrupted by foreign Wars. Lewis VIII, King of France, not content with refusing to perform what he had promised with an Oath, confiscated all the Territories held by the English in France, and marched directly into Saintonge, where he became master of several Places; after which he laid Siege to Rochelle, where Savary de Mallion was Governor. It is said, this Lord, who had received Intelligence of the King of France's designs, demanding a Supply of Money of the Court of England, there was sent him instead of the Money, a Coffer full of old Iron. So shameful a neglect for the preservation of a Place, which deserved the whole care of the Ministry, so provoked the Governor, that he surrendered the City in a few days, and turned to the French (6). Lewis's pretence for breaking the Peace, was, that Henry, as Duke of Guienne, did not assist at his Coronation. But the true reason was, that he was willing to take advantage of that Prince's Minority, to expel the English entirely out of his Kingdom. This War, begun upon so slight an occasion, of which Lewis had not so much as made any Complaint, convinced the Court of England, that it was indispensably necessary to send an Army into France. Accordingly a Parliament was called to consider of Ways and Means.

Whilst the King and Parliament were employed in this affair, the outrages committed by Faulk de Brent interrupted their Debates. Faulk, encouraged by William of Albemarle's Impunity, tyrannized over his Vassals and Neighbours, and committed such Violences, that he was condemned in a Fine of a hundred Pounds Sterling, by three Judges sent down on purpose (7). His fierce and haughty Temper causing him to consider this Sentence as a great Injury, he resolved to be revenged. To that end, he sent William his Brother to Dunstable, where the Judges were holding the Assizes, with orders to seize them by force, and bring them to him. Two of them (8) escaped, but the third, Henry de Braibrock, was taken and carried to Bedford Castle, where he suffered a thousand Indignities. News thereof being brought to the Parliament (9), it was unanimously resolved, that this disturber of the Peace should be exemplarily punished; and all other Buiness laid aside till that affair was ended. Pursuant to this resolve, Faulk's Brother who commanded in Bedford, being summoned to surrender the Town to the King, and refusing to obey, was attacked so vigorously, that he was at length forced to surrender (10) at discretion. What endeavours soever his Friends might use to appease the King, they could not prevent his being hanged, with four and twenty Knights found in the Garrison; after which, the Castle was ordered to be raz'd to the ground (11). Mean time, Faulk, who was retired into Wales, upon Assurances given him by several Lords to support him, finding they were not as good as their word, implored the King's Mercy by the Mediation of the Bishop of Coventry. This Prelate using the same Arguments that were alledged by the Archbishop of York in behalf of William of Albemarle, obtained the Rebel's pardon as to Life and Limbs. But he could not hinder his being delivered to the Custody of the Bishop of London, till the next year, when the Parliament

1224. The King of France attacks Saintonge, and takes Rochelle.
T. l. p. 269.
M. Paris.
P. 320.
P. Amylius.

Ad. Pub.
T. l. p. 268.
272, 273.
293.

(1) According to M. Paris, he sent his Letters to all the Sheriffs to make inquiry by the Oath of twelve Knights or legal Men in every County, what were the Liberties of England in the time of King Henry his Grandfather, and to send a return thereof to London fifteen days after Easter. But neither is this account exactly true, for it appears, by the Writ itself, still extant, that the inquiry was to be, what Customs and Liberties were granted by King John, which shews of what use the Records are, to rectify the mistakes of the Historians. The Writ was as follows: "Rex Henricus Salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod diligenter inquiri facias in pleno comitatu tuo per Sixcentum duodecim de legalibus & discretioribus Militibus, quibus tui per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit quas concessiones & quas libertates Dominus Johannes Rex Pater noster habuit in baliva tua, & quas tunc inceptit inter ipsum & Barones tuos Anglie & Normie & his intra Burgum & extra, & quas concessiones & libertates ipsum Regem Henricum nostrum tunc habuisse dixeris per inquisitionem piam clam, clamor, & firmiter nobis respondere facias in comitatu tuo, & inquisitionem ipsam & responsa inquisitionum nostrarum facias apud Wyntonasterium in crastino Clauis Pasche distincte, & per te suo sigillo tuo & sigillis eorum per quos inquisitio nostra facta fuerit, & habere ibi hoc breve. Teste H. &c. apud West. tricesimo die Januarii." Claus. 7 Hen. III. M. 14. D. 16.

(2) Walter of Coventry, and the Annals of Waverley say, it was a 10th Tax for the Succours of the Holy Land, &c. before the same mentioned by Mr. Rapin, the last inform us, that every Freeman paid ten Penny, and whoever had Chateaux the value of half a Mark, paid likewise a Penny; but this Tax was soon after abolished. An. Waverl. p. 187.

(3) The chief of them were the Bishops of Chester and Lincoln, John Constable of Chester, Faulk de Brent, Robert de Meung, Peter de Maulon, Philip Mare, In elard de Atkie, William de Cantello, and his son, &c. M. Paris, p. 320.

(4) This Year King Henry kept his Court at Northampton, at Christmass. Id. p. 319.

(5) We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a Letter, whereby it appears, there was Treachery in the Isle of Rochelle, since the Governor, or some of the Inhabitants. T. l. p. 269. Rapin.

(6) Matthew Paris says, he had thirty Vassals given against him in the Trials of Novel Dissizin, in each of which he was fined a hundred Pounds, that is, in all, three thousand Pounds. M. Paris, An. 1224. p. 320.

(7) Martin de Patouille, & Thomas de Moulon. Ibid.

(8) Which was then sitting at Northampton. Ibid.

(9) So that, if all that it is a strong and noble Structure, no sign, except the Mount, remains at this day; but the site and Lands about it, were retained by William de Beauchamp, who laid claim to the same.

1224. confiscated his Estate, and banished him the Realm. Henry obtained, for the charges of this Expedition, an Aid of two Shillings upon every Hide of Arable Land (1).

1225. But he wanted greater Sums to carry on the War with France. For the obtaining whereof he called another Parliament, of whom he demanded a Fifteenth upon Moveables. The Parliament told him, they would readily grant him the Aid he required, provided the Charters of King John, which had all along been neglected, were punctually observed for the future. The King's Circumstances not suffering him to deny their request, he granted it in a handsome manner, and even sent into every County Commissioners to see the Charters executed (2). But the Effects of these orders were of no long continuance. However, People were so well satisfied of the King's good Intentions, that never was Tax levied with more exactness. To smooth the way, the Bishops excommunicated all that should be guilty of any Fraud (3).

The King made use of this Money to raise an Army, which was sent into Guienne, under the Command of Prince Richard his Brother, lately made Earl of Cornwall. Richard, having the Earl of Salisbury for his Lieutenant, made some progress in Guienne, where he took St. Maicaire. After that, he besieged the Castle of La Reole, a strong Place, which, by its resistance, gave the Earl of Marche, General of the French Army, time to come to its relief. The English Historians pretend, Richard obtained a considerable Advantage over the Earl. The French, on the contrary, say, that perceiving he was not strong enough to hazard a Battle, he retired beyond the Dordogne, and shortly after into England. It is certain however, Richard quitted not Guienne till 1227, as appears from the Collection of the Publick Acts.

1226. The year 1226, began with a Parliament (4), wherein the King, who was recovered from a dangerous Illness, was declared of full Age, though he was not yet so old as the Law required. But this was not the only Business for which the Parliament was called. A Legate, lately arrived from Rome, had an extraordinary Proposal to impart to them from the Pope, which concerned the whole Kingdom, and especially the Clergy. The Substance of the Proposal was, that, since the Holy See had long lain under the Scandal of doing nothing without Money, it was for the Honour and Interest of all Christians to wipe away this reproach, by removing the Cause. That it was notorious to all, the extreme Poverty of the Church of Rome, laid her under an absolute necessity of demanding some acknowledgment, for the favours she dispensed to her Sons; that she desired nothing more than to be in a Capacity to proceed with moderation; and the best means to that end would be, for the Faithful to grant her Aids proportionable to her Wants. Then the Legate proposed, that, to supply the urgent occasions of the Holy See, there should be set apart for that purpose, out of every Cathedral, two Prebendaries; and out of every Monastery, two Monks Portions; and that this Grant should be confirmed by Parliament. He supported his Proposal with the most specious reasons he could devise; without promising however, that the Pope would take nothing for his future favours, but only insinuating, he would use more Moderation in that respect. It was not very difficult to perceive the Pope's Aim. Therefore all the Legate's Eloquence was not able to prevail with the Parliament, who, to his great mortification, did not even vouchsafe to give him an answer. When he would have complained of this disobliging Treatment of the Pope, he was told, the absence of the King, and some of the principal Bishops, prevented the taking into consideration a Proposal of that nature. Not discouraged at this repulse, he required, that the Session of Parliament should be continued, till the King and the absent Prelates were come. But his Instances were not regarded, and the Parliament broke up, without coming to any resolution; so that the Legate was forced to wait with patience till the next Session. Mean time, he took a Journey into the northern Counties, where, under pretence of the Right of Procurations (5), he oppressed the Churches to such a degree, that they were forced to complain to the Pope, who recalled him for fear of exasperating the English at

so critical a Juncture. However, the Pope, who did not yet despair of obtaining what he had demanded, enjoined the Archbishop of Canterbury to cause the Parliament to meet again, and require a positive answer to the Proposal made by his Legate. The King having advised with the Bishops, sent the Pope word, that, since this affair did not only concern England, but all Christendom too, he was ready to conform to the Resolutions which should be taken in other Christian Countries. This was properly a civil denial; for it was well known, a Legate had made the same Proposal in France, but to no manner of purpose.

Mean time, Henry continued his Preparations to carry War into France. But he found himself obliged to suspend them; for Lewis, engaging to command a Crusade against the Albigenses, had procured the Pope's express Orders to all Christian Princes, not to give him any disturbance during his Expedition. Henry consulting his Parliament upon these Orders, was advised to put off the War till the return of the King of France, who was then besieging Avignon, where entrance was denied him. This Prince died soon after his taking that Place, not without Suspicion of being poisoned by the Earl of Champagne, who was desperately in love with the Queen. Lewis IX, his Son, succeeded him, under the Guardianship of Blanch of Castile his Mother, who, though a Foreigner, had Interest enough to obtain the Regency of the Kingdom.

Whilst the English Arms were suspended by the superior Orders of the Court of Rome, Henry began his majority with an Act of Injustice, for which he had not the least colour. As he durst not demand any Money of the Parliament (6), who had so lately granted him a very considerable Aid, he bethought himself of an Expedient, formerly used by Richard his Uncle on the like occasion, after his return from the Holy Land: Which was, to oblige all those that had Charters to renew them, upon payment of such a Sum. This Order, the only end whereof was to fill the King's Coffers, fell the heaviest upon the Monasteries. All unjust methods invented by Princes to extort Money from their Subjects, are so many inexhaustible Springs of Oppression; Successors seldom failing to follow these ill Precedents.

In the beginning of the next year, the sudden death of the Earl of Salisbury, natural Son of Henry II, at a Banquet, to which he was invited by the Chief Justiciary, gave occasion for strong suspicions of that Minister (7). However, no Inquiry was made, none daring to attack directly a Favourite, who had an absolute Sway over the King. As Henry advanced in years, he was observed to have qualities little consistent with a great Prince; an extreme Avarice, an astonishing Fickleness, great Caprice and unevenness in his Conduct, an unusual easiness to be governed by those about him; and beyond all this, Principles of Oppression and Tyranny, which afforded a terrible Prospect for the future. Though he was declared of Age the last year, he kept the Bishop of Winchester near his Person, for the sake of his advice; but Hubert de Burgh would not suffer him to retain him any longer. He represented to him, that though he was declared of full Age, he would always be considered as under the Guardianship of a Regent, as long as that Prelate was at Court; and it was for his Honour and Interest to shew his Subjects he was capable of governing by himself. This Advice being readily embraced by the King, who perceived not the motive, the Bishop of Winchester was ordered to return to his Diocese.

The English would have been unconcerned, and perhaps glad at the Bishop's disgrace, if it had not been immediately followed by an Event, which convinced them, it would have been better that the King's Favour had been always divided. As soon as Hubert saw himself without a Rival in the Ministry, he endeavoured to set himself above the Laws, by persuading his Master, that his sole aim was to render him absolute. It was not difficult to engage in this Project, a Prince that was sufficiently inclined of himself. Besides the forementioned renewal of the Charters, he had extorted five thousand Marks from the Londoners, under pretence of their lending the like Sum to Prince

(1) And gave the great Men that had accompanied him in this Expedition, leave to take a Scutage of two Marks from every Knight's Fee held of them. *M. Paris*, p. 322. ---- This year the King held his Court, at *Christmas*, at *Westminster*, at which were present the Clergy, and People, and the great Men of the Kingdom. *Id.* p. 323.

(2) The King signed and sent two Charters to every County, one concerning the common Liberties, the other of the Liberties of the Forests. *M. Paris*, *Ann.* 1225. *Hemingford*, p. 368. *An. Burton*, p. 271, &c.

(3) Another Parliament was held at *Westminster*, this Year, in *March*. *M. Paris*, p. 324.

(4) The Legates had a right to demand their expences to be defrayed, when they visited the Churches and Monasteries, which had been converted into ready Money. *Rapin*.

(5) This Parliament was held at *Oxford* in *February*. *M. Paris*, p. 336.

(6) He was Son of Henry II, by *Rosamond*. His Body was buried at *Old Sarum*, and from thence removed to the new City, and interred in a Monument, on the North-side of the Chapel of our Lady, in the Cathedral Church, in a Tomb of Wood richly painted, diapered and gilt. His Effigies lies thereon of grey Marble, in his Coat of Mail, his Sword by his side, and upon his antique Shield, are six Lions rampant embossed; the like number of Lions are painted also upon his Surcoat, but by reason of the many foldings thereof, are not easily perceived. He married *Ela*, Daughter and Heir to *William Fitz-Peter*, Earl of *Salisbury*, by whom he had four Sons and four Daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest Son *William Longespée*, second of the Name, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Sandford's Genealog.* p. 115.

1226. The Pope's refusal upon it. *ibid.*

Lewis VIII, Head of the Crusade against the Albigenses. *Act. Pub.* T. 1. p. 324. *M. Paris*, *M. West.* *An. Waverl.*

He dies, and is succeeded by his Son.

Henry causes all Charters to be renewed in order to raise Money. *M. Paris*, *M. West.*

1227. Hubert is suspected of poisoning the Earl of Salisbury. *M. Paris*, *Character of Henry III.*

M. Paris.

The Bishop of Winchester is sent to his Diocese.

Hubert advises the King to become absolute. *ibid.*

The King begins to oppress the People. *Id.* p. 336. *M. West.*

1227. *Henry*, when he left *England*. The Town of *Northampton* was compelled to pay him twelve hundred Pounds, on some other no less frivolous pretence. The Monasteries had met with no better quarter. Notwithstanding their appeal to the Holy See, he had exacted from them large Sums, whilst the affair was depending before the Pope. These things were plain indications, how little he was disposed to keep any measures with his Subjects, and began to cause him to forfeit their esteem. But what he did further, by the violent Counsels of the Justiciary, entirely alienated their affection. On a sudden, when it was least expected, he annulled the two Charters of the King his Father, though he had bound himself by Oath inviolably to observe them; pretending he was not obliged to stand to what he had promised during his minority. *Hubert* for his part, regardless of the murmurs of the People, by whom he was deemed the author of these pernicious Counsels, caused himself to be created Earl of *Kent*, in reward of the great service lately done his Master, in freeing him from the yoke of these Charters.

He annuls
King John's
Charters.

Hubert made
Earl of Kent
M. Paris.

Quarrel be-
tween the
King and
Prince
Richard.
M. Paris.
p. 337.

The conduct of the King and his Minister, bred such discontent among the Barons, that it was easy to see their little affection for their Sovereign. Prince *Richard*, who arrived from *Guienne* soon after the revoking of the Charters, improved the present disposition of the Barons, to brave the King his Brother, in a contest he had with him. The occasion was this, King *John* having given one *Waleran*, a German, a certain Manor belonging to the Earldom of *Cornwall*, *Richard*, as soon as he was invested with that Earldom, ordered *Waleran* to appear and produce his Title, and in the mean time caused the Manor to be seized. Whether *Waleran* had lost his Charter, or thought it defective, he refused to obey the Summons. On the contrary, as if great injustice had been done him, he carried his complaints to the King, who, without examining the affair, ordered the Prince's Officers to restore the Manor. They found means however to be excused till the return of their Master. Upon his arrival, *Richard* represented to the King, that he had done *Waleran* no wrong in obliging him to shew his original title: That his intent was not to deprive him of his Lands by force, but to have the matter decided by the Laws, and to that end offered to refer it to the judgment of the Peers of the Realm. *Henry*, offended at this proposal, fell into a passion with his Brother, and commanded him to restore the Manor in dispute, by such a time, or depart the Kingdom. *Richard* boldly replied, that he would do neither without the judgment of his Peers, and immediately retired without staying for an answer. The Justiciary, who never ceased to inspire the King with violent maxims, advised him to take the Prince into custody. But whilst *Henry* considered of taking this step, *Richard* withdrew from Court, and posted to the Earl of *Pembroke*, to consult him upon this affair. *Pembroke* approved of what the Prince had done, and perceiving this to be a favorable opportunity to check the arbitrary power, the King had a mind to usurp, believed he ought to improve it. And therefore he assured *Richard*, he was ready to assist him with his Life and Fortune, and did not question but most of the Barons would do the same. Indeed, shortly after, by the diligence of the Earl-Marshal, the Earls of *Glocester*, *Chester*, *Warren*, *Warwick*, *Ferrars*, and *Hereford*, with many other Barons (1), joined with *Richard*, and took up Arms, to compel the King to restore the Charters he had lately annulled. *Hubert* was alarmed at this Confederacy. As he foreaw it might be attended with fatal consequences, he chose to procure a reconciliation between the two Brothers. To satisfy Prince *Richard*, the chief of the Confederates, he got the King to settle upon him the Queen their Mother's Dower, to which he pretended a right; and likewise to augment his Appannage with the Lands held by the late Earl of *Boulogne*. *Richard*, content with this liberality, said no more of restoring the Charters, and the Confederacy was dissolved. Thus the Great, under the pretence of the publick good, promote their interest, or gratify their passions. But when means are found to satisfy them, as to what concerns them in particu-

Richard's
bold Answer
to the King.

He makes a
League with
divers Bar-
ons, who
take up
Arms.
M. Paris.

Richard is
satisfied, and
the League
broken.

lar, they discover, that the publick good was the least of their views (2).

Pope *Honorius* III, died that year, and was succeeded by *Gregory* IX.

Gregory IX
died.

Stephen Langton, Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, outlived *Honorius* but a few months (3). His eyes were no sooner closed, but the Monks of *St. Augustine*, willing to secure the Privileges of electing their Archbishop, immediately chose *Walter de Henegham*, one of their fellow Monks. The King was offended at this Election being made without his Licence (4), and refused to confirm their choice, because, as he alleged, the Father of this Monk was hanged for theft. On the other hand, the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, angry that he was chosen without their consent, refused to accept him, because he had corrupted a Nun, by whom he had several Children. Upon this he sent Agents to *Rome* (5), to have the matter decided there. Mean time the Church of *Canterbury* remained vacant.

1228.
Death of
Archbishop
Langton.
M. Paris.
See History
of the
King's
reign.
M. Paris.
T. Wikes.

This year the *Welsh* making irruptions into *England*, the King marched into their Country to chastise them. But after harassing his Troops to no purpose, he returned without making any progress (6).

War with
the Welsh.
M. Paris.

This same year, the Pope thundered out a Bull of Excommunication against the Emperor *Frederic* II, for neglecting to carry his Arms into the *Holy Land*, as he had solemnly vowed. How haughty soever this Monarch might be, he was forced to bend under the papal Power, and perform his vow the next year.

Frederic II.
excommunicated.
Id. p. 343.

Whilst these things passed, the Regency of *Blanch*, Mother of *St. Lewis*, occasioned in *France* disturbances, which *Henry* might have turned to his advantage, had he known how to improve them. But this Prince was not of an enterprising genius. If ever he formed any projects, it was always in disadvantageous circumstances, whilst he neglected the most favorable. A fairer opportunity than this had never offered, to recover the Provinces the *English* had lost in *France*, had it been well managed. The *Normans* siding with the confederate Barons against the Queen Regent of *France*, sent *Henry* word, that if he would come in Person, he should be received with open Arms, and put in possession of that rich Province. On the other hand, the *Poitevins* importuned him to come and seize such of their Towns as were in the hands of the *French*, offering him their assistance. At the same time the *Gascons* sent the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* (7) to inform him, it was now in his power, by taking advantage of the commotions in *France*, to expel the *French* out of the places they were possessed of in *Guienne*. Such pressing invitations, at so favorable a juncture, should have induced *Henry* to make a vigorous push, for the recovery of what the King his Father had lost by his negligence. But, by a blindness imputed to the Counsels of the Justiciary, he answered, he would stay for a more convenient opportunity, as if he had been sure of one every day. We shall see hereafter, that he rashly embarked in this undertaking, at a time when there was not the least appearance of success. Thus did this Prince blindly suffer himself to be guided by his Ministers, who abused his easiness and weakness to advance their own affairs, without any regard to the interests of their Master.

T. Wikes in
France,
where Hen-
ry takes
the advan-
tage of
Id. p. 353.
M. Wels.

Mean time, the dispute concerning the Election of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was carried on at *Rome* with great warmth, though the Pope was not yet pleased to determine the matter. But at length, the King's Envoys offering the Pope a tenth of all the Moveables in *England* and *Ireland*, and this offer opening his Eyes, he voided the Election made by the Monks. At the same time, under colour of preventing any future dispute, he himself conferred the Archiepiscopal Dignity on *Richard le Grand*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln* (8), wherein he outdid even *Innocent* III, who was willing at least to keep up some form, in causing *Langton* to be elected by the Monks that were sent to him. Though this incroachment of *Gregory* was of a more dangerous consequence than that of *Innocent*, yet the King and the Suffragan Bishops received the new Archbishop, pleased

The Pope
nominates a
new Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.
M. Paris.
p. 355.

(1) They met at *Stanford*. M. Paris, p. 337.

(2) The King kept his *Christmas* at *Tork*, and in his return to *London*, finding the measures of Grain, Wine, and Ale, to be false, he ordered them to be burnt and broken, and others of a larger Size to be made, and the Weight of Bread to be increased. Idem. p. 344. M. Wels. p. 286.

(3) He died at his Manor of *Slindon* July 9, and was buried at *Canterbury*. M. Paris, p. 350.

(4) M. Paris says, it was done with the King's Licence, but that, *Henry* not liking the Man they had chose, thought fit to set him aside. p. 350.

(5) The King's Agents were, the Bishops of *Rechester* and *Chester*, and *John* Archdeacon of *Bedford*. M. Paris. p. 350.

(6) This War was no more than this: There being a Wood near *Montgomery* Castle, which used to be a Receptacle for Robbers, the Garrison undertook, with the assistance of the Country-people, to make the Road, that led through that Wood, wider, and clear it of the Thickets on each side. Whilst they were at Work, the *Welsh* came upon them, and forced them to retire into the Castle, which they besieged. But the King and *Hubert* (to whom that Castle belonged) came and raised the Siege: And then carried on the Work as far as a *Cistercian* Monastery, called *Credie*, which they burned. *Hubert* finding the place to be impregnable, ordered a Castle to be built there; but the *Welsh* so distressed King *Henry's* Army, which by the way inwardly favored *Llewelin*, that *Henry* was forced to make a disadvantageous Peace; one Article whereof was, That this Castle should be demolished, and *Llewelin* should give *Henry* for his Charges three thousand Marks. M. Paris, p. 350.

(7) He came to *Henry* whilst he was keeping his Court at *Christmas* at *Oxford*. M. Wels. p. 287.

(8) He was consecrated *June* 4. T. Wikes, p. 41.

1223.
He demands
the promised
Tenths.
M. Paris.
p. 361.
M. Weil.
An. Waverl.

He meets
with opposi-
tion ;

but gains
his Point.

The Nuntio
raises the
Tenths with
rigour.
M. Paris.
p. 362, &c.

The King and
Pope stand
by one ano-
ther.

The King
forms the de-
sign of car-
rying War
into France.
Id. p. 363.

Ships are
employed to
transport the
Troops.
The King is
angry, and
would have
killed Hu-
bert.

with having voided the Monk's Election, without troubling themselves about the prejudice the Church of *England* thereby received. Shortly after, *Gregory*, who would not long be deprived of the effect of the promises lately made him, sent one of his Chaplains into *England* to collect the promised Tenths, which were to be expended in his War with the Emperor. The King assembling the Parliament (1) upon this occasion, the Chaplain laid before them the Pope's Letters, strongly urging the performance of what he had been made to expect. All Eyes were fixed upon the King, in expectation that he would oppose this exaction, and disclaim his Envoys. But when he was seen to keep silence, it was easily perceived, the promise had been made by his order, or at least that he had not the courage to contradict the Pope's Will. The Lords (2) therefore thought it their duty to shew greater resolution than the King. The affair seemed to them of such consequence, that they unanimously resolved, not to suffer their Lay-fees to be thus liable to the exactions of the Court of *Rome*. However, to satisfy the Pope in some measure, they proposed to give him a certain Sum, without inquiring into the effects of each particular Person. In all appearance this method would have been taken, had not *Stephen de Segrave*, one of the Barons, voluntarily submitted to the Pope's demands, and drawn in others by his example. The number of those that suffered themselves to be gained, increasing by degrees, the greatest opposers were forced to yield, that they might not incur the indignation of the King and the Pope. The Clergy durst still less venture to resist, for fear of being exposed to the excommunication they were threatened with. The Nuntio, having thus attained his ends, produced a full power from his Master to collect the Tax, which was to be paid out of all moveables whatever. He executed his orders so rigorously, that he caused the tenths of all sorts of fruits, even of such as were yet growing, to be paid him in Money. Neither was this all. That this Tax might be levied with the more speed, he obliged the Bishops to advance the Money for the inferior Clergy, empowering them to reimburse themselves in the manner they should think proper. The Prelates and Abbots therefore were under a necessity of finding ready Money. But as several were not able to raise it soon enough, the Nuntio had provided against this inconvenience, by bringing with him certain *Italian* Usurers, who lent them Money at an extravagant interest. Thus did the Pope abuse the King's weakness, who might easily have prevented this exaction, by a vigorous opposition. For the Earl of *Chester*, his Subject, had the power to hinder this Tax from being levied upon his Lands, by stoutly maintaining, in spite of the Nuntio's clamours, that the Pope had nothing to do with Lay-Fees. But, besides that *Henry* was terrified by the example of the King his Father, which was ever in his thoughts, he had another reason that induced him to this condescension for the Pope. In his project of rendering himself absolute, and raising Money upon his Subjects by all sorts of ways, he was very sensible, he should need the Pope's protection, and nothing could procure it him sooner, than to let him share in these exactions. Accordingly, we shall see in the sequel of this Reign, that the Pope and the King mutually stood by one another, whenever the business was to extort Money from the *English*.

The Nation had scarce forgot the Pope's late oppression, when they saw themselves obliged to furnish the King with means to make War upon the King of *France*. After the disturbances in that Kingdom were appeased, and consequently the opportunity of improving them was lost, *Henry* formed the design of recovering by Arms the Provinces taken from the King his Father ; without considering that the posture of affairs in *France* was very much altered, the Lords that opposed the Queen-Regent being all humbled, and no longer able to assist him. To put this design in execution, he resolved to make great preparations ; and for that purpose summoned all the Vassals of the Crown (3) to meet him, after *Michaelmas*, at *Portsmouth*, where he assembled one of the finest Armies that had ever been raised in *England* (4). However, this extraordinary armament proved in vain, by reason when the Troops came to be embarked, there were not Ships enough to transport them. This disappointment threw the King into such a passion with *Hubert de Burgh*, who had taken upon him to get

all things ready, that he called him *Old Traitor*. He charged him with receiving a bribe from the Court of *France* (5), to put a stop to this design, and in his rage drew his Sword to kill him ; which he would, probably, have done, if the Earl of *Chester* had not interposed, not so much to save the Justiciary, as to prevent the King from imbruing his hands in the Blood of one of his Subjects. It does not appear, whether *Hubert* acted out of design or negligence ; but however that be, the embarkment was forced to be retarded the whole Winter. To this the arrival of *Peter de Dreux* Earl of *Bretagne* did not a little contribute ; who perceiving, so much time had been lost in waiting for Transport-Ships, and that the *English* Army, the season being too far advanced, would be obliged to take up their Winter quarters in his Dominions, where they were to land, advised the King to defer the undertaking till the Spring. During this interval, *Hubert* found means to be received into favour again, and to have the administration of affairs as before.

This same year, the Emperor *Frederic* carried his arms into *Palestine*, and compelled the Sultan of *Egypt* to surrender *Jerusalem* (6). He would have pushed his conquests farther, had not the Excommunication, denounced upon him by the Pope the last year, weighed more with the Templars and Hospitallers of the *Holy Land*, than the valour of that Prince. Their prejudice against him rose to that height, that they plotted to deliver him into the hands of the Sultan, to whom they had even communicated their design. But this Prince, though an Infidel, abhorring their Treachery, was so generous as to discover it to *Frederic*. This Generosity turned more to his advantage, than the having the Emperor in his power. By that means he sowed among the Christians of *Palestine* such discord, as was extremely prejudicial to their affairs. *Frederic* finding he could expect no assistance from the Christians of the *Holy Land*, and that the Pope diverted to other uses the Crusades designed against the *Saracens*, made a ten years Truce with the Sultan, and returned into *Europe*.

Though *Henry* waited with impatience for the Spring, in order to transport his Army into *France*, his stay in *England* during the Winter was not in vain. He procured a considerable present from the Clergy, exacted also a large sum from the City of *London*, and to leave no means untried to raise Money, compelled the *Jews*, who were then very numerous in the Kingdom, to pay him a third part of their substance. As soon as the Spring was come, he embarked with his Army at *Portsmouth* (7), and landed at *St. Maloes* (8), where he was received by the Earl of *Bretagne*, who put into his hands all his strong Towns and Castles. Mean time the *French*, having had all the Winter to prepare, were posted near *Angers*, with design to hinder his march into *Poitou*. *Henry* gave them time to fortify themselves in their Post, whilst he continued at *Nantes*, expecting the rest of his Troops, which were to come from *Ireland*. Though by the prudent conduct of the Queen-Regent of *France*, the Malecontents were humbled, and had promised to remain in quiet, they no sooner saw the King of *England* in *Bretagne*, and all *Lewis's* Forces employed in those parts, but they began to stir again. Upon which the King and the Queen-Regent were obliged to quit *Anjou*, in order to oppose the designs of the Malecontents, which seemed to them of worse consequence than the progress the *English* might make. This was the time for *Henry* to act vigorously, and improve the present juncture, especially as the *Normans* pressed him to march into their Country, where they were ready to receive him, and assist him to the utmost of their power. But though he was inclined to turn that way, it is pretended, he was dissuaded by his Favorite, who told him, the attempt was liable to very great difficulties. Instead therefore of marching into *Normandy*, he went directly to *Poitou*, and took the Castle of *Mirabel*. After which, as if he intended to shew the *French* Malecontents, they were to expect nothing from him, he came to *Guienne*, to receive the fealty of the *Gascans*. In short, after losing much time, he returned into *Bretagne*, where he employed himself in such a manner, as demonstrated his little inclination for War. This Conduct gave occasion to suspect his Ministers, of holding intelligence with the enemy, who had sufficient time to appease the troubles of the Kingdom. Accordingly, the Queen-Regent took this opportunity, which was so unseasonably given her, to be reconciled with the confederate Barons (9).

(1) The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Templars, Hospitallers, Earls, Barons, Rectors of Churches, and those that held of him in chief, as *Mat. Paris* expresses it, p. 361. This Parliament was held at *Westminster*. *ibid*.

(2) The Earls, Barons, and Knights, as *Mat. Paris* words it. p. 362.

(3) The Earl, Barons, and Knights. *id* p. 363.

(4) He had Soldiers even out of *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Wales*, and *Guernsey*. *ibid*.

(5) The Emperor *Frederic* sent *Henry* a large account of his Proceedings in a Letter under his own Seal, the Copy of which *Mat. Paris* has inserted in his History under the year 1229. p. 356.

(7) April 30. *Mat. Paris*, p. 363.

(8) May 3. *ibid*.

(5) Five thousand Marks. *M. Paris*, p. 363.

(9) In September. *Id*. p. 367.

1223.

The Excommu-
nication is de-
ferred.

Affairs of
Palestine.
M. Paris.

1229.
Henry raises
Money by
unjust me-
thods.
Id. p. 365.
M. Weil.
Makes a de-
scent into
Bretagne.
An. Waverl.
T. Wilkes.
Act. Pub.
T. 1. p. 315.

M. Paris.

Marches in-
to Guienne ;
and from
thence re-
turns into
Bretagne,
with a design
any thing
against the
French.

1229. They readily consented to a Peace, when they found Henry made no Advances to support them.

At the approach of the Queen-Regent had nothing to fear from the Barons, she ordered the Army to march towards Bre-
tagne, where Henry was lavishing away the remains of his Money in Entertainments and Dissensions, as it in leaving England he intended only to take a Journey of Pleasure (1). Upon the first news of the Enemy's approach, finding his Treasures spent, and fearing to draw upon himself all the Forces of France, he humbly returned into England (2). May, he was very hardly prevailed with to leave part of his Army in Bretagne, under the Command of the Earls of Chester and Pembroke (3), to support the Earl, whom he had unseasonably engaged in the War. These Lords, less timorous than their King, with these few Troops, not only hindered the French from entering Bretagne, but made incursions into Anjou and Normandy, from whence they carried away a great Booty. Thus ended this Expedition. Instead of procuring any advantage to Henry, it served only to render him contemptible to his Subjects, who would never more hearken to an Expedition against France, seeing he had made such ill use of so favourable a juncture. He cast the whole blame on the Treachery of the Earl of Marche and the Poitevins, who performed not what they had promised. But he was himself the Cause of their Change, since, in all appearance, they would not have deserted him, if his Proceedings had given them any hopes of a powerful Protection.

During Henry's Absence in Bretagne, some Commotions happened in Ireland (4). The King of Connaught, willing to take advantage of the weakness of the English, whose best Troops were sent to the King, invaded their Territories with a great Army, or rather with multitudes of unwatlike People. But he found in Geoffrey de Maris, Justiciary of Ireland (5), a more formidable Enemy than he expected, who, killing twenty thousand of the Irish, took their King himself Prisoner.

Though the King had consumed, in needless Expences, the Sums granted him for the French War, he made that dishonourable Expedition a pretence to demand a new Aid. The Parliament (6) were very unwilling to comply, but however were prevailed with at length by the consideration of his great wants, and granted him a Scutage of three Marks upon every Knight's Fee, held of the Crown (7).

Shortly after, Richard Archbishop of Canterbury complained to the King, that upon the death of the Earl of Gloucester, Hubert de Burgh had seized the Castle of Tunbridge, though it was a riel of the Archbishoprick. Henry, in him, the Wardship of the young Earl of Gloucester belonging to him, it was his Prerogative to dispose of it to his Justiciary, during the Heir's Minority; adding, he thought it very strange that he should call his Right in question. This answer not satisfying the Archbishop, he excommunicated, without distinction, all such as wrongfully detained the Church's Lands, and immediately departed to carry his Complaints to the Pope.

About the same time, Prince Richard, the King's Brother, married the Countess-Dowager of Gloucester (8), Sister of the Earl of Pembroke, who died soon after his Sister's Marriage (9). He left his Estate by Will, to Richard his Brother, who was still in Bretagne, where he did the State signal Services. A three Months Truce giving him leisure to return into England, he demanded his Brother's Inheritance, seized by the King. Henry wanting an excuse to enjoy the Profits, answered, That he heard his Brother's Widow was with Child, and therefore could not dispose of the Inheritance till she was delivered. But as he knew the falsehood of this, he sought a more plausible Pretence. He charged Richard with holding criminal Correspondence with France whilst in Bretagne; and without suffering him to vindicate himself, commanded him to depart the Kingdom within fifteen days. It was shocking to an English Earl to see himself treated in this manner; But it was still more so to the Son of that Earl of Pembroke, who had set the Crown on the King's

Head, and established him in the Throne, in spite of his Enemies. Richard indeed quitted England, but it was to pass into Ireland, where he took possession of the Castles and Lands, belonging to his Family. Which done, he levied Troops, and made himself amply out of the King's Demerits, for what was unjustly detained from him in England. Whether Henry dreaded the Consequences of this Revolt, or was made sensible that the Injustice done the Earl was too manifest to be maintained, he recalled him from Banishment, gave him possession of his Estate, and invested him with the Office of Earl-Marshal, enjoyed by his Brother. It was the Temper of this Prince, to behave haughtily to such as he thought unable to resist him, and to yield on a sudden to those that opposed him.

Levellyn Prince of Wales having lately made some Incursions into the Borders of England, Henry let him proceed for some time. But when he thought the Welsh Prince no longer expected to be attacked, he resolved to go in Person and chastise him (10). However, upon the first resistance, his warlike ardor abated, and he returned without effecting any thing.

Though Henry was now in the twenty fifth year of his Age, he had been forced to live unmarried, because all his Projects on that account had miscarried. His first design was to espouse Yolande, Daughter of the Duke of Bretagne, to whom he was engaged by Oath. But whether the Pope refused a Dispensation, or for some other reason, the design was not executed. A Match was likewise proposed between him and the Duke of Austria's Daughter, but with no better Success. Some time after, he wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne, to impart to him his intent of entering into a strict Alliance with the Empire, by marrying the Daughter of the King of Bohemia. But we don't find this affair was carried any farther. He had also the mortification to be disappointed this very year, in his design of espousing the second Daughter of the King of Scotland, Sister of the Justiciary's Wife. The Jealousy of the English Barons put a stop to this Marriage. As they could not bear to see the King married to the younger Sister of the Wife of one of his Subjects, they were so urgent with him to divert him from it, that he did not think fit to conclude this affair, which met with so strong opposition. I shall add here, to avoid mentioning it elsewhere, that, four years after, he would have married the Daughter of the Earl of Pontieu; but this Project, like the rest, came to nothing. Though he was contracted to her, and Ambassadors were dispatched for the Pope's Dispensation, he altered his Mind whilst they were on the road, and sent them orders not to speak of the affair.

The Archbishop of Canterbury so effectually pleaded his Cause at Rome, that he obtained an order from the Pope, to take possession of the Castle of Tunbridge, during the Non-age of the Earl of Gloucester. But he could not reap the benefit of this favour; death seizing him as he was returning to England (11). When the Monks of St. Augustine heard the news, they forthwith elected the Bishop of Chichester (12) Chancellor of the Kingdom. The King confirming their choice, invested the Prelate with the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick. But the Archbishop elect could never obtain the Pope's Confirmation, to whom it was represented (13) that he was too much a Courtier. This single reason was sufficient to induce the Pope to void the Election, and order the Monks to chuse a Person more devoted to the Holy See.

In the beginning of the year 1232, Henry called a Parliament (14), of whom he demanded an Aid, to enable him to pay the Debts contracted by his late Expedition into France. The Earl of Chester replied, in the Name of all the Barons, that they had assisted him not only with their Money, but also their Persons, and therefore owed him no further Aid. The Clergy, who were no better inclined to the King, desiring time to consider of the matter, the Parliament was prorogued till Easter (15).

(1) M. Paris says, the Eirls and Barons spent their whole time in feasting and drinking; and the Soldiers sold their Horses and Arms, that they might have something to make merry withal. p. 307.

(2) And passed at Portsmouth, October 26. *ibid.* And kept his Court at Christmast at York, where the King of Scots came to him. M. Paris, p. 308.

(3) A. and W. Wilson Earl of Albemarle, &c. M. Paris, p. 307. M. West. p. 289. In his return from this Expedition died Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey in the same County. An. Waverl. p. 192.

(4) In July. M. Paris, p. 306.

(5) With the assistance of Walter de Lisle, and Richard de Burgh. *ibid.*

(6) Which met at Westminster, Jan. 20. *Id.* p. 307.

(7) The Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the Bishops opposed it. *Id.* p. 308.

(8) Ifabella, they were married in April. *ibid.*

(9) And was buried in the New Temple, in London, April 15. *ibid.*

(10) He assembled a large Army at Oxford in July, where Levellyn was excommunicated: From thence he advanced as far as Hereford, and caused Mead Castle in Radnorshire to be rebuilt. He returned into England in October. M. Paris, p. 308, 309, 310.

(11) He died at St. George's, three days Journey from Rome, on August 3. *Id.* p. 310.

(12) By Simon de Lancon, who added, that he was unlearned and haughty; and what was worse, if he should be promoted to that dignity, would cause the Kingdom to shake off the papal yoke. *Id.* p. 311. M. West. p. 290.

(13) Which met at Westminster, March 7. M. Paris, p. 312.

(15) Till a fortnight after, *ibid.*

1234.
Contest day
against the
King's
M. Paris,
vol. 1, c. 1.

Besides that the King had made an ill use of the Aids granted him by the Parliament, he gave the Clergy, Nobility, and People, another and no less grievous cause of discontent. They saw, the King openly favoured the Usurpations of the Court of *Rome*, and by an affected Connivance, suffered the Pope to trample daily upon the Rights of the Church and the Kingdom. The Popes, not contented with exacting from time to time, on divers pretences, large Sums from the Clergy, were manifestly aiming at getting into their hands the Collations of all the vacant Benefices, and consequently the Rights of the Patrons were going to be quickly abolished. Moreover, the conferring of almost all the Benefices upon *Italians*, or other Foreigners, could not but very much incense the *English*. This disgust was carried so far, that above fourscore Persons of Quality entered into a Confederacy to dispossess the *Italian* Ecclesiastics, of whatever they held in *England*. The Confederates, having chosen one *Twenge* (1) for their Leader, forcibly entered several Houses of these Foreigners, and carrying away what things of value they met with, distributed them to the poor. This was done with so little noise, that not a Soul stirred, either to oppose or punish the Authors. But the Pope, who was soon informed thereof, wrote so severe a Letter to the King, that to judge by the Contents, one would have thought the Church had received a mortal Wound. Besides, without considering that the Laws and Customs of *England* required a previous Process and Examination of matters, he commanded the King, to punish immediately the disturbers of the Church's Peace, upon pain of Excommunication and Interdict, if he deferred a moment the Chastisement of the Guilty. These Threats obliging the King to issue out Orders to make strict enquiry after the Authors of this Violence, he found there were more Persons concerned in it than he imagined, and that the Bishops themselves were in the Plot, or had countenanced it by their Silence. However, for the Pope's Satisfaction, the chief Leader of the Confederates was apprehended, and sent to *Rome*, pursuant to his Holiness's Orders. Some Sheriffs and other Officers were imprisoned, for neglecting to suppress the Riot. In all likelihood, the Number and Quality of the Parties concerned, prevented any farther prosecution of this affair (2).

A. B. Feb.
T. 1 p. 322.

M. Paris.

Another
Election of
an Archbishop
supposed
by the Pope.
M. Paris.
M. Webb.
Disgrace of
Hubert.
Ibid.
An. Waterl.

During these Transactions, the Monks of *St. Augustin* having elected another Archbishop (3), according to the Orders they had received, and their choice not being more agreeable to the Pope than the former (4), they were enjoined to proceed to a third Election.

How great a Calm soever there seemed to be for some years in the King's Court, a Storm was secretly gathering against the Justiciary, which proved the more fatal to him, as he was not prepared for it. Ever since the King was perceived capable of entertaining Suspicions of his Favourite, the Enemies of *Hubert* had not ceased to do him ill Offices. Their Project was so well managed, that the King was persuaded to recall the Bishop of *Winchester* to Court, and make him one of his Counsellors. This Prelate had no sooner the King's Ear, but he laboured incessantly the ruin of the Favourite; being sensible, his own Safety depended on the downfall of his Rival. As he earnestly sought all occasions to compass his ends, an opportunity soon offered, which he failed not to improve. The Prince of *Wales* having made without opposition several IncurSIONS into *England*, the Bishop of *Winchester* represented to the King, how great a Reproach it was, that so despicable a People as the *Welsh* should thus plunder his Subjects, and no endeavours be used to prevent it. The King replied, "He was so far from having Money to undertake a War, that his Treasurers had even told him, his Revenues would scarce suffice for the necessary Expences of his Family." These words furnished the Bishop with what he wanted, namely, a Pretence to blame the Conduct of the Prime Minister. He told the King, "The want he complained of, proceeded from the Ill-management of the Treasury: That the Persons through whose hands the Money passed, were not called to an account: That the Wardship of Minors was continually given to private Persons, without any Benefit to his Exchequer: That he received no Profit

M. Paris,
p. 376.

from the Revenues of the vacant Benefices, or from the Lands which by Death or Confiscation, fell to the Crown." He added, "that by these means the Kings his Predecessors were wont to fill their Coffers, and consequently stood not so much in need of Parliamentary Aids, but lived in a greater Independence." Henry improving this Advice, called all his Sheriffs, and such as had the management of the Treasury, to account, and made *Peter de Rivaulx*, the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Nephew (5), Treasurer of his Chamber. This was only a Trial of the Bishop's Credit, to pave the way to the execution of his main design. These Changes were followed by some others, tending to remove from Court the Creatures of the Justiciary, whose Interest visibly decreased, as his Rival's gained ground. In short, the Bishop knew so well how to manage the King, that he caused *Segrave* his principal Confident, to be promoted (6) to the Office of Justiciary in the room of *Hubert*, who was turned out, though he had a Patent for that Dignity during Life.

Hubert turned out, and Segrave put in his room.
M. Paris.

It seldom happens that a Favourite falls easy. The hatred of the Prince is proportionable to his past Affection; the former of these two Passions hardly ever failing to be as violent as the latter. Princes generally act on these occasions from a principle of Pride, very often to themselves unperceivable. As their Affection cools, they endeavour to justify their Inconstancy, and frequently upbraid the Favourite for the very thing which before was the Cause of their Love. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in the ruin of *Hubert de Burgh*. Never had Favourite a greater ascendant over his Master. His Counsels, which flattered all the King's Passions, were regarded, whilst in favour, as so many Oracles. But when the King had entertained a Prejudice against him, he considered his former Advices as so many Treacheries. Indeed, it would be difficult to vindicate all the Actions of this Favourite. But, very probably, among the things laid to his Charge, there were many false Imputations. Be this as it will, a few days after his removal, the King sent for him, and required him to give an account of all the Money that had passed through his hands (7); which being very hard to do, *Hubert* endeavoured to be excused. He produced *John*'s Charter, declaring he was so well satisfied of his faithfulness, that he discharged him from all accounts. The Bishop of *Winchester* replied, the Charter might be valid as to what passed in the late Reign, but was of no force to exempt him from giving an account of his Administration, during the present. He added, this was not the only thing he was charged with: That he was accused moreover of several Crimes, and particularly of having given the King pernicious Counsels, to the great prejudice of his and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Hubert* perceiving by these Accusations that his ruin was resolved, desired time to give in his Answer; which could not be refused him. For the Bishop of *Winchester*, who stood in need of the Barons to condemn him, durst not disoblige them, by denying *Hubert* a Privilege common to him with all the Peers of the Realm. It may be, they would have made it their own Cause, if the Court had persisted in denying his request.

Indignity of the King against Hubert.
Ibid.

An. Waterl.
T. Wilkes.

Whether *Hubert* was conscious of his guilt, or despairing of vindicating his Innocence before Judges, several of whom were his professed Enemies, instead of appearing on the day appointed, he took Sanctuary in the Priory of *Merton*, from whence he hoped none would dare to force him. Some time after, the Parliament being met at *Lambeth* (8), an Aid of the fortieth part of the Moveables of the whole Nation was granted to the King (9). Which done, the Lords petitioning that *Hubert de Burgh*'s Trial might proceed, he was summoned to appear, but refused to obey. Upon which the King, who was of a violent Temper, commanded the Mayor of *London* to force him from his Sanctuary, and bring him either dead or alive. The Citizens very joyfully embraced this opportunity of being revenged upon *Hubert*, for whom they had entertained a mortal hatred, ever since his Severity in the affair of *Constantine*. They immediately flocked together, to the number of twenty thousand, with a resolution to execute the King's Orders without Mercy. Mean time, some of the chief Citizens dreading the Consequences of

(1) His Name, according to *M. Paris*, was *Robert de Twenge*, a Knight in the North of *England*. He declared, the reason of his stirring was, because the Pope attempted illegally to deprive him of the Patronage of a Church, which was the only one he had. p. 375.

(2) *M. Paris* says, *Hubert de Burgh* had granted them the King's Letters Patents, as well as his own. p. 375.

(3) *John*, Subprior of *St. Augustin's* monastery in *Canterbury*. *M. Paris*.

(4) Because he was too old, and simple. *Id.* p. 376. *N. Hist.*

(5) Or Son, as *M. Paris* owns, p. 376.

(6) July 29. *Ibid.*

(7) Of which we have these particulars in *M. Paris*: 1. The Monies paid into the Exchequer. 2. His Demains in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and *Normandy*. 3. Liberties in Forests, Warrens, Earldoms, Wardships, &c. 4. The Fifteenths, Sixteenths, and other Aids, paid into the Exchequer. 5. Profits arising from his right in Lands, or Moveables. 6. Things lost by his Negligence. 7. Wages, received by Wer, or otherwise. 8. The Revenues of vacant Bishopricks, &c. 9. Scutages, canuages, Gits, Aids, Issues of Wardships, &c. 10. Finester Rarriages of Bails, &c. p. 376.

(8) September 14. *M. Paris*, p. 377.

(9) For the payment of the Debt he owed the Duke of *Bretagne*. *M. Paris*.

1232. so rash an Order, went and advised with the Bishop of *Winchester*, who told them, let what would follow, the King must be obeyed. But the Remonstrances of the Earl of *Chester* to the King himself, had a better effect. He represented to him, that such a tumultuous Assembly might be very dangerous, and raise in the City a Sedition, which might not be easily appeased. Moreover he intimated, that so violent an action would be blamed by all the World, and especially by Foreigners, who, not being prejudiced, like the *English*, against the Party accused, would think it very strange, he should be thus treated, since other means were not wanting to punish him if he were guilty. In fine, he put him in mind of the Pope's resentment, who would never suffer the sacredness of the Sanctuary to be violated with Impunity (1). *Henry* being prevailed with by these reasons, sent a countermand to the Mayor of *London*, who found it very difficult to disperse the Mob.

Hubert is dragged by force out of a Church. M. Paris. p. 378. M. West.

Of all *Hubert's* Friends during his prosperity, there was but one left that ventured to speak in his behalf. This was the Archbishop of *Dublin*, who, by his solicitations, obtained of the King, that he would grant *Hubert* a longer time (2) to prepare his Answer. In the interim, *Hubert* coming out of his Sanctuary, to visit his Wife at *St. Edmundsbury*, the King, who had notice of it, caused him to be pursued by some Soldiers, who found him in a small Chapel (3), where he had taken refuge, with the Cross in one hand, and the Host in the other; both which being violently wrung from him, they chained his feet (4) under his Horse's belly, and in that ignominious manner conducted him to the Tower of *London*. All Churches, as well as what belonged to them, being in those days so many Sanctuaries, not to be violated without punishment, the King's attempt alarmed the whole Body of the Clergy. The Bishop of *London* was no sooner informed of the matter, but he went to the King, and declared, he would excommunicate all those that, directly or indirectly, were concerned in the breach of the Church's privileges. The King being terrified at these threats, ordered *Hubert* to be sent back to the Chapel (5) from whence he was forced, but commanded withal the Sheriffs of *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, upon pain of being hanged, to guard the Church so strictly, that the Prisoner might neither escape, nor receive victuals from any person. The Archbishop of *Dublin* perceiving his Friend could not remain in this situation, interceded for him once more, and intreated the King, with tears in his eyes, to tell him what he designed to do with the Prisoner. *Henry* replied, he intended to have him condemned for a Traytor, unless he would own himself guilty, and abjure the Kingdom for ever.

M. Paris. p. 379.

He is sent back.

The Archbishop of Dublin intercedes for him. M. Paris.

He is confined in the Tower. ibid.

The King relent. ibid. M. West. Brady's Appendix. No. 152.

The Bishop of Winchester tries to stir him up against. M. Paris. p. 381.

Hubert thinking this condition too hard, voluntarily yielded himself to the Sheriffs, who carried him to the Tower fettered and chained, amidst the shouts of the People, who took a pleasure in insulting over his disgrace.

But whilst he was anxiously expecting the rigorous Sentence he was threatened with, his affairs began to have a new face, by the fickle temper of the King, who could not long continue in the same mind. Two things farther contributed to his change. First, the death of the Earl of *Chester* (6), professed enemy of *Hubert*, though he disapproved of the illegal ways the King would have taken to destroy him. Secondly, a large Sum of Money lodged by the Prisoner in the hands of the Knights Templars, and readily delivered by him to the King upon demand. Thus *Hubert* saw the King's anger cool by degrees, when he expected to feel the most terrible effects of his displeasure. This sudden change alarmed the Bishop of *Winchester*, who, dreading the revival of the King's affection for his old Minister, made a fresh attempt to compleat the destruction of his formidable Rival. He took occasion from the Money lodged with the Templars, to accuse him of Fraud and Rapine; alledging, it was impossible to heap up such immense riches by lawful means. This Charge was supported by all *Hubert's* adversaries, who, seeing the King began to relent, came in a body and petitioned his death. But the King resolutely

answered, he would never consent to the death of a Person, from whom himself and the King his Father had received such signal Services (7). He ceased therefore his Prosecution, and leaving him in possession of his Estate of Inheritance, and of such Lands as he purchased with his own Money, was contented with depriving him of the rest. As soon as it was known how the King stood affected, some of the Lords (8), who till then had not dared to speak for *Hubert*, solicited the King in his behalf, and so far prevailed, that he was sent to the Castle of the *Devoe*, till it should please the King to dispose of him otherwise. Thus ended this affair which had made so much noise, to the great grief of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who expected *Hubert* would not have come off without the loss of his Head.

John Blund (9), Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, being elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, immediately set out for *Rome*, with the King's License, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation.

A French Election. M. Paris.

It seemed, that *Hubert's* disgrace should have obliged the new Minister to keep within the bounds of moderation, and behave gentler to the *English*. But, contrary to every one's expectation, it had quite another effect. Instead of taking a different course from that of his Predecessor, the Bishop of *Winchester* thought only of governing with an absolute power, and withal to screen himself from the Plots of those that should oppose his designs. He intimated to the King, "That among the Barons, there were few really devoted to his Service, and that their sole aim was to make themselves independent": Adding, "It was absolutely necessary to think of means to repress their Insolence: But it would be almost impossible to succeed, whilst they were, in a manner, masters of the Kingdom, by having in their hands all the places of Trust and Profit; in a word, whilst they possessed what might most increase their audaciousness: That their power therefore was to be undermined by degrees, by turning them out of their Posts, Offices, and Governments, which might be conferred upon Foreigners who should be invited into *England*, to the end the King might rely on their assistance in case of necessity: That the strong Places and Posts which gave most credit and authority with the People, being in the hands of such, as were by Gratitude and Interest devoted to the King, it would be in vain for the *English* Barons to attempt the re-establishment of their pretended rights". This advice, so conformable to the King's Inclination, could not but be very agreeable, and therefore was immediately put in practice. Quickly after were seen to arrive above two thousand Knights, *Gascans* and *Poitlevins*, whom the Bishop of *Winchester* their Countryman, and *Peter de Rivaulx* his Son, who passed for his Nephew, had sent for. These Strangers not only were promoted to the most considerable Posts and Governments (10), but moreover had the Wardships of the young Nobility committed to them by the King. By that means they procured one another very advantageous Matches, to the great detriment of all the noble Families. This Proceeding very much exasperated the Barons, who plainly saw the consequences. Besides, they could not bear to see themselves removed from Places and Posts, to which they had a right to pretend, whilst the King lavished his favours on Foreigners. But the Bishop of *Winchester* prevented their murmurs from reaching the ears of the King: Or, if he could not avoid it, had the address to hinder their making any impression on his Mind.

1233. p. 381. p. 382. p. 383. p. 384. p. 385. p. 386. p. 387. p. 388. p. 389. p. 390. p. 391. p. 392. p. 393. p. 394. p. 395. p. 396. p. 397. p. 398. p. 399. p. 400. p. 401. p. 402. p. 403. p. 404. p. 405. p. 406. p. 407. p. 408. p. 409. p. 410. p. 411. p. 412. p. 413. p. 414. p. 415. p. 416. p. 417. p. 418. p. 419. p. 420. p. 421. p. 422. p. 423. p. 424. p. 425. p. 426. p. 427. p. 428. p. 429. p. 430. p. 431. p. 432. p. 433. p. 434. p. 435. p. 436. p. 437. p. 438. p. 439. p. 440. p. 441. p. 442. p. 443. p. 444. p. 445. p. 446. p. 447. p. 448. p. 449. p. 450. p. 451. p. 452. p. 453. p. 454. p. 455. p. 456. p. 457. p. 458. p. 459. p. 460. p. 461. p. 462. p. 463. p. 464. p. 465. p. 466. p. 467. p. 468. p. 469. p. 470. p. 471. p. 472. p. 473. p. 474. p. 475. p. 476. p. 477. p. 478. p. 479. p. 480. p. 481. p. 482. p. 483. p. 484. p. 485. p. 486. p. 487. p. 488. p. 489. p. 490. p. 491. p. 492. p. 493. p. 494. p. 495. p. 496. p. 497. p. 498. p. 499. p. 500. p. 501. p. 502. p. 503. p. 504. p. 505. p. 506. p. 507. p. 508. p. 509. p. 510. p. 511. p. 512. p. 513. p. 514. p. 515. p. 516. p. 517. p. 518. p. 519. p. 520. p. 521. p. 522. p. 523. p. 524. p. 525. p. 526. p. 527. p. 528. p. 529. p. 530. p. 531. p. 532. p. 533. p. 534. p. 535. p. 536. p. 537. p. 538. p. 539. p. 540. p. 541. p. 542. p. 543. p. 544. p. 545. p. 546. p. 547. p. 548. p. 549. p. 550. p. 551. p. 552. p. 553. p. 554. p. 555. p. 556. p. 557. p. 558. p. 559. p. 560. p. 561. p. 562. p. 563. p. 564. p. 565. p. 566. p. 567. p. 568. p. 569. p. 570. p. 571. p. 572. p. 573. p. 574. p. 575. p. 576. p. 577. p. 578. p. 579. p. 580. p. 581. p. 582. p. 583. p. 584. p. 585. p. 586. p. 587. p. 588. p. 589. p. 590. p. 591. p. 592. p. 593. p. 594. p. 595. p. 596. p. 597. p. 598. p. 599. p. 600. p. 601. p. 602. p. 603. p. 604. p. 605. p. 606. p. 607. p. 608. p. 609. p. 610. p. 611. p. 612. p. 613. p. 614. p. 615. p. 616. p. 617. p. 618. p. 619. p. 620. p. 621. p. 622. p. 623. p. 624. p. 625. p. 626. p. 627. p. 628. p. 629. p. 630. p. 631. p. 632. p. 633. p. 634. p. 635. p. 636. p. 637. p. 638. p. 639. p. 640. p. 641. p. 642. p. 643. p. 644. p. 645. p. 646. p. 647. p. 648. p. 649. p. 650. p. 651. p. 652. p. 653. p. 654. p. 655. p. 656. p. 657. p. 658. p. 659. p. 660. p. 661. p. 662. p. 663. p. 664. p. 665. p. 666. p. 667. p. 668. p. 669. p. 670. p. 671. p. 672. p. 673. p. 674. p. 675. p. 676. p. 677. p. 678. p. 679. p. 680. p. 681. p. 682. p. 683. p. 684. p. 685. p. 686. p. 687. p. 688. p. 689. p. 690. p. 691. p. 692. p. 693. p. 694. p. 695. p. 696. p. 697. p. 698. p. 699. p. 700. p. 701. p. 702. p. 703. p. 704. p. 705. p. 706. p. 707. p. 708. p. 709. p. 710. p. 711. p. 712. p. 713. p. 714. p. 715. p. 716. p. 717. p. 718. p. 719. p. 720. p. 721. p. 722. p. 723. p. 724. p. 725. p. 726. p. 727. p. 728. p. 729. p. 730. p. 731. p. 732. p. 733. p. 734. p. 735. p. 736. p. 737. p. 738. p. 739. p. 740. p. 741. p. 742. p. 743. p. 744. p. 745. p. 746. p. 747. p. 748. p. 749. p. 750. p. 751. p. 752. p. 753. p. 754. p. 755. p. 756. p. 757. p. 758. p. 759. p. 760. p. 761. p. 762. p. 763. p. 764. p. 765. p. 766. p. 767. p. 768. p. 769. p. 770. p. 771. p. 772. p. 773. p. 774. p. 775. p. 776. p. 777. p. 778. p. 779. p. 780. p. 781. p. 782. p. 783. p. 784. p. 785. p. 786. p. 787. p. 788. p. 789. p. 790. p. 791. p. 792. p. 793. p. 794. p. 795. p. 796. p. 797. p. 798. p. 799. p. 800. p. 801. p. 802. p. 803. p. 804. p. 805. p. 806. p. 807. p. 808. p. 809. p. 810. p. 811. p. 812. p. 813. p. 814. p. 815. p. 816. p. 817. p. 818. p. 819. p. 820. p. 821. p. 822. p. 823. p. 824. p. 825. p. 826. p. 827. p. 828. p. 829. p. 830. p. 831. p. 832. p. 833. p. 834. p. 835. p. 836. p. 837. p. 838. p. 839. p. 840. p. 841. p. 842. p. 843. p. 844. p. 845. p. 846. p. 847. p. 848. p. 849. p. 850. p. 851. p. 852. p. 853. p. 854. p. 855. p. 856. p. 857. p. 858. p. 859. p. 860. p. 861. p. 862. p. 863. p. 864. p. 865. p. 866. p. 867. p. 868. p. 869. p. 870. p. 871. p. 872. p. 873. p. 874. p. 875. p. 876. p. 877. p. 878. p. 879. p. 880. p. 881. p. 882. p. 883. p. 884. p. 885. p. 886. p. 887. p. 888. p. 889. p. 890. p. 891. p. 892. p. 893. p. 894. p. 895. p. 896. p. 897. p. 898. p. 899. p. 900. p. 901. p. 902. p. 903. p. 904. p. 905. p. 906. p. 907. p. 908. p. 909. p. 910. p. 911. p. 912. p. 913. p. 914. p. 915. p. 916. p. 917. p. 918. p. 919. p. 920. p. 921. p. 922. p. 923. p. 924. p. 925. p. 926. p. 927. p. 928. p. 929. p. 930. p. 931. p. 932. p. 933. p. 934. p. 935. p. 936. p. 937. p. 938. p. 939. p. 940. p. 941. p. 942. p. 943. p. 944. p. 945. p. 946. p. 947. p. 948. p. 949. p. 950. p. 951. p. 952. p. 953. p. 954. p. 955. p. 956. p. 957. p. 958. p. 959. p. 960. p. 961. p. 962. p. 963. p. 964. p. 965. p. 966. p. 967. p. 968. p. 969. p. 970. p. 971. p. 972. p. 973. p. 974. p. 975. p. 976. p. 977. p. 978. p. 979. p. 980. p. 981. p. 982. p. 983. p. 984. p. 985. p. 986. p. 987. p. 988. p. 989. p. 990. p. 991. p. 992. p. 993. p. 994. p. 995. p. 996. p. 997. p. 998. p. 999. p. 1000.

Hubert's great Numbers of Poitlevins. M. West.

The Earl of Pembroke complains of these Proceedings. M. Paris. p. 384.

The Earl of Pembroke complains of these Proceedings. M. Paris. p. 384.

(1) Two eminent Citizens of *London*, *Andrew Barchin*, and *John Travers*, went also to the Bishop of *Winchester* at his House in *Southwark*, and represented to him the ill consequences of such proceedings. M. Paris, p. 378.

(2) Till the middle of January. Ibid.

(3) At *Brentwood* in *Essex*.

(4) September 27. Ibid.

(5) He died October 28, at *Wallingford* Castle, without Issue, and was succeeded in the Earldom of *Chester*, by his Nephew *John*, Son to Earl *David*, Brother of the King of *Scotland*; in the Earldom of *Lincoln* by *John de Lacy*, another Nephew of his; and to *William de Albemarle*, Earl of *Arundel*, there fell, by his Death, an Estate of five hundred Pounds a year. Id. p. 380.

(7) Adding, he had rather be reckoned a weak and easy-natured Prince, than a cruel and bloody Tyrant. Id. p. 381.

(8) *Richard* Earl of *Gloucester*, the King's Brother, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* Earl of *Marshall*, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his good Behaviour. Ibid.

(9) *Rapin* by mistake calls him *Richard*.—About this time was collected the fortieth part of all Goods lately granted by Parliament. The term of the Commission to the Sheriffs, and the manner how it was to be levied and collected, is to be seen in M. Paris, p. 382. under the Year 1232. to which the curious Reader is referred. The *Annals of Monmouth* say, that every Lady paid, who had Goods above the value of eleven Pence, p. 194.

(10) *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle*, was turned out of the Treasurer's place; and *William de Redue* from the Office of Deputy Earl-Marshal, to make room for some of them. M. Paris, p. 384.

(11) Taking some great Men along with him. Ibid.

ing whom he pleased for the defence of his Crown: Adding, if the Foreigners, now in the Kingdom, were not sufficient to reduce his rebellious Subjects to their duty, a greater number should be sent for. This haughty and imprudent answer caused a general discontent among the Barons. From thenceforward they began to withdraw from Court, and form a Confederacy, to put a stop to the despotick power the King was assuming, by the violent counsels of his Minister.

Some time after, the King summoning a Parliament (1), the Barons, pursuant to a resolution taken among themselves, refused to meet. They were summoned a second time (2), but to no purpose. At last, being informed that a fresh Troop of Foreigners were landed in England, to strengthen the Court-Party, they met in a body, to consult together what was to be done. The result of their Consultation was to send Deputies to the King, to let him know, that if he removed not from his Person and Counsels, the Bishop of Winchester and the Poitevins, they were resolved to place on the Throne a Prince, who should better observe the Laws of the Realm. So formal a Declaration furnishing the Prime Minister with a plausible pretence to exasperate the King against the Barons, he omitted nothing to induce him to use the most violent measures to reduce them to obedience. Henry blindly giving himself up to the guidance of the Bishop, began to practise this advice, with compelling some of the Lords to deliver their Children as pledges of their allegiance (3). After that, he prepared, very unadvisedly, to prosecute by arms such as refused to submit. When he thought himself in a condition to make himself feared, he called a Parliament (4), with design to cause the most obstinate to be condemned. The Barons obeyed the Summons indeed, but came so well attended, that they were in no danger of violence. The Earl of Pembroke was on the road, in order to be present with the rest, imagining it was not in the King's power to have any thing passed to his prejudice. But upon notice (5) that the Court designed to take a speedier and surer course, he turned back and retired into Wales. The precautions of the Barons breaking the King's measures, he prorogued the Parliament, lest what he had projected should fall on himself. His design of causing the Parliament to proceed against the Barons not succeeding, he resolved to act with open force. To that end, he summoned all the Vassals of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at Gloucester (6), but the Earl of Pembroke, and some others (7), did not think fit to obey. Their refusal furnishing him with a plausible reason to attack them, he ordered their Estates to be plundered, their Parks to be destroyed, their Houses to be pillaged, and their Spoils to be distributed among his Poitevins. If the Barons had held together, the King would never have ventured to proceed to such violence. But dissention arising among them, some broke the Confederacy (8), and left the rest exposed to the King's resentment. The Earl of Pembroke perceiving himself too weak to resist, after being deserted by the greatest part of his Associates, applied to Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, who granted him his protection and assistance.

Mean time, Henry having received a fresh supply of Poitevin Troops, marched as far as Hereford, with design to seize the Earl of Pembroke's Castles in that County. But his ardour quickly abated, by the resistance he met with from the first Castle he besieged. As he was losing his time before the Castle, he bethought himself of a device which succeeded. He feigned to be willing, to refer the decision of his quarrel with the Barons to the Parliament, which was to meet in October. Nay, he gave his royal Word, that he would consider of their complaints; and as his past conduct had rendered his word doubtful, some of the Bishops became Sureties for the performance of his Promises. Then he required the Castle, he was besieging, to be surrendered to him, promising to restore it to the Earl of Pembroke, within fifteen days. These Conditions being approved of, the Castle was delivered to the King; but when the fifteen days were expired, he laughed at the Earl's credulity, and

refused to stand to his engagement. Such were the Instructions taught him by the Bishop of Winchester: I mean, not to value the breach of his Faith, and to behave so, as to oblige his Subjects to require pledges for the performance of his word.

The Parliament meeting on the 9th of October, as was agreed, the King was earnestly intrusted by all the Lords, to replace his confidence in his Subjects. It was remonstrated to him, that the administration of the publick affairs belonged more naturally to the Peers of the Realm than to Foreigners, and that he could not prefer Strangers without wronging his Barons. Above all things, he was desired not to introduce the pernicious custom of treating as Rebels and Traytors, those that were not legally condemned. The Bishop of Winchester, who, on such occasions, never failed to answer for his Master, replied so, as plainly shewed what maxims he instilled into the young King. He told them, The Peers of England were very arrogant to put themselves upon a level with the Peers of France, when there was a wide difference between the one and the other: Adding, it was a notorious incroachment upon the royal Prerogative, to pretend to deprive the King of the right of making use of what Judges he pleased, to punish the disobedient. Upon these words, which contained maxims so destructive of Liberty, the Bishops unanimously threatened the Prelate with Excommunication. But he despised their menaces, alledging, he was not subject to their Jurisdiction, as having been consecrated by the Pope. However, lest this reason should be deemed too light, he appealed beforehand to his Holiness, from the sentence of the Bishops. Appeals to the Court of Rome were then so facted, that the Bishops not daring to excommunicate him by name, were contented to dart their thunders in general, upon all those who alienated the King's affection from his natural Subjects.

Mean time, the Earl of Pembroke finding all his instances for the restitution of his Castle were fruitless, besieged and took it in a few days. Upon News thereof, the King fell into a great fury with the Earl, and commanded the Bishops to excommunicate him. But he had the mortification to be denied. They told him, they did not see lawful cause to excommunicate the Earl, who had only recovered his own Right, and what the King promised to restore. Henry, not being able to prevail with the Bishops, resolved to take arms again, and revenge this affront. For that purpose, he summoned all the Lords to meet him at Gloucester, with Horse and Arms, the day after All-Saints. When his Army was ready, he marched into Wales, but was no sooner there, than he found himself in extreme want of Provisions and Forrage, the Earl of Pembroke having laid waste all the places through which the royal Army was to pass. This disappointment obliging him to alter his course, he entered Monmouthshire, where he staid some time to give orders for the subsistence of his Army. Mean while, the Earl of Pembroke understanding, that the King and most of the general Officers were lodged in the Castle of Grosmont, whilst the Army was quartered without in Tents, attacked the Camp by night, and put the whole Army, who thought nothing of the matter, to rout. This accident so confounded the King, who lost in the action five or six hundred Horses (9), with almost all his Baggage, that, though his Army was superior to the Earl's, he retired to Gloucester (10). Pembroke, upon the King's retreat, resolved to besiege the Castle of Monmouth, commanded by Baldwin de Guisnes, a Flemish Officer of great Reputation. Baldwin not questioning, but the Earl would approach with a small number of Soldiers to take a view of the Castle, laid an ambush for him, which surrounding him on a sudden, took him Prisoner (11). This accident would doubtless have proved the ruin of the Earl and his whole Party, if, by an unexpected good fortune, as he was carried to the Castle, Baldwin had not been desperately wounded by an arrow. His wound obliging his Men to halt, in

(1) To meet at Oxford, June 24. M. Paris, p. 386.

(2) July 11, at Westminster. *ibid.*

(3) He vented his anger first upon Gilbert Basset, by stripping him of the Manor of Netberaven in Wiltshire, conferred upon him by King John; and when Gilbert came to demand it again, he called him Traytor, and told him, if he would not forthwith depart out of his Court he would have him hanged. He also ordered Richard Seward to be apprehended for marrying Gilbert's Sister, or Niece, without his leave. *Id.* p. 386. *Id.* *Wesl.* p. 293.

(4) On August 1, at London. M. Paris. *ibid.*

(5) He received the Information from his Sister Isabella, Wife of Richard Earl of Cornwall. *ibid.*

(6) The Sunday before August 15. *Id.* p. 387.

(7) Gilbert Basset and his Brothers, Richard Seward, Walter de Clifford, &c. *ibid.*

(8) Richard, Earl of Cornwall, forsook the Earl of Pembroke; and the Earls of Chester and Lincoln were bought off from him with a Sum of Money, by the Bishop of Winchester, viz. one thousand Marks. M. Paris, p. 387.

(9) This happened on November 12. The Earl would not suffer any of the King's Soldiers to be taken or hurt, by which means only two, (and they by their own fault) fell by the Sword. *Id.* p. 389.

(10) But left John of Monmouth, and Ralph de Abney, to stop the Enemy's progress. *Id.*

(11) November 25. *Id.*

1233. order to assist him, the Earl's Army had not only time to rescue their General, but likewise to kill or take Prisoners all that came out of the Town.

Hubert escapes, and flies to a Church. M. Paris. p. 388. M. West. An. Waverl. T. Wikes. Whilst these things passed in *Wales*, *Hubert de Burgh* was contriving means to free himself from a new Danger which hung over his head. He had received notice that the Bishop of *Winchester* intended to make away with him, and to compals his ends the more easily, earnestly desired of the King the custody of the Castle of the *Devises*. *Hubert's* Danger obliging him to endeavour to avoid it, he was so fortunate as to gain some of his Guards, who gave him an opportunity to escape (1), and take refuge in a neighbouring Church. When his escape was known, the Governor ordered him to be pursued by some of the Garrison, who finding him before the Altar, dragged him thence with great violence, and brought him back to the Castle. If he had been taken any where but in a Church, few would have concerned themselves about it. But the Breach of the Privilege of Sanctuary appeared to the Clergy of so dangerous a consequence, that the Bishop of *Salisbury* made it his own Cause; for this Outrage was committed in a Church within his Diocese. He forthwith repaired to the *Devises*, and tried to persuade the Governor, to send back the Prisoner to the Place from whence he was taken. His Solicitations proving ineffectual, he excommunicated the whole Garrison, and immediately carried his Complaints to the King.

He was assisted by the Bishop of *London*, and some other Prelates, who were so urgent with the King, that he ordered the Prisoner to be sent to his Sanctuary. But this Favour was of little benefit to *Hubert*, since withal the King commanded the Sheriff of the County, to prevent any one from bringing him Victuals. However, on the morrow he was rescued by a Troop of armed Men, who afforded him means to make his escape into *Wales*, where he joined the Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Election of *John Blund* to the See of *Canterbury*, not meeting with approbation at *Rome* (2), the Pope declared it void. But for fear the Monks should mistake again, he empowered them to chuse *Edmund*, Canon of *Salisbury*. Thus by degrees the Popes became masters of the Elections of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, by annulling them, till those they intended to favour were chosen.

After the King's Retreat, the Earl of *Pembroke* continued his Progress, and daily gained some Advantage. In the beginning of the Year 1234, he defeated a small Army commanded by *John de Monmouth*, who thought to surprize him, but was himself surprized. After this Victory, he ravaged the Lands of the King's Counsellors (3), lying in the Marches of *Wales*, and burnt the Town of *Shrewsbury*, whilst the King, who was still at *Glocester*, durst not take the Field. Instead of opposing the Earl's Progress, he thought himself unsafe at *Glocester*, and therefore shut himself up in *Winchester*, leaving the Counties near the *Severn* to the Mercy of the Enemy. Several Bishops and others advised him to make Peace with the Earl. But this weak Prince, suffering himself to be entirely governed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, refused to hearken to any Accommodation, unless the Earl of *Pembroke* would come and throw himself at his Feet (4), and delare himself a Traytor. It was difficult to bring the Earl to submit voluntarily to these hard Terms: And it was no less so, to compel him, since the King had not the least Hopes of obtaining any Aids from the Parliament, to continue a War so disagreeable to all. But the Bishop of *Winchester* had a Refuge, of which he did not think fit to inform the King. As the Council consisted only of his Creatures, it was easy to engage them in a means used by him to execute his Designs. He caused to be directed to the King's Officers in *Ireland* an Order, signed by twelve Privy Counsellors, to plunder the Estates of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to take him dead or alive, if he should come into that Country (5). To this Order was added a Promise, in the King's name, of the Earl's confiscated Lands in *Ire-*

land, if they would faithfully execute what was enjoined them. The Governors of *Ireland*, allured by so fine a Bait, promised to use their utmost endeavours to content the King. But they wished to be secured by a Charter in form, of what was promised them. The Bishop being too far engaged to recede, caused a Charter to be drawn, and found means to get it signed by the King, among other Papers of little moment. Then, he caused the Great Seal to be affixed by the Chancellor, who, probably, was in the Plot (6). As soon as the Irish Governors received this Charter, they began to execute the Order. For that purpose they levied an Army on some pretence, and entering the Lands of the Earl of *Pembroke*, committed great outrages, in order to draw him into *Ireland*. This Artifice had all the Success the Bishop of *Winchester* expected. *Pembroke*, exasperated at the Injuries done him in *Ireland*, immediately repaired thither (7) with design to take Vengeance of those who thus wantonly attacked him. But instead of being revenged, he was basely betrayed by pretended Friends, who engaged him in a Battle where he lost his Life (8), by a Stab in the Back with a Dagger (9).

Whilst the Bishop of *Winchester* was thus using the King's Authority, without his knowledge, to free himself from his Enemies, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury* was secretly labouring to undermine him. This Prelate, out of zeal for the Good of the Publick, and for the King himself, never ceased representing, that it was his Interest to remove from his Person a Minister so odious to all his Subjects. He intimated to him, that the Foreigners who alienated his People's Affection, would infallibly prove one day the cause of his Ruin. His Instances were so urgent, that at length Henry's eyes were opened, and he seemed wholly disposed to reform his Conduct. The first effect of this Change was the disgrace of the Prime Minister, who had express Orders to return to his Diocese. After that, *Peter de Rivaulx*, the Treasurer; *Segrave*, the Justiciary; *Robert de Passelun*, and all the rest of the favourite Strangers, promoted by the Bishop of *Winchester* to the principal Posts in the State, were shamefully turned out. At the same time, they were ordered to prepare to give an account of their Management, and of all the Money that had passed through their hands. The Affairs of the Court being thus settled, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *Chichester*, and *Rochester*, into *Wales*, to negotiate a Peace with *Llewellyn*, which they concluded to the advantage of the State.

The King's happy Change restored tranquillity to *England*, from whence it had been some time banished. In all likelihood the Kingdom would have recovered its former splendor, if the Prince who governed it had continued all along in the same Dispositions. Mean time, the new Ministers improved this good Interval, to make the King sensible of the Injury he had done himself, in placing his whole confidence in Strangers, who had no Affection for himself or his Kingdom. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was informed of the particulars of the Plot against the Earl of *Pembroke*, shewed him a Copy of the Order and Charter sent by the Bishop of *Winchester* into *Ireland*. Henry, amazed at so great a Presumption, protested he had no hand in the matter. Nay, he seemed to grieve for the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to be extremely incensed against his Ministers, who had so notoriously abused his Confidence (10).

The Day appointed for the old Ministers to give in their Answers (11) being come, the Parties accused, who doubtless were conscious they had nothing to say for themselves, chose to take Sanctuary in Churches, under pretence of being justly apprehensive of some violence from their Enemies. The aim of the new Ministers, being to convince the King of the Unfaithfulness of the old, they ordered it so, that the King removed the pretence for their non-appearance, by granting them a Safe-Conduct. *Peter de Rivaulx*, who appeared first, talked in so arrogant a manner, and so little suitable to his

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The Earl of Pembroke.

The Bishop of Winchester.

The King's Ministers.

The King's Ministers.

The King's Ministers.

The old Ministers.

They take Sanctuary.

They take a Safe-Conduct.

(1) September 28. in the Night. M. Paris. p. 388.

(2) Either, because he had received a thousand Marks from the Bishop of *Winchester*; or, because the same Bishop had writ to the Emperor, to use his Interest with the Pope, that his Election might be approved of. M. Paris. p. 385.

(3) He, and his Associates, made it a Rule, not to plunder the Lands of any, but the King's evil Counsellors, by whose means they had been banished. M. Paris. p. 394. *Llewellyn* Prince of *North Wales* joined him, with all the Forces he could raise. *Ibid*.

(4) With a Halter about his Neck. M. Paris. p. 394.

(5) This Order, which is in *Matthew Paris*, is directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Justiciary in *Ireland*, to *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, *Richard de Burgh*, and *Jeffrey de Paris*, with others of the Earl's Liege-Men or Feudatories.

(6) *M. Paris* says, they stole the Seal from *Ralph* Bishop of *Chichester* the Chancellor; who was not concerned in this treacherous Fraud. p. 393.

(7) About the beginning of February. M. Paris. p. 397.

(8) April 1. *Id*. p. 400. He died April 16, and was buried at *Kilkenny*. M. Paris. p. 403.

(9) A Parliament was held in February this Year at *Westminster*; and it was during the Session, that *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several of his Suffragans, made that Representation to the King, which is related here. See M. Paris. p. 395. There was another Parliament held at *Westminster*, April 9. *Id*. p. 397.

(10) The King went as far as *Glocester* to meet the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest that had been to make Peace with *Llewellyn*; and on May 29. restored the exiled Lords to his Favour, namely, *Hubert de Burgh*, (to whose Wife he had restored already eight Manors) *Gilbert Basset*, *Richard Seward*, *Gilbert Marecall*, the Earl of *Pembroke's* Brother, whom he appointed Marshal; and all these he nominated for his Counsellors. M. Paris. p. 404. An. Waverl. p. 190.

(11) June 24. See M. Paris. p. 404.

1234.

Condition, that the King not being able to bear his Infolence, ordered him to the *Tower*. He remained there how- ever but three days, being, by the Archbishop's Advice, fent back to his Sanctuary. *Segrave* required a longer time (1) to give in his Answer, which was granted him upon the Archbishop's Intercession. As for the Bishop of *Win- chefter*, he continued in his Cathedral, not daring to trust to his Safe-Conduct, and it was not thought proper to force him from thence (2).

1235.

Whilst these domestick Affairs were tranfacting, the Truce with *France* being expired, *Lewis* vigorously at- tacked the Duke of *Bretagne*. According to the Rules of good Policy, this Ally should have been powerfully assisted. But *Henry* was contented with sending sixty Knights, and two thousand Foot. An Aid, so dispro- portioned to his wants, not being sufficient to protect him, he saw himself under a necessity of demanding a three Years Truce. Which however he could not ob- tain, but on condition, that if within that time the King of *England* did not come in Person to his relief, he should submit to whatever should be required of him. During this Interval, he used his utmost endeavours to prevail with *Henry* to come into *Bretagne*, but not succeeding, he did full Homage to *Lewis* for his Territories, which made his Subjects give him the Nick-name of *Maulerc*, that is, *bad Scholar* (3). Thus, by his negligence, *Henry* lost an Ally, who might have been of great Service to him, in his War with *France* (4).

1236.

In the beginning of the next Year, *Segrave* and *Paf- folew*, the King's old Ministers, found means to make their Peace by a Present of a thousand Marks each, for which they were discharged from further Prosecu- tion.

Henry's

Shortly after (5) was solemnized the Marriage of *Isabella*, the King's Sister, with the Emperor *Frederic* II (6). Tho' it was not customary to grant the King an Aid for the Marriage of a younger Sister, the Parliament was so w^e pleased with his late Proceedings, that they granted him two Marks on every Plough-land.

1237.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, who, since his Disgrace kept within his Diocese, departed from thence by the Pope's Order, who sent for him to be near his Person, on pretence he wanted his Advice in a Quarrel between him and the Citizens of *Rome*. It was not at all doubted, but the Pope used this Expedient to free him from the King's Prosecutions; and probably, the Prelate paid dearly for this Favour. He had to deal with a Pope who neg- lected no opportunity to heap up Money. This is evi- dent from a Proceeding of his this same Year. The ten Years Truce, made by *Frederic* with the *Saracens*, being now almost expired, he caused a fresh Crusade to be pub- lished, as if he intended to make a vigorous Push to restore the Affairs of *Palestine*. Upon this News, the Zeal of the Christians being roused, great Numbers took the Cross. But whilst they were preparing to depart, another Bull ap- peared, to dispense with their going for a certain Sum of Money.

1238.

England being then in profound Tranquillity, *Henry* took this opportunity to espouse (7) *Eleanor*, second Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence* (8). The Nup- tials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Re- joycings, which seemed to preface to the King more Hap- piness than this Marriage was attended with. The So- lemnity of the Wedding and Coronation (9) of the new Queen being over, the King called a Parliament at *Mer- ton*, where divers Statutes were enacted, which long re- mained in force, but are now for the most part repeal- ed (10).

The French

The War renewed by the King of *France*, ended with his Expedition into *Bretagne*, without any Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns. *Henry*, who was not of a martial Temper, had done nothing towards continuing

1239.

it, and the Queen-Regent of *France* was very glad not to draw the *English* into *France*, during the minority of the King her Son.

But, though *England* was not troubled with foreign Wars, the Kingdom was however disturbed at home by the discontents of the Nobility, upon the promotion of a new Favourite. This was *William* of *Provence*, the Queen's Uncle (11), elected Bishop of *Valence*, but not yet confirm- ed by the Pope. This Prelate, lately arrived in *England*, had so gained the King's Affection, that nothing was done but by his Advice, and the Administration of the publick Affairs was entirely left to him. So great favour was very displeasing to the *English* Barons, who were re- duced to the same Condition, from whence they thought to have freed themselves by the Expulsion of the *Poitevins*. At a Parliament, assembled this Year in *April* (12), they boldly complained of these Proceedings to the King, that he thought fit to retire to the *Tower*, where he would have had the Barons to follow him. But finding none came to him, he returned of his own accord into the City, and endeavoured to satisfy them upon some of their Grievances, in order to induce them to overlook what they deemed the principal. He removed several Sheriffs who abused their Authority, and substituted others in their room. The Prince his Brother complaining of one *Richard Sward*, for shewing him some disrespect, obtained that *Sward* should be banished the Realm, for his Insolence. In short, by some changes at Court, to gratify the Ba- rons (13), the King imagined they were pleased. But de- siring to take this occasion to remove the Bishop of *Chi- chester* from the Chancellorship, in which Office he had worthily behaved, he had the mortification to find he refused to resign it. To justify his Refusal, he alledged, *That he had been entrusted with that Office by the Parlia- ment, and therefore could not quit it but by the same Autho- rity*.

1240.

Though the Parliament granted the King a considerable Aid for the marriage of the Empress his Sister, it appeared the Money was not put to that use. For Ambassadors from *Frederic* came to Court, to demand the Portion prom- ised their master. If People's Reflections on this occa- sion were not to the King's Advantage, those they had cause to make soon after upon his inconstancy, were no less prejudicial to his Reputation. All on a sudden, when there seemed to be least reason to expect it, he recalled to Court *Segrave* and *Rivaux*, whom a little before he had profecuted for their Misdemeanours. Not content with this, he entirely trusted them again, as if he had reason to be satisfied with their former Conduct. These pern- icious Ministers were hardly restored to their Posts, but the ill Effects of their Counsels on the King's mind were per- ceived. In a Parliament, held this Year in *June* (14), at *Winchester*, *Henry*, by virtue of a Bull from *Rome*, would have annulled all his Grants during his Nonage, because they wanted the Pope's Confirmation. This frivolous Pre- tence plainly shewed, how industriously he laboured to en- slave himself more and more to the Court of *Rome*, instead of endeavouring to throw off its Yoke. A Proceeding so directly contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, being looked upon with indignation, the Parliament re- fused to consent to the Revocation of these Grants, chiefly because of the Bull, upon which the King's Motion was grounded.

As *Henry's* Conduct drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects, this Contempt proved very prejudicial to him with respect to foreign Princes. They considered him as no formidable Neighbour, since he could not be sure of his People's Assistance in case of need. On the other hand, his own Knowledge how his Subjects stood affected to- wards him, obliged him to use all possible precautions to avoid a War with his Neighbours. He chose rather to give way to them voluntarily, than involve himself in

(1) Till Michaelmas. *M. Paris.* p. 405.

(2) *Hugh de Patehulle* was made Justiciary, in *Segrave's* room. *M. Paris.* *ibid.* *M. Westm.*-----This Year the King took a Tallage from all his Cities, Boroughs and Manors throughout *England*. *T. Wikes.* p. 42.

(3) It is thus he is styled by the Historians of *Bretagne*. For though he had studied at the University of *Paris*, yet it seems he had made no Progress in the Study of Politicks.

(4) King *Henry* kept his Court at *Christmas*, this Year, at *Westminster*; at which were present the Bishops and great Men of the Kingdom. *M. Paris.* p. 409.

(5) In February. *M. Paris.* p. 414.

(6) The King called a Parliament to deliberate about the proposed Match: See a full Account of the whole Matter in *M. Paris.* p. 414-----416. -----The Emperor sent, by the Bishop of *Exeter* who attended the Prince's into *Germany*, several Presents to King *Henry*, and among the rest three Leopards, alluding to the Royal Shield, on which are depicted three Leopards passant: From which it may be observed, that in *Henry* the III'd's Time, the bearing of the Kings of *England*, was not three Lions, as now, but three Leopards. See *Paris.* p. 416. and *Selden's* Notes on *Poly-Olbion*. Song XI.

(7) By the Advice of his great Men, says *Hemingford.* p. 573.

(8) They were married at *Canterbury*, *Jun.* 14. and the Queen was crowned the 20th at *Westminster*. *M. Paris.* p. 420.

(9) *Matthew Paris* has given us a very particular Description of the Coronation, and what each Person performed in their respective Functions, among which is this remarkable Passage, that the Earl of *Chesler*, (as Lord High Constable, carried the Sword of *St. Edward*, called *Curtene*, before the King, in token that he is Earl of the Palace, and bath by Right a Power of restraining the King if he should act amiss. *M. Paris.* p. 420.

(10) *M. Paris* says, the same Day, after the Coronation, the King went from *London* to *Merton*, a Monastery in *Surry*, where he met his great Men, and enacted the Provisions of *Merton*, which are the most ancient body of Laws after *Magna Charta*, and divided into eleven Articles or Chapters. p. 421.

(11) *Rapin* by mistake, says Brother. See *M. Paris.* p. 420.

(12) The twenty eighth. *Id.* p. 428.

(13) He removed *Ralph Fitz-Nicolas* Steward of his Household, and some of his Counsellors, &c. *Id.* p. 429.

(14) *June* 10. *Id.* p. 431.

State of the English Court. *M. Paris.* p. 429.

The Parlia- ment com- plains to the King, who gives them some Satis- faction. *M. Paris.*

The Emperor demands the Empress's Portion. *Act. Pub.* T. I. p. 364. *M. Paris.* p. 430. *M. West.*

The King recalls his old Ministers. *Id.* p. 431.

He would annul all the Grants made in his Non- age. *Ibid.* *Act. Pub.* T. I. p. 368. 378.

He dreads engaging in a War.

Troubles,

1236.
Makes a
dishonourable
Peace with
the King of
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 334.
M. Paris.
p. 432.
M. West.

Troubles, from which he saw he could not free himself with Honour. For this reason he had deserted the Duke of Bretagne, and suffered himself to be bullied this very Year by the King of Scotland, who demanded the County of Northumberland, with that haughtiness as would have met with a mortifying Repulse, had he been to deal with any other Prince (1). But how unjust soever this Pretension appeared, Henry made no scruple to purchase a Peace with the yearly Pension of eighty Marks, which were settled on the King of Scotland. He even took a Journey to York, on purpose to negotiate this dishonourable Treaty, pretending a fear of the Scots making a League with the Welsh. He feigned also to be apprehensive that Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who had succeeded his Brother Richard, and married the King of Scotland's Sister, would improve this opportunity to raise Commotions in the Kingdom (2).

1237.
Holds a
Parliament,
and pretends
to condemn
his past
Conduct, in
order to ob-
tain an Aid.
M. Paris.
p. 435.
M. West.

Mean time, as the King daily perceived the great Men to be estranged from him, and that therefore it would be difficult to raise Money to fill his empty Coffers, he bethought himself of an Expedient, which he believed could not fail of Success. He called a Parliament, to which all the Lords of the Kingdom were summoned (3), in order to treat about some weighty Affairs of State. As soon as they were met (4), a certain Priest, famed for Eloquence (5), told the Lords, "He was commanded to acquaint them with the occasion of their Meeting." After a short Pause, he added, "That the King having ferociously reflected on the Abuses crept into the Government, was extremely concerned for contributing to the same, by his carelessness and ill conduct: That he acknowledged, with Grief, he had made use of imprudent and selfish Ministers, who never regarding the Good of the Kingdom, to which they were Strangers, had drawn him in by their pernicious Counsels, to do things contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm: That to repair, as far as was possible, the Evils occasioned by his own Indiscretion, and the unfaithfulness of his Ministers, he was determined to be guided no more by the Advice of Foreigners, but to commit the Administration of the Publick Affairs to his native Subjects: That he was persuaded, they would labour to the utmost of their Power to prevent the Oppression of the People, cause Justice and the Laws to flourish, and restore the Crown to its former Lustre." After laying these Foundations, the Orator continued, "That the King desired his Parliament to consider, that the Mismanagement of his Treasurer, and the Debts he had contracted, were not the least of the Misdemeanours, his Ministry might be charged with: That he hoped they would begin with applying a Remedy to this, upon his Assurance, that he would consent to any Expedients proposed for the redress of the other Abuses: That therefore he required an Aid answerable to his present occasions, and to shew he was in earnest, he consented beforehand, that Commissioners should be appointed, to take care that the Money should be disposed of for the necessary Uses of the Kingdom." If Henry had been less known, this harangue might have had a sudden Effect on the Parliament. But as they were too sensible to what a height he could carry his dissimulation, all these submissive Expressions were not able to move them. They answered, "They had often granted Aids to the King, without ever receiving any reciprocal Mark of his Affection; that since his Accession to the Crown, his Dominions were considerably lessened, though he had frequently exacted from his Subjects very large Sums, which were only lavished away upon Foreigners." To this vigorous Answer, it was replied from the King, "That his own and his Sister's Marriage had entirely exhausted his Treasure; but if they would grant him a Thirteenth (6) part of their Moveables, he promised, upon his Honour, never to injure or oppress any Baron of the Realm." The Lords were not prevailed with by this Promise, which seemed to them of little moment, since they could not rely upon the King's Word. And therefore they replied, "They had already granted the King an Aid for the Empress's Marriage, but he had diverted it to other Uses, and since he had married without asking their Advice, he might defray the Expences of his Wedding as he pleased. This Answer convincing

him, that he wanted a stronger Engine to wrest from them the Aid he demanded, he attacked them in a more sensible Part. He promised to re-establish his Father's Charters, and to satisfy them that he really intended to cause them to be observed, he ordered the Excommunication formerly denounced by Cardinal Langton upon the Transgressors of these Charters, to be published in all the Churches. In short, to gain them entirely, he added to his Council three Lords (7) whom he knew to be very acceptable to the Nobility. So many Advances from a Sovereign, and especially the Re-establishment of the Charters, had at length the desired effect. The Parliament suffering themselves to be deceived by these pretended Demonstrations, granted him the Aid required (8). However they clogged it with two not very grateful Conditions. First, that, for the future, he should reject the Counsels of the Foreigners, and adhere to the Advices of his Subjects. Secondly, that four Knights should be chosen in every County to collect and secure the Money in some Monastery, that it might be restored to every one again, in case the King should break his word. Notwithstanding this Precaution, the Money was no sooner raised, but the King seized it and squandered it away in useless Expences, even in Presents to his favourite Foreigners, who remained in his Council as before.

Henry's Conduct occasioned such loud Murmurs, that Prince Richard his Brother thought himself obliged, to represent to him very strongly, to what Danger it would infallibly expose him. But his Remonstrances were in vain, Henry liking better the Counsels of the Foreigners, which were more agreeable to his Inclinations. Among those that had the greatest Ascendant over the King, History particularly mentions Simon de Montfort, Son of the famous Earl of Montfort, General of the Crusade against the Albigenses. This young Man, who for some Disgust, had left the Court of France to make his Fortunes in England, conformed himself to the King's Humour, that few were in greater Favour. I shall have frequent occasion to speak of him, in the course of this Reign, under the Title of Earl of Leicester.

Though Henry little thought of extending his Dominion over the neighbouring Countries, a happy Juncture procured him, before the end of this Year, an Advantage which the most illustrious of his Predecessors had sought in vain. Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, grown old and infirm, and finding himself persecuted by his Son Griffyn, could think of no better means to secure himself from his rebellious Practices, than by putting himself under the King of England's Protection, to whom he did Homage for his Dominions. This Proceeding was the more extraordinary, as he himself, as well as his Ancestors, had all along exerted their utmost to prevent the acknowledging of this Sovereignty. If force of Arms had at any time compelled them to it, they had always been ready to disown their Submission, when their Circumstances were more favorable.

Whilst the English were loudly complaining of being exposed to the Avarice of the King and his foreign Ministers, a fresh Cause of Discontent unexpectedly happened by the Arrival of Otho the Pope's Legate, who was come to plunder them of what they had left. The Clergy justly dreaded these extraordinary Legate-ships, the sole Aim whereof was to pillage them. The Archbishop of Canterbury very much blamed the King, for suffering the Legate to come into the Kingdom, without any apparent Necessity, and without the Knowledge of the Clergy and Parliament. But these Expostulations were in vain. It would not only have been difficult to persuade the King to send back the Legate, but it even appeared that he himself had privately sent for him. His view was to screen himself under his Protection, from the Attempts of his Subjects. The Pope took care not to lose this opportunity of sending a Legate into England, in expectation, that by means of the King's Authority, he might with Impunity rifle the Churches. Thus the English saw themselves at once exposed to the Avarice of the King and the Pope, who were united together for their Destruction.

It was not upon England alone that the Legate cast his eyes: His Design was to drain Scotland also, which hitherto had been free from the Exactions of the Court of Rome. He believed he had met with an opportunity at an Interview (9) which the Kings of England and Scotland

The Prince
of Wales
does Homage
to Henry.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 363,
c. 39.
M. Paris.
p. 437.
M. West.

Arrival of
a Legate.
M. Paris.
p. 440.

Interview of
the Kings of
England and
Scotland at
York.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 348,
374.
The Legate
has a mind
to go into
Scotland.
M. Paris.

(1) Affirming, that King John had given it him when he married his Daughter Joanna. M. Paris. p. 432.

(2) This Year great Quarrels arose between the Scholars and Citizens of Oxford, so that the King, the Bishops, and the great Men of the Kingdom had much ado to appease them. M. Paris. p. 432.

(3) by his Writs, which are the first mentioned in the Historians. See M. Paris. p. 435. M. West. p. 296.

(4) Which was on January 14. M. Paris. p. 435. M. West. p. 296.

(5) William de Rale. ibid. M. West. p. 296.

(6) The Earl of Warren, William Ferrars, and John Geoffrey, who swore they would never be corrupted by Gift to deviate from Truth, but would always give the King good and wholesome Advice. M. Paris. ibid.

(7) What Persons they were that granted this Aid, appears from the Record extant in Dr. Brady. viz. the Archbishop, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights and Freeholders, for themselves and their Vassals. And it was to be collected from Corn, Ploughs, Sheep, Cows, Hogs, Cart Horses, Studs of Mares, &c. Brady's Appendix. No. 159.

(8) Or rather a Parliament, held September 14. at which the great Men of the Kingdom were summoned, to treat of important Affairs. See M. Paris. p. 446. had

1237. had at York, on account of the Scotch King's Pretensions. As soon as the Conference, where the King of Scotland obtained an Augmentation of his Pension (1), was ended, the Legate, who had found some excuse to be present, told him he designed to go into Scotland, to regulate the Affairs of the Church. Alexander answered, he never heard of any Legate sent into Scotland, and there was still less occasion for any in his Reign; neither would he, in short, allow such an Innovation, as long as he sat on the Throne. Adding, if notwithstanding this Declaration, he persisted in his design, he warned him beforehand, that he was not absolute Master of his own Subjects, and perhaps it would not be in his power to protect him, if the People, fierce and ungovernable, should fail in their respect due to the Pope's Legate. These last Words were apparently the reason of the Legate's altering his mind, and staying with the King of England, whom he found more obsequious.

The Earldom of Chester annexed to the Crown. M. Weft.

Birth of Henry, Son to the Emperor. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 374. M. Paris.

Corruption of the Court of Rome. P. 438, &c.

1238. Simon de Montfort marries a Sister of the King's. M. Paris. P. 405. An. Waverl.

M. Paris. P. 467.

His Marriage confirmed by the Pope. M. Paris. P. 463.

The Barons complain to the King. M. Paris.

They enter into a League with Richard, and demand Redress of their Grievances. M. Paris. P. 467.

M. Paris. P. 468.

John late Earl of Chester dying this Year (2) without Issue, the King annexed to the Crown that Earldom, which enjoyed very great Privileges, paying, in Money, to the Earl's Sisters what they were to receive from thence, or allowing it out of other Lands.

About the same time, Henry received a Letter from the Emperor Frederic, informing him of the Birth of a Son by Isabella his Wife, to whom he had given the Name of Henry. Adding, he designed the Kingdom of Sicily for the new-born Prince.

Matthew Paris the Historian, concludes the Occurrences of this Year, with a lively Description of the Court of Rome. What he says is the less questionable, as it comes from the Pen of a cotemporary Monk. But however it is this which has gained him so many Enemies, who have laboured to render his Testimony dubious.

Simon de Montfort before-mentioned, finding himself in great Favour at Court, ventured to cast his Eyes on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke, the King's Sister (3). But as he was justly apprehensive of meeting with great Obstacles, he took a shorter method, by securing the Princess's Heart beforehand. In a word, he so managed his matters, that the King was obliged to cause them to be privately married in his own Chapel (4). Prince Richard was extremely incensed at this Marriage (5). He bitterly complained of it to the King, and strongly remonstrated to him, that he was in the wrong to give his Sister to a younger Brother, whose Fortune was no way answerable to a Royal Family. The King excused himself in the best manner he could, from the necessity of hastening the Marriage; adding, there was now no remedy, since it was solemnized and the Princess with Child. Mean while, Montfort perceiving Prince Richard was highly exasperated against him, and fearing he would endeavour to annul his Marriage, went to Rome, where he found means to have it confirmed by the Pope. After that he returned to the King, who gave him a very kind Reception.

This Marriage was not the only thing Richard thought he had reason to complain of. The great Credit of the Foreigners, who were always near the King, created in him no less uneasiness than in the rest of the Barons. They all unanimously complained, that the King had violated his Promises, and that all the Money exacted from his People on divers pretences, was employed only in enriching the Queen's Relations. As Prince Richard seemed to be very much concerned for the Interest of the Publick, they believed that, under such a Leader, it would not be impossible to obtain of the King the satisfaction they required, especially with regard to the Foreigners. In this belief, they entered into a Confederacy (6), and having the Prince at their head, sent the King word, that they prayed him to remember his Promises. This Confederacy, the consequences whereof were dreaded by Henry, caused him to put on a seeming Moderation, as he usually did, when he found himself pressed. Instead of shewing any Repentment, as they expected, he appointed a Day to give them a favorable Answer. But as they had been deceived more than once, they suffered not themselves to be over-reached by this outward Mildness. Persuaded as they were, that the King sought only to amuse them,

they came to London on the Day appointed, guarded with Horse and Arms, and ready to compel the King to a compliance. Henry took care not to resist, at a time when he saw no power able to support him. He assured them he really intended to redress all Grievances, and to convince them of his Sincerity, told them he was willing to submit to the Arbitration of a certain number of Lords, the one half to be named by himself. This Proposal being approved, Commissioners were chosen on both sides, who drew up certain Articles, which the King was to observe for the future, in the Government of the Kingdom. These Regulations were signed by the King and the Barons, and confirmed by the Legate, who, in all publick Affairs, always endeavoured to interpose his Master's Authority.

1238

The King is forced to comply.

Regulations for the Government of the State proposed by the King.

The Legate insults at Oxford. M. Paris. M. Weft. Hemingf. T. Wikes.

This same Legate met not at Oxford, where he went upon some Business, with that respect that was paid him at Court. Though the Univerfity in a body received him with the Demeanor due to his Character, the Insolence of his Domesticks was the occasion that certain Scholars lost the Respect they owed him. Some young Students offering to enter into his Lodgings (7), were so uncivilly repulsed by the Porter, that they were very much out of Humour. Whilst they were yet in the House, some of them going into the Kitchen, found there a poor Irish Scholar begging for Relief of the Cook, who instead of an Alms, threw a Ladle-full of boiling Water in his face. This barbarous Action so provoked a Welsh Student, who was witness of it, that having a Bow in his hand, he shot the Cook dead on the spot with an Arrow. The Legate hearing of the Tumult, retired in a fright into the Tower of the Church, where he remained till night, dreading that the Insolence of the Scholars would even extend to his Person. As soon as he thought he might retire with Safety, he hastened to the King, and complained of this outrage, laying it to the charge of the whole Univerfity, which he had now put under an Interdict. The King appeared extremely enraged at this Insult upon the Legate, and to give him Satisfaction, immediately sent the Earl of Warren to Oxford, with orders to seize the Offenders (8). This Business, which at first made a great noise, was at length hushed by the Mediation of the Bishops, who prevailed with the Univerfity to make all the Submissions he required (9).

Had this Accident happened a little later, England would have paid dearer for it. Shortly after, Henry lending the Emperor a Body of Troops, under the Command of Henry de Turbeville (10), the Pope, against whom they were employed, was so incensed, that for a good while, the English Ecclesiasticks were denied Admittance at the Court of Rome. This Quarrel made the Emperor hope, he should gain the King his Brother-in-law to his side. Accordingly, being desirous to improve this juncture, he dispatched Ambassadors to him, who did all that lay in their power, to persuade him to join with the Emperor against the Pope; but it was not possible for them to succeed. The King and the Pope stood too much in need of each other, to remain long at variance. Though the Pope looked upon himself as Lord Paramount of England, he was not ignorant how averse the Barons were to his Pretensions, which the King's Authority in some measure was alone capable of supporting. Besides, it was only through the countenance and connivance of the King, that he could rifle the English Clergy with Impunity. On the other hand, Henry saw, none but the Pope could support him against the Barons. Moreover in his Design of filling the principal Church-Preferments with his Creatures, he was very sensible he could not proceed without the Pope's Authority. It was no wonder therefore, the King and the Pope held together, since it so greatly concerned them mutually to assist one another.

The Death of the Bishop of Winchester (11), during these Transactions, gave the King opportunity to make the first Advances towards a Reconciliation with the Pope. Henry, ardently desiring to procure this rich See for the Bishop of Valence his Uncle, strongly recommended him to the Monks, the Electors. But, notwithstanding his

Death of the Bishop of Winchester. Henry tries to get the Queen's Brother elected, but the Monks choose another. M. Paris. P. 472, 473. M. Weft. T. Wikes. A. Waverl.

(1) He was to have three hundred Pounds a Year in Land, says M. Paris; but by the Record (Rot. Pat. 21. H. 7. M. 8.) it appears to have been but two hundred Pounds per Annum, out of Cumberland and Northumberland. See Brady, p. 568.

(2) About Whitsuntide. M. Paris says, he was poisoned by his Wife the Daughter of Prince Llewellyn. p. 440.

(3) Eleanor.

(4) In St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. They were married January 7. M. Paris, p. 465.

(5) Chiefly, because it was done without his Knowledge, and without the Consent of the great Men of the Kingdom; after the King had engaged, not to do any thing of Moment, without their Advice and Concurrence. M. Paris, p. 467.

(6) Which consisted of Gilbert Earl-Marshal, all the Earls and Barons of England, and the generality of the People of the Kingdom. Of the Nobility, Hubert Earl of Kent, alone, remained faithful to the King. Ibid.

(7) In the Abbey of Ojney near Oxford. M. Paris, p. 469.

(8) Thirty-one were imprisoned in Wallingford Castle. M. Paris, p. 470. By reason of this, the Studies ceased there all the Summer. M. Weft. p. 293.

(9) The Legate obliged all the Scholars to meet at St. Paul's Church, (above a mile from his Lodgings) and go on foot to the Bishop of Carlisle's House, and their putting off their Caps, Gowns, and Shoes, to go to the Legate's Houfe, and humbly crave Pardon and Absolution. M. Paris, p. 470. M. Weft. p. 293.

(10) With whom went John Manjel, and William Harel, with Money to hire Troops. Id. p. 470.

(11) Peter de Rupibus. He died at Farnham, June 9. and was buried in Winchester Cathedral. He founded the Monastery of Hales in Gloucestershire, and Tockford in Buckinghamshire, for Premonstratensians; Seaburne in Hampshire, for Augustin Monks; and a Hospital at Portsmouth. M. Paris, p. 472.

1238. solicitations, they made choice of the Bishop of *Chichester*, High-Chancellor of *England*. Though the King was disappointed, as to the Monks, he despaired not to succeed another way. He knew the Pope wanted nothing more than to see him make Advances towards a Reconciliation. The Interest of the Court of *Rome* required it, and seldom does that Court neglect what may turn to its advantage. In this belief, *Henry* sent Ambassadors thither, who, after making some Submissions in their master's name (1), prevailed to have the Election of the Bishop of *Chichester* annulled by the Apostolical Authority (2).

The deceased Bishop of *Winchester*, was justly deemed one of the chief Authors of the Troubles in this Reign. It was he that advised the King to annul his Father's two Charters, and send for Foreigners into the Kingdom, to commit to them the Administration of the publick Affairs. These two Articles were a perpetual occasion of discontent among the Nobles, and at length were attended with very fatal consequences. The death of this pernicious Counsellor was preceded by that of *Joanna*, Queen of *Scotland*, Sister to *Henry* (3).

The manner in which the Kingdom was governed, was displeasing to all. So that it was not strange, there should be People, who endeavoured to make away with the King. This year, a Villain (4), pretending to be mad, found means to get into his Chamber by night (5), with design to kill him; but being disappointed by the King's passing that night in the Queen's Apartment, he was taken and punished according to his desert. Before he died, he declared, that *William de Maris* (6) was the Author of the Conspiracy, in which several others were engaged. However, either out of carelessness, or for some other reason, there was no Inquiry made.

I shall begin the relation of the Occurrences of the year 1239, with observing some effects of *Henry's* Capriciousness and Inconstancy. The Knowledge of the Character and Genius of this Prince is absolutely necessary, for the better understanding the Springs and Causes of what passed in this Reign. As he neither loved nor hated, but according to the Suggestions of those who had the ascendant over him, it was no wonder he frequently altered his Inclinations and Maxims. He sometimes loaded with Favours and Caresses, Persons who, within a few days, found themselves in disgrace; and very often he restored to his Service, such as had been shamefully dismissed. I have already taken notice, that, after persecuting the Earl of *Pembroke*, he restored to *Gilbert* his Brother the Office of Earl-Marshal (7). *Gilbert*, thinking himself in the King's good Graces, was very much surprized, that one day when he came to wait upon him, he was, contrary to Custom, denied entrance. He complained to the King himself, by one of his Friends, who prayed him to tell the reason, why such an Affront was offered to a Lord of so great distinction. *Henry* replied, It was because *Richard*, the Earl's Brother, was a Traytor, and continued in his Treason to his death; and therefore he repented of giving him the Office of Marshal, which however, he could recal whenever he pleased. This answer obliged the Earl to withdraw from Court, and retire into the North of *England*, to secure himself from the Plots of his Enemies, who had prepossessed the King against him (8).

Another instance of this Prince's Inconstancy may be this: So far was he from repenting *Simon de Montfort's* Affront to the Royal Family, that he continued him in favour as before, and at last made him Earl of *Leicester* (9). And yet, a few days after, giving him this fresh Mark of his Esteem, he publicly charged him with debauching his Sister, and bribing the Pope to confirm his Marriage. This Accusation could never be more unreasonable, since the time to prosecute him for this Action was passed; and besides, he had caused the Nuptials to be celebrated in his Presence, and in his own Chapel. The Earl, dreading the Effects of his repentment, departed

that very day with his Lady for *France*, where he remained till the King's displeasure was over (10).

I shall relate but one Instance more of the capricious Conduct of this Monarch, of which there are visible Proofs in almost all the Actions of his Life. He was not afraid, the year before, to break with the Pope, by sending Succours to the Emperor. And yet, a few months after, *Frederic* being solemnly excommunicated, *Henry* ordered the Bull of Excommunication to be published in all the Churches of his Kingdom. This Proceeding was thought the more strange, because, as Brother-in-law to the Emperor, he might have plausibly excused himself, or at least been so tardy, as to shew it was done with regret.

This same year the Queen was delivered of a Prince (11), called *Edward*, who in process of time succeeding his Father, proved one of the most illustrious Monarchs that ever swayed the *English* Sceptre.

The Exactions daily imposed by *Otho* the Legate upon the Churches, compelled the Bishops at length to carry their Complaints to the Pope, who had twice by his Letters recalled him; but the King had still opposed it. At last, the Prelates, tired with the perpetual Demands of the Cardinal, who daily invented new Pretences to pillage the Clergy, resolved to meet and consider of some remedy for this Evil. They had scarce begun to treat of their Affairs, when the Legate came into the Assembly, and demanded an Aid for the pressing occasions of the Holy See. This fresh demand putting them beyond all patience, they plainly told him, They were determined to endure his Oppressions no longer; and to prevent any farther solicitations, broke up immediately. A denial so peremptory, which should have convinced him how much the Clergy were disgusted, had no other effect, but to cause him to turn to the Religious Houses, who were forced to supply what the Bishops refused.

This Legate, like all the rest before him, was insatiable. After having, with impunity, extorted large Sums from *England*, he had a mind to do the same in *Scotland*, though he had already been refused entrance. But he was not a Man to be discouraged at one denial. For this purpose he departed, attended by some *English* Barons, without troubling himself first to obtain the King of *Scotland's* Consent. Upon his Arrival on the Borders, he was met by the King not to do him Honour, but to hinder him from proceeding. This opposition, which however he had reason to expect, offended him so, that in his Passion he threatened *Alexander*, who answered him in a louder tone, and let him see, he did not value his Threats. They would have come to a downright quarrel, if the *English* Lords had not interposed to make up the difference. They prevailed at length with the King of *Scotland*, though not without great difficulty, to give the Legate leave for this once to enter into his Kingdom. But *Alexander* would not consent to it, but on condition that the Legate should acknowledge under his Hand and Seal, that it was out of a particular Condescension for his Person, and that this Example should not be brought into Precedent. All Obstacles being removed, the Legate came to *Edinburgh*, where he exacted some Money from the *Scotch* Clergy, which was the sole end of his Journey.

If the Clergy of *England* had to deal with a greedy Cardinal, the rest of the King's Subjects were in no better case. *Henry*, who could not without great difficulties, obtain Subsidies of the Parliament (12), neglected no opportunity of extorting Money from private Persons, by all sorts of means. *Hubert de Burgh*, whom he had left unmolested some years, was prosecuted afresh, for the same Crimes he was before charged with, and which were thought to be forgotten. This Cause was solemnly tried before an Assembly of the Barons, where it is said, he vindicated his Innocence by incontestable Proofs. However, as he had reason to dread a Sentence which the King himself was soliciting against him, he thought it

1239.

Henry publishes the Bull of Excommunication against the Emperor. Act. Pub. T. 1 p. 333. M. Paris, p. 490.

Birth of Prince Edward. M. Paris. M. West.

The Legate's Exactions. M. Paris. p. 484. &c.

He demands a Subsidy of the Bishops, who deny him. Id. p. 498.

The Legate makes a fresh Attempt upon Scotland. Ibid.

Is denied entrance by the King.

Finds means to go there.

Henry prosecutes afresh the Earl of Kent; M. Paris. p. 515. M. West.

Hubert compounds the Matter with the King.

(1) And distributed Money about plentifully. M. Paris, p. 472.

(2) He also took the Great Seal from him, which was put in Commission, and delivered to *Geoffrey* a Templar, and *Juba de Lexington*, but the Revenues of the Chancery were still left to the bishop. Id. p. 474.

(3) She was married to *Alexander II*, King of *Scots*, at *York*, in the presence of her Brother, *June* the 25th 1221, and coming to visit King *Henry* died *March* the 4th 1238, and was buried at *Tarente*, a Nunnery, in *Dorsetshire*, founded by *Richard* Bishop of *Durham*. Sandf. General. p. 87.

(4) A learned Knight, says M. Paris. It was on September 8. at *Woodstock*. p. 474.

(5) *T. Wikes* says, he was found hid in the Straw, under the King's Bed. p. 43.

(6) Who was banished in the Isle of *Lundy*, between *Wales* and *Cornwall*. Ibid.

(7) *Gilbert* was restored to his Brother's Office and Inheritance by the Intercession of the Archbishop, as appears by the King's Letter to *Leuwellyn* still extant. See Dr. Brady's Appendix. No. 155.

(8) The King took also *Stephen de Segraue* again into his Council. M. Paris, p. 483.---He likewise desired the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Chancellor, to return to Court, but he refused. Id. p. 485.

(9) His Mother was *Admiral* Daughter and Co-heir of *Robert Blanchmainer* Earl of *Leicester*. Sandf. General. p. 87. He was created Earl of *Leicester*, February 2. 1239. M. Paris, p. 483. An. Waverl. p. 198.

(10) He had a Son born the Year before, in December or latter-end of November, at *Kensworth*. M. Paris, p. 481.

(11) *June* 16, at *Westminster*. Id. p. 488. M. Westminster says, it was *June* 18. p. 300. T. Wikes. An. Waverl.---About April, next year, the King his Father made the Citizens of *London*, the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, &c. swear Fealty to him. M. Paris.

(12) There was a Parliament this Year at *Exeter*. Id. p. 484.

1232. more advisable to compound matters with him, than wait the decision of the Judges. Accordingly, he resigned to the King four of his best Estates (1), for which Henry defiled (2).

1240. I had my self indispensably obliged frequently to return to the same Subject, I mean, the Exactions of the King and Court of Rome, because they are the most considerable occurrences of this Reign, at least to the time we are now speaking of. But though these things seem of little importance, they serve however to discover the then State of the Kingdom, incessantly pillaged, one while by the King, another while by the Pope. These Extortions were carried so far, that one must be surprized that the English should bear them with such Patience, under a King so weak as Henry, and destitute of all assistance, except from the Court of Rome. But this assistance was, what to them seemed most formidable, the Calamities of the late Reign making them dread involving the Kingdom in the like Confusion. It seemed however, that the Bishops should have resolved to take some measures to screen themselves from these Oppressions, in a Synod held at London for that purpose (3). They openly complained, that the King kept for his own use, all the vacant Benefices, and obstructed all Elections, till such were chosen as, he desired. They even proceeded to excommunicate the Authors of these pernicious Counsels. But Henry little regarded their Complaints, as long as he was sure of the Pope's Protection; for whom, in return, he shewed so great deference, as passes all Imagination. When the Emperor sent Ambassadors to complain of his causing the Sentence of Excommunication to be published against him, he most shamefully answered, That being Vassal to the Pope, he could not dispense with obeying him. Mean time, the Legate continued his Exactions. After draining the Churches and Monasteries of immense Sums, under colour of Procurations, and a thousand other Pretences, he discovered, by a new sort of oppression, how little measures the Court of Rome then kept with the English. He ordered to be published throughout the Kingdom, that he had Power, not only to absolve from their Vow, all that had taken the Cross, but likewise to oblige them to compound for their Absolution by Money, under pain of Excommunication.

But this was a trifle in comparison of what the Legate demanded shortly after of the Clergy (4). On pretence of securing the Peace of the Church, against the pretended Assaults of the Emperor, the Pope required of all the English Ecclesiasticks, the fifth part of their Goods; and the King, instead of opposing, promoted this Exaction to the utmost of his Power. The Bishops at first somewhat exerted themselves, and refused, not only to comply with the Legate's demands, but even to contribute any thing towards the pretended wants of the Holy See. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was willing to live in quiet, and afraid of the imperious Temper of the Pope, consenting to give in lieu of the fifth of his Goods, a fifth part of his Rents (5), the rest followed his Example. However, the Legate refused a good while, to accept of an offer so disproportionate to his demands, as if the Business had been to give the Clergy his Master's own Goods. This was the last Money the Archbishop of Canterbury gave the Pope. This Prelate, who led a truly Christian Life, perceiving it impossible to redress the Abuses which were daily introduced, as well into the Church as State, retired into France, to the Monastery of Pontignac, where he died this same year. He was canonized by the Council of Lyons, some years after his death (6).

Upon the Archbishop's retreat, the Court of Rome had no farther regard for the Clergy of England. Hardly was this Imposition levied, when one Peter Rossi (7), the Pope's Nuncio, arrived with orders to all the Bishops and Patrons of Livings, to prefer to the vacant Benefices, three hundred Italians, whose names the Pope had sent; with an express Prohibition to confer any Benefice till

the Foreigners were all provided for. But this was not the sole end of his coming. His principal business was to squeeze Money from the Monasteries, under pretence that the Pope stood in need of an extraordinary Supply to defend her Church against her Persecutors. Hitherto the Pope had acted with Authority; but on this occasion he judged it more advantageous to use Artifice. To succeed in this design, the Nuncio went to all the Religious Houses, and tried, by Promises and Threats, to engage every Abbot in particular, to assist the Pope in his pressing Necessities. He intimated to them, that such an Abbot had promised such a Sum, and therefore it would be a shame, and perhaps of ill consequence, not to follow so good an Example. After procuring promissory Notes under some of their hands, he used these Notes to induce the rest to the same compliance, enjoining Secrecy to them all, on pain of Excommunication. But the Abbots of St. Edmund's-bury and Battle, thought these Proceedings so strange and arbitrary, that they complained of them to the King, even before the Legate's face. Henry, far from giving ear to their just Complaints, received them with frowns, and even offered the Legate one of his Castles to imprison them. This Stratagem being discovered, the Nuncio durst not pursue what he had begun. But the Legate convened the Clergy once more, in order to obtain a fresh Subsidy, ever on pretence of the War with the Emperor. To this new demand the Clergy made answer, that since the Emperor was not excommunicated by the Church, but by the Pope alone, they would not concern themselves in the quarrel: That besides, they were too poor to answer all the Pope's Exactions, and, supposing they were able, they would no longer endure, that the Church of England should be thus tributary to Rome. During the Legate's long stay in England, he had sufficiently discovered the Temper of the English, to know, it was not prudent to exasperate them too much, in their present disposition, with regard to the Pope. However, not to omit any thing that might help to accomplish his master's orders, he bethought himself of another Expedient. This was to divide the Clergy, in which the King served him effectually, by promising some Pensions and Preferments, and frightening others by Threats. This way succeeded so well, that at length each complied in particular, to what in a Body they had refused; the most unwilling being forced to follow the majority.

Whilst the Clergy were thus exposed to the Avarice of the Court of Rome, the King sent Justices Itinerant, through all the Counties (8), under pretence of redressing Grievances, and easing the People. But it was soon perceived, that this was only a means contrived on purpose to oppress several private Persons, by Fines and Confiscations, which brought in very considerable Sums to his Treasury. This oppression caused loud murmurs amongst the English, who saw themselves exposed at once to the Tyranny of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Powers (9).

The King's natural Fickleness not permitting him long to love or hate the same Persons, he recalled this year the Earl of Leicester; who departed shortly after for the Holy Land, where he made no long stay. Gilbert Earl of Pembroke was likewise received into favour, through the powerful Intercession of Prince Richard. This Prince, having the year before taken the Cross, set out for Jerusalem, in company with the Earl of Salisbury, and several other Lords.

Towards the end of this year, the Earl of Flanders came to London, and did the King Homage for a yearly Pension of five hundred Marks (10). There are some who question, whether it was customary in those days, to grant Pensions in Fee, to be held by military Service, and Homage. But this evidently appears, in several Agreements between the Kings of England and divers foreign Princes, the Tenor of which is to be seen in the Collection of the Public Acts (11).

In the beginning of the year 1241, England at length was delivered from Otho the Legate, recalled by an ex-

(1) Four of his strongest Castles, viz. Blanch Castle, Gresmud in Wales, Skeneffith at Hatfield. M. Paris, p. 516.

(2) This Year also King Henry repaired and fortified the Tower of London. Id. p. 486. --- December 21, died Henry de Turbeville, a famous Warrior. Id. p. 517. --- King Henry keeping his Court at Corstham, knighted Baldwin de Rivers, and created him Earl of the Isle of Wight. Id. p. 523.

(3) January 14. Id. p. 525.

(4) Eight hundred Marks. Id. p. 527.

(5) In the beginning of this year died Isabella, Wife of Richard Earl of Cornwall, and was buried in the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. Id. p. 523.

(6) April 13. died also Lewellyn Prince of North Wales. Id. p. 527. M. West. p. 302.

(7) Petrus Rubens. M. Paris.

(8) William of York, Provost of Beverley into the Southern, and Robert de Lexington in the Northern Parts of England. Id. p. 533.

(9) This Year, about Easter, King Henry removed Simon the Norman, and Geoffrey the Templar, who were Joint-commissioners of the Great Seal, because they refused to affix it to a Grant, made by the King to Thomas Earl of Flanders, of a Toll of Four-pence upon every Bag of Wool, brought from England into his Dominions. Id. p. 519. The Seal was given to Richard Abbot of Evesham. Ibid.

(10) The King made him besides a Present of five hundred Marks extraordinary. M. Paris, p. 515.

(11) See Act. Pub. T. I. p. 1, 4, 23, 27, 168, &c. The first Volume begins with an agreement, dated May 1. 1101, between Henry I. and Robert Earl of Flanders, whereby the King binds himself to pay the Earl four hundred Marks per Ann. in Fee, on Condition of his lending the King two hundred Horses, when he should want them. Rymer observes, that this Act is a more ancient proof than any the French can produce, that the Vassals of Flanders were Vassals to their Kings. --- This Year in October, was born Margaret, King Henry's Daughter. Id. p. 537. M. West.

1240. He sends a Nuncio, who tries to extort Money from the Abbots. M. Paris. M. West.

The King backs the Nuncio. M. Paris. P. 534.

The Legate demands a fresh Subsidy, which the Clergy deny. Ibid. An. Burton.

He finds means to divide them. Id. p. 536.

The King sends Justices into the Counties to extort Money. Id. p. 533.

The King recalls the Earl of Leicester and Pemroke. M. Paris. P. 527. M. West.

The Earl of Flanders does Homage to the King for his Pension. M. Paris. P. 515, 529. M. West.

1241. The Legate is recalled. M. Paris. P. 530. M. West. T. Wikes.

1241.

prefs order. Hitherto he had found means to be continued through the King's intercession. But now he did not think fit, to desire him to speak in his behalf. He knew the Pope was seized by a distemper, of which, probably, he would never recover: And therefore did not care to be in *England*, when the news of his death should arrive (1). He had too much reason to fear, that, during the vacancy of the Holy See, the Money he had amassed, might be stopped. It is affirmed, he carried away more than he left to the Churches and Monasteries. *Gregory IX.* died quickly after, as the Legate foresaw, and the Emperor immediately advised the King of it, that he might seize the Money levied on the Kingdom, for the deceased Pope; but the Legate had carried all with him. He was, however, so unfortunate in his return to *Italy*, as to fall into the hands of the Emperor's people, who stripped him of all his riches. This was the fruit of the numberless oppressions and extortions committed by this Cardinal in *England*. Thus the Money exacted on pretence of employing it against the Emperor, turned to the Emperor's own benefit.

M. Paris.
p. 549.

He is rifled
by the Em-
peror's Peo-
ple.
M. Paris.
M. Weit.
T. Wilkes.

Schism after
the Death of
Gregory.
The Nuncio's
continue their
exactions.
M. Paris.
M. Weit.

Simoniacal
proposal of
Pope Gre-
gory.
M. Paris.
p. 554.

The death of *Gregory IX.* caused a Schism which lasted till the next year. During this time, *Roffi* and *Supine*, whom the Legate left in *England*, as Nuncios, continued their Extortions without moderation or justice. *Supine* being gone to *Ireland*, with the King's permission, exacted from the Clergy there fifteen hundred Marks, a very large Sum at that time, for a Country where Money was extremely scarce (2). So that the death of *Gregory IX.* brought but little relief to the *English*, though they imagined they had reason to rejoice as at a great deliverance, since no Pope had ever carried his exactions to that height. The following instance is a clear evidence of what he was capable. Some time before his death, he caused to be proposed to the Abbot of *Peterborough*, that if he would give him, under a borrowed name, one of the Monastery's Livings of two hundred Pounds (3) a year, he would farm it out to him at an hundred, and so they should share the Benefice between them. But the Abbot was too honest to agree to such a bargain. He even acquainted the King with it, who being made sensible of the ill consequences, hindered, by his authority, the Abbot from being forced to comply. Had the Pope succeeded in this project, all the Benefices in *England* would soon have been in the hands of the Pope, the Bishops, and the Abbots. At least, it is to be presumed, *Gregory* would not have been satisfied with that, but designed it only as an Essay of a more general project.

The King
extorts Mo-
ney from
the Jews.

Arrival of
the Earl of
Savoy.
M. Paris.
p. 549, 550.
Mat. Weit.

The Clergy were not the only sufferers in *England*. The People were no less exposed to the King's oppressions, than the Clergy to the Pope's. The Jews in particular were every now and then severely dealt with, for out of their pockets it was that the King usually raised Money to defray his extraordinary expences. *Thomas Earl of Savoy*, the Queen's Uncle, being come this year into *England*, the King received him with such magnificence, that not knowing how to provide Money for this charge otherwise, he forced the Jews to present him with twenty thousand Marks, on pain of being expelled the Kingdom (4).

Henry gets
the Queen's
Brother
chosen Arch-
bishop.
M. Paris.

The King was so desirous of enriching the Queen's Relations, that he was never weary of shewing them marks of his affection. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* dying the last year, as was observed, *Henry* used so many instances, and other less lawful means, that he got *Boniface*, the Queen's Brother, to be elected to the Archiepiscopal See. Thus was seen at the head of the Church of *England*, a young Foreigner, ignorant of the Laws, Customs, and Language of the Kingdom, and consequently incapable of discharging the Functions of that Dignity as he ought.

Death of the
Earl of
Pembroke,
who is suc-
ceeded by his
Brother.
Id. p. 565,
566.
M. Weit.
Mr. Waverl.

Gilbert, Earl of *Pembroke*, dying this year (5), *Walter* his Brother demanded of the King the Investiture of the Office of Earl-Marshal, hereditary in their Family. *Henry* at first in a great passion denied him, alledging, his two Brothers were Traitors and Rebels, and that he himself

was present at a Tournament contrary to his command. However, this Lord finding means to make the Queen his Friend, obtained at length what he demanded (6).

The affairs of the *Welsh* employed the King good part of this year. *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, departing this life in a very advanced age, left two Sons, *David* and *Griffin*, who were to share his inheritance. But *David* seized the whole, and moreover detained his Brother in Prison. Though, ever since the Homage voluntarily paid by *Llewellyn*, *Henry* might justly look upon *Wales* as a Fief of the Crown, he would not perhaps have concerned himself in this affair, had he not been induced by *Griffin's* Wife. This Princess imploring his protection, promised him in her Husband's name, a Present of six hundred Marks, and an annual Tribute of three hundred, if he would free that Prince out of Prison, and put him in possession of his Right. *Henry* accepting this offer, sent to *David* to release the Prisoner, and restore him his part of the inheritance, threatening him, in case of refusal, with a fierce War, till he should obey (7). *David* not being able to resist, at a time when many of his Subjects were inclined for his Brother, took, as he thought, a surer course than that of Arms. He out-bid his Sister-in-law, and made more advantageous Proposals, which were accepted. As *Henry* had only a view to his own interest, in granting his protection to *Griffin*, he readily espoused the contrary side, when he found his account in it. Accordingly, from *Griffin's* protector, he turned his enemy; and left that Prince should escape, he took upon him to see him safely confined in the Tower of *London* (8). Thus it was that this Prince made no Conscience of selling his protection to the two opposite Parties, without troubling himself on which side Justice lay, or regarding his prior Engagements (9).

Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 392,
393, &c.

The same year the Empress *Isabella*, the King's Sister, died in Child-bed. Her death was soon followed by that of *Eleanor of Bretagne*, who had been Prisoner forty years in *Bristol* Castle. This Princess, though reduced to so wretched a condition, could never be brought, during her long imprisonment, to recede in the least from her right, in order to obtain some favour which she could not expect upon any other terms (10).

Death of
the Empress
and Eleanor
of Bretagne.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 399.
M. Paris.
M. Weit.

Shortly after, *Henry* was engaged in a troublesome affair, of which he got clear, as usually, with dishonour, and which caused him to forfeit entirely the little esteem his Subjects had still left for him. Before Prince *Richard's* departure to the Holy Land, he invested him with the Earldom of *Poitou*, though *France* was possessed of good part of it, since the Conquests of *Philip Augustus*. This Province being thus divided between the two Crowns, *Lewis* thought likewise he had a right to invest with it his Brother *Alphonso*; which proved the occasion of a War between the two Monarchs.

Occasion of
a fresh War
between
England and
France.
M. Paris.
p. 566.

Henry being extremely provoked at *Lewis's* investing the Prince his Brother with *Poitou*, resolved to be revenged, and the more, as the Queen his Mother was concerned. The Princess, who, after the death of King *John*, espoused the Earl of *Marche* her first Lover, behaved with the same haughtiness, she had assumed whilst Queen of *England*. As the Territories of the Earl her Spouse were in that part of *Poitou* possessed by *France*, he had all along done Homage to *Lewis*. But when *Alphonso* became Earl of *Poitou*, she could not bear to see her Husband kneel to a Brother of the King of *France*. This was certainly a mistaken pride, since there was a vast difference between the Sovereign and the Vassal. However, she solicited her Husband so earnestly, that at length she prevailed with him to refuse Homage to Prince *Alphonso*, though he had now positively promised it. This refusal was even accompanied with some offensive words, which put the King of *France* in a passion, and made him resolve to chastise the Earl's insolence. Mean time, the Earl, maintaining what he had done, implored the protection of the King of *England*. He hinted to him, it would be very easy to drive the French out of all *Poitou*; and in case he would bear the expence of the War, that Province would supply him with Troops sufficient for a great Army. *Henry* pleased

1242.
The Earl of
Marche en-
gages Henry
to carry the
War into
Poitou.
M. Paris.
p. 579.
M. Weit.
T. Wilkes.
Hemington

(1) He departed from *Dover*. Jan. 7. M. Paris, p. 549.

(2) *Rubeus* sent also his Agents to *Scotland*, and scraped together there, all the Money he possibly could. M. Paris.

(3) In the *Memor.* 25 Hen. III. Rot. 7. is a Precept sent to certain Jews of *Exeter*, to take care at their Peril, about levying and answering to the Crown their Contingent of the Tallage of twenty thousand Marks assessed on them, at the Terms appointed for that purpose. The like Precept was sent to the Jews of *Winchester*, &c. For assessing this Tallage, an Extract or Tallage-Roll was delivered out by the King's order to the Perions to whose care that affair was committed. See the Coin-Note at the end of this Reign.

(4) He was killed by the Unruliness of his Horse, whose Reigns breaking at a Tournament at *Hertford*, on May 28. he was flung down, and his Foot being hung in the Stirrup, caused him to be almost kicked to Death. He was buried at *London*. M. Paris, p. 565.

(5) But the King retained two of his Castles, viz. those of *Caernarthen*, and *Cardigan*, in his hands. Id. p. 573. This Year died *John Basset*, chief Forester of *England*, on August 22. Id. p. 550. and also *Walter de Lasey*. Id. p. 552.

(6) He went as far as *chester*, in order to force him to a compliance. Id. p. 570.

(7) By *John de Lexington*; This Transaction happened between the 8th and 29th of September. Ibid.

(8) This Year King *Henry* placed the Body of *Edward the Confessor* in a rich and curious Shrine. M. Paris, p. 572.

(9) She died a Virgin, and lies buried in the Church of the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*, to which Monastery she gave the Manor of *Meltesham Sandf.* *Geneal.* p. 69. This Year also, November 9. died *Stephen de Segrave* in *Leicester* Abbey, where he had lain hid since his disgrace. M. Paris, p. 576.

-----And *William de Fortibus* Earl of *Albemarle*. Id. p. 577.

with these hopes summoned a Parliament (1), and demanded an aid answerable to the intended expedition. But his Subjects were so tired with granting a Prince Money, who made so ill use of it, that he could obtain nothing (2). On the contrary, he was sharply upbraided for lavishing away his settled Revenues, and the sums daily exacted from his Subjects by unlawful means. He was told likewise, that the Truce with France not being yet expired, the Parliament was unwilling to incur the guilt of the breach of his Oath. In fine, complaints were made of the non-performance of his promise, with regard to the two Charters, which he had so often sworn to observe.

These reproaches were the more grievous, as the King had nothing to reply. However, he persisted in his design, and not being able to prevail with the Parliament to grant him an aid, he squeezed what he could from private Persons, by way of Gift or Loan, or other means, in which he spent the whole Winter. After this he summoned all the military Tenants of the Crown, to meet him at Portsmouth on a day appointed. But instead of Horse and Arms, he ordered them to bring each a sum of Money, depending upon the Earl of Marche's words, that he should find Men enough in Poitou. As soon as the season was fair (3), he embarked at Portsmouth, attended by the Queen his Mother, and Prince Richard his Brother, newly arrived from the Holy Land (4). Upon his departure, he committed the Regency of the Kingdom to the Archbishop of York (5). He landed in Saintonge, where he was joined by some Poitevin Noblemen. The Earl of Marche met him also, but so thinly attended, that it was visible, he was not in condition to perform his promise. When an Army came to be raised in those parts, the Officers and Soldiers lifted so slowly under the English Banners, that it was easy to foresee the enterprize would not be successful. Mean time, the King of France, who was advancing with a numerous Army (6), laid Siege to Fontenay, one of the strongest places in Poitou. During this Siege, Henry sent Ambassadors (7) to him, to demand all that Philip Augustus had taken from the English, and Lewis VIII had promised to restore; and in case of refusal, to declare War against him. Lewis, who was fainter after his death, being of a tender Conscience, could hardly overcome his scruples, on account of his Father's Oath to restore these Provinces. In this disposition, he gave the English Ambassadors an honorable reception, and answered them with great moderation, that he much wondered, the King their master could break a Truce confirmed by a solemn Oath. Adding, that to shew his sincere desire to preserve a good understanding between them, he offered to renew the Truce for three years (8). In fine, he consented to deliver up part of Poitou and Normandy, provided Henry would withdraw his protection from his rebellious Vassals; who, for no reason, refused to pay him the obedience due to him. These Proposals were as advantageous as Henry could wish them. He might too, by accepting them, have procured for the Earl of Marche an honorable accommodation, which Lewis, as he then stood disposed, would not, doubtless, have refused. But suffering himself to be guided by the violent Counsels of the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of Marche, he proudly rejected these offers. Some days after, he rashly sent two Knights Hospitallers to defy Lewis, though he was ill able to support his haughtiness. Notwithstanding this Bravado, Lewis, who could hardly conquer his scruples, fought to make Peace. But at length means were found to remove his uneasiness, by representing to him, that his Father's Oath was no farther binding, than as the King of England should perform on his part what he had promised: That the said King had sworn not to exact any ransom from the Prisoners, nor to treat ill such of the English as adhered to France: That he had violated both these Articles, and this breach of the Treaty of London had rendered void the engagements of the other Party. In all appearance, Lewis, as pious as he was, fought not to ease his Conscience entirely, but only to appease it for the present, since he was prevailed upon by so poor a pretence.

Be this as it will, he continued the Siege, and took the City by storm. A natural Son of the Earl of Marche being made Prisoner with four hundred Knights, Lewis was advised to put them all to death. But he replied, the Son could not help obeying his Father, and the rest their Sovereign; and therefore it was not reasonable that the innocent should be punished for the guilty. This first Success was followed by several others, which gained Lewis the possession of divers places in that part of Poitou belonging to the English, without Henry's being able to stop his progress, so ill had he taken his measures. As Henry endeavoured only to avoid fighting, he went and encamped near Taillebourg, on the Banks of the Charente, with the River between him and the Enemy. When Lewis had notice of it, he posted himself on the other side of the same River, and by means of his Engines and Crossbow-men, compelled the English to remove two thousand Paces farther. Their retreat gave him an opportunity of easily becoming master of Taillebourg Bridge, which was the only way he could come at the English. Mean time, as the day was too far spent to pass his whole Army, he was satisfied with guarding the Bridge, resolving to attack the Enemy by break of day. Henry, who was not strong enough to stand a Battle, took the advantage of the night to retire, whilst Prince Richard his Brother was endeavouring to amuse the French with Proposals of a Truce, which however he could obtain only for the rest of that night (9). As soon as it was expired, Lewis pursued the English, and overtaking their Rear, made them suffer some loss. This at least is the Idea the English Historians give of this Action, which the French make much more considerable. But on such occasions, it is very difficult to discover the Truth exactly, because one meets with very few impartial Historians. However, it is very likely the matter was otherwise than the English represent it, since the French give a particular account of this Battle, were they say both the Kings were present; that Lewis was in great danger; and that four thousand English were taken Prisoners (10). Besides, it is certain, the King of England fled as far as Xaintes, where he was followed by Lewis, and that the Earl of Marche making a Sally, was the occasion of the two Kings coming to a second Battle, no less fatal to the English than the former. After this, Henry perceiving he was like to be blocked up in Xaintes, fled to Blaye, where not thinking himself yet safe, he retired to Bourdeaux.

The King of France's extraordinary Successes in this War, terrified the Earl of Marche. He found that the King of England, not being able to protect him, as it plainly appeared, his holding out any longer would but render his condition more deplorable. Therefore resolving, though a little too late, to provide for his safety, he sent his eldest Son to the King of France, to try to obtain some tolerable Terms. The favorable reception Lewis gave the young Lord, induced the Father to go to his Camp, with his Wife and Children, and throw himself entirely upon his Mercy. Lewis, who was extremely generous, very readily pardoned him, though he had sufficient Evidence, that the Countess-Queen had suborned People to poison him. He was content with having three of their Castles (11) for Security of their Fidelity. In all appearance, he would have enlarged his Conquests upon the King of England, who was little able to stand before him, if the Plague which arose in his Army, and a Distemper which himself was seized with, had not prevented him from carrying his Arms as far as Bourdeaux. These reasons, and perhaps some remains of his old scruples caused him to consent to a five years Truce, after having sufficiently chastised his Enemy, by the entire Conquest of Poitou (12).

Though Henry had nothing more to do in France, he would pass the Winter at Bourdeaux, where he lavished away the remains of his Treasure in Entertain-

Henry raises Money by other means. M. Paris. M. West. A. Pub. T. I. p. 401.

Lewis besieges Fontenay. M. Paris. M. West.

Henry declares War. M. Paris. P. 587.

Lewis makes advantageous offers, which are rejected. M. Paris. M. West.

Henry defies Lewis. M. Paris.

(1) At Westminster, in the beginning of February, or latter-end of January. M. Paris, p. 579. M. West. p. 306.

(2) They entered, before the meeting of the Parliament, into a Resolution, not to grant him any Money. M. Paris, p. 580.

(3) May 1st. Id. p. 583. M. West. p. 307.

(4) And about three hundred Soldiers. M. Paris, p. 583.

(5) And at the same time, in honor to his favor Richard, Bishop of Chichester, the Chancellor; Ralph Fitz Nicolas, and others. But Richard Abbot of Evesham, resigned the great Seal. About that time a Marriage was concluded between Alexander, the King of Scotland's eldest Son, and Margaret Daughter of King Henry: In consideration of which, the Custody of that part of England which borders upon Scotland, was committed to the King of Scots. Ibid.

(6) Consisting of above four and twenty thousand Men. M. Paris, p. 584. At the beginning of this War were seized the Persons and Goods of the English Merchants in the French Dominions, and of the French in the English Dominions, to the great Injury of Trade; which seems not to have been practised before. Id. p. 583.

(7) Ralph Fitz Nicolas, and Nicolas de Melis. Ibid.

(8) As soon as he had obtained it, he returned to King Henry, and advised him to make his Escape with as much speed as he could, otherwise he would be taken Prisoner; thereupon the King took Horse that Night, and never stopped till he came to Xaintes. M. Paris, p. 585. M. West. p. 308.

(9) In this battle, or skirmish, these following Persons signalized themselves, St. de Montfort Earl of Leicester, William Longsword Earl of Salisbury, Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, John de Burgh, Warin de Montebemfel, Hubert Fitz-Matthew, Ralph Fitz-Nicolas, Jean Mangel, &c. Henry de Houg was taken Prisoner. M. Paris p. 590.

(10) Those of Ahipon, Archand, and one upon the River Creuse. W. de Nangis.

(11) This Year died Ricard de Burgh, and Hugh de Lusby, two Barons of Note. M. Paris, p. 597. M. West. p. 309.

1242. Lewis takes Fontenay. M. Paris. p. 588.

Id. p. 589. M. West.

He gains a Pass over the Charente.

M. Paris. p. 590.

Id. p. 592.

The Earl of Marche makes his Peace with Lewis. Will. de Nangis. M. Paris. p. 591. M. West.

Id. p. 594.

A Truce for five Years. M. Paris. p. 593. A. Pub. T. I. p. 416.

1243. Henry passes the Winter at Bourdeaux, and sends for Money from England. M. Paris. p. 596. M. West.

1243. ments and Diversions; as if he had been victorious in the late Campaign. Mean while his Troops were in want of all things; the *Gascans* not being willing to maintain an *English* Army in time of Peace, and without any necessity. So that the King found himself obliged to send for Cloaths and Provisions for the Soldiers to the Archbishop of *York*, his Regent in *England*: ordering him withal, to confiscate the Estates of some *English* Barons, who were retired without Leave (1). The first of these Orders were executed. But the Regent prudently declined meddling with the last, for fear of raising disturbances in the Kingdom during the King's Absence. This first Supply was hardly received before the King sent fresh Orders to the Regent to demand of the *Cistercians* one year's profit of their Wool. But the Abbots excused themselves in such a manner, as plainly showed they would not be compelled to it without force, which the Archbishop did not care to use. In fine, the Archbishop, continually pressed to send money to *Bordeaux*, obtained of the Parliament a Scutage of twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, which would have been sufficient to free the King from his present straits, had it been well managed.

The Parliament grants him an Aid.
M. Paris.
M. West.

Loans for the King, which cause great Murmurs.
M. Paris.
p. 600.

Mean time *Henry* continued still at *Bordeaux* with his Army, without having any other business but to consume in idle Expences the Money sent him from *England*. When his Coffers were empty, he demanded fresh Supplies of the Regent; who was at a loss to answer all these demands. The only means left, was to borrow Money in the King's name of such private Persons as were reputed rich (2). This extraordinary Proceeding caused great Murmurings among the People, as it has always done, whenever the Kings have made use of it to supply their occasions. The Regent, however, was willing to expose himself to these Complaints, in expectation, by that means, to draw the King from *Bordeaux*. But withal, he sent him word, there was no possibility of raising any more Money, and therefore it was time to think of returning home. This Declaration obliged the King in good earnest to prepare for his Departure. As soon as he was resolved, he sent orders to all the Barons of *England* to be ready to receive him at *Portsmouth*. They obeyed; but he made them wait so long, that they were extremely disgusted, by reason of the expence they were at, during their Stay. Before he left *Bordeaux*, *Henry* ratified the five Years Truce with *France*; that dishonourable Truce, whereby, besides *Lewis's* Conquests, *Henry* was bound to pay him yearly five thousand Pounds Sterling (3). This was the Fruit of this ill-concerted, and still worse managed expedition (4). However, notwithstanding the reason he had to be ashamed of the unfortunate Success of this Enterprize, he would be received at *London* with extraordinary Pomp, as if it was possible to deceive the People by these outward Appearances, and make them believe, the King was returned victorious (5). All the Money that was sent him being expended, he was no sooner at *London*, but he picked a Quarrel with the *Jews*, who, to appease him, were forced to give him a very considerable Sum (6). Of which, *Aaron*, a *Jew* of *York*, paid no less than four Marks of Gold, and four thousand of Silver (7).

Henry ratifies the Truce, and returns to *England*.
Act. Pub.
I. p. 416.
M. Paris.
p. 600.
M. West.

Extorts Money from the Jews.
M. Paris.
p. 605.

Marriage of Prince Richard.
Act. Pub.
I. p. 422.
M. Paris.
p. 606.
M. West.
An. Waverl.

Henry was not long in *England*, before he found occasion to expend what had been exacted from the *Jews*. The arrival of the Countess of *Provence* his Mo-

ther-in-law, who was come to celebrate the Nuptials of her Daughter *Cincia* with Prince *Richard* (8), furnished him with an opportunity to consume a larger Sum. The charge he was at on account of this Marriage may be estimated by the Wedding-Dinner only, which costed, as it is said, of thirty thousand Dishes.

The Holy See, which had been vacant eighteen Months, was filled this Year by Cardinal *Souardo* of *Genoa*, who took the Name of *Innocent IV*. The new Pope was no sooner consecrated, but he confirmed the Excommunication denounced upon the Emperor (9).

Innocent IV
rep.
M. Paris.
p. 604.

Since *Henry's* taking into his own hands the Administration of the Government, not a Year passed without his demanding Money of the Parliament. At first he generally met with a denial: but at length the Parliament was gained by the King's Assurances, that he would cause his Father's Charters to be punctually observed. He had a mind this year to use the same Artifice (10), but found the Nobility and Clergy so strictly united, that he despaired of succeeding. He even perceived it was dangerous to suffer them to be assembled too long; knowing they were taking measures to deprive him of the Administration of Affairs, which they designed to commit to four of their Body, who were to transact every thing in his Name. A Project of this Nature could not but alarm him; and therefore he promised in general to reform what was amiss, and after some fruitless Endeavours to divide them, prorogued the Parliament (11).

1244.
The Parliament denies the King an Aid.

The Parliament's Denial against the King.

The Parliament is prorogued.

Mean while, the Clergy had a violent Shock to withstand from the new Pope, who sent into *England* one *Martin* as his Nuntio, to exact Money from the Ecclesiasticks, with Power to punish such as were refractory to his Commands. The Nuntio executed his Orders so rigorously, that for the least trifle he suspended Priests, Abbots, and Bishops themselves; and thereby became extremely odious both to the Clergy and Laity. But it was much worse, when he produced the Pope's Letter to demand of the Clergy an extraordinary Aid to discharge the Debts contracted by *Gregory IX*, in his Wars with the Emperor. He alledged, this War being undertaken in defence of the Catholick Faith, and *St. Peter's* Patrimony, all Ecclesiasticks and particularly the *English*, were bound to contribute to the expence. Before the Clergy came to any resolution, the King reassembled the Parliament (12), and renewed his Demand of an Aid. But as he was sensible he should obtain nothing unless he satisfied the Barons with regard to their Grievances, he promised with an Oath to see the two Charters punctually observed. He even consented the Bishops should excommunicate him, in case he violated his Oath. Upon these Assurances, the Parliament granted him twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee (13). But as no pressing Necessity could be alledged for this extraordinary Aid, it was said, the Money should be expended in the Marriage of his eldest Daughter, though all knew it was intended for other Uses.

The Pope sends the Nuntio.
M. Paris.
p. 641.
M. West.

The Pope's Demand of them.

The King obtains a Scutage by promising to keep the Coasters.
M. Paris.
p. 643.

When the Nuntio saw the Parliament had complied with the King, he pressed the Bishops and Abbots to have the same Condescension for their Spiritual, as the Parliament had for their Temporal Father. But they slighted this frivolous Reason, and alledged much stronger to justify their Refusal. The Steadiness of the Prelates obliged the Nuntio at length to desist. But he still continued by virtue of the Power received from the Pope,

The Nuntio solicits the Clergy in vain.
Id. p. 643.

(1) *William de Ros* a Nobleman, not being able to afford to stay any longer with King *Henry*, came over into *England*; for which *Henry* ordered him to be disseized of his Lands, without the Judgment of his Peers; but he was severely reprov'd for it by his Brother *Richard*. M. Paris. p. 595.

(2) Chiefly of the Citizens of *London*. M. Paris. p. 600.

(3) It was but five thousand pounds in all, namely, one thousand pounds a Year. See *M. Paris*. p. 600.

(4) Whilst the King was engaged in this War, the Queen his Wife lay-in at *Bordeaux* June 25. 1242. of a Daughter called *Beatrice*. Most of the Nobility left the King at *Bordeaux*; for which he ordered their Estates to be confiscated as above. M. Paris. ----- King *Henry* landed at *Portsmouth*, September 25. Id. p. 604. *1. Wikes*.

(5) He ordered also, that every City or Town he came through, four of the chief Inhabitants should come out to meet him on Horse-back, and richly dressed. M. Paris. p. 604.

(6) It appears by the *Memoir*. 28. Hen. III. that at this time there was a Tallage of sixty thousand Marks imposed on the *Jews*. For it is there said: "Baronibus pro Samuele filio *Lewis* Judæ de *Eboraco* Rex cisdem; Sciatis quod Samuel filius *Lewis* Judæ *Eboraci* fœdem fecit nobiscum per septem millia marcarum, pro relevato catallorum dicti *Lewis* patris sui, & pro catallis prælati patris sui & suis inventis extra archam & ut quietus sit de tallagio." "Sexaginta millia marcarum quod super *Judeos* nostros *Angliæ* assideri faciemus: -- Et mandatum est *Justis* auri *Judeorum*. See the following Coin-Note.

(7) Ab uno *Judeo*, *viz.* *Aaron* *Eboracensi* quatuor marcas auri & quatuor millia argenti emunxit, says, *M. Paris*. p. 535. *Rapin* by mistake says, four thousand Marks of Gold, and forty thousand of Silver, applying here what *M. Paris* says on another occasion; namely, this *Jew* being find for filitizing a Charter) fourteen thousand Marks of Silver to the King, and to ty Marks of Gold to the Queen, told *M. Paris*, in 1250, that since the King's return from beyond Sea, he had paid him at several Times thirty thousand Marks of Silver, and two hundred Marks of Gold to the Queen. Id. p. 785. The Reason of paying these Marks of Gold to the Queen, will be shown in the Coin Note at the end of this Regn. This same *Aaron* the *Jew*, fined with the King in one hundred Marks a Year to be quit, during Life of tallage. *Ex. Orig.* 20 Hen. III. M. 4.

(8) They were married at *Westminster* November 23. M. Paris. p. 606.

(9) This Year, May 7. died, *Hugh de Albini*, Earl of *Arundel*; and the 12th of the same Month died also the famous *Hubert de Burgh*, at *Banbury*, and was buried at *London*, in the Monastery of the *Francis Preachers*. M. Paris. p. 600.

(10) The Parliament chose a Committee, to examine the King's Proposals, consisting of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, *London*, and *Worcester*; *Richard* the King's mother, *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Walter* Earl of *Meath*. Of the Barons, *Richard de Muncheing*, and *John de Baillif*; and the Abbots of *St. Edmundsbury*, and *Ramsay*. M. Paris. p. 639.

(11) *Matthew Paris* lays, this great Council or Parliament had contrived a new method of Government, and intended that four of the most potent and discreet Men of the Kingdom should be chosen by common Consent, who were to transact all Affairs relating to the King and his Kingdom, and also Justice to all without respect of Persons. They were to follow the King, and two of them at least were to be always present with him, that they might hear and relieve the Complaints of Persons oppressed. The King's Treasury was to be managed by them, and all Aids were to be expended as they thought most for the Benefit of the Nation. In a word, they were to be the Conservators of the Publick Liberties, and as chosen by common Consent, they were not to be removed but by the same Authority; when one died, another was to be chosen by the three Survivors. And without the Consent of the Council the great Council was not to meet. They were likewise to appoint the *Justiciary*, and *Chancellor*; and the *Justices of the King's Bench* and *Exchequer* which were then two in each of those Courts. M. Paris. p. 640, 641.

(12) Three Weeks after the Prorogation. M. Paris. p. 643.

(13) To be paid, half at *Easter*, and half at *Michaelmas*. ibid.

1244. to fill the vacant Benefices, which he disposed of in a scandalous manner (1).

Affair of
Whitl
M. Paris.
p. 617.
Whilst these things passed, an Accident happened, which broke the strict Union, between the King and the Prince of *Wales* ever since their Agreement. *Griffin*, who was confined in the Tower of *London*, endeavouring to escape out of the Prison-window, fell into the Ditch and broke his Neck. Whilst he was alive, his Brother *David* never dared to displease the King, for fear he should support him in his Pretensions. But when *Griffin* was dead, he made an Irruption into the Borders of *England*, under colour of being revenged for certain Breaches of the late Treaty. The Borderers upon *Wales* seeing the King took no care to repel this insult, armed themselves in defence of their Country; but as they were too weak, and ill-conducted, were continually defeated (2).

The King of
Scotland
refuses to do
Homage to
Henry,
who pre-
pares for
War.
Id. p. 638.
Act. 10b.
T. l. p. 425.
At the same time, *Alexander II.* King of *Scotland*, having lately married a *French* Lady (3), sent *Henry* word, he intended to do him Homage no longer for the Lands held of the Crown of *England*. How little inclined forever *Henry* was for War, he could not help, on this occasion, exerting himself, so greatly were the *English* incensed at this Bravado. He summoned therefore all the Vassals of the Crown to meet him at *Newcastle*, the Rendezvous (4) of the Army designed against *Scotland* (5). When *Alexander* resolved to refuse the Homage due to *Henry*, he did not expect it would have involved him in a War (6). Persuaded as he was of the Weakness and Irresolution of the Prince he had to deal with, he hoped the difference would be decided as formerly, by a Negotiation which might turn to his Advantage. But when he saw the *English* Army ready to enter his Territories, he became more submissive, and sent Ambassadors to *Newcastle* to sue for Peace. *Henry* received the Proposal with Joy. Notwithstanding his seeming resolution to push the War with rigour, he readily consented to a Treaty, which afforded him an excuse to lay down his Arms. *Alexander* submitted to the same Homage paid by himself and Ancestors, and a good Understanding between the two Kings was perfectly restored (7). Before they parted, a Marriage was agreed upon between *Alexander's* eldest Son of the same Name with himself, and *Margaret*, *Henry's* eldest Daughter.

M. Paris.
p. 643.
M. West.

Alexander
sues for
Peace.
Act. Pub.
T. l. p. 428.
&c.
M. Paris.
ibid. &c.
M. West.

The Prince
of Wales
offers to be-
come Vassal
to the Pope.
M. Paris.
p. 647.
M. West.
T. Wikes.

M. Paris.
p. 624, &c.
Id. p. 631.
&c.

The War
with Wales
rejoiced up-
on.
Act. Pub.
T. l. p. 430.
&c. 433.

The Army raised for the War with *Scotland* not having occasion to act, the King was advised to make use of it to reduce the Prince of *Wales* to obedience. But instead of improving so favorable a juncture, he dismissed the Troops (8), out of Impatience to call a Parliament, and demand an aid of Money, which however he could not obtain (9). The Prince of *Wales* so little questioned *Henry's* using the means he had in his power to chastise him, that, to free himself from the imagined danger, he applied to the Pope, intimating that he was compelled to declare himself Vassal, and Tributary to the King of *England*. For which reason, he besought the Pope to annul the Treaty, offering to become Vassal to the Holy See, and to pay him the yearly Tribute of five hundred Marks (10). *Innocent IV.* being no less greedy of money than his Predecessors, was pleased with this Proposal. However, to show he did not pretend to decide the matter without a hearing of the Cause, and upon the bare Suggestion of a Petition, he empowered two *Welsh* Abbots to take Informations concerning the pretended Constraint alledged by their Prince. At the same time he commissioned them to annul the Treaty, and absolve the Prince of *Wales* from his Oath, in case it appeared he had been really compelled. It was easy to foresee what Sentence the Judges would pass. The two Abbots, proud of their Power, insolently summoned the King of *England* to appear before them, as if he had been some private Person subject to their Jurisdiction. This Proceeding extremely enraged the King and his Council, as well as the whole

Nation. Then they were sorry the Army was disbanded, but as there was no remedy, it was resolved, another should instantly be raised to chastise the Prince of *Wales* as soon as the Season would permit; for it was then the middle of Winter. At the same time, the great Men conferred together about means to stop the Attempts of the Court of *Rome*.

Whilst these two Affairs were in hand, the Court received intelligence, that the King of *France* had sent away all the *English* in his Dominions. Though the Truce was far from being yet expired, *Lewis* thought fit to take this Step, to prevent the King of *England's* Subjects in *France*, from being too well informed of the Affairs of the Kingdom. To that end, he assembled at *Paris* all who had Estates in *France*, and declaring to them, he thought it not possible to serve faithfully two Masters at once, gave them their choice to prefer which they pleased. Those that declared for *England*, were ordered to depart out of *France* within such a time, with assurance of retaining their Lands. *Henry* did not act with the same Justice. As soon as he was informed of *Lewis's* Proceedings, he seized all the Lands held by the *French* in *England*, without any regard to the Remonstrances of the King of *France*. However, *Lewis* did not think fit to break the Truce for the sake of some private Persons (11).

Shortly after the Emperor *Frederic* sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, complaining of the frequent aids of money given the Pope. He ordered him to be told, for the future, he would treat all the *English* that should fall into his hands as Enemies, since he could not deem them otherwise. His Complaints had no other effect, than that the Clergy took occasion from thence to oppose the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, whose continual pretence was the War with the Emperor (12).

In the beginning of the year 1245 (13), the Queen was delivered of another Son, christened *Edmund*. I shall have frequent occasion to speak of this Prince before the end of this Reign.

The War with the *Welsh*, which was deferred till the Spring, was accordingly begun at that time (14). But the *English* proceeded with so little vigour, that instead of attacking their Enemies, they were hardly able to defend themselves.

This was not so much owing to their Weakness, as to their being employed in other Affairs, which to them seemed of greater moment than the War with *Wales*. They at length resolved to free themselves from the Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. *Martin* the Nuncio used his Authority with so little discretion, that it was not possible to bear it any longer. The Barons who saw with grief all the Money of the Kingdom remitted to *Rome*, and were very sensible, the Clergy always gave way when the Pope came to be opposed, were at last determined to exert their utmost to prevent such common Exactions. After frequent Conferences, they resolved to act by their own Authority. Accordingly, without waiting any longer for the King's Protection, who appeared very backward to second them, they issued out orders to the Wardens of the Ports, to stop all Persons that should bring any Bulls or Mandates from the Court of *Rome*. Pursuant to these Orders, which were every where obeyed, without regarding whether they were approved by the King, a Messenger from *Rome* was seized with several Bulls about him, empowering the Nuncio to exact Money from the Clergy on divers pretences. The Nuncio complained to the King, who commanded every thing that was seized to be restored to him. But the Barons strongly remonstrated to him, how much he wronged his Subjects in perpetually countenancing the Rapines of the Court of *Rome*. For his conviction, they laid before him the true value of the Income enjoyed by the *Italian* Ecclesiastics in *England*, amounting to sixty

1244.

Lewis expels
the English
settled in his
Dominions.
M. Paris.
p. 614.

Henry con-
fiscates the
Lands of the
French.

The Empe-
ror com-
plains of the
Aids sent
the Pope
Id. p. 614.

1245.

Birth of
Prince Ed-
mund.
M. Paris.

The War
with the
Welsh.
Id.
M. West.

Vigorous Re-
solutions of
the Barons
against the
Pope.
M. Paris.
p. 667.

A Courier
from the
Pope stopped.
Id. p. 638.

Id. p. 658.
M. West.

- (1) Among the rest he gave the Treasurer's place in the Cathedral of *Salisbury* to a little Boy, who was the Pope's Nephew, against the Will of the Bishop and whole Chapter. *M. Paris.* 644.
- (2) About this time the King took into his Council *Paulin Piper* a Knight, Steward of his Household, and *John Mansel*, Chancellor of *St. Paul's* in *London*; and appointed *Laurence* of *St. Martin*, President of his Council and Procurator in all Ecclesiastical Affairs. *M. Paris.*
- (3) Daughter to *Engelram de Curcy* a potent Nobleman of *France*, and mortal Enemy to *Henry*. *M. Paris.* p. 638. *M. West.*
- (4) They came there in August. *M. Paris.* p. 645.
- (5) The pretence used by King *Henry* for undertaking this Expedition, was, That *Walter Cumin*, and other Scotch Noblemen had fortified two Castles in *Galloway* and *Lothian*, to the prejudice of the King of *England*, and contrary to Treaties. *M. Paris.* p. 645. And also that *Alexander* had sheltered *Geoffrey de Maris*, and other Rebels. *Id.*
- (6) Though he was tolerably well provided, having one thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Foot. *Id.*
- (7) Chiefly through the means of Prince *Richard*, and other Noblemen. *M. Paris.* *ibid.*
- (8) Being contented with sending three hundred Men to stop their Incursions, under the command of *Hubert Fitz-Matthews*. *Id.* p. 647.
- (9) This Parliament met November 3, upon their refusing the King Money, he extorted fifteen hundred Marks from the Citizens of *London*, under pretence that they had sheltered one *Walter Bokerel*, that had been banished. *Id.* p. 651.
- (10) *Rapin* says by mistake, five thousand Marks that he used to pay to *England*. *M. Paris's* words are, --- quod se suamque terram totam, contra regis Anglorum jus contumdam, ecclesie Romanæ resignavit, ipsi tamen *David* tenendam, suisque Hereditibus, reddendo inde annuatim quingentos marcas. p. 785.
- (11) *M. Paris* says, that the *French* King gave the *English* in his Dominions the liberty of relinquishing either their Estates in *France*, or those in *England*. And that they were forced to do one or the other. But it does not appear, he gave any Assurance to those who quitted *France*, that they should retain their Lands. The hardship on *Henry's* part, was, that he left the *French* in his Kingdom no choice, but seize their Lands to his own use. p. 614.
- (12) February 3. died *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, the Chancellor. *An. Waverl.* p. 204.
- (13) January 16. *M. Paris.* p. 654.
- (14) The Year in *Lent*, three hundred of the *Welsh* were slain by the *English* at *Montgomery*. But soon after *Hubert*, or *Herbert*, *Fitz-Matthews* the *English* General, was killed, and the *Welsh* became Masters of *Muntbaust* Castle. *M. Paris.* p. 654. *M. West.* p. 319.

1245. thousand Marks *per Annum*, a Sum exceeding at that time the whole Revenue of the Crown (1). Henry, who had never made so exact a Calculation, could not help showing his Surprise. But as he durst not venture of himself to redress this Grievance, for fear of the Pope's Resentment, he was contented with permitting the Barons to write to the General Council then assembled at Lyons, to set forth the intolerable Oppressions which *England* suffered from the Court of *Rome*. Accordingly the Barons wrote to the Council in the Name of the whole Kingdom, inserting in their Letter, sent by Ambassadors on purpose, all the Grievances complained of by the *English* (2). But as they knew that on such occasions the Court of *Rome* never failed to make use of Delays and Evasions, they resolved to take a more speedy and effectual Course. For that purpose they agreed to meet under pretence of a Tournament, in order to concert the necessary measures for executing their design. The King dreading the consequences of this Assembly, forbid them to be present to the Tournament; but they did not think proper to obey. They met therefore at the place appointed (3), and after some Conference, sent to the Nuntio a Knight (4), who commanded him in their Name, forthwith to depart the Kingdom. The Knight discharged his Commission somewhat roughly; and upon the Nuntio's demanding, who gave him his Authority? he answered, The whole Nation; and in case he stayed three days in *England*, he should infallibly be cut in pieces. *Martin* failed not to carry his Complaints to the King. But *Henry* telling him, he was not able to protect him (5), he demanded a Pass-port, and went away immediately, to the great Satisfaction of all the People. The Pope, who had never met with such a Check in *England*, was so enraged, that he was heard to say: *I see plainly I must make Peace with the Emperor, that I may humble these petty Princes: For the great Dragon being once appeased, I shall with more ease be able to crush the smaller Serpents.*

Mean while the *English* Ambassadors being arrived at Lyons, presented their Letter to the Council, where the Pope presided in Person. The Letter being publicly read, *Innocent* was so surprized, that he said not a word in his own Vindication. After the Ambassadors had waited some time, to see if he had any thing to alledge against the Contents of the Letter, one of them gave a particular Narrative of the Grievances of their Nation. He dwelt chiefly on two Articles, the first related to the Tribute of the thousand Marks, which King *John* promised to pay every Year to the Holy See. He maintained that King *John* could not render his Kingdom Tributary, and his Engagement being never confirmed by the Barons, was to be deemed null and void. The other Article concerned the Clause of *Non-obstante*, inserted by the Pope in all his Bulls, a Clause entirely destructive of the Rights of Bishops, Abbots, Monasteries, and Patrons of Benefices. For instance, when the Pope had a mind to dispose of a Benefice, he inserted this Clause in his Bull, *Non-obstante (i. e.) notwithstanding the Right of Patronage or other Privilege to the contrary* (6). This was in effect to annihilate all the Rights and Liberties of the Church of *England*. To these two Grievances, the Ambassadors added many more, concerning the perpetual Extortions of the Nuntio's and Legates, and in general all the Oppressions to which the *English* Nation had long been exposed.

In vain did the Ambassadors expect an Answer from the Council. The Pope continually hindered the Affair from being considered. At length, perceiving they were only amused with continual Delays, they presented to the Council a Protestation against the Tribute granted by King *John*, and withdrew. During their stay at Lyons, the Pope never made the least step to satisfy them. But when they were gone, he endeavoured to cast a mist before the Eyes of the Council, by making them believe he intended to redress the Grievances complained of. To that end, two Bulls were drawn up, the first whereof permitted the *English* Patrons to present whom they pleased to the Livings

in their Gift. By the second it was granted, that when a beneficed *Italian* died or resigned his Preferment, another should not immediately succeed (7). He made a great flourish on these two Bulls, as if he had granted some very signal Favours to *England*. But he staid till the Ambassadors were departed, for fear they should demonstrate how disproportionate this slight Satisfaction was to their Grievances. As to the Tribute, against which they protested, *Innocent* never intended the *English* Nation any Satisfaction. On the contrary, when the Council broke up, the Pope wrote thundering Letters to the *English* Prelates, expressly enjoining them to confirm and set their Seals to the Charter of Tribute granted by King *John* to the Holy See. Though the Bishops had very strong reasons to excuse themselves from taking such a Step, they durst not however disobey, for fear of the threatened Excommunication. The King appeared at first displeased at the Pope's haughty Proceedings, and seemed willing to oppose his Pretensions. But he soon resumed his wonted Complaisance for whatever issued from the Court of *Rome*.

The War with *Wales* was the reason this Affair lay dormant some time. The King who had long suffered the *Welsh* to infest his Borders with impunity, at last headed his Army, threatening utterly to destroy their Country (8). But this sudden Blaze was quickly extinguished. He was no sooner entered *Wales*, but missing the Enemy, who were retired to their Mountains, he grew weary of the War, and after building the Castle [of *Ganac*] on an advantageous Situation, returned to *London*. (9).

Walter Earl of *Pembroke* dying this Year (10) without Issue Male, *Anselm* his Brother, then Dean of *Salisbury*, was his Heir, and succeeded him in his Office of Earl-Marshal. But he did not long enjoy it, being seized by Death a few Months after. Thus the noble Family of *Pembroke* and *Strigul* was extinct, whereof the five last Earls, who were Brothers, were invested with the Dignity of Earl-Marshal, Hereditary in their Family (11).

David Prince of *Wales* died in the beginning of the Year 1246. As he had left no Children, the Lords of that Country chose for his Successor *Llewellyn* his Nephew, Son of the unfortunate *Griffin*, killed in endeavouring to escape out of the Tower of *London*.

The Quarrel with the Court of *Rome* was somewhat suppressed, when the Pope renewed it, by an Imposition upon the Ecclesiasticks, greater and more insupportable than all the former. The Clergy were so aw'd by the *Roman* Pontiffs, that they durst not stir towards freeing themselves from their Yoke. But it was otherwise with the Lay-Barons, who began to consult together and take measures to oppose these Oppressions. In a Parliament assembled during *Lent* (12), it was resolved that the Nation's Grievances should be committed to writing, and Satisfaction demanded of the Pope in a Letter (13), signed by the King, Bishops and temporal Lords. The principal Grievances were these:

I. That the Pope, not content with the annual Payment of *Peter-Pence*, exacted from the Clergy great Contributions, without the King's Consent, against the Customs, Liberties, and Rights of the Church and Realm of *England*.

II. That the Patrons of Churches could not present fit Persons to the vacant Livings, the Pope conferring them generally on *Italians*, who understood not the *English* Language, and carried out of the Kingdom the Money arising from the Income of their Benefices.

III. That the Pope oppressed the Churches by exacting Pensions from them.

IV. That when an *Italian* Ecclesiastick died, his Benefice was immediately bestowed on one of the same Nation, as if the *Italians* had a Right to possess such a number of Benefices in the Kingdom. That whereas the *Italians* were invested without Trouble or Charge, the *English* were forced to go and prosecute their Right at *Rome*, contrary to the Indulgences granted to *England* by former Popes.

(1) Ad quam summam non attingit redditus annuus totius Regni Angliæ. *M. Paris.* p. 658.

(2) This bold and elegant Epistle was sent by Earl Roger Bigot, John Fitz-Geoffrey, William de Cantelupe, Philip Basset, Ralph Fitz Nicholas, and Mr. William Power, their Secretary. See *M. Paris.* under the Year 1245. p. 659.

(3) June 29. at Luton and Dunstable in Bedfordshire. *M. Paris.* p. 659.

(4) Fulk Fitz Warin. *ibid.*

(5) *M. Paris* says, King Henry was in a violent Passion, and wished the Nuntio to the Devil; but that being pacified by his Courtiers, he sent Robert Noris, a Marshal of his Palace, to conduct him safely to Dover. p. 659.

(6) This Clause, though copied from the Court of *Rome*, in a few Years crept into the King's Charters, as will be seen hereafter.

(7) These Privileges signified nothing, by reason of the war of a *Non obstante*, whenever he pleased to make use of it.

(8) Whilst he was employed against the *Welsh*, some Irish landed in *Anglesey*, and destroyed the whole County with the Edge of the Sword. *M. Paris.* p. 684.

(9) Maurice Fitz-Gerald Justiciary of *Ireland*, having neglected to come over to the King's Assistance, as he was ordered, is turned out, and John Fitz-Geoffrey put in his room. *M. Paris.* p. 684.

(10) He died Decemb. 4, at London, and was buried at Tintern near Chepstow. His Brother Anselm died the 22d of the same Month. *M. Paris.* p. 686.

(11) These Privileges signified nothing, by reason of the war of a *Non obstante*, whenever he pleased to make use of it.

(12) Which met at London about Midcent. *M. Paris.* p. 698.

(13) Matthew Paris says, the King wrote by himself, the Bishops by themselves, and so likewise the Abbots and Barons by themselves, of all which Letters there are Copies extant in *M. Paris.* under the Year 1246. p. 699. &c.

1246.

V. That in Churches filled by the *Italians* there were neither Alms, nor Hospitality; neither was there any Preaching, and the Care of Souls was entirely neglected.

VI. That the Clause of *Non-obstante*, generally inserted in all Bulls, absolutely destroyed all Laws, Customs, Statutes, and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom.

These Articles shew that the Bulls granted by *Innocent* at the Council of *Lyons*, were not executed, since the same Grievances, which they seemed to redress, were still forced to be complained of.

The Pope
introduces
Oppressions.
M. Paris.
p. 781.

The Letter of the King and Barons had a contrary Effect to what was expected. The Pope accused the Clergy of extorting it by their Importunities, and took occasion from thence to load them with new and unheard of Taxes. He not only compelled the Bishops to sign the Emperor's Excommunication (1), but moreover commanded each to find him a certain Number of Men well horsed and armed, to serve against that Prince, pretending all Churches were equally concerned in the War (2). After this, to let the *English* see how little he valued their Murmurs, instead of reforming the old, he introduced a new Grievance, by claiming the Administration of the Goods of Ecclesiasticks dying Intestate. At first the King opposed the execution of all these Articles; but the Fear of a threatened Interdict and Excommunication, obliged him, as formerly, to submit to the Pope's pleasure. This Compliance made the Pope so imperious (3), that he imposed a fresh Tallage of a third part of their Moveables upon Clergymen that resided on their Livings, and of one half upon Non-residents. This being the case, it is no wonder, if the Popes were so unwilling to make Peace with the Emperor, since the War furnished them with a pretence to levy such frequent Taxes upon the Clergy. The Bishop of *London* was commissioned to execute this new Order, with Power to excommunicate and suspend the disobedient. But whilst this Prelate and some others were met upon this occasion, the King sent them word not to consent to this Imposition, whereupon they broke up their meeting. If *Henry* had as vigorously opposed all the other Attempts of the Court of *Rome*, he would have equally succeeded, since the Pope thought not fit to push this matter any further, when he found a resolute opposition (4).

He claims
the Goods of
intestate
Clergymen.
Id. p. 706.

He lays a
heavy Tax
on the Clergy,
M. Paris.
p. 716.
M. West.

which the
King effectually
opposes.

Attempt of
the Bishop of
Lincoln.
M. Paris.
p. 716.

Death of the
King's Mother.
Id.

1247.
The Pope's
Exactions.
M. Paris.
p. 722,
723.
M. West.

The absolute Power claimed by the Pope over Christians, caused pernicious effects among some *English* Bishops, who imagined the Church's Authority to be unlimited. Upon this ground they pretended to extend it over civil Affairs, because there is hardly any thing but where Religion may be made to interpose. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, prepossessed with this Notion, took upon him this Year to make severe Inquisitions concerning the Life and Manners of every particular Person in his Diocese. It may be, this was done with a good Intent, but the Danger was, that this Incroachment would be imitated by others, and at length degenerate into a real Tyranny. Accordingly, it was deemed a manifest Usurpation, to which the King put a stop by his own Authority (5).

Isabella, Countess of *Marche*, and Queen-Dowager of *England*, the King's Mother, died this Year (6), after living in no great reputation, if we may believe certain Historians (7).

The Year 1247, like the last, was spent almost wholly in Contests between the Pope and the Clergy; the first increasing his Oppressions, in proportion as the others vainly strove to secure themselves from them (8). In the beginning of this Year, the Bishops and Abbots were forced to make a Present of a thousand Marks (9) to a

new Legate, sent by the Pope into *England*, upon no other account but to exact Money from the Clergy. At the same time, and for the same reason, there was a Nuntio in *Ireland*, who procured five hundred Marks (10). As the King was ever ready to countenance the Court of *Rome*'s Exactions, the Pope was willing, in his turn, to shew him some Mark of his Gratitude. To that end, he sent him a Bull, ordaining, that for the future, no *Italian*, not even the Nephew of a Cardinal, or the Pope himself, should be admitted to any Benefice in *England* without the King's Consent: Ample Recompence for the vast Sums drawn every Year by the Pope out of the Kingdom! A Privilege besides which signified nothing, for the Pope was very sure of obtaining the King's Consent, whenever he should vouchsafe to ask it (11).

1247.

Insignificant
Privileges
granted the
King.
M. Paris.
p. 722.

To complete the misfortunes of the *English*, the King's three half-Brothers, namely *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar*, Sons of the Earl of *Marche* (12), came into *England*. The Earl their Father sent them to the King, to be eased of their maintenance, and in expectation he would provide for them. So that when they arrived, they were destitute of all things, and had nothing to subsist upon but the Favours of the King their Brother. *Henry* was forced therefore not only to maintain them, but likewise to satisfy their Avarice and Ambition, with Presents, Places, and Benefices, to the Detriment of the *English*.

The King's
three half-
Brothers
arrive in
England.
M. Paris.
p. 731.
M. West.

This same Year *William* Earl of *Holland*, a young Prince of twenty Years of Age, was elected King of the *Romans*, by the Intrigues of the Pope, who had deposed *Frederic* in the Council of *Lyons*. But his Holiness did not find it so easy to put him in possession of the Empire, as to procure him the Votes of part of the Electors.

Earl of Hol-
land elected
King of the
Romans.
M. Paris.
M. West.

What fair Promises soever the King made the Parliament, upon their granting him the last aid, he had however performed nothing. And therefore, when he demanded a fresh Supply of the Parliament assembled in the beginning of the Year 1248 (13), he received a very mortifying Answer. He was asked, how he could without blushing renew his Demands, after so frequent Breach of his Word. He was upbraided for his immoderate Kindness, and excessive Liberalities to the Foreigners; for his Contempt of his native Subjects; his negligence in encouraging Trade, and protecting Merchants, of whom he even exacted Impositions which were not due. Very lively Complaints were made of his keeping in his own Hands the vacant Benefices, and conferring the prime Offices of the State, such as those of Chancellor, Treasurer, Justiciary, on Persons not qualified, without ever vouchsafing to consult his Parliament. *Henry*, perceiving by the Boldness of these Reproaches, that it would be very difficult to bring the Barons to any Temper, prorogued the Parliament (14), in order to gain time to consider what he should do.

1248.

Henry re-
ceives a mor-
tifying An-
swer from
the Parlia-
ment.
M. Paris.
p. 743, 744.

During the Prorogation, the pernicious Advice of his Ministers set him more and more against his Subjects, and induced him to be entirely governed by the Foreigners. Of this there quickly appeared a clear Evidence in the extraordinary Courage they inspired him with, of which he was naturally incapable. When the Parliament met, he upbraided the Barons, for endeavouring to impose upon him Laws, to which they themselves would think it hard to be liable: That every one of them was Master in his own Family; made use of what Counsellors he pleased; put in, and turned out his Domesticicks without controul; but that he alone was treated like

He is entirely
guided by
Foreigners.

He speaks
roughly to
the Barons.
M. Paris.
p. 745.

(1) In the Council of *Lyons* the Emperor *Frederic* was again Excommunicated and Deposed; which Deposition the Pope made the *English* Bishops sign. M. Paris, p. 663, 681.

(2) He ordered some of the Bishops to maintain him ten Soldiers, some five, others fifteen, for a whole Year, at their own Charges, well provided with Horses and Arms, and to fight wherever his Holiness should think convenient. M. Paris, p. 701. He also granted the Archbishop of *Canterbury* the full Fruits of all the Livings within his Province. *Ibid.*

(3) He imposed a Tallage of six thousand Marks upon the *English* Clergy; which King *Henry* forb'd the Payment of, by his Letter dated at *Wimminster* April 1. which see in M. Paris, p. 707. This Matter was afterwards taken into consideration by the Parliament, *ubi congregata fuerat totius Regni tam clerici quam militum generalis universitas*, as M. Paris expresses it, and was absolutely forbidden. p. 708. A Parliament was assembled again at *Wimminster*, July 7. to consider of these same Matters. p. 709.

(4) So likewise in the Case of administering to the Clergy that died Intestate, upon the King's Prohibition and the Mediation of the Cardinals, the Pope revoked this Order. M. Paris.

(5) He sent a Writ to the Sheriff to hinder any Person from making Enquiry, unless in matrimonial and testamentary Causes; which *Tynrel* observes is an Evidence of the Antiquity of the King's Prerogative to grant Prohibition to stop the Proceedings of Bishops in Matters which belonged not to them. Vol. II. p. 94. M. Paris.

(6) She was Daughter and Heir of *Athelmar*, Earl of *Angoulême* (by *Alice*, Daughter of *Peter* Lord *Courtney*, fifth Son of *Lewis le Gros* King of *France*) and after King *John*'s Death remarried to *Hugh* Brun Earl of *Marche*, and Lord of *Lusignan* and *Valence*, in *Poitou*, by whom she had several Children advanced by *Henry* III, their half Brother. *Isabella*, after her second Husband's Death took the Veil in the Monastery of *Fountains*, and there dying, was interred in the Abbey-Church. The Arms of Queen *Isabella*, are enamelled in several places upon the Tomb of *William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, her Son, in the Chapel of St. *Edmund* in *Wimminster* Abbey, being, Lozenge, Or, and Gules. *Saufl. Geneal.* p. 83.

(7) This Year also, King *Henry* granted the Office of Earl-Marshal to *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, who had married *Maud*, eldest Daughter of *William* late Earl-Marshal. M. Paris, p. 705.

(8) In the beginning of this Year, Feb. 1. a Parliament was called at *London*, from which the bishops absented themselves. M. Paris, p. 719. M. West.

(9) He demanded six thousand Marks of the Bishop of *Lincoln* alone. M. Paris, p. 722.

(10) Six thousand Marks, says M. Paris, p. 723. M. West. p. 335.

(11) About this time a Parliament was called at *Oxford*, to consider of ways and means how to put a stop to the Pope's Exactions. M. Paris, p. 730. M. West. p. 337.

(12) With their Sister *Alice*. M. Paris, p. 731.

(13) In the beginning of *February*. It consisted, according to M. Paris, of a great number of Barons, Knights, Noblemen, and also Abbots, Priors, and Clergymen. p. 743. He gives there an Account of the Bishops and Earls then present.

(14) Till June. M. Paris, p. 749.

1248. a Slave by his own Subjects (1). In short, he declared, that, far from changing his Ministry at their pleasure, he meant to be master in his own Kingdom; and that it was their duty to obey. As for the other Grievances complained of, he was contented, with returning general answers, without specifying any thing. After that, he told them he expected a speedy Aid of Money, to enable him to recover the *French* Provinces. This unseasonable haughtiness served only still more to exasperate the Barons. They boldly replied, Since he designed not to reform what was amiss, they were not so senseless as to continue to impoverish themselves for the sake of Foreigners, under pretence of an imaginary War. This answer leaving the King no hopes, he chose to dissolve the Parliament, for fear they should proceed to more vigorous resolutions. Mean time, as his Treasure was quite exhausted, he was forced to sell his Plate and Jewels, which were soon bought up by the Citizens of *London*. He was extremely incensed, to see the *Londons* so readily find Money to purchase his Jewels, and yet continually plead Poverty, when he wanted a Supply. This consideration put him so out of Humour, that he established a new Fair at *Westminster*, during which, all Commerce was prohibited in *London* (2). So far was he from hearkening to the Complaints of the Merchants on this occasion, that he gave them fresh Marks of his displeasure, in keeping his *Christmas* in the City, and compelling them to present him with large New-Years-Gifts. Shortly after, he demanded also a Supply of Money, and in spite of their endeavours to the contrary, they were constrained to give him two thousand Pounds Sterling (3).

But so trifling a Sum not sufficing for his wants, he bethought himself to borrow Money of the Barons, Bishops, Abbots, Merchants, and the richer sort of Citizens in the Kingdom. But as he found he was unable to force People to what he desired, he applied to them in so mean and cringing a manner, that one would have thought he was begging an Alms (4). Notwithstanding this debasing of himself, he was refused by the greatest part, who pleaded Poverty, though he pretended to be under an indispensable necessity of making War upon *France*. But he could not possibly have invented a worse pretence. Every one knew, he was strictly forbidden by the Pope to disturb the Territories of the *French* King, during his absence, he being gone this year to the *Holy Land*. The true reason that engaged him thus in search of Money, was, his being deeply in debt, without having wherewithal to pay. Besides, his Brothers, to whom he could not refuse any thing, never regarded his wants, but continually pressed him with their unreasonable Demands. His fondness for them was such, that he missed no opportunity of heaping favours on them, though he could not be ignorant that every favour gave fresh cause of discontent to the *English* Barons.

Shortly after, the Bishoprick of *Durham* becoming void (5), *Henry* earnestly recommended *Athelmar* the youngest of his Brothers, though he was far from being of a sufficient Age and Capacity to govern so large a Diocese. Accordingly that objection was made to him by the Monks of *Durham*. They moreover represented to him, that he had often promised to leave to the Churches the freedom of Elections, and therefore humbly intreated him to let them enjoy the effect of his promises. *Henry* offended at these Remonstrances, returned in answer, *That since they thought his Brother too young, he would keep the Bishoprick in his own hands till he should be of a fit Age*.

Alexander II, King of *Scotland*, died this year, leaving him. *Alexander* III, his Son, of eight years of Age, to succeed him.

About this time, the King being informed, that certain *Gaſcon* Lords were revolted, sent into *Guienne*, *Simon de*

Montfort Earl of *Leicester*, who reduced the Rebels to obedience, and gained a great Reputation (6).

In the beginning of the next year, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, set out with a magnificent Retinue (7), to confer with the Pope, who was still at *Lyons*. This Journey, and the extraordinary Honours paid him by the Pope, afforded matter for divers Speculations, which exercised the Wits of the Politicians. But the real motive thereof was unknown till some years after.

However pressing soever the King's necessities were, he took the Cross from the hands of the Legate, and vowed to go and war against the *Saracens* of *Palestine*. His Example was followed by above five hundred Knights (8), and an incredible number of Esquires and People of an inferior condition. After all the denials *Henry* had met with from the Parliament, he must have foreseen how difficult it would be, to obtain an Aid suitable to an undertaking of this nature. And therefore his design was not to go the Voyage, but to draw from the Parliament a large Subsidy on that pretence, in a belief they durst not deny him. At least, he was persuaded, the methods he should use to exact Money from his Subjects, would be authorized by so plausible a reason. Besides, he was very sensible, that with part of the Money, he could easily procure a Dispensation of his Vow. His Conduct afterwards confirms this Conjecture.

Be this as it will, those that had taken the Cross with the King, prepared themselves with all speed; and perceiving he made no Preparations, offered to go without him. Their haste was very displeasing to him, as it too plainly discovered his backwardness in a Cause, where all the World strove to shew marks of their Zeal. To remedy this Inconvenience, he desired the Pope to hinder his Subjects from going, before he was ready to head them. This favour was readily granted, and the Interests of the King of *France*, who might have made good use of this Reinforcement, were sacrificed on this occasion to the Pope's desire of contenting the King of *England*. *Innocent* forbid the *English*, under pain of Excommunication, to set out before the King, and by that means, all the Charges they had been at for their Voyage became useless. If this Prohibition caused many murmurs in *England*, it was not more favorably considered in *France*. Every one openly said, it was a plain case, the Pope did not much trouble himself, whether *Lewis* succeeded in his Expedition, since he deprived him of the Assistance of the *English* Croisiers.

Mean time, *Henry* not daring to demand Money of the Parliament, used all sorts of methods to raise it elsewhere. One of his most effectual ways was, to commission a Judge entirely devoted to him, to go and make Inquisition in all the Counties, concerning Trespasses upon the Royal Forests. This Commission was in it self very odious, since it included all the Cases excepted in King *John's* Charter. But the manner in which it was executed by the Inquisitor, rendered it still more intolerable; for he punished the least fault by excessive Fines, or confiscation of Estate. By these arbitrary Proceedings he procured the King a large Sum of Money, but withal drew on him the hatred and curses of the People (9).

Amidst these Transactions, *Henry* was not unmindful of his Relations. The Bishoprick of *Winchester*, the richest in the Kingdom, being vacant, the King strongly recommended his Brother *Athelmar*, whom the Chapter of *Durham* had refused the last year. He was not satisfied with sending commendatory Letters, but would go in Person to *Winchester*, to support his Interest by his Presence. On the day of Election he came into the Chapter-House, and made a short Sermon upon this Text, *Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other*, which he applied in the best manner he could to the

1249.

1250.
Prince Richard conferred with the Pope at Lyons.
M. Paris. p. 772.
M. West.

Henry raises the Cross.
Ad. Pub. T. I. p. 441.
M. Paris. p. 774.
M. West.

The Pope forbids the Croisiers to set out before the King.
M. Paris. p. 774.

Inquisitions touching the Forests.
Id. p. 652.
785.

Henry causes Athelmar to be elected Bishop of Winchester.
Id. p. 800.
T. Wikes.

Their Answer.

The Parliament dissolved.
The King sells his Jewels.
M. Paris. p. 749.

A Fair at Westminster to vex the Londoners;
Id. p. 751.
Of whom he extorts Presents.
Id. p. 757.

1249.
He makes use in vain of other means to raise Money.
Id. p. 758.

He tries in vain to make his Brother Bishop of Durham.
Id. p. 759.

Alexander III. King of Scotland.
Buchanan. Earl of Leicester sent into Guienne.
Ad. Pub. T. I. p. 449.
459.
M. Paris.

(1) This reasoning is very fallacious, though it has all along been used by those, who do not consider that a Person's mismanagement of his own private Affairs affects none but himself; whereas the Male Administration of a publick Minister is detrimental to the whole Kingdom, and consequently it highly concerns a Nation, that the great Offices of the State be filled with good and able Men.

(2) It was to last fifteen Days, and began October 13. All Fairs that used to be kept at that time, such as that of *Ely*, &c. were prohibited all over *England*. M. Paris. p. 751.

(3) At this time the Money was so shamefully clipped, even within the inner Circle, by the *Jews*, *Flemings*, and *Money-Changers*; that an Order was issued out, injoining, that Money should be taken only by the Weight, and no pieces should pass, but what were round. And in the new Money that was coined, to prevent clipping, the Cross and Letters were ordered to reach quite to the edge of each piece. This order occasioned a great deal of Confusion, and proved a great obstruction to trade, for some time. M. Paris. p. 733, 747. An. Waverl. p. 207.

(4) He not only applied to the Nobility, but also to all the rich Abbies in the Kingdom; and got sixty Marks of *St. Alban's* Monastery in particular. M. Paris. p. 748.

(5) By the Resignation of *Nicolas de Furnham*, the Bishop. Id. p. 759.

(6) This Year, after *Easter*, there was an Assembly of the great Men at *London*, in order to have, what the King had frequently promised them, put in Execution; namely, such a Chancellor, Justiciary, and Treasurer chosen, as they liked. But their endeavours proved unsuccessful, by Prince *Richard's* deserting their Party. Id. p. 765. M. West. p. 342. This Year also died the famous *Hugh de Brun* Earl of *Marke*, so often mentioned. Id. Paris. p. 773.

(7) Attended by *Henry de Hastings*, and *Roger de Torkby*, two Barons, and others; and by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *London*, and *Worcester*. Id. p. 772.

(8) Among whom were, the Earl of *Leicester*, *William Longespee*, *Fitz-Nicolas* the King's Steward, *William de Valence*, *Paulin Pijer*, *John Manfel*, *Philip Luvel*, &c. M. Paris. p. 774. M. West. p. 338. Rymer's Fœd. T. I. p. 447.

(9) This unjust and pernicious Project was set on foot by *Robert Passelew*, and the Inquisitors (for there were two, namely, *Laurence* of *St. Alban's* a Clerk, and *Geoffrey de Langley* a Knight) made nothing of ruining divers of the best Quality (especially in the North) for killing but a Deer or a Hare, though it were in the very Highway; and clapped up several Gentlemen in Prison for but muttering against their unjust Proceedings. M. Paris.

1250. Business in hand. Though he met at first with great opposition, by reason of the Youth and Insufficiency of the Person recommended, yet by his Promises and Threats he at last obtained his desire. The Pope, to please the King, failed not to confirm the Election, intending to ask him another favour in his turn (1).

The King of France taken Prisoner by the Saracens, which the Pope is blamed for. M. Paris, p. 793.

The sad news had now reached Europe, of the King of France's misfortune in falling into the hands of the Saracens, who detained him in Prison (2). All France openly charged the Pope with being the Cause of their Monarch's disgrace, by absolving for Money those that had taken the Cross, from performing their Vow. Amidst these murmurs, Innocent passed his time very uneasily at Lyons, dreading an attempt upon his Person. Even Charles and Alphonsa, Brothers of St. Lewis, came on purpose to upbraid him in an outrageous manner, and proceeded so far as to threaten him. To free himself from this troublesome State, and from the Complaints which perpetually founded in his Ears, he desired leave of the King of England to reside at Bourdeaux. Henry was willing enough to gratify him, but was prevented from doing it by the Remonstrances of the Clergy and Barons. They were apprehensive the Pope would pass from Bourdeaux into England, where his Company was by no means desired. So that the King delayed sending an answer, which the Pope took for what it was indeed, a civil denial.

The King returns no answer.

The Affairs of Sicily.

As I am soon to enter upon an affair which wholly employed Henry several years, I think my self obliged to shew, by way of digression, the Rise and Progress thereof. I mean, the Pope's Donation of the Kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, Son of our Henry. But to give such an Idea of this matter, as may serve for the better understanding the Sequel, it will be necessary, not only to see what passed in Italy at the time of this Donation, but also to take the thing from its first Original. This digression will not seem impertinent, when this unhappy affair will be seen hereafter to be a fertile Source of Oppressions upon the English, as well from their King as the Roman Pontiffs. Besides, it serves to discover three things, equally remarkable in the History of this Reign. First, the Character of Henry, and his Indiscretion to engage in the most difficult undertakings, without foreseeing the Obstacles. Secondly, The Authority assumed by the Popes in England, and their manifest abuse of it. Lastly, We shall see, this same affair was the chief occasion of the troubles in the end of this Reign. Though the Events I am going to relate, formerly made a great noise, and deserved the greater attention, yet as they belong not properly to the History of England, I shall abridge them as much as possible, and say no more than is absolutely necessary for the Sequel of this Reign.

Every one that is the least versed in the History of Europe, knows, that towards the close of the eleventh Century, some Norman Nobles, Sons of Tancred de Hauteville, conquered the Island of Sicily upon the Saracens, and Apulia, Calabria, and several other Southern Provinces of Italy, upon the Emperors of Constantinople. These first Conquerors, from a religious Principle, or some other motive, did Homage to the Pope for their Conquests, and made themselves Vassals and Feudatories to the Church of Rome, though she gave them nothing, nor had even promoted their undertakings. Whatever their Policy might be, in thus submitting voluntarily to the Holy See, it is a fact beyond all dispute. The Conquests of the Normans were at first divided into several Parts, whereof Sicily beyond the Faro, or the Island of Sicily, made a Kingdom of it self. The rest was divided into Dukedoms or Principalities, under the name of Sicily on this side the Faro, of which Calabria and Apulia were the chief. This is what was afterwards called the Kingdom of Naples. All these several Parts, I mean the two Sicilies, were at length reduced into one Kingdom, under Roger I, Tancred's youngest Son, who assumed the Title of King of Sicily. He had for Successor William I, his Son, surnam'd the Bad, to whom succeeded William II, his Son, called the Good, who distinguished him from his Father. William the Good dying without Issue, the Sicilians thought fit to place on the Throne Tancred base Son of Roger I, who added to the Title of his Predecessor, that of King of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Faro. It is necessary to observe, that by Sicily is meant sometimes the Island of Sicily alone, sometimes both the Sicilies together as making but one Kingdom.

Clement III, who sat in the Papal Chair in the time of Tancred, considered the Proceedings of the Sicilians as an Incroachment upon his Rights. He pretended that by the death of William the Good, without Heirs, the two Sicilies were devolved to the Holy See, and as Lord Paramount, he could dispose of them as he pleased. Mean time, as spiritual Weapons were incapable of dethroning a Prince in possession, Clement sent into Apulia, and Calabria, an Army, which at first made some progress. But death seizing him presently after, prevented him from pushing his Enterprize any further. Celestine III, his Successor, resolved to prosecute what his Predecessor had begun. But perceiving he could not compass his ends with his own Forces alone, he deemed it necessary to engage in this quarrel, some Prince who was able to support him. For that purpose, he invested the Emperor Henry VI with the two Sicilies, on condition of the Homage, to which the first Norman Kings had obliged themselves to the Roman Church. However, it was to be feared, so arbitrary an Act, especially in favour of a Foreigner, would exasperate the Sicilians, and attach them more firmly to Tancred. To prevent this Inconvenience, and give withal some colour of Justice to what he had done, he caused Constantia Daughter of Roger I, to be taken out of the Monastery of St. Saviour's at Palermo, of which she was Abbess (3). This Princess, who was then fifty years old, being brought to Rome, the Pope absolved her from all her Vows, and gave her in Marriage to Henry, thereby to add a more plausible Right to the Grant he had made that Monarch. Besides, by means of this Marriage, he hoped to sow among the Sicilians, Seeds of dissension, of which himself and the Emperor might make an Advantage. Henry supported by this additional Right, immediately headed his Army, and marched into Apulia, where however he made no great progress, by reason of the Pestilence that raged among his Troops, and of some other affairs which obliged him to return to Germany. So that Tancred kept the Crown of Sicily till his death in 1145. William III, his Son, succeeded him.

Henry no sooner heard of Tancred's death, but he marched back into Italy, and besieged the City of Naples, which made a vigorous defence. The resistance of the Neapolitans causing the Emperor to despair of accomplishing his undertaking by force, he resolved to use artifice. To that end, he proposed to the King of Sicily to decide their quarrel by a Treaty. William's apprehension of losing all his Dominions, made him readily consent to be dispossessed of a part, in order to purchase Peace, of a Competitor much more powerful than himself. By the Treaty it was agreed, the Emperor should have the Island of Sicily, and William, the Kingdom of Naples. Pursuant to this Agreement, Henry came to Palermo and was crowned. But whilst William was preparing to retire to his Kingdom, Henry seized his Person, and ordered him to be conducted to Germany, where this unfortunate Prince was deprived of his Sight, and castrated. Henry being thus without a Rival, took possession of the Kingdom of Naples, in spite of the endeavours of certain Lords of Norman Race to the contrary.

The Emperor's affairs being thus prosperous, he sent for his Empress, who was big with Child, though fifty two years old. Her time of delivery being come whilst she was on the Road, she staid at Gessi, a little Town on the Frontiers of Ancona, where she ordered all the Women of the Town, that had the Curiosity, to be Eye-witnesses of her delivery. To that purpose, she caused a Pavilion to be erected in the middle of the Market-place, where she was delivered of a Prince called Frederic. From that time, Henry kept possession of the two Sicilies till his death, which happened not before the year 1199.

This Monarch left his Son Frederic, aged eleven years, under the Guardianship of his Mother Constantia, who immediately caused him to be acknowledged King of the two Sicilies, and to be crowned two years after at Palermo. After that, he was invested by Innocent III, who was then Pope. Constantia his Mother dying three years after, left the Guardianship of her Son to Innocent, who governed the two Sicilies by a Cardinal during Frederic's Minority. This young Prince being arrived at fourteen years of age, married Constantia Daughter of Alphonsa IV, King of Castile, and two years after was elected Emperor, by the opposite Party to Otto of Saxony, whom the Pope had excommunicated. He could not however prevail with Innocent to set the Imperial Crown on his head, the Pope dread-

(1) About th's time, King Henry delivered the Great Seal to William de Kilkenni, a Man learned in the Civil and Canon-Law. M. Paris, p. 793.
 (2) He was taken in a Battle near Damettra, in which all the Knights Templars were slain, except three, and all the Knights Hospitaliers, except four. There fell likewise in the same Battle, the following Persons of Note, Ralph de Cuspy, Hugh Earl of Flanders, Hugh Brun Earl of Marche, the Earl of Pentreue, William Longsword, Robert de Vere, and about eight thousand two hundred Soldiers, or, according to others, eighty thousand. Id. p. 793.
 (3) Mezerai says, that Constantia was never a Nun; but Gio. Summonte Historian of Naples, assures us she was Abbess of St. Saviour's. Fazellus, Historian of Sicily, says that Pope Celestine absolved her from her Vows, and that this appears even from the Decrees of that Pope now in the Archives at Rome. Rabin.

ing it might be dangerous to the Holy See, to raise to the Empire a Prince of the House of *Suabia*, which had been so troublesome to his Predecessors. It was not till the year 1220, and after the death of *Otho*, that *Frederic* was crowned by *Honorius III.* *Constantia* his Wife died two years after, leaving him a Son called *Henry*, who in 1223 was elected King of the *Romans*. Afterwards he married *Yolante* Daughter of *John de Brienne*, titular King of *Jerusalem*, who died in 1228, leaving him a Son named *Conrade*. In fine, in 1235, *Frederic* took for his third Wife, *Isabella* of *England*, who died in 1241, having brought him two Princes, *Jordan* and *Henry*, the first of which died a Child.

Having mentioned this Emperor's several Marriages, the knowledge whereof is absolutely necessary, it is time to speak of his Contests with the Popes. Ever since *Richard* King of *England* quitted *Palestine*, the affairs of the Christians in those parts were in a very ill situation. The *Saracens* taking advantage of the coldness of the *Europeans*, with regard to the *Crusades*, made great progress, and the Christians never thought of forming any fresh attempts against them. *Honorius III.*, who sat in the Papal Chair in the beginning of the Reign of *Frederic II.*, desiring to retrieve the Christians losses in the *Holy Land*, published in the year 1224, a *Crusade*, in which infinite numbers of People of all conditions engaged. An Historian assures us, that above threescore thousand *English* took the Cross for this Expedition, of which *Frederic* was to be Head, both as Emperor, and as Son-in-law to *John de Brienne*, titular King of *Jerusalem*.

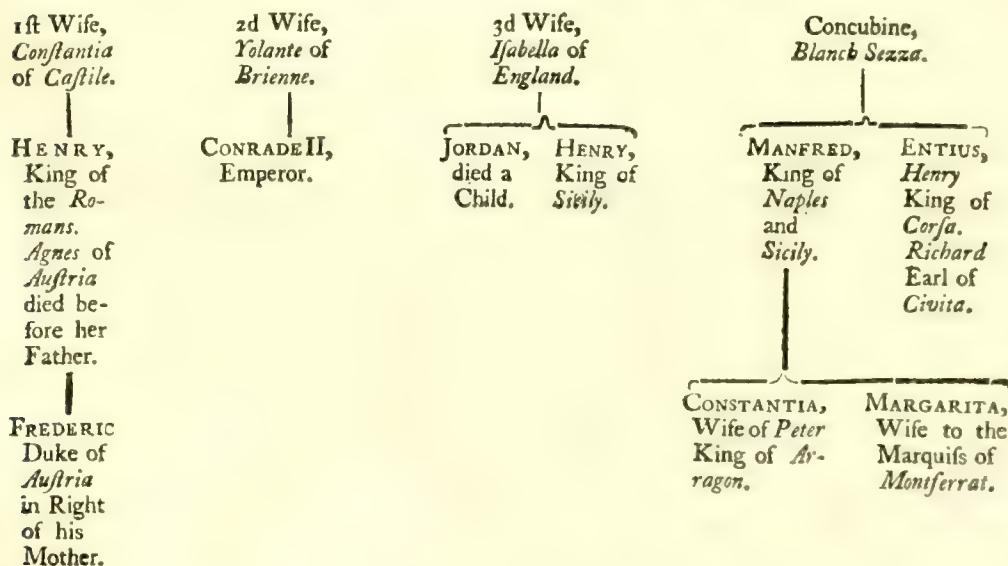
Whilst all *Europe* was preparing for this undertaking, some disputes unexpectedly arising between the Emperor and certain Cities of *Italy*, retarded that Prince's Preparations, who was willing to see an end of these Contests before his departure. *Gregory IX.*, Successor to *Honorius*, finding *Frederic* proceeded but slowly, in comparison of the other *Croises*, wrote him a Letter, exhorting him to persevere in his pious resolution. He represented to him, that the success of the *Crusade* depended on him, since the management was committed to his care. Mean time, the *Croises* of the several States of *Europe*, repaired in multitudes to the *Holy Land*, expecting to be soon followed by their General. But *Frederic* chose rather to employ his Forces against the revolted Cities of *Italy*, than against the *Saracens*. Nevertheless, as he was earnestly pressed by the Pope, he pretended to prepare indeed, and even went and embarked at *Brindisi*. But after being three days at Sea, he sailed back to Land, on pretence of a sudden Illness, which he feigned to be seized with, as most Historians affirm. This news reaching *Palestine*, above forty thousand of the *Croises* who were gone before, returned in the same Ships that brought them thither. The Pope enraged to see so fair an opportunity lost by the Emperor's fault, as he pretended, publicly excommunicated him, and sent the Bull of Excommunication to all the Princes of *Christendom* to be published in their Dominions. All the

World however does not think the Pope's Severity to *Frederic*, proceeded from the sole motive of Religion. Some affirm, it was only a pretence to break the Emperor's measures in *Italy*, in favour of the revolted Cities, which were privately countenanced by the Court of *Rome*. Be this as it will, it gave birth to a quarrel which occasioned innumerable Calamities to *Europe*, and particularly to *Italy*. *Frederic*, incensed at the Pope's Proceedings, took care to justify his Conduct to all the Potentates of *Europe*, by Letters wherein the Pope was severely handled. But he was not satisfied with so slight a revenge. By means of a powerful Party in *Rome*, he expelled *Gregory* thence, and forced him to take refuge at *Perugia*. However, to shew his Illness was the sole cause of his delay, and consequently the Excommunication denounced upon him was unjust and rash, he set out the next year for *Palestine*. The progress of his Arms in that Country was so great and rapid, that in a short time he compelled the *Sultan* of *Egypt* to deliver up *Jerusalem*. He would have pushed his Conquests farther, if the Knights Hospitallars, who were gained by the Pope, had not laid obstacles in his way by their daily Plots against him. On the other hand, *Gregory*, offended that the Emperor regardless of his Censure, should dare to undertake this Expedition, before he was reconciled to the Church, and without making, as he charged him, Preparations suitable of so great an undertaking, renewed his Excommunication, for two contrary faults. First, for too long deferring his departure. Secondly, for departing too soon. But the Pope, not content with attacking him with Spiritual, employed likewise Temporal Arms. He sent *John de Brienne*, Father-in-law to *Frederic*, at the head of an Army, into the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the title of *Vicar of the Holy See*, to wrest from his Son-in-law that part of his Dominions.

The quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope still increasing, all the Cities of *Italy* sided with one or other. Then were formed the two Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, which so long harassed that Country, the former for the Pope, the latter for the Emperor. It will be needless to relate here the bloody Wars that ensued. Wars, which frequently gave occasion to think, that zeal for Religion was not the principal motive of the *Roman* Pontiffs. It suffices to say in two words, that *Gregory's* Successors easily pursued his Project of wresting from *Frederic* not only the *Sicilies*, but all *Italy*, and the Empire itself. In fine, *Innocent IV.*, having publicly deposed him in the Council of *Lyons*, caused *William* Earl of *Holland* to be elected Emperor in his place. But, notwithstanding this pretended deposition, *Frederic* kept possession of the Throne till his death, about the end of the year 1250.

To give a distinct notion of the affairs of *Sicily*, wherein *England* will presently be concerned, it may not be amiss to add here, part of the Genealogy of the Family of *Frederic II.*, extracted from the History of *Naples*, by *Giovanne Summonte*.

FREDERIC II. Emperor.



The same day *Frederic* died, he made a Will, and left *Austria* to *Frederic* his Grandson, of which the young Prince was already in possession, in Right of his Mother. To *Conrade* his second Son, he gave the Kingdom of *Naples* or *Sicily* on this side the *Faro*, upon this condition, that if *Conrade* died without Issue, his Brother *Henry*, Son of *Isabella* of *England*, should succeed him, and in case he

died also without Heirs, *Manfred* his Bastard Son should inherit. This same *Henry*, Son of his third Wife, was to be King of the Island of *Sicily*, and *Manfred* his natural Son was to have the Principality of *Tarentum*, with the Regency of the two Kingdoms, namely, of the first, in the Absence of *Conrade*; and of the second, during *Henry's* Minority.

As soon as *Frederic* was in his Grave, *Manfred* would have taken possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the name of *Conrade*. But the Pope's Party were so powerful, when they had nothing more to fear from the Emperor, that the principal Cities, as *Naples* and *Capa*, shut their Gates against him. This resistance forced him to call his Brother *Conrade* into *Italy*, who upon *Frederic's* death assumed the title of Emperor, though *William* Earl of *Holland* was acknowledged by the Pope and his Party. Upon the arrival of *Conrade*, things had another face, and he made the *Neapolitans* often repent of espousing the Pope's quarrel. Mean time, *Innocent* used all possible means to stop his progress. He thundered his Censures against *Conrade*, as he had done against *Frederic* his Father, and by aiding the *Guelfs* his Adherents, he kept up the War in *Italy*, in expectation of a more favorable Juncture. Here I shall end this long digression, which I hope will not be deemed needless, when we come to see how far *England* was concerned in this quarrel. But to return to our History.

1251
First instance
of the Clause
Non-obstante
in the
King's Or-
ders.
M. Paris
p. 810.
M. West.

The year 1251 was ushered in with the first Instance of the Clause of *Non-obstante* in the Orders of the King, in imitation of the Pope, who used it long since in his Bulls. The Bishop of *Carlisle* having a Law-Suit (1) with a certain Baron of his Diocese, and being obliged to go to *France*, obtained an Order from the King, that the Suit should be stopt till his return. But, during his absence, his Adversary found means to obtain a second Order with this Clause, *Non-obstante*, or *Notwithstanding the former Order, the Baron's Cause should not be delayed* (2).

Besides the Principles of arbitrary Power, instilled by *Hubert de Burgh* and the Bishop of *Winchester* into *Henry* in his Youth, and which he usually made the rule of his Conduct, he had moreover another reason to induce him to have but little regard for his Subjects. This was the consideration of the Advantages gained by the Earl of *Leicester* over the Rebels of *Guienne*. Ever since the Earl was Governor of that Province, he had served his master so faithfully, that in all appearance, he would have nothing to fear for some time, from the Inconstancy of the *Gascons*. As *Henry* was soon daunted, so a very small matter sufficed to raise his Courage. The Chastisement of the *Gascons* making him imagine, their Example would keep the *English* in awe, he fancied for the future he might use them as he pleased. Accordingly, without regarding the continual murmurs of the Barons, on account of the Preference given to Foreigners, he affected to receive, with excessive Civilities, *Guy de Lusignan* his half Brother, whom the Earl of *Leicester* brought with him, when he came to acquaint him with what was done in *Guienne*. He made him such considerable Presents, that they would have appeared extravagant, even though he had abounded in riches. These things caused the Barons to redouble their Complaints. They could not bear that the King should give so many Marks of his Affection to Foreigners, whilst he slighted his own native Subjects.

Henry's wants, and his little prospect of drawing a Supply from the Parliament, made him forget his Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. But, on a sudden, he was admonished by a Letter from the Pope, that it was time to perform his Vow. He was then at *York*, celebrating the Nuptials of the Princess *Margaret* his Daughter, with the young King of *Scotland* (3). This Wedding was not the sole motive of his being at *York*. As the Prince his Son-in-law was very young, he hoped to persuade him to do Homage for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was very urgent with him, but the young Prince excused himself very handsomely. He represented to him, that he was come to *York* to be married, and not to debate an affair of that nature, liable to many difficulties, and upon which he could determine nothing, without consulting the States of his Kingdom. However, he did the customary Homage for the Lands held of the Crown of *England* (4). Whether *Henry* thought his Pretensions were not well-grounded, or was unwilling to disturb the Nuptial-Feast, by insisting on his demand, the affair went no farther. We shall see in the next Reign, that these same Pretensions were the ground of a bloody War between *England* and *Scotland* (5).

This Interview ending to the Satisfaction of the two Kings, *Henry* seemed willing to prepare in good earnest

for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. As Money was the most necessary Preparation, he took occasion from this Voyage to extort great Sums from the *Jews*, nor were his Christian Subjects less spared. But what could be obtained by these means; was not sufficient to enable him to make an Expedition to the East, worthy a Successor of *Richard*, whose Memory was still fresh among the *Saracens*.

Whilst the King was employed in preparing for his pretended Voyage, there came Deputies from the *Gascons*, complaining of being unjustly oppressed by the Earl of *Leicester*. The Earl hearing of these Complaints, went to the King to justify himself, and denied whatever was laid to his charge: Adding, he could not but wonder, that the King should give ear to the frivolous Complaints of the rebellious *Gascons*, against one that had served him so faithfully, and spent all his Estate in a Post where others were wont to enrich themselves. *Henry* replied, he gave no Credit to these Accusations; on the contrary, to make his Innocence the more conspicuous, he was resolved to send Commissioners into *Guienne* (6), to take Informations concerning the behaviour of the *Gascons*. Mean time, to convince him, that these Accusations had made no ill Impressions on him, he furnished him with Money, and ordered him to prepare to return to *Guienne*.

Before the Earl was ready to depart, the *Gascons* being informed of the King's design to send him back, deputed the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to renew their Complaints. Whilst the Archbishop was at *London*, the Commissioners, that were sent to *Guienne*, returned (7). They reported, that indeed the Earl of *Leicester* had treated a little severely some Lords of that Country; but however, had only used them according to their deserts. Though *Leicester* was fully cleared by these reports, yet the King was persuaded by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, that if the Earl returned to *Guienne*, nay; if he was not punished, that Province would be irrecoverably lost to the Crown of *England*. This Notion was so deeply imprinted on the King's mind; that, to secure the Allegiance of the *Gascons*, he resolved to sacrifice their Governor to their resentment. To that purpose, he ordered their Accusation to be brought before the Peers, not questioning but he should have Interest enough to get him condemned. Mean time, *Leicester*, though surprized at the King's sudden Change, was not idle. He found means to gain Prince *Richard*, the Earl of *Glocester*, and several other Lords of great Credit, who promised to support him. Upon this Assurance he appeared in Court, and vindicated himself with such Strength and Evidence, that the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* was at a loss how to maintain his Accusation. Besides, whenever he offered to speak, in defence of what he advanced, he saw the principal Lords always ready to improve their Friend's Arguments. The King, perceiving the affair was like to end contrary to his Expectation, could not help shewing his uneasiness, and even dropping some Expressions very injurious to the Party accused. As the Earl of *Leicester*, not content with justifying his Actions, boasted moreover of his Services, and boldly called upon the King to perform his Royal Word, by rewarding him according to his Promise, *Henry* sharply replied, *He did not think himself obliged to keep his Word with a Traytor*. This answer had such an effect on the Earl, who was in a Passion before, that not considering he was speaking to his Sovereign, he told him, *He lied: and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words*. Then after some insolent Expressions, added, *That it was hard to believe such a Prince was a Christian, or had ever been at Confession*. Yes, answered the King, *I am a Christian, and have often been at Confession*. What signifies Confession, replied the Earl, without Repentance? I never repented any thing so much, said the King, as the bestowing my Favours on one that has so little Gratitude, and so much ill-manners. After this, he would have apprehended him, but finding the Earl's Friends were ready to oppose it, he was seized with fear, and durst not execute his design. Nay, he suffered them to speak in the Earl's behalf, and without being revenged for the Affront he had received, he was contented with a slight Satisfaction, and was outwardly reconciled to him. However, the Earl's Insolence made so deep an Impres-

Henry
punishes the
English.
M. Paris,
p. 816.

Return of
Guy de Lu-
signan the
King's half
Brother,
whom he
loads with
Presents.

Intervew
of the Kings
of England
and Scot-
land.
Id. p. 829.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 466.
Alexander
marries the
Princess
Margaret.
C. Mailles.
An. Burton.
Henry
presses him
to do Ho-
mage for all
Scotland;
which he
refuses.

1252.
The King ex-
tracts Money
from the
Jews.
M. Paris.

- (1) About a Manor bought of a Baron by the Bishop's Predecessor, which the Baron would have recovered again. M. Paris, p. 810.
(2) After this, those Writs or Orders, with that detestable Addition of *Non-obstante*, became very frequent, which being observed by Roger de *Thurkeby*, one of the King's Justices, he says with a deep Sigh, *Alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold, the Civil Court is corrupted in imitation of the Ecclesiastical, and the River is polluted from that Fountain*. Id. p. 311. This is the Original and Rule of *Non-obstante's* in the King's Writs and Charters. *Tyrrel* observes, that this is omitted by Dr. Brady.
(3) On Christmas Day, King Alexander III. was knighted by *Henry*, and married early next Morning. M. Paris, p. 829. Rymer. T. I. p. 467.
(4) For *Laioian* and other Lands. M. Paris, p. 829.
(5) This Year part of *Wales* was wholly subdued, and received the *English* Laws, and that part of it which borders upon *Cheshire* was committed to the Government of *Alan de Zouche* who answered to the King eleven hundred Marks a Year. Id. p. 316 --- This Year also, February 17, a Parliament was held at *London*. Id. p. 814.
(6) He sent privately *Henry de Wingham* to examine into his Actions and Behaviour. Id. p. 832.
(7) The Earl of *Leicester* was gone over to *Guienne*, some time before the Archbishop of *Bordeaux's* Arrival, and upon News of this fresh Accusation, speedily returned to *England* again. Id. p. 836.

1252.

The Gascons
complain of
the Earl of
Leicester,
who vindic-
ates himself
M. Paris.

But the King
sends Com-
missioners in-
to Guienne.
M. Paris.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 474.

The Archb-
ishop of
Bordeaux
renews the
Complaint a-
gainst Lei-
cester.
M. Paris.
p. 836.

The King re-
solves to sa-
crifice him.

Has him tri-
ed by his
Peers.

The King
calls him
Traytor.

He grows so
King the
Earl.

The King
durst not ap-
prehend him,
and is recon-
ciled to him.

*Mutual Ani-
mosity be-
tween the
King and
his Subjects.*

*He attacks
L. and
again, but
in vain.*
Id. p. 853.

1253.
It is in-
re-
ly governed
by For-
resters.

The Range
of Foreign
extends to
M. Tatin.
p. 249.

47. . . .
S. . . .

A7 Pub.
T. 1. 2 + 6.

(9) When the Karl heard of the King's design, he said, "I am very well satisfied, the King would destroy me to enrich some *Poore* or *Poore*." "with my Earldom." *Id.* p. 844.

compulsed his end, he imagined that by offering the Crown or *liefdom* to some rich Prince, he should easily persuade him to supply what ever was necessary for the Conquest. Of all the Princes in *Europe* on whom he cast his Eyes, he saw none better qualified to embark in this Undertaking than *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, Brother to the King of *England*. Besides that this Prince was master of a large Estate, which he knew how to manage better than the King his Brother, it was very likely he would be dazzled with the Lustre of a Crown, That of *England* seeming to be too remote from him, as the King had two Sons. This resolution being taken, *Innocent* dispatched one *Albert* as his Nuncio, to offer him the Crown of *Sicily*, on condition he would wrest it from the Sons of *Frederic*. *Richard* rejected not the Proposal; but insisted on certain previous Articles, which the Pope did not relish. I. That the Conquest of *Sicily* should be carried on at his and the Pope's joint Charges. II. That *Innocent* should deliver him up certain places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as well for his Security, as to serve for Magazines. III. That he should give him Hostages for the performance of his word. These Terms agreed not at all with the Pope's designs. He was in hopes *Richard*, deeming the bare Grant of *Sicily* as a singular Favour, would engage to supply what Money was necessary for the Conquest, and rely on the word of him that made him so noble a Prefect. But when he saw the Prince was not willing to be his Dupe, and seemed to understand his own Interest too well, he dropped the Project, and recalled his Nuncio. This Negotiation not having the effect he expected, he was obliged to continue the War at his own expence, till he could engage in the Undertaking a more easy and less wary Prince.

Henry thought he had prevented the Revolt of the *Gajens* by removing the Earl of *Leicester* from the Government of *Guienne*. But it was not long before he perceived, the Vigilance of that Earl, which they considered as an insuperable Obstacle to their pernicious designs, to be the real motive of their Complaints. *Leicester* had no sooner resigned his Patent (1), but a Plot was discovered in *Guienne*, to deliver that Province to the King of *Castile*. Though that Prince had never before made known his Pretensions to *Guienne*, when he saw his Party strengthened by the Earl of *Leicester*'s Retreat, he began openly to declare himself. He pretended a Grant of that Country from *Henry* II, confirmed by *Richard* and *John*. It is true indeed, these Charters were never produced. But he had artfully persuaded some discontented Lords, that they were in his hands. Upon this foundation, he formed in *Guienne* a powerful Party, of which *Gaston de Moncade*, Viscount of *Bearn*, was head. It is very likely, *Henry*'s want of Courage inspired the King of *Castile* with the thoughts of becoming master of *Guienne* upon this frivolous title. At least, he believed he had reason to hope, that, either by Arms, or by way of Treaty, he should procure some part of that Province. Be this as it will, these Pretensions, though apparently very weak, raised Commotions in *Guienne*, which made *Henry* often repent of removing the Earl of *Leicester*. In short, the Male-content, aided by the King of *Castile*, made such progress, that *Henry* was forced to go in Person to save the Country. But there was occasion for Money, and it was in vain to alledge the war in *Guienne*, to procure any from his Subjects, who were too much dissatisfied with all his warlike Expeditions, to be prevailed upon by that Consideration. It seemed therefore more expedient to keep to his old pretence, namely, his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, because Religion was therein concerned. As soon as the Parliament, called upon that account, was met (2), the King demanded a large Sum to enable him to accomplish his Vow. He represented, that having been hitherto under an impossibility of undertaking the Voyage, the Christians of *Palestine* must have been great Sufferers by these delays.

Though the Barons were fully convinced, the King did not intend to go to the *Holy-Land*, they were afraid however of giving him some advantage, in case they refused the Supply demanded on so plausible a pretence. They resolved therefore to grant an Aid, but clogged with Conditions, from whence they expected some Benefit, whether the King executed his Project, or, as was suspected, applied the Money to other uses. This resolution being taken, they sent Deputies to him with their answer, the Substance of which was, That in case he would leave to the Churches the freedom of Elections, and sincerely observe the King his Father's Charters, they would do their utmost to content him. *Henry*, who expected this Message, was prepared with an answer. He told them, he owned that on certain occasions he had carried the Prerogative-Royal a little too far; but was firmly resolved never to be guilty of the like fault again. Adding, they might be assured, the Charters of King *John* should be punctually kept. Then addressing himself to such of the Deputies as were of the Clergy (3), he bid them consider, that among the Prelates who then governed the Church of *England*, there were few but what were promoted to their Dignities, by means of that Prerogative Royal they complained of. He asked them, whether they themselves, at the time of their Elections, would have wished for that freedom they now so earnestly demanded? He continued to say, since they desired him to correct what was amiss in the Government, they themselves ought to set him a good Example, and resign their Bishopricks and Abbies acquired by illegal ways, and he promised them, their Places should be filled with none but Persons of Learning and Probity. The Prelates being confounded at this sharp reproof, had nothing to reply, but that the Business at present was not to undo what was past, but to prevent the like Evils for the future. As the King's sole aim was to draw Money from the Parliament, he did not push matters any farther. Content with having a little mortified the Clergy, he said, he was ready to join with the Parliament in all necessary measures to redress the Grievances. Upon these Assurances the Clergy granted him the Tenth of their Revenues for three years, and the Barons, three Marks of every Knight's Fee held immediately of the Crown.

The King's Promise to observe the Charters, was too express not to be executed. Accordingly, without any Solicitation, he convened (4), in the great Hall of the Palace of *Westminster*, an Assembly, at which were present all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with lighted Tapers in their hands. The King would not hold one, saying, he would lay his hand upon his Heart, during the whole Ceremony, to show he sincerely consented to what was going to be pronounced. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* standing up before all the People, denounced a terrible Curse against all, that for the future, should oppose directly or indirectly the observance of the two Charters; and likewise, against those that should any way violate, diminish, or alter the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom. This Anathema being denounced, the two Charters were read aloud, and confirmed by the King, who kept his hand all the while on his Breast (5). This done, every one threw down his Taper upon the ground, and wished that those who violated the Charters might thus smoke in Hell.

Who would not have thought that the King's Assent to a Curse so solemnly denounced, was an undoubted Proof of his Intent religiously to keep his Promise? Perhaps he really intended it when he laid his hand upon his Heart. However, the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he fell to contriving all possible means to break through it. Besides that he was naturally incontinent, and not over scrupulous, it is said, he was persuaded to this resolution, by some of his Favorites, who told him he would be but the Shadow of a King, as long as these Charters were in force. But as they perceived he was restrained by the consideration of his Oath, they advised him to apply to the Pope, intimating, that for two or three hundred Marks it would be easy to get it annulled. This weak Prince, who generally followed the most pernicious Counsels, embraced this immediately. It was agreeable to his Inclinations, and that was sufficient to cause him to trample upon what Honour and Religion required of him, and to hinder him from reflecting on the ensuing Michiefs. But, if it be strange, this Prince should so little regard his Word and Oath, there is no less reason to be surprized, that such Principles should be authorized by the common Practice of him who styles himself *Christ's Vicar*.

Mean time, *Henry* laid out, in the Preparations for the war in *Guienne*, the Money granted by the Parliament for the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. When all was ready, he came to *Portsmouth*, where his Troops were ordered to meet him. Then leaving the Regency to the Queen and Prince *Richard*, he set sail (6) attended by a great number of Lords, who being his military Tenants, were obliged to that Service. Upon his Arrival at *Bordeaux*, he headed

(1) The King bought out the remainder of his Term (which was three Years,) and gave him Security for the Money. *M. Paris*.

(2) A fortnight after *Easter*. *Id.* p. 865.

(3) They were all of the Clergy, *viz.* The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Carlisle*, *Salisbury*, and *Exeter* Bishop elect of *Winchester*, who were sent by the bishops and all the Prelates, says *M. Paris*, p. 866.

(4) *Id.* says *M. Paris*. But the *Ann. Burton* say it was the 13th. p. 323. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. I. p. 489.

(5) And said after all was performed, *So may G O D help me, I will manfully observe all these things, as I am a Man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, as I am a crowned and anointed King.* *M. Paris* seems to intimate only the Bishops had Tapers in their hands, for he makes the King say he would not hold one, because he was no Priest. p. 867.

(6) *Id.* August 6, and arrived at *Bordeaux* the 15. *Id.* *M. Paris*, p. 868.

1253. his Army and besieged *Reze* Castle then in the hands of the Rebels. As they depended upon the King's usual Indulgence, they neglected to fortify the places they had seized. By which means he easily became master, not only of this, but of all the other Castles that were in their power. Mean while the King of *Castile* neglecting to support his Adherents, *Henry* imagined he waited for his departure to raise fresh Commotions in the Province, and was afraid that would be always the Case. This Belief made him very uneasy, because, to prevent his Enemy's designs he saw himself obliged to keep a standing Army in *Guienne*, without having wherewithal to maintain it. To free himself from this difficulty, he dispatched an Ambassador to *Spain*, with Orders to propose a Marriage between *Edward* his eldest Son, and *Eleanor* Sister (1) of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*. *Alphonso* found there was no likelihood of his becoming master of *Guienne*, since the arrival of the *English* Succours. Besides, he considered, the Marriage proposed was very advantageous for the Princess his Sister. Accordingly, without much Solicitation, he agreed to it, and thereupon, resigned to Prince *Edward* all his Pretensions to *Guienne* (2). This affair was transacted with great Secrecy, *Henry* intending to use the pretence of the war to obtain a fresh Supply from the Parliament. Mean time, the Earl of *Leicester*, who was retired into *France* (3), finding *Henry* engaged in a War with the *Gascans*, levied some Troops at his own Charge, and came and offered his Service. The arrival of the Earl, and the report of a private Treaty between *Alphonso* and the King, frightened the Rebels, and caused them to return to their Allegiance.

Demands
Liege of
Castile in
Marriage
for France
Edward.
Act. Pub.
T. 1. p. 491.
498-531.
M. Paris.
p. 889.
The Match
concluded.

Arrival of
Liege of
Castile in
Marriage
for France
Edward.
Act. Pub.
T. 1. p. 491.
498-531.
M. Paris.
p. 889.

1254.
Henry tries
to
get
Money
from
the
Parliament
on
pretence
of
the
War
in
Guienne.
M. Paris.

M. Paris.
p. 881.
M. Weit.

He extorts
Money
from
the
Jews.
M. Paris.
p. 887.
M. Weit.

Marriage
of
Prince
Edward.
M. Paris.
p. 889, 890.
M. Weit.

Id. p. 895,
898.
M. Weit.

He exacts
Money
from
London.
M. Paris.
p. 901.

give on the like occasions. But as he did not seem satisfied, they gave him moreover a rich piece of Plate of exquisite Workmanship, with which he was content. This did not hinder him however from embracing an opportunity, a few days after, to draw from the City a more considerable Sum. A certain Priest accused of Murder, of springing out of *Neugate*, where the Bishop had confined him, the City was amerced in no less than three thousand (1) Marks as a Punishment for its neglect. This Sentence was deemed the more unjust, as it was proved by good Evidence, that the Bishop's Officers themselves favoured the Prisoner's escape (12).

I left the Emperor *Conrade* and Pope *Innocent* very hotly engaged in War. The Pope at length departed from *Lyons* to repair to *Genoa*, from whence he designed to go and relieve the City of *Naples*, closely besieged by *Conrade*. But this resolution being taken too late, the Emperor had time to make himself master of the Capital, and afterwards of all the rest of the Kingdom. This fortunate Success inspired him with the thoughts of seizing likewise the Island of *Sicily*, and, if certain Historians may be credited, he accomplished this design by a notorious Treachery. It is said, that alluring to *Alaphi* young *Henry* his Brother, to whom *Frederic* II bequeathed *Sicily*, he caused him to be murdered. This Prince, says an Historian of *Naples*, of all *Frederic's* Sons, was the worthiest and most hopeful.

Before the death of the young Prince, the Pope, who saw his affairs in great confusion by *Conrade's* Progress, dispatched to *England* the same *Abbot* before spoken of, to offer the King the Crown of the two *Sicilies*. But *Henry* rejected this offer on the account of his Nephew, whom he was unwilling to depose. *Innocent* not succeeding in this Project, took occasion from the death of the King of *Sicily*, to renew *Conrade's* Excommunication, whom he charged with the murder of his Brother. But the Emperor, whether he was innocent, or thought it would be difficult to convict him of this Crime, boldly denied it. Nay, he wrote to the King of *England* to acquaint him with the death of the young Prince, and to express his extreme Grief thereat. This is not a proper place to examine whether his Sorrow was sincere. It suffices to observe, that in case he were guilty of the murder, he did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Treachery. He died five months after, poisoned, as was said, by a Physician bribed by *Manfred* his bastard Brother. Far from suspecting the hand which gave him his death, he left the Guardianship of his Son *Conradin* to the same *Manfred*.

The death of *Conrade* in 1253, entirely changed the face of affairs in the two *Sicilies*. *Manfred* under colour of acting for his Pupil, who was in *Germany*, formed the Project of becoming master of the two Kingdoms. But he found so many difficulties, that he was forced to conceal his design till a more favorable opportunity. Mean time *Innocent*, who then resided at *Perusia*, headed an Army, and marched into the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the People declared in his favour. *Manfred* himself, finding there was no opposing the Torrent, went to him at *Naples*. When he came there, he so artfully dissembled, that the Pope, thinking him really in his Interests, admitted him to all his Councils, and confirmed to him the Emperor his Father's Grant of the Principality of *Tarentum*. *Manfred*, finding himself thus in the Pope's favour, began to contrive how to make it subservient to his designs. To that end, he advised him to disperse his Troops all over the Kingdom, and backed his advice with two reasons, by which *Innocent* suffered himself to be ensnared. The first was, the necessity of easing the Inhabitants of *Naples*, left being too much burthened, they should think of revolting. His other reason was grounded upon its being no less important to keep in awe the *Germans*, left by *Conrade* in the Country, under the Command of two *Bavarian* Princes. This Strategem succeeding to his wish, he turned to the two *German* Princes, who probably, were no more difficult to be deceived than the Pope. By means of some secret Emisaries, he intimated to them, that he was a Friend of *Conradin's*

1254

S. 125

Conradin

Manfred

Henry III

M. Paris

Conradin

Manfred

He is per-
suaded by
Manfred.

M. Paris.

Innocent IV.

Master of
the Kingdom

Naples

He is per-
suaded by
Manfred.

(1) *Rapin* by mistake says, Daughter. See M. Paris, p. 765.

(2) The Bishop of *Bar* and *Jehan Manjel* his special Chaplains, were the Agents in this affair, and brought back a Charter sealed with a golden Seal: Which is now to be seen in the King's Archives, in the old Chapter-House at *Wimborne*; and is inserted in *Rymer's Fæd.* T. 1. p. 531.

(3) Where it is said he generously refused the offer of being High-Steward of France. M. Paris.

(4) Which was *January 27.* Id. p. 881.

(5) Which was attempted again, in order to be pressed to grant an Aid. Id. p. 887.

(6) She sailed from *Portsmouth*, May 29. Id. p. 889.

(7) And likewise the City and Towns of *Bristol*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. M. Paris. Before the King's return, upon stating his Account, it appeared that the Expences of his Expeditions amounted to twenty thousand seven hundred Pounds, besides Lances, Wardship, &c. given to Foreigners, and thirty thousand and two hundred Marks spent upon his *English* Brothers. Being told, says *Manfred*, Paris, of this great Expence by one about him, he replied, *Ob, for the head of God, fly no more from it, lest the very Relations make men stand amazed.* M. Paris. p. 938.

(8) Four hundred thousand Livres.

(9) *Henry* was attended by a thousand brave Horse with noble Riders, and there were with him his own Queen and his Sister the Countess of *Constance*, who were met by the Queen of *France* and her Sister the Countess of *Artois*. Thither came also the old Countess of *Artois*, Mother to all these Ladies. M. Paris, p. 900.

(10) He landed at *Dover*, about a Week after *Christmas*. M. Paris, p. 901. December 27. T. *Wales*, p. 50.

(11) *Rapin* by mistake says three hundred. See M. Paris, p. 913.

(12) This Year King *Henry* appointed several of the most considerable Abbots, of *St. Augustin's* Order, to be Justices itinerant. Id. p. 895. - And constituted *Henry de Wingham* Keeper of the Great Seal, in the room of *William de Kilkenny*. Id. p. 901.

1254. and only feigned out of Policy to adhere to the Pope. Then he magnified the Pope's Forces in the Kingdom, and advised them to go to Germany for Recruits. What farther induced these two Princes to follow his Advice, was the Assurance he gave them, that in their absence he would take care of their Troops. He told them, he would undertake to engage the Pope to furnish them with Necessaries, in expectation of sending them back to Germany, and in the mean time, would prolong the Negotiation till their return. By this double advice *Manfred* weakened the Pope's Forces, by causing him to disperse them, and freed himself from the troublesome Presence of the two German Princes, keeping their Troops to be employed upon occasion.

The Army brought by *Innocent* into the Kingdom of Naples, could not be maintained without a great Expence, which he could not long bear. Apprehensive as he was, that his Troops would quickly disband themselves, if he did not find Money to pay them, he made a fresh attempt upon the King of England, and with better Success than before. Under pretence of informing *Henry* of the circumstances of his Nephew the King of Sicily's death, he sent a Nuncio, to offer him in his name the Crown of the two Sicilies for Prince *Edmund* his second Son. He represented to him, that his scruples were no longer seasonable, since the death of the young King his Nephew: That besides, he ought to consider this Offer as a very particular mark of his Esteem and Affection, which any Prince in Europe would think a great Honour. In short, that a Crown was a Present to be accepted without much deliberation. These tempting Offers had the desired Effect. *Henry*, without consulting his Brother, or the Parliament, from whom he was to expect the necessary Aids for this undertaking, accepted this imaginary Present, with all thankfulness. From that moment he caused Prince *Edmund* to assume the title of King of Sicily. After this unwary Prince was rashly engaged in this affair, he had never the Power or Prudence to get clear of the Snares laid for him by the Pope on that pretence. *Innocent* told him, that with an inconsiderable Sum of Money, he would have the satisfaction to see, in a short time, his second Son on the Throne; and a Crown, like that of Sicily, was well worth taking some pains to obtain. Pleased with these flattering hopes, *Henry* readily sent the Pope all his own Money, all that the Prince his Brother would lend him, and all that he could extort from the Jews or his other Subjects, by means of itinerant Justices sent into every County. But this not sufficing to satisfy the Pope, he was so very imprudent, as to oblige himself, under pain of being excommunicated and deprived of the Royal Dignity, to pay all such Sums as the Pope should borrow, for accomplishing their Enterprize. *Innocent*, impowered in this unlimited manner, spared not his Friend's Purse. By borrowings, real or pretended, he engaged him so deeply, that his ordinary Revenue could not possibly answer the expence. This put him frequently under a necessity of making such Demands upon the Parliament, as rendered him daily more odious to his Subjects. But he was so fond of this affair, that he regarded not the Complaints and Murmurs of the People, as long as he thought to find the necessary Money for executing his Project.

Innocent was very sensible, it was not in the King's Power to perform his Engagements. But he hoped, by using the Plenitude of his Apostolical Authority, to furnish him with means sufficient to get Money from his Subjects. The first of these means was a Bull directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Chichester, empowering them to borrow Money of Persons of all conditions, in the name of the Church of Rome, with Orders to pay what Sums should be thus raised into the King's hands. It is easy to see, the Pope made use of the name of the Church of Rome, because he knew no body would lend the King Money; and because the Church had it in her power to compel People, Ecclesiasticks at least, to lend their Money, which the King could not do.

The Voyage to the Holy Land furnished the Pope with a pretence to grant the King two Tenths upon the Clergy. But withal he commanded the Money to be deposited in a safe Place, from whence it could not be taken but by his orders. He pretended it was to prevent the King from putting it to any other use than the Expedition to Palestine. But in reality these Sums were designed for the projected Conquest of Sicily. By a third Bull, he granted the King a twentieth part of the Church's Revenue in Scotland, provided the Money could be raised without giving offence. Mean time, as he had himself engaged to contribute to the charges of this intended Conquest, he promised to be answerable to Prince *Edmund* for a hundred thousand French Livres, half whereof should be

paid upon his arrival at Lyons. A mighty Contribution towards an Enterprize of this nature! However, the obligation was clogged with this Clause, unless the Pope should have occasion for the Money himself for the Defence of the Holy See.

What care soever the Pope took to procure the King Money, he was afraid it would not suffice, or the King would vainly lavish away the Treasure he should raise. For this reason he admonished him by a Letter, to retrench all superfluous Expences, not excepting those designed for pious uses, because the Conquest of Sicily was above all works of Charity. Though *Edmund* as yet enjoyed only an empty Title, the King his Father, blinded with the hopes instilled by the Pope, considered this young Prince, as the real Monarch of the two Sicilies. In this belief, he caused him to give, by an authentick Patent, to *Thomas* Earl of Savoy the Queen's Uncle, the Principality of Capua, which, like the rest of the Kingdom, was still in dispute between the Pope and *Conradin*. But though the Pope seemed to divest himself of this Kingdom in favour of *Edmund*, he suffered him not however to dispose of any thing without his Consent. There are in the Collection of the Publick Acts, several Grants made by the Pope, in this same Kingdom, to the Marquis of Hohenburch his General, and others.

Whilst the Pope continued his Negotiations in England with all possible Secrecy, for fear of alarming the Sicilians, *Manfred* the Baitard was taking measures at Naples to procure the Crown of the two Sicilies. He practised upon the German Troops brought thither by the Emperor *Conrad*, and secured the assistance of the Saracens who were very numerous in the two Kingdoms. As soon as matters were ripe, he waited an opportunity to declare himself openly, and it was not long before one offered. Having killed a Man that affronted him at the Pope's Court, and being obliged to abscond, he was summoned to appear and take his Trial. Upon his refusal, *Innocent* orders his Troops to march to the little Town of Nocera, inhabited by Saracens, where the murderer was fled. This was a sufficient pretence for *Manfred* to assemble his Friends, who were already prepared. With the Succours that came to him from several Parts, he met the Troops that were marching against him, and attacking them with Advantage, between Troya and Foggia, killed part, and put the rest to flight. *Innocent* was much surprized at the defeat of his Army, and to find upon his hands a fresh Enemy, whom he designed his Instrument to clear the Kingdom of the Germans. This Incident convincing him that *Manfred* had only amused him, he perceived, since the Germans sided with the Baitard, it would be difficult to maintain himself in the Kingdom with only his own Forces. In this belief, he repeated his Instances to the King of England, for Men and Money, with an English General, threatening, in case of refusal, to give the Crown of Sicily to another Prince. But as this Supply was yet very remote, the Vexation to see his affairs in so ill a situation, threw him into a fit of Sickness which laid him in his Grave. Though most Historians reckon above a year between the death of *Innocent* IV, and the Election of *Alexander* IV his Successor, the Collection of the Publick Acts of England plainly show, that *Alexander* IV was elected a few Months after *Innocent*'s decease. And indeed, we find there Bulls of these two Popes, dated the end of the same year 1254.

Alexander, following the steps of his Predecessor, resolved to prosecute the War against *Manfred*, who, still concealing his designs, declared for *Conradin*, for fear of frightening away the Germans, of whom he stood in great need. As the Pope had no less occasion for the Succours from England, instead of menacing *Henry*, as *Innocent* did, he sent the Bishop of Bononia, with a Ring, to invite by that Mark, Prince *Edmund* with the Kingdom of Sicily. But whilst the Legate was on the Road, *Alexander*'s affairs were entirely ruined. The Pope borrowing Money from all hands, on the King of England's account, found means to draw together an Army of sixty thousand Men, and gave the Command to Cardinal *Ottavian* *Ubal dini* *Florentinus*, with orders to besiege *Manfred* in Nocera. The Cardinal had for his Lieutenant-General, the Marquis of Hohenburch a German, who had long served *Innocent* IV, but was now corrupted by *Manfred*. Upon the approach of this Army to Nocera, the Marquis, who watched an opportunity to engage *Ottavian* in some false Step, represented to him, that it was not only needless, but a lessening of his Honour to employ so great an Army against a petty Town. Adding, the Country adjoining afforded no Forage, and besides, it was plain, *Manfred* could make no great Effort, since he kept himself thus immured. The Ecclesiastical General, unexperienced in the Art of War, looking upon the Marquis as an able and faithful Soldier, was easily persuaded

1255.
Manfred de-
feats the
Pope's Ar-
my;

is crowned
King of
Sicily.

The Legate
invites Ed-
mund with
the Sicilies.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 550.
893.
M. Paris.
p. 911, 965.
P. 348.
T. Wakes.

The King
demands an
Aid of the
Parliament.
M. Paris.
p. 913.
An. Burt.
p. 341.

Two Condi-
tions requi-
red.

The Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued.

The King's
Journey to
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 562.
-----565.
M. Paris.
p. 907, 908.
An. Burt.

Rustand the
Pope's Nun-
tio comes into
England
with several
Bulls.
M. Paris.
p. 913.
An. Burt.
p. 349.

M. Paris.
p. 914.

ibid.

persuaded to divide his Army, on the false notion of his Enemy's being afraid. He had no sooner committed this Error, but *Manfred* sallied out of *Nocera*, and suddenly falling upon the Army which was coming to besiege him, entirely put them to rout. The Pope's loss in this Action was so great, that he was forced to abandon the Country. So *Manfred* easily became master of the two *Sicilies*, and was crowned at *Palermo*, after spreading a Report that young *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*.

Though *Alexander* had no refuge in *Italy*, yet he did not despair of restoring his Affairs by means of the King of *England*, who little knew of the late Revolution in a Country where he was so much concerned. For the Bishop of *Bononia* (1) came to *London*, and, without mentioning what passed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or *Manfred's* Coronation, invested Prince *Edmund* with the two *Sicilies* (2). This was done with a Solemnity that increased *Henry's* Satisfaction. This weak Prince was as much pleased with the Ceremony, as if *Edmund* had been actually put in possession of a Crown. But if there were Flatterers, who congratulated him upon this augmentation of Glory, there were wiser People, who grieved to see their King become more and more the Pope's dupe. Indeed it was easy to perceive, he was engaging in an undertaking, which all the Ready-Money in the Kingdom would not suffice to accomplish.

Henry had little reason to expect any great Aids from his People, whom he had extremely displeased. Much less still could he hope to gain the Barons approbation of a Project, so rashly undertaken, without consulting those who alone could furnish him with means to come off with honour. Nevertheless, he demanded of a Parliament summoned this Year (3), an Aid of Money, with the same assurance as if he were labouring purely for the Good of the Publick. Though the Parliament was unconcerned about the Success of the Affairs of *Sicily*, they thought however to reap some advantage from the King's Necessities, by improving this opportunity to procure, in a lasting manner, the observance of the two Charters. To that end, they told the King, they would grant him an Aid, upon these two conditions; that the Charters should be observed, and the Justiciary, Treasurer, and Chancellor, nominated by the Parliament, without being liable to be turned out but by the same Authority. The King not thinking proper to agree to these Terms, prorogued the Parliament till *Michaelmas*.

In the mean time, *Henry* was obliged to take a Journey into *Scotland*, on account of the Queen his Daughter, who complained of her hard Usage from those that governed the Kingdom, during the King her Husband's Minority (4). The Presence of the King of *England* helped very much to settle the Affairs of that Kingdom, which began to feel the usual effects of a Minority. He made but a short stay in *Scotland*, being impatient to return into *England*, where the Affairs of *Sicily* called him.

The Sums pretended to be borrowed by this, and the former Pope, for the Affair of *Sicily*, were so excessive, that the King saw it impossible to satisfy the Creditors, real or feigned. *Alexander* was not ignorant of it, but reckoning the *English*, and particularly the Clergy, were responsible for their Sovereign, he used all imaginable means to draw Money from the unfortunate Kingdom, so much exhausted already. His first Attempts were made by a Nuntio, one *Rustand*, whom he furnished with several Bulls, all tending to exact Money from the Clergy. The first produced by the Nuntio, was an order to gather a Tenth in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* itself, as well to the Pope's as the King's use. This Bull was expressed in Terms which left the Clergy no room to cavil. The Pope laid this Imposition on them, *Notwithstanding* (5) any former Letters, Indulgences, Privileges, Exemptions or other Grants, under any Form, and for what Cause soever, and notwithstanding all Objections which could be devised. A second Bull gave the Nuntio Power to change the King's Vow to go to the *Holy Land*, into that of undertaking the Conquest of *Sicily*; a Conquest, according to the Pope, much more important than that of *Jerusalem*. *Henry* engaged in this new Vow, by a solemn Oath on the Relicks of *St. Edward*, as he had done with regard to the first. Moreover the Nuntio ordered a Crusade to be preached against *Manfred* as an Enemy to the Christian Name, and promised the Pardon of their Sins to all that should assist the Holy See against that excommunicated Prince. The publishing of this Crusade was of little consequence

in *England*, but the effects were felt in *Palestine*, as it obliged the Christians there, when they found the Succours, intended for them, diverted to other Uses, to conclude with the *Saracens* a Truce for ten Years.

The Parliament, that was prorogued, being met, the King solicited in vain for a Supply. He had taken care not to summon such of the Lords as showed most Steadiness in the last Session. But from this very thing the Parliament took occasion to refuse his Demand. They alledged that, according to the Tenour of the Great Charter, they were not obliged to debate any Business, unless all that had a Right to sit in Parliament were summoned. *Henry*, seeing little hopes of procuring any Money from this Assembly, dissolved them, and took other Courses to attain his ends (6). He would fain have borrowed once more of the Prince his Brother; but could not prevail. *Richard* was displeased that the King should rashly engage in this Affair, without vouchsafing to consult either him, or the Barons of the Realm.

But what *Henry* could not do by his own Authority, he tried to effect by the Pope's help, who was the more ready to assist him, as his own Interest was concerned. It may be freely said, that in this unhappy Century the Court of *Rome* had lost all sense of Shame. Of this, what I am going to relate is a clear evidence, not built upon the Testimony of a single Historian, whose Fidelity some have endeavoured to call in question, but upon the very Bulls of *Alexander IV.*, extant in the Records of *England*, as printed in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. By the way, nothing can be more proper to confute whatever has been alledged to weaken the Authority of *Matthew Paris*, than the Harmony between the Bulls and his History. What is more strange in the Conduct of *Alexander*, is, that he did not even employ in the War against *Manfred*, the excessive Sums incessantly drawn from *England*, under that pretence. If we compare together the Histories of *England* and *Sicily*, we shall find that when the Pope was draining *England* of Money for the projected Conquest, he suffered *Manfred* quietly to enjoy his Crown, without using any effectual Endeavours to dethrone him. Thus the Conquest of *Sicily* was only the Pope's Decoy, to get large Sums from *Henry*, upon the vain expectation of placing his Son *Edmund* on the Throne. In the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, we find under the Year 1255, divers Bulls clearly showing with what greediness the *Roman Pontiff* exhausted wretched *England*.

In one of these Bulls, he orders *Henry* to pay four thousand Pounds to the Bishop of *Bononia*, for the Charges of his Legateship, as if the Court of *Rome* had no Interest in the Affair.

In another dated the same Month, he confirms the Change of the King's Vow to go to the *Holy Land*, into that of an Expedition into *Sicily*, to the end the Money designed for the War against the *Saracens*, might serve to pay the Debts contracted for the Conquest of that Kingdom.

By one of the same kind directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he makes, by his Authority, the same Change with regard to the Vow of the King of *Norway* and his Subjects. Then he commands them to send into *England*, for the pretended Expedition to *Sicily*, the Money raised for the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*.

A third, enjoins all the *English*, who have received any Money for their Journey to *Palestine*, to pay it into the hands of certain Commissioners, to be employed in the *Sicilian Expedition*.

Though he had before confirmed the Change of *Henry's* Vow, he granted him however, by a Bull, the twentieth Part of the Clergy's Revenue in *Scotland*, to be employed in the Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. This Bull bearing date after that, whereby the King's Vow was changed, must be considered as a real Cheat, to make the *Scots* believe, their Money should be expended in the War against the Infidels.

After this, by a subsequent Bull, he absolves the *Scots* from their Vow of going to the *Holy Land*, on condition they would send into *England* a certain Sum, to be employed in the Conquest of *Sicily*.

He granted the same Favour to the *English*, by a Bull, dated in *August* the same Year.

Lastly, By another in *October* he commanded his Nuntio to compel the *English* Prelates, to pay the Tenth

(1) Of *Romania*, says *M. Paris*, p. 911.

(2) About the middle of *October*. *ibid.* -----King *Henry* sent to the Pope upon that account fifty thousand Marks; and engaged to send him two hundred thousand more. *An. Burt.* p. 348.

(3) And which met *October* 13. at *Westminster*. *M. Paris*, p. 913.

(4) *Sir Robert de Ros*, and *Sir John Bael* the Regents, were accused of keeping the Queen like a Prisoner, and not permitting the King to enjoy her Embraces. But *Henry* having fined the Governor, brought the King and Queen together again, and put them into such a Condition as they liked. *M. Paris*, p. 907.

(5) *Non-obliterate*.

(6) During the last Day's Session of this Parliament, there happened a very great Quarrel between the King and the Earl *Marshall*, of which the curious Reader may see an account in *M. Paris*, p. 917.

granted to the King, for the Payment of the Debts contracted since his Engagements with *Innocent IV.*

If the Originals of all these Bulls were not among the Records of *England*, it would be hard to believe that Christ's Vicar was so little of a Christian, as to prefer his own private Quarrel before the Cause of God, for so the Crusades against the Infidels were then reckoned. Neither is it less strange, that *Alexander* should think of making the *Scots* and *Norwegians*, who lived in the utmost bounds of the North, contribute to the Charges of his Quarrel with the House of *Swabia*, about a Kingdom situated in the most Southern parts of *Europe*. But if what the Historian adds be true, which however can scarce be doubted, it will be easy to perceive, that in order to raise Money, there was no means, though never so unjust, but what was approved by this Pope (1).

The Sums borrowed in the King's Name amounted, according to the Pope's account, to one hundred thirty five thousand five hundred and forty Marks, principal Money, besides Interest (2). *Alexander* was not ignorant that the King's Revenue scarce sufficed for his necessary Expences, and consequently it was impossible to take from thence wherewith to satisfy the pretended Creditors. To help the King out of this strait, he caused him to allow that all the extraordinary Levies of Money in his Kingdom should be applied to that Use, for which, he undertook to find means himself to raise what Sums they should want. It was not so much the Purse of the People or Barons, as of the Clergy, that were to be drained. Besides that the Clergy had most ready Money, they more tamely submitted to the Pope, than the People would to the King. Accordingly, to oblige the Clergy to pay the greatest share of this Debt, *Alexander* made use of a very extraordinary means, suggested to him by the Bishop of *Hereford* (3). He caused a great Number of obligatory Notes to be drawn, whereby each Bishop, Abbot, or Prior in *England*, acknowledged to have received of such a Merchant of *Sienna*, or *Florence*, or some other place in *Italy*, the Sum of----- (4), for the occasions of his Church, and bound himself to repay it at such a time. This done, Endeavours were used to constrain each to sign one of these Notes, as if he had really borrowed the Money. This was such an Oppression, that it would be difficult to find an instance of the like among the most famous Tyrants (5).

To execute this design, *Rustand* assembled all the Prelates of the Kingdom, and acquainted them with the Pope's Pleasure, that each should sign one of these Notes, and bind himself speedily to pay the Sum mentioned therein, under pain of Excommunication. This Proposal so surprized the Prelates, that the Bishop of *London* could not forbear saying aloud, *That he would lose his Life rather than submit to so tyrannical an Oppression*. The Bishop of *Worcester* said as much, and in fine, *Rustand* had for Answer, *That the Clergy of England would not be Slaves to the Pope*. The Nuntio complained to the King of this bold Answer, intimating that the Bishop of *London* was the Author of the Clergy's Disobedience. *Henry*, who was no less exasperated than the Nuntio, fell into a great passion with the Bishop, and told him, since he was afraid neither of his, nor the Pope's Indignation, he should quickly feel the Effects. This Threat not being capable of daunting the Prelate, he replied, *he was very sensible, the King and the Pope were more powerful than He, but in case his Mitre were taken from him, he would clap a Helmet in its place*. However this Firmness was not capable to make the Nuntio give over his Project. By the help of the Bishop of *Hereford*, he sowed Discord among the chief of the Clergy, by caressing some, frightening others, and causing Accusations to be brought against some, from whence he took occasion to excommunicate them. These Censures were the more terrible, because, if within forty days they were not for absolution, which could not be obtained but by submitting to the Pope's Will, all their Revenues were confiscated.

But what the King and Pope extorted from private Persons by these violent ways, could not amount to a Sum

sufficient to answer their occasions. There was a necessity of prevailing with all the Clergy to sign the Notes, otherwise it was not worth the while to commit such flagrant Acts of Injustice. Wherefore *Rustand* once more summoned the Prelates upon this Affair. But the absence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom, and the Vacancy of the See of *York* (6), furnished the Prelates with a pretense to desire a delay, which could not be refused them. They hoped that time would produce some favourable turn, to exempt them from paying the Money demanded. But the Conduct of the Nuntio quite destroyed these hopes. He fell into a Rage with those who raised any difficulties in this Affair, and thought it very strange that the least opposition should be made to the Pope's Pleasure. *Leonard*, a Deputy or Prolocutor for the Clergy, insisting on the Injustice of the Pope's Demand, *Rustand* commanded him to say whether he spoke for himself, or in the name of the Prelates. Then he wrote down the Deputy's Words, saying, he would inform the Pope of his insolent Expressions. Another Clergyman willing likewise to speak a little freely of this matter, the Nuntio told him in a furious tone, that if he had not a regard for the Prelates, he would not leave him a hair on his head.

The delay granted the Clergy being expired, all the Prelates, with the Archdeacons, the Representatives of the inferior Clergy, assembled at *London*. As they met purely upon this Affair, *Rustand* renewed his Instances the very first day. The Clergy replied, by *Leonard* their Prolocutor, that their Poverty hindered them from consenting to the Pope's demand, considering it was founded neither upon Reason nor Justice. The Nuntio made answer, *There was no Injustice in what the Pope claimed, since, as all Churches belonged to him, he could dispose of their Incomes as he pleased*. This extraordinary pretension was replied to by *Leonard*, saying, "Indeed all Churches might be said in some sense to belong to the Pope, but it was only that he should protect and defend them, and not appropriate them to his own use. In like manner, continued he, as we say in *England*, all things are the King's; Yet no man ever imagined the King was Proprietor of all the Estates of his Subjects: So with regard to the Lands of the Church, it can never be proved that it was the Intention of the Founders to give them to the Pope." This Reply did but still more exasperate the Nuntio, who however thought not fit to argue and dispute any longer. He contented himself, with saying in a menacing tone, "Let every one speak for himself, that the Pope may know who is for, and who against him." This he said to frighten them: But his violent Proceedings had a quite contrary Effect. The Prelates, full of Indignation at this Treatment, unanimously replied, they neither could, nor would submit to so unjust an Exaction; that this was their last Resolution, and they were ready to suffer Death, in a Cause much more just than that for which the Blessed *St. Thomas Becket* endured Martyrdom. The Nuntio finding there was no prevailing by Threats, grew more calm, and said, he would go himself and talk with the Pope, about the Difficulties which occurred in the execution of his Orders. The Clergy sent likewise, in their name, the Dean of *St. Paul's* to acquaint his Holiness with the reasons of their Denial. To finish at once this Affair, which I have no design to resume, I shall relate here what Terms the Clergy obtained from the Court of *Rome*, after long Solicitations. As the Pope pretended, the Sums in question were really borrowed for the Service of the King and Church, he ordered that each Prelate should pay his share in proportion to his Revenue: But that the Money thus paid, should be deducted out of the Tenth which should hereafter be granted to the King. After this decision, refusing to hearken to any thing further, the Clergy were forced to pay Money they had not borrowed, and to the payment whereof they were bound without knowing any thing of the matter.

Some time after, the same Nuntio convened all the Abbots of the *Cistercian* Order, and demanded one Year's

(1) This Year King *Henry* ordered by Proclamation, that the Great Charter of Liberties should be faithfully and inviolably observed. But, as *M. Paris* well observes, to what purpose were these Proclamations, when the King and his great Men, set the rest of the Nation so ill an Example, by their frequent Violations of it, p. 927.

(2) Besides fifty thousand more, in which the Prelates stood bound to the Pope, though without their own Knowledge and Consent. The Words of *M. Paris*, upon this occasion, are these: "The sacred Privileges of Churches signify nothing; and though the Pope has a Power only for Emication, and not for Destruction, yet the Tax upon the Clergy, which was granted at first but for three, is now changed into five Years; and formerly Lay-men paid Tithes to the Clergy, but now even the Prelates are compelled to pay Tithes to the Laity: An Aid was granted in succour of the Holy-Land, and we are compelled to pay it, to fight against the Christians of *Apulia*; A Tenth was also granted by us to the King, for the Observation of the Great Charter, which notwithstanding is not kept; besides many other Grievances then due to the Clergy and Church of *England* by the Pope's means, though with the Privy and Connivance of King himself, too long to be here repeated," which as *Mr. Tyndal* observes, though omitted by *Dr. Brady*, yet may serve to let us see the sad Condition of the People, where the Prince, instead of defending them, gives them up for a Prey to a foreign Power. See *M. Paris*, towards the Close of the Year 1255. p. 918.

(3) *Peter Egeblank* a Foreigner. See *M. Paris*, p. 910.

(4) Five, six or seven hundred Marks a-piece, or more. *M. Paris*.

(5) This Year, among other arbitrary Acts, the King took a Tallage of five hundred Marks from the Citizens of *London*; and invaded all the Possessions of *Robert de Res*, a Man of Note. *M. Paris*, p. 929.-----And also issued out a Proclamation, that all who were worth fifteen Pounds a Year in Land, should take upon them the Order of Knighthood; and that those who would not, should buy it off with Money.

(6) *Walter de Grey*, who had been Archbishop near forty Years, died the last Year, and was succeeded by *Secon*, Bishop of the Church of *York*. *T. Wiker*, p. 50.

1256. Revenue of their Wool, to supply the occasions of the Pope and the King. They answered, they could not grant such a Demand, unless debated in a General Chapter of their Order. This Reply not satisfying the Italian Prelate, he fell into a Passion, and swore, if he could not prevail with them in a Body, he would so treat them singly, that they should be constrained to comply. He soon performed his Threat. For slight or imaginary Faults, he attacked them one after another, and caused them to be grievously fined. But this Order had such powerful Protectors about the Pope, that the Nuntio was commanded to desist.

The Tyranny exercised by the Court of Rome upon the Clergy of England was of so strange a nature, that the Historian who relates all these Facts, was afraid he should be suspected of inventing them, unless he produced an authentick Proof. This doubtless was his view, in inserting at large in his History one of Alexander's Bulls, which shews, that nothing was done in the Business of the Notes but by his express Words. This Bull, directed to *Rustand*, concludes with these Words: *You shall take care to let the King know, that all this is our Will and Pleasure. Wherefore I set down in these Presents, what each Abbot and Prior shall be bound to pay. The PRIOR and MONASTERY of DURHAM, five hundred Marks; of BATH four hundred; of THORNEY, four hundred, &c.-----Dated at Anagnia the X of the Calends of July, in the second Year of our Pontificate.*

Let us return now to the King, who was soliciting with no less earnestness for the Aids demanded of the Barons, to place the Prince his Son on the Throne of Sicily. The Archbishop of Messina was lately come from Rome, on purpose to second the King's Demand, with the Pope's Letters to the Lords, exhorting them to give the King Content. But the Pope's Eagerness, and the Archbishop of Messina's pressing instances, proved quite contrary to their Designs. For it was very visible, that the Money was to be put into the Pope's hands, otherwise he would not have taken such pains. Besides, the Parliament could not resolve to suffer Troops to be sent into Italy, as the Pope and the King desired, persuaded as they were, that it was expoling them to certain Ruin. These Considerations induced them to refuse the King the Aid he demanded. To justify their Denial, they presented an Address, setting forth their Reasons. I. The Difficulty of the projected Undertaking. II. The Poverty of the Nation. III. The dread of an Invasion from the neighbouring States, if the Forces of the Kingdom were sent so far off. IV. This Project was formed without the Consent of Parliament. V. Lastly, The Condition annexed to the Grant of Sicily, left the Pope free to revoke it whenever he pleased, which was reciprocal.

The King was not satisfied with demanding of his Parliament an extraordinary Aid. He would have moreover the Clergy stand bound for the Sums, the Pope pretended were still due to him (1), and consent that the Tenth granted for three, should be continued for five Years. These Demands were so exorbitant, that the Clergy could not resolve to comply with them. But there was not the same regard for the Spiritual, as for the Temporal Lords. The Pope no sooner spoke with an imperious tone, by the mouth of his Nuntio, but the Clergy tamely submitted, and gave the King the greatest part of his Demands.

How large Sums soever were lately drawn out of the Kingdom, Henry still continued his Exactions, as well upon the Citizens of London, as the rest of the Kingdom. He made even the Welsh, whom he considered as his Subjects, since they were become his Vassals, feel the Effects of his Greediness. The Oppressions they endured, on divers pretences, wearing out their Patience, they had recourse to Arms, and invaded the Frontiers of England, from whence they carried away a great Booty. Prince Edward would have chastised them; but it was not possible for him to raise a sufficient Number of Troops to stop their Progress. The King's Treasury was so exhausted, both by the Pope and his own Favorites, that not being able to furnish Money for this War, he was forced to suffer the Welsh to plunder his Borders with impunity. His fondness for his half Brothers, and the Queen's Relations, was astonishing. He was not satisfied with loading them with immense Presents, which disabled him to defend his Kingdom, but permitted them to oppress his own Subjects, by forbidding the Chancellor to issue any Writs to their prejudice (2).

Mean time the Pope was not yet content with the vast Sums drawn from England. He pressed the King continually to send him Money, threatening to revoke the Grant of Sicily, if he did not speedily perform what he had promised. Henry excused his not sending yet Troops into Italy, with an English General, because, instead of being able to defray this fresh Expence, he could not yet accomplish the Payment of the Sums demanded by the Pope. But to satisfy him in some measure, he remitted him five thousand Marks, and ordered Prince Edward his Son, who was to succeed him, to ratify the Agreements relating to Sicily. In another Letter on this occasion, he acquainted him, that the Barons of the Realm refused to subscribe to the Terms that were required of him, thinking them somewhat unreasonable (3), especially since the Affairs of Sicily were altered by the Treachery of the Marquis of *Hoemburch*. As soon as the Pope heard that the Great Men began to murmur, he thought it time to get all he could expect from England, plainly foreseeing that the Game he was playing would soon be at an end. For that purpose, he sent into England a Nuntio, one *John d. Dia*, with several Bulls, all tending to procure Money of the King, in order to pay the Pope's pretended Debts. By the first, he enjoined the Bishops punctually to pay the Tenth granted to the King, notwithstanding all Letters, Indulgences, or Privileges whatever. In all appearance, the Deduction, which they were before allowed to make, was rendered of no effect by this Clause. Another Bull granted the King for his Voyage to the Holy-Land, from which he had already been exempted, all the Revenues of the vacant Benefices. By a third, he gave him the Incomes of Non-Residents. A fourth, granted him the Tenth of all the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Kingdom, according to their extended Value; whereas they were wont to be rated according to the antient Taxations. A fifth, ordered *Rustand* to adjudge to the King the Chattels of Clergymen who died intestate. By a sixth, he commanded the same Nuntio, to tax himself all the Ecclesiasticks of the Kingdom, for the Aid they were to give the King, notwithstanding all Privileges granted by his Predecessors, and all Exemptions, or Objections whatever. A seventh, excommunicated all the Prelates who should not pay their Tenth within such a time. There were several others which it is needless to mention, since they all tended to the same end. The Importunity of the Creditors of Sienna and Florence served always for a Pretence of these Oppressions. Tho' these Debts should have been overpaid by all the Levies of Money made in England on that account, they were like the *Hydra*, whose heads continually revived.

It seemed that in this unfortunate Reign, a concurrence of malignant Influences met in England, to impoverish the Nation. Every thing contributed to their Misery, and Events seemingly the most remote, were found at length to tend to the same end. *William*, Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, being killed in a Skirmish with the *Frisons*, the Electors of the Empire were divided about the choice of a new King of the *Romans*. Some who were the Majority, gave their Votes for *Richard* Brother to the King of England, and the rest chose *Alphonso* King of *Castile*. *Richard*, more diligent than his Competitor, went immediately to be crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, and supported his Right by his presence in Germany, whilst *Alphonso* acted only by Ambassadors. However, *Richard* had no other advantage over his Rival but that of being crowned: An Honour, which cost him so dear, that *Alphonso* would have been very sorry to purchase it at that rate. *Richard* is said to carry into Germany seven hundred thousand Pounds Sterling in ready Money (4), an immense Sum in those Days, which, added to what the Pope had drawn out of the Nation, made a very great Scarcity of Money. The meaner Sort of People were great Sufferers by it, because, the Harvest not being very plentiful, they were not able to buy Provisions, which were grown very dear (5). All these Evils moved not the King. Infatuated with his Sicilian Project, he pressed the Clergy for a fresh Aid, that of the last Year not even sufficing, as he assured them to pay his Debts. As he expected to meet with great Opposition from the Prelates, he brought into the Assembly Prince *Edmund* his Son dressed in a Sicilian Habit, imagining that, charmed like him with the Sign, they would readily grant his Demands. But this Artifice would have been but of little force, had not the Prelates been again aw'd by the Nuntio, who compelled them by his Threats to grant the King forty two thousand Pounds Sterling.

(1) One hundred and thirty five thousand Marks Principal, and five hundred and forty more for Interest. *M. Paris.*

(2) Which, says *Matthew Paris*, was contrary to the Law and Peace of the Kingdom. p. 937.

(3) These Terms or Agreements are to be seen at the end of *Tom. I.* of the *publick Acts*, among Those that were omitted. *Rapin.*

(4) *M. Paris* says, he was so rich, as to be able to spend a hundred Marks a Day in ten Years together. p. 942.

(5) The Author of *Walter of Coventry's Julius* says, Provisions were so scarce, that he himself saw the People fighting for the Carcasses of dead Dogs, and other Carrion, and to eat the Wash that was set for the Hogs. But *M. Paris* observes, that this was owing not so much to the Scarcity of Corn, as to the Want of Money, Corn having been several times dearer than it was now, and yet none died with hunger, as many did at this time.

1257. To all the Calamities England laboured under during the Course of this Year, must be added the War with Wales, which was vigorously carried on by the Welsh, and very faintly by England. Prince Edward, who undertook to chastise these turbulent People, was forced to retreat before them with some Loss. Their daily Progress, obliged the King to march against them. But, upon his Approach, they retired to their Mountains, having themselves laid waste their Borders, and thereby prevented Henry from proceeding. But this was not all. When he imagined the Welsh at a distance, and seized with Fear, they so effectually took advantage of his Negligence, as to surprise him and cut in pieces a good part of his Army; after which, he thought only of retiring.

It must be surprising, that at such a Juncture, Henry should think of frightening the King of France. However, without considering his weak Estate, he sent Ambassadors (1) to him, to demand the Restitution of Normandy, and the other Provinces in France taken from the English. It is not known, with what view or from what motive he renewed this Pretension, in so proud and haughty a manner, that one would have thought his Affairs in the most flourishing Condition, and that he was able to support this Bravado. Lewis, who was better acquainted with his Affairs than himself, forbore however to insult him, contenting himself, with roughly denying so unseasonable a Demand.

Mean time Rufand the Nuntio, who was gone to Rome for new Instructions, soon returned into England, with Power to excommunicate the King, if, pursuant to his Engagements, he did not speedily undertake the projected Conquest. Henry surprized at these Menaces, and not knowing which way to satisfy the Pope, caused his Son Edmund humbly to intreat him, to make the Terms more easy on which he had accepted the Grant of Sicily. This Petition proving of no great effect, Henry was at length forced to appoint Ambassadors to go to Rome, and renounce, in the name of the Prince his Son, the Grant of this imaginary Crown which had already cost him so dear. But this was not what the Pope wanted. Far from receiving this Renunciation, he sent a new Nuntio, one Arlot, empowering him to make some Alteration, in the Agreement upon this Affair. But withal he ordered him to use his utmost endeavours, to engage the King more deeply, by procuring him some fresh Grants, which cost him nothing, since they were made at the Clergy's Expence. For that purpose, he charged his Nuntio to publish a new Bull, enjoining the Bishops to pay the Tenth granted to the King, under pain of Excommunication; notwithstanding all Objections, all Appeals, and all Letters obtained or to be obtained, to the contrary. What is more strange, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vast Sums sent to the Pope, not only had not at all promoted the Conquest of Sicily, but even the least part had not been put to that use, since after the Defeat of Nocera, the Pope had no Army on foot. Besides the Tenth, and other Aids frequently paid by the Clergy to the King on this account, the Parliament had furnished considerable Supplies, and yet there appeared no Bottom to this Gulf, which swallowed up all the Riches of the Kingdom. The Clergy grieved to see themselves thus oppressed: The People for their part murmured no less, when they considered, that so much money raised in England, and which it is affirmed, amounted to above nine hundred and fifty thousand Marks, was not sufficient to satisfy the Avarice of the Pope, who still craved for more (2).

It was not possible but so many Oppressions would at length wear out the Patience of the English. The Barons were still more aggrieved than the People, as the most considerable Posts, to which they thought themselves alone entitled, were enjoyed by Foreigners. This usually excites the Zeal of the Great Men, and makes them such mighty Sticklers for the Good of the Publick. If their own private Interest is not concerned, in vain will it be expected that the Nobles expose their Lives and Fortunes in defense of the Liberties of an injured People. This is a Remark, at which no Nation in particular ought to be offended, since it agrees with all times and with all Places. The Great Men, who then lived in England, were of the same Character. The Credit and Riches of the Foreign-

ers, were the chief Grievance of the Barons, and the real Motive of their Complaints. If they urged some other Abuses, it was because they themselves had no advantage from thence, or to gain the People to their side. They had hitherto thought to oblige the King to alter his Conduct, by binding him with solemn Oaths. But they perceived at length there was no securing this Proteus, as M. Paris an Historian styles him, unless more violent means were used. In this belief, they began to hold secret Conferences together, to consider of proper Expedients to reform the Government, and especially to exclude the Foreigners.

The King quickly furnished them with an opportunity to execute their Designs, by calling a Parliament (3), of whom he demanded, according to custom, a powerful Aid for the Affair of Sicily; for as to the Voyage to the Holy-Land, it was no longer mentioned. The Parliament, pursuant to the Resolution already taken by the principal Barons, instead of granting his demand, vehemently complained of the Breach of his Promises, and of all the Grievances in general, spoken of in the Course of this Reign. Henry perceiving, that a haughty Carriage would be in vain on this occasion, fell to his old Artifice of appealing the Lords, by acknowledging himself guilty, and promising to reform what was amiss. But for once they were not so credulous. They told him plainly, that without leaving it to him, they designed to reform the Government themselves, so as to fear no more his Breach of Faith. Therefore, under pretence of the Difficulties in this Affair, the Parliament was prorogued, and the City of Oxford appointed for the place of the next Session. And as he was apprehensive, that in the mean time, the Barons would make preparations, which he found he could not prevent, he gave them a positive Promise, that as soon as they met, he would join with them in the desired Reformation. He signed likewise a Charter, whereby he consented, that the Articles to be reformed, should be drawn up by four and twenty Lords, of whom he would chuse twelve, and promised to observe whatever should be settled by these Commissioners. To give the greater Authority to this Charter, he caused Prince Edward his Son to sign it with him, to convince them of his Sincerity.

They had been so often deceived by the like Promises, that they could not believe this to be more sincere. Without relying on the King's Protections, the Barons summoned all their military Tenants, and on the day appointed came to Oxford (4), well-attended, and resolutely bent to compel the King to perform his Word. The first thing was the Election of the four and twenty Commissioners, who were to draw the Articles of the intended Reformation. The King chose twelve (5), and the other twelve were elected by the Barons (6), who made Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, President of this Council. The Election being over, the four and twenty drew up some Articles, to which the Parliament reserved to themselves a Power to add, from time to time, such others as should be deemed necessary for the Good of the State. They were in substance as follows:

I. That the King should confirm the great Charter, which he had sworn so often to observe without any Effect.

II. That the Office of Chief Justiciary should be given to a Person of Capacity and Integrity, that would administer Justice, as well to the Poor as the Rich, without distinction.

III. That the Chancellor, Treasurer, Justices, and other Officers and publick Ministers, should be chosen by the four and twenty.

IV. That the Custody of the King's Castles should be left to the Care of the four and twenty, who should intrust them with such as were well affected to the State.

V. That it should be Death for any Person of what Degree or Order soever, to oppose, directly or indirectly, what should be ordained by the four and twenty.

VI. That the Parliament should meet at least once every Year, to make such Statutes as should be judged necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom (7).

(1) They were no less than the Bishops of Worcester, and Winchester, the Abbot of Westminster, the Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigod Earl of Norfolk, lately made Earl Marshal, Peter of Savoy, and Robert Waleran. It seems as if he did this on account of the King of France's Scruples. M. Paris. p. 979.

(2) In Milcent, this Year, was held a Parliament at Westminster; in which the King demanded the Tenth of the whole beneficed Clergy, for five Years, according to the new Valuation, without any Deduction or Allowance. But the Parliament thinking the Demand extravagant, agreed to grant the King an Aid of fifty thousand Marks, on condition the Great Charter was observed. But Henry refused to accept of it. M. Paris, p. 946.

(3) Which met at London soon after Easter, Id. p. 963. (4) Which was on June 11. Id. p. 968.

(5) The Bishops of London and Winchester; Henry, Son to the King of the Romans; John Earl of Warren; Guido de Lusignan, and William de Valence, the King's Half-Brothers; John Earl of Warwick; John Mansel, Friar; J. de Derlington, Abbot of Westminster; Henry de Wingham, Dean of St. Martin's, London; and the twelfth is omitted, but supposed to be either Peter of Savoy, or James Audley.

(6) The Bishop of Worcester; the Earls Simon of Leicester, Richard of Gloucester, Humphrey of Hereford, Roger of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; the Lords' Roger Mortimer, John Fitz Geoffrey; Hugh Bigod, Richard de Gray, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh de Espenyer. M. Paris.

(7) The Annals of Burton, where the Order is drawn up in form, say, The four and twenty ordained, that there should be three Parliaments in the Year; the first, eight days after Michaelmas; the second, the Morrow after

1258.

It is certain, that twelve Deputies, or Representatives of the Commons, were present in this Parliament; but whether it was by permission, or right, I mean, whether it was a new regulation, or the Commons had their Representatives in the former Parliaments, is what I dare not undertake to determine; since the *English* are not agreed in this point among themselves. However, as in a dispute of this nature, it is difficult to help inclining to one side, I readily own my self of their opinion, who believe this to be the first time that the Representatives of the Commons were admitted to sit in Parliament. And indeed, if the Commons had a right to sit there at the time we are speaking of, it would be very strange, that they should nominate but twelve Representatives for the whole Kingdom. Moreover, all the Historians agree that these twelve were not Commoners [as now reputed] but all Barons, filled immediate Tenants of the Crown (1). Add to this, it would be very surprizing, if the Commons enjoyed this privilege before, that Historians should never distinguish them from the Nobility. And yet, among so many Writers, who, from the Conquest to the end of the Reign of *Henry III.* have spoken of Parliaments, not one has distinguished the Commons, as making a distinct Body, or separate House from the Barons. In short, it may be added, as a precedent, by no means favorable to the Antiquity of the right of the Commons, that in *France* it was not till the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, that the third Estate was admitted into the General-Assembly of the States, as *Pasquier* assures us. However this be, as it is from this and another Assembly, which I shall mention presently, that some date the original of the Privilege of the Commons, it was necessary to acquaint the Reader therewith.

The Parliament approving the Articles drawn by the four and twenty, the King was obliged to give his assent to them, and cause all necessary orders, for putting them in execution, to be dispatched. Prince *Edward* likewise solemnly swore to observe, and cause them to be observed, to the utmost of his power. Thus *Henry*, for his too great neglect of his Subjects, found himself at last forced to divide with them the Government of his Kingdom, or rather to resign the whole into their hands. Perhaps he would have avoided this misfortune, had he been less obsequious to the Court of *Rome*, which certainly was the principal Cause of his Disgrace. But it was then very difficult to keep, in that respect, a just medium. King *John* lost himself by too vigorously opposing the Pope; and *Henry*, by making himself his Slave.

The Articles agreed on, then called the Statutes or Provisions of *Oxford*, met at first with some opposition. The Earl of *Warren* refused to sign them. Prince *Edward*, who swore to them against his will, wanted to go from his Oath. *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, openly protested, they were of no force, till the King his Father, then in *Germany*, consented to them. This Protestation drew a very mortifying Reply from the Earl of *Leicester*. Without regarding his Quality, the Earl plainly told him, *If the King his Father refused to join with the Barons, he should not enjoy one foot of Land in England.* But the greatest opposition was from the Foreigners, and particularly the King's Half-Brothers, and the Queen's Relations. Especially *William*, Bishop elect of *Valence*, was chiefly concerned, because the whole Royal Authority, now reduced within narrow bounds by these Statutes, was properly in his hands. Accordingly, he publicly declared, he would not deliver up the Castles, of which he had the custody. But the Earl of *Leicester*, who was naturally impetuous, immediately replied, he should part either with the Castles or his Head. This Threat being supported by the rest of the Barons, the *Poitevins* resolved to shut themselves up in *Winchester*, plainly seeing they were not able to withstand the torrent. Their Flight (2) was no sooner known, but the Barons mounted their Horses and pursued them, but it was not possible to overtake them. However, as at such a juncture, it was difficult for Foreigners, so universally hated as they, to procure a sufficient protection, they consented to depart the Kingdom, provided they might have

a Safe-conduct. This condition being readily complied with, they were brought to *London* till they could be embarked. It is affirmed, that during their stay in the City, they invited to an entertainment several Lords, some of whom died presently after; which gave occasion to suspect, they were poisoned. But it may be, the hatred of the *English* to these Foreigners, was the chief Cause of this suspicion. Be that as it will, a few days after, they embarked at *Dover*, and returned into their own Country.

The Barons being thus rid of the Foreigners, agreed, before their separation, upon an Oath of Affirmation, to stand by the Provisions of *Oxford* with their Lives and Fortunes (3). If we believe an Historian who has given us the particular of this affair, the four and twenty soon abused their power, in giving all the Places and Offices to their Relations and Friends. He accuses them also of holding frequent Parliaments, without the King's consent, whom they considered only as the shadow of a Sovereign.

In a Parliament assembled at *Winchester*, the Barons resolved to send Commissioners to the City of *London*, to invite them to join in their Association. This was easily obtained; the *Londoners* having still more reason to complain of the King than all the rest of the Kingdom. This affair being ended, and the Parliament judging it necessary to proceed in a legal way against the Foreigners, who were expelled the Kingdom, passed an Act for their perpetual Banishment. However, as *Abelmar* Bishop of *Winchester* was in the number of the Banished, there was a necessity of making some excuse to the Pope, since the Bishops had been long exempted from the civil Jurisdiction. There was occasion likewise to justify to the Pope the Conduct of the Parliament, both with regard to the affair of *Sicily*, and the late alterations in the Government of the Kingdom. It was resolved therefore, that the Barons should write to the Pope, to inform him of what had passed. Their Letter was to this effect: "That they had been prevented, for several good reasons, from yielding to his admonitions, with respect to the Conquest of *Sicily*. First, because the King had engaged in that undertaking, without their advice, and without considering the state of the Kingdom, which was by no means able to bear the expence of such an Expedition. Secondly, because the Conditions on which the King had accepted the Grant of *Sicily* for the Prince his Son, were too hard and impracticable. Nevertheless, if the Pope would mitigate them, they were ready to prosecute that affair, to the utmost of their power. Then, they vindicated the *Oxford* Provisions, alledging the King's incapacity and eagerness to give himself up to the guidance of such, as had no concern for the good of the Kingdom. They insisted chiefly upon this, shewing by strong reasons, that it was not proper the Kingdom should be governed by Foreigners. They mentioned the Bishop of *Winchester* in particular, as the principal Author of the Evils, *England* laboured under. They affirmed, this Prelate was guilty of divers enormous Crimes, which induced him to desire leave to depart the Kingdom, being conscious he could not possibly render a good account of his Actions. Above all, they accused him of advising the King to break his Word and Oath, which could not but be construed as a settled design to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. And therefore, they would never suffer him to return again, and supposing they did, the People were bent to oppose it". To give the more weight to their Apology, they sent their Letter to the Pope by the hands of some of their own Body, who were commissioned, to display more fully the outrages of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the rest of the Royal Relations (4).

The Pope was not satisfied with these reasons. He wanted to continue to draw Money from the King, on the old pretence of the business of *Sicily*; and what the Barons had lately done, laid an insuperable obstacle in the way of his designs. However, not to exasperate them, he delayed sending an answer, and contented himself with privately assuring the King of his Protection.

Opposition to these Articles.
M. Paris.
p. 971.

The Foreigners expelled the Kingdom.
An. Waverl.
W. Rish.
p. 900.
T. Wikes.
M. Paris.
p. 971.

The Pope continues to press the King on the Sicily Affair.
An. Paris.
T. Wikes.
M. Paris.
p. 971.

(1) In the same *Annals* is the Act for the Election of the Twelve, which was drawn up in *French* in this Form: "Be it remembered, that the Community have chosen twelve Wise Men, who shall come to Parliaments, as also at other times, when there shall be need, and the King or his Council shall command or send to them, to treat of the business of the King and Realm; and the Community will hold for established what these Twelve shall do; and this shall be done to spare the Cost and Charges of the Community." The Names of the Twelve registered in the said *Annals* thus: "These are the Twelve who are chosen by the Barons to treat in the three Parliaments every Year with the King's Council, for the whole Community of the Land, upon the common business; namely; the Bishop of *London*, the Earl of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Bath*, the Earl of *Bristol*, *John de Lerdun*, *John de Gray*, *Roger de Sumner*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Hugh de Esparjay*, *Thomas de Grey*, and *Thomas de Argentan*." *Ann. Barton*, p. 413. Now all these were Barons.

(2) They stole away privately, while the Barons were at *Dinner*, in order to take Refuge with their Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*. *M. Paris*, p. 971.

(3) You may see the Form of the Association in the *Annals* of *Barton*, p. 413; and likewise of the Oath the four and twenty were to take, and also of the Oaths of the Chief Justiciary and Chancellor. *Ibid.*

(4) To this Letter eleven great Men put their seals, and witnessed it in the Name of the whole Community. Eight of them were of the Number of the four and twenty, and the other three were *William de Forze*, Earl of *Alençon*; *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Roussillon*; and *James Audley*. This Letter was carried by four knight and eloquent Knights, who added many other crimes committed by the Bishop of *Winchester* and his brothers, namely, Heresie, Rapine, Oppression, and Injury, and that *Geoffrey de Lincun*, one of the Brothers, read the King's Complaint, and restored him to court.

1258

Gives him
some time.

But withal, as if *Henry* had been in a condition to supply him with Money, he pressed him to pay the Arrears due to the *Italian* Merchants, of which he pretended, the Interest alone amounted to a vast Sum. He was willing however to give him some short time, which was no sooner expired, but the Bishop of *London* received an express Order to excommunicate all the Debtors of the *Italian* Merchants, of what Quality soever. But times being altered, his Orders, no longer countenanced by the Government, remained unexecuted. For the same reason, the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was now deemed a chimerical Project, tending only to the ruin of *England*.

The King
shows his
resentment
to the Earl
of Leicester.
M. Paris.
p. 974.

Mean time, the unfortunate *Henry*, stripped of all his Authority, saw himself forced to assent to whatever the Governors were pleased to prescribe him, and to sign all the Orders presented to him, for the observance of Statutes, which deprived him of all his Prerogatives. Though the Earl of *Leicester* was his Brother-in-law, yet of all the Barons he considered him as his greatest Enemy, and the chief Author of his disgrace. The constraint he was under, did not hinder him from discovering to the Earl himself, what he thought of him. One day as he was going to the *Tower* by Water, a sudden Storm [of Thunder and Lightning] obliging him to land at the first Stairs, it happened to be at *Durham-House*, where the Earl of *Leicester* then lay. He was received, at his coming out of the Boat, by the Earl himself, who, to hearten him after his Fright, told him, *He need not be afraid, for the Storm was over. I am beyond measure afraid of Thunder and Lightning*, replied the King with a severe look, *but, by God's Head, I fear thee more than all the Thunder in the World* (1).

M. Paris.

1259.
The King of
the Romans
declares a-
gainst the
Oxford Pro-
visions.
M. Paris,
p. 981....
983.
T. Wikes.

It was not without reason that the King stood in fear of the Earl of *Leicester*. This Earl, who was the head of the Confederates, took with the rest all possible measures, to hinder him from freeing himself from the Slavery, to which he was reduced by his Imprudence. Their resolution not to let go their Authority, manifestly appeared in their answer to the King of the *Romans*. This Prince communicating to them by Letter his design of returning to *England*, to assist them in appeasing the Troubles of the Kingdom, received this mortifying answer: That they would not suffer him to enter the Kingdom, unless he swore to observe the *Oxford-Provisions*. *Richard* received the Deputies (2) sent on this occasion, very haughtily, saying, it was strange, the Barons should take upon them to alter the Government, in his Absence, and without his Knowledge, and protested he would not take the Oath required of him, but however was resolved to return to *England*. This answer being brought to the Governors, they speedily fitted out a Fleet, and raised an Army, to hinder his Passage and Landing. But these Precautions were needless. As this Prince was unable to surmount so many Obstacles, and yet thought his Presence necessary in *England*, he promised to submit to what was established. Upon this condition he was suffered to come over, and, upon his arrival at *Dover*, took the Oath in the presence of the King, and a great number of Barons who came to meet him (3).

but is con-
strained to
swear to
them.
T. Wikes.
p. 53.The Barons
make a dis-
advantage-
ous treaty
with France.
M. Paris,
p. 968,
987.

Since the late Revolution in *England*, those who held the Reins of the Government made it a rule, to keep Peace with the neighbouring Princes, lest a foreign War should destroy what was so happily begun. They were apprehensive above all, that the King of *France* would take advantage of the present posture of affairs, to push his Conquest in *Guienne*. This fear made them resolve to conclude a firm and lasting Peace with *France*, by sacrificing to her all the King's pretensions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. Besides, they hoped by this means to secure *Lewis's* assistance, since it would be his Interest to support the Form of Government lately established. Indeed the Execution of the intended Treaty with him, depended in some measure on the continuance of the present Establishment. Pursuant to this Project, the Earl of *Leicester* took upon him to go and propose it at *Paris*. The *French* saw considerable advantages in what was offered by the *English*, and therefore, readily looking up-

on the Earl of *Leicester* as sufficiently authorized, though they were not ignorant of the situation of affairs in *England*, concluded a Treaty with him, which *Henry* was forced to sign. He was even persuaded to meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the States of *France* were assembled, and to renounce in their presence, all his pretensions to *Normandy* and *Anjou* (4). *Lewis* in return gave up *le Limosin*, and *le Perigord*, with all that *France* possessed beyond the *Garonne*, on condition he would do him Homage, and take his Seat among the Peers of the Realm, as Duke of *Guienne*. Thus, by a Treaty, *France* acquired to these two Provinces a Right, proceeding before only from the Sword. But the Kings of *England*, Successors to *Henry III*, did not think themselves bound by a Treaty made at such a Juncture.

1259.

Acc. Pub.
T. I p. 675.
W. Rish.

Whilst the King was in *France*, the four and twenty who governed *England*, thought it time to reform a very great Grievance, introduced by the King's excessive Complaisance for the Court of *Rome*. This was the prodigious number of *Italian* Ecclesiasticks, who possessed all the richest Benefices in the Kingdom. These Men, without ever residing on their Benefices, farmed them out to private Persons, or religious Houses, who sent them the Revenues into *Italy*. By this means, the want of Money, long since complained of, daily increased. As a remedy for this Evil, the Governors issued a Proclamation, enjoining all Farmers of the foreign Benefices, to pay the Revenues into the hands of certain Persons appointed to receive them, on pain to the offenders, of seeing their Houses raz'd to the ground. By this precaution, *England* was freed for a time from these *Italian* Leaches, who sucked the best blood of the Inhabitants.

The twenty-
four forbid
sending to
Foreigners
the Income
of their Be-
nifices.
W. Rish.
p. 997.

Though the Barons hitherto appeared strictly united, a secret disgust was forming in the minds of some, caused by the too great Authority assumed by the Earl of *Leicester*. Whether the Earl thought himself more capable, and more zealous than his Companions; or, as his Enemies charged him, was led by his Ambition to aspire to the supreme Power, it is certain he usurped all the Authority committed to the four and twenty. He could not continue to act thus, without raising the Jealousy of his Colleagues, and particularly of the Earl of *Gloucester*, who tried by degrees to form a Party against him. He began first with privately blaming his Conduct, and spreading a report that he was in League with Prince *Edward*, to place him on the Throne in his Father's Life-time. This pretended Project reaching the King's Ears, then at *St. Omers*, he was so terrified, that he could not think of returning to *England*, for fear of being confined, or perhaps something worse. He was told, the Prince his Son intended to take the Government into his hands, and obstruct his return; or in case that could not be done, to imprison him for Life. But *Edward* so fully and respectfully cleared himself, that he entirely effaced his Father's Suspicions. He even offered, to submit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans* his Uncle, refusing to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Barons of the Realm, who were not his Peers. But there was no occasion to give farther proofs of his Innocence. *Henry* at his return, seemed perfectly satisfied. The Earl of *Gloucester* finding these indirect ways did him more hurt than good, directly attacked the Earl of *Leicester*, accusing him of many misdemeanours committed as well in *Guienne* as in *England*. Upon this foundation, he demanded a day to be prefixed for hearing his Accusation against him. However, on the day appointed, seeing the Earl of *Leicester* boldly appeared to make his Defence, he was afraid either of wanting Evidence, or at least of his Adversary's Party proving too strong. So pretending some of his Witnesses were absent, he desired the affair might be farther adjourned. This quarrel might have been attended with fatal Consequences, had not the King of the *Romans* used his Interest to end it, and appease the Prince his Nephew, who was exceedingly incensed with the Earl of *Gloucester*. He succeeded at length, to the great satisfaction of the *English*, who were apprehensive, that a Civil War was going to disturb the Calm they began to enjoy (5). As soon as this affair was over,

The Party
of Gloucester
about of
the Earl of
Leicester.
M. Paris.
p. 54.
M. Paris.
p. 986.He raised a
Party
of Prince
Edward;
T. Wikes.
p. 54.who clears
himself.Gloucester di-
rectly accuses
Leicester.but drops
his accu-
sation.The Breach
made up by
the King of
the Romans
who goes for
Germany,
and returns
again.

(1) *Rupin* has expressed this otherwise, but the Words of the Original are: Comes ait: "Quid est quod timetis, jam tempus est portendit." Cui Rex non respondit: sed ita respondit, vultusque severo: "Supra modum tonitruum & fulgur formido: sed per caput Dei, plus te quam totum mundi tonitruum & fulgur contemno." Cui Comes benigne respondit: "Domine mi, injutium est & incredibile ut nec amicum vestrum fabulam, & temerarij barones & vestri, & regno Angliæ fidelem pascatis; sed inimicos vestros, destructores, & falsidicos timere debetis." M. Paris, p. 974.

(2) Namely, the Bishop of *Worcester*, the Abbot of *St. Edmundsbury*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *John* *Manuel*.

(3) King *Henry* met him at *Canterbury*, and both Kings going into the Chapter House, *Richard* Earl of *Gloucester* called upon the King of the *Romans*, by the Name of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, (without any Regard to his other Title) to take the Oath, which he did in these Words: "Hæc est, ye, all People, that I *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, do here swear upon the Holy Gospels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with you the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of *England*, hitherto too much out of Order by the Council of evil Men; and I will be your actual helper to expel all Rebels and Disturbers of this Kingdom, and will observe this Oath inviolably, under pain of losing all the Lands I hold in *England*." M. Paris, p. 984.

(4) This Year King *Henry* went over into *France*, and demanded the Restitution of *Normandy*; which however he could not obtain: But rather was prevailed upon to quit all claim to *Normandy* and *Anjou*, in consideration whereof, *Lewis* paid him three thousand Pounds Tournois. And from that time the King of *England* left out the Title of Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*, in his Grants, and Letters Patents. W. Rishanger, p. 689.

(5) About this time, as the MS. Chronicle relates, the King caused a *Fulmote* of the Citizens to be summoned at *St. Paul's* Cross, where he came himself with the King of the *Romans*, and divers other Noblemen, and there told them, that all the Male sex, above twelve Years of Age, should take an Oath before the Aldermen of their particular Ward, to be faithful to the King, and after his Decease to his Heir, without naming any Person: Which was done accordingly. *Annals de Antiq. Leg.*

1260. Richard set out for Germany, where he had some expectations of being owned for Emperor by all the Electoral Princes. But quickly finding, it was not in his Power to dispel the Factions that divided the Germans he relinquished this Project, and returned to England. Here he found the King and Queen of Scotland, who were come to visit the King. A few days after, arrived also John de Dreux Duke of Bretagne, to espouse Beatrix the King's second Daughter, so that the Court was very numerous. Though the Governors had no great regard for the King's Person, they however did honor to his Royalty, by a magnificent reception of these illustrious Guests. But it was with little satisfaction to Henry, who, not having the management of his Revenues, could not value himself upon the good reception his Son-in-law met with at his own Court (1).

The King and Queen of Scotland, and Earl of Bretagne arrive.
T. Wilkes.
A.C. Pub.
T.I. p. 675, 682.

Henry recalls the Bishop of Winchester, who dies on the Road.
T. Wilkes.
Though Henry had no great Soul, he was sensible however of the mortifications he daily received. He even sought means to free himself from the Yoke laid on him, but had none about him to advise with. In this perplexity he privately invited Athelmar his Brother, Bishop of Winchester, who was gone to Rome (2), to return to England. He hoped his Character, and the Pope's Protection would screen him from the Persecutions of the Barons. The Bishop was now on the Road for England, where he would doubtless have caused great disturbances, had not death seized him at Paris. The Barons were overjoyed at the news, because they were thereby freed from no little uneasiness. And indeed, they could not have denied him entrance into the Kingdom, as they had resolved, without breaking entirely with the Pope.

The Pope absolves the King from his Oath concerning the Oxford Provisions.
M. West.
A.C. Pub.
T.I. p. 722.
This Accident hindered not the King from pursuing his design, of throwing off the Barons Yoke. The unexpected Breach between the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, who were only outwardly reconciled, putting him in hopes of succeeding in his Project, he desired the Pope to absolve him from his Oath concerning the Oxford-Provisions. His Holiness readily granted him this favour, it being no less his own than the King's Interest; to alter a Government so prejudicial to him. But Alexander dying before the Dispensation could be sealed, he was forced to stay till the Holy See was filled. Urban IV, who was promoted to the Papal Throne, being as compliant as his Predecessor, Henry soon pulled off the mask.

Urban IV.
p. 736.
W. Rish.

1261. The King declares to the Parliament that he will no longer observe the Oxford Provisions.
A.C. Pub.
T.I. p. 746.
W. Rish.
T. Wilkes.
He retires to the Tower, and turns out all the Officers chosen by the twenty-four.
W. Rish.
p. 990.
T. Wilkes.
The Parliament being assembled at London, he suddenly repaired thither, without acquainting any one with his design, and plainly told them, "That before he was made to sign the Oxford Provisions, they had obliged themselves to pay his Debts, and increase his Revenue; and since neither of these Articles had been performed, he did not look upon himself as bound to keep his Word." He added, "That he no longer intended to make use of the Counsellors imposed upon him, and who treated him rather like a Slave than a King." After this brief Declaration, he retired to the Tower, the Governor whereof he had gained, and seized upon all the Treasure lodged there (3). This first Step being taken, he turned out by Proclamation all the Officers and Magistrates chosen by the four and twenty, and nominated others in their room. In short, he shewed by his whole Conduct, that he was resolved to reign with the same Liberty, as before the Parliament of Oxford.

Edward returns from Paris.
Ibid.
A.C. Pub.
T.I. p. 743.
Prince Edward, then at Paris (4), having notice of what passed in England, returned with all speed, to endeavour to prevent the impending Evils. He sufficiently knew the King his Father to have reason to fear, he had proceeded without taking proper measures, and his fears were not groundless. The Barons impatiently waited his return, in expectation, that being more knowing than the King, he would apply himself warmly to prevent the mischiefs the Kingdom was threatened with. To prepare the way for him, they presented an Address to the King, praying him to observe his Oath, and offering on their part, to amend such Articles as should be found too severe upon him in the Oxford-Provisions. Henry pretending, nothing could be done till his Son's arrival, returned no answer to this Proposal, which by no means agreed with his Projects. He was no less impatient than

The Barons address the King, who returns no Answer.
W. Rish.
p. 991.

the Barons, to see the Prince, in hopes he would strengthen his Party. But he was extremely surprized, when he found, the Prince, at his return, openly blamed him for breaking his word. He was thunderstruck at this, which was followed by something still more grievous. The Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, upon whose dissention he relied, were sincerely reconciled, to prevent their common ruin, and swore once more to the Oxford-Provisions. The Barons Party being considerably strengthened by this Union, they sent the King word, if he would not voluntarily remove from about his Person, all evil Counsellors, they would find means to compel him. This weak Prince, who had rashly engaged in an undertaking which he saw he could not go through with Honour, chose to return them no answer. Mean time, he continued in the Tower, from whence he durst not stir, for fear of being delivered into their hands.

In this ill situation, he saw no other remedy, but to treat with the Barons. He perceived his condition would be but more unhappy, if he vainly persisted to prosecute his design. Matters even seemed to be in a fair way, by the Concessions of both Parties. But this Prospect lasted not long. Henry thinking to make his Cause better, by urging the Pope's Authority, gave occasion to widen the Breach, by unadvisedly shewing the Bull, which absolved him from his Oath. The discovery of this Secret, which he ought to have concealed at such a juncture, did him an irreparable damage. The Barons, who till then were in hopes to bring him to equitable Terms, resolved to lay aside all Ceremony. They plainly saw, there was no reliance upon an Accommodation, to which the most solemn Oath could give no manner of force. Pursuant to this resolution, they formed a design to surprize the King in Winchester, where he was gone in hopes that the Negotiation on foot would have a good Issue. But Henry receiving timely notice, retired again to the Tower. As soon as he found himself safe, his first care was to send into all the Counties, Orders, to turn out the Sheriffs appointed by the four and twenty, which caused a general confusion in the whole Kingdom. Some were for obeying the Sheriffs nominated by the King, whilst others refused to acknowledge them (5).

Mean time, the Barons continuing to take measures to oppose the King's designs, prevailed with the Governors of the Cinque-Ports to fit out a Fleet to guard the Coast, lest Succours should come from some foreign Prince. The Cinque-Ports were obliged by their Charter to equip fifty Men of War whenever the King's Service required it (6). Upon this occasion, the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, interpreting the King's Service by that of the Kingdom, pretended to serve the King, by making use of their Forces against him. This Maxim will not appear very strange, when it is considered, that in England the King and the State have always been deemed but one and the same Body. Upon this foundation it is affirmed, that when the King comes to separate his Interest from those of the Publick, he loses his Prerogatives, which are rather the Prerogatives of the Crown, than of the Sovereign's Person.

Every thing manifestly tended to a Civil War. But the fear every one of both Parties were under of rendering his condition worse, suspended the Effects of their mutual Enmity. Whilst the King and the Barons were equally desirous to avoid the blame of beginning the War, the King of the Romans improved this Disposition, to try to procure a good Peace. His Mediation being accepted, he prevailed with the King his Brother, to promise, that he would confirm the Oxford-Provisions; and with the Barons to depart from such Articles as were most displeasing to the King. In all appearance, the four and twenty were then deprived of their Authority, and the more, because from the beginning of the Troubles it was not generally acknowledged. The Earl of Leicester refused to consent to this Agreement, and chose to retire into France. He said, he durst not rely on the word of a Prince, who scrupled not to break his Oath, when he found it for his Interest. Among the

1261.

Edward leaves his Father.

The Earl of Leicester and Gloucester unite, and threaten the King.

An accommodation is on foot.
M. West.

The King breaks it off by his indiscretion.

They try to surprize him.

T. Wilkes.
M. West.The Cinque-Ports declare against the King.
M. West.

1262.

The King promises to confirm the Oxford Provisions.
M. West.Leicester retires into France.
T. Wilkes.

(1) About this time also there was held a Parliament, where a new Justiciary, Chancellor, and Treasurer, were appointed by the Barons, in the Places of those that were either lately dead, or had resigned; as Northok, Archdeacon of Ely, was made Keeper of the Great-Seal; the Abbot of Peterborough, Treasurer; and Hugh de Evesham, Chief Justiciary. T. Wilkes.

(2) To get his Election to Winchester confirmed, which was done, and also a Letter was sent by the Pope to the King and Barons, to intercede for his Re-admission; but the Answer, printed in Dr. Brady against Mr. Poynt, was a flat Denial.

(3) The publick Treasure had for some time been kept there. T. Wilkes. M. West.

(4) He was gone thither in Company with the Duke of Bretagne's Son, and the two Sons of the Earl of Leicester, (whom the King had knighted) to be present at a great Tournament. T. Wilkes.

(5) The Writ or Letters issued out by the King on this occasion, are upon Record, and printed in Dr. Brady's Appendix, No. 205. The Substance of them was: "That the Barons not having performed their Part of the Oxford Provisions, he had by the Pope absolved by the Pope from his Oath to observe them. That he was ready to do Justice to all Men in his Courts, and to keep the Articles of the Great Charter, and Charter of Forests; which the Sheriff were ordered to proclaim in all places, &c."

(6) From hence may be seen the great Power of the Cinque-Ports in those Days, to which the chief Guard of the Kingdom, by Sea, was then committed, and which found the King no less than a Fleet of fifty Sail, each Town according to its proportion; and this they were to do for the Privileges they enjoyed.

1262. Barons who signed this Agreement, there were several no less dissatisfied with it. But as the Majority gave their Consent, they chose rather to accept it, than be deemed alone the cause of the Troubles. By this Treaty, *England* seemed to be restored to its former Tranquillity. But the Fire which lay concealed under the Cinders, soon re-kindled, and burst out into new flames.

Henry passes to Guienne. Act. Pub. T. I. p. 43. 78. *Guinees, and the King's Son.* M. West. During this Calm, which *Henry* hoped long to enjoy, the affairs of *Guienne* obliged him to go over to *Bordeaux* (1), where falling ill of a *Quartan-Ague*, he stayed longer than he designed. *Richard* Earl of *Glocester* dying in the mean while, his Son *Gilbert* immediately repaired to *Guienne*, to be invested with his Father's Inheritance. *Henry* having no kindness for that Lord, was solicited some time before he would do him that Justice. And it was not till after receiving a considerable Present, that he sent him away satisfied.

The Party of the Barons unite. M. West. The King's absence afforded *Leicester's* Friends an opportunity to renew their Cabals, and unite the Party divided by the late Treaty. They compassed their ends the more easily, as the King gave the Barons a plausible Pretence to complain, by delaying to confirm the *Oxford-Provisions*.

Leicester returns. T. Wikes. p. 55. When the Earl of *Leicester* was informed that this Party began to revive, he speedily returned into *England*, where his Presence entirely restored the Courage of those who, out of fear or weakness, had signed the late Agreement (2). Upon this the King came over in great haste, but it was now too late. The Barons had resolved to put themselves in a condition not to fear his Inconstancy.

and the King's Son. T. Wikes. p. 55. Immediately after his return, they presented an Address to him, calling upon him to confirm the Statutes of *Oxford*, pursuant to his Agreement, and threatening, in case of refusal, to take such measures as would not be agreeable. They were in hopes, that fear would oblige him to grant their demand, and it was a great surprize to them to find themselves called Rebels, and threatened with the severest Punishments. It will doubtless seem strange, that the King, in his present Circumstances, should behave thus haughtily. But he had a private Reason unknown to the Barons.

1263. *The Barons present an Address.* An S. Aug. T. Wikes. p. 56. During his Voyage to *Guienne*, he had gained the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*. The last had now raised some foreign Troops, under colour of employing them against the *Welsh*, but in reality to oppose them to the Barons. The War however did not break out so soon. There were still some Negotiations, but which served only to widen the Breach, and give the Barons time to prepare themselves. During this interval, *Edward* carried the War into *Wales*, where however he did nothing considerable, for want of Money to pay his Troops. In this sad situation, the Prince not being able to resolve to disband his Army, and not having wherewithal to satisfy them, he thought he might use some extraordinary method to raise the Money he wanted. On a sudden he came to *London*, and without communicating his design, led a Company of armed Men to the new Temple, and took out of the Treasury of the Templars ten thousand Pounds Sterling, deposited there by the Citizens. This Violence raised loud murmurs among the Parties concerned; but their Complaints were in vain. The Prince had now caused the Money to be conveyed to *Windsor* Castle, from whence it would be very difficult to take it by force.

The King threatens them. He gains his Son *Edward*, and the King of the *Romans*. T. Wikes. p. 56, 57.

Edward takes ten thousand pounds from the Templars by force. An. S. Aug. Whilst these things passed in *England*, *Urban* IV, altered his measures with respect to *Sicily*, and took no care to give any notice to *Henry*. The Revolution in *England* causing him to consider that Kingdom as an exhausted Fund, he turned to *France*, and entered into a Negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to place that Prince on the Throne of *Sicily*. To prepare *Henry* for this change, he wrote him a long Letter, wherein, after reproaches for what the Holy See had done for him, he complained of the Non-performance of his Promises. In short, he let him know, he should be forced to seek another Prince for speedier and more effectual Supplies.

Urban IV. *Henry to Pope.* Act. Pub. T. I. p. 79. Mean time the Negotiation between the King and the Barons was still continued, but proceeded very slowly; both Parties having no other Intention but to lay upon each other the blame of the rupture. At length the Earl of

Leicester, fearing all these delays would only tend to corrupt his Adherents, convened an Assembly of the Barons, where it was unanimously resolved to maintain the *Oxford-Provisions* by Arms (3). This resolution being taken, they chose the Earl of *Leicester* for General, and each went and drew together the Troops which were already prepared, in the uncertainty of the Success of the Negotiation. The Foreigners, dispersed in the Kingdom, were the first that felt the sad effects of this rupture. The People were so exasperated against them, that, without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty, they persecuted all alike that could not speak good *English*, that Mark alone being sufficient to render them odious. On the other hand, the Earl of *Leicester* plundered without mercy the Estates of the King's Favorites and Counsellors, and publicly declared, he would hearken to no Proposals of Peace, till they were all entirely destroyed (4). As the King had no Army to withstand the Barons, he still remained in the Tower of *London*, whilst they became masters of *Glocester*, *Hereford*, *Bridgnorth*, *Worcester* and other Places near the *Severn*. These Conquests were followed with the declaration of the City of *London* in their favour. The *Londoners* eagerly embracing the opportunity of being revenged of the King, sent him word, they were resolved to adhere to the *Oxford Provisions*, and to shut their Gates against the Foreigners, in case he should think of bringing any into the City.

Though these happy beginnings gave the Barons great reason to hope well of their enterprize, they believed, that to gain the People still more to their side, it was necessary to shew, they had taken up Arms with grief, and were ready to lay them down with joy. To that end, they presented to the King a Petition drawn up in very respectful Terms, wherein they offered to consent, that a free Parliament should review the *Oxford Provisions*, and annul such Articles as were found too prejudicial to the Royal Authority. But withal, they desired, that the King should confirm the rest, and the Kingdom be governed by the Natives, as was practised in all other Countries. This Petition had no effect upon the King, who, though blocked up as it were in the Tower, expected every moment the Prince his Son to come and relieve him. This too was what the Barons feared; and therefore to prevent the designs of Prince *Edward*, they post themselves at *Thistleworth*, through which place he must necessarily pass to deliver the King. The Barons precaution caused the King to alter his resolutions. As he began to despair of being relieved, he found himself obliged to send them word, he would confirm the Provisions of *Oxford*. This was all the Barons wanted, so that a Treaty containing four principal Articles, was easily concluded, namely (5): I. That the King's Castles should be put into the hands of the Barons. II. That the Provisions of *Oxford* should be inviolably observed. III. That all Foreigners, except such as should be allowed of by the unanimous consent of the Barons, should be banished the Realm. IV. That the Administration of Affairs should be committed to the King's natural Subjects, approved of by the Barons.

This agreement would have restored Peace to the Kingdom, had the King consented to it with design to perform it. But as his sole view was to free himself from his troublesome State, it was not long before he broke it. The insolence of some *Londoners* did not a little contribute to his taking this resolution. One day, as the Queen was going by Water to *Windsor*, the Mob, just as she was going to shoot the Bridge, hollowed at her in a manner very mortifying to a Queen. They not only set upon her by foul reproaches, but some were so brutish as to cast Dirt and Stones at her (6). The King was extremely incensed at this insult, and it served to confirm him in his resolution, of making a vigorous effort for the recovery of his Authority. He began therefore to store with Arms and Provisions the Castles that were still in his power, which was a sufficient hint to the Barons, to be upon their Guard.

Matters standing thus, it was hard to say whether the Kingdom was in Peace or War. Though Hostilities

(1) About the latter end of July, or beginning of August. M. Westm. p. 381.

(2) Upon his Arrival, the Earl appeared at a great Council held by *Philip* Bailie the Justiciary, and produced a Brief from the Pope, wherein he confirmed the Provisions of *Oxford*, and recalled the King's Abdication, declaring he was deceived in granting it. This Brief was publicly read in the Council, contrary to the Will of the Justiciary, (lately put in by the King) but as soon as the Earl had published it, he went back into *France*. This Passage is found in no other Writer, except the Manuscript Chronicle of *St. Augustin*; and, it true, gives us the Reason of the so sudden Change in the Barons' Humour, from what it was in the beginning of this Year, and shows the Cause of what happened the next, as will be seen presently. But if the Abdication was recalled, it was shortly after reconfirmed.

(3) And farther, according to the City Annals, they sent a Letter, (sealed by the Lord *Roger Clifford*, in the Name of the rest) to petition his Majesty to observe the Provisions of *Oxford*, and disband all those that opposed them; the King, Queen, and their Children excepted.

(4) The Storm fell most upon *John* Marjell and *Robert* Waleran, who were thought to be the King's chief Advisers not to come to an Agreement. And likewise on *Simon* de *Walton*, Bishop of *Norwich*, who with *Marjell* had published the Pope's Bull to absolve *Henry* from his Oath to the *Oxford Provisions*. An. S. Aug. T. Wikes. p. 57.

(5) The first Article was, "That *Henry*, Son of the King of the *Romans* (who was kept Prisoner in *France*) should be released." T. Wikes. p. 56.

(6) *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, she was very much against the King's signing the late Treaty. This Insult was the Cause of the loss of the Battle of *Lewes*, as will be seen hereafter.

1263.

Prince Edward blocked up in Bristol Castle by the Citizens. M. West. W. Rish. p. 992.

He gets off by a Device,

and shuts himself up in Windsor. W. Rish. p. 991.

Is seized at a Conference, and forced to deliver up the Castle. *ibid.*

Truce between the King and Barons. T. Wikes. M. West. p. 383.

The King begins Hostilities. T. Wikes.

The Earl of Leicester wants to be Master of London. T. Wikes. M. West.

were not yet begun, the distrust on both sides was so great, that the two Parties looked upon one another as real Enemies; each being ready to take what advantages might offer. During this state of uncertainty, Prince Edward thought it necessary to store with Provisions Bristol Castle, of which, the King his Father had entrusted him with the Custody. To that end, he came to Bristol, and would have obliged the Citizens to find him what Provisions he wanted. As People then stood disposed, this demand, made perhaps a little too haughtily, raised a sedition among the Townsmen, which forced the Prince to retire hastily into the Castle. He was no sooner there, but the Inhabitants resolved to besiege him, or at least, to keep him so closely blocked up, that he should not escape, well knowing that, for want of necessities, he could not long resist. This resolution threw Edward into a very great strait. He got out of it however by a device, which indeed freed him from the present danger, but soon brought him into another, from whence he could not so happily disengage himself. He sent for the Bishop of Worcester, and intimated to him, that he intended to adhere to the Barons; but desired first to talk with the King his Father, to persuade him to give them entire satisfaction: That not being able to execute this design, by reason of his being thus blocked up, he intreated him to be security for him, and accompany him to London, to be a witness of his Conduct. The Bishop being persuaded of the Prince's sincerity, told the Citizens of Bristol, it would be for the good of the common Cause to let Edward go; to which they consented, and the Blockade was raised. Accordingly the Prince set out, in company with the Bishop, who did not question but this Journey would prove successful. But when they came near Windsor, Edward clapping Spurs to his Horse, rid away from the Bishop, without taking leave, and shut himself up in the Castle. However, this Fraud did not turn so much to the Prince's advantage, as he expected. The Bishop, provoked at this deceit, carried his complaints to the Barons, who immediately resolved to lay Siege to Windsor. This Castle was so ill provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, that Edward thought it not in his power to stand a Siege. But on the other hand, he could not resolve to lose the Place. As he depended very much upon his address, he imagined, it would not be impossible to amuse the Barons by a Negotiation, which would leave him in possession of the Castle upon certain Terms, the performance whereof would be in his power. For that purpose, he went himself to the Earl of Leicester, who was advancing towards Windsor. He met the General at Kingston upon Thames, where he held a Conference with him. But, just as he was preparing to return, without coming to any agreement, he was seized (1), and by that means forced to accept of what Terms were imposed on him. He was required, to surrender the Castle of Windsor to the Barons, and to order the Garrison, consisting wholly of Foreigners, to depart the Kingdom.

The War seemed to be going to rekindle with greater fury than ever, so much did the two Parties appear exasperated against one another. Nevertheless, as the King was not ready, and it was the Barons interest to let him begin the Hostilities, in order to gain the People to their side, some peaceable Persons took the opportunity to mediate a Truce, which was followed by a Peace on the same Conditions with the former (2). But this Treaty restored not tranquillity to the Kingdom. As the King was forced to it, he soon broke it, by endeavouring to surprize Dover Castle, then in the hands of the Barons. This attempt obliging both Parties to take Arms again, every one tried to strengthen his Party, by seizing several places. The Londoners, though inclined to the Barons, were however obliged to keep a sort of Neutrality, having experienced how liable they were to be annoyed by the Garrison of the Tower, which was ever in the King's hands. Besides, Henry had still in the City a good number of Adherents, who were a Check upon the opposite Party. Mean time, the Earl of Leicester considering, of what importance it would be, to have the

Metropolis on his side, marched towards it through the County of Surrey, situated South of the Thames; in hopes that his Friends (3) would be able to open to him the Gates of the Bridge. But the King having notice of this design, left the Tower, and encamped with his Troops about Southwark, with intent to oppose the Enemies passage. The Earl of Leicester, who relied more on the assistance of the Citizens, than on his own Forces, vigorously attacked the King's Troops, in expectation that the Londoners would favour his entrance. During the Fight, some Citizens of the King's Party, perceiving the City was in motion to assist the Earl, locked up the Bridge Gates, and threw the Keys into the River (4). This contrivance had like to prove fatal to the Earl of Leicester, who for some time was in great disorder, having brought with him but few Soldiers, for fear his design should be discovered. But at length the Gates being broke open, and the Citizens falling out in multitudes to his assistance, the King was forced to retire, and the Earl entered the City.

The advantage gained by the Barons was attended with the usual effect, that is, the King made them Proposals of an agreement. But as all the Treaties hitherto concluded were fruitless, because the King complained of being forced to accept of too rigorous Terms, which the Barons would never grant; it was agreed on both sides, to refer all their differences to the arbitration of the King of France. Lewis accepting the mediation, Henry, attended by Prince Edward, met him at Amiens (5), where the States-General were assembled. The sentence pronounced by Lewis, upon these differences, was favorable to Henry. He declared the Provisions of Oxford to be null and void; restored the King to his antient power; adjudged that he might nominate all the great Officers of the Crown; and that Foreigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities, as the English themselves. But he added one Clause, which destroyed the whole, by declaring, it was not his intent to abrogate the Privileges granted to the English, by their Kings, before the Parliament of Oxford (6). The Barons looked upon this Clause, as a manifest contradiction, because they pretended; the Provisions of Oxford were enacted only to corroborate their Privileges. This furnished them with a pretence to reject the Award, and renew the War (7).

The account of what passed between the two Parties, till the famous battle of Lewes, is clogged with so many confused circumstances, for such as know not the situation of the places where the War was waged, that it must be very tedious. It is better to hasten to that remarkable event, which put an end to the quarrel, in favour of the Barons. I shall only observe, that during the Interval between the renewal of the War and that Battle, Henry gained several advantages over the Barons; and also by means of the Prince his Son, and the King of the Romans, gained several of them, who considerably strengthened his Party. Moreover, he became master of Oxford, from whence he expelled the Scholars, for showing too much partiality to the Barons. The Town of Northampton was taken by storm by the King's Troops, where fifteen Barons, and sixty Knights, were made Prisoners (8). The King was like to have hanged them all; but the advice of his Generals, and the fear of Reprials, diverted him from proceeding to that extremity. The taking of Northampton, was followed by that of Nottingham. Then the King marched into Kent, where he obliged the Barons to raise the Siege of Rochester, and retire to London.

The King was equally susceptible of Presumption and Fear, according to the posture of his affairs. Flushed with the success his arms had hitherto been crowned with, he resolved to march directly to London. He did not question but the City, discouraged by his late advantages, would declare in his favour. Perhaps his hopes would not have been groundless, if, since his being on the Throne, he had treated the Citizens more civilly. But the remembrance of their ill usage, prevented them from exposing themselves to the like danger. The Earl of Leicester taking occasion from the King's approach

(1) By the Advice of the Bishop of Worcester. M. West.

(2) The King being outwardly reconciled to the Earl of Leicester and his Party, the Lord High Steward was again made Justiciary, in the room of Philip Basset, and the Earl of Leicester was made High Steward of England, and Sir Roger de Leyburn, who had been looked upon as one of the King's greatest Enemies, was likewise made Steward of the Household. T. Wikes. M. West.

(3) The chief of whom were, Thomas Fitz Richard, the Mayor, Thomas de Pynteston, Matthew Butler, Michael Tery, &c. T. Wikes, p. 53.

(4) The chief Contriver of this design, was John Giffers, a Norman by Birth. M. West.

(5) January 23. M. West. p. 384.

(6) *Nolumus autem, nec intendimus derogare per presentem ordinationem in aliquo Regis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis, & laudabilibus consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, quæ erant ante tempus Provisions ipsarum.* This Award, (which you may see at large in Lye's Appendix, No 7.) bears date Feb. 3. 1263, in Father Dacberge's Spiritualem, because the French began not their Year till our Lady Day, whereas according to the Accounts of all our former Historians, the Year began on Christmas-Day, and so the Sentence is dated, as here in Rapin, in 1264.

(7) The King being returned to England, called a Parliament about Middel at Oxford, consisting of such great Men, as remained faithful to him. T. Wikes, p. 58. M. West. p. 385.

(8) It was taken April 3. The persons of Note made Prisoners were, William de Ferrars, Rowdewyn, and Nicolas de Wake, Adam de Neumarke, Roger Bertram, Simon Fitz Simon, Engeram de Waterville, Hugh Gubyn, Thomas Mounfel, Robert Untewilayn, Robert de Neuton, Philip de Scriby, Grymbail de Paumantail. Besides Peter Monfort the Earl's Cousin, and also Simon Monfort his second Son, whose Horse, as he was riding too near the breach, stuck at something, and run headlong through the Ruins of the Wall down into the Ditch, whence the Rider narrowly escaped breaking his Neck, but was taken up by the King's Soldiers. T. Wikes, p. 60. Hemingford, p. 582.

1264.

retires to
Lewes.
W. Rish.
p. 994.

The Earl of
Leicester
follows him,
and presents
a Petition;
M. West.
p. 336.

which is
haughtily
rejected.
M. West.
W. Rish.
p. 994.

They re-
vance their
Fealty.

Battle of
Lewes.
M. West.
T. Wikes.
Hemingf.
W. Rish.

Edward
beats the
Londoners,
and pursues
too far.
M. West.
Hemingf.
W. Rish.
p. 995.

Henry and
the King of
the Romans
made Prison-
ers.
W. Rish.

to exasperate them against him, managed so dextrously, that he persuaded them to go out of the City, and offer him battle. Henry was surprized at this, and being unwilling to hazard a battle with them at their own Gates, retired farther off, and encamped at *Lewes* in the County of *Sussex*.

Mean time, the Earl of *Leicester*, with the confederate Barons, reinforcing their Army with a strong Body of *Londoners* (1), marched out of the City in pursuit of the King, with intent to decide the quarrel by a Battle. Pursuant to this resolution, they advanced towards *Lewes*, and encamped about six miles from the King's Army (2). This they did, to try whether there might be still some means to restore Peace to the Kingdom. It may be, they really wished it, or else it was only to clear themselves from the blame, of what should follow upon the King's refusal to accept of reasonable Terms. Before they approached any nearer, they sent the King word (3), that they had taken Arms, not to withdraw their allegiance, but only to reform what was amiss in the Government; that they humbly besought him to join with them in that work, protesting he should find them as faithful as those, who under colour of serving him, fought only his ruin, by endeavouring to set him against his most dutiful Subjects, by their infamous Calumnies. How respectful soever this Letter might be, it touched those about the King too sensibly, to be received with moderation. The King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward* were so offended at it, that they answered it with the Lie, Defiance, and Threats, and prevailed with the King to send the like answer (4). If it be true, as it is not unlikely, that the Barons made this step only to clear themselves from blame, they were glad of so plausible a pretence, to push things to extremity. Accordingly, without farther Ceremony, they sent the King word, that they renounced the Fealty they owed him, and considered him no more, but as an enemy to the State (5).

All hopes of agreement being lost by the animosity of both Parties, nothing was thought of but a Battle. The Earl of *Leicester* advancing with his army, drew it up in order of battle, near the King's, who was preparing to receive him. The Royal Army was divided into three Bodies, of which that on the right, was commanded by Prince *Edward* (6), the King of the *Romans* was on the left (7), and Henry himself headed the main Body. The Barons Army was divided into four Bodies. The first was led by *Henry de Montfort* the General's Son (8). The Earl of *Glocester* (9) commanded the second. The third wholly consisting of *Londoners*, was on the left, commanded by *Nicolas Segrave*. The fourth was headed by the Earl of *Leicester*. The two Armies being thus drawn up, Prince *Edward* began the fight with attacking the *Londoners*, who not being able to stand so vigorous a Charge, immediately took to their heels. As the Prince was animated with a desire, of revenging the affront done the Queen his Mother by the *London Mob*, he pursued them above four miles, without giving them any quarter. But this revenge cost him dear. Whilst he pursued his victory, with more eagerness than discretion, the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester* gained the same advantage over Henry, and the King of the *Romans*. The Barons being very sensible, what their lot would be in case they were vanquished, attacked, with a fury mixt with despair, the royal Troops, who had not the same reason to fight with that animosity. Accordingly, they took to flight, after a faint resistance, leaving the two Kings in the hands of their enemies. Henry surrendering himself to the Earl of *Leicester*, and *Richard* to the Earl of *Glocester*, were presently conducted to the Priory of *Lewes*, situated at the foot of the Castle, which was kept by some of the King's Troops. To this place the Soldiers of the royal Army fled, in order to retire into the Castle. But when they saw the Town in the power of the Barons, the two Kings made Prisoners, and in all appearance, themselves going to be sur-

rounded on all sides, they threw down their Arms, and surrendered at discretion. (10)

Mean time, Prince *Edward*, who was returning in triumph from the pursuit of the *Londoners*, was extremely surprized to see the royal Army disperfed, and to hear, the two Kings were Prisoners. His first thoughts were, to exert his utmost to set them at liberty. If this resolution could have been immediately executed, it would have infallibly changed the face of Affairs. The Conquerors, employed in guarding their Prisoners, or disperfed about the Field in pursuit of the flying Enemies, would have found it difficult to withstand a vigorous attack. But the Prince's Soldiers, dismayed at the defeat of the rest of the Army, and the captivity of the two Kings, showed no inclination to renew a fight which to them seemed too unequal. This fear, which all *Edward's* Sollicitations could not overcome, made him lose so fair an opportunity, wherein, very probably, he would have gained great reputation. Mean time, the Earl of *Leicester* drew his Army together again, with all possible expedition. At first, he thought only of defending himself, justly dreading to be attacked in his present disorder. But when he saw he had time to rally his Troops, his only concern was, to hinder the Prince from escaping. To that end, he sent him Proposals to amuse him, whilst, by several Detachments, he took care to prevent his retreat.

Edward's uncertainty at first what course he should take, the opposition of his own Troops, the time spent in trying to animate them, and the several Messages from the Earl of *Leicester* to amuse him, were the cause of his losing so many precious Hours, which should have been employed, either in fighting, or retreating in good order. But having done neither, he found himself on a sudden surrounded on all sides, and under a necessity of accepting conditions, which appeared tolerable in his ill situation. This Negotiation, which lasted but a few moments, was ended by these Articles: That the Statutes of *Oxford* should be inviolably observed; yet so, that they might be amended by four Bishops or Barons chosen by the Parliament: And if these four Commissioners should not agree, they were to stand to the arbitration of the Earl of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, assisted by four *French* Noblemen. Thus far, all went well for the Prince; but the last Article was the worst; namely, That himself and Henry his Cousin, Son to the King of the *Romans*, should remain as Hostages in the custody of the Barons, till all things were settled by Authority of Parliament. How hard soever this Article was, *Edward*, who saw no remedy, was forced to consent to it. These Articles, called the *Mise*, that is to say, the Agreement of *Lewes*, were signed by *Edward*, and confirmed by the King, who was not in condition to reject them.

The Earl of *Leicester* having the King and almost all the royal Family in his power, took all the advantages that his policy could suggest to him. He, who a little before scrupled not to disobey the King, because he was directed by evil Counsellors, now only used that Monarch's name. He made him send Orders to the Governors of his Castles to surrender them to the Barons. He caused him to sign Commissions to the Sheriffs of the several Counties, empowering them to take up arms against all that should dare to disturb the State, that is, against the King's own Friends. In short, he who had been so troublesome to the King, on purpose to curb the exorbitant power he would have assumed, took it very ill that this same King, when guided wholly by his Counsels, was not implicitly obeyed. Thus it is that Men alter their Principles and Maxims, according to their interests, and as their affairs come to have a new face. But these are reflections that would too frequently occur, should we stay to make them every time there was occasion.

As the Barons had no other view in the Agreement of *Lewes*, but to secure the Person of Prince *Edward*, they were not very forward to perform it. On the contrary,

(1) Fifteen thousand. M. Westm. p. 336.

(2) At *Boxing*. M. West. ibid.

(3) In a very respectful Letter, sealed by *Leicester* and *Glocester*, at the Request of the rest. M. Westm. p. 386.

(4) In his answer, dated the 12th of May 1264, at *Lewes*, he says, "That not himself, but they were indeed the Cause of all the War, Destruction, Rapine, and Misery, which had befallen the Nation; That their Intentions were not according to their Professions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, and therefore he denied them." The King of the *Romans* Letter bears the same date. M. West, p. 386. W. Rish. p. 994.

(5) But this was not till they had interceded with the King, by Henry Bishop of London, and Walter Bishop of Worcester, for Peace, and offered thirty thousand Pounds in consideration of the Damages done by them in the Kingdom, yet so, that the Provisions of *Oxford* might stand good. T. Wikes, W. Rish. p. 994.

(6) Together with William de Valence Earl of Pembroke, his Uncle, and John Earl of Warren and Surrey. This last, and William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, Hugh Bigot, and many others, ran away during the Fight, and escaped into France. M. West, p. 387. T. Wikes, p. 63. W. Rish. p. 994.

(7) With his Son Henry. The King's Standard was then a Dragon. M. West. p. 387. W. Rish.

(8) And the Earl of Hereford and Essex. W. Rish. p. 994.

(9) Gilbert de Clare, with John Fitz-John, and William de Montcanis.

(10) This Battle was fought on the 14th of May. About five thousand Persons fell on both Sides; and among the rest of the King's Adherents, William de Winton, the Justiciary, Fulk Fitz-Warin; and of the Barons Side, Ralph Horingander, and William Blund, the Earl of Leicester's Standard-Bearer. A list of these mentioned by Rapin, the following Persons of note were made Prisoners, Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford, William Bardolf, Robert de Tutebaile, Roger de Someri, Henry de Percy, Philip Basset; John de Baillol, Robert de Brut, John Comin, &c. M. West. p. 387.

they

1264. they drew up a new plan of Government, and resolved to have it confirmed by the Parliament which was to meet on the 22d of June. The posture of the affairs of the Kingdom rendered the calling of this Parliament liable to many difficulties. Indeed it was done in the King's name, who could not oppose it. But the victorious Barons were not willing, those of the contrary Party should be summoned, under pretence, they were still in Arms against their Country. On the other hand, a Parliament consisting only of part of those who had a right to sit there, seemed to want a lawful Authority. It might be objected, that it was only an Assembly of private Persons. These difficulties put the Barons upon contriving how to make this Assembly more general, and give it a greater air of Authority. To this end, they made the King sign Commissions, appointing in each County certain Officers or Magistrates called Conservators, on pretence they were designed for preserving the Privileges of the People. These Officers, who depended wholly on the Barons, were invested with very great authority. Their Commission empowered them to do whatever they should judge proper, to preserve entire the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects. This step being taken, the King was made to sign new Orders to the Conservators, to send up (1) four Knights of each County to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as Representatives of their respective Shires. From hence many affirm, the original of the right of the Commons to sit in Parliament takes its date. They maintain, this is the first time, that the several Counties undeniably appear to send Representatives to the Parliament: That all the reasons alledged to prove, the Commons enjoyed this Privilege before the year 1264, are subject to so many difficulties, that they cannot be said to amount to a clear proof. It seems indeed, that a good reason cannot be produced, why the Historians should unanimously take notice, that on this occasion there were in the Parliament Representatives of each County, if the same thing had been customary from the beginning of the Monarchy, or at least from the Norman Conquest. Why did they neglect to make the same remark on so many former Parliaments mentioned by them? It is certain, those, who pretend to find in the ancient Historians proofs of the People sending Representatives to Parliament, are forced to deduce them from consequences which appear not always just (2).

The new Parliament composed in the manner above-mentioned, being entirely at the devotion of the confederate Barons, failed not to approve of the projected Form of Government, namely, *That the Parliament should appoint three wise and discreet Commissioners, who should have Power to chuse a Council of nine Lords, to whom the Administration of the publick Affairs should be committed. That the King by the advice of the Commissioners, might change when he pleased, some, or all of the nine Counsellors. That in case the three Commissioners should not agree in changing or chusing the Counsellors, the Majority should decide it. That the resolutions taken by the nine Counsellors should be in force, provided they were approved by any six of them. But if it happened, that six of them should not agree, the Business in question should be brought to the three Commissioners, who should determine it as they thought fit. That the King might change or turn out the three Commissioners, provided it was with the consent of the Community of the Barons. Lastly, that the Nomination of all the publick Officers should belong to the nine Counsellors.* This Ordinance was to take place till the Parliament should unanimously agree to annul or alter it. It is pretended, the King and Prince Edward were compelled to consent to it, the first by being threatened with deprivation, and the other with perpetual Imprisonment. So that, if they outwardly consented, it was only with a resolution to recant the first opportunity. Mean time the Barons continued to govern the Kingdom according to this Model, imagining their affairs to be so firmly settled, as not to be easily shaken.

The last Year, Urban IV appointed for his Legate in England Cardinal Guido Bishop of St. Sabine. This Legate at his Arrival in Bishope received a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, informing him, it was no proper time for this Legateship, and that neither the Nobles nor the People were disposed to receive him. Though the Legate

was extremely offended at this refusal, he durst not ever continue his Journey. Indeed, there was no likelihood of his entering the Kingdom against the consent of those who governed. Nevertheless he proceeded a far as *Boulogne*, where he summoned all the English Bishops to appear, and give an account of their conduct. The Bishops not thinking fit to obey the Summons, he denounced against them the sentence of Excommunication, to which they appealed to the Pope. At length the affairs of the Kingdom being settled according to the Barons desire, they thought it necessary to give the Legate some satisfaction. To that end, they sent four Bishops (3) to acquaint him with their reasons for denying him entrance into the Kingdom. These Envoys found the Legate extremely incensed against the Barons. For answer, they had orders to return into England, publish the sentence of Excommunication against the Earl of Leicester, and put the City of London with all the Earl of Gloucester's Lands under an Interdict. The Bishops sending word to England of the orders received from the Legate, were met at Sea by People (4), who pretending to be Pyrates, took away all their Papers, and threw them over-board. This proceeding convincing the Legate, it would be difficult to cause his Master's Authority to be regarded at such a Juncture, he returned to Rome, where quickly after he was raised to the Papal Throne under the name of Clement IV.

Mean time, the Earl of Leicester, who was at the head of the Government, was under some trouble. The Queen was making great preparations in France to deliver the King her Spouse. On the other hand, the Insurrection of some Lords (5), bordering upon Wales, made him uneasy. He was apprehensive that the Welsh would intermeddle in the quarrel, and assist the King's Party. It was dangerous to leave the Coasts open to the Invasion of the Foreigners, who, being then in Flanders, waited only for a fair Wind to embark. But it was no less inconvenient, to suffer the Insurrection, which began to appear in the Marches of Wales, to grow to a head. To prevent these dangers, he resolved to go in Person against the Rebels, whilst he ordered the Militia of the Kingdom to assemble in Kent, and oppose the Queen's Landing. His good fortune equally freed him from both these Perils. Having gained to his Interests Lewellyn Prince of Wales, who might have given him some trouble, he vanquished the Rebels, and compelled them to throw down their Arms. He was no less fortunate with regard to the dreaded Invasion. The contrary Winds held so long, that the foreign Troops on the other side of the Water, were forced to return home, upon the approach of Winter, without the Queen's reaping the least benefit from the great expences she had been at (6). All this while the King remained in the Custody of the Earl of Leicester, who disposed of him just as he pleased, making him act against his own interests, under colour that it was for the good of the publick.

The Barons, who had taken up Arms against the King, purely on account of the exorbitant power he would have assumed, could not but be jealous of the Earl of Leicester's, which was no less absolute. The Earl of Gloucester (7), above all the rest, was highly displeased (8). He looked upon Leicester as a Man taking large steps towards the Throne, under the specious pretence of the publick Good. For this reason he was afraid, in promoting his advancement, of furnishing him with Arms to his own, as well as to the destruction of others, who were no less jealous of his greatness. The disgrace of [Robert de Ferrars] Earl of Derby, gave him cause to make these reflections. This Earl, who was no friend to Leicester, was sent to the Tower, not so much for a punishment of the crime laid to his charge, as for an example to such, as should dare to censure too openly the conduct of the principal Governor. On the other hand, the Earl of Gloucester fancied he saw, in the cold and reserved behaviour of Leicester towards him, a secret purpose to destroy him when an opportunity should offer. He was not only no longer called to the private Councils, but also had no farther share in the affairs, than what could not be denied to one of the greatest Peers of the Realm. These reasons,

(1) Rapin says, to nominate. But they were to be nominated or chosen by the Assent of their respective Counties. See the Precept, *Pat. 48. Hen. 3. m. 12. d. vijo.*

(2) Thole of Worcester, London, Winchester, and Gloucester. *T. Wikes, p. 64.*

(3) Belonging to the Cinque-Ports. *ibid.*

(4) Roger de Mortimer, James de Audley, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Lebourne, Haimo L'Esfrange, Hugh de Turbiville, with some others, who had made their escape from the Battle of Lewes. *M. West. p. 388. W. Rish. p. 996.*

(5) Matthew of Westminster says, Queen Eleanor had got together a great Army, which was commanded by so many Dukes and Earls, as seems incredible, and those who knew the Strength and Number of that Army affirmed, that if they had once landed, they would certainly have subdued the whole Kingdom. But God, (says our Author) in his Mercy ordered it otherwise. So true an Englishman was this Author, though he appears highly concerned for the King's Interest, that he did not think it safe for the Nation to have had the King restored by an Army of Foreigners. *p. 388.*

(6) Gilbert de Clare.

(7) That which most offended him was, That the Earl of Leicester took to his own use the Profits and Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the Money that was paid for the Ransom of Prisoners, which by Agreement was to have been divided between him and the Earl of Gloucester. *W. Rish. p. 997. See Tyrrel, p. 1039.*

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and more than all this, his envy at *Leicester's* greatness, led him to countenance the Male-content in the *Marches of Wales*, in order to employ them in opposing the ambitious designs, of him whom he now considered as an enemy. The Cbals he openly made, convincing *Leicester*, that he ought to omit nothing to destroy the designs of so dangerous an enemy, he caused an Order to be sent to all that had lately taken up Arms against the Establishment, to retire into *Ireland*. But they, instead of obeying, withdrew upon the Lands of the Earl of *Glocester*, where they met with protection.

Leicester seems unwilling to set Edward at Liberty.
M. Weft.

A Parliament called to that end.

To which are summoned two Knights from each Shire, and two Burgeffes from each Borough.
Remark on that account.

Edward delivered to the King, who continues still a Prisoner.
An. Waverl. Rot. Cart. 49. H. 3. M. 5.

W. Rish. P. 996.

Glocester declares openly against Leicester.

M. Weft.

Mean time, the Earl of *Leicester's* Enemies published in all places, that his rigorous treatment of the King, and also of the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*, was but too evident a proof of his pernicious designs. As these reports began to be prejudicial to the Earl, he thought it necessary to efface these impressions, by letting the People see, he was very far from forming the ambitious projects ascribed to him by his Enemies. To that purpose, he summoned a Parliament (1) declaring, it was to consider of means to restore Prince *Edward* to Liberty. He intended by that to show, that since he was willing to release the Heir to the Crown, it was very unlikely he should have those pernicious views he was charged with. The calling of this Parliament was remarkable, for that each County, was ordered to send, as their Representatives, two Knights, and each City and Borough, as many Citizens and Burgeffes (2). The Assertors of the antiquity of the House of Commons infer from hence, that since the Historians observe not that it was a new Institution, it was therefore a customary thing. Others, on the contrary, pretend, if it had been usual, it would have been needless to take notice of this circumstance, after mention of so many Parliaments, without the like remark. The reader will chosse of these two consequences that which to him seems most natural.

When the Parliament met, the Earl of *Leicester*, who disposed in great measure of the Votes, caused an Order to be passed for the release of Prince *Edward*. But it was clogged with a condition that rendered the favour of no use; namely, that he should remain with the King his Father, and obey him in all things. This condition was a plain sign, it was only intended to dazzle the Eyes of the publick. And indeed, to ordain that *Edward* should be set at liberty, and yet continue with his Father, who was himself a Prisoner, was no better than changing, or at most, enlarging his Prison. Pursuant to this Order, the Prince was taken out of *Dover Castle*, where he had been confined ever since the Battle of *Lewes*, and delivered to the King, that is, to the Earl of *Glocester*. This is what was called giving him his liberty. In the mean time *Henry* continued in the Custody of *Leicester*, who carried him about with him, and took all imaginable care to prevent his Prisoners from escaping.

The late Scene served only to increase the Earl of *Glocester's* suspicions, or rather fully to convince him that *Leicester* was paving his way to the Throne. He would not however have broke yet, if an opportunity had not offered, where it would have been dangerous to dissemble. The two eldest Sons of the Earl of *Leicester* proclaiming a Tournament for all the young Nobles, the Earl of *Glocester* did not think fit to be present. He believed, this was only a device to draw him into some Snare. Whether his suspicions had any foundation, or his prejudice made him consider them as plain proofs, he openly confederated with the Lords of the *Marches of Wales*, Enemies to *Leicester*, and fortified his Castles, as preparing for War. This proceeding furnishing his Enemies with a plausible pretence to fall upon him, a Proclamation was issued forthwith, declaring the Earl and his adherents Traytors and Enemies to the State. Pursuant to this declaration, *Leicester* put himself at the head of an Army, in order to punish these pretended Enemies of the King. With this design he marched towards the *Severn*, and afterwards came to *Hereford*, carrying his two Prisoners along with him.

His great care to secure the King and the Prince his Son, did not hinder the Earl of *Glocester* from projecting *Edward's* escape. He perceived as long as his Enemy had the King in his power, he would make great advantage thereof. For which reason he thought it expedient to get the Prince out of his hands, to oppose the Authority of the lawful Heir to the Crown, to that of the captive King. Probably, he did not judge it so easy to free the King as the Prince, or perhaps depended more upon the assistance of *Edward* than of the King his Father. Be this as it will, he communicated his design to *Roger Mortimer*, one of the Lords *Marchers*, who furnished him with means to put it in execution. *Mortimer* having many Friends at *Hereford*, made *Edward* a present, by a third hand, of a very swift Horse, and withal acquainted him with the use he was to make of it, and the design laid for the recovery of his liberty. To second the project, the Prince feigning himself ill, and to want exercise, desired leave to ride some Horses. The Earl of *Leicester*, who suspected nothing of the matter, granted his request, though with great precaution. Besides his usual guard, he ordered some Gentlemen to keep always near him, and to have their eye upon him continually. *Edward* being come into the Fields, immediately breathed two or three Horses. Then he called for that lately presented him, and as if he had a mind to use him gently to his Rider, walked him at some distance from his guard, being accompanied by the Gentlemen who kept close to him. When he was come to a certain place which he had before carefully remarked, and which seemed proper for his design, laying the reins on his Horse's neck, and clapping Spurs to his sides, he so surprized those that attended him, that he was at a good distance before they were recovered from their astonishment. However they rid after him till they saw a Troop of Horse, sent by the Earl of *Glocester* to favor his escape. *Edward* being thus freed, went and joined the Earl of *Glocester*, who received him with great joy and respect. Nevertheless, his view in procuring the Prince his Liberty, was not to re-establish the arbitrary power usurped by the King. Accordingly he plainly told *Edward*, he could not promise his assistance, unless he would oblige himself by Oath, to use his utmost endeavours to restore the antient Laws, and to banish all Foreigners from about the King's Person. *Edward* promised and swore it, in the presence of several Barons, and then took the command of the Troops raised by the Earl of *Glocester*.

Though the Earl of *Leicester* was very sensible of what consequence the Prince's escape might be, he pretended to be unconcerned at it, and continued, as before, to govern in the King's name. He issued under the Great Seal, all such Orders as he judged expedient for the Good of the State and his own interest, these two things being generally confounded, by those who hold the Reins of the Government.

It would be needless to relate here all *Leicester's* Precautions, to support himself in his Authority, to enrich his Friends, and to advance his Creatures. It suffices to say in a word, that he omitted nothing that might turn to his advantage, or contribute to the baffling the designs of his Enemies (3). All this was for his own sake, and with a view to his own interest; but he did one thing very beneficial to the Kingdom in taking at length from the Popes, the pretence, so long and so successfully used by them, to enrich themselves at the expence of the English. As he found the People had not for the Pope the same esteem and deference as formerly, he ordered a Commission to be drawn up, empowering him to renounce in the King and Prince *Edmund's* name, all pretensions to the Crown of *Sicily*. By virtue of this power, he made an authentick renunciation, of which he took care to give the Pope notice in a Letter from the King.

Mean time the Earl, foreseeing how fatal Prince *Edward's* escape might prove to him, caused very severe Orders to be published to all the King's Subjects, to oppose to the utmost of their power, Prince *Edward*, the

(1) To meet January 28. See *Brady*, Vol. I. p. 144.

(2) These Writs of Summons to the Sheriffs of the Counties, to return the Knights of the Shires and Burgeffes, are the first Writs of this kind that are now extant on the *Rolls*, which made *Dr. Brady* infer, that they were the first that were ever issued, and that this Parliament in the 49th of *Henry* 111, was the first to which Knights of Shires, and Burgeffes were summoned. But how truly, see the Works of *Mr. Pett*, *Mr. Tyrrel*, and *Mr. Hady*. It may be some Satisfaction to the curious Reader, to see the first Writs of Summons, as they are extant in *Dr. Brady*, Vol. I. p. 140. Mandatum est singulis Vicecomitibus per Angliam quod venire faciant duos milites de legalioribus & discretioribus militibus singulorum comitatuum ad Regem London, in Octabis Sancti Hillarii.

Rex Baronibus & Ballivis portus sui de Sandwico, salutem. Cum Prelati & Nobiles regni nostri tam pro negotio liberationis *Edwardi* Primogeniti nostri quam pro aliis Communitatem Regni nostri tangentibus ad instantiam Parlamentum nostrum quod erit London, in Octab. Sancti Hillarii, convocari fecimus, ubi vestra sicut & aliorum fidelium nostrorum presentia plurimum indigemus. Vobis mandamus in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter injungentes, omnibus aliis pretermisissis, mittatis ad nos ibidem quatuor de Legalioribus & Discretioribus portus vestri. Ita quod sint ibid. in Octab. predictis, Nobiscum & cum prefatis Magnatibus Regni nostri tractatum & super premissis Consilium impenduri. Et hoc sicut honorem nostrum & vestrum, & communem utilitatem Regni nostri diligentis nullatenus omitatis. Teste Rege apud 11. Oct. 20. die Januarii.

(3) He made the King, on the 30th of May, write Letters to all his Tenants in Capite; and on June 7, to the Guardians of the Peace, and Sheriffs of every County, to prohibit all People in general, from giving any Aid or Assistance, to his Son *Edward*, the Earl of *Glocester*, or any of their Contederates. See *Brady's Appendix*, N. 221, 222.

1265. Earl of Gloucester, and their Adherents, who were all stiled Traytors to the King and State. But notwithstanding this, many Barons (1), Officers and Soldiers, came and offered their Service to the Prince, who, in a short time, saw himself at the head of an Army, superior to that of the Confederates. Then it was that affairs began to have a new face. The Earl of Leicester, who, a little before, had all the Forces of the Kingdom at his disposal, could not prevent Edward from becoming master of Gloucester and several other Places. He was even forced to give ground to that young Prince, who followed him from place to place, and to use all his Policy and Experience to avoid a Battle. As he was a very good General, he took timely Care to post himself so, as to be able to retreat, whenever he should be pressed. Mean while, he sent repeated Orders to his Son Simon, to quit the Siege of Pevensey, which detained him in Kent, and come and reinforce him. Simon obeyed, and with his little Army began to march with extraordinary expedition, to join him. But as he drew near Evesham, where his Father was encamped, Edward having notice of his coming, suddenly fell upon him with all his Forces, and cut in pieces this little Body, which could not resist him (2).

This Victory animating the young Prince with fresh ardour, he immediately returned to attack the Father, before he had received the News of his Son's defeat. He so deceived the Watchfulness of the old General, by this sudden Resolution, that he was very near the Enemies, when the Earl imagined it was his Son coming to his assistance. Leicester's Surprise was so great, that he could not help showing it. However he put every thing in a good posture of Defence, perceiving that a Retreat would be still more dangerous than a Battle. The Fight began about two in the afternoon, and lasted till Night, notwithstanding the hasty Flight of the Welsh Men, who deserted the Earl at the very first onset. He sustained however, by his Courage and Conduct, the Efforts of Edward, who fought with an astonishing Valour, well knowing that the good or ill-fortune of his Life depended on the Success of that day. At length, after a long Resistance on the side of the Barons, the Earl of Leicester and his Son Henry being slain on the spot, their Troops were disheartened, and the Prince obtained a full and complete Victory (3). His Joy at this Success was the greater, as, during the heat of the Battle, he had the Satisfaction to deliver the King his Father, from the Captivity he had been in ever since the Battle of Lewes. The Earl of Leicester, who durst not suffer his Prisoner out of his sight, had been so cruel, as to expose him to the Danger of the Battle, in which, he was wounded in the Shoulder. Nay, it is said he was like to be killed by a Soldier, who knew him not, if an Officer had not run to his Assistance, upon his crying to the Soldier, *Don't kill me, I am Henry of Winchester, thy Sovereign.* Edward, who was not far from the Place, being informed of his Father's Peril, ran thither immediately. He left him to a strong Guard, and just asking his Blessing, returned to the Battle, that he might not lose so precious a time.

This Battle was fought near Evesham on the 4th of August 1265, fourteen Months after the Battle of Lewes, wherein the King lost his Liberty. The Body of the Earl of Leicester being found among the dead, Roger Mortimer was so inhuman as to mangle it in a barbarous manner. At last he cut off the Head and sent it to his Wife, as a certain Token of his being revenged of his Enemy (4). Such was the end of Leicester, who, though a Foreigner, found means to make himself the most considerable Peer in the Kingdom, and was even suspected of aspiring to the Throne. But of this however there

is no certain proof, the Reports that were spread being built only on bare Suspicions, and, perhaps, Calumnies. But it can't be denied, that he abused his Power, and the Confidence of his Friends and Collegues. At least he discovered by his Conduct, that he was not to great an Enemy to arbitrary Power, as he pretended, when placed at the head of the Confederates. There is no proof however of his aspiring to the Crown. Certainly, the Earl had noble Qualities. If he was like the Earl his Father in his Valour and Bravery, at least he refused him not in his Cruelty. He always expelled to great a regard for the Monks, that after his Death, they would have wanted him, at any rate, pretending that many Monks were wrought at his Tomb. A modern Historian tells us, he saw in an ancient Manuscript several Prayers directed to him as a Martyr (5). This Opinion was so spread among the People, that the Pope was forced to retract his Authority to put a stop to that superstition. However this be, as we are uncertain of the Motive of the Earl's Actions, we are no less so, whether he was more worthy of Blame than of Pity. If in taking up Arms against the King, his Sovereign and Benefactor, he was entirely swayed by Ambition, one can't sufficiently detect his Ingratitude to a Prince his Brother-in-law, who had loaded him with Favours. But if he was head of a Party solely with a View to the Good of the Publick, and to free the Kingdom from the manifest Oppression it groaned under, doubtless there would be People, who would not want plausible Reasons to justify his Conduct. Mean while, without examining this Motive too closely, modern Writers, for the most part, inveigh bitterly against him, and the English Catiline is one of the best Names they afford him. But this is no more than what we are to expect from most Historians, who generally dedicate their Works to Kings, Queens, Prime-Ministers, Favourites.

The Defeat of the Confederates entirely changed the face of Affairs. Those who a little before were persecuted, became Persecutors in their turn. They plagued their Enemies a thousand Ways, and made them endure many Hardships. The King, who was naturally revengeful and greedy of Money, was extremely impatient to be revenged of those who had offended him, and to seize their Spoils. To that end he called a Parliament (6), which wholly consisting of his Creatures, granted him the Confirmation of the Estates of the Rebels (7). The City of London was not spared. The Parliament having decreed that she deserved to forfeit all her Privileges, she was left to the King's Mercy, who took away her Gates, Chains, Magistrates, and exacted a large Sum of Money (8) from the Citizens, to restore again what he had taken from them. The Confederate Barons feeling themselves exposed to a Revenge, which probably would have no Bounds, were in the greater Consternation, as they saw no Remedy in this their Distress. Simon de Montfort, eldest Son of the Earl of Leicester, did not question but he should be attacked one of the first, considering the King's Hatred to the Earl his Father and his whole Family. In this belief, he endeavoured betimes to make Richard King of the Romans his Friend, whom he had in custody in Kenilworth Castle, by releasing him (9) without demanding a Ransom. This Example turned to the advantage of several Prisoners of the Battle of Lewes, who were likewise set at Liberty with the same view by their Keepers (10).

Mean time, the King was revenging himself on those that had taken Arms against him, by seizing their Estates, which he kept to his own use, or bestowed them liberally on his Favorites. Instead of troubling himself about the Consequences, he entirely gave way to his Passion, without considering, that People reduced to Beggary are not

(1) The Earl of Worcester, William de Valence, and Hugh Bigot, who a little before had landed in Pembroke, with a strong Party, came in to him; as also John Giffard, the second Man to the Earl of Gloucester in military Affairs, brought a great number of Horse and Foot. T. Wikes, p. 63. W. Rymer, p. 90.

(2) T. Wikes, p. 63. The Prince, marching all Night, came by break of Day to Kenilworth, and upon Simon and his Men who were then in their Beds, and killed and took Prisoners most of them, the chiefest of whom were Robert de Fitz, William Lord Mareschall, and Adam de Newhampton. Simon escaped into the Castle. p. 69.

(3) In this Battle were slain Hugh d'Esperper the Judiciary, Peter de Montfort, William de Mareschall, Ralph Bagin, John de Beauchamp, Roger de St. John, Walter de Cressingham, William de York, Robert de Bures, Thomas de Bures, Guy de Bures, Roger de Bures, &c. The Prisoners were, Guy de Montfort, the Earl of Arundel, John Fitz John, Humphrey de Bohun, Henry de Hastings, John de Lisle, Nicholas de Gray, Edmund de Wale, &c. Ann. Waverl. p. 220. W. Rymer, p. 99. Heming, p. 137.

(4) The Bodies of the Earl of Leicester, his Son Henry, and Hugh d'Esperper, were buried in the Church belonging to the Abbey of Evesham. Ann. Waverl. p. 220.

(5) Tyrrel says, he had seen at the end of a Manuscript in the publick Library at Cambridge, certain Prayers directed to him as a Saint, with a great many rhyming Verses in his Praise. Vol. II. p. 1032.

(6) On September 14. at Winchester, where he came from Worcester. At this Parliament were summoned the Bishops, Abbots, and Priests; all the great Men of the Kingdom; and the Wives of the Bishops, Barons, and Knights, that were either born, or taken Prisoners in the late Wars. But the Bishops of Lincoln, London, Worcester, and Chichester, were not summoned, because they had been too deeply engaged with the Barons. Ann. Waverl. p. 220. T. Wikes, p. 71. This Parliament was afterwards adjourned to Westminster, and then to Westminster. Ann. Waverl. p. 220.

(7) Whereupon the King assigned two Commissioners, who, with the Sheriff, were to return the Extent of the Rebels' Lands, with the Names of them, and of the owners, to himself at Westminster by the 13th of October; and they were to appoint two Collectors in every Hundred, to collect the Michaelmas Rents. See Brady's Appendix, No. 223.

(8) Twenty thousand Marks. Ann. de Lond. None of the Money went into the King's Exchequer, but was paid to some Persons in France, who had supplied the Queen in Money, during her Absence beyond Sea. T. Wikes, p. 74.

(9) September 6. Ann. Waverl. p. 220.

(10) Except those that were imprisoned in the Castles of Dover and Kenilworth. The Widow of Hugh de D. being set at Liberty all those she kept confined in Wallingford Castle, and retired to Philip Bayly her Father. T. Wikes, p. 71.

1265. far from Despair. He would have done much better in imitating the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke* his first Governour, who restored to the vanquished Barons their Estates, for fear of exposing the Kingdom to fresh Troubles. But *Henry* was not of that Character. It was not his Fault that he lost not the Fruits of the Prince his Son's Victory over the Barons, by refusing them the least Favour. *Simon de Montfort*, perceiving his Case desperate, left the Castle of *Kenelworth*, with a strong Garrison, and assembling some of the Remains of his Father's Army, threw himself into the Isle of *Axholme* in *Lincolnshire* (1). As it was very easy to fortify that Place, he soon put it in condition to serve for refuge to himself and Friends. Great numbers resorted to him daily, who at length began to make their Enemies uneasy.

T. Wikes.
An. Waverl.

1266.

The Queen arrives, and is followed by a Legate, who communicates the Rebel Barons.
The Pope remits the Grant of Sicily.
T. Wikes.
Hemings.

and invades the Earl of Anjou with it.

Remark on the Affair of Sicily.

Whilst the Court was preparing to hinder the Consequences of this new Revolt, the Queen arrived from *France* (2), where she had retired with Prince *Edmund* her Son, after the Battle of *Lewes*. She was quickly followed by a Legate (3), who, a few days after his coming, convened a Synod, and solemnly excommunicated the late Earl of *Leicester* and all his Adherents, as well dead as alive (4). *Clement IV.*, finding the *English* tired with supplying Money for the Conquest of *Sicily*, thought it convenient to save the Honour of the Holy See, which had somewhat suffered by Prince *Edmund's* renuntiation. For that purpose he gave the King notice by his Legate, of a Bull of *Urban* his Predecessor, revoking the Grant to the Prince his Son. He had kept this Bull private, because he was willing to see the issue of a negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to whom he actually gave this very Year the Investiture of the two *Sicilies*. *Henry*, who had quitted his Pretensions, only as forced to it by the Earl of *Leicester* during his Captivity, could not without regret see himself obliged to renounce his Hopes. But he could not help it.

Thus ended at length the Affair of *Sicily*, which had been to the Popes a fertile Source of Oppressions upon the People and Clergy of *England*. If it cost the *English* immense Sums, they reaped at least this Benefit by it, that it sensibly lessened their former good Opinion of every thing that flowed from the Court of *Rome*, and taught them to be more upon their guard for the future against her Usurpations. This is what we shall have occasion to know more particularly in the following Reigns, where we shall see the *English* much less tractable with regard to the Popes. It may be said, further, that this Affair was the principal Cause of the Misfortunes to which *Henry* was exposed for so many Years, and withal, of the solid Establishment of the Great Charter, which from thenceforward was but feebly attacked. Had not *Henry* been under a necessity of satisfying the Avarice of the Popes, he would have less oppressed his Subjects, and the Barons would have wanted the most plausible Pretence of their Confederacy. It is very strange, the Pope's Grant to Prince *Edmund* should be unknown to the Historians of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who mention it not, though the Countries of which they have written the History were so much concerned. There is but one that just speaks of it, and even he is mistaken in the Name of the *English* Prince, to whom he says the Pope would have given *Sicily*. *Villani*, an Historian of Note, recites the Pope's Speech to the Cardinals, to induce them to approve of his design to invest *Charles of Anjou* with the two *Sicilies*. In this Harangue, the Pontiff represents to them, all the Injuries sustained by the Church from *Manfred*, the Necessity of destroying the House of *Swabia*, and the Advantages which would accrue to the Church, if these Kingdoms were given to a Prince who was able to undertake her Defence. One would think, this was a very natural occasion, to mention the Endeavours of his Predecessors to dethrone the Usurper, by the King of *England's* Assistance, in giving the Crown of these Kingdoms to one of his Sons. But he says not a word of the matter. What may then be inferred from this Silence of the Pope, and the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Historians, but that the Court of *Rome* never really intended to pro-

cure this Crown for Prince *Edmund*, and that her sole Aim was to drain *England* of Money, under so frivolous a Pretence?

As *Montfort's* Retreat to the Isle of *Axholme*, might be attended with such Consequences as required Prevention, Prince *Edward* was sent with an Army into those Parts. It was no easy matter to dislodge the Male-contents from a Place so strongly fortified both by Art and Nature. However, the Prince failed not to accomplish it. After an obstinate Defence, the Besieged were constrained to surrender (5), on condition their Lives and Limbs were spared. As to their Estates, it was agreed they should submit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Edward*. This Capitulation being signed, *Montfort* was brought to the King (6), and found a powerful Mediator in the King of the *Romans*. This Prince affirmed, that after the Battle of *Evesham*, the Garrison of *Kenelworth* would have murdered him, if *Montfort* had not hindered it at the Peril of his own Life. Then he entreated the King to pardon him, in consideration of his having generously released him, without demanding a Ransom. It is said, *Henry*, moved with *Montfort's* good Offices to the King his Brother, was inclined to restore him intirely to Favour, if the Earl of *Glocester* had not openly opposed it. So that, as it was necessary to keep fair with *Glocester*, as well as with the King of the *Romans*, it was resolved in Council, that *Montfort* should have Liberty to depart the Kingdom (7), and the King should grant him a yearly Pension of five hundred Marks (8), provided he delivered up *Kenelworth-Castle*. But it was not in his Power to perform this Condition, because the Garrison refused to obey him. All the other Rebels in *Axholme* were pardoned, upon their swearing, never more to bear Arms against the King: an Oath which was afterwards very ill kept. This Affair being over, the Kingdom immediately enjoyed some Tranquillity. *Montfort* seemed pretty well satisfied with his Lot. But shortly after, whether out of Inconstancy, or because he had not wherewithal to subsist, he joined himself with certain Pyrates of the *Cinque Ports*, who gave him the Command of their Ships, with which he plundered, without distinction, all the Merchant-Men that came in his way. As it plainly appeared, that the Inhabitants of the *Cinque Ports* countenanced these Pyracies, the King sent Prince *Edward* to chastise them (9). But the Prince found means to reduce them to their Duty, without using Force (10), namely, by promising them a general Pardon, and the Confirmation of their Privileges, for which they renewed their Fealty to the King.

How successful soever the King's Arms might be, it could not be said, that Peace was fully restored to the Kingdom, since *Kenelworth-Castle* was still in the Hands of the Male-contents. There was likewise, in the northern Counties, a Troop of armed Men (11), who obliged the King to send against them *Henry*, eldest Son of the King of the *Romans*. This young Prince made such speed that he surprized the Rebels, and killing the greatest part, dispersed the rest. He could not however seize the Ring-Leaders (12), who joining with other Male-contents, and particularly those of *Axholme*, became masters of the Isle of *Ely* in *Cambridgeshire*. From thence they made continual Inroads into the neighbouring Counties, committing great Ravages.

At the same time, another Rebel, *Adam* [de *Gurdun*,] taking up Arms in *Hampshire*, *Edward* marched into those parts, where he had occasion to give sensible proofs of his Courage and Generosity. In a Battle with the Rebels, *Adam*, who was strong and valiant, attacked the Prince hand to hand, and obliged him to use all his Dexterity and Valour. The single Combat was not interrupted, till *Adam*, being down on the ground, was forced to yield himself Prisoner to the Prince (13). This Act of Bravery in *Edward* was immediately followed by another of Generosity, which gained him no less Honour. Without suffering himself to be transported with a desire of Revenge upon a Man who had put him in so great Danger, he generously gave him Life and Li-

(1) About the middle of November. T. Wikes, p. 73.

(2) She landed, October 25, at Dover, after having been absent about two Years from England. T. Wikes, p. 72.

(3) Othobon, 1266.

(4) At the same time, a Parliament was held at Northampton in November, wherein all the Earl of Leicester's Adherents were disinherited. Hemingford, p. 287. Ann. Waverl. p. 221.

(5) About December 28. T. Wikes, p. 73.

(6) Who was then at Northampton, ibid.

(7) And not return, without the King's Licence, and the common Consent of the great Men of the Kingdom. ibid.

(8) Four hundred Marks of Silver, from the Revenues of the Earl of Leicester. ibid.

(9) About November 25, they burnt Portsmouth, in revenge, for some of their Fellow Citizens being hanged by King Henry's Order. Ann. Waverl. p. 221.

(10) The Annals of Waverl. say, Edward had an Engagement with the Insultants of Winchelsea, where a great Number were slain and drowned, and their Leaders, Henry Paine, taken, whom Prince Edward ordered immediately to be hanged, but was persuaded by Gilbert de Clare to spare his Life. ibid.

(11) Headed by Robert Earl of Ferrars, in Conjunction with Baldwin Wake, and John Dayville, and several other Barons. The Earl was taken Prisoner, then fled to the Isle of Ely. T. Wikes, p. 74. Ann. Waverl.

(12) Robert Earl of Ferrars was taken at Chesterfield, and sent Prisoner to Windsor Castle. T. Wikes, p. 76.

(13) It seem, the Prince, when he came up with the Rebels between Evesham and Alton, having passed over a Ditch or Trench which surrounded their Camp, and his Forces not being able to follow him presently, he was obliged to fight thus Hand to Hand with Adams. ibid.

1266. berty. Adam sensibly touched, as he ought, with this Favour, served him faithfully ever after (1).

The King besieges Kenelworth.
T. Wikes.
An. Waverl.
The Garrison of *Kenelworth* was become so formidable, and withal so odious, by their Outrages committed in the neighbouring Country, that the King's Council resolved, this Castle should be immediately invested, and the Siege of *Ely* put off to another time. The King was extremely incensed with the Governor of *Kenelworth* for insolently cutting off the Hand of his Herald, sent to summon him to surrender. His desire to punish him, made him resolve to go in Person to this Siege, imagining his Presence would strike the greater Terror into the Besieged (2). But they defended themselves so stoutly, that after a six Months Siege, there was no appearance of forcing them to capitulate. This vigorous Resistance was the reason, that the Siege was turned into a Blockade. Mean time, the King continued in the Town, of which he was master, expecting that Hunger would compel the Garrison to surrender (3).

1267. *A Parliament met at Kenelworth.*
An. Waverl.
Terms offered to the Malecontents of Ely;
The Earl of Gloucester takes measures against the King.
W. Rish.
M. West.
During the Blockade, Henry called a Parliament at *Kenelworth* (4), to consider of means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*, either by offering them an easy Composition, or by Force, in case they rejected the proffered Favour. To this end the Parliament drew up certain Articles, containing the Terms on which the King was to grant a general Pardon (5). These Terms were very moderate, considering the present Circumstances. To have possession of their Estates again, some were to pay five Years value, some three; others but one. But whether the Malecontents could not depend upon the King's Word, or thought these conditions too hard, they refused to accept them. They even took occasion from thence to increase their Outrages, and had the Boldness to make an Excursion as far as *Norwich*, from whence they carried away above twenty thousand Pounds Sterling (6).

The Garrison of Kenelworth.
T. Wikes.
M. West.
Those of *Kenelworth*, though closely blocked up, and forced to eat their Horses, relying on the Assistance promised by *Simon de Montfort*, held out so long a Siege with an invincible Resolution. At length, when they could scarce withstand any longer the Hunger by which they were pressed, seeing no likelihood of Assistance, they capitulated (7) to deliver up the Castle, in case they were not relieved within forty Days (8). Mean time, they were to be furnished with Provisions. This Term being expired, they came out of the Castle so pale and meager, that it could not be conceived, that a Garrison in so wretched a Condition should have the Assurance to demand such a Capitulation (9).

The Earl of Gloucester takes measures against the King.
W. Rish.
M. West.
The taking of *Kenelworth*, and his hopes of speedily reducing the Rebels of *Ely*, made the King forget his past Misfortunes (10), as well as the Prince his Son's Engagement for him, with the Earl of *Gloucester* (11). Edward himself, though more particularly concerned, by reason of his Oath, was more intent upon reducing the Malecontents of *Ely* to the King's Obedience, than upon executing his Promises. The Earl of *Gloucester* observed with extreme Regret, that as the King's Affairs prospered, the Father and Son acted with less Moderation, and were more ready to stretch the Prerogative Royal beyond the bounds prescribed by the Laws. What he had done for the King and Prince, was not so much to enlarge the Royal Power, as to prevent the Earl of *Leicester* from paving his way to the Throne. This was very evident from the Oath he required from Prince Edward. The King's Conduct, who was returning to his former Courses, convincing him that if the Malecon-

tents were once reduced, it would be very difficult to confine the Sovereign within the Bounds of an Authority limited by the Laws, he thought it necessary to oppose his Progress in time. Thus resolved, he retired to his own Estate on the Borders of *Wales*, where he made a League with *Levellyn*, and some neighbouring Barons. After this, he sent word to the Malecontents of *Ely*, that he would endeavour to relieve them.

It could not be but his Absence and Preparations should give some umbrage to the Court. Nevertheless, as he concealed his Designs under the pretence of a Quarrel with *Mortimer* (12), he still left room to doubt of the Motives of his Armament. Mean time, whereas Policy and good Sense required, that the King should try to give some Satisfaction to so considerable a Lord, all his Thoughts were engrossed, about means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*; not so much to restore the publick Tranquillity, as out of impatience to render himself as much or more absolute than ever. He plainly perceived, he could not attain his Ends, whilst a Body of Rebels were in Arms in the midst of his Dominions. Wherefore, he convened a Parliament, to take measures about quelling the Malecontents (13). The Earl of *Gloucester's* Refusal to be present, made the King uneasy, who sent some Lords (14) to admonish him to come and take his Seat. These Lords found the Earl very busy in raising an Army; and as they shewed their Surprise at it, he told them for their Satisfaction, that the Troops were designed against *Mortimer* his Enemy. Nay, he scrupled not to give a Writing under his own Seal, whereby he engaged never to bear Arms against the King (15). By this means, he removed all Suspicions, that were entertained of him. This Fear being vanished, the King and Parliament thought of nothing more, but how to besiege *Ely*, the only thing that still gave them any disturbance. The Resolution that was taken, of vigorously pushing this Siege, furnishing the King with a plausible pretence to demand an Aid, the Parliament granted him a very considerable Supply (16). Although the Legate had not the same Reasons, he pressed the Clergy however, to grant the same Aid to the Pope. This unreasonable Demand extremely provoked the Prelates. They not only refused to comply, but committed to writing the Reasons of their Denial, which were not much for the Honour of the Court of *Rome*.

As soon as the Parliament broke up, the King took the Field at the head of his Army. He advanced as far as *Cambridge*, where he halted to send and summon the Rebels of *Ely*, to return to their Duty. But their Answer plainly discovered, they were not easily to be frightened. This Resolution, and the Situation of the Isle of *Ely*, which had formerly very much embarrassed *William the Conqueror*, somewhat abated his warlike Ardour, and caused him to wait (17) the coming of the Prince his Son, who was then at *York* (18).

Whilst the King was at *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Gloucester* headed the Army, raised on his own Lands, and in *Wales*. He forthwith marched towards *London*, and with that expedition, that he entered the City before they had time to hinder him, and even before they knew whether he acted for or against the King. It is however probable, the Magistrates and principal Citizens, were not ignorant of his Designs. Be this as it will, the Earl, leaving every one to make his own Conjectures, approached the *Tower*, the Custody whereof was, by the King, committed to the Legate. He summoned him to

1267.

He refuses to come to Parliament.
W. Rish.

Examples of the King's Messengers.

The Parliament grants a Subsidy.
An. Waverl.

The Legate demands one of the Clergy, but he is denied.
W. Rish.

The King marches to Cambridge.
W. Rish.
M. West.

The Earl of Gloucester becomes Master of London, and of the Tower.
M. West.
An. Waverl.
T. Wikes.

(1) T. Wikes says, he sent him in Chains to *Windsor* Castle, there to keep Earl Ferrars Company. p. 76.

(2) The King began to lay Siege to that Castle, June 25. T. Wikes, p. 76.

(3) Before the beginning of this Siege, the King sent his Son Prince Edward to reduce the City of *Lincoln*, which had been surprized and plundered by some of the Barons belonging to the Isle of *Asholme*; but, upon his approach, they dispersed. Ann. Waverl. p. 222.

(4) August 24. In this Parliament the King confirmed the Charter of Liberties, and demanded the Tenth of the Revenue of the Clergy, for three Years. *ibid.* p. 223.

(5) These Articles were called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, and were to be put in Execution by Persons nominated by the King and Barons assembled in Parliament; and if any Contest arose, *Oskobin* the Pope's Legate, and Henry, Son to *Richard King of the Romans*, were to be joined to them. These Persons were, the Bishops of *Bath*, *Worcester*, *Exeter*, *St. David's*; *Roger de Sumers*, *Robert Walerian*, *Alan de la Saunce*; the Earls of *Gloucester*, *Gloucester*, *Hereford*; *John de Balil*, *Philip Basset*, *Warin de Bigotengbourne*. This Decree or Statute of *Kenelworth* is to be seen at large in a Manuscript Copy in the Cottonian Library, and in *Lyrrael*, p. 1064, 1065. It was published in the Camp before *Kenelworth*, Octob. 31.

(6) They did the same by the Town of *Cambridge* in their return to *Ely*, carrying away not only several Jews, but also the richest of the Townsmen, whom they kept Prisoners, till they would ransom themselves at exorbitant Rates. T. Wikes, p. 77. Ann. Waverl. p. 222. W. Rish. p. 1000.

(7) About the beginning of November. T. Wikes, p. 78.

(8) *Richard de Edmundsail*, and seven Knights, remained Sureties. *ibid.*

(9) The King besetted this strong Castle, which was fortified to him by the late Earl of *Leicester*, upon Earl Edmund his second Son, whom he had created some time before Earl of *Derby*, upon the Attainder of *Robert de Ferrars*. T. Wikes, p. 78. M. West. p. 397. Rymers's Fod. T. I. p. 330.

(10) He came from *Kenelworth* to *Woodstock*, where he kept his Christmas, and thence went to *London*, where he held a Parliament. T. Wikes, p. 80. W. Rishanger. M. West. p. 398.

(11) *Mortimer* was one of those, who most earnestly opposed an Accommodation with the disinherited Lords, because the King had granted him several of their Estates. He even conspired the Death of the Earl of *Gloucester*, who was most active in this Business. W. Rish. p. 1001.

(12) This Parliament was about February 10, at *St. Edmundsbury*. T. Wikes, p. 78. W. Rish. p. 1002.

(13) *John de Warren*, and *William de Valence*. W. Rish. p. 1002.

(14) He exhorted the King in the same Writing, to remove Foreigners from his Person, to cause the *Oxford* Provisions to be observed, and to perform his Promises to him at *Evesham*. W. Rish. p. 1001.

(15) The Tenth of the Goods of all Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons, for three Years; except the *Templars*, *Hospitallars*, and *Cistercians*. Ann. Waverl. p. 223.

(16) At *Cambridge*, where he removed; after having in vain endeavoured to reduce the Isle, by Water, with ships, got together from *Ipwich*, *Dunwich*, *Yarmouth*, and *Lin.* T. Wikes, p. 78.

(17) Employed in reducing *John de Vesci*, one of the disinherited Barons, who had raised some Forces in the North, and recovered his Castle of *Ainwick*, and other Lands adjacent. T. Wikes, p. 78, 79.

deliver it up immediately; alledging, it was not a Post to be trusted in the hands of a Foreigner, much less of an Ecclesiastick. The Legate surprized at this unexpected Summons, made a show of defending himself. But as he wanted Provisions, and the Earl had strictly forbid the sending in any, he was quickly constrained to surrender. As soon as the Earl was master of the Tower, he was not so careful to conceal his Designs. Besides, as several of the Male-contents (1) daily joined him, it was visible, his Intention was not to act for the King's Interest. At length, he pulled off the Mask, and published a Manifesto, declaring, he had taken up Arms, to obtain reasonable Terms for the Male-contents. Moreover, he complained of the King and Prince, affirming, his Design was to oblige them to the better performance of their Promises. Surprized at this fresh Revolt, Henry sent pressing Orders to the Prince his Son, to come and join him immediately, being in continual fear of an Attack. He did not think himself in a condition to come off with Honour in an Affair of this Nature, if forced to a Battle. These Orders meeting the Prince in his return from the North, where he had finished his Affairs, obliged him to march with all possible speed to the King's Relief (2). As soon as they were joined, they advanced together towards London, and encamped at Stratford, within three Miles of the City. The universal Esteem for Edward among the Nobles and People rather than their Affection for the King, caused in a very short Space, the Army to be considerably increased (3). For this Reason the Earl of Gloucester continued in London, from whence he durst not stir, for fear of engaging at a great Disadvantage (4). He had been in hopes, the whole Kingdom would side with him, and the King be suddenly deserted by his own Troops. But finding he had relied upon uncertain Assistances, and his Friends began to forsake him, he timely applied himself to the King of the Romans, by whose Intercession (5), he obtained much better Terms than he had reason to expect (6). He was not only forgiven, upon laying down his Arms, but had the Satisfaction also to have the City of London included in his Pardon, which otherwise would doubtless have been severely punished. He would fain have procured the same Favour for the Rebels of Ely; but the King and Prince being inexorable in that respect, he was forced to abandon their Interests.

This Affair being ended more happily than there was room to expect, Edward approached the Isle of Ely (7). As the Male-contents had no prospect of Relief, they chose to surrender (8), before they were reduced to extremity. The only condition granted them, was the saving their Lives and Limbs. By this were extinguished the Troubles, that had for five Years tormented the Kingdom.

Henry, having an Army ready, resolved to correct the Insolence of the Prince of Wales, who, during the late Troubles, had all along assisted the Rebels. To this end, he advanced as far as Montgomery, where Lewellyn sent Ambassadors to sue for Peace. His offer to pay the King thirty two thousand Marks, and to do him Homage for his Principality, was an inducement to hearken to his Proposals. But, besides what he had offered, he was farther obliged to deliver up certain Castles, convenient for the King (9).

The Peace of the Kingdom being thus restored, the King summoned a Parliament (10), where Ottobon, the Pope's Legate was present. He informed the Assembly that the Pope was resolved to publish a Crusade, in all the Christian States, and took occasion from thence to exhort the English, to contribute their Money and Persons towards this Expedition; the sole end whereof, was the Glory of God

and the Good of the Church. The Tranquillity England began to enjoy, caused great Numbers to engage in this Undertaking, especially when they saw Prince Edward, and Henry Son of the King of the Romans, receive the Cross at the hands of the Legate. The Earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and above a hundred and twenty Knights, followed the Example of these two Princes, besides an infinite Multitude of Persons of inferior Quality. The Legate having no further Business in England, returned to Rome, and the King of the Romans took his third Journey to Germany.

Whilst the Croises were preparing for their Voyage, the King assembled a Parliament at Marlborough, where a Body of Statutes were enacted, which make a considerable Figure among the Laws of England (11).

Before we proceed to the Events of the next Year, it will be necessary to take notice of the Death of Pope Clement IV, which was followed by a Vacancy of three Years. It was also this Year that the famous Battle near the Lake of Celano (12), was fought between Charles of Anjou, the new King of Sicily, and Conradin Son of the Emperor Conrad. Young Conradin having the Misfortune to be vanquished and taken Prisoner, Charles was so cruel as to cause his Head to be struck off (13).

The Crusade was not only published in England, but Edward engaged to accompany St. Lewis was to be Head of it. The ill Success of his Expedition into Egypt, not being able to cool this Monarch's Zeal, he had never ceased, since his return, to think of means, how to carry War once more into the Country of the Infidels. Prince Edward's late taking the Cross, put Lewis in hopes of better success, if he could persuade him to join with him. To that purpose, he desired him to come to Paris, where he communicated to him his Project. Edward wished for nothing more, than to join Forces with so powerful a Prince, and to command under him. But he intimated to him, that he could not be ready soon enough, for want of Money for the Voyage. Lewis, glad to find there was no other Objection, lent him thirty thousand Marks (14), for which Edward mortgaged to him the Revenues of Bourdeaux, for seven Years. This Agreement being made, Edward returned into England. The King his Father had now assembled a Parliament, which granted him a twentieth Part of the Moveables of the Kingdom, part whereof was to be employed towards the Charges of the Prince's Expedition.

Before Edward was ready for his Departure, the King of the Romans arrived (15) with a new Wife, he had married in Germany, not so much for her Riches as her Beauty (16).

A little before the Departure of the Croises, Henry caused the Relicks of Edward the Confessor, for which he had a particular Veneration, to be removed. This Ceremony, to which all the considerable Men of the Kingdom were invited, was performed with great Pomp. The Shrine of the Saint, adorned with precious Stones, was carried on the Shoulders of the King himself, and his Brother the King of the Romans, with the Princes, and chief Lords, and placed in the new Church of Westminster, which was just finishing, and rendered the most stately Church then in Europe (17).

The Calm England enjoyed for some time, was like to be disturbed by the Suspensions, the Earl of Gloucester entertained of Prince Edward. The Earl not believing the Prince was heartily reconciled to him, kept from Court, and always found some Excuse to be absent from the Parliaments. This Behaviour made the King very uneasy, who was afraid the Earl had still a design to break the Peace. But the King of the Romans freed him from

He had just
a short time
and the
King.

Edward's
son Prince
M. West.

The Roman
Army
enjoys.

Gloucester
rejoices
A. Pub.
T. I. p. 84.
T. Wilkes,
1-81.

Ely Rebels
surrender
M. West.
T. Wilkes.

The End of
the Barons
Wars.

Treaty of
Peace with
Wales.
M. West.
W. Rish.
An. Waverl.
A. Pub. I.
p. 840.
—846.

1268.
Edward's
the King to
the Holy Land.
W. Rish.

1262.

Statutes of
Marlborough.
W. Rish.

Death of
Clement IV.
M. West.
Battle of
Celano.
M. West.
W. Rish.

A. Pub.
p. 858.
W. Rish.
M. West.
T. Wilkes.

Lewis lends
him Money.
W. Rish.

Subsidy
granted the
King.
T. Wilkes.

Second Mar-
riage of the
King of the
Romans.
T. Wilkes.

The Body of
St. Edward
removed to
the new
Church.
M. West.
W. Rish.
T. Wilkes.

1270.
The King of
the Romans
reconciles
Edward to
the Earl of
Gloucester.
T. Wilkes.
p. 89, 90,
&c.

(1) This was the first time, the Discontented.

(2) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(3) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(4) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(5) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(6) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(7) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(8) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(9) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(10) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(11) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

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(16) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

(17) The King's Army consisted of about ten thousand Men from Scotland, and the North of England. M. West. p. 399.

1270. his Fears, by procuring a perfect Reconciliation between these two Enemies (1).

St. Lewis lands in Africa, and leaves him in Africa.
W. Rish. T. Wikes. Hemingf. C. Maffres.
 Whilst these things passed in England, the King of France altered his Design. Instead of going directly to the Holy-Land, according to his first intention, he failed to Africa, at the instance of Charles King of Sicily, his Brother, who was at variance with the King of Tunis. He expected the African Prince to pay him the same Tribute as his Predecessors paid to the Emperor, with all the Arrears that were due. To support these Pretensions, Lewis landed his Army in Africa, and was preparing to besiege Tunis. But the Moorish King chose rather to promise to pay what was demanded, than hazard the Loss of his Dominions.

Edward goes to join the King of France, and leaves him in Africa.
M. West. W. Rish. T. Wikes. Hemingf. C. Maffres.
 Lewis was failed for Africa, when Edward departed from Portsmouth (2) to take up the Prince's his Spouse at Bourdeaux, from whence they went together and embarked at Aigues Mortes, where their Fleet waited for them. They joined the King of France before Tunis, where he was staying for the Performance of the Treaty made with the Moors. How urgent soever Edward was with this Monarch, to persuade him to continue his Voyage to Palestine, he could not prevail with him to stir before he had received full Satisfaction from the King of Tunis. As Edward was not concerned in that Affair, he resolved to pass the Winter in Sicily, with design to proceed for the Holy-Land in the beginning of the Spring. He had scarce left the Coasts of Africa when the Pestilence broke out in the Camp of the French, and raged in such a manner, that it not only swept away the private Soldiers, but also the principal Officers. The King himself being at last seized with it, resigned his breath (3) in the Arms of his eldest Son Philip, who thought of nothing but returning to France (4).

Henry Son of the King of the Romans murdered by Guido de Montfort.
W. Rish. T. Wikes. Act. Pub. I. p. 870.
 Though by Lewis's Death, Edward lost all hopes of making any great Progress in Palestine, he continued his Voyage, and arrived there, according to his Vow (5). Mean time, Philip's return to France giving him some cause to fear for Guienne, he resolved to send thither his Cousin Henry, Son of the King of the Romans, to watch the Motions of the French. This young Prince, posting to Bourdeaux, passed through Viterbo, a City in the Pope's Dominions, where he had a mind to make some stay, which cost him his Life. Guido de Montfort, Son to the late Earl of Leicester, being then at that place, and seeing the Prince go into a Church, followed him, and murdered him before the High-Altar, in revenge of his Father's Death, who was slain in the Battle of Evesham. But the Murderer's Pretence to vindicate this infamous Action, could not be more unjust, since neither this Prince, nor his Father the King of the Romans, were present at that Battle, being then both under Confinement (6).

Edward's Progress in the Holy-Land was not great.
However, with the few Troops he had, he let the Saracens see what they were to expect from him, in case he came to be assisted with more Forces.
His Valour, Fame, and the Reputation of King Richard his Great-Uncle who had performed such famous Exploits in that Country, so terrified the Infidels, that, to free themselves from their Fears, they sent an Assassin to dispatch him.
The Villain, under colour of settling a Correspondence between Edward and the Governour of Joppa, who feigned a desire to turn Christian, found means to be admitted into the Prince's Presence, and frequently to discourse with him.
At last, one day as he was alone in his Cham-

ber (7), he was just going to stab him with a Dagger in the Belly, if Edward had not warded off the Blow with his Arm, where he received a dangerous Wound (8). The Assassin, enraged at this Disappointment, was about to redouble his Blow with greater Violence; but Edward gave him such a Kick on the Breast, that he beat him down backward, and leaping upon him at the same time, wrested the Dagger out of his hand, and killed him immediately. The Prince's Wound was much more dangerous than it appeared to be, by reason the Dagger was poisoned. The Wound beginning to gangrene, made all despair of a Cure; but happily for him, there was then in the Army a skilful Chirurgeon who delivered him from this Danger. Some affirm, he owed his Life to the tender Love of Eleonora his Spouse, who ventured to suck the Venom out of the Wound. But this Circumstance is mentioned by no Author of that time (9). This Prince, was brought to Bed at Acre, of a Daughter, called Jean de Acre from the Place of her Birth, according to the Custom of those Days (10).

Whilst Edward was in Palestine, Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, who attended him thither, received the News of his Election to the Papal Throne. He set out immediately for Rome, where he assumed the Name of Gregory X (11).

Edward's Army daily diminished, either by Sicknefs or several Battles with the Saracens, without his having any hopes of Supplies from France or elsewhere. This Consideration obliged him, though with great Reluctance, to propose to the Sultan a Truce, which after a short Negotiation was concluded for Ten Years, Ten Months, and Ten Days, both Parties being to keep what they possessed. Nothing detaining Edward any longer in Palestine, he embarked his Troops, and set sail for England (12).

During his Absence, the King his Father enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, which was disturbed only by the Death of the King of the Romans his Brother. It is said this Prince's Grief for the tragical Death of his Son, threw him into a Fit of Sicknefs, which laid him in his Grave. Edmund, his other Son, succeeded him as Earl of Cornwall, with which title he was invested by the King his Uncle (13).

Shortly after, there was a Sedition at Norwich, occasioned by a Quarrel between the Citizens and Monks, in which the Cathedral and Monastery adjoining were reduced to Ashes by the Townsmen. Henry, resolving not to let this Riot go unpunished, went in Person to Norwich, where he caused the Offenders to be severely punished (14). In returning to London he was seized at St. Edmundsbury with a languishing Distemper, which not seeming to be dangerous, hindered him not from continuing his Journey to London. But his Sicknefs increasing after his Arrival, he died in a few days, aged sixty six Years, whereof he had reigned fifty six, and twenty days. He ordered that his Body should be interred near the Shrine of Edward the Confessor in the Abbey-Church of Westminster, where his Tomb [with his Statue in Brass] is still to be seen (15).

This Prince's Character so visibly appears in all the Circumstances of his Life, that it will be needless to draw it more fully. His narrow Genius, his Easiness to be governed by proud and self-interested Counsellors, his inconstant and capricious Temper, and the Notions of arbitrary Power instilled into him from his very Youth, were the real Causes of the Troubles which disturbed his Reign. Too weak when there was occasion for Steadiness, and too

(1) A very remarkable Accident happened this Year, which, though it is of a private Nature, may be worth mentioning. A Suit had been long depending between John Earl of Warren and Surrey, and Alan Lord Zouche, concerning a certain Manor; which coming to a Trial before the King's Justice in Westminster Hall, there happened to pass very reproachful Language between the Earl and the said Baron; and they at last came to Blows, inasmuch that the Earl and his Followers, being privately armed, set upon the Lord Zouche and his eldest Son in open Court and wounded them both. After which base Action, he fled to his Castle of Rygate in Surrey, and stood upon his Defence, but Prince Edward was sent with some Forces to reduce him to Obedience. And at last he was fined five thousand Pounds to the King, and two thousand to the Lord Zouche and his Son. *T. Wikes, p. 91. An. Waverl. p. 225. M. West. p. 399.*—This Year a Parliament was held at London in June. *An. Waverl. p. 225.*

(2) In May. *M. West. p. 400.*

(3) August 25. *W. Rish. p. 1006. The 21st. An. Waverl. p. 225.*

(4) This Year, April 8, Edmund the King's Son, married Adelina Daughter and Heir of William de Albemarle Earl of Hereford, with whom he had the Earldom of Devonshire, and Lordship of the Isle of Wight. *W. Rish. p. 1006. T. Wikes, p. 87.*

(5) He was for bent upon going, that when he was dissuaded from it in Stery, he smote his Breast and swore, *By the Blood of God, though all shall do for me, yet will I go to Acon, if I am attended only by Fowen my Groom.* *W. Rish. p. 1007.*

(6) This Murder was committed March 31. Both his Cousin Germans Simon and Guido are said to have a Hand in this Murder. See Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. I. p. 870. Henry's Body was brought over the next Year into England, and buried in the Monastery of Hazyles in Gloucestershire founded by King Richard his Father. His Heart was deposited in Westminster-Abbey, in a Golden Cup, near St. Edward's Shrine. *M. West. p. 400. T. Wikes, p. 94, 95.*

(7) He came to him with Letters, and pretending to have some great Secret, every Person was put out of the Room. *W. Rish. p. 1007. T. Wikes, p. 97. Hemingford, p. 591.*

(8) He received three Wounds in his Arm, says *W. Rish. ibid.* It was on June 17. *T. Wikes, p. 97, 98.*

(9) Tyrrel observes that Camden in his *Britannia* (in *Middlesex*) is the first that mentions it, and from him Speed has transcribed it in his Chronicle. Both of them quote *Rodericus Toletanus*; but that Archbishop, as he says himself, finished his History in the Year 1243, twenty Years before this Accident happened.

(10) She was afterwards married to Gilbert Earl of Gloucester. *W. Rish. p. 1006.*

(11) This Year, a Parliament was held at London, in January, wherein the Disinherited were restored to their Estates. *An. Waverl. p. 226.*

(12) During Edward's Absence, about August 1, died John his eldest Son, a Child of great Beauty and Wit for his Age; he was buried in the Abbey-Church of Westminster, where his Tomb is still to be seen. *T. Wikes, p. 96.*

(13) Richard King of the Romans died at Berkhamsted, on the 2d of April. His Body was buried at the Abbey of Hazyles, but his Heart at the Priory of Rectory, founded by him in the Suburbs of Oxford, for the Cistercian Monks. *W. Rish. p. 1007. M. West. p. 401. T. Wikes, p. 97. An. Waverl. p. 226.*

(14) They were drawn at Horles Tails to the Gallows, and there hanged, and their Bodies burnt. *W. Rishanger, p. 1008.*—The Citizens of Norwich were fined three thousand Marks of Silver, for rebuilding the Church and Monastery; and were besides forced to buy a Gold Cup, weighing ten Pounds of Gold, and the Value of one hundred Pounds of Silver, in the room of one of the same Weight belonging to the Monastery, that was melted in the Flames. *Ibid. p. 1009.*

(15) He died on the 16th of November, 1272. *M. West. p. 401. T. Wikes, p. 98. An. Waverl. p. 226.*—In the Year 1281, his Son King Edward adorned his Tomb with several curious Stones brought from beyond Sea. *Walving, p. 49.*

1272. haughty when it was necessary to stoop and accommodate himself to the Times, he seemed to study incessantly to act contrary to his own Interests. Nothing can be said of his Courage, since he never gave any sensible proof of it. But he may be justly commended for his Contenance, and Aversion to every thing that looked like Cruelty, being always satisfied with punishing the Rebels in their Purges, when he might have spilt their Blood on the Scaffold. He was exceeding greedy of Money, but it was to squander it away so idly, that the vast Sums he levied upon his Subjects made him never the richer. How pressing soever his Necessities were, he could not help lavishing his Money upon his Favorites, not considering his great Pains to obtain Aids from his Parliament. This Profuseness, and the immense Sums fruitlessly employed in the unfortunate Affair of Sicily, were the principal Causes of the Mortifications and Disgraces he was exposed to during the whole course of his Life (1).

Four things
which render
his reign remarkable
Henry III.

Four things especially render this Reign remarkable. The first is, the Readiness wherewith the Barons in league against King John returned to the Obedience of their young Sovereign, the moment they thought their Privileges out of Danger. The second is, the Patience of the Barons, for above forty Years; though the little regard Henry had for them, and the continual Breaches of his Oaths, gave them but too much cause to complain. In the third place it is to be observed, that to the Troubles which distracted this Reign, the English are indebted for the Liberties and Privileges they still enjoy at this day. If the Barons of those Days had been more passive, it may be very justly supposed, that the two Charters of King John would have been buried in eternal Oblivion. If

1272. their Revolt proved in the end fatal to themselves, at least it was beneficial to their Posterity, since the Kings, Successors of Henry, dreading to expose themselves to the like Dangers, durst not any more venture to revoke these Charters, which are the Basis and Foundation of the Liberty of the English. Accordingly, they had time to be so strongly established by degrees, that there was no annulling them. Let the Earl of Leicester be exclaimed against never so much, let him be called impious and wicked for daring to take up Arms against his Sovereign, at least it must be confessed, that his Ambition has produced happy Effects for the whole English Nation. The fourth remarkable thing is, the Tyranny of the Roman Pontiffs, who abusing their Power, treated the Clergy of England with inconceivable rigour. I should add here an Article of no less importance, I mean the Origin of the House of Commons, if the thing were not liable to so many Disputes.

Of nine Children Henry III. had by Eleanor of Provence his Wife, only two Sons and two Daughters survived him, the rest dying in their Infancy (2). Edward his eldest Son was his Successor. Edmund his second Son, after a vain Expectation of the Crown of the two Sicilies which the Pope had flattered him with, was Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, Lord of Monmouth, and High Steward of England. Margaret his eldest Daughter, was married at nine Years of Age to Alexander III., King of Scotland, to whom she left but one Daughter of her own Name, Wife of Eric King of Norway. By this Marriage came a Princess of the same Name, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the following Reign. Beatrice, second Daughter to Henry was married to John de Dreux, Duke of Bretagne (3).

(1) *W. Rhymer* says, he was of a middle Stature, strong, and well set; and that one of his Eyes was half-lost, p. 1009.
(2) Of his ten youngest Sons, three, *viz.* Richard, John, and Henry, were outed at Westminster; and the fourth, named William, in the New-Temple, near Fleetstreet: Catherine his third Daughter, which was born November 29. 1253, died at five Years of Age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.
(3) In this Reign the following remarkable things, not taken notice of by *Rapin*, were transacted. Trial by Fire and Water Ordeal, though never taken away by Act of Parliament, was by King Henry's Command laid aside by the Judges, and soon after grew quite out of use. In 1233, King Henry built a House in London near the Old Temple (where the Rolls now stand) for the converted Jews, and in Hospital at Oxford, near the Bridge. *M. Paris*, p. 395. Weights and Measures were thus fixed: An English Penny called a *Sterling*, round and without clipping, was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the middle of the Ear, and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, and eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons of Wine a London Bathel, which is the eighth part of a Quarter.

Having largely treated of Scutage in the last Coin-Note, I proceed now to Tallage. There were two sorts of Tallage, one paid to the King, the other to a subordinate Lord. The Tallage rendered to the King, was raised upon his Demesnes, Echeats, and Wardships; and upon the Burghs and Towns of the Realm. In elder Times, it was called *Danum* and *Affisa*. *Danum* was a general word, and used with great Latitude. When it was paid out of Knight's Fees, it was *Scutage*; when by Towns and Burghs, it was *Tallage*; when out of Lands, which were not of military Tenure, it signified *Hidage*. So that *Danum* signified in general, according as it was applied, either *Aid*, *Scutage*, or *Tallage*. In later Times, the word *Danum* seems to have been used in the Reign of King Stephen, and in the beginning of Henry II. In the succeeding times, *Danum* came to be used chiefly for *Tallage*. Tallage was also called *Affisa*. The word *Affisa*, signified among other things, an Assessment. It is used for the common Charge of Assize, made upon a County for Defaults, and other Amercements. The County of *Berk* was charged with thirty one Shillings and three Pence for Defaults, *Mag. Rot. 19 Hen. I.* Those Manors or Lands were properly Tallied to the King, which he had in his own Hands. These Tallages are commonly called, *Tallagia Maneriarum & Terrarum Regis* *quæ tunc erant in manu Regis*, *Tallia*, a *Danum*, and the like. Under these terms *quæ erant in manu Regis*, were comprehended the King's Echeats and Wardships. For the King held them *in manu Regis*. And in fact, the King's Echeats and Wardships were wont to be tallied, when Tallage was assessed upon his Demesnes. Moreover, some of the King's Echeats and Wardships, and such as had no military Service annexed to them, were wont to be tallied with the King's Demesne. But it is to be noted, that the King's Echeats were not to be tallied without a special Precept. If Men were not the King's immediate Tenants, they were tallageable, not to the King, but to their immediate Lord. The Tallages assessed upon the King's Demesnes were more heavy than the Tallages upon other Persons, living in the Counties at large. For which reason, Men sometimes petitioned, that they might be tallied with the Community of the County, and not with the Tenant in ancient Demesne. When a Town was tallied, the Tallage was raised upon the Men of the Town, and they were properly the Men of the Town, who belonged to the Guild, and made Merchandise in the Town. If the King granted away a Demesne-Manor, or Town, that was wont to be tallied, *una cum Tallage* *hominibus*, then such Manor or Town became tallageable to the Grantee. However, when the King demised any such Manor, he granted a temporary Estate in it, he used to reserve the Tallages to himself and his Heirs. There was also in ancient Times, a Duty paid to the King, under the Name of *Consuetudine*; to wit, so much for each Curse of Land, holden by tale, or inferior Tenures. To the head of *Tallage*, (or else to that of *Aid*, may be referred the *Nona*, *Dijm*, *Quartina*, *Quintina*, *Sextina*, which were so called from the Quantity or Proportion of the Payment, as their Names import. The most ancient Instance of a *Tallage*, called by the Name of *Decima*, is in the sixth of Richard I. These *Quintas*, and some others, were partly *Seigniorial*, and partly *mixt*. The Form of Taxing and Levying the *Nones*, &c. with the Oaths taken by the Taxors, and the Commotions of the Chancellors, are to be seen upon the Revenue Rolls. In these Cases, the Goods of the chief Taxors were to be taxed by the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and the Robes and *Franchises* of the Citizens and Burghers, were not usually taxed with their other Goods and Moveables. In the most ancient Times, the Tallages were usually imposed, and let by the King's Justifiers in their respective *Parts*: Afterwards, by Commissioners appointed by the King for that purpose. Anciently, after the Tallages had been assessed, they were usually collected by the Sheriffs of the several Counties. But if a Town happened to be let at Farm to a particular Person, not being Sheriff, then the Tallage was commonly collected and answered for by the Farmer, or Præposit thereof. Tallage was wont to be assessed upon the Men of the Demesnes and Towns, sometimes in *Gross*, in *Commun*; sometimes by Poll, *per Caput*, or *per Singulos*; at other times, partly one of these ways, and partly the other. If the Assessors of Tallage over-rated any Man, he used to obtain a Writ formed upon his Case, directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, who by virtue thereof, would relieve him according to Equity. Sometimes Men were admitted to comp and for the Tallage imposed on them, by paying a Fine to the King for the same. Tallage was not demandable from Lands holden in *Frankalmogen*. Neither was Tallage chargeable upon Lands holden by Knight's Service. Moreover the King, if he pleased, granted to particular Persons, a Freedom from Tallage. For Example, the *Empers* and *Hypothecators* of *Jerusalem*, by a very ancient Grant from the Crown, had the Privilege of having each one Man, (called *Liber Hyspes*) in every Burgh in *England*, who was to be quit of Common Assizes or Tallages, assessed within the Burgh. As the King had Tallage of his Demesne-Men, so some subordinate or private Lords, had Tallage of theirs. Most of these latter Tallages were also *Seigniorial*. It appears by ancient Records, that many of the Lands which were talliable to private Lords, were such as at one time or other moved from the King, and were wont to be tallied to him, whilst they were vested in the Crown. As when the King granted to a Subject a Demesne-Manor, or Town, together with the Homages, Aids, Tallages, and other Profits, to hold to the Grantee, and his Heirs. In such Case, the Grantee had Power to tallage the Men of such Manor or Town, to his own use, when the King tallied his Demesnes and Manors, throughout *England*; but not otherwise, nor either, or in such manner, than the King raised Tallage in his own Demesnes. For the Tenants were not by the King's Grant tallageable to the private Lord, in any other manner than they would have been to the King, if the Seignery had still rested in the Crown. And when such a private Lord went to raise Tallage, he used to have a Writ, (*de habendo rationabilis tallagio*) to the Sheriff of the County, to note the same. As the King had divers ways of raising Money upon his Demesne-Men, so inferior Lords dealt with their Demesne Men, after the like manner. But though the Tallages, &c. paid to the King, do readily appear by the Revenue Rolls and other Records; those formerly rendered to inferior Lords by their Demesne-Men, are not so easily discovered at this day, having in great measure passed under privacy and silence, except that they are sometimes disclosed in Pleds, moved between such Lords and their Men; and likewise in the Revenue Rolls, when the Seigneries of those Lords happened to be in the King's Hands, by Licheat, Vacancy, or Wardship. Private Lords seem to have treated their talliable Men with greater Severity than the King treated his. For sometimes the Farmers have chosen to be talliable to the King, rather than to such Lords; and accordingly have come to the King's Court, and alienated, they were talliable to the King. There are some of the Notices relating to Tallage, which the ancient Records furnish us withal. In the succeeding Times, a different Law and Usage were, by Degrees, introduced. There is a Piece published by *Tutill* and *Redman*, amongst the old Statutes, under the Title, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, consisting of four Clauses: It begins *Nulium Tallagium*, and ends *Sine in perpetuum*. See *Edward Coke* refer the Statute (it is cited) to the 34 *Edw. I.* But Mr. *Madax* says, he could not find this pretended Statute in any Roll or Record. See *Fryn's Hist. of Papal Usurpation*, temp. Ed. I. p. 742—747. Tallage was paid in *Normandy*, in like manner as in *England*.—I proceed to the Revenue arising by *Customs*. The Customs paid to the King, was anciently wont to be called in *Latin*, *Consequat* and *Consuetudo*. *Consequat* was used in an extensive Sense, for Payments or Duties of many Kinds. In the 6th Hen. III. Ret. 6. an Account was rendered to the Crown of certain yearly Duties, *Consequatines annuæ*, which accrued in the Manor of *Lincolne*, and were turned into Money. In the Account of the Issues of the Bishoprick of *Windsor*, during a Vacance, there was answered to the Crown, the Sum of xviii l. viii s. viii d. arising out of a certain Payment or Duty, (*de quadam Consequatine*) called *Kirkthar*, by Sale of three thousand eighty seven Hens. *Mag. Rot. 12 Ed. I.* In short, *Consequatines* signified Regal, Episcopical, and other Ecclesiastical Dues or Payments, and Exactions of many kinds. There was a *Custum* or Duty, paid to the King for Wines, called *Prifa*, and *Reda Prifa*. The Proportion was one *Denari* before the Maist, and another behind the Maist. It is true, *Prifa* was a Word of equivocal meaning, properly signifying *Capture*; and was sometimes used for Captures taken in War; sometimes for Purveyance, Imposit, or Capture of other kinds. In ancient times, the Duty for Wines called *Prifa*, was received for the King's Use by divers Officers. In the Reigns of Richard I. John, and part of Henry the third, it was usually accounted for at the Exchequer, by the Chamberlain of the King's Wines, under the Title of *Camberlangaria*, or *Cameraria Londonie*. From thence to Ed. II. it was accounted for by Officers styled *Captives*, and *Empores vinorum Regis*. Under Ed. III. and afterwards, by the King's *Pincerna*, or Butler, under the Title of *Pincerna Regis*. Besides the Customs paid the King for Wines, there were other Duties payable to him by Merchants or Traders, for their Merchandises imported or exported, or for Commodities conveyed along the River *Thames*. The Duties paid by Merchants were anciently called *Dona*, *Quintame*, &c. The Duty paid for Trafficking along the *Tobame*, at least one sort of that Duty, was called *Alcaligium Tamise*. In the fifth of John, *High Wine* preferred one thousand Marks, to have the *Quintame*, arising from Merchandises throughout *England*, from Year to Year. In the sixth of King John, *William de Montebam*, and others, accounted for the *Quintame* of Merchants at the several Ports of *England*, except *Lea*. The *Quintame* of *Lea*, was eight hundred thirty six Pounds, *Sc.* of *Blyth*, seven hundred eighty Pounds, *Sc.* of *Lea*, six hundred fifty one Pounds, *Sc.* of *Southampton*, seven hundred

THE STATE of the CHURCH,

DURING THE

Reigns of HENRY II, RICHARD I, JOHN LACKLAND,
and HENRY III.

State of the
Church.

DURING the four last Reigns which we have just gone through, the Affairs of the Church were so mixed with those of the State, that there was a necessity of relating them together. And indeed, the Contests between *Henry II*, and *Thomas Becket*, and between *John* and *Innocent III*, and the Tyranny exercised by the Popes in England under *Henry III*, furnish the chief Materials for the *Ecclesiastical History* of these three Reigns. That of *Richard I*, was the only one where the Church had no influence; unless we are to consider the Crusade, in which that Prince was engaged, as an Affair purely Ecclesiastical. There are who look upon these four Reigns as a time of Triumph for the Church, because in their notion of the Church the Pope and Clergy only are included. Others are of opinion, this was a time of Oppression and Slavery, because Christians were exposed to the Oppressions of the Popes, who shamefully abused the Authority they were suffered to assume.

The bare reading of the History of these four Reigns is sufficient to shew, it is not without reason that I have so much enlarged on the prodigious Increase of the Papal Power, since it was to be the principal Subject of the ensuing History. We have seen the pernicious Effects of this Power assumed by the Popes. It remains now to shew on what Principles they established their Authority, and the Consequences they drew from thence, to extend it more and more. This is a thing the more worthy of notice, as it is to be considered as the Spring of all the remarkable Events which happened in the Church of England for several Centuries.

Principles on
which the
Ecclesiastical
Power was
established.
First Principle.

The first Principle was, That *Jesus Christ* committed the Instruction of the Faithful, to the care of the Ministers of his Church, from whence were drawn these two Inferences. First, That the Faithful ought to submit to the Decisions of these same Ministers in matters of Faith. Secondly, That Laymen had no manner of Right to decide, or even to examine, the Difficulties which might arise about these matters, but ought implicitly to follow the Determinations of the Ecclesiasticks. This manifestly supposes Infallibility in the Ministers of the Church. But as this Supposition was founded upon the Promises of Christ to his Church in general, and as the Consequence drawn from thence, for the Infallibility of the Ministers in particular, was not sufficiently evident, an Expedient was found to blind the eyes of the World, by confounding the general Notion of the Church with that of the Clergy in particular. Thus by degrees the Clergy alone were called the Church, and to them only were applied the Promises of Christ, made to all Christians in general. So that, in saying with Christ, the Gates of Hell should not prevail against the Church, they expressly meant, that the Clergy or Councils, wholly consisting of the several Members of the Clergy, should be infallible in their Decisions. The Misinterpretation therefore of the Word *Church*, was one of the chief Causes of the Blindness of Christians. The Reader will be able to extend his Reflections on this head; for I purpose only just to point out the several Steps by which the Ecclesiastical Power is arrived to so prodigious a Height.

Second Prin-
ciple.

The second Principle was, That *Jesus Christ* not only appointed Ministers in his Church, for the Instruction of the Faithful, but also to inspect their Life and Conversation. Hence it was inferred, That it belonged to the Pastors to declare to their Flocks, what was just and agreeable to the Laws of God, and what not. From this Principle was drawn this farther Consequence, that not only they had a Right to exhort the Faithful, and censure them when they neglected their Duty, but also to punish them when in a state of Impenitence.

Third Prin-
ciple.

From a third Principle it was laid down, That the Church of *Jesus Christ* ought to be pure and holy, without Spot or

Wrinkle, and therefore it was necessary to use all possible Endeavours to prevent her being polluted either with Sins or Errors. Now as, by the foregoing Principles, the Clergy alone had the Right of Instruction and Inspection, it followed, that to them belonged the care of preserving the Purity of the Church.

This led to a fourth Principle, That in order to preserve the Church pure, it was necessary to cut off the rotten Branches. The consequence from thence was, that when a Christian suffered himself to be corrupted either by Sin or Error, he was to be excommunicated, that is, cut off from the Body of the Church. It is very easy to see, that according to the foregoing Principles, it was the Clergy's Business to perform this Cutting-off, and that they acquired thereby a great Authority, and a profound respect from all Christians.

If the Governors of the Church had all been Holy and Infallible, these several Principles with their Inferences, would have produced only good Effects, and a Discipline very profitable to Salvation would have been preserved in the Church. But they happened to be too frequently swayed by Interest, Caprice, or the Impulse of an ill-governed Zeal. And therefore, it could not but be thought very improbable, that God should subject his Church to the Passions and Prejudices of his Ministers. Hence it was natural to conclude, either these Principles were false, or at least, the Consequences carried too far. This Belief could scarce fail to breed a Contempt for unjust and rash Excommunications, which had even some Influence on the most regular. Every one is very naturally inclined to imagine himself unjustly condemned. From this Contempt proceeded an Unconcern in the Persons excommunicated to be reconciled to the Church, and to give her the Satisfaction she required.

If in the Excommunications, the Clergy had only aimed at preserving the Church's Purity, they would have been contented with cutting off the rotten Members, and grieving at the Obstinacy of those who neglected to be absolved. But this was not what affected them most: Satisfaction was their chief Concern. The Reason is, because most of the Excommunications were thundered against such as incroached on the Lands or Immunities of the Clergy, to whom alone the Name of *Church* was all along appropriated. It was necessary therefore, for the Interest of the Clergy, to oblige those who were cut off from the Body of the Church, to be reconciled to her, and give her Satisfaction. For this Cause another Principle was established: That spiritual Penalties not being sufficient to conquer the Obstinacy of hardened Sinners, it was necessary, for the Glory of God, to make use of temporal Punishments, to force them to Obedience. Upon this Foundation, the Clergy, who were already in possession of regulating all Matters relating to religion, came to this Decision in their Councils: That excommunicated Persons were not only to be separated from the Assemblies of the Church, but also from all Intercourse with the Faithful. If this rigorous Law had been strictly observed, the Excommunicated would quickly have ended their Days for want of the Assistance, which Men naturally give one another, unless they had chosen to go and live among the Infidels. But as it was not possible to hinder their Relations and Friends from affording them some Relief, though the contrary often happened, another Expedient was found to put the Persons cut off from the Church under a Necessity to submit to her Orders, that is, to those of the Clergy. It was ordained in the Councils, that if within forty Days after Excommunication, the Party excommunicated did not sue to be reconciled to the Church, the Magistrate, upon the Bishop's Complaint, should be obliged to cast him into Prison, and confine him to his Estate. So that when a Christian was excommunicated

municated, he was to expect to lose his Liberty and Property, or make the Church such Satisfaction, as the Church herself, that is, the Clergy should judge proper. This Decree of the Councils would hardly have been enacted into a Law, if Sovereigns had not found their Advantage in it, by means of the Consecrations. They did not expect, that this severe Treatment was ever like to reach them. But when once they admitted the Principle of the unlimited Authority assumed by the Church, they quickly experienced that, as Christians, they had no more Privilege than their Subjects. The Popes, whose Power daily encreased, extended it at length over crown'd Heads. They made no scruple to excommunicate Princes themselves, who were frequently deserted by their own Subjects and Domesticks, and to deprive them of their Kingdoms, and give them to others.

The same Principles, then established for private Persons, extended to Kings and Emperors. There was at first but one thing which distinguished an excommunicated Prince from a private Person; namely, that his Subjects were bound to him by an Oath, which many could not think of violating, on pretence that their Sovereign was excommunicated. But the Popes found means to remove this Scruple, by absolving them from their Oath of Allegiance, by the Plenitude of their Apostolical Power. This was in consequence of the Maxim before established, *That an excommunicated Person was to be deprived of his Possessions.*

All this however was not sufficient to compel excommunicated Princes, to give the Church the Satisfaction the demanded. There were many of their Subjects who were not convinced, that the Pope had Power to excommunicate Sovereigns. Others were of opinion, that as long as a King was on the Throne, his Subjects ought not to refuse him the Obedience due to him. Some, though persuaded of the Pope's Authority, thought it unlawful to take up Arms against the King actually reigning. Others again durst not venture on so hazardous an Undertaking, which might end in their own and their Families Ruin. To surmount these Difficulties, the Popes bethought themselves of these two things. The first was, to depose excommunicated and obstinate Kings, in a Council, or only in a Consistory, in order to remove all Scruples from their Subjects. The second was, to commission some powerful Prince to execute their Sentence, to the end that joining with those Subjects who were only restrained by Fear, the deposed Prince might be compelled to submit to the Church. Of this, without going any farther, we have seen a terrible Instance in the Quarrel between *Innocent III* and King *John*.

In this manner, from Principles which might be originally good, considered in themselves, such Consequences were drawn, as tended to erect the spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church into a temporal and absolute Monarchy. Indeed, could a Christian help regarding, as his real Masters, Men, who disposed of his Estate, his Honour, his Life, and his Salvation? What is more strange, is, that Christians should themselves be so blind, as to admit all these Principles, with their unlimited Consequences, and suffer such a System to be built thereon, as wholly tended to enslave them. It is true, it was thought at last, though too late, necessary to set bounds to the absolute Power, assumed by the Pope and Clergy, and extended by degrees over all sorts of things. But there was strong Opposition, and a Resistance so much the greater, as Time had been given them to confirm themselves in their Usurpations.

This is the principal Subject of the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, during several Centuries, and especially during the four Reigns now before us. Except a few Events, it contains only Affairs resulting from the exorbitant Power engrossed by the Pope and the Clergy. The sole aim of the Councils was to maintain the Privileges and Immunities of the Church, that is, of the Clergy; for these two are generally confounded. All the Papal Projects tended only to extend their Authority, as well over the Laity, and the Sovereigns themselves, as over the Clergy. If they have not been able to keep the excessive Power to which they were arrived, it is entirely owing to the ill Use they made of it; which caused them to lose by degrees the Regard paid to every thing flowing from the Holy See. The bare Facts related in this History, concerning the Affair of *Thomas Becket*, the deposing of King *John*, and the Oppressions *England* endured from *Rome*, during the long Reign of *Henry III*, are sufficient to convince all reasonable and unprejudiced Persons, of the Rigor, wherewith the Popes exercised the Authority they had been suffered to assume. How much more convincing would it be, should we add

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to these Instances, what passed on the same subject, in all the other Christian Kingdoms? But to confine myself wholly to *England*, I shall only remark, that *Becket's* Affair carried the Pope's Power in *England* higher than ever; after a Prince, so haughty as *Henry II*, was forced to submit to a shameful Discipline. The Homage King *John* was obliged to do the Pope, raised this Power to its utmost height. From that time the Popes looked upon *England* as a conquered Country, with which they did not think themselves obliged to keep any measures. This is manifest throughout the whole Reign of *Henry III*.

It must be farther observed, that if the Rigour wherewith the Popes treated *England*, served for some time to keep the Kingdom in Subjection, it proved in the end the chief Cause of the decay of their Power, when Circumstances came to be altered. As they carried it too far, they made the *English*, naturally jealous of their Liberty, desire to throw off so intolerable a Yoke. Accordingly, when a favorable juncture offered, they failed not to improve it, and the rather as they found themselves supported by the Clergy, who felt, no less than the People, the Effects of the Pope's Tyranny. This will appear in some of the following Reigns. Mean time, we are to consider the Days of *John* and *Henry III*, as those wherein the Papal Power was at the highest in *England*, and, if I mistake not, in most other Kingdoms of *Europe*. I might confirm my Assertion with numberless Proofs, if what has been said did not appear to me sufficient. They who desire to see a more particular Account of the unjust and violent Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, with respect to *England*, during the Reigns of *John* and *Henry III*, may, for their Satisfaction, consult the History of *Matthew Paris*, who treats of them at large. It is true indeed, Endeavours have been used to destroy the Credit of this Author. But Men of Sense don't look upon, as an Evidence of Unfaithfulness, bare Allegations without Proofs.

The frequent Contests about the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, make also a considerable Article of the Affairs of the Church. But as I have had frequent occasion to speak of them, it will be needless to enlarge any farther upon that Subject. It will suffice to point out in general, what served for Foundation to these Disputes. As to the See of *Canterbury*, the Monks of *St. Augustin's* pretended, that the Right of electing the Archbishops belonged to them, exclusive of all others. But the *Suffragan* Bishops of that See maintained, they had an equal Right with the Monks. On the other hand, the Court would not willingly suffer any to be promoted to the Archiepiscopal Dignity, but whom they approved of. So that, directly or indirectly, the Court had all along a great share in the Elections. These several Interests were the occasion, that hardly could an Archbishop be chosen without some Contest. One while, because the Monks elected, without consulting the *Suffragan* Bishops; another while, because the Bishops made a different Choice from that of the Monks. Sometimes the Monks themselves made a double Election; and sometimes it happened, that the Prelate not being agreeable to the King, could not obtain his Confirmation. The Court of *Rome* reaped great Advantages from these Controversies, since to her was referred the Decision thereof. Upon these occasions the Popes made it a Rule, to declare in favour of him who appeared best affected to the Holy See. Oftentimes, by the Fulness of their Apostolical Power, they annulled the Elections made with unanimous Consent, and caused whom they pleased to be elected. Of this we meet with several Instances in the History of *England*.

These Dissentions reigned almost as much in the Elections of the other Bishops and Abbots. The Court had ever among those that had a Right to vote, a Party, which generally carried it from the others. At least, it was strong enough to hinder the Election of such as were disagreeable to the King. Whatever happened, they raised Disputes, which were referred to the Pope's Decision. Then it was that the King made use of such means with the Pope, as seldom failed of Success. This frequently occurs in the History of the Church of *England*. But it suffices to have made here these few Remarks, without its being necessary to insist any farther on this head.

The Immunities very often granted by the Court of *Rome*, to Churches and Monasteries, in prejudice of the Bishops, were moreover a fertile Source of Disputes. These Immunities regarded either the Visitation of the Religious Houses, or the Elections of the Abbots, or the Dispensation to some Bishops to be absent from the Councils. All these Articles produced an infinite Number of

T t t t

Suits,

Suits, of which the whole Profit accrued to the Pope; who, under this pretence, commanded the Parties to repair to Rome to defend their respective Rights. When once they were there, they never saw the end of their Suits, unless by Presents they found means to procure dispatch; and he that gave most, generally came off best. Of this it would not be difficult to give several Instances. But there is no occasion to prove a Fact so well known and averred. It is time now to proceed to the Councils during the four Reigns we are speaking of.

COUNCILS in the Reign of HENRY II.

A most
Council.

IN the Year 1155, being the first of Henry II, a mixt Council was held in London, consisting of Bishops and Barons, where were debated several Affairs relating to the Church and State. I took notice of this Assembly, on purpose to shew that the Use of these mixt Councils was not yet entirely abolished.

Council
against
Becket.

In 1166, a Synod was held which appealed to the Pope, from the Excommunication denounced by Thomas Becket against those that observed the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.

Council of
Oxford
against the
Publicans.
W. Neub.
l. 2. c. 13.
Spel. Conc.
T. II. p. 59.
Hoved.
p. 555, &c.

The same Year, according to Dr. Hody, but six Years sooner according to *Spelman*, and according to others, four only, Henry II ordered a Council to meet at Oxford, to examine the Tenets of certain Hereticks called *Publicans*, of whom I have already spoken in the Reign of that Prince. Very probably, they were Disciples of the *Waldenses*, who began then to appear. When they were asked in the Council, who they were, they answered, they were Christians, and Followers of the Doctrine of the Apostles. After that, being questioned upon the Articles of the Creed, their Replies were very Orthodox as to the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But if *William of Newburgh* is to be credited, they rejected *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. They shewed a great deal of Modesty and Meekness in their whole behaviour. When they were threatened with Death, in order to oblige them to renounce their Tenets, they only said, *Blessed are they that suffer for Righteousness Sake*. The Council, finding there was no prevailing upon them, delivered them over to the secular Power. Unhappily for them, the King being then at variance with the Pope, was afraid of giving him an advantage, if they were spared. Upon this account he treated them more severely than he would have done at any other time. After causing them to be branded with a hot Iron, he forbid under great Penalties all Persons to give them the least Relief. They suffered this hard Treatment very cheerfully; and as they could meet with no Assistance, either to stay in the Kingdom or to go from thence, they all miserably perished. This is all the Historians have related concerning these pretended Hereticks, without telling us why they were called *Publicans*. I observed they were very likely Disciples of the *Waldenses*, because of their Orthodoxy on the *Trinity* and *Incarnation* of the Son of God, their Patience, and their Answer to the Council that they followed the Doctrine of the Apostles, for that was precisely the Language of the *Waldenses*. It is true, we cannot trace the *Waldenses* in the Tenets ascribed to them concerning *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. But possibly the Historians, who mention them, may have misrepresented their Doctrine. Perhaps they did not believe Transubstantiation, and refusing to communicate with such as did believe it, it was inferred they rejected the *Eucharist* and *Communion of Saints*. As for *Baptism*, perhaps they would, with the *Waldenses*, have it stript of all the Ceremonies, tacked to it since its Institution. In fine, it may be they denied *Marriage* to be a Sacrament, and on that account were accused of rejecting it. However this be, they would not be the first, to whom have been ascribed Doctrines little agreeable to their Sentiments, by forced Consequences, as it is easy to see from the History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* (1). What I have been saying is however only conjecture. But it is sufficiently plausible,

to make one stand amazed at the Rashness of some Protestant Authors, who, upon the Credit of *William of Newburgh* the Monk, and some others of the same Order, have so roughly handled these pretended Hereticks.

Gervase in his Chronicle speaks of another Council convened by Henry II, where he says, that Prince caused the Bishops to swear to obey his Orders, before he had informed them of his Intentions. He adds, that in Consequence of this Oath, he would have obliged them to withdraw their Obedience from Alexander III, and own the Antipope; but that the Prelates flatly refused it. It seems that *Gervase*, who was a Monk of St. *Augustine's* and Cotemporary with *Becket*, should have perfect knowledge of all that passed in that Archbishop's Contest with the King. But as he is extremely partial in Favor of *Becket*, and besides, no other Historian speaks of this Council, one can hardly doubt its being a Fiction. The only Foundation for it, is Henry's writing to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, as was said in the History of his Reign. I shall just observe here, that certain modern Historians, relying too much on the Authority of *Gervase*, who was *Becket's* Creature, have unwarily taken him for guide in their Account of this Quarrel. Hence they have been led to favour the Archbishop, and insinuate as if he was unjustly persecuted by the King. This, added to what I remarked in the foregoing Instance, shews how easily Historians suffer themselves to be drawn insensibly into the Notions or Prejudices of those that have writ before them (2).

In 1175, Richard Archbishop of *Canterbury* convened in Westminster (3) a national Synod, where he caused to be read some Canons, drawn up by himself. They mostly relate to Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Celibacy of the Priests, which was not yet thoroughly established. Roger, Archbishop of *York*, was not present at this Synod, but sent Agents, who protested, in his Name, against three things wherein he thought himself aggrieved. First, he complained of being denied the Privilege of having the Cross carried before him in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the second place, he complained, that the Bishopricks of *Lincoln*, *Chester*, *Worcester* [and *Hereford*] were unjustly taken from the Jurisdiction of the See of *York*. His third Grievance was, on account of an Excommunication denounced by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against some Clergymen of St. *Oswald's* in *Glocester*. Hence it is evident, that the old Disputes between the two Metropolitans were still kept on foot, notwithstanding the Care taken to put an end to them, in the Reign of Henry I.

What passed the next Year 1176, in a Synod held by *Huguccio* the Pope's Legate (4), is a farther Evidence of this matter. The Archbishop of *York* seating himself on the Right-hand of the Legate (5), the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Domesticks fell upon him and dragged him thence, and trampled upon him. This Accident caused the Synod to break up, and was followed with a long Process, which occasioned the two Metropolitans to carry to the Court of Rome several Appeals, from whence she reaped great Advantages (6).

In the Year 1183, the Pope desiring Henry II to procure him a Subsidy from the Clergy, to enable him to carry on the War against the Emperor, the King assembled the Prelates, to acquaint them with the Pope's Demand. The Clergy not daring to refuse the Aid the Pontiff required, and on the other hand, dreading it might be made a Precedent, contrary to the Liberties of the Church of England, used this Expedient to content him. They entreated the King to give the Pope what he thought reasonable, promising to repay him whatever he should advance (7).

In this Reign two Councils were held in Ireland, the first was convened at *Armagh*, presently after the Conquests of the English. It was decreed in this Synod, that all the English Slaves should be enfranchised; the Prelates being persuaded, that the Calamities their Island began to suffer, proceeded from the Irish detaining in slavery, Men, who were Christians as well as themselves. Besides, they considered, that Encouragement was given to Pirates, by affording them an Opportunity of selling their Slaves in Ireland. The other Synod was held at *Cashel*, to put the Church of Ireland upon the same foot, with the Church

(1) The *Waldenses* published the Articles of their Faith, which they dedicated to the French King, who was then persecuting them. The Monks would have concealed their Doctrines, but they came to light, partly by the Quarrels of the Papists among themselves, and partly by the taking of *Montbrun* in 1585, by the *Mareschal de Lesdigueres*, a Protestant, who saved the Records of the Persecutions, found in that Place, when the Monks designed to have burnt them, because they not only contained an account of the Cruelties against the *Waldenses*, but proved, that their Doctrine was the same with Ours. This makes *Rapin's* Conjecture the more probable, and should be a Caution to Protestant Writers, not to condemn too hastily for Hereticks, all that are represented as such by the Monks.

(2) In the Year 1176, Cardinal *Vivian* was sent Legate into Scotland and Ireland. Hoved. p. 553.

(3) May 18. Hoved. Brompt. p. 1101.

(4) He came to England about the end of October, 1175. Gervase, p. 1432.

(5) This was in March 1176. Gervase, p. 1433.

(6) This same Year, William King of Scotland, and the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors of his Kingdom, being at a Great Council, or Parliament, at *Northampton*, King Henry required them to make their Submission to the Church of England; but they refused. Hoved. p. 550.

(7) In 1183, a Synod was held at *Geyntun*, in *Northamptonshire*, about the Crusade. Brompt. p. 1149. Ch. Mailros, p. 177. Hoved. p. 642.

of England; that is to say, to reduce the *Irish* Clergy under the Pope's Jurisdiction, pursuant to the King's promise, when he demanded *Adrian's* consent, to make that Conquest.

XIth Council of Lateran.
Gervas.
Brompt.
Hoved.
p. 582.
Before I finish what relates to the Councils in the Reign of *Henry II.*, I shall add a word, concerning the XIth Council of *Lateran*, convened at *Rome* by *Alexander III.* There were only three *English* Bishops (1), at this Council; for, according to the Testimony of *Roger de Hoveden*, it was one of the Privileges of the Church of *England*, not to be obliged to send more than four Bishops to Councils held at *Rome*. The *Albigenses* were excommunicated in this Council, and all Christians very strictly forbidden to keep any Correspondence with them.

One of the Canons prohibited, on pain of Excommunication, to promise Benefices before a Vacancy. But this Prohibition took place only with regard to Patrons, and not with respect to the Popes, who broke it continually, by means of Provisions, of which, in spite of this Canon, they made frequent use.

It was farther resolved in this same Council, to ease the vast Expence, Churches and Religious Houses were liable to, for the Entertainment of the Visitors, and their Retinue. It was decreed, that in Visitations, an Archbishop should not have in his Retinue more than fifty Horse, a Bishop more than thirty, a Legate more than twenty five, and an Archdeacon more than seven. A great Reformation truly, which plainly shews the Moderation of the Council. The Charges the Abbies and Churches were at upon this occasion, were called Procurations; doubtless, because the Churches were obliged to procure what was necessary for the Entertainment of the Visitors. In process of time, this was turned into a certain Sum of Money, which kept all along the Name of Procurations, and became a fertile source of oppressions, which the Nuntios and Legates made the Churches endure on this pretence. Tilings and Tournaments were likewise forbidden, but this Prohibition was not capable of abolishing them.

COUNCILS in the Reign of RICHARD I.

Synod in favour of John's Marriage.
M. Paris.
IN 1189, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, interdicting the Lands of Prince *John*, on account of his Marriage with his Cousin *Avisa of Gloucester*, there was an Appeal to the Pope from this Procedure. Whereupon the Pope sent into *England* a Legate, one *John de Anagnia*, who called a Synod, where the Archbishop's proceedings were made void, and the Interdict taken off. After that, the Pope confirmed the Marriage by his Authority. Notwithstanding this decisive Sentence, the Marriage was annulled several Years after, on the same pretence of Kindred, and by the same Authority; every thing being easy to those that are invested with Absolute Power (2).

Diceto.
M. Paris.
M. West.
The same *Baldwin* being about to attend *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, convened a Synod, where he declared, that he left the Administration of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *London*, and of his particular Diocese to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

Brompton.
Diceto.
During the Absence of the two Archbishops, one of whom was in the East, the other in *Normandy*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Regent of the Kingdom, and Legate of the Pope, convened two Synods, one at *Gloucester*, and another at *Westminster*. But nothing of moment was transacted, his Aim in calling them, being only to shew his Grandeur.

Gervas.
Diceto.
Baldwin dying at *Acre*, as soon as the News reached *England*, the Bishop of *London* sent an Inhibition to the Monks of *St. Augustine*, to proceed to an Election of an Archbishop, without the consent of the Suffragan-Bishops. Some time after, the Suffragans being met at *Canterbury*, the Monks came into their Assembly, and declared they had elected the Bishop of *Bath*. At the same Instant, they took and placed him on the Archiepiscopal Throne. The Bishops appealed to the Pope; but the Death of the Prelate elect, which happened soon after, put an end to the Difference.

A Synod at York.
Hoved.
Spec. Cenc.
T. II. p. 120.
In 1193, *Richard* sent from *Palestine*, a Letter to the Suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury*, ordering them to proceed to the Election of an Archbishop, jointly with the Monks of *St. Augustine*. Pursuant to this Order, a sort of Synod was held, and *Hubert Walters* elected, whom the King had strongly recommended.

Two Years after, the same *Hubert*, being made Legate, convened in the Cathedral of *York*, a national Synod, where several Canons were made, of which two only deserve Notice. By the III^d, Priests are forbidden to take Money for saying Mass. The Vth, expressly prohibits Deacons to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, unless in Cases of Necessity.

Hoved.
p. 755.

COUNCILS in the Reign of King JOHN.

IN the Year 1200, Archbishop *Hubert* held a national Synod at *Westminster*, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition, which is remarked by Historians as the first Usurpation of this nature. Several Canons were made in this Synod, the chief of which are these:

notwith-
standing the
King's Pro-
hibition.
Hoved.
p. 806.
Brompt.
T. II. p. 23.

The Ist, regulates the Pronunciation of Divine Service, to prevent reading Prayers either too slow, or too fast.

The II^d, forbids the consecrating the Eucharist more than once in a Day, without urgent Necessity.

The XIth, declares against clandestine Marriages, and forbids married Persons to travel beyond Sea, without publishing their mutual Consent.

In 1206, the Pope intending to levy in *England* an extraordinary Romescot, or Peter-Pence, the Bishops met in a Synod to debate upon his Demand. But the King sending them word to proceed no further, they broke up without coming to any Resolution. And indeed, Peter-Pence, not concerning the Clergy more than the rest of the Nation, it belonged not to them to determine, whether it was to be paid or not. Nevertheless, shortly after, a Legate, one *Florentinus*, called another Synod at *Reading*, upon the same account, and, as if the Clergy had been the occasion of the King's Refusal, extorted from them an Aid, in lieu of the extraordinary Romescot demanded by the Pope.

Synod called
refuses Money
to the Pope.
M. Paris.

I pass over in Silence several Councils, called purely to regulate the Restitution, the King was to make the Ecclesiasticks, after his Reconciliation to the Pope, having spoken of them elsewhere.

During the Reign of King *John*, Pope *Innocent III.* convened the XIIth Council of *Lateran*, at which were present four hundred and twelve Bishops (3). There were passed seventy Canons, which, according to the Report of the Historians, were not very agreeable to the Prelates, by whose Authority they were made. This gave occasion to a famous Modern to conjecture, that the Pope drew up these Canons himself, and that they were read before the Council, whose Silence was taken for an Approbation. This was an Artifice, which began to be practised, in order to pass in Councils whatever the Pope desired. The President ordered the Canons ready drawn up to be read, and the Prelates perceiving they were not designed to be debated, none dared to be the first opposer. In process of time, this Expedient was frequently used, and the Council of *Vienne* which was held in 1312, and where the Order of the Knights-Templars was abolished, will furnish us with a remarkable Instance.

XIIth Coun-
cil of Late-
ran.
M. Paris.
M. Du Pin.

To return to the Council of *Lateran*, since the Church of *England*, as a Member of the Catholick Church, was no less concerned than the other Churches in the Canons made there, it will not be perhaps foreign to the purpose to be something particular. But however, to avoid prolixity, it will be sufficient to take notice of three Canons, which seem remarkable beyond the rest.

The Ist establishes in express Terms, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Canons of the
Lateran Council.

The III^d imports, that the secular Power shall be requested, solicited, and, if need be, compelled by Ecclesiastical Censures, to take an Oath to use their utmost Endeavours to root all Hereticks out of their Territories. That for the future, all Persons, without Exception, shall be obliged to swear the same Oath, upon their being promoted to any Dignity Spiritual or Temporal. And if any Temporal Lord refuses to purge his Dominions of Hereticks, after an Admonition, he shall be excommunicated by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And in case he contemns the Censures of the Church, and refuses to make Satisfaction within a Year, the Pope shall de-

(1) *Hoveden* names four who were present at the Council, viz. *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, *John* of *Norwich*, *Robert* of *Hertford*, and *Reginald* of *Barth*. The Abbots were more numerous. See *Hoveden*, p. 582, Anno 1179.

(2) The same Year there was another Synod held at *Pipehead* in *Northamptonshire*. *Hoved.* p. 658. *Spec. Cenc.* T. II. p. 119.

(3) Among whom was *Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

clare his Subjects and Vassals absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and at the same time, shall invite the Catholick Princes to seize his Country, saving to the Sovereign of the Fee, if there is any, his Rights; upon condition that the said Sovereign shall do nothing to obstruct the Execution of the Canon.

Remarks on
the third
Canon.

It is difficult to read this Decree without being surpris'd, that Bishops should assume a Right to deprive Sovereign Princes of their Dominions, as if in fact *Jesus Christ* had, in clear and express Terms, invested them with such a Power. They might be allowed a Right to exhort, to request, to sollicite Princes to purge their Territories of Hereticks. Nay, let them be suffered, if you please, to excommunicate these same Princes, under colour of their being, as Members of the Church, liable to Ecclesiastical Censures, as well as their Subjects. But that Bishops may extend their Authority so far as to decree temporal Punishments, and deprive Princes, or even private Persons, of their Property, is what cannot be granted, without resigning to them withal, the temporal Sovereignty of the whole Christian World. To what purpose then, will some say, is Excommunication, if the Persons excommunicated happen to condemn it? I know not; God alone will be Judge in the other Life. But this did not content the Clergy, and much less the Popes, who would be respected, feared and obeyed, in this Life: For that was the sole end of all their Excommunications. And indeed, to this, temporal Punishments were absolutely necessary, spiritual ones not producing their Effect but in the next World, about which they were little concerned. Thanks be to God, the Generality of Christians follow at present a different Theology. Accordingly the Excommunications of Princes are much less frequent, because Peoples Eyes are opened, and do not think themselves obliged to renounce their Allegiance to their Sovereigns, in compliance to the Pope's Pleasure. It may be further observed on this Decree, that, though it seem'd to be levelled only against the Earl of *Tholouse*, and the other Protectors of the *Albigenses*, yet the Consequences reached all Christian Princes in general. And indeed from this Principle naturally flow'd the unlimited Authority, too frequently exerted by the *Roman Pontiff*.

The last Canon of the Council of *Lateran*, that I design to consider, is the XIVth. By this Canon it is decreed, that the Priests, who are addicted to Debauchery in Countries where Marriage is allowed, should be more severely punished than those, who live in Places, where they are obliged to Celibacy. Hence it may be inferred, that the Celibacy of the Clergy was not yet universally established.

COUNCILS in the Reign of HENRY III.

I shall not take upon me to speak of all the Councils in the long Reign of *Henry III*, because they were, for the most part, convened only to supply the Popes with Money, or to countenance their Exactions. I shall content myself with chusing such, as more immediately related to Religion, or where something remarkable was transacted.

In 1222, Cardinal *Langton* convened, in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* (1), a provincial Synod, where three Men were condemned, and delivered over to the secular Arm. The first pretended himself to be *Jesus Christ*, and shewed on his Body the five Wounds of our Saviour. The second was a *Hermaphrodite* who accompanied that Impostor. The third was a *Deacon*, who, to marry a *Jewish* Woman, with whom he was in Love, had circumcised himself (2).

In 1225, the same Prelate held a Synod, where was made a Canon, confirming the Prohibition of the Marriage of the Priests. This leaves room to presume, there were still in *England*, Priests who stood their ground against all former Prohibitions.

In 1237, *Otho* the Pope's Legate convened a national Council at *London*, in *St. Paul's* Church. As he knew there was a Design to oppose the Canons which he would

have passed against Pluralities, he obtained of the King a Guard of two hundred Men. As soon as the Prelates had taken their places, he ordered certain Canons to be read, which were brought from *Rome* ready prepared, according to the new method. When the Canons against Pluralists came to be read, *Walter de Cantilupe* Bishop of *Winchester*, and some other Prelates, strenuously opposed it, and even protested against it. This opposition obliged the Legate to declare, that the Canon should be in force only during the time of his Legateship. However, it was no sooner passed upon that Condition, but an Ecclesiastick in the Legate's Retinue, read aloud a Decretal Epistle of the Pope, by which it was ordained that this Canon should be perpetually binding.

The IIId states the Number of the Sacraments, and reckons them Seven (3).

The IIId fixes the Eves of *Easter* and *Whitsunday* for the Administration of Baptism, and as some People scrupled to baptize their Children on these Days, their Scruples were condemned.

The XXIIId enjoins the Clergy to live on their Benefices, at least the best part of the year. This Canon was absolutely necessary at that time. As the Pope dispensed with the Residence of the *Italians*, who possessed a great Number of Benefices in *England*, if the *English* had not been obliged to reside, the Churches would have been quite forsaken.

In 1239, was held at *London* a Council, which flatly refused the Legate, the Money demanded to defray the Expences of his Legateship.

The next Year, the same Legate assembled another Synod, where he demanded for the Pope, the fifth part of the Revenues of the Clergy, but could not prevail.

All the rest of the Councils, from 1240 to 1264, were only called to demand Money of the Clergy.

During the Barons Wars, were assembled two Councils. The first at *Reading*, where was confirmed the Appeal brought by the Barons, from the Proceedings of the Legate then at *Boulogne*. In the second, held at *Northampton* in 1266, *Othobon* (4) the Legate excommunicated all Clergymen engaged in the Earl of *Leicester's* Party.

In 1268, (5) the same Legate convened at *St. Paul's* at *London* a national Council (6), where were published certain Constitutions brought from *Rome*, some whereof are still part of the Canon-Law of the *English* Church. As several of these Constitutions tended to lessen the Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops, strong opposition was made against them; which obliged the Legate to prorogue the Assembly till next Day. He so wisely improved this short Adjournment, that gaining in this Interval, either by Promises or Threats, such as appeared most averse, on the morrow he met with no farther opposition. This was the method of holding Councils in those Days.

The Ist of these Constitutions allows Laymen to administer Baptism in case of Necessity.

The IIId forbids Priests to take Money for administering the Sacraments, and prescribes these Words to be made use of in giving Absolution: *I absolve thee from all thy Sins*; or, *By the Authority committed unto me, I absolve thee*, &c. Hence it may be inferred that there were still some Priests, who made a Scruple to pronounce the Absolution in a direct manner, and were contented with a bare Declaration.

The IXth enjoins Residence to Clergymen (7).

The XIIIth confirms the Privilege of Sanctuary to Churches.

The XIVth ordains the solemnizing of Marriage in Publick.

The XXth is against those that pretend to give a Compensation, in lieu of the Penance enjoined them.

The XXIIId provides against alienating any part of the Tythes from the Parochial Clergy. This Constitution particularly concerned the Monks, to whom such Alienations were daily appropriated.

The XXXth is against Pluralists.

The XXXIst forbids the giving Benefices in *Commendam*, and declares a Benefice, held in that manner, va-

(1) *T. Wikes* says, it was in *Osey* Monastery, near *Oxford*; p. 39.

(2) He was tied to a Stake and burnt; whereas the Impostor was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and to be fed with nothing but Bread and Water. *T. Wikes*, p. 39.

(3) Namely, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, and Orders.

(4) *Rapin* by mistake says *Otho*, but *Otho* had left *England* long before, in 1241, as *Rapin* himself has related in the Reign of *Henry III*. See above, p. 313.

(5) *Spelman* places this Council in the Year 1248. See *Conc. Tom. II*, p. 263.

(6) April 8. *T. Wikes*, p. 85.

(7) To *Vicars*. See *Spelman Conc. Tom. II*, p. 269.

cant. This Custom, which was become much in vogue, owned its Original to the Persecutions to which the Church was exposed, whilst the northern Nations were over-running the Western Empire. When by the Fury of the Wars, the Priests and Bishops themselves were forced to fly, the principal Prelates of the Province appointed Priests to officiate in the vacant Benefices, till the Pastor could resume the Care of his Flock. This Custom at length was abused in a manner very prejudicial to the Church. After Peace was restored, such Priests as were not the true Pastors, and were stiled Commendatories, were however continued in the Benefices. For this reason several Councils endeavoured to reform this Abuse, by decreeing, that those who held Benefices in *Commendam* should not receive the Profits, or officiate as Pastors above six Months. But the Popes, pretending to be above the Canons, continued to dispose of the Benefices in *Commendam* for Term of Life.

The XXXIId Canon decrees, that before a Bishop was consecrated, strict Enquiry should be made, Whether he held more Livings than one, without a Dispensation, and Whether the Dispensation was authentick and in form?

The XXXIVth declares void all previous Contracts between Patrons and Persons presented to Benefices.

These are the principal Councils held in *England*, from the beginning of the Reign of *Henry II.* to the end of that of *Henry III.* that is, during the space of six-score Years. After having observed the manner of making the Canons, it will be necessary to add another Remark on that Subject. It happened very often, that in order to get a Canon passed, which was like to meet with strong opposition, it was inserted, among many others of great use. This was done, that the opposers might be accused of being against Regulations of known usefulness. This Artifice was not only practised in Councils but likewise in Parliaments, when to pass certain Bills, others of absolute Necessity were tacked to them. However, this practice has met from time to time with such strong opposition, that it has not been able hitherto to grow into Custom.

What we have observed in some of these Councils, concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy, is a clear Evidence, that it was not yet universally established, though it is pretended that *Anselm* accomplished it in the Reign of *Henry I.* This Evidence may be farther supported by Facts. Long after *Anselm*, *Richard*, a Bishop of *Lichfield*, was Son of *Robert* Bishop of *Chester*; upon which an Historian remarks, that in those Days, the being Son to a Priest was no obstacle to Promotions in the Church. The same Historian relates, That the Pope complaining, that the Bishop elect of *Ely* was not come to *Rome* for his Confirmation, the *English* Ambassador merrily replied, the Prelate had a very lawful Excuse, taken from the Holy Scriptures, for he had just married a Wife. We see also in *Baronius's Annals*, that a Legate sent by Pope *Innocent III.* into *Poland* to establish the Celibacy of the Clergy, did at last carry his Point; but attempting to do the same thing in *Bohemia*, was in danger of his Life.

There was another Article, of no less Importance to the Popes, and which they pushed as vigorously as that of Celibacy. This was to give to their Ordinances or Decretals, the same Authority as to the Canons of the Councils. In 1150, one *Gratian* published a Collection of Decretals, containing all the Ordinances made by the Popes to that Time, that it might serve for a Rule in the Administration of Ecclesiastical Justice. To this Collection were added, in time, several Decrees made afterwards, in order to compose a complete Body of the Canon-Law. *Raymond de Pegnorford*, Penitentiary to *Gregory IX.* was ordered to make this Collection, intitled, *The second Part of the Canon-Law*, and published in 1230. He annexed to it some Constitutions of the Councils, and Resolutions of the Doctors, since the Year 1250, where the second Part began. This last Collection was not only a Supplement to the old Canon-Law, but even altered it in several Articles. For Instance, it is determined, that Bastards should not be capable of Ecclesiastical Preferments, without the Pope's Dispensation. By this Addition, without the Pope's Dispensation, the Court of *Rome* assumed indirectly, the Power of favouring Bastards, when she thought proper, contrary to the ancient Constitutions of the Councils. That Court could never have a better opportunity to publish the Decretals, since her Power was now at the utmost height. There was nei-

ther Subject nor Prince that dared to oppose the Will of the Popes, when they spoke with an absolute Tone. And therefore, without finding much Resistance, they enacted as a Law, whatever they were pleased to decree, even though directly contrary to the Laws, which till then were in force. For example, as to the case of Bastards, the Laws of *England* reckoned, as illegitimate, Children born before Marriage, notwithstanding their Fathers and Mothers were afterwards married; but the Canon-Law decreed the contrary; on which there were great Contests in the Parliament of *Merton* in 1236 (1).

The *Roman* Pontiffs were no sooner become almost absolute Monarchs in the Church, but great numbers of Religious Orders sprang up, which were as a Standing Army, to support the Grandeur and Power of the Popes. The Council of *Lateran* endeavoured to prevent this Abuse, by expressly forbidding the Institution of any new Order of Monks. But this did not hinder *Dominic de Guzman* a *Spaniard*, who long preached against the *Albigenses*, from forming the Project of a new Order, under the Name of *Predicant Fryers*, of which he petitioned for Pope *Innocent's* Confirmation. The Pope, on account of the Prohibition of the *Lateran* Council, made some Scruple at first to consent to this Establishment: But if we may believe the Historians of this Order, he was told, by a heavenly Vision, that he could do nothing more serviceable to the Church. However, it was *Honorius* his Successor, that confirmed this new Order, by the Name of *Predicant Fryers*, because the Design of their Institution, was to preach against Hereticks. They were likewise called *Dominicans*, from their Founder, and in *France*, *Jacobins*, from their first Settlement in *St. James's Street* in *Paris*. The Court of the *Inquisition* was committed to the *Dominicans*, which made them famous for their Cruelties upon the pretended Hereticks, of whom that Court is Judge. They settled in *England* in 1317, shortly after their Institution.

The Order of *Franciscans*, founded by *Francis de Assisi*, quickly followed that of the *Dominicans*. *Innocent III.* approved of it in 1215, but did not authentickly confirm it. It was *Honorius III.* that established it by a Bull in 1223, and the next Year this Order settled in *England*. The Religious, who embraced this Rule, took, out of Modesty, the Name of *Minors*, or *Minorites*, and though, in time, they were divided into several Societies, they all acknowledged *Francis d'Assisi* for their Head and Founder. By their Rule, they were not to preach, or take Confessions in any Diocese, without express leave from the Bishop. But this Article was not long observed by them. They represented to the Pope, that Christians were ashamed to confess themselves to their own Pastors. That many scrupled to do it, because the Parish-Priests themselves were guilty of the Sins confessed to them. In fine, that they had not the Discretion to be secret. Upon this Foundation, they petitioned, for this part of their Rule, a Dispensation, which was readily granted them.

These two Orders of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, acquired so great a Character for Holiness among the People, that there were but few Persons, that had not one of these Fryers for Director. Consequently, the Alms they received were very considerable. They had moreover another Advantage, in that, for a long Space, almost all the Popes were chosen out of one or other of these Orders. So that, by their credit at the Court of *Rome*, they obtained very often Grants of what belonged to other Orders, under colour that it was necessary for their Subsistence. On the other hand, they heaped up immense Riches, as well by the voluntary Gifts of the Living, as by the Legacies and Grants extorted from the Dying, by making them believe, nothing could contribute more to their eternal Salvation. Mean time, as these two Orders laboured with equal Ardour to ingross the Benefactions of the Devout, and thereby became Rivals to one another, a Jealousy arose between them, which was soon followed by a most scandalous Quarrel, that was not easily ended.

In a Council at *Rocheſter*, in 1244, a new Order of Fryers, called *Cross-Bearers*, appeared and demanded leave to settle in *England*. These produced a Bull from the Pope, forbidding all Persons to reproach them, and empowering them to excommunicate those, that should dare to violate this Privilege. The Synod not thinking proper to grant their Petition, they were sent away, on pretence, that the licensing them was a direct Breach upon the Canons of the late Council of *Lateran*.

(1) In the Statute of *Merton*, chap. IX. it is declared, that whoever is born before Marriage is a Bastard. Upon this the Bishops replied, That it was contrary to the Canons of the Church, and were very urgent with the Barons, to consent that such as were born before, should be Legitimate as well as those born after Marriage, the Church having decreed it so. But the Barons with one Voice answered, That they would not consent that the Laws of the Realm should be changed.

I shall close this Abstract of the State of the Church, with some Remarks, on the celebrated Ecclesiasticks of those days.

Johannes Sarracenus Native, and not Bishop of *Salisbury*, as some have affirmed, was one of the Ornaments of the Church of *England*, for Learning, Politeness, and Regularity of Life. He was very intimate with *Adrian IV*, who used to complain to him of the Weight of the Papal Crown. However, the Bull which this Pope granted *Henry II* with, on account of the Conquest of *Ireland*, seems to shew, he was not the most scrupulous. *John de Salisbury*, who adhered to *Thomas Becket*, and followed him into *France*, procured by his means the Bishoprick of *Chartres*. He wrote the *Polycricon*, or *de Nugis Curialium*; a Collection of Letters; and several other inconsiderable Tracts. He died in 1181, or 1182.

I shall say nothing here of *Thomas Becket*, or of *Stephen Langton*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*, having sufficiently spoken of them elsewhere (1).

Baldwin Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who attended *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, where he died, passed for a good Divine. Some of his Works, still extant, shew this Reputation not to be groundless. His great Contest with the Monks of *St. Augustin*, who were grown very insolent, put him upon founding a Society of Regular Canons (2), near *Canterbury* (3), with design to transfer to them by degrees the Privileges of the Monastery of *St. Augustin*. But the Monks, having early knowledge of his Intent, made such an Interest at the Court of *Rome*, that the Archbishop was forced to desist from his Project.

Hugh Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Native of *Grenoble*, was one of the most illustrious Prelates of the Church of *England*, in the Reigns of *Richard I*, and *King John*. His Virtue gained him great Reverence from the People of his Diocese, who were terribly afraid of being excommunicated by him, because they observed, as they imagined, that those who lay under his Censures, seldom failed of being visited with some worldly Calamity. It is related, as an Instance of his Zeal and Resolution, that by his own Authority, he ordered to be removed out of the Church of *Godstow* in *Oxfordshire*, the Tomb of *Rosalmond*, Mistress to *Henry II*, which stood in the middle of the Quire (4), hung with black Velvet, and Wax Tapers about it. Though he was told, the Tomb was placed there by the King's Order, he thought it ought not to be suffered, saying, it was a shameful thing, that the Tomb of such a Woman should stand in so honorable a Place. This Bishop dying with the Reputation of a Saint, was canonized by *Honorius III*, in 1221.

In the midst of *King John's* Contest with the Pope, one *Alexander Cementarius* a Clergyman, who had been Professor of Divinity at the University of *Paris*, publicly preached, that the Pope had not Power to deprive Kings of their Crown. This Freedom drew on him the Indignation of the Court of *Rome*, who reduced him at length to the Necessity of begging his Bread from door to door. *Matthew Paris* stoutly inveighs against the Errors of this Doctor, though no one seemed more convinced than this Historian of the Pope's Abuse of his Power, as he has plainly demonstrated in his History.

Walter de Gray, Archbishop of *York*, was more famous as a Statesman, than as a Bishop. His Successors were enriched by his Bounty in purchasing the Manor of *Thorpe*, and annexing it to his See. He built likewise at *London*, a stately Palace, which went by the Name of *York-Place*; but was afterwards called *White-Hall* (5). Unfortunately, this House which was for many Years a Palace-Royal, was some time since burnt down to the ground.

Edmund, who, from a Canon of *Salisbury*, was promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury*, after the Pope had annulled three Elections to make room for him, was very commendable for his Moderation and regular Life (6). He would have been glad to see the Pope's Power, which was then at the highest, reduced within due Bounds. But perceiving, as matters stood, such an

Attempt must have proved unsuccessful, he chose rather to give way to the Torrent, than withstand so formidable a Power, supported moreover by the King's Authority. However, to avoid the Blame of a base Compliance, he retired into *France*, to the Monastery of *Pontigny*, where his Austerities shortened his days. He was canonized by Pope *Innocent IV*, in 1216.

Richard Poor, Bishop of *Salisbury* (7), and afterwards of *Durham*, is remarkable upon two accounts. Whilst he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, he persuaded the Inhabitants to remove to a more advantageous Situation, where *Salisbury* now stands. Here he laid the Foundation of a stately Church, which was not finished till thirty Years after, and remains to this day. The second thing which rendered this Prelate famous, was his Synodical Constitutions for the use of the Church of *Salisbury*. They are in all eighty seven, of which I shall mention only the XVth, which forbids the Priests to take Money for saying Mass, and the XXXIVth, whereby it plainly appears, that the Laity communicated at that time in both Kinds.

Alexander Hales, born in *Gloucestershire*, a great Canonist, and styled the *Irrefragable Doctor*, was Professor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*. Among his other Works, he composed short Notes on the whole Bible, and a Commentary [in four Books] upon the *Master of the Sentences*; where, as the learned *Du Pin* observes, he discovers more Skill in Logick and Metaphysics than in the Antiquities of the Church.

Sewald, Archbishop of *York*, was an able Divine, and of an unblameable Life. He took Pattern by *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Master. He was so angry at the frequent Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, that he could not forbear writing a sharp Remonstrance to Pope *Alexander IV* upon that Subject. Amongst other things he told him, when *Jesus Christ* commissioned *St. Peter* to feed his Sheep, he did not give him Authority to flea them. This Freedom, with his Refusal to admit certain *Italians*, who came with Provisions from the Court of *Rome*, drew on him the Displeasure of *Alexander*, who at length excommunicated him. The Archbishop upon his Death-bed, complained bitterly of the Pope's Injustice, appealing to Heaven. *Matthew Paris* doubtless did not believe, this Excommunication deprived *Sewald* of eternal Salvation, since he affirms, this Prelate wrought a Miracle in his last Sickness.

Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was a very learned Prelate, for the Age he lived in. His Merit raising him to the Dignity of Cardinal, he resigned his Archbishoprick to live at *Rome*.

I shall conclude what I have to say, concerning the most noted Ecclesiasticks of those Days, with an Account of one of the most eminent, I mean, *Grosetest* Bishop of *Lincoln*. As there are several curious Particulars about him, I shall speak more fully of him, than of the rest.

Grosetest was a Prelate of Resolution and Courage, neither to be gained by Court-Favours, nor frightened by the Pope's Menaces; Rocks which few Ecclesiasticks, in those Days, knew how to avoid. He, being wholly intent upon following, what appeared to him reasonable and just, without being swayed by any consideration, little regarded the Circumstances of the Times, or the Quality of Persons; and opposed equally, the King's Will, and the Pope's Pleasure, according as it happened. By this Steadiness he acquired a great Reputation among the People, long accustomed to see the Bishops stoop to the King or the Pope. It chanced one day, that he excommunicated the Sheriff, for refusing to imprison an excommunicated Person (8) who contemned the Church's Censures. *Henry III*, very angry with the Bishop, for not applying to him, to oblige the Sheriff to execute the Canons, addressed the Pope, to secure his Authority, a Remedy worse than the Disease.

This Affair obliged *Grosetest* to take a Journey to *Rome*, where he was confirmed in his ill Opinion of the Court of *Rome*. He could not see without Indignation and Concern, the best Preferments in the Kingdom bestowed on *Italians*, who neither resided on their Benefices, nor

(1) It was *Becket* that appointed *Trinity-Sunday*. *Gervas.* p. 1388.

(2) *Hoveden* says, Prebendar c. p. 637.

(3) At *Hackington*, about half a Mile from *Canterbury*. He had proceeded so far as to build a magnificent Church, but was forced to demolish it. This Foundation was to be in Honour of *Becket*, and the secret Project was, to draw the Election of the Archbishop from *St. Augustin's* to this new Convent. Matters were adjusted, between him and the Priory of *St. Augustin*, in November 1189. But he built a Church at *Lambeth*, and therein placed the Prebendaries, he intended for his Monastery at *Hackington*. *Hoved.* p. 637, 661, 662.

(4) Before the High Altar. *Hoved.* p. 712.

(5) This House is said to be first built by *Hugode Burgh*, Earl of *Kent*, and given to the *Dominicans*, of whom the Archbishop bought it. When Cardinal *Henry* fell, *Henry VIII* seized and made a Palace-Royal of it.

(6) He was born at *Alington* in *Bedfordshire*. His Father's Name was *Reynald le Rab*, and his Mother *Mabel* was reputed a Saint. He founded a School in *Oxford*, and bred up under him many great Scholars. *Hist. & Antiq. of Oxfo.* l. 2. p. 9.

(7) He was first Bishop of *Conchester*, then of *Salisbury*, and at last of *Durham*. *M. Paris.* p. 438.

(8) One *Ralph* a Clergyman, whom he had deprived for Incontinence, and afterwards excommunicated, for refusing to submit to the Sentence. The Sheriff was *Ralph's* Friend.

Baldwin of
Canterbury
Gervas.
Diceto.
Hoved.

Brompt.
Diceto.

Hugh of
Lincoln.

Brompt.
c. 1235.
Hoved.
p. 712.

Alexander
Cementa-
rius.
M. Paris.

p. 228, 229.

Walter of
York.

Edmund of
Durham.
M. Paris.
p. 386, 527.

Richard
Poor of
Durham.
M. Paris.
p. 438.

Alexander
Hales.

Sewald of
York.
M. Paris.
p. 929, 956,
969.

Kilwarby of
Canterbury.
W. Rish.
p. 1008.

Grosetest of
Lincoln.
M. Paris.
p. 409.

M. Paris.
p. 777.

p. 779, 802.

understood a Word of *English*. His Grief to behold the Church's Revenues devoured by these Harpies, causing him to refuse to institute an *Italian* to one of the best Livings of his Diocese, he was presently after suspended. But, regardless of this Censure, he continued his Episcopal Functions, his Flock being no more scrupulous than himself. He even refused, at that very time, to admit of new Provisions from the Pope in favour of other *Italians*. He declared, that to entrust the Cure of Souls to such Pastors, was to act in the Name of the Devil rather than by the Authority of God.

The Court of *Rome* was unwilling then to make any Noise, for fear of turning against her the whole Clergy of *England*, from whom she reaped a plentiful Harvest. For this reason, the Pope thought it best to connive at the Disobedience of this Prelate, who was of known Resolution, and in great Repute with the People. He chose rather to try to win him by fair means, in giving him a Testimony of his Esteem, by a Commission to reform certain Abuses crept into the Monasteries. Notwithstanding this, *Grotest* soon after touched the Pope in a very sensible manner, by computing the yearly Sums drawn by the benefited *Italians* out of *England*, as was said in another Place. *Innocent IV* sat then in the Papal Chair. He had been so used to treat the *English* with Haughtiness, that he could not hear of the Bishop's Proceedings without being extremely provoked. But as he durst not attack him upon that account, because what he had done was universally approved, he fell upon him for refusing to admit his Provisions, and sent him a menacing Letter, which would have frightened any but him. *Grotest* returned the Person, that was ordered to send him the Letter with certain Instructions (1), a very bold Answer, of which the Reader will not be displeased to see the following Extract.

"I desire your Prudence to take notice, that I am always ready to obey the Apostolical Instructions, and declare my self an Enemy to whatever is repugnant thereto. For to both these things, I am bound by the Command of God. To apply this: The Apostolical Instruction (2) must of necessity be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who is principally represented by the Pope. Since *Jesus Christ* has declared, *he that is not with me is against me*, the Sanctity of the Apostolick See is such, that it can never appear in opposition to our Lord. From hence it plainly follows, that the Letter in Question (3), is directly opposite to an Apostolical Character. First, because of the Clause *Non-obstante*, so frequently made use of now-a-days, which has nothing of natural Equity in it. On the contrary, it is certain, it introduces a Deluge of Mischief, as it gives occasion to a great deal of Inconstancy and Breach of Faith. It shakes the Foundations of mutual Trust, and makes Language and Writings of no Force or Significancy. In fine, it cannot be, but that the Purity of Religion, and the Peace of Society, must suffer extremely, by such a stretch of Apostolical Authority. In the second Place, next to the Sins of Lucifer and Antichrist, there cannot be a greater Defection, or which carries with it a more direct opposition to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, than to destroy Souls, by depriving them of the pastoral Office. And yet it is evident, that those are guilty of this Sin, who undertake the sacerdotal Function, and receive the Profits, without discharging the Duty. For in the Scripture-Account, the Pastor who neglects his Flock, is a downright Murderer of the Sheep. Can one help therefore considering as a most flagrant Crime, a Conduct, which tends so strongly to the Destruction of Truth and Virtue, and the Happiness of Mankind? If in moral Productions, the Cause of Good is better than the Effect, it is just the contrary in the Propagation of Vice, the Source and Original whereof are worse than the Disorder, that flows from them. It is manifest therefore, that those, who bring such unqualified Persons into the Church, and by that means destroy the Hierarchy, are most to blame; and their Crime rises, in proportion to the Height of their Station. From hence I conclude, that the Apostolical See, which has received so full an Authority from our Saviour, for Edification, and not for

Destruction, ought not to countenance, much less to command, so horrid and pernicious a Provision. To attempt any thing of this kind would be a most torious Abuse, if not a Forfeiture of her Authority. It would be in effect, to stray at a vast Distance from the Throne of Glory, and to represent in a very improper manner the Person of our Saviour. Such Persons may be said rather to be placed in the Chair of Perdition, and to sit upon the Bench, with the Devil and Antichrist. Neither can any Christian, who dares to continue in the Communion of the Church, and pays a due Regard to the Apostolick See, obey any commands of this kind, though imposed by an Angel from Heaven. On the contrary, he ought to rebel, if I may call it so, against the Order, and oppose it to the utmost of his Power. For this reason, since the Instructions above-mentioned are so plain a Contradiction to the Catholick Faith, and the Sanctity of the Apostolick See, my Duty obliges me to refuse them, and not to comply out of Deference to the Person, by whom they are sent. Neither can your Prudence justly put any hardship upon me, because, properly speaking, my Refusal ought not to be looked upon as a Contumacy, but rather as a filial Respect. For, to sum up all in a word, the Apostolical See has its Commission only for Edification, and not for Destruction, and the Plenitude of its Power ought not to extend beyond what relates to Edification. But these Provisions, as they are called, have a manifest Tendency to Destruction. Therefore, the *Holy See* can by no means allow such a Liberty: For, to conclude, these Practices are revealed by *Flesh and Blood*, which cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and not by the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*."

This Letter put *Innocent* into a terrible Rage. *What* says he, *has this old Dotard the Confidence to censure my Conduct! By St. Peter and St. Paul, I will make him such an Example, that the World shall stand amazed at his Punishment* (4). His Passion, however, was somewhat moderated by the Cardinals, who represented to him, the ill Consequences of too great a Severity. That the Noise he should make on this occasion, would be prejudicial to the *Holy See*, since it would infallibly cause the *English* to examine the Motives. That there was danger, that, as they stood affected to the *Holy See*, and to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, they would think it very strange, that a Prelate of so established a Reputation, should be treated with such Rigour. That, on the contrary, there was a Necessity of carefully avoiding the giving occasion to enter into the Examination of what he alledged to justify his Non-compliance; and therefore, upon all these accounts, it was most advisable to take no notice at all of this insolent Letter. Though these Remonstrances moderated the Effects of the Pope's Fury, they were not however sufficient to appease him entirely. The Annals of *Lancercost* inform us, the Bishop was excommunicated a little before his Death, and, without regarding the Censure, appealed to the Court of Heaven. This is farther confirmed by the Report of several Historians, who say, that *Innocent* moved in the Conclave, that the Body of *Grotest* should be taken up and buried in the High-way, but that the Cardinals consented not to it. Be this as it will, if he was excommunicated, he minded it not, but continued to discharge his Functions; neither were the Clergy of his Diocese more scrupulous than their Bishop, and obeyed him till the Day of his Death. The Bishops his Brethren, and the Monks themselves, though great Sticklers to the Pope, were not more apt to believe this Excommunication had produced any great Effect. Some, who were present at his Death, affirmed, they were entertained with divine Musick in the Air over the House where he died. We find likewise that in the Pontificate of *Clement V*, the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul* petitioned very earnestly for the Canonization of *Grotest*, on account of several Miracles wrought by him after his Death. But as he was not of that sort of Saints wherewith the Court of *Rome* filled the Calendar, their Petition was rejected. An instance of a Bishop dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, and yet passing for a Saint in the Country where he lived, is a Difficulty which must be left to be cleared by those whom it concerns. I shall only relate one circumstance more, which, if not true, is, at least, a Proof of the great Opinion of

(1) *Matthew Paris* mentions not the Contents of the Brief, but only takes notice in general that the Bishop looked upon the Instructions the Pope had sent him, to be unreasonable as they usually were, says our Author, p. 870.

(2) By which are meant the Pope's Orders.

(3) Meaning the Pope's Brief.

(4) "For, continues the Pope, is not his Sovereign the King of *England* our Vassal? Nay, is he not our Slave? It is but therefore signifying our Pleasure to the *English* Court, and this antiquated Prelate will be immediately imprisoned, and put to what further Disgrace we shall think fit." *M. Paris*, p. 872.

M. Paris
p. 897.

this Prelate's Sanctity. An Historian reports, that *Grosetest*, a little after his Death, appeared in his Robes to *Innocent IV*, and striking him on the Side with his Crosier, gave him a severe Reprimand. He adds, that the Pope was so frightened at this Apparition, that he continued two days without eating. I have nothing to say concerning the Truth of this Relation, but draw this Inference from it, that though the Bishop died excommunicated by the Pope, and in Sentiments very opposite to those of the Court of *Rome*, the Historian for all that testified by this

Circumstance, that he believed him glorified in Heaven.

Grosetest (1) wrote several Tracts. Amongst other Performances he translated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, *The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, a Copy of which one *John de Basingstoke*, who met with it at *Athens*, put into his hands. As to the time when the Original was written, it is uncertain. *Dr. Cave* assigns it to the latter end of the second Century. *Dodwell* places it in the first, and some others believe it was composed by some Jew before our Saviour's Death (2).

M. Paris.
p. 597, 885.

Grabe.

(1) He was born at *Stedbrooke* in *Suffolk*; and died *October 8, 1253*. *M. Paris*, p. 876.

(2) As to the Historians who lived in these four Reigns, the most noted are:

SIMEON OF DURHAM, a Monk and *Precentor* of the Church of *Durham*, in the Year 1164, one of the most learned Men of his Age. He wrote, besides other things, two Books, *de Gestis Regum*, which are not his Master-pieces, being only a few indigested Collections, chiefly out of *Florence of Worcester*, whose very Words he frequently copies. He begins where *Bede* left off, and goes as far as the 29th of *Henry I*, 1129. He is one of the *X Scriptores*, published 1652, at *London*.

HENRY Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, flourished about the same time; whose eight Books, concluding with the Reign of King *Stephen*, were published by *Sir Henry Savil*. He is a Follower of *Bede*, and has borrowed a great many Lies from *Jeffrey of Monmouth*. He writes confusedly, and reduces the Transactions of the *Heptarchy* to the several Reigns of the *West-Saxon* Kings, but has not adjusted them so well as he ought to have done.

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, so called from a Monastery in *Yorkshire*, whereof he was Member. His History begins at the *Conquest*, and ends at the Year 1197. He was a violent Persecutor of *Jeffrey of Monmouth*. His *Latin* Style is preferred to that of *Matt. Paris*, and equalled with those of *Eadmer* and *Malmshury* by *Dr. Watts*.

GERVASE, a Monk of *Canterbury*, wrote a Chronicle of the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry II*, and *Richard I*, with Judgment enough, says *Bishop Nicolson*. It was published among the *X Scriptores*. *London* 1652.

ROGER DE HOVEDEN, Chaplain some time to *Henry II*. He is charged with borrowing from *Simeon of Durham*, without acknowledging it, but, as *Bishop Nicolson* observes, if he did, he has improved his Story, adding Years to many things confusedly related in that Author. There are in his Book many Letters, Speeches, &c. relating to Ecclesiastical Matters. He was Cotemporary with *Gervase*, 1201. His History was published by *Sir Henry Savil*. *Francis* 1601.

RALPH DE DICETO, Dean of *London*. He wrote about the Year 1210. His *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* contain an Abstract of our History down to the *Conquest*; and his *Imagines Historiarum* give the Portraitsures of some of our Kings more at length, ending with the first Years of King *Jehn's* Reign. *Mr. Selden* praises this Author and his Works, tho' *Bishop Nicolson* says, he usually copied *verbatim* out of other Writers. He is among the *X Scriptores*.

WALTER, a Monk of *Coventry*, a clear and faithful Writer. He lived in *Coventry* in 1217. He has some few things of Note not to be met with in *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, *Hoveden*, and *Huntingdon*, in his three Books of *Chronicles*, which are chiefly Collections from the said Authors.

MATTHEW PARIS, a Monk of *St. Albans*, one of the most renowned Historians of this Kingdom. His *Historia Major* contains the *Annals* at large of eight of our Kings, from *William the Conqueror* to *Henry III*. It was first published at *London* 1571, and reprinted with Additions of various Readings, &c. by *Dr. Watts*, *London* 1640, and since 1685. From the Year 1259, wherein *Matt. Paris* died, to *Henry III's* Death, it was continued by *William Rishanger*, a Monk of the same Fraternity. The whole Work manifests a great deal of Candour and Exactness in the Author, who tells us so particularly of the brave Repulses given by many of our Princes to the Usurpations of the *Roman See*, that it is a Wonder how such an Heretical History came to survive thus long. A fair Copy of this History, supposed to be written by the Author's own Hand, is in the King's Library at *St. James's*. He wrote an Abstract of his History, which *Lambard* styles his *Historia Minor*, having in it several Particulars of Note omitted in his *Historia Major*. It is pretended, that *Paris* had but a small Hand in the whole History, having begun only at the Year 1135, the rest being done to his Hand by one *Roger de Windlesore*, or *Windesore*, (or *de Wendover Prior de Bealcaire*, as it is in the MS Copy in *Cotton's* Library) one of his Predecessors in the same Monastery.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.

The Reigns of EDWARD I. and EDWARD II; Containing the Space of Fifty Five Years.

9. EDWARD I. (1) Surnamed LONG-SHANKS.

1272.
EDWARD
I.



THE Death of Henry III, happening during the Absence of his Son Edward, who was to succeed him, seemed to offer the Malecontents a favorable Opportunity to raise new Troubles. However, it was not attended with any ill Consequence. Leicester's Party was so humbled, that they were no longer able to

look up. And though some restless Persons had made use of this juncture, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, the Nation's good Opinion of Edward, would have rendered their Projects impracticable. This Prince shined with great Lustre, during the latter Part of his Father's Reign. The Victory of *Evesham*, the Reduction of the *Ely* Rebels, and his Clemency to them when reduced, were still fresh in the Memory of the English, and filled them with Esteem and Admiration for his rare Qualities. They did not doubt but he would employ all his Talents, to restore the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, which had received such violent Shocks in the two foregoing Reigns, so that, far from being inclined to favour the Malecontents, they shewed an extreme Impatience to see their new Sovereign, building on him alone all the hopes of their future Happiness. Though Edward was absent, and not even heard of, all the Barons with one accord swore Fealty to him (2). At the

same time they writ him a very respectful and submissive Letter, inviting him to come with all speed, and take possession of the Throne of his Ancestors. Mean while, they assembled at *London* (3), to commit the Regency of the Kingdom to such as should be deemed the most capable: Their Choice falling upon the Archbishop of *York*, and the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Chester* (4), the Parliament, which met quickly after (5), confirmed all the measures taken for the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom (6).

This Parliament was composed not only of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, but also of the Knights of the Shires, and Representatives of the principal Cities and Burroughs (7). The same thing was practised under the Government of the Earl of *Leicester*, during the late King's Captivity. But these Assemblies were not convened by a lawful Authority. I shall not stay to examine whether, before the Time I am now speaking of, the Commons had a Right to send Representatives to Parliament. This is a Point full of Difficulties, and not yet thoroughly cleared. I shall only say, it can't be denied, that they enjoyed this Privilege in the Reign of Edward I, and from thence forward to this day, have preserved it without Interruption.

Edward pursuing his Voyage, without knowing what passed in *England*, safely arrived in *Sicily*; where he was received by *Charles of Anjou* with all the Respect due to

1272.

An. Waverl.

Edward arrives in Sicily. M. West. Walling.

The Barons swore Fealty to Edward, though absent. M. West. An. Waverl. Walling.

(1) This was in reality the fourth King of his Name, there having been three Edwards in the time of the Saxons. For this Reason, in speaking of this, and the two following Edwards, by the Name of Edward I, II, III, it was usual to add *Post Conquestum*, after the Conquest, but by degrees that Addition was omitted. *Rapin*.

(2) As soon as Henry was buried at *Westminster*, John Earl of *Warren*, Gilbert Earl of *Glocester*, with the Clergy and Laity, went up to the High-Altar, and swore Fealty to his Son Edward. *Edm. Earl of Warren*, *Nov. 20*, M. West. p. 401.

(3) The Nobles assembled at the *New-Temple*, and ordered a new seal to be made. M. West. *ibid.* *Wallingham*, p. 43.

(4) *Walter Giffard*, Archbishop of *York*; *Edmond Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Son to *Richard*, Brother to the late King Henry III; and *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*. M. West. p. 401.

(5) About the middle of *January*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 226.

(6) They appointed *Walter de Mortimer* Chancellor. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 227.

(7) According to the *Annals of Waverl.*, this Parliament consisted of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and Barons, Abbots, and Priors, four Knights from every shire, and four Representatives from each City, p. 227.

1272. his Rank and Merit. At *Melfina* it was that he heard of his Father's Death, for whom he appeared more concerned than for his eldest Son *John*, the News of whose Death was brought at the same time. From *Seilly* he went to *Rome*, where he staid some days, to visit the new Pope, who was his particular Friend, and had accompanied him to *Palatine*, in quality of Legate (1). After this, he took the road to *France*, and passed through *Burgundy* (2). As he had the Reputation of being a Prince of great Valour and Bravery, the Earl of *Chalon*, who valued himself upon the same Qualities, desired his presence at a Tournament which was to be in his Country, and even sent him a sort of a Challenge. Though a King of *England* might honourably decline entering the Lists with an Earl of *Chalon*, *Edward* accepted his Challenge without hesitation. He was apprehensive, no doubt, of injuring his Reputation, in case he refused. Neither could the Pope's Letter, which his Holiness sent him to divert him from his purpose, prevail with him. Some Historians pretend the *Burgundians* did not use all the fair Play requisite on such Occasions. They tell us the Tournament was turned into a real Fight, wherein the *English* had the Advantage, and which was called, *the little Battle of Chalon*.

He visits the King of France, and from thence goes to Guienne. M. West. Mezerai. Walling. As *Edward* passed through *France*, he thought he could not dispense with taking a turn to *Paris*, to pay a visit to King *Philip*, who gave him a very honourable and civil Reception, and received his Homage for *Guienne* (3). After that, *Edward* came to *Bordeaux*, where the Vassals of that Duchy did him Homage. Some say, that *Gaston de Moncade*, Viscount of *Bearn*, refusing to do Homage, was taken into Custody at *Bordeaux*, where he was come to meet the King. But though it be true, that the Viscount promised not to leave the Court of *Edward* without his Consent, it is certain, however, that this Difference with the King concerned not the Homage of *Bearn*. The Collection of the Publick Acts evidently shews that the Dispute was about quite another Affair. It was decided at *Limoges* by *Accursius* a famous Civilian then in the Service of the King (4).

1274. He arrives in England, and is crowned. M. West. T. Wikes. Ann. Waverl. Walling. As soon as *Edward* had settled his Affairs in *Guienne*, he came into *England*, where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Affection and Respect, as having acquired fresh Merit by his late Expedition to *Palestine*. A few days after his Arrival (5) he was crowned, with *Eleanor* his Queen, in Presence of *Alexander III*, King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and all the Peers of the Realm. Historians tell us, that on occasion of this Solemnity, five hundred Horses were let loose about the Field, which were liberally given to such as could catch them.

He sends Commissioners into several Counties. Pat. 2. Ed. I. M. 6. The new King's first care, after his Coronation, was to make strict Inquiry into the Affairs of the Kingdom (6). To that purpose, he appointed Commissioners to go through the several Counties, and take exact Information concerning the Fees held of the Crown, and the State they were in. They were likewise ordered to examine into, and punish the Misdemeanours of the Magistrates, who for some time had but too much abused their Authority in oppressing the Subjects. This first Step produced a wonderful Effect among the People. It was plain, the King intended to govern in a very different manner from his Father and Grandfather, and every one expected with Assurance the happy Fruits of the Maxims he was following, to procure himself a peaceable Reign. It was absolutely necessary for *Edward*, to make himself esteemed and feared by his Subjects, that no intestine Troubles might obstruct the grand Designs he was meditating. The first, and that which chiefly possessed his Thoughts, was the chastising *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*. This Prince had plainly discovered, during the late Troubles in *England*, how dangerous a Neighbour he was, since he was ever ready to countenance the *English* Malecontents. Had it not been for him, the Earl of *Leicester* would never have risen to that height of

Power; neither would the Earl of *Gloucester* have become so formidable, without *Llewellyn's* Assistance. The Conduct of this Prince on these and several other occasions, caused *Edward* to resolve, to put it out of his Enemy's Power to hurt him. But the then Circumstances of the Times, and his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, obliged him to defer the Execution of his Project. *Llewellyn* was not ignorant of it. He considered *Edward* as his greatest Foe. But his Discretion to screen himself from his Resentment, had a quite contrary Effect, as they furnished the King with a Pretence to attack him.

I have been observed, that old *Llewellyn*, Grandfather to this Prince, was become Vassal and Tributary to *Henry III*, and that his Successor did Homage to the same King for all *Wales*. Though the *Welsh* afterwards made some Struggles to throw off this Yoke, even to the offering to submit to the Pope, they were never able to succeed. In spite of the Troubles in *England* during the late Reign, the Crown continued to reckon, among her Vassals, the Prince of *Wales*. Immediately after the Death of *Henry III*, and before the Return of *Edward*, *Llewellyn* was summoned to appear and do Homage to the absent King (7), but he regarded not the Summons. His Refusal was the Cause that the new King, presently after his Arrival, ordered him to be summoned a second time, to do him Homage, and assist at his Coronation as Vassal. *Llewellyn* found Reasons to be excused. He pretended, the *English* had not kept the late Treaty of Peace, and had committed on his Frontiers several Outrages, for which he demanded Satisfaction. To remove this Pretence, the King nominated Commissioners to adjust all things, and withal summoned him again to appear and do Homage. This third Summons was no more regarded than the former. Mean while, *Llewellyn*, being informed, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was going to excommunicate him and put his Territories under an Interdict, writ to the Pope, to try to divert this Blow. The means he used to gain the Court of *Rome*, were so effectual, that the Pope forbid the Archbishop to act against him, as long as he offered to do Homage in his own Country. *Edward* not being satisfied with these Cavils, sent him a peremptory Summons, which the *Welsh* Prince thought fit to obey. He still insisted however upon the Place, pretending, he was obliged to do Homage only to the King in Person, and on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. *Edward* readily consented to this. But a sudden Illness seizing him as he was going to *Shrewsbury*, caused the Homage to be deferred to another time. Afterwards *Llewellyn* repented of the Advances he had made. And from thenceforward nothing could prevail with him to trust himself in the hands of a Monarch, whom he looked upon as his sworn Enemy. After several fruitless Summons, the King found at length, that a more effectual Method must be taken. However, as he was willing to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, before he made War upon his Neighbours, he was contented with citing *Llewellyn* before the Parliament (8), which was to meet the beginning of the next Year. The *Welsh* Prince appeared not. He alledged in excuse for his refusal, that the King having shewn on several occasions an extreme Animosity to him, he could not trust his Person with his declared Enemy. Nevertheless he protested, he was ready to do him Homage in his own Country, if the King would send Commissioners thither to receive it, or else in some third Place, where he might be without Danger. He offered moreover to come into the King's Territories, provided he would give him the Prince his eldest Son in Hostage, the Earl of *Gloucester*, and the High-Chancellor. So arrogant an Answer served only to confirm *Edward* in his Resolution. He dissembled however, that he might not interrupt the Sessions of the Parliament, which was employed in affairs of great Importance; namely, in enacting excellent Laws, for securing the Peace and Liberties of the People, as well as the Immunities of the Church, and Privileges of the

(1) The Pope granted *Edward*, for three Years, the Tenth of all the Clergy's Revenues in *England*. T. Wikes, p. 99. Ann. Waverl. p. 227.

(2) Where some *English* Bishops, Abbots, Bishops, and Barons met him. M. Westm. p. 402. Wallingh. p. 44.

(3) The Form of the Homage, according to M. West, was thus, "My Lord King, I do you Homage for all the Lands which I ought to hold of you." p. 402.

(4) Whilst King *Edward* was in *Guienne*, some Persons in the North of *England* gathered together, to the Number of three hundred, and spread a Report about, That *Edward* would never return to *England*; but *Edmund* the King's Brother, and *Roger de Mortimer*, assembled some Forces, and dispersed them. M. Westm. p. 403.

(5) He and his Queen landed in *England*, July 25, and were crowned August 19. M. Westm. p. 407. — T. Wikes, p. 101. and Ann. Waverl. p. 229.

(6) He issued out Writs of Enquiry by the Oaths of twelve legal Men, to two Commissioners in every County to enquire, what his Royalties, and the Liberties and Privileges of his Crown were, who were his Tenants in Capite, and military Service, and what Fees they held of him. Of his Tenants in ancient Demesne, how they had behaved themselves, and in what Condition their Farms were: Of Sheriffs, Coroners, Echevours, Bailiffs, and their Clerks, whether they had extorted Money from any Man, by reason of their Office, had wronged any one, or received Bribes for neglecting or being remiss in their Offices, &c. The whole Enquiry contained thirty four Articles. Patent 2. Edw. I. M. 6.

(7) A writ was directed, November 29. 1272, by *Walter de Merton*, then Chancellor, to the Abbots of *Dore* and *Hagenham*, to receive *Llewellyn's* Oath of Fealty. See Brady's Appendix, N. 2.

(8) Which was held at *Walsingham*, in the beginning of May.

1275. Clergy. They were called, *The Statutes of Westminster* (1).

1276. When the Parliament broke up, the King seriously thought of the War, which he was resolved to carry into *Wales*, to punish the Disobedience of *Llewellyn*. Whilst he was making Preparations, some *Bristol* Men happened to take a Vessel, in which was one of the Daughters of the late Earl of *Leicester*, who was going to *Llewellyn*, to whom she was contracted. The Prince demanded his Wife, and the King refusing to send her, he perceived he was to expect a War, and indeed as soon as *Edward* had taken all his measures, he convened the Peers of the Realm (2), who passed Judgment upon *Llewellyn*, declaring him guilty of Felony; upon which the War was proclaimed (3). *Llewellyn* was then sorry he had pushed matters so far. To divert the impending Storm, he humbly sued for Peace, and withal entreated the King to restore him his Wife. Both his Requests were denied, unless he would bind himself, to repair all the Damages done to the Borders of *England*, during the late Wars; a Condition, which he would not accept. The War therefore was begun, but was not very vigorously pursued the first Campaign (4).

1277. In the beginning of the next Spring, *Edward* assembling a great number of Forces, put himself at the head of his Army, and marched into the Enemies Country. He caused there a very large way to be cut through a vast Forest, opening by that means a Passage to the very Center of *Wales*. Before he proceeded, he built the Castles of *Flint* and *Rhuddlan* (5), which secured him an Entrance at all times, and a Retreat in case of Necessity. As the *Welsh* were not able to withstand him, he advanced farther, and drove them to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, their usual Refuge, when pursued by the *English*. At the same time his Fleet attacked the Isle of *Anglesey*, which made but a faint Resistance.

1278. *Llewellyn* finding himself unable to oppose so formidable an Enemy, was obliged humbly to sue for Peace, which was granted but on very hard Terms. He was forced to promise to pay fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, for the Expences of the War. Moreover, *Edward* restoring to him the Isle of *Anglesey*, it was agreed, that, for the future, he should hold it of the Crown of *England*, paying yearly a thousand Marks. He promised likewise to give entire Satisfaction to his Brother *David*, who had fled for Refuge to the King, and delivered Hostages for the Performance of his Word. The Haughtiness of the Prince of *Wales*, being tamed by so mortifying a Treaty, *Edward* was contented for once with the Honour of the Victory. He generously restored the Hostages, and forgave him the Sums he was bound to pay. However, he caused a Grant of the Isle of *Anglesey* to be made to him, which nevertheless he was not to enjoy, unless *Llewellyn* died without Heirs. Then he delivered up the betrothed Lady, and did him the Honour to assist at his Nuptials. He created also *David*, Brother of *Llewellyn*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and to attach him to the Interests of *England*, gave him to Wife a rich *English* Heiress (6).

1279. The happy Issue of the War with *Wales* was immediately followed by *Edward*'s Acquisition in *France*, of the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Montreuil*, fallen to his Queen, by the Death of her Mother, Queen of *Castile*, who was in possession. But to obtain of the King of *France* the Investiture of that Fief, he was obliged to confirm the King his Father's Treaty, made whilst a Captive to the Earl of *Leicester*, and to renounce, like him, all Claim to *Anjou* and *Normandy*. He reserved however the yearly Rent of thirty Pounds out of the Revenues of *Normandy*, apparently as an Acknowledgment that it once belonged to his Ancestors.

This Affair being ended, *Edward* seriously set about rectifying the Coin, which was very much altered and adulterated, during the Troubles of the late Reign. Upon Information that the *Jews* were the chief Authors of this Mischief, he caused all that were in the Kingdom

to be seized in one day (7), that the Guilty might not escape. Then, after a strict Examination, two hundred and eighty (8), convicted of clipping and coining, or putting off false Money, received Sentence of Death, and were executed without mercy.

An Affair of another nature, but of no less Importance to the Publick, furnished the King with a fresh Opportunity to shew his Resolution, to reform the Abuses introduced into the Kingdom. The prodigious increase of the Riches of the Clergy and Monasteries, had been long a subject of Complaint, without any one being able hitherto to find an effectual Remedy, to put a stop to a thing so prejudicial to the State. The Barons, who had exacted from King *John* the Charter so often mentioned, had taken care to insert a Clause, expressly forbidding all Persons to alienate their Lands to the Church. But this Prohibition, as well as several others, had not been well observed. The Complaints upon this head were renewed in the beginning of this Reign, wherein every one thought he had reason to hope all Grievances would be redressed. It was demonstrated to the King, that in process of time, all the Lands would be in the hands of the Clergy, if People were still suffered to alienate their Estates to the Church. And indeed, the Church never dying, always acquiring and never alienating, it could not be but that her Riches should increase immensely, and in the end all the Lands of the Kingdom would be in her hands. *Edward* having maturely considered this Affair, summoned the Parliament (9), and proposed the making a Law to reform this Abuse. The Proposal was received with Joy, and a Statute was made, whereby all Persons were forbid to dispose of their Estates to Societies, which never die, without the King's express Consent. This Statute was called the Statute of *Mortmain*, because it was intended to prevent Estates from falling into dead Hands, that is, Hands of no Service to the King and the Publick, without hopes of their ever changing their Owners.

The Parliament which met the next Year (10), being desirous to redress another Abuse, unadvisedly gave birth to a greater. During the Troubles of the two late Reigns, several Persons appropriated to themselves Lands, which belonged not to them. The Crown it self was a Sufferer by this disorder. To remedy this Evil, and give every one his own, the Parliament passed an Act, in it self very just. It imported, that all who were in possession of the contested Estates, should be obliged to shew how they acquired them, and produce their Title before the Judges, in order to be examined. This Statute, from the *English* Word *Warrant*, was filed *Quo Warranto*, as much as to say, an Act which serves for Foundation or Security of the Possession (11). So that the *Quo Warranto*, is properly a Right to demand of any Person, by what *Warrant*, or Title, he holds the Estate in dispute. This Regulation was just and necessary: But the King misled by ill Advice, and a Desire of amassing Money, made use of it, contrary to the Design of the Parliament, to oppress his Subjects. As he was sensible, that among the great Numbers, who held their Lands of the Crown, it could not be but that many had lost their Titles, he was resolved to take advantage of their Misfortune, under colour of putting the Statute of *Quo Warranto* in execution. To that end he published a Proclamation, enjoining all Persons that held Lands of the Crown, to lay their Titles before the Judges of the Realm. This Proclamation was looked upon as the Source of a very great Grievance. And indeed those that were first attacked, and could not produce their original Titles, though they proved a long Possession, were forced to pay large Sums to the King, to preserve their Estates. This Grievance would have gone much farther, had not a Stop been put to it by the Courage of the Earl of *Warren*. The Earl appearing before the Judges, was required to shew the fundamental Title, by virtue whereof he held his Lands. He answered, by drawing an old rusty

(1) See them in *Coke's* 2d Institute. p. 156, &c. This same Year, about October 6. another Parliament was held at *Westminster*, in which Statutes were made for restraining the excessive Usury exacted by the *Jews*; and it was also enacted, That they should wear a Badge upon their Clothes, in the Shape of the two Tables of *Moses's* Law.—About the 18th of the same Month, another Parliament met, which granted the King a Fifteenth upon the Laity, by the common Consent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Clerg, and Barons. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 230, 231.

(2) Or rather a Parliament, at *Westminster*, after *Easter*; in which the King gave Directions for levying the Fifteenth upon the Clergy and Laity; and also issued out his Orders, for the exact observance of the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 231.

(3) And *Edward* sent three hundred Men towards *Bristol*, *Montgomery*, and *Chester*, to stop the Incurfions of the *Welsh*. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 232.

(4) A Parliament was held at *Winchester*, this Year in *January*. And another at *Westminster* after *Michaelmas*, wherein the statute de virginitas was made. *Ann. Wigorn.*

(5) *Rafin* by mistake says *Rutland*, whereas it was the Castle of *Rhuddlan* in *Flintshire*. This Castle was built by *Robert de Rhuddlan*, Nephew of *Hugh* Earl of *Cheshire*. The Castle therefore was not built, but repaired by *Edward* I. Camden in *Flintsh.*

(6) *Eleanor* Daughter of *Robert de Ferrars*, Earl of *Derby*. This Year, about the middle of *October*, King *Edward* held a Parliament at *Westminster*; where the King of *Scotland* came, and did him Homage. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 233. Knighton. For this War in *Wales*, King *Edward* obtained a Twentieth. *Walsingb.* p. 48.

(7) November 12. *T. Wikes*, p. 107.

(8) Of both Sexes, were executed in *London*; besides great Numbers in other Parts of the Kingdom. *M. Welf.* p. 409.

(9) At *Westminster* in the beginning of *November*. Statutes at large.

(10) The beginning of *November*, at *London*. In this Parliament the Clergy granted the King a Fifteenth for two Years. *T. Wikes*, p. 110.

(11) It must be observed, that the Statute of *Quo Warranto* was not passed till 18 *Edw.* I. These here were Writs of Enquiry issued out by the King after the Parliament was dissolved.

1279.

Statute of Mortmain. Stat. at large. M. Welf. T. Wikes. Knighton.

1280.

The Statute of Quo Warranto. Warranto. An. Waverl. Heming.

The King makes an ill use of it.

Bold Reply of Earl Warren.

1280. Sword out of the Scabbard, and saving to the Judges, *This is the Instrument, by which my Ancestors gained their Estate, and by this I will keep it as long as I live* (1). So bold an Answer seemed likely to involve the Earl in Trouble, but it had a quite contrary Effect. The King found by it, how difficult it would be to exact upon the Nobility, on so frivolous a pretence, without falling into great Inconveniences. He saw plainly, there were still among the Barons, Persons as ready to hazard All in defence of their Rights and Properties, as those in the time of *John* and *Henry III.* Besides, he thereby knew how unjust his Pretensions appeared to the People, as indeed they were. These Considerations inducing him to revoke his Proclamation, the People expressed their Joy in such a manner, as plainly shewed how much they repented this Oppression. On the other hand, the King's Moderation turned more to his Advantage, than his Injustice had done to his Injury. His Subjects blamed the Ministry for whatever was odious in his Conduct, and ascribed to him the Honour of reforming what was amiss by his Prudence. What Glory soever this Prince had acquired by his Victories, his Conquest over himself on this occasion, gained him more Honour than all his warlike Exploits. It is infinitely less glorious for a Sovereign to subdue Provinces and Kingdoms, which belong not to him, than to desist voluntarily from a Pretention, which he discovers to be unjust.

1281. These domestick Employments were interrupted by the Revolt of *Llewellyn*. This Prince, bearing with extreme Impatience the Yoke of the *English*, made a fresh Attempt to free himself from it, but it served only to hurle him down into Destruction. Three things especially engaged him in his Enterprize. The first was, the restless Temper of his Brother *David*. What Care soever *Edward* had taken to gain his Affection by several Favours, this Prince never ceased to excite his Brother to take Arms, in order to free himself from Subjection. He thought it his own Concern, because, as *Llewellyn* had no Children, he was his presumptive Successor. The second thing that inclined *Llewellyn* to War, was a certain Prophecy of the famous *Merlin*. The *Welsh* fancied to see in this Prediction, that *Llewellyn* was destin'd to wear the Crown of *Brutus* the first King, as it was pretended, of the whole Island of *Albion*. This Notion had taken so deep root in their minds, and even in *Llewellyn's* himself, that they built upon it, as on a sure foundation. The third and only thing alledged by *Llewellyn*, were certain Grievances, a List whereof he delivered to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was come to persuade him to Peace. If these Grievances, of which an Historian (2) has given us the Substance, were real, this Prince had certainly great reason, to endeavour to deliver himself from the Yoke laid upon him. But *Edward* refused to hearken to his Complaints. This hard Usage convinced *Llewellyn*, that a vigorous Defence was the only means to free him from a Subjection deemed by him a real Slavery. He took up Arms therefore to shake off this galling Yoke, and surprising the Lord *Clifford*, the King's General, on the Frontiers (3), slew several of his Men, and took him Prisoner. Then, penetrating farther into the *English* Territories, he committed great Ravages, and devoted the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Somerset*, who were sent into those Parts to stop his Progress.

It was a great mortification to *Edward*, that his Troops should suffer themselves to be beaten by the *Welsh*. However, in hopes of being more fortunate himself, he drew together a numerous Army to go once more and tame the Fierces of *Llewellyn* (4). Whilst his Troops were on the march towards the Borders of *Wales*, he paid a Visit to the Queen his Mother, who was retired to the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*. This Princess, prepossessed in favour of the late King her Husband, shewed her Son a Man, who pretended to receive his Sight at the Tomb, and by the Intercession, of *Henry III.* She imagined

doubtless, the King would be pleased with it; but was very much surprized to hear him say, He was so well persuaded of his Father's Justice and Probity, that he did not question but had it been in his Power, he would rather have deprived the Impostor of, than restored him to, his Sight (5).

Edward making but a short stay with the Queen his Mother, went and headed his Army. He entered *Wales* without any opposition, *Llewellyn* being retired to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, in a Post that could not be attacked. Not discouraged by this obstacle, *Edward* resolved to invest his Enemy, by securing all the Avenues, through which he might make his Escape. Nothing could more express his great desire to succeed in his Undertaking, than a Project of this Nature, which none of his Predecessors had ever ventured to attempt. To that purpose, after fortifying all the Posts, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be made over the River *Menay*, opposite to *Bangor*, in order to send some Troops likewise into the Isle of *Anglesey*. After that, foreseeing, the Blockade would hold long, he left it to the management of *Roger Mortimer*, and waited the Issue in the Castle of *Rhuddlan* built during the late War. Posted as *Llewellyn* was, he would doubtless have tired the Patience of his Enemies, if an unexpected Accident had not induced him to deprive himself of that Advantage. Some of the *English* that were in *Anglesey*, passing the Bridge above-mentioned, in order to view the Country, were attacked by the *Welsh*, and so closely pursued, that the greatest part were slain or drowned in endeavouring to regain the Island (7). This small Advantage made *Llewellyn* imagine Heaven began to declare in his favour, and *Merlin's* Prophecy was going to be accomplished. Full of this flattering Idea, he descends into the Plain, to fight the *English*, not considering the Inequality of his Forces. But he quickly found how groundless his Expectations were, since in the Battle wherein he rashly engaged, he was slain on the spot (8), after seeing his Army intirely routed. In his Pocket were found some Letters in *Cypher*, by which it appeared, that he had great Friends in *England*; but *Edward* did not think fit to make a strict Inquisition. However, to strike a Terror into those that were engaged with this Prince, he commanded his Head, crowned with Ivy, to be exposed to view on the Walls of the Tower of *London*. Hence might be gathered, what Subjects were to expect from the King's Severity, since a Sovereign Prince was treated in that manner.

Such was the end of *Llewellyn*, descended from *Rhoderick the Great*, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, and from one of the most antient Royal Families in *Europe*. With him expired the Liberty of his Nation. The *Welsh*, discouraged by their Prince's Death and Defeat, being no longer able to resist, *Edward* easily became master of their whole Country; which he distributed, for the most part, among his Officers and Courtiers, reserving to himself only the Sovereignty and fortified Places (9).

Some time after, *David*, Brother of *Llewellyn*, roving still up and down the Country, had the misfortune to be taken by the *English*, and sent to *Rhuddlan*, where the King still remained. In vain did he earnestly beg the Favour of casting himself at his Feet to implore his Mercy. As he was the last of his Family, *Edward* was willing to secure his Conquest by the Death of that Prince. Pursuant to this Resolution, he ordered him to be conducted to *Shrewsbury*, where by the Advice of the Parliament, called upon that occasion (10), he was condemned to die the Death of a Traytor. This rigorous Sentence was executed, with all the Circumstances attending that infamous Punishment. His Head was fixed near that of the Prince his Brother, and his four Quarters were sent to *York*, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, and *Winchester* (11).

Edward's Severity to this Prince is related by all the Historians, without any Censure. And yet it is an Action that can hardly be excused. Supposing the Rigour

(1) Another says, "My Ancestors coming in with *William the Bastard*, won these Lands by the Sword, and by the Sword will I defend them; and by the Sword will I take them away; for that King did not conquer for himself alone, neither did my Ancestors admit him for that end." *Tyrrel*, p. 100. *Ann. Abing.*

(2) They are in *Præf. Cl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 353—371. See a full Account of them in *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 37, &c.

(3) *Ann. Cl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 49.

(4) This was at this time the Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl of *Surrey* was *John Plantagenet*.

(5) *Ann. Cl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 49. And preserving his War would like to continue long, that he might be nearer his Civil, as well as Military Affairs, he removed his Courts of Justice from *Worcester* to *Shrewsbury*. *M. Hist.* p. 411. Great Numbers of foreign Troops came out to his Assistance, *ibid. Ann. Cl. Hist.* p. 433. *J. Hist.* p. 117.

(6) This Year the Clergy and People granted the King a Fifteenth, and afterwards the thirtieth Part of their Goods. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 235.

(7) *Tyrrel* says, that above three hundred Men of Arms, under the Conduct of the Lord *William Latimer*, and *Lucas de Torsy*, Commander of the Great Forces, could not pass over the Bridge, before it was quite finished, to shew their Valour: But as soon as the Tide came in, and had flowed beyond the end of the Bridge which was near the Continent, the *Welsh* came rushing upon them. There were slain and drowned no less than fifteen thousand, thirty two Figures, and about a thousand common Soldiers. This Defeat happened on the 6th of November. *Ann. Wigorn.*

(8) By mistake of *Paulinus*, in a Latin Version of *David*, 11. *Cl. Hist. Abingdon*. Dr. *Pearce*.

(9) *Heberlein*, *Charles F. Abernethy*, at the Foot of *Snowdon*, *M. Hist.* p. 411. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 238.

(10) *Ann. Cl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 111. *Walsing.* p. 31. The Verdicts of Summons are still extant upon Record; the first of which is to the Lords, to meet the King at *Ambresbury*, on the 15th of June. The second Writ is directed to the Sheriff of every County in *England*, to cause to be chosen two Knights, to the Commonalty of the same County; as also a third Writ directed to several Cities and Boroughs; and a fourth Writ to the Justices. *Reg. Henric. 2. Ann. Cl. Hist. of Wales*.

(11) This is the first Example of this manner of Execution done upon Traitors, which has been commonly continued.

1283. of the law authorised a sentence of death, was it not very barbarous to execute a Prince of a royal family, in a manner till then unusual with regard to persons of distinguished birth? What would not these same historians have said, if a King of France, after taking in fight a Brother of the King of England, had ordered him to be ignominiously hung on a Gibbet? Or if, finding the body of the King himself slain in battle, had caused his head to be placed on the walls of the *Bastile*?

Wales united to England. Knights. Walsing. After thus securing the possession of the principality of Wales, Edward sought means to prevent all accidents, that might occasion its loss. The annexing that country to the crown of England, was what seemed most proper to that end. Accordingly, he summoned a parliament, where it was resolved, that Wales should be inseparably united to the crown. Thus the Welsh, those small remains of the ancient Britons, lost at length their liberty, after preserving it in that little corner of the Island, above eight hundred years. Surely, they cannot, without injustice, be denied the commendations due to the resolution, wherewith they had hitherto defended their country. Destitute of all succours, without foreign alliances, and without a naval power, they had stood their ground against the Kings of England, Saxons and Normans, who had almost all attempted to subdue them with forces vastly superior. It is true, they were often obliged to pay tribute to the English monarchs: But however, they remained all along a distinct nation, governed by their own laws. It was not by their valour alone that they preserved their liberty, but also by their policy, in dexterously fomenting the dissensions of their neighbours, 'till at last, the time appointed for their losing that most valuable blessing, happened in the reign of Edward I. It may, however, be said, that if amends can be made for such a loss, they had reason to be easy, since they became one and the same nation with their conquerors. From that time they have all along enjoyed the same laws and privileges, which render the people of England the happiest nation under the Sun (1).

1284. The satisfaction Edward received from the conquest of Wales, was immediately followed by a great affliction, caused by the death of Alphonfus his Son (2). He was a Prince of great hopes, and being now twelve years of age, was going to marry the only daughter of Florence Earl of Holland. This was the third Son Edward lost within the space of three years. John his eldest Son died before his return from the Holy-Land. Henry his second, was contracted to the only daughter of Theobald King of Navarre (3).

Birth of Prince Edward. M. West. Though the Welsh were entirely subdued, they failed not to shew, on all occasions, their extreme regret to see themselves subject to the English. Some of them had even the boldness to tell the King, he should never peaceably enjoy their country, as long as they were not governed by a Prince of their own nation. If we may believe certain historians, this bold declaration induced the King to give them some sort of satisfaction. They pretend, from that moment he proposed to give them for Prince, the Son whom he hoped his Queen, then with child, would shortly bring into the world. They add, with this view, he would have her go and lie-in at Caernarvon, a town in Wales, where, according to his expectation, she was brought

to-bed of a Prince (4), called Edward, and surnamed of Caernarvon, the place of his birth. It is said further, that immediately after the Queen's delivery, he convened the States of Wales, and declared to them his resolution, to give them a Prince born in their country, and who could not speak a word of English. Then he nominated to them the Prince his Son, just born at Caernarvon. But other writers not so credulous, considering doubtless this circumstance as a puerility, have thought fit to pass it over in silence (5). And indeed, it was only a poor equivocation, little capable of satisfying the Welsh, and not at all agreeable to the character of Edward. Besides, it is certain, the young Prince was not invested 'till the year 1301, with the Principality of Wales, being then seventeen years of age (6).

The conquest of Wales, and the universal esteem the King was in among his subjects, procuring England a profound tranquillity, what passed in the kingdom 'till the war with Scotland, is of no great concern: And therefore, I shall slightly pass over the domestick affairs, contenting myself with briefly relating some of the principal circumstances (7).

We find in the year 1285, the King took away the charter of London, and turned out the Mayor, because he suffered himself to be bribed by the Bakers, and put in another by his own authority (8). But quickly after, the city found means to recover their charter, by making the King a present.

This year the King called a parliament, which made some additions to the ancient Statutes, by the name of the second Statute of Westminster (9).

In the year 1286, Edward ordered all the Jews in the kingdom to be seized, upon one and the same day (10). The Commons granted him (11) a subsidy of the fiftieth part of their moveables, to expell the kingdom all such foreigners as were a burden to the nation. He promised it; but after obtaining the subsidy, he granted them a delay, which was dearly purchased (12).

About the middle of the same year, three important affairs called Edward into France, where he continued above three years. As in the mean time, nothing very remarkable passed in England, I shall only relate the affairs he had to manage in that country. The first was, his demand of the provinces taken from the Kings John, and Henry III; concerning which, there was a long negotiation. The second related to the homage, he was to do to Philip the Fair, King of France, who had lately succeeded Philip the Hardy, his Father. The third was, the agreement he undertook to procure between the Houses of Arragon and Anjou, concerning the kingdom of Sicily.

The King finding his presence was not absolutely necessary in his kingdom, now in profound tranquillity, left the regency to the Earl of Pembroke (13), and embarked for France (14). He spent the best part of a year in soliciting the restitution of the provinces, taken from the crown of England by the predecessors of Philip the Fair; but all his pains upon that account were ineffectual. The court of France being then in a flourishing condition, and in no danger from England, was deaf to all his proposals. All the benefit he could reap from this negotiation, was a pension of ten thousand pounds (15), in lieu of his claim to certain

(1) The Laity granted the King, for the Charges of this War, a thirtieth, and the Clergy a twentieth. Walsing. p. 51. King Edward having undertaken the Crusade for the Holy Land, and, by reason of the Welsh Wars, and other Affairs, not being able in his own Person to perform it, appointed his Brother Edmund for that Service; and there being six Years Tenth collected from the Clergy, according to the Canon of the second Council of Lyons, laid up in several Monasteries, and other places, for an Aid for the Holy Land; Pope Martin IV sent two preaching Friars into England for the Exportation and Return of this Money, by his Agents, and foreign Merchants; whereupon King Edward issued out, on May 24, 1282, a Writ to hinder it: And moreover, sent Commissioners the next Year to the places where it was laid up, to see how much there was, and to order the safe keeping of it for the right use. See Brady's History, Vol. III. p. 11. and Appendix, N. 3.

(2) He died August 19. T. Wikes, p. 112.

(3) They all three lie buried in Westminster.

(4) April 25. M. West. p. 411. T. Wikes, p. 111. Ann. Waverl. p. 238.

(5) As far as can be found, it is mentioned only by the modern Chronicles.

(6) King Edward having settled Matters in Wales, came about the middle of December to Bristol, where he kept his Christmas, and held a Parliament --- non universali seu generali, sed tanquam particulari & speciali Parlamento --- and from thence repaired to London; where, when after, he received Orders from the King of France to attend him in his Expedition, by reason of the Lands he held in Gascony; but hearing that Dover, a Truce was concluded between the Kings of France and Arragon, he went into Norfolk. T. Wikes, p. 112. Walsing. p. 52.

(7) This Year, a Parliament was held in October, at Aston-Burnel in Shropshire, wherein was enacted, The Statute of Aston-Burnel. Walsing. p. 51. George Brokby, the Mayor, was turned out for taking Bribes from the Bakers, to connive at their selling Bread six or seven Ounces too light in the Pound Loaf. But Mr. Tyrell observes, That notwithstanding this Seizure, the Politick Body, or Corporation of the City was not moved; but they enjoyed all Privileges of holding Courts, &c. (the choice of a Mayor only excepted) as they had done before the said Seizure, p. 51.

(8) You have it in Coke's 2d Institute, p. 331, &c. This Parliament was held at Westminster, after Easter. Another Parliament was held at Winchester, in the beginning of October, wherein some Statutes were made about Robbers. Ann. Waverl. p. 239. --- The Abbey Church of Winchester having been sixty-six Years in building, was finished this Year. See T. Wikes, p. 121, 122. See Ed. Coke's 2d Institute, p. 307.

(9) And the Subsidy then granted was not a Fiftieth, but a Fifthenth. See T. Wikes, p. 121, 122. See Ed. Coke's 2d Institute, p. 307.

(10) This Year Eleanor, King Edward's Mother, was veiled in the Monastery of Amblesbury; but obtained a Licence from the Pope to keep her Jointure. M. West. p. 413. T. Wikes, p. 114. Ann. Waverl. p. 240. And the same Year, Mary, King Edward's Daughter, was veiled a Nun in the same Monastery. Walsing. p. 52.

(11) Admar de Valence. See Rymer's Fœd. T. II. p. 301. The 4th. of Waverl. say, he left it to Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall, p. 230.

(12) He failed from England, June 24, attended by several Bishops, Earls, and Barons. M. West. p. 412. Ann. Waverl. p. 239.

(13) Rapin, by mistake, says Six.

(14) Yearly; to be paid at the Tower of London, at the Charge of the King of France; besides some Arrears paid for Normandy. M. West. p. 412. This, as Mr. Tyrell observes, though related by our Historians, does not seem probable; since Edward had already parted with his Claim to Normandy, p. 52.

1286. Lands situated beyond the *Charent*, of which *Philip* kept possession, contrary to the tenor of the antient treaties. Upon this foot, the two Monarchs signed a new treaty; after which, *Edward* did homage to *Philip*. The form of the homage, paid only in general terms, and the previous protestations, evidently shew, *Edward* had still a mind to keep up his pretensions, in order to prosecute them at a more favourable juncture. Without specifying, in his homage, any particular country, he affected to include all those provinces to which he had any claim. As this is a matter of moment, and was afterwards attended with great consequences, it will not be improper to recite the very words of the homage, with the protestations, as they occur in the collection of the *Publick Acts*.

On Wednesday in Whitfun-Week, in the fourteenth year of the reign of *Edward*, and in the first of *Philip*, at Paris, in a room of the Royal Palace, King *Edward* did homage to King *Philip*, in the following terms, spoken by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Sire, King of France, King Henry, Father of my Lord the King of England here present, made certain demands upon Lewis King of France, your Grandfather, whereon a treaty of Peace was concluded between them. Pursuant to that treaty, Henry did homage to your said Grandfather, for the Land he actually held on this side the water, and for such, as the said Lewis had obliged himself to put into his hands, by the above-mentioned treaty of peace. My Lord King *Edward* here present, after the death of his Father, did homage to the King your Father for these Lands, and according to the tenor of the said peace. And though my said Lord might with justice, as several of his Council are of opinion, refuse to do the same homage, because the said peace has not been observed, and because, to his great prejudice, several attempts have been made upon the Lands which he holds; nevertheless, he is unwilling at present to enter into dispute upon that score, provided you will cause the said peace to be kept, and the damages he has sustained to be repaired.

I become your Man for the Lands I hold of you, on this side the water, according to the tenour of the peace made with your ancestors.

It is easy to see, that, in this homage, *Edward* took care of expression, not to promise too much. Besides his protestations by the mouth of the Bishop, he would do homage only in general terms, for the Lands he held, without specifying any thing, reserving to himself the explanation at some other time. But, whatever his thoughts were, *Philip*, imagining no doubt, he had a right to explain the same terms to his own advantage, was very ready to receive the homage, with this affected obscurity. He even granted him, a few days after, Letters Patents, whereby he consented, that the Lands possessed by *Edward* in France, should not be liable to forfeiture, either for unjust judgment, or denial of justice. Moreover, he promised to send back the appellants to the Seneschal of *Guienne*, and promised to allow him three months, to maintain or rectify the judgments. But this concession was to take place only during the life of *Edward*, after which things were to return to their former state.

These two affairs kept *Edward* at the Court of France about a year. But the reconciliation he undertook to mediate between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Aragon*, employed him much longer, and proved a very troublesome affair; for which he had no other reward, but the satisfaction of endeavouring to reconcile these two illustrious houses. Though this affair relates not directly to *Edward*, who acted only as mediator, yet as it wholly employed him for two years, I hope it will not be taken amiss, if I briefly explain the occasion of those differences, and the principal events they produced.

I have already observed in the late reign, how the Popes invested the House of *Swabia* with the crown of *Sicily*, and the efforts they afterwards used to wrest it from thence. I left *Manfred* the Bastard in possession of the two *Sicilies*, and the Pope solemnly giving the investiture of these two kingdoms to *Charles of Anjou*, after having long amused Prince *Edmund*, Brother of our *Edward*,

with the hopes of that crown. It will be necessary to resume, in a few words, the sequel of that history, to the time I am now speaking of.

Charles of Anjou, knew better how to improve the Pope's favour than *Edmund*. With the assistance of the King his Brother, he levied a powerful army, and came to *Rome*, where the Pope solemnly crowned him King of the two *Sicilies*, on the 28th of June 1265. In the beginning of the next year, he marched towards the kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 26th of February, obtained a complete victory over *Manfred*, who was slain on the spot. Freed by this single battle from all the obstacles which lay in his way, he took possession of the two *Sicilies*, and enjoyed them some time without a rival. The *Gibelines* (1), that is, the Party against the Pope, cast down by the flourishing condition of *Charles*, who supported the *Guelphs*, and was himself supported by them, sought all possible means to deprive him of the two kingdoms. They persuaded *Conradin*, Son of the Emperor *Conrade*, that, being the sole heir of the House of *Swabia*, he ought to assert his right to the *Sicilies*, and snatch the prey out of the hands of *Charles of Anjou*. There was no need of much sollicitation to incline *Conradin* to this undertaking. Without a moment's consideration, the young Prince assumed the title of King of *Sicily*, and in spite of the excommunication thundered against him by the Pope, came into *Italy*, where at first he made some progress. This prosperous beginning inspiring him with great hopes, he advanced towards *Naples*, to fight his enemy. Upon his approach, *Charles* raised the siege of *Nocera*, which he had begun, and marching towards him, met him near the *Lacus Fucinus*, now called *Celano*, and gave him battle. This success was fatal to *Conradin*, who had the misfortune to lose the day, and be taken prisoner. The conqueror making a cruel use of his victory, carried his barbarity so far, as to behead the young Prince, who was but sixteen years of age. He caused him to be tried and condemned by the *Syndicks* of the cities of the kingdom, who were so base, as blindly to follow the directions of that bloody Prince.

The extinction of the House of *Swabia*, of which *Conradin* was the last Male, should, one would have thought, have disabled the *Gibelines* from any farther attempts. But if they were astonished by this fatal blow, they were not quite disheartened. By the death of *Conradin*, the rights of the House of *Swabia* were devolved to *Peter* King of *Aragon* (2), who had married *Constantia* daughter of *Manfred*. Though these rights came only by a base Son of that House, the *Gibelines* despaired not to draw the King of *Aragon* into their quarrel, since it might be the means of procuring him two kingdoms. *John*, Lord of *Procida*, an old servant of the House of *Swabia*, took up on him this negotiation, and to concert with *Peter*, the necessary measures, to accomplish the design of dethroning *Charles of Anjou*. In the first place, he secured the concurrence of Pope *Nicholas III*, who was displeased with King *Charles*. Then he went on to *Constantinople*, and obtained an aid of money from the Emperor *Michael*, who was threatened with a war by the King of *Sicily*. These measures being taken, he went and communicated his project to the King of *Aragon*. *Peter* was at first somewhat unwilling to embark in an undertaking, which seemed beyond his strength. But the Pope's approbation, the *Grecian* Emperor's money, and the *Sicilians* revolt, which he was made to look upon as certain, determined him at length. Besides, *Procida* intimated to him, that he might, without any hazard, be prepared, to improve the good successes, or relinquish the undertaking, without appearing to be concerned. To that end, he advised him to fit out a fleet, on pretence of invading the *Moors of Africa*, and even to besiege one of their towns. He added, if, contrary to all expectation, the revolt of the *Sicilians* should fail, he might continue the war upon the *Infidels*, without discovering he had any other design; but if the *Sicilians* should keep their word, he would be ready to improve the events.

This project being thus adjusted, *John de Procida* returned home, to set their friends to work, when matters were ripe. The King of *Aragon's* armament somewhat alarmed the Kings of France and *Sicily*, but he knew how to dissemble so well, that he made them easy.

(1) It is uncertain, whence the Names of *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* were derived. Some give this following Account: In 1130, there happened a Schism in the Church, thro' the concurrence of *Innocent II* and *Anacletus*, the first of whom was favoured by the Emperor, the other by *Roger*, Count of *Sicily* and *Naples*, an active and warlike Prince, who drew to his side *Guelph* Duke of *Bavaria*. The Emperor *Conrad III* entering *Sicily* with a German army, and followed by Prince *Henry* his Son, who was brought up at a place in Germany, called *Gibelin*, *Guel*, Duke of *Bavaria*, marched to the assistance of his Ally; and it happened, as both Armies were ready to engage, that the *Bavarians* cried in their Language, *Hui Guelphs*; which being answered by the Troops commanded by the Prince, by *Hui Gibelines*, the *Italians* retained the Words, to distinguish the different Parties, and called the Factions by them. *Blondus*, *Sigornus*.

(2) When *Conradin* was on the Scaffold, he threw his Glove into the Square, desiring the Person that took it up, to carry it to a Relation of his, as a Mark of the Investiture which he gave him of the Inheritance of the Family of *Swabia*, of which he was the last Heir-Male. This Glove was carried to *Peter*, King of *Aragon*. *Röpin's* Account of *Ryner's* *Federat*, Vol. I. p. 43.

1286. When his Fleet was ready, he failed for the coast of Africa, where he besieged *Andacalle*. He had with him *Roger de Lauria*, the best Sea-Officer then in Europe. In the mean time, *Procida* took all his measures so well, that in one night the *Sicilians* cut the throats of above eight thousand *French*, who were then in the Island. This massacre, which was called the *Sicilian Vespers* (1), was acted upon *Easter-Eve*, on the 30th of March 1282. The news being brought to *Rome*, where *Charles of Anjou* then was, he made all possible expedition, to prevent the consequences of this conspiracy. As he had a fleet ready, which was designed against the Emperor of *Constantinople*, he set sail, and arrived before *Messina*. His sudden coming so surprized the inhabitants of that great city, that, despairing of being timely relieved, they offered to surrender upon condition of having their lives spared. The desire of revenge, which had wholly possessed the King of *Sicily*, would not suffer him to grant them that favour. Whereupon the *Messinians*, finding by his refusal what they were to expect from so revengeful a Prince, resolved to sell their lives dearly, chusing rather to die sword in hand, than on Gibbets or Scaffolds.

Mean time, the King of *Arragon* being informed, that the *Sicilians* had proceeded so far, that there was no danger from their inconstancy, came in a few days to *Palermo*, where he was crowned. Then, he sent *Charles* a letter, commanding him in a haughty strain, to quit a country where he had no farther pretension. *Charles* returned him a still more haughty and offensive answer; but however, fearing the *Spanish* fleet would cut off the provisions that were coming from *Naples*, he resolved to raise the siege, and retire into *Calabria*. He was no sooner gone, but the King of *Arragon* made his entry into *Messina*, where the inhabitants received him with all possible demonstrations of joy and thankfulness.

Charles, enraged to the last degree, carried his complaints to Pope *Martin IV*, successor of *Nicholas*. He went, in speaking of the King of *Arragon*, the most opprobrious and abusive terms, offering even to fight him hand to hand, or a hundred against a hundred, to make him own himself to be a base, cowardly, and perfidious traitor. These words coming to the ears of the King of *Arragon*, he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to justify his conduct and accept the challenge. *Charles* received the proposal with joy, and his eager desire to be revenged personally of his enemy, caused him to consent to a truce, during which were settled the conditions of the future single combat between the two Kings. It was agreed, each should appear at *Bordeaux*, at the head of a hundred horse, on the 1st of June 1283; and that the King of *England* should instantly be intreated to appoint the lists in that city; to honour their duel with his presence; or to send some person in his stead. It must however be observed, it was expressly said in the articles: *That whatever happened, the two Kings should appear at Bordeaux, on the day appointed. But if Edward was present in person, the intended duel should not be fought, unless the parties agreed upon it afterwards.* Though all the Historians unanimously affirm, *Edward* appointed the lists at *Bordeaux*, it is very certain he refused it. His letters upon this occasion to the King of *Sicily*, and the Prince of *Salerno* his Son, are a clear evidence, he had never any thoughts of granting their request, since he plainly told them, were he to gain the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Arragon*, he would not appoint the lists for such a duel. These letters are in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, taken from the records of *England*.

Though *Edward's* refusal disengaged the two Kings from the obligation to fight, they were however bound by the articles to be at *Bordeaux*. *Charles* came on the day appointed, with a hundred horse, and stayed there from Sun-rising to sun-setting; but finding his adversary did not appear, nor was heard of, he retired. As soon as he was gone, *Peter*, who was all the while in *Bordeaux*, disguised like a Squire, went to the *Senechal* of the city, and taking a certificate of his appearance, left him his arms for a testimony. This proceeding of the King of *Arragon*, gave occasion to the *French* historians to speak dishonorably of that Prince, as if want of courage was the reason of breaking his word, and of using that fraud to evade his engagements. But it would not be very difficult to justify his conduct in this respect, if this were a proper place for it (2).

Though, as I observed, the King of *Arragon* was freed from the obligation of fighting, since *Edward* came not to *Bordeaux*, yet his proceeding was very much exagger-

rated in *France* and *Italy*. It was pretended to be a plain proof, that he was himself convinced of his injustice to *Charles of Anjou*, since he durst not venture to decide their difference by a single combat, which he himself had accepted. Pope *Martin IV*, a *Frenchman*, and wholly devoted to the House of *Anjou*, thundered against the King of *Arragon* a sentence of excommunication, though he produced the investiture of *Sicily*, privately given him by *Nicholas III*. He even absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave the kingdom of *Arragon* to *Charles Earl of Valois*, second Son of the King of *France* (3). Notwithstanding all this, *Peter* still kept the two kingdoms; and to insult the Pope, under colour of submitting to his authority, ordered himself to be called only, *The Chevalier of Arragon*. *Martin* perceiving himself thus ridiculed, resolved to make that Prince know, he was not to be insulted with impunity. He published a Crusade against him, of which *Philip III*, King of *France*, was declared General, and there were people weak enough to imagine, they should obtain paradise, in espousing the quarrel of the Pope, and the House of *Anjou*. It is true, few but *Frenchmen* were engaged in this Crusade, where their King was particularly concerned, since it was intended for placing his Son on the throne of *Arragon*.

Whilst *Philip* was preparing for this undertaking, *Roger Lauria* rendered his master's arms prosperous in the *Mediterranean*. He had taken *Malta* from *Charles of Anjou*, after gaining a naval battle, where the *French* fleet was entirely destroyed. Immediately after this victory, he attacked the coasts of *Naples*, with design to draw out of his Ports the Prince of *Salerno*, to whom his Father King *Charles* had left the command of his fleet. This design succeeded to his wish. The Prince of *Salerno*, greedy of glory, and unable to bear the insults of *Lauria*, rashly engaged in a Sea-fight, where he had the misfortune to be vanquished and taken prisoner. He was forthwith sent to *Sicily*, where he saw himself in danger of losing his head on a Scaffold, the *Sicilians* designing to make him suffer by way of retaliation for *Conradin*. But *Constance*, Queen of *Arragon*, was so generous as to free him from this peril, by sending him to the King her husband, who was then in *Spain*. *Charles's* vexation at the loss of his fleet, and his Son's imprisonment, was the greater, as he arrived three days afterwards with a powerful supply, and had expressly commanded the Prince not to fight till reinforced. This accident, which entirely disconcerted his affairs, was, probably, the cause of his death on the 6th of June 1285. He left for successor *Charles II*, his Son, surnamed *The Lame*, prisoner in *Spain*, to whom the *Arragonians* gave only the title of Prince of *Salerno* during his captivity.

Neither the death of *Charles*, nor the loss of the battle of *Naples*, were capable of diverting *Philip* from his projects. In the month of *May*, that very year, he headed his troops, consisting of fourscore thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and (though he heard in his march of the death of the King his Brother,) entered *Rouffillon* and became master of *Perpignan*. Then he advanced into *Catalonia*, where, after several conquests, he laid siege to *Gironne*. The King of *Arragon* attacking a convoy going from *Rozes* to the siege, was hurt in the skirmish, and died three months after of his wounds. He left *Arragon* and *Catalonia* to Prince *Alphonso* his eldest Son, and *Sicily* to *James* his second Son, on condition that, if *Alphonso* died without heirs, *James* should succeed in *Arragon*, and resign *Sicily* to *Frederic* his younger Brother.

The King of *France's* successes in the beginning of the war, did not last to the end of the campaign. *Roger Lauria* attacking the *French* fleet, destroyed all the ships, except a few that escaped to *Rozes*. On the other hand, the sickness in *Philip's* army, retarded his progress by land. In fine, being himself seized with the contagion, he was carried to *Perpignan*, where he ended his days on the 6th of October. *Philip IV*, his Son, surnamed *the Fair*, was his successor. *Honorius IV*, was now chosen in the room of *Martin IV*, who died this same year.

Such was the state of the affairs between the Houses of *Arragon* and *Anjou*, when *Edward* accepting the mediation offered him by both parties, undertook to adjust their difference. The main difficulty of this negotiation consisted, in freeing the Prince of *Salerno* out of the hands of the King of *Arragon*, without which it was impossible to procure a peace. *Edward* took great pains to succeed. He had upon that occasion several interviews with *Alphonso*. *Mezerai* affirms, he even went to *Sicily* to talk

(1) Because the Bell which rang to Evening Prayer was made the Signal.

(2) See the Extract of Volume II, of the *Publick Acts of England*, in the *Bibliothèque Choise* of Mr. Le Clerc, Tom. XX. p. 53. where this Affair is fully discussed, and the King of *Arragon's* Conduct justified. R. p. 11

(3) *Philip III*, who was then alive. *Rapin*.

1287.
Act. Pub.
11. p. 112.
M. Weir.
An. Waverl.
Walsing.
1288.
Act. Pub.
11. p. 352.

with King James: But the history mentions not this voyage. In short, at a conference between him and *Alphonso* at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, they settled the terms on which the Prince of *Salerno* was to be released, and for which, as far as concerned the ransom, *Edward* consented to be security. After this, the articles of agreement were confirmed, by a treaty concluded at *Campo Franco* the fourth of *October* 1288. *Nicholas IV*, successor to *Honorius*, strongly opposed the execution of the treaty. He thought it too advantageous for the King of *Aragon*, and too dishonorable for the Holy See; because the Prince of *Salerno*, without consulting him, had obliged himself to cause the Earl of *Valois* to renounce the kingdom of *Aragon*. This opposition raised fresh difficulties: But they were at length surmounted by the prudence and pains of *Edward*, who acted as mediator with great impartiality. To facilitate the execution of the treaty, he was willing to give *English* hostages to the King of *Aragon*, and to cause the principal cities of *Guienne* to interpose as pledges, *Alphonso* doing the same thing with regard to the principal cities of his dominions.

P. 371.

1b. p. 435,
450, 455.

In consequence of this agreement, the Prince of *Salerno* was set at liberty, leaving his Sons in hostage. It seemed, this affair which was in so good a way, would quickly be ended; the main obstacle being removed by that Prince's liberty, who was bound by the most solemn oaths. But he performed nothing of what he had sworn. He not only caused himself to be crowned King of the two *Sicilies* by the Pope, contrary to the express terms of the treaty; but also did his utmost to confirm the Earl of *Valois* in the resolution to prosecute his pretended right to the kingdom of *Aragon*. When he thought his affairs in good order, he feigned a willingness to return to imprisonment, as he was obliged, in case he performed not the articles of the treaty. For that purpose, he repaired to a certain place where the King of *Aragon* was to receive him, and exchange him for the Princes his Sons; but came so well attended, that *Alphonso* did not think fit to venture upon his sincerity. This occasioned mutual complaints, reproaches and apologies; each party applying to the King of *England*, as mediator and guarantee of the treaty. *Edward*, in all appearance, being tired with acting in favour of these Princes, who so ill answered all his pains, left them to decide their difference as they pleased, without concerning himself any farther. But not to leave the reader in suspense how this dispute ended, I shall add in two words, that, after long negotiations, mixed with many hostilities, the two Princes adjusted their quarrel by a treaty. The Prince of *Salerno*, called *Charles the Lame*, kept *Sicily* on this side the *Faro*, which from thenceforth began to be distinguished by the name of the kingdom of *Naples*; and the House of *Aragon* remained in possession of the Island of *Sicily*. The Earl of *Valois* renounced also his pretensions to the kingdom of *Aragon* (1).

1289.
Edward
returns to
England.
T. Wikes.
An. Waverl.

Walsing.

After staying above three years beyond Sea, *Edward* returned into *England* in *August* 1289 (2). His first care, immediately after his return, was to reform several abuses introduced in his absence, particularly in the administration of justice (3). Upon complaints from all hands, that the Judges suffered themselves to be corrupted with bribes, he strictly examined into their conduct, and severely punished the guilty. Of this number was [Sir *Thomas Weyland*] the chief Justiciary (4), or first Judge, who was banished the realm, and his estate confiscated (5). These misdemeanours, which were but too fre-

quent, gave the King occasion to oblige the Judges to swear, that for the future they would take neither money nor present of any kind, except only a breakfast, which they might accept, provided there was no excess. A historian affirms, the King got above a hundred thousand Marks by the confiscation of the estates of those that had been faulty (6).

1289.

In the beginning of the year 1290, *Edward* convened a parliament (7), where the *Statute of Westminster*, the Third (8), was enacted, and the banishment (9) of the *Jews* was absolutely resolved. The nation had long desired it, but the *Jews* still found means to divert the blow, by presents to the King and his ministers. They would fain have used the same method now, but could not prevail; the King being unable to protect them any longer without disobliging the parliament. Their immoveable goods were confiscated, but they had leave to carry away the rest with them. It is the general opinion, that they began to settle in the kingdom in the reign of *William the Conqueror*; but some believe their settlement more ancient. At first their number was small, but, by degrees, they increased to fifteen thousand. Their money procured them several considerable privileges, confirmed by *Edward* himself, as a synagogue at *London*, a head of their religion, being a sort of High-Priest (10), and Judges of their own nation to hear and determine their differences. They lost all these advantages, by not being able to curb their insatiable greediness of enriching themselves by unlawful means, as usury, adulteration of the coin, and the like, which must render the practitioners odious. As for the imputation of crucifying, from time to time, Christian Children, one may almost be sure it was only a calumny invented by their enemies (11).

1290.

The Jews

banished

England.

T. Wikes.

Walsing.

Knighton

We are now come to the grand affair of the reign of *Edward I*, I mean, the conquest of *Scotland*; of which it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to speak in a satisfactory manner to the *English* and *Scots*. Though the two nations almost agree in the facts, and the occasion of this conquest, they widely differ however as to the right. If we believe the *English*, *Edward* did nothing on this occasion, but what was agreeable to reason and justice. The *Scots*, on the contrary, pretend, he was led by ambition alone to take advantage of the troubles of *Scotland*, in order to become master of the kingdom on frivolous pretences. Though several centuries are passed since this event, historians have not been yet able to lay aside their national prejudices. The *English* still consider *Edward I*. as a great Prince, employing his arms only in maintaining the justice of his cause. The *Scots* speak of him as a tyrant, vowing the destruction of their nation; and, contrary to all manner of right, intent upon satisfying his ambition, in uniting all the people of *Great Britain* under his dominion. As I am not engaged in either party by birth or any other motive, I flatter myself with having impartially examined this affair, and produced from the *Collection of the Publick Acts* such light, as may serve to give a just notion of the thing. To this end, it will be necessary to be somewhat particular, as it is the only possible means to dispel the prejudices, which help to darken the affair.

Alexander III, King of *Scotland*, married, as was said elsewhere, *Margaret* Daughter of *Henry III*, King of *England*, and Sister of *Edward*. He had by her three children, *Alexander*, *David*, and *Margaret*. *David* died an infant, and *Margaret* was married to *Eric* King of *Norway*, in 1281. It was agreed in the Marriage-Con-

Account of

the Disputes

about the

Succession to

the Crown of

Scotland.

(1) A Parliament was held at *London*, in *February* 1288, wherein *John de Kirby*, Lord Treasurer, demanded, by the King's Order, as he said, an Aid for the King's Charges in *France*. But the Parliament answered, by the Earl of *Gloucester*, their Spokesman, that they would grant nothing, unless they saw the King personally present. Whereupon, the Treasurer imposed a Tax upon the Cities, Burroughs, and the King's Demains. *T. Wikes*, p. 117.

(2) *August* 12. and, instead of coming to *London*, went into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. *T. Wikes*, p. 118.

(3) This was done in the Parliament mentioned a few Lines lower. See *T. Wikes*, p. 118. *An. Waverl.* p. 241.

(4) Of the King's Bench. *T. Wikes*, p. 118.

(5) The King punished thus severely, not only the Justices of the King's Bench, but also the Justices of the *Jewry*, and of the *Forests*, the Foresters, Sheriffs, Stewards of Manors, and all other Delinquents. *T. Wikes*, p. 119.

(6) Sir *Ralph de Hengham*, Chief Justice of the higher Bench, was fined seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Justice of the lower Bench, three thousand Marks; Sir *William Bramton*, Justice, the like Sum; Sir *Salomon Rochester*, Justice of *Ailices*, four thousand Marks; Sir *Richard de Bezeand*, four thousand Marks; Sir *Thomas Seddington*, two thousand Marks; Sir *Walter Hipton*, two thousand Marks: The four last were Justices itinerant. Sir *William de Sabam*, three thousand Marks; *Robert Littlebury*, Master of the *Kells*, a thousand Marks; *Roger Icessefer*, a thousand Marks; *Henry Bray*, Elcheater, and Judge for the *Jewry*, a thousand Marks; and *Adam de Streton*, a Clerk of the Court, was fined no less than thirty-two thousand Marks of new Money, besides Jewels, and Silver Plate. *Cbron. de Dunstable MSS.* *T. Wikes*, p. 118. The Justices of the King's Bench being thus turned out, were succeeded by *John de Meringham*, and *Elias de Bebingham*, Clerks, and *William de Gefelam*, and *Robert de Hertford*, Knights. *T. Wikes*, p. 121.

(7) On *January* 14. *T. Wikes*, p. 118. The Writs, Returns, and Indentures of this Parliament are extant, and of all, or most, since; except from the 17th of *Edward IV*, to the 1st of *Edward VI*. See Mr. *Prynne's Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, and the learned Mr. *Brown Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*.

(8) Otherwise called (from the first Words of it) *Quia Emptores Terrarum*, because it chiefly related to Purchasers of Lands held by Knight's Service.

(9) Sir *Edward Coke* says, they were not banished; but their Usury was banished by the *Statute de Judaismo*, enacted in this Parliament; and that was the Cause that they banished themselves into foreign Countries, where they might live by their Usury; and because they were very odious to the Nation, that they might pass out of the Realm in Safety, they made Petition to the King, that a certain Day might be prebux for them to depart the Realm, that they might have the King's Writ to his Sheriffs, for their Safe-conduct. *Coke's 2d Institute*, p. 507. See one of these Writs there. But Mr. *Tyrryl* observes, that though this account is very probable, yet there is no good authority for it, p. 60. Many of the *Jews* took shipping in the River *Thames*, in a Vessel belonging to one of the *Cinque-Ports*, and were by the wicked Master and Seamen, not only plundered of all they had left, but were also cruelly thrown over-board, which, when the King heard, he caused many of these inhuman Mariners to be hanged. *T. Wikes*, p. 122.

(10) See the Charter whereby King *John* granted them one, in *Sir Edward Coke's 2d Institute*, p. 508.

(11) See a large Account of the *Jews*, in the Coin-Note at the end of the Reign of *Henry III*.---From the 17th of *December*, in the fiftieth Year of *Henry III*, till the *Tuesday* in *Shrovetide*, the second Year of *Edward I*, which was about seven Years, the Crown had four hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, fifteen Shillings and four-pence from the *Jews*. *Coke's 2d Institute*, p. 506.---This Year, *March* 30, died *John de Kirkeby*, Bishop of *Ely*, Treasurer of the Exchequer; and was succeeded by *William de Marche*. *T. Wikes*, p. 120, 121.

1290.

tract, that if Prince *Alexander* died without heirs, and the King his Father left no issue Male, *Margaret* should succeed to the crown of *Scotland*, and her children enjoy the same right, in case she died before the King her Father. Shortly after *Alexander* losing his only Son of the same name, and the Queen of *Norway* his daughter being likewise dead, after bringing into the world a daughter called *Margaret*, that Prince resolved to perform the agreement above-mentioned. For that purpose he obliged the *Scotch* Barons to swear, that in case he died without Male-Heirs, they would acknowledge the young Princess of *Norway*, for their Queen. *Alexander* lived but about two years after having thus settled the succession, his death, occasioned by a fall from his Horse, happening in the year 1285 (1).

Alexander
III. des.
Hec. Boeth.
T. Wikes.

Margaret of
Norway ac-
knowledg'd
Queen of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Walsing.
Knighton.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 445.

ib. p. 446.

ib. p. 448.

ib. d.

Edward
proposes the
Marriage of
his Son with
Margaret.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 450.

The Regents
consent to it.
ib. p. 471.

The Terms
of the Mar-
riage.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 482.

When the *Scots* lost their King, they chose six regents to govern the kingdom, 'till the Princess of *Norway*, who was at most but three years old, was capable of holding the reins of the government. I do not find in the histories of *England*, or *Scotland*, why the *Scots* were three or four years before they demanded their Queen, or why *Eric* her Father neglected to send her over. It was not 'till 1289, after *Edward's* return into *England*, that *Eric* sent ambassadors for that purpose. *Edward* being *Margaret's* Great-uncle, *Eric* thought he could not do better than ask his advice and assistance, to place the young Princess on the throne of *Scotland*. Immediately after this embassy, *Edward* wrote to the regents of *Scotland*, strenuously recommending the interests of young *Margaret*, and acquainting them withal, that he designed to send ambassadors to settle certain affairs relating to the welfare and tranquillity of *Scotland* (2). But the regents thought it more proper, to send themselves plenipotentiaries into *England*, to adjust with the ambassadors of *Norway*, in the presence of *Edward*, whatever concerned the interests of *Scotland*. However, they took care to insert this clause in the credentials of their Envoys, *Saving the honour and liberty of the kingdom*. The Bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow* (3), were commissioned to transact this affair.

Though historians have neglected to clear the difficulties concerning the coming of *Margaret* into *Scotland*, they were evidently very great. This appears, as well from the time since the death of King *Alexander*, as from the precaution taken, in assembling at *Salisbury* the plenipotentiaries of *Edward*, *Eric*, and the *Scots*, to settle together whatever related to the reception of that Princess. In this assembly it was agreed, the young Queen should be sent into *England*, free from any Marriage-Engagement. *Edward* promised on his part to take care of her education, 'till *Scotland* should be in perfect tranquillity, and in a condition to receive her. Moreover he gave his word, not to suffer her to be contracted in marriage, provided the *Scots* would not take any step to that end, without his and the King of *Norway's* consent.

It was not without reason that *Edward* caused this last article to be inserted in the agreement. Since the death of the King of *Scotland*, he had been forming the project of uniting the two kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, by his Son's marriage with *Margaret*. Nay, he had already demanded and obtained a dispensation from the court of *Rome*, though he had not thought proper to discover so early his intention. But after taking the forementioned measures, he caused the marriage to be proposed to the regents. This proposal being examined, in a council consisting of all the great Men of the kingdom, it was unanimously resolved to agree to it (4). But it was upon certain terms, which they were to lay before the first Parliament assembled in *England*. There were upon this occasion several negotiations, the particulars whereof would be needless. It suffices to say, that the commissioners of the two Nations meeting at *Bingham* (5), agreed upon several articles, the chief whereof, with respect to the sequel, were as follows:

I. The Plenipotentiaries of *Edward* promised in his name, that he would inviolably keep the Laws, Liberties, and Customs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in all things and in all times, throughout the whole Realm, with all its Marches.

II. That in case either *Edward* the Son, or *Margaret* his future Spouse, should happen to die without any

Children by their marriage, and in all Cases or Events, whereby the kingdom of *Scotland* should fall to the next heir, it should be restored to the people of *Scotland*, free, independent, and without any subjection, saving however the rights of the King of *England* to the crown of *Scotland*, in case it devolved to him, or his heirs, by a lawful succession.

III. That the kingdom of *Scotland* should remain separated, divided, and free in itself, without any subjection to, or dependance on, *England*; saving to the King of *England*, and his successors, his right to certain Lands in the Frontiers, or elsewhere, before the time of this agreement, or any right he should lawfully acquire hereafter.

IV. No person holding Lands in fee of the King of *Scotland*, should be obliged to prosecute any suit out of the kingdom, according to the custom hitherto observed.

V. That all the Subjects of the crown of *Scotland*, should enjoy the same privilege, according to ancient custom.

VI. That all Records, Charters, and Privileges, or other memorials concerning the royal dignity, and the kingdom of *Scotland*, should be deposited in a place of safety, and not carried out of the realm, under the seals of certain Lords, till the Queen should come into the kingdom, and have children.

VII. That there should be made no subjection, alienation, or obligation, of any thing relating to the kingdom of *Scotland*, till the Queen should be there in person, and have children alive.

VIII. That no Parliament should be held out of the kingdom.

These precautions demonstrate, how far the *Scots* were from believing in those days, that the kingdom of *Scotland* was dependant on *England*.

These and several other articles, which I pass over in silence, being approved and ratified, the marriage was concluded and resolved, to the general satisfaction of both nations. *Edward* began from thenceforward to take as it were possession of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, by sending thither the Bishop of *Durham*, who, jointly with the six regents, was intrusted with the administration of affairs, in the name of young *Edward* and *Margaret*. No one questioned but the two kingdoms of *Great-Britain* were going to be united by means of this marriage, when suddenly and unexpectedly all hopes of an union vanished. *Edward* received a Letter from the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, acquainting him with the report of Queen *Margaret's* death; and that some *Scotch* Lords (6) upon the news, began to stir in the prosecution of their pretended rights to the crown. The Bishop intreated him withal, to advance towards the Frontiers, to prevent by his presence the commotions, which the Queen's death, if found true, would cause in the kingdom. The report, spread of her death, was but too well grounded. The Princess, whom the King her Father promised to send into *England* before the month of *October*, failed accordingly from *Norway*, and died in a certain Island (7), where she was driven by stress of weather.

As soon as this news reached *Scotland*, it occasioned extraordinary commotions, which threw the kingdom into a more wretched condition than ever. The late King, who took care to cause the Great Men to swear to acknowledge *Margaret* of *Norway* for Queen, neglected to settle the succession, in case that Princess died without heirs. The choice of a successor was therefore very perplexing, and became more so every day, by reason of the factions formed in favour of the pretenders to the crown. Never was union among the Great Men more necessary. But private interest stifling the love of their country, every one proceeded according as he was engaged, either by Family-ties, or other motives, without troubling himself, whether right was on the side to which his inclination attached him.

Among the pretenders to the crown, *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce* divided almost all the suffrages of the kingdom. The first held large possessions in *France*, in the province of *Normandy*. The other had a considerable estate in *England*, and both were very powerful in *Scotland*, where their alliances procured them great credit. For the better understanding the grounds of their Titles, it will be necessary to take a view of the Genealogy of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, of which I am going to give a short explanation.

1290

The Mar-
riage is con-
cluded.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 487.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 489.
Om. ff.

Margaret's
death.
Buchanan.

John Balliol,
and Robert
Bruce, pre-
tend to the
Crown of
Scotland.

(1) On the 19th of March. Hec. Boeth. p. 191.

(2) This Letter is dated at Clarendon, Novemb. 6. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 445.

(3) Together with the Lord Robert Bruce, the Lord of Anandale, and John Comyn. Ibid. p. 446.

(4) This Resolution is dated at Briggheam in April. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 472.

(5) July 18. Ibid. p. 484.

(6) The Lord Robert de Bruce, and the Earls of Marr and Athol. Ibid. p. 1090.

(7) The Isle of Orkney, says M. Wels. p. 414.

1290.
Country of
the Royal
Family of
Scotland.

David King of Scotland had but one Son named Henry, who dying before him, left three Sons, viz. Malcolm IV, who ascended the throne after his Grandfather, and died without heirs: William, who succeeded his elder Brother; and David who was Earl of Huntingdon in England. The Race of William being extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway, there was a necessity of going back to that of David Earl of Huntingdon, third Son of Prince Henry. David died without Issue-Male; but left three Daughters, Margaret married to Alan of Galloway, Isabella Wife of Robert Bruce, and Ada Wife of Henry Hastings (1) an English Lord. Margaret, the eldest of the three Sisters, left only two daughters, Devergold, called by some Donnagilla, and Marjory. Devergold married John Balliol, by whom she had a Son of the same name, one of the two candidates for the crown. Marjory, Wife of John Comyn, died without issue. Isabella, second daughter of David, had by Robert Bruce, a Son named Robert from his Father, the other candidate. Ada, third daughter of David, left a Son called John Hastings, who likewise pretended to the crown. To avoid confusion, I shall defer speaking of this third candidate, and confine myself at present to the two principal competitors, namely, John Balliol, and Robert Bruce, who alone had properly a right to pretend to the succession.

Foundation
of the title
of the Com-
petitors.

It must be observed, that at the time of Margaret of Norway's death, the three Daughters of David Earl of Huntingdon were not alive. But Devergold, Daughter of the eldest, was still living, and resigned her title to John Balliol her Son, who, as descended from the eldest of David's daughter, claimed a right to be preferred before all the other candidates. On the other hand, Robert Bruce Son of the younger daughter, alledged for himself, that he was one degree nearer than Balliol, since he was grandson to David, whereas his Rival was but grandson to the eldest daughter of the same Prince. It was objected, that Devergold being in the same degree with him, ought to succeed, since she was daughter to the eldest, whereas he was only Son to a younger daughter of David. But he replied, that where the degree is the same, the Males ought to be preferred to the Females; and that it was the constant Law and Custom of all States; for which he produced several Precedents, from the Histories of foreign Countries. Thus stood the case, which could not be decided without displeasing one half of the kingdom.

State of
Scotland
according to
the Scotch
Historians.
Buchanan.
l. 8.

Here it is that we begin to find disagreement between the English and Scotch Historians. The latter affirm, things were in such a state, that it was impossible to find in Scotland impartial Judges. They add, that supposing such could have been found, it would have been very difficult to execute their sentence, by reason of the equality of credit and power in both parties. Balliol was Lord of the County of Galloway, one of the most considerable of the kingdom. He was likewise supported by the Comyns, a family of great power and interest, Robert Bruce held in England, the Earldom of Cleveland, and in Scotland, those of Anandale and Garioch. Moreover, by means of his Son Robert, who had with his Wife the Earldom of Carrick, he was allied to the most powerful families of Scotland. So that, continue they, to avoid a civil war, which could not fail to be kindled, both parties agreed to refer the decision of this important affair to the King of England. It was believed, all good offices might be expected from him, as well because of the good understanding which had long subsisted between the two Nations, as in return for their ready consent to the marriage of the Prince his Son, with their late Queen. He was intreated therefore, say they, to be Judge of this dispute, and to assist the Person he should think proper to place on the throne. They add, that Edward accepted the mediation, and came to Norham, where he summoned the States of Scotland (2), protesting, he assembled them not as Sovereign (3), but as a Friend, that desired them to meet the Arbitrator chosen by themselves. But this is a fact denied by the English. They affirm, that Edward summoned the States of Scotland to Norham, not as Friend and Umpire, but by virtue of his right of sovereignty over Scotland. They add, the bare consideration of the situation of Norham, a town in England, plainly enough shows, that Edward exercised an act of sovereignty, in assembling the States of Scotland in his own kingdom. The Scots reply, this proof cannot take place, since upon this very occasion Edward granted them Letters Patents, which entirely destroys it. His words are these: *That he did not intend that the coming of the Scots on this side the Tweed, should be any prejudice to*

them, or that for the future, upon any accident whatever, they should be obliged to come and treat with him on this side the river. So expresses a declaration, which seems to prove, that Edward pretended not to the sovereignty of Scotland; is indeed only an evidence of his policy or dissimulation; since he certainly designed then to establish the right of sovereignty. Accordingly, when it was once established, he filed his Letters Patents, a pure concession, which might be, and was actually, revoked. In the view this Monarch had of causing his sovereignty to be acknowledged by the States of Scotland, as will be seen hereafter, it was by no means proper to alarm the Scots by an act of absolute authority, before the States were assembled. Such a step might have led them to take measures destructive of his designs. It was much more natural and more advantageous for him, to convene the States first, and lead them by degrees to the acknowledgment he wanted to extort from them. So that, probably, when he summoned the States to Norham, he made use of ambiguous and cautious expressions, proper to hide his real intention. It was not his interest then to discover it, though he intended to use this same assembly to strengthen his right.

l. 8. Pre-
face.

Buchanan pretends, that, immediately after the young Queen's death, Edward formed the project of becoming master of Scotland. Perhaps he goes too far. It is much more likely, his first view was only to cause himself to be acknowledged for sovereign of that kingdom; whether he imagined it his due, or had a mind to improve the favourable opportunity of firmly establishing this pretended right. The better to accomplish his design, continues the same Historian, he persuaded eight other persons, besides the two above-named, to claim the crown. His intent was, according to this Historian, so to perplex the affair, that the two chief candidates might see, he should not want means to render their titles dubious, in case they were not plain to his will.

After these remarks, which are necessary for the sequel, it is time to come to the decision of this famous process. But first it is requisite to observe, that this affair contains two things, really distinct from each other, namely, the right of succession to the crown of Scotland, and the right of sovereignty over the same kingdom, claimed by Edward. The former appears at first sight to be the most important, and the latter seems only to be an incident question arising upon the other. But we shall find it became the main point, by its fatal consequences, and therefore it is not to be thought strange, that I should stay to explain it. It must be further observed, that the particulars I am going to relate, are taken from a Journal, or verbal Process, inserted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, made by Mr. John de Caesam, one of Edward's Clerks or Notaries. This observation should induce us to read with some caution, what appears to be too much in favour of the King of England, with regard to his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland.

T. II.
p. 542.

The States of Scotland being met at Norham, May 10, 1291, Roger le Brutazou Chief Justiciary of England, speaking by order, and in the name of the King his matter, who was present, told them, That the King of England, considering the unsettled state of Scotland, had required the States to assemble in that place, to lay before them certain matters, tending to the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom: That he had no design to usurp the rights of any person, to stop the course of justice, or to infringe the liberties of the people of Scotland; but, as sovereign Lord of Scotland, he was come to do justice to all: And that this might be done with more ease, though what he claimed could not be justly disputed, he demanded, as a superabundant right, the States assent to, and recognition of his superiority and direct dominion: That then he would make use of their counsels to do what Justice and Reason required. The States, extremely surprized at this proposal, required time to consult with the absent Bishops and Barons, to the end they might return an uniform answer in an affair of such importance. Edward, in his turn, showed some surprize, that the States should require time to give in their answer. He said, he had reason to believe they were come prepared for this matter, since they were not ignorant of his intention; and therefore he gave them only the rest of that day to consider of his demand. On the morrow, the States insisting upon a longer time, the King granted them three Weeks, reckoning from the 10th of May. During that time, they were to prepare whatever they had to object to his pretensions, and all the Acts and Monuments whereby they might think to invalidate his demand.

Edward re-
quires the
States of
Scotland to
own him for
Sovereign.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 542.
Instrumentum
Pub-
licum.

Edward
claims Uni-
versity.

Buchanan.

and names
the States
of Scotland
to Norham.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 528,
529.

(1) Buchanan, l. 8. says John. See Buchanan, l. 8.

(2) H. S. says that it to them bears date, May 31. Rymor's Fod. Tom. II. p. 528.

(3) Buchanan l. 8. says, that to him belongs la Souveraineté Seigneur du Roiaume de France. Ibid. p. 529.

1291.
The silence of
the States.
June 2.

Though, according to the time appointed by the King, the next meeting was to be on the first of June; I find however in the Journal, which I take for my guide, only that of the second of the same month. The Bishop of Bath and Wells was spokesman for the King, and recited what had been done in the two former Assemblies. Adding, that the three Weeks granted to the States being expired, and they had not produced or alledged any thing to invalidate his right, his intention was, to act by virtue of his acknowledged sovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland, and as Sovereign, to do justice to the candidates.

Remarks on
the silence of
the States.

Let us stay a moment to make one remark upon this subject. How good an opinion forever a Man may have of the faithfulness of Edward, and the Notary that drew up the Journal, from whence, what I have related is taken, he cannot help perceiving, there is something wanting here. In the two preceding Assemblies, Edward produced his pretensions to the sovereignty of Scotland. The States, far from immediately owning this sovereignty, require time to consult together upon so nice a point. The King grants them three Weeks, and that time being expired, in the first meeting, mentioned in the Journal, the Chancellor of England begins with saying, the States had produced or alledged nothing against the King's pretensions. Ought he not rather to begin with calling upon the States for their answer, which the Journal should mention; either by relating their objections or assent, or at least by declaring they had returned no answer, and then the Chancellor's speech would come to the purpose? But instead of this, he begins with declaring, that the States having nothing to say against the King's pretension, Edward was resolved to make use of his right. This makes it suspicious, either that the account of what passed that day is curtailed, or the day before there was another assembly, where the States had produced their proofs, but which the author of the Journal did not think proper to mention. For it was before observed, that, according to the time fixed by the King, there was to be an assembly on the first of June, whereas this was not till the second. But I offer this only as a conjecture, on which I do not pretend to establish any thing. The grand difficulty lies, in that, after a three weeks consultation, it is strange, the States of Scotland should have nothing to answer or object to Edward's pretension. It is certain, that hitherto, the sovereignty of the crown of England over Scotland, had never been so generally acknowledged, that the bare publick evidence could silence the States. Of this there needs no other proof, than the marriage-articles before-mentioned, where the Scots had taken so great care to maintain their independence. In the second place, the time they took, to consult about the King's demand, plainly shows, they were not fully persuaded of their subjection to the crown of England. In short, Edward's very precaution in requiring this acknowledgment, testifies, that the thing was at least doubtful. It is not customary to act in such a manner, when a Man has a known and undeniable right. If it be true then, that the States returned no answer to the King's demand, it must be thought, either they were over-awed; or the two principal candidates united, and prevailed with the States, by secret practices, not to oppose the pretensions of the King of England. Probably they were afraid by this incident, of retarding the decision of the main affair. But to return to our Journal.

Edward
owned for
Sovereign by
all the
Claimants.

The High-Chancellor having spoken as is related in the Journal, and taking his master's right for granted, addressed himself first to Robert Bruce, and demanded of him, Whether he would acknowledge the King of England for sovereign of Scotland, and receive justice from him, as such. The Journal adds, Robert Bruce answered openly and expressly, that he owned the King of England for Sovereign Lord of the Realm of Scotland, and consented to receive from him as such, the judgment that Prince should think fit to pronounce. The same question being put to Florence Earl of Holland, and the Lord John Hastings (1), they both made the same answer. After that, Patrick of Dunbar Earl of March, William de Ros, Walter de Huntercumbe, William Vesey by Proctor, Robert de Pynkeny, and Nicholas de Soules, appeared, and demanded to be admitted separately, to prove that the Crown of Scotland was devolved to them by right of Succession. The same question was put to them, as to the three first, concerning Edward's right; to which having returned the same answer, their petition was received. John Baliol being absent, his gentleman of Horse (2) stood up, and alledging some excuse for his master's absence, demanded, in his name, that

he might be heard the next day, which was granted 1291. him.

On the morrow, after the Chancellor's recapitulation of what had passed to that time, Baliol, who was present, was asked the same question by the name of the candidates, and made the like answer. Then, the Chancellor protested aloud in the King's name, That although the King of England, added to the argument, that he was Lord of Scotland, he did not intend that by that argument he should have the right to the crown of Scotland; or to exclude himself as to the property, but he expressly reserved to himself the liberty to prosecute his right, as the right of the candidates, when and how he should see fit. As soon as the Chancellor had done speaking, the King repeated word for word, the same intention with his own mouth. Then John Comyn Lord of Buchan, stepped up, and demanded leave to prove his lawful right to the crown. His request was granted, after receiving, like the rest, the King of England's sovereignty. What concerned Edward being thus settled, the candidate drew up a writing, whereby they acknowledged him sovereign Lord of Scotland. This writing was signed and sealed by all, and particularly by Robert Bruce and John Baliol. As for the silence of the States on this occasion, Edward, without giving himself any farther trouble, took it for an assent, and became possessed of the Sovereignty.

This step being made, the King proceeded farther. He represented to the competitors, it would be in vain to give sentence in favour of one of them, if it was not in his power to put it in execution. Upon this foundation, he demanded the possession of the kingdom; that he might be able to deliver it to the person that should be declared King. To this the candidates consented, and signed an instrument according to his desire; as if their bare pretensions to the crown had empowered them to dispose of the kingdom, as they pleased. In this writing, they own the King of England for Sovereign Lord of Scotland, and as such, for Judge of the process concerning the succession. They promised to hold for good and valid, the judgment he should pronounce. They agreed, he should be put in possession of all the Castles, and the whole kingdom, in order to restore it to him for whom it should be adjudged. They added however this condition, that he should be obliged to restore it within two months after judgment given, in the same state he received it, saving to him the homage of the new King.

Whatever had been hitherto done in favour of Edward, was only the acts of private persons; but among them were Bruce and Baliol, who divided all Scotland between them, and consequently their approbation drew after it that of the whole kingdom. In those days of anarchy, the regents had no great authority, neither did they care to do any thing displeasing to the King, or the two chief candidates, one of whom was to be their master. As to the States, after Edward perceived they were disinclined to favour his pretensions, he consulted them no more. As they were assembled out of Scotland, and in the power of the King, they were not free to take such measures as they should have desired. So the King met with little opposition from the governors of the Castles, when he came to take possession of the kingdom. William de Umfraville, who had the custody of the Castles of Dunfermlie and Forfar, was the only person that made any resistance. He considered the act above-mentioned as very irregular; and could not resolve, upon such a warrant, to deliver up the places committed to his trust, neither by the King of England, nor by the candidates. It was necessary that the Competitors, Regent, and King himself, should bind themselves by an express act, to indemnify him, in case he should one day come to be called to an account.

Whatever Edward's pretensions were, it is certain the sovereignty of the crown of England had never been acknowledged in Scotland. Accordingly the Scots in general, could not but look upon the proceedings of the candidates, and the regents themselves, as a manifest prevarication. And yet, it was very difficult to act otherwise. All the great Men were gained either by Edward's promises, or awed by his threats. The troops he had ordered to march to Narbonne, under colour of guarding the States of Scotland, did not a little help to inspire them with terror. So that almost whatever he pleased was forced to be done. It was necessary however for the regents to give the people some satisfaction, in showing them they took care of their interests. To that end, they demanded of Edward Letters Patents, declaring that the judgment of the process should be

(1) Lord of Abergawenny.

(2) Thomas Randolph. Pym's Feod. Tom. II. p. 549.

1291. given in the kingdom of *Scotland*. *Edward* considering this step, as a sort of approbation of his sovereignty, because the demand was so exprest as not to offend him, readily condescended to their very humble petition, and ordered the desired Letter, to be dispatched out of hand.

Examination
of the
Petitions
concerning the
Crown.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 583.
&c.

The affair of the sovereignty being thus ended, though without the intervention of the States, the examination of the titles of the several competitors for the crown came on, that the King might know the ground of their respective pretensions. To this purpose, it was agreed among them, that *Baliol* and *Comyn*, as well for themselves as for all the candidates, should nominate forty persons, and *Robert Bruce*, in like manner, should choose forty others, to hear and discuss the rights of the competitors. That to these fourscore, the King should add about twenty-four more, and these commissioners, after a mature examination, should make their report to the King.

June 5.

In the assembly of the 5th of *June*, nothing more was done, than giving in the names of the examiners that were chosen.

Berwick, as
appointed
for the Place
of Hearing.
June 6.

The next day, the King ordered the examiners to appoint the time and place of meeting, for their examination. All agreed upon *Berwick*, a town in *Scotland*, situated on the *Tweed*, for the place. But as they could not agree upon the day, the King fixed it to the 2d of *August* following.

The Regents
and Council
of Scotland
resigned their
patents to the
King, and the
governors of the
Castles their
commissions, to be
disposed of at his
pleasure. Edward
received, but returned
them again, with the
necessary alterations
to show that they
governed in his name.
The same day he made
the Bishop of
Caithness
chancellor of
Scotland, and joined
with him *Walter de Hamondesham* an Englishman, one of
his clerks, as an associate.

June 11.

There was another assembly at *Norham*, where the regents of *Scotland* resigned their patents to the King, and the governors of the Castles their commissions, to be disposed of at his pleasure. *Edward* received, but returned, them again, with the necessary alterations to show that they governed in his name. The same day he made the Bishop of *Caithness* chancellor of *Scotland*, and joined with him *Walter de Hamondesham* an Englishman, one of his clerks, as an associate.

June 12.

On the 12th of *June*, *Edward* issued orders to all that held any office in the kingdom of *Scotland*, to come and swear fealty to him, which was done that day by all that were present (1). The competitors took the same oath, after which, the assembly broke up till the day appointed for the meeting at *Berwick* (2).

June 12.

Though it was still a good while to that day, *Edward* came quickly after, and on the 3d of *July* made the following protestation: *That altho' he had granted, that the affair of the Succession should be tried in the kingdom of Scotland, he did not intend to bind himself to the same concession, if the same case should happen again, or on any other occasion.* Probably the assembly, before whom he made this declaration, was neither full, nor authorized to receive it, since the examiners were not to meet at *Berwick* till the 3d of *August*, that is, a month after.

August 3.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 575.

The day being come, the examining commissioners met at *Berwick*, in the presence of the King, and received the petitions of the candidates, in the following order. But because these petitions, containing the grounds of their pretensions, were founded on the genealogy of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, it is necessary to see this genealogy, tho' supposititious, without which it would be difficult to understand their respective rights.

Florence Earl of *Holland*, showed, he was descended from *Ada*, Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Sister of the Kings *Malcolm IV.* and *William*.

Patric de Dunbar, Earl of *March*, founded his claim upon his descent from *Ida*, Daughter of King *William*, and Sister of *Alexander II.*

William de Vescy asserted, he was Issue of *Margaret*, Daughter of King *William*.

Robert de Pynkeny affirmed, he came from *Margaret*, Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Sister of the Kings *Malcolm* and *William*.

Nicholas de Soules said, that being Grandson of *Alexander II.* by *Marjory*, second Daughter of that King, and the race of *Margaret*, eldest Sister of his Mother, being extinct, the crown was devolved to him as next heir.

Patric Galythly founded his claim on his being Grandson to King *William*, by *Henry* Son of that Prince. Probably *Henry*, Father of *Patric*, was a bastard, since

had he been legitimate, his Son's title would have been indisputable.

1291.

Reginald de Mandeville claimed the crown as Son of *Africa*, Daughter of King *William*.

John Hastings maintained, that the kingdom of *Scotland* being divisible, ought to be parted among the descendants of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, the youngest of whom was his mother.

Robert de Ros called himself Issue of *Isabella*, eldest Daughter of King *William*, and Sister of *Alexander II.*

John Comyn derived his claim higher, namely, from *Donald* formerly King of *Scotland*.

John Baliol set forth, that he was Son of *Deverguld*, eldest daughter of *Margaret*, the eldest of the daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*; and the race of King *William* being extinct, he was the next heir to the late Queen. It must be observed, he took it for granted in his petition, that *Marjory* and *Isabella*, eldest daughters of *Alexander II.* died without issue, though *Nicholas de Soules* called himself Son of the first. After that, passing over in silence *Henry*, *Isabella*, *Ida*, *Margaret*, and *Africa*, children of King *William*, from whom *Galythly*, *Ros*, *Dunbar*, *Vescy*, and *Mandeville*, professed themselves descendants, he proceeded to the family of *David*, younger Brother to King *William*. His silence leaves room to presume, either these competitors had falsely set forth their genealogies, or those from whom they derived their descent were bastards, otherwise their issue would have had more right to the crown than *David's*. Accordingly we shall see in the sequel, that their pretensions were not regarded at all. It may be farther observed, this favours what is said by *Buchanan*, that *Edward* engaged eight candidates, besides *Baliol* and *Bruce*, to demand the crown, on purpose to puzzle the cause. And indeed it is easy to see, that of all the above-named, *Baliol* excepted, there was not one that had the least title to the succession, supposing, as is very likely, that they were descended from bastards, and that *Nicholas de Soules* had not truly set forth his genealogy.

Robert Bruce alledged, that he was by one degree nearer than *Baliol*, since he was grandson of *David*, whereas his rival was only grandson of his daughter. That indeed *Deverguld* was in the same degree with himself, but could not claim the crown, because it was the custom to prefer the Males before the Females, in the same degree of consanguinity. To strengthen his title, he added, that *Alexander II.* declared him his heir, in case he died without issue, and offered to prove it by living witnesses. Moreover, he maintained that *Alexander III.* always looked upon him as his presumptive heir, and declared it to such as were familiar with him.

All these petitions being read, and the King, says the Journal, willing to give the commissioners time to examine them, appointed the second of *June* of the ensuing year 1292, for another assembly (3), where the candidates might more fully urge their respective rights.

I shall make use of this Interval to examine as briefly as possible, the grounds on which *Edward* built his right of sovereignty over *Scotland*. We find them at large in a Memorial drawn by that Prince's order. And because this Memorial is frequently alledged by the English authors, as containing the justifying proofs of the right of sovereignty enjoyed immemorially by *England*, over *Scotland*, it will not be amiss to give an abstract thereof, to the end the reader may be perfectly informed concerning this matter.

PROOFS alledged by EDWARD I. to establish the RIGHT of SOVEREIGNTY of the KINGS of ENGLAND over SCOTLAND.

IN the year 901, *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*, subjected to his dominion the Kings of the *Scots*, *Humbrians*, and *Welsh* (4), as appears in the histories of *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*, and *William of Malmesbury*.

In the year 921, the King of *Scotland*, *Reginald* King of the *Danes*, the English of *Northumberland*, the King of

Act. Pub.
II. p. 559.
M. West.
p. 440, &c.
Walsing.
Knighton.

(1) None took the Oath of Allegiance on *June 12*, except *Alan* Bishop of *Caithness*, the new Chancellor, and his Associate. The Competitors, and other Persons, took it the next Day, *June 13*. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. II. p. 557, 558.

(2) In the mean time, the chief Persons in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Citizens and Burgesses of each City and Town therein, did, during the Months of *June* and *July*, swear Allegiance to King *Edward*; and the Inhabitants of *Berwick* in particular, on *June 30*: Among whom are mentioned *Ralph Phelype*, *Robert Olsson*, *John de Knapton*, *Thomas le Barber*, &c. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. II. p. 567---572.

(3) A Parliament. *Ibid.* p. 580.

(4) It is in the Original *Stregetwallrum*, the same as are called in the *Saxon Annals*, *Stræledweallas*. They were the People that inhabited about *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and being perpetually harassed with the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, retired into *Flintshire*, about the River *Clwyd*. See *Carew's* *Flintshire*, &c.

1291. *Wales* and his subjects, chose *Edward the Elder* for their Father and Lord, and made a strict alliance with him. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

In the Year 924, the same *Edward* reigned over all the inhabitants of *Great-Britain*, *English*, *Scots*, *Cumbrians*, *Danes* and *Britons*. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

In the Year 926, King *Athelstan*, Son of *Edward*, vanquished *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, together with the King of the *Wenti* (1), and compelled them to fly. After the victory they took an oath to him, and concluded an alliance with him at *Emothe*, July the 4th. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

We find in the Histories of *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, and *Ralph de Diceto*, that *Athelstan* forced *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, to quit his crown; and afterwards gave him leave to resume it, on condition he should hold it of the Kings of *England*, saying, *It was more glorious to make Kings, than to be one*.

In 934, the same *Athelstan* vanquished *Constantine*, who had revolted, and ravaged *Scotland* as far as *Dunferd*. *Constantine* gave him his Son in hostage, with great presents, and a peace was concluded between them. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry de Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

In the Year 937, *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, and *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, met *Athelstan* at *Dacor*, and submitted to his mercy. *Athelstan*, commanding *Constantine* to cause his Son to be baptized, stood godfather himself. *William of Malmsbury*.

In 940, *Athelstan* was succeeded by *Edmund*, who reigned four years, during which the *Scots* revolted not.

In 947, *Edred*, Brother and Successor of *Edmund*, having vanquished the *Northumbrians*, carried his arms into *Scotland*. The *Scots* seized with fear, submitted without resistance, and swore the fealty that was due to him. *Edred* set over the *Scots* a King, called *Yric*. *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*.

In the Year 955, *Edwy* was King of *England* after *Edred*, and reigned four years, without any revolt of the *Scots*.

In 997, *Edgar* King of *England* having summoned to his court *Keneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, and six other Kings, made them row in his barge, which he himself steered. He said upon that occasion, as it is affirmed, that his successors might now boast of being really Kings of *England*, since they enjoyed so great a prerogative.

Another time the same *Edgar* being informed, that *Keneth* had spoken ill of him, sent for him to his court, and walking with him into the fields, offered him the choice of two Swords, to fight with him. *Keneth* refused it, and casting himself at *Edgar's* feet, begged his pardon, and obtained it. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

During the reigns of *Edward the Martyr*, *Ethelred II*, and *Edmund Ironside*, the *Scots* did not revolt.

In 1017, *Canute the Great*, at his return from *Rome*, in the 15th year of his reign, subdued *Scotland* with ease, which had revolted, and King *Malcolm* was subject to him. *Canute* was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Scotland*. *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmsbury*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*.

It does not appear that the *Scots* revolted, during the reigns of *Harold II*, and *Hardicanute*.

In the reign of *Edward the Confessor*, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland* vanquished *Mackbeth* King of *Scotland*, and slew him. After which, by the command of King *Edward*, he placed *Malcolm*, Son of the King of *Cumberland*, on the throne of *Scotland*. *Ibid*.

There are likewise these words in the history of *William of Malmsbury*, King *Edward* gave the kingdom of *Scotland* to *Malcolm*, Son of the King of *Cumberland*, to hold it of the Crown of *England*.

There is nothing concerning the *Scots*, whilst *Harold II* was on the throne of *England*.

William the Bastard having marched into *Scotland*, in the sixth year of his reign, *Malcolm* met him at *Aberneth*, where he did him homage, or became his Man. *Chron. of St. Albans*.

In the same chronicle it is said, that *William* returned into *England*, after receiving the homage of *Malcolm*, and some hostages.

In the third Year of *William Rufus*, *Malcolm* revolting and ravaging *Northumberland*, *William*, accompanied by *Robert* his Brother, led his army into *Scotland*, and made peace with *Malcolm*, on condition that *Malcolm* should obey him, as he obeyed *William* his Father. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

Henry of Huntington says, *Malcolm*, seized with fear, became King *William's* Man (2).

The same King dethroned *David* of *Scotland*, and placed *Edgar*, Son of *Malcolm*, in his room.

Edgar King of *Scotland* dying, *Alexander I*. his Brother, succeeded him, by the consent of *Henry I*, King of *England*. *Henry of Huntington*.

Stephen King of *England* having demanded homage of *David* King of *Scotland*, and upon his refusing it, because he had taken an oath to *Matilda*, *Henry* his Son did homage to King *Stephen*. *Marianus Scotus*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

William King of *Scotland*, *David* Earl of *Huntington* his Brother, the Earls and Barons of *Scotland*, did homage to *Henry II*, King of *England*, and swore fealty (3) to him.

In the Year 1174, *William* King of *Scotland* ravaging *England*, was taken prisoner and delivered to King *Henry II*, who set him at liberty, on condition he should do him homage for the kingdom of *Scotland*.

As the treaty between these two Kings has been spoken of elsewhere, it is needless to repeat it here. It suffices to say in a word, that *William*, to obtain his liberty, was forced to promise to do full homage to *Henry II* for the kingdom of *Scotland*, and performed his word. This is the best proof in favour of *Edward*, and accordingly he chiefly insists upon it in the Memorial; entering into a long detail, which amounts to what is above-related.

In the reign of *Richard*, the *Scots* are not found to revolt. On the contrary, *William* came to *Canterbury*, to do homage to *Richard*.

Edward wisely passes over here in silence the Letters Patents of *Richard I*, whereby he relinquished the sovereignty of the kingdom of *Scotland*.

The same *William* came and did homage to King *John* at *Lincoln*, and swore fealty to him upon the cross of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Roger de Hoveden*.

The same King *John* would have made war upon *William*, for having, without his consent, married his Daughter to the Earl of *Boulogne*. This is extant in the chronicle of the Monastery of *Bridlington*. It is said also in the chronicle of the Abbey of *Kyngefwode*, that *William* gave his two daughters in hostage to King *John*.

Henry III, in the 35th year of his reign, came to *York*, to marry his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and the latter did there homage to the King of *England*. The guardianship of the young King, and the regency of the kingdom, were conferred on *Robert de Ros* and *John Baillel*, by the advice of the great Men of both kingdoms. *Chron. of St. Albans*.

To strengthen all these proofs, *Edward* heaped together some passages, extracted from divers charters and several Bulls, and from a Book intitled, *The Life of St. John of Beverley*.

In a charter of *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, granted to the Church of *Durham*, that Prince acknowledges, he holds the Land of *London*, and the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, by the grant of *William* King of *England* his Lord.

In another charter, *William* King of *Scotland* grants to King *John* of *England* his dear Lord, the power of marrying *Alexander* his Son, Prince of *Scotland*, to whom he pleased. Moreover he promises King *John*, that, whatever happens, he and Prince *Alexander* his Son, will be true to *Henry*, Son of *John*, as their Sovereign Lord.

In a brief of *Gregory IX*, that Pope ordered the Barons of *Scotland* to join with the King of *England* against their own Prince, in case the latter should break the treaty made with *Henry II*.

The same Pope in another brief commanded the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, to persuade the King of *Scotland* to keep the treaty.

(1) In our printed Copies of *Hoveden*, they are called *Wentini*. See page 422. Edit. 1601. Probably *South-Wales*.

(2) That is, did him Homage, the Form of which you have in the second Statute 17 *Edw. II*. When a Freeman shall do Homage, he shall hold his Hands together between the Hands of his Lord, and shall say thus on his Knees: I become your Man from this Day forth, for Life, for Members, and for worldly Honour, and shall owe you my Faith for the Land I hold of you, saving the Faith I owe to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to my other Lords. The Ecclesiasticks say, instead of I become your Man, I do you Homage, and to you I will be faithful and loyal.

(3) Fealty, from the Latin, *Fidelitas*: The Form of it see in *Anno 14 Edw. I*. Stat. 2. When a Free-Man shall do Fealty, he shall hold his Right Hand over the Book, and say: Hear you, my Lord, that I A. B. shall be to you faithful and true, and shall owe my Fealty to you for the Land that I hold of you, and truly shall do you the Customs and Services that I ought to do you at the Terms assigned, so help me God, and all the Saints. He that holdeth Land by this Oath only, holdeth in the freest manner that any Man in *England* under the King may hold.

1291.

In another directed to the King of *Scotland*, the same Pope told him, that since he was Liege-Man of the King of *England*, and had sworn fealty to him, he ought not to attempt any thing against him.

Pope *Clement* writing to *Henry* King of *England* in behalf of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, dispossessed of his See by the King of *Scotland*, requires him among other things, to warn, exhort, and if necessary, to force that Prince, by the power committed unto him, to restore the Bishop.

The Proof taken from *the Life of St. John of Beverly*, the author whereof is unknown, consists of this narrative. King *Athelstan* carrying his arms into *Scotland*, meets by the way certain people, who were just cured of blindness and lameness, by the intercession of *St. John of Beverly*. Whereupon, he resolves to go and perform his devotions in the Church where the body of this Saint lay. After saying his prayers, he left his dagger on the altar, as a pledge of what he had promised the Saint, in case he succeeded in his undertaking. Then entering *Scotland*, *St. John* appears to him and assures him of his assistance. Upon this assurance *Athelstan* attacks the *Scots*, and gains a signal victory. After that, he subdued the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, and stayed there three years. In his return to *England*, a great rock stood in his way, and he besought God, through the mediation of *St. John of Beverly*, to give him some sign, whereby the spectators might know, the *Scots* were justly subdued by the *English*, and the conquered kingdom ought for ever to pay tribute to his successors. Then drawing his sword, he struck the rock, which yielded like butter, and made a hole in it an ell deep. Whereupon the author adds, that this is an evident sign *Scotland* was subjected by the *English*.

Edward produced some other testimonies, but without naming his authors, to shew, the Lords of *Galloway* had done homage to the King of *England*.

In 1185, *Roland* Lord of *Galloway* submitted to the King of *England*, fearing, as it is presumed, says the author, the power of that monarch, who was advancing with a great army to make war upon him.

Henry II, King of *England*, having received the homage of *Alan* of *Galloway*, and of *David* Brother of King *William*, returned into his dominions.

In the 22d year of *Henry* II, *Gilbert* Son of *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway* came with the King of *Scotland* into *England*; where he became Liege-Man of *Henry* the Father, and swore fealty to him. Which done, in order to gain his good-will, he gave him a thousand Marks of Silver, and his Son *Duncan* in hostage.

These are the proofs used by *Edward* to justify his right of sovereignty over *Scotland*. As it passes for certain among several *English* historians, that *Edward* undeniably proved his right from ancient chronicles, I imagined, the reader would not be displeased to be able to judge for himself, without being obliged to recur to the writers of both parties. For which reason I have retrenched none of these proofs, though some of them are far enough from being evident.

Certainly, there is reason to think it strange that the *Scots* should find nothing to object to these proofs, the greatest part whereof are very weak, not to say entirely trifling. But it must be considered, they were in *England*, over-awed by the presence of the King; and that *Bruce* and *Balliol*, who were in great credit, did all that lay in their power to prevent any incidents that might retard the decision of the main affair. However, since *Edward* supported his pretensions by the proofs set forth in the Memorial; and the Homage required of the Kings of *Scotland*, was the sole cause of the war which was afterwards kindled between the two nations; it will not be needless to clear this matter a little, by adding what the *Scots* might have alledged against the proofs, if powerful motives had not induced them to keep silence; and what they actually did object, in more favourable circumstances.

In the first place, they might say, it was necessary to distinguish two things, which *Edward* affected to confound in this Memorial; namely, the superiority of the forces of the Kings of *England*, and their frequent advantages over the *Scots*, from the pretended acknowledgment made by the Kings of *Scotland*, that they held their crown of the Kings of *England*. The latter was the main point in dispute, and yet the proofs alledged in the Memorial chiefly relate to the former.

2. The business was not to prove in general, that the Kings of *Scotland* were frequently constrained to make disadvantageous treaties, and afterwards swear to them: The acts themselves should have been produced, and shewn to contain an express acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*. It was farther neces-

sary to prove the continuation of this acknowledgment by the homages of the Kings of *Scotland* upon every new accession to the thrones of both kingdoms, according to the constant custom practised by *Vatials* for many ages since. But this was not done by *Edward*.

3. When *Edgar*, King of *Scotland*, owned in his charter to the Church of *Durham*, that he held his kingdom of *William Rufus*, that acknowledgment did not import a confession that the crown of *Scotland* depended on that of *England*. It was only a declaration, that by the assistance of the King of *England* he had mounted the throne of *Scotland*, seized by an usurper, as appears in the history.

4. This same charter, one of *Edward's* principal proofs, is affirmed to be a forgery by the *Scotch* writers, and opposed with such strong chronological arguments, as seem to demand our assent.

5. As to what passed between *Henry* II, and *William* King of *Scotland*, it is very true, *William* did full homage for his whole kingdom. But it is no less certain, it was in consequence of a treaty, where that homage was expressly stipulated for the captive King's liberty. And therefore it is evident, he was not subject to it before, since there was need of binding him to it by a treaty. And this is what would never have been thought of, unless the war had been undertaken on account of that homage, which is not fact. Besides, this homage, which was only a consequence of *William's* captivity, was not continued by his successors; since *Richard*, Son of *Henry*, entirely renounced it, as we have seen in the reign of that Prince.

6. As for the rest of the proofs, which are much weaker, they are not only taken from *English* writers, or subjects of *England*, who for the most part lived long after the events they relate; but are founded on uncertain expressions, which do not necessarily bear the sense contended for by *Edward*.

7. Had *Edward* no other proofs to alledge, but the testimonies of some partial historians? Why did he not produce the homages of the ancient Kings of *Scotland*, as he did that of *William* to *Henry* II? If the thing had been only to prove the homage for the Earldom of *Huntington*, he would have had no occasion to rummage the historians; his own records would have supplied him with proofs. What is the reason then, that it was more difficult to preserve the homages for the kingdom of *Scotland*? If the King of *France* could have proved his sovereignty over *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, only by passages taken from *French* authors, there is room to question, whether *Edward* would have submitted to do him homage for these two Provinces.

8. The *Scots* might alledge, that when *Henry* III demanded the King of *Scotland's* assistance against the Earl of *Leicester*, he owned in express terms, that the assistance was given him out of friendship, and not out of duty.

9. The same *Henry* would have had *Alexander* III, his Son-in-law, do homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; but *Alexander* refused it, and would not do it for the Lands he held in *England*.

10. *Edward* himself being desirous, that the same *Alexander* III, his Brother-in-law, should assist at his coronation, gave him Letters Patents; acknowledging, that the presence of that Prince was not of duty, and that he assisted at the solemnity only out of friendship, and to do him honour, without being any ways obliged thereto.

11. When the same *Alexander* did homage to *Edward*, he made an authentick declaration, that he did not mean to do homage for the kingdom of *Scotland*, but only for the Lands he held in *England*, and his homage was received with that limitation.

12. The *Scots* might say farther, that the homage done for the Lands in *England*, though paid by a *Scottish* King, had no manner of relation to the kingdom of *Scotland*. In like manner, the King of *England*, in doing homage to the Kings of *France*, did not intend to make the kingdom of *England* dependent on the crown of *France*, but only to acknowledge the dependency of the Lands they held in that kingdom.

13. Lastly, Homage was frequently paid for pensions; for instance, the Earls of *Flanders* did it to the Kings of *England* upon that account, as did the Earl of *Savoy*, for a pension of two hundred Marks. So that barely to shew that the Kings of *Scotland* did homage to the Kings of *England*, was no proof of the point in question. It should have been proved, that these homages were for the kingdom of *Scotland*, either by Letters Patents of the Kings of *Scotland* themselves, or by the instruments of the homages well attested, according to the usual custom. But *Edward* produced no other act, but that

1291. that of *William's* forced homage, renounced by King *Richard*.

As to the passages extracted from the Papal Bulls, they could amount to no proof, since the *Scots* did not deny that their Kings were Vassals to *England* for the Earldom of *Huntington*, and other Lands on the Frontiers. But they denied them to be so for the kingdom of *Scotland*, which the Bulls did not affirm.

I say nothing of the extract taken from the *Life of St. John of Beaurly*, since there is reason to doubt that *Edward* seriously intended to draw a proof from so ill-attested, or rather so ridiculous a miracle, and from a history, whose author is unknown.

These answers are not arguments made by me for the *Scots*. The greatest part are the same that *Boniface VIII* used in his Letter to *Edward*, to dissuade him from any attempt upon *Scotland*, as will be seen hereafter. Let us return now to the decision of the affair of the succession, from whence I made this digression (1).

The day appointed by *Edward* being come, all the candidates, with the fourscore examiners, repaired to *Berwick*, where *Edward* was present. At the first meeting, the King of *Norway's* ambassadors appeared, and demanded the crown for the King their master, Father of the late Queen. Their petition being received, after a recognition of the King of *England's* direct dominion over *Scotland*, those of the other competitors were read, each in its turn, and the commissioners began to examine them. But *Edward*, says the Journal, considering this examination would be very tedious, and consequently prejudicial to *Scotland*, took another course. He moved, and his motion was approved, that the rights and titles of *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce* should be first examined, without prejudice of the others, which should be afterwards discussed.

The first question which was put, was, By what laws and customs Judgment was to be given? And upon this *Edward* would have the previous advice of the examining commissioners. It was not possible for them to agree in deciding this point. After long debates, they told the King, they could not give him their advice, without farther deliberation, and desired him to add to them the four and twenty *English*, according to the agreement. This expedient did not promote the decision. The *English* commissioners reported to the King, that the *Scots* were so divided in opinion, concerning their own Laws, that it was very difficult to settle so disputable a point. Adding, they durst not themselves, for that reason, give him any advice upon so nice a question. These difficulties determined *Edward* to give a longer time, and appoint the 14th of *October* following, for the day of the first assembly (2).

The commissioners being met at the time appointed, *Edward* asked them these three questions: 1. By what Laws and Customs Judgment was to be given? 2. How he was to proceed, in case the Customs of *England* and *Scotland* should be uncertain, or opposite? 3. Whether Judgment was to be given concerning the kingdom of *Scotland*, otherwise than concerning Earldoms, Baronies, and other Fees of the crown of *England*? The delay granted by *Edward*, had given the examiners new light. They who could not agree upon the first question in *August*, were unanimous in *October*. To the first they made answer; That in case there were any certain Laws or Customs in the King's dominions, by them he ought to proceed. To the second, That if in his territories there was no certain law, he might establish a new one. To the third, That the kingdom of *Scotland* was to be judged in the same manner as other indivisible Fees. It is no hard matter to see, that these preliminary questions tended only, as is plain from the answers, to establish *Edward's* right of sovereignty; a right which he constantly supposed, without allowing it to be contradicted.

Edward, upon these decisions, ordered *Bruce* and *Baliol* to be called, and asked, Whether they had any thing to say, to strengthen the reasons alledged in their petitions? They replied, they desired to add something farther by word of mouth, and *Bruce* began first. His reasons were confined to these four. 1. That the succession of a crown ought to be settled by the natural right by which Kings reign, and not by the Laws common to Subjects;

and, according to natural right, the nearest ought to succeed. 2. That for the same reason, though private inheritances were divisible, and the eldest had some privilege by the laws observed among subjects, it was not so with regard to a kingdom, to which the next heir ought to succeed without any division. 3. He maintained, that in *Scotland*, the crown had been adjudged for the collateral branch, preferably to the direct, and the succession in the family of the eldest, was not so established, as to be justly prejudicial to him, since in that very kingdom, Brothers had several times been preferred to Sons. 4. He took it for granted, that though he was in the same degree as *Deuerguld*, he ought however to succeed, because he was the next Male-heir.

John Balliol answering in his turn, founded his right on the genealogy of the Royal Family, and shewed he was descended from the eldest of the daughters of *David Earl of Huntington*, whereas *Bruce* sprung only from the second. He replied to the reasons of his competitor, and maintained, That the custom, as well of *England* as *Scotland*, was, that the descendant of the eldest daughter, tho' more remote, was preferable to the nearer coming from the younger. As to what *Bruce* alledged concerning natural right, and the right of Kings, he answered, it belonged to the King of *England* to decide That, as immemorial Sovereign, and direct Lord of *Scotland*. As for the instances, produced by *Robert*, of Brothers preferred to Sons, he affirmed, it was never done in *Scotland*, but by way of usurpation and violence. That, when such a thing happened, the Kings of *England*, as Sovereigns, rectified it, by placing the Son on the throne. To prove his assertion, he alledged the example of *Edgar*, whom *William Rufus* put in possession of the crown, usurped by *Donald*. Lastly, he maintained, that, supposing what *Robert* advanced was incontestable, it could be no advantage to him. Indeed, it appeared from thence, that sometimes the nearer was excluded, to make room for the more remote, a Brother being undeniably farther removed than a Son. I should be too tedious if I recited all the arguments, answers, and replies of both sides. This will suffice, I hope, to shew the grounds of their pretensions.

This affair being thus cleared, and the reasons of the two candidates examined, the King put the question in this manner: *Whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest Sister, ought, according to the Laws and Customs of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer, by a degree coming from the second Sister?* The commissioners unanimously answered, That, according to the Laws and Customs of both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be preferred. It might be justly demanded, to what purpose then was the discussion of the preliminary questions, since the laws of both kingdoms were so express in favour of the principal, if it had not been already remarked, that they were subservient to the private interests of *Edward*? Notwithstanding the formal decision of the commissioners, the King, willing to shew that he acted without passion and partiality, caused the same question to be again long debated in his presence, and appointed the 6th of *November* following, to pronounce the final sentence.

On that day, *Edward* solemnly pronounced, that *Robert Bruce's* pretensions were ill-grounded, and the Laws allowed him no right to the crown of *Scotland*. But as the exclusion of *Bruce* did not necessarily import the admission of *Baliol*, since there were other competitors, the King ordered the examiners to hear the rest of the parties. *Robert Bruce* finding himself excluded by this sentence, declared, he had another right which he would prosecute, and justify, in another form, his pretensions to part of the kingdom. Then he presented his petition, which was admitted.

The affair between *Baliol* and *Bruce* being ended, *John Hastings* stood up and maintained, That *Scotland* being a fee of *England*, had no more privileges than other fees, which were all partible. He inferred from thence, that the kingdom of *Scotland* ought to be divided among the descendants of the daughters of *David Earl of Huntington*, the youngest of whom was his mother. He was immediately seconded by *Robert Bruce*, who appeared again, and said, He claimed a third part of the kingdom, as Son and Heir to *David's* second

Robert and John Hastings

Question proposed by Edward, and left undecided. T. II. p. 380.

Decided in favour of Baliol.

Edward gave notice of Bruce's petition Nov. 6.

Robert Bruce's petition.

Demand of John Hastings.

(1) This Year, on *June 24*, or, according to others, the 25th, died *Eleanor*, King *Edward's* Mother, in the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*; and was buried *September 8*, in the Church belonging to the said Nunnery. *An. Waverl.* p. 242. *T. Wikes*, p. 123. *Walsing.* p. 57. ----- Whilst *Edward* was in *France*, in 1287, he made a vow to go to the *Holy Land*, and accordingly received the Crois from the hands of the Pope's Legate at *Bordeaux*. In consequence of this, Pope *Nicholas IV* granted him this Year, by a Bull, dated at *Orvieto*, *March 18*, 1291, the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, for six Years. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 509. *An. Waverl.* p. 240. The Bishops of *Worcester* and *Lincoln* were appointed Head-Collectors of their Tenth. *T. Wikes*, p. 124.

(2) On Parliament, *Parliament*, as it is in the Original. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 581. The King promised, that he would summon some of the greatest and interestest Persons of his Kingdom to be then present; and would in the mean time dispatch Messengers to the most learned Men abroad for their Advice upon this Point. *Ibid.*

1292.

Daughter. Whereupon *Edward* put these two questions: 1. Whether the kingdom of *Scotland* was a Partible Fee? 2. Or whether, not being so, the Escheats and Acquisitions, made by the Kings of *Scotland*, were to follow the Law of common inheritances? The unanimous advice of the King's council, and the commissioners, was, That the kingdom of *Scotland* was an Indivisible Fee, and that the King's acquisitions in the kingdom itself, ceased to be partible, the moment they came into his hands. After this decision, *Edward* appointed the 17th of *November*, to pass sentence.

All the other
Candidates
do p their
pretensions.
Nov. 17.

The commissioners being met (1) on the day appointed, the King ordered all the candidates to be asked, What they had to say in defence of their rights. The ambassadors of *Norway*, *Florence Earl of Holland*, *William de Vesey*, *Patric de Dunbar*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Pynkeny*, *Nicholas de Soules*, and *Patric Galythly*, declared, They did not intend any further to prosecute their claims, and withdrew their petitions. Upon this declaration the King pronounced, they had no pretension to the crown of *Scotland*. *John Comyn*, and *Roger de Mandeville*, not appearing to maintain their claims, they were likewise rejected. After which the King pronounced, That *John Hastings*, and *Robert Bruce*, had no right to the third part claimed by each, because the kingdom of *Scotland* could not be divided.

Edward de-
clares Baliol
King of
Scotland.

None remained but *Baliol*, who being without a competitor, since the others were rejected, was acknowledged as the only person that had a right to pretend to the crown. Accordingly, *Edward* adjudged, that he should be put in possession of the kingdom, saving however to himself and successors, the right of prosecuting their pretensions to the same kingdom, whenever they thought proper (2). Then he addressed himself to the new King, and said, He should take care to govern his people with equity, in such a manner, that for want of justice, or any other reason whatever, he should not oblige his sovereign to make use of his right to redress the grievances. Then he appointed him the *Thursday* following to swear fealty, and *Christmas* day next, to do his homage at *Newcastle*.

Baliol swears
Fealty to
Edward;
Nov. 20.
Act. Pub.
T. II. p. 591.
M. West.
Walsingham.
T. Wikes.

The process being thus ended, *Edward* dispatched all necessary orders to put *Baliol* in possession of the kingdom, and the new King swore fealty to him on the 20th of *November* (3). In the oath, he acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland* in very express and submissive terms, and caused an authentick act of the same to be drawn up. His installation was performed at *Scone* (4) with the usual formalities, and all the *Scotch* Lords took the oath to him, except *Robert Bruce*, who was absent. Which done, he came to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, where he did homage to the King, in such expressions as it was not possible to add any thing to denote more fully his dependence (5).

and does
Homage.

Complaints of
the Scots
against
Edward.

After seeing in what manner the Journal, made by *Edward's* order, relates what passed in the judgment of this famous process, it is but reasonable to hear the *Scots* in their turn, and to lay before the reader what they say upon this matter. They pretend, *Edward* acted very unjustly in the whole course of this affair, and that his conduct throughout was a continued series of artifice, corruption, and violence: That indeed, he had before some pretension to the sovereignty of *Scotland*, but it was so ill-grounded, that he would never have thought of prosecuting it, if the state of the kingdom had not furnished him with an opportunity: That being chosen Judge, or rather Umpire of the difference between the two candidates, he abused that trust to serve his own interests, at the expence of the liberty of the *Scots*. They agree to the facts related in the Journal; but affirm, that by promises and threats, he privately engaged the commissioners blindly to follow his directions. They add, That his chief aim being to make the person who should be declared King of *Scotland*, Vassal of the crown of *England*, he intimated to the two competitors, that they had nothing to hope for, unless they would first own him for Sovereign of the kingdom. To engage them, say they, to this acknowledgment, he himself raised up all the other candidates, who entirely depended upon him, on purpose to breed dif-

iculties, which might convince *Bruce* and *Baliol*, how much they needed his favour. It is not to be thought strange that the competitors should be ready to do whatever he desired. The two principal were afraid, their opposition would deprive them of the crown, and the rest put in their claims only in obedience to his orders, or for his pleasure. 'Tis further affirmed, That before the pretensions of the parties came to be examined, *Edward* had resolved to give the crown to *Baliol*, who was of an inferior genius to *Bruce*, and of less credit in the kingdom. *Buchanan* says upon this occasion, that *Edward* offered the crown first to *Bruce*, if he would promise to do him homage; and upon his refusing it on that condition, *Edward* turned to *Baliol*, who immediately accepted his offer. And to the invincible argument, which the *English* pretend to infer from *Robert's* consent and hand, to the acts and declarations made by the candidates before they presented their petitions, the *Scots* reply, It was not possible, but *Robert* might at first refuse the crown on the condition required, and afterwards perceiving how detrimental his refusal might be to him, was induced to comply. It is true, he did not much promote his cause by that means, since his refusal made a deeper impression on *Edward*, than his compliance could afterwards do. They add, It is impossible to help seeing, in the Journal itself made by *Edward's* order, that, notwithstanding the great shew of impartiality throughout, that Prince favoured the cause of *Baliol*. In the first place, the arguments of *Robert Bruce* are very much abridged, and may be said to be disadvantageously set forth. In the next place, immediately after *Robert's* exclusion, all the rest of the competitors, except *Baliol*, relinquished their pretensions, even to the ambassadors of *Norway*, who, very likely, had private orders to act as directed by *Edward*. Indeed, one cannot see, why the exclusion of *Bruce* should so affect the other candidates, as to oblige them to withdraw their petitions. But, it is easily perceived, they were no longer necessary to the King's designs, after the judgment against *Bruce*. This plainly discovers the reason, why *Edward* would have the examiners begin with discussing the rights of *Bruce* and *Baliol*; because, when that business should be decided, he had no farther need of the others. The affected absence of *Baliol* is likewise observed, on the day that the other competitors acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of *England*, that he might not be afterwards reproached, when he should be on the throne, for being the first to introduce that innovation, intending to create a belief, that he only followed those that went before him. It is affirmed, *Edward* was more apprehensive of *Bruce* than of *Baliol*, and in the whole course of this procedure, had ever a view to his own interest. The sole end of all his proceedings, say they, was to establish a right which he could never have supported at any other juncture, and which belonged not to him. If this right had been incontestable, to what purpose did he take so many precautions to establish it? To what end so many acknowledgments and oaths, required from some private persons, when the States of *Scotland*, if the Journal may be credited, alledged not the least objection to his pretensions? Why such a heap of arguments, most of which proofs are so weak, to cause a sovereignty (according to him not disputed) to be acknowledged? If the States of *Scotland* made no reply to *Edward's* first proposition, it is easy to see, it must have been from a motive of Fear. Besides, it could not be inferred from their silence, that they acknowledged this sovereignty, since they had never before made the like recognition. If by their silence they intended to give their approbation to *Edward's* pretensions, whence is it, that he required not from them an authentick declaration, as well as from the candidates? Was it their business to decide so important a question, and not rather the States then actually assembled? In short, it sufficiently appeared afterwards, that the sentiments of the people of *Scotland* were not agreeable to the declaration of the candidates, since they embraced the first opportunity to shake off the yoke imposed upon them. I shall add here in favour of the *Scots*, that the *Collection of the Publick Acts* affords a strong

(1) In full Parliament. *Rymer's Fœd.* p. 588.

(2) Salvo jure ejusdem Domini Regis Angliæ, & Hæredum suorum cum voluerint inde loqui. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 589.

(3) The Form of it was thus: Ego Johannes de Balliolo, Rex Scottorum, fidus & fidelis ero vobis Domino Edwardo, Dei gratia, Regi Angliæ, & superiori Domino Regni Scotiæ; & vobis fidelitatem facio de eodem Regno Scotiæ, quod de vobis teneo, & clamo tenere: & fidem & fidelitatem vobis portabo de vita & membro, & terreno honore, contra omnes homines: & fideliter recognosciam, & vobis faciam servitia, vobis debita de regno Scotiæ antedicto; sic me Deus adjuvet & hæc sancta Evangelia. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 591.

(4) The Business of the Earls of *Fife* at Coronations, was to place the King of *Scotland* upon his Throne, as appears from *Rymer's Fœdera*, T. II. p. 600.

(5) The Form of the Homage was thus. Mon Seigneur, Mon Sire Edward, Rey d'Engleterre, Sovereign Seigneur du Reaume de Escoce, je Johan de Baillol, Rey de Escoce, devien vostre homme lige de tot le Reaume de Escoce ove les Aportances, e a quant qe il y apent; le quel je tieng e dei de dreit, e cleim, por moi, e mes heyr, leys de Escoce, tenir heritablement de vous e de voz heyr, Reys d'Engleterre: E je y e leaute porterai a vous, e a voz heyr, Reys d'Engleterre, de vic e de Membre, e de terren honore, contre tote gent qe porunt vivre e morir. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 595.

1292. proof, that the Kings of Scotland never did homage for the whole kingdom, if we except That of William to Henry II. We find in the *Carta*, that Edward's High-chamberlain demanding of David, the fees due from the Vassals when they did homage, there was no precedent to be found. So that Edward was forced to fix them himself (1) to twenty pounds sterling, which was double the Sum paid by an Earl on the like occasion. What likelihood is there, that the fees should not be settled before, in case this Homage had been done to often as Edward pretended?

I have hitherto related the manner wherein the English and Scots talk, of what passed in the judgment of this famous process, as well concerning the crown itself, as the sovereignty claimed by Edward. But for the entire clearing this matter, it will not be needless to make some farther remarks. In the first place, it appears by Edward's whole conduct, that his intent at first was not to become master of Scotland (2), as Buchanan charges him, but only to render that kingdom dependent on England. In this he did but follow the steps of most of his predecessors. Not to mention the Saxon and first Norman Kings, Henry II had no sooner King William in his power, but he took advantage of that Prince's misfortune, to oblige him to do homage for his kingdom. Henry III, Father of Edward, would fain have extorted the same thing from Alexander III, but could not possibly succeed. It cannot therefore be inferred, from Edward's first proceedings, that he had formed the project of making himself master of Scotland; since he required only the direct dominion, without ever insinuating on the possession, concerning which he was satisfied with making a bare declaration. If he had designed any such thing, he might easily have found plausible pretences, to place English garrisons and governors at his devotion, in the places that were put into his hands. He might have alledged, That all the Scots being engaged to some one of the candidates, the custody of the Castles could not be trusted to persons of their nation, without exposing the kingdom to the danger of a civil war. But, instead of securing by that means the possession of the kingdom, he confirmed all the governors, and contented himself with receiving their oath; a precaution which a Prince of his abilities, would doubtless have thought insufficient, had he had ill designs. To this may be added, that if he had formed the project he is charged with, he would have found a fair opportunity to put it in practice, by dividing the kingdom between the descendant of David's three daughters. By that division he would have weakened the forces of the Scots, whereas he kept them united, in adjudging the crown to a single person.

But on the other hand, it can hardly be denied, that he meant to take advantage of this favourable juncture, to establish his sovereignty over Scotland; and so to accomplish the project formed, but never fully executed, by his ancestors. It is difficult to judge, whether he himself believed he had a lawful right; or, considering the circumstances of Scotland, was willing to embrace the opportunity to establish a new one. The last seems most likely, though Men but too frequently suffer themselves to be prepossessed, in favour of what is for their interest. And indeed, to fetch proofs from histories compiled by Englishmen, to shew that Scotland was dependent on England, was a plain confession he had no better to produce. Certainly a homage like this ought to have been evinced by more authentick proofs. One can hardly believe, if the Kingdom of Scotland had been immemorably dependent on England, without any interruption, as he pretended to prove, there could be found in the Sovereign's archives but one single homage in form, done by the Kings of Scotland. Probably therefore, without being thoroughly convinced of his right, he had a mind, in order to establish it fully, to improve the advantage which the present circumstances of Scotland afforded him, well knowing there could be no opposition, since the two leading Men had so much reason to cultivate his friendship. But I question, whether the acquiescence of the Scots was sufficient to acquire him a new right. I leave this to be determined by those, who are versed in these matters. However, methinks there is no justifying this Prince, who, by an ill-grounded ambition, kindled between the two nations of Great-Britain a war, which caused torrents of blood to

be spilt on both sides. And if the event is of any account in affairs of this nature, the sequel of this history will shew, that though at first God favoured Edward's designs, he permitted the projects of the English to come to nothing at last. Perhaps I shall draw upon me the censure of some people, fond of this ancient sovereignty of England over Scotland, or of the perfections of Edward I. They will fancy, no doubt, what I have been saying is injurious to the glory of that Prince, or the grandeur of England; but I hope, they who are less prejudiced will do me more justice. It is time now to return to the history, and shew the fatal effects of Edward's ambition to both kingdoms.

If the desire of reigning had caused Baliol to act contrary to the interest of Scotland, Edward's eagerness to establish his sovereignty over that kingdom, made him commit errors, destructive of his own real interests, as well as of those of England. On much the same occasion Pope Innocent III was very careful, not to let the English feel too soon the weight of his sovereignty, acquired by King John's resignation. He insured them to his yoke by degrees, and intently, for fear of alarming them too much. But Edward took a quite contrary course with the Scots. Hardly was he possessed of his so much desired sovereignty, but he made his Vassals feel the whole weight of it; and this rigor produced not the effect he expected. Far from conducing to keep that nation in subjection, it served only to excite their endeavours to free themselves from it (3).

Before Edward left Newcastle, an opportunity offered to exercise his new right, which he failed not to embrace. A townsman of Berwick complaining to him of an injury done him, as he pretended, by some English commissioners sent into Scotland, Edward ordered the affair to be tried in England, by his Judges. The council of Scotland, looking upon this proceeding as a breach of the King of England's promises, sent some of their members to represent to him, that he had engaged, that the pleas of things done in the kingdom should not be drawn out of it. Edward thought this remonstrance very unreasonable. He replied, That the affair was of such a nature, that he could not permit it to be tried any where but in his own courts; since it belonged not to Vassals, to punish the misdemeanors of those that represented the person of the Sovereign. If he had stopped there, the Scots might have flattered themselves, that this particular case would not be brought into precedent. But the King's intention was otherwise. To prevent the like consequence for the future, he sent to the council of Scotland the following declaration: That if, during the vacancy of the throne, he had made the Scots any such temporary promises, and had punctually observed them; but did not intend to be restrained by such promises, now there was a King in Scotland; and would admit and hear all complaints, and all business concerning that kingdom, where and when he pleased. He repeated this declaration, some days after, in his own chamber, before Baliol, and a great number of Lords of both nations: Adding, He would call the King of Scotland himself to appear in England, whenever he thought convenient. The warmth wherewith he spoke, stopped the mouth of Baliol, who, being in his power, thought it not proper to make any answer. But he did not come off so. Two days after he was forced to renounce, by Letters Patents, for himself and successors, all the promises, concessions, and ratifications made by the King of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; and to approve whatever Edward had done during that time. In return for this renunciation, Edward gave him a writing, whereby he acknowledged, he had no other right to the kingdom of Scotland but that of homage. Moreover, he promised for himself and successors, not to claim the wardship and marriage of young Nobles.

This first step of Edward was sufficient to convince the Scots, of his resolution to stretch his prerogative to the utmost. But it was not long before he gave them more substantial proofs. A merchant of Gasconne (4) presented a petition to him setting forth, that Alexander III, late King of Scotland, was indebted to him in a certain Sum (5), still due to him, notwithstanding all his solicitations to the new King for payment: That therefore he applied to him, as sovereign of the King of

1292.

1293.

Edward's
haughty be-
haviour to-
wards the
new King of
Scotland.

A.D. Pub.
II. p. 296.

A.D. Pub.
II. p. 307.
Edward re-
vokes what
he had
granted to
Scots.

Edward's
Pet.
p. 300.

p. 301.

p. 305.

(1) In his Parliament held at Westminster, 1292. Rymer's Fœd. T. II. p. 600.

(2) And yet one would be apt to think, such was his Design, by his uniting the two Kingdoms, which he did, or attempted to do, as appears by the following Writ. Quia Regna Anglie & Scocie, ratione temporis Dominii, quod in eodem Regno Scocie optinemas (concedit) Altissimo iure unita, Mandatum est Justiciariis de Banco, quod Brevia Regis, etiam in parochia vel rectorata, de decem & sex annis, in eodem regnum Scocie, nantien- nem facientia de cetero admittant; Exceptiones, si quæ, de huiusmodi datis & hactenus, proprio contentum coram eis non teneant. Telle reges apud Berwicum sup. r. Twedum tertia die Junii. Ibid. p. 535.

(3) This Year a Parliament was held at London, about a Month after Easter. T. Wikes, p. 125.

(4) J. de Mayn. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 605.

(5) Two thousand, one hundred, ninety-seven Pound, eight Shillings, Sterling. Ibid.

1293. *First Summons.* Scotland, for justice. Edward eagerly embracing this opportunity of exercising his right, summoned the King of Scotland to appear at *Westminster* the morrow after *Ascension-day*, to answer in person the complaints brought against him by the merchant. This first summons bears date the 8th of *March* (1), about two months after *Edward's* departure from *Newcastle*.

Second Summons. Eight days after, he sent a second summons to *Baliol*, upon the following occasion. Whilst he was still at *Berwick*, he had ordered the Regents of *Scotland* to put *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, in possession of certain Lands claimed by that Earl (2). These orders had been executed before *Baliol's* coronation, whilst *Edward* was still master of *Scotland*. In the first Parliament held by the new King at *Scone*, the Earl of *Fife* was accused of unjustly taking possession of these Lands, the custody whereof belonged to the King. This was properly accusing him of an affected over-hastiness, in applying to the King of *England*, and of not staying till there was a King on the throne of *Scotland*. Upon this charge, the Parliament ordered him to be imprisoned. Some time after, the Earl being released, carried his complaints to *Edward*; and thereupon the King of *Scotland* was again summoned to appear before *Edward*, wherever he should be, the day after *Trinity-Sunday*.

Third Summons. The 15th of *June* following, the King took a fresh occasion to summon *Baliol* upon another account. Whilst he was at *Newcastle*, he had ordered (3) *Walter de Huntercombe*, governor of the *Isle of Man*, to put *Baliol* in possession of the *Isle*, which was accordingly done. Shortly after, a Lady named *Austica*, claiming that *Isle*, demanded it of the King of *Scotland*; and her demand being rejected, she complained to *Edward*. Upon her complaint, *Baliol* was again summoned to appear in person, fifteen days after *Michaelmas*, in whatever place (4) the King should then be. Moreover, *Edward* ordered the Sheriff of *Northumberland* to notify this summons to the King of *Scotland* himself, before witness.

Fourth Summons. A few months after *Baliol* received another summons, the occasion whereof was this. *David* King of *Scotland* had formerly granted to the Monastery of *Reading*, in *England*, a certain Priory (5), held of the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*. Afterwards this Priory was alienated by the Abbot of *Reading*, to the Bishop of *St. Andrews*. The successor of this Abbot, willing to recover the Priory, pretended, the alienation was made against the consent of the majority of the Monks, and thereupon presented a petition to the King. The Bishop being informed of it, appealed to the Pope, and his appeal was admitted by the Court of *Scotland*. Upon the complaints made to *Edward* by the Abbot of *Reading*, about admitting the appeal, *Baliol* was again summoned to appear in person, fifteen days after the Feast of *St. Martin*.

Fifth Summons. A year after, *Edward* took occasion to treat this Prince in the same haughty manner, by commanding him to appear before him to answer for himself, for denying justice to the Bishop of *Durham*, in an affair concerning his Diocese (6).

Sixth Summons. So many different summons, upon such slight occasions, and upon the bare complaints of private persons, made the new King of *Scotland* perceive, that he was become rather the Slave than Vassal of the King of *England*. However, as he had taken no measures to throw off the yoke, he durst not but appear, to answer to these several accusations. *Buchanan* pretends, it was by accident that *Baliol* happened to be present in the Parliament of *England* (7), when the Earl of *Fife* brought his complaints against him: but others affirm, it was in obedience to the summons. Be this as it will, he was accused before the Parliament, of denying justice to and imprisoning the

Earl of *Fife*. He would have answered by a Proctor, but was not permitted, and so was obliged to stand at the bar like a private person. This was a great mortification for a crowned head; but *Edward* was bent upon humbling him, and making the *Scots* feel the whole weight of their dependence. *Baliol* being thus constrained to answer *Riley*, in person, alledged, as the accusation entered against him concerned his crown, he could not answer to it, without first advising with his Subjects. His excuse not being deemed valid, the Parliament ordered, that three of his principal Castles should be seized into the King's hands, till he gave full satisfaction. The *English* authors affirm, that before this sentence was pronounced, *Baliol* presented a petition, acknowledging the sovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland*, and praying *Edward* to allow him time to consult his Parliament. As soon as he had stooped so low as to petition, his demand was granted, and a certain day (8) was assigned him to appear. He withdrew, incensed to the last degree at the affront he had received, and bent upon trying all means to free himself from so intolerable a yoke (9).

The war which broke out at the same time, between *France* and *England*, put *Baliol* in hopes of a favourable juncture to free himself from the subjection he was under. And indeed it was likely, he would have had time to take all necessary measures to compass his ends, whilst *Edward* was employed in that war. A private quarrel between some *English* and *French* mariners, was the occasion of this rupture. At the same time, it gave the King of *France* a pretence to summon *Edward* before the court of Peers, and an opportunity to seize *Guienne* by a stratagem, the particulars whereof will be seen hereafter. Before the war was proclaimed, *Edward* endeavoured by way of negotiation, to recover that Duchy from the King of *France* (10). But *Philip*, who was not ignorant of the King of *Scotland's* designs, prolonged matters till that Prince declared his intentions. During the negotiation, *Baliol* sent ambassadors (11) to *France*, on pretence of renewing the ancient alliance between the two nations: But his real design was to enter into a strict union with *Philip*, by the marriage of his Son *Edward* with a Daughter of the Earl of *Valois*, Brother to that Monarch. How privately soever this negotiation was carried on, *Edward* had intelligence that some plot was contriving against him at *Paris*. Accordingly, to prevent the King of *Scotland's* designs, he demanded of him the Castles of *Berwick*, *Jedburgh*, and *Roxborough* (12), promising to restore them as soon as matters were adjusted with *France*. But without rejecting entirely this demand, *Baliol* found means to gain time (13), whilst he continued to take measures to throw off the yoke of the *English*. When his ambassadors had concluded with *France* the proposed League, he thought it time to declare. He was strongly solicited to it by *Philip*, who, knowing *Edward* was preparing for war, was desirous to raise him troubles at home, that might hinder him from thinking on means to recover *Guienne*. *Baliol* had been long in suspense, on account of his oath to the King of *England*. But to remove this scruple, *Philip* procured him the Pope's dispensation. So finding himself secure from the Church's censures, which were then very formidable, and having no further uneasiness on account of his oath, he thought nothing should any longer retard him. *Edward*, surprised at this resolution, which quickly came to his knowledge, formed the design of relinquishing his affairs in *France*, and employing his preparations against *Scotland*. He considered that *Baliol's* revolt gave him a plausible pretence to make himself master of that kingdom, the conquest whereof would be of much greater importance than *Guienne*. Instead therefore of embarking his army

(1) At *Kirkcubly*. *Rymer's Fœd.* II. p. 606.

(2) *January* 5. *Ibid.* p. 602.

(3) That of *May*, in the Diocese of *St. Andrews*. *Ibid.* p. 615.

(4) For refusing to deliver to him the Towns of *Berwick* and *Haddington*. *Ibid.* p. 632.

(5) This Parliament was held at *Michaelmas*. See *Riley*, p. 158. There was another held this Year at *Westminster*, after *Whitstide*; wherein a Resolution was taken to recover *Guienne* by force of Arms; and *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, granted King *Edward* the Revenues of his paternal Estate towards the same. Three Years, towards defraying the Charges of that War. The Earls and great Men of *England* promised also to contribute liberally towards the same. *M. West.* p. 421. This Year also, in *July*, King *Edward* caused all the Monasteries to be searched, and ordered the Money that had been collected and deposited there, for the Holy War, to be seized and applied to the War in *Guienne*. *T. Wikes*, p. 126. In the mean time, his Fleet lay at *Portsmouth*, and was detained there by contrary Winds, from *June* 24, till *September* 14. The King not thinking his Army large enough, ordered all the Prisoners to be set at liberty, and to be listed in his Service; but most of them gave him the slip. The contrary Winds having put a stop to King *Edward's* Voyage, he called a Parliament on *September* 21, at *Westminster*, wherein the Clergy granted him the half of all their Goods, the Laity, a Tenth; and Merchants in Cities and Towns, the sixth Penny of all they possessed. *M. West.* p. 421, 422.

(6) At the Parliament that was to be holden after *Easter*. *Rymer's Fœd.* p. 159, 160.

(7) This Year, about the latter end of *September*, one *Madoc* caused an Insurrection in *Wales*; on occasion of the Subsidy for the War in *France*, that was levied in that Country; whereupon the King, with his Brother *Edmund*, Earl of *Conseal*, and *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, went and reduced him to Obedience. And King *Edward* rebuilt the Town and Castle of *Beaumaris*. *Walsh.* p. 62, 63. *Kingdon*, p. 240. See.

(8) *November* 29, King *Edward* called a Parliament at *Westminster*, assembled Clergy, Merchants, and People; wherein the Laity granted him the eleventh Part of their Goods, the Clergy the Tenth, and the Merchants the Seventh. *M. West.* p. 425. *For. 22.* *Edw. I. M. 2.*

(9) The Bishops of *St. Andrews*, and *Lundel*; *John de Saules*, and *Ingelam de Umfraville*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 681. *M. West.* p. 427.

(10) *M. West.* and *Walshinglam* say, it was the Castles of *Berwick*, *Edinburgh*, and *Roxborough*. *M. West.* p. 427. *For. 22.* *Edw. I. M. 2.* But in *Rymer's Fœd.* it is *Gedworth* (the same as *Jedburgh*) instead of *Edinburgh*; which shews of what great Use that noble Collection is, in correcting the Mistakes of Historians. See p. 692.

(11) They were actually delivered. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 652.

1295. *for France, as he had intended, he marched directly for Scotland (1). Mean time, Baliol, who depended upon the assistance promised by the King of France, sent to the King of England the Superior of the Cordeliers of Roxborough, to deliver a letter into his own hand. In the letter he complained of the frequent injuries received from him; of the many summons issued upon very slight occasions, and upon the bare petitions of private persons; and in conclusion, declared, he would be no longer his Vassal (2). This letter served only to exasperate Edward still more, who, continuing his march towards Scotland, and seeing his affairs in France in a very ill situation, resolved to make a conquest of that kingdom, as the English historians confess on this occasion. Here may be fixed the beginning of the long war, that bred in the hearts of the English and Scots a mutual enmity, which time has not yet been able to extinguish (3).*

M. West.
Walling.

1296. *Edward was advanced as far as Newcastle, with intent to besiege Berwick, which was, as it were, the key of the two kingdoms, and for that reason of all places most liable to the sieges and surprizes of both Nations. For this purpose, he had sent a fleet to Sea, with strict orders to prevent any thing approaching the town he intended to besiege. But the fleet was surprized by the Scots, who burnt and sunk eighteen ships. At the same time, they gained another advantage over some English troops, who being advanced to seize a certain post, were cut in pieces, with the loss of above a thousand men. These successes, which encouraged the King of Scotland, served only to stir up Edward to a revenge, and oblige him to exert his utmost to subdue a people who appeared so resolute to shake off his yoke. There were, as was before observed, two factions, one for Baliol, and the other for Bruce. Edward, well knowing the last had submitted only by force to the judgment pronounced in favour of the first, believed it might be of great service to him, could he persuade Robert Bruce to join with him. To that end, he offered him the crown, provided he declared against Baliol. Robert accepted the offer with joy, and strengthened Edward's party with a great number of friends, who had only out of fear taken the oath to Baliol.*

He gains
Bruce to his
Side.
Ibid.

After taking these measures, Edward entered Scotland, and laid siege to Berwick. As this place was very strong and well garrisoned, he was apprehensive of meeting a resistance which would give Baliol time to prepare, and the Scots in general an opportunity of uniting together, to free themselves from a danger that equally threatened them all. So nothing could be more to his advantage, than speedily to become master of Berwick, in order to advance into the heart of the kingdom, and break the measures of the Scots. This made him resolve to use stratagem, to compass his designs in less time. To that end, after assaulting the town several days, he suddenly raised the siege. At the same time, by means of some soldiers, who, pretending to desert, threw themselves into the town, he caused a rumour to be spread, that the King of Scotland's approach to their relief, obliged him to retire. This rumour was quickly followed by the false News of Baliol's being but a league off, ready to enter the town. Upon this false intelligence, the soldiers and townsmen sallied out in crowds to meet him, imagining Edward was now at a distance. This headless multitude, falling into an ambush, and endeavouring to retreat with precipitation, were so briskly pursued, that the English entered pell-mell into the town, and made a great slaughter. It is said above seven thousand (4) Scots perished on this occasion (5).

He besieges
Berwick,
Ibid.
M. West.
Walling.
Knighton.

and takes it
by stratagem.

Edward being thus master of Berwick, marched (6) to Dunbar with design to besiege it. He was scarce arrived before the town, when he heard of Baliol's approach at the head of a numerous army. Though he did not ex-

Baliol was
quitted.
Buchanan.
M. West.
Walling.

spect the Scots could be ready so soon, he gladly received the news, in hopes of obtaining a victory that would render him master of the whole kingdom. Baliol advanced on his part with equal ardor, bent upon deciding by one battle, whether he should be free or a Slave. The two armies engaging, fought a good while with great bravery, though not with the same fortune. The Scots were at length forced to give ground, after losing the best part of their troops. Their loss in this action is said to amount to above twenty thousand men; a loss so great and astonishing, that they were not able for a long while to oppose the progress of the Conquerors. After this great victory, Edward immediately returned to Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him. Then, without giving his enemies time to breathe, he marched to Roxborough, of which he became master with the same ease. Presently after he approached Edinburgh, the castle whereof was surrendered in eight days. From thence he went and seized Sterling, Perth, and all the considerable places in general. In a word, before the end of the campaign, he was so much master of all Scotland, that Baliol and the whole nation had no other remedy but to submit to his mercy. And upon that condition he granted them peace. The King of Scotland came to him at Kincardin (7), and appeared before him with a White Rod in his hand, resigned his kingdom to him, to be disposed of according to his pleasure. This resignation was drawn up in form, and signed by Baliol, and the greatest part of the Barons of Scotland, and sealed with the Great Seal of the kingdom.

Edward's
great Pro-
gress.
Buchanan.
M. West.
Knighton.
Walling.

Baliol resigns
his kingdom.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 748.
M. West.
Walling.

To confirm this new acquisition, Edward ordered the States of Scotland to assemble at Berwick, where all the nobility, and officers of the kingdom, swore fealty to him; and delivered up all the castles and places they were still in possession of. Among the Scotch Nobles, William Douglas was the only person, that could never resolve to swear to a Prince, who had no right to Scotland, but what force gave him. This refusal drew on him the indignation of Edward, who commanding him to be conducted to England, kept him in close confinement, where he ended his days, without his misfortunes being ever able to bring him to acknowledge Edward for his sovereign. Baliol was likewise sent into England, and confined at first in the Tower of London; but was afterwards removed to Oxford, where he founded the College, which bears his name (8). Other Scotch Lords, whom Edward judged necessary to secure, were shut up in several prisons in England; and if he left some their liberty, it was on condition they should keep in the southern parts, without ever passing the Trent, on pain of death. He might easily have been crowned King of Scotland; but his intention was not, that the two kingdoms should remain any longer divided. He had a mind to unite Scotland to England, as he had done Wales, and make but one kingdom of the whole Island of Britain. This evidently appeared from his removing into England the crown and scepter of Scotland, with all the rest of the Regalia, and every thing that shewed the least sign of the liberty hitherto enjoyed by the Scots. But it was not so easy to blot out of their minds, the remembrance of their dear liberty. He did not forget to cause the famous Stone, on which the inauguration of their Kings was performed, to be conveyed from Scone. The people of Scotland had all along placed in that Stone a kind of fatal-ity. They fancied, that whilst it remained in the country, their State would be unshaken, but the moment it should be elsewhere removed, great revolutions would ensue. For this reason, Edward carried it away, to create in the Scots a belief, that the time of the dissolution of their Monarchy was come, and to lessen the hopes of recovering their liberty (9). But how much soever they were attached to this fatal Stone, they had a

The Scots
swore fealty
to Edward.
Knighton.
Walling.
Douglas,
alone refused.
Major.

Baliol is
sent into
England.
Buchanan.
M. West.
Walling.

Edward
takes away
the Crown
and Scepter
of Scotland,
and the fa-
mous Stone
of Scone.
Walling.
M. West.
p. 426, 430.
Knighton.
Buchanan.

(1) March 1. 1295. M. West. p. 426.

(2) He not only renounced, in the beginning of April, the Homage and Fealty he had taken to King Edward, but also defied him. See Knighton, p. 2477. Walling. Rymor's Fed. Tom. II. p. 707.

(3) This Year, about Michaelmas, Eleanor, Daughter of King Edward, was married to Henry Earl of Barre, at Bristol. Walling. p. 60. M. West. p. 419. --- And this same Year died Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Ibid. p. 427. A Parliament was also held this Year; and every County was required in the writ to send two or three Knights. See Notitia Parliamentaria.

(4) M. West. says, sixty thousand of all sorts. This Town was taken March 30. p. 427.

(5) Whilst Edward was employed in fortifying Berwick, some Scots made an Excursion into Cumberland, and burnt the Town of Corkebridge and Heston-leham. Ibid. and went and laid siege to Carlisle. Walling. p. 65.

(6) April 27. M. West. p. 427.

(7) July 2. Rymor's Fed. p. 417.

(8) This is a mistake; for Baliol College was founded in the Reign of Henry III, by John Baliol of Bernard Castle, Father of John Baliol the King. He only laid the Design of it, and settled yearly Exhibitions upon some Scholars, and at his death, in 1269, he recommended this pious project to his Wife. She settled the Exhibitions in a Tenement, which she hired in Heremangers-Street, now Can-dish, in 1282. Afterwards, in 1284, she purchased Mary's Hall near the same Place, and settled the Society there by her Charter, confirmed by her Son John Baliol the King, and by Count Bith pot Lincoln. Camd. in Oxfordshire.

(9) Kenneth II King of the Scots having made a general Slaughter of the Picts, near the Monastery of Scone, placed a Stone there, which vulgar Tradition reported to be the same as served Jacob for a Pillow, and inclosed it in a wooden Chair, for the Inauguration of the Kings. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breecus, afterwards out of Ireland into Argyle, and King Edward caused it to be conveyed to Heston-leham. On it was engraven this Dutch:

Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Or Fate's decreed, and Heaven decrees in vain;

Or where they find this Stone, the Scots shall reign. Camd. Walling. p. 49. Buckan. l. 6.

1296. greater loss on this occasion. The burning of their records (1), by Edward's order, was to them and their posterity an irremediable loss. Besides these precautions, Edward took care to secure his conquest, by placing English garrisons and governors in all the Castles; and leaving John Warren, Earl of Surrey and Suffex (2), to command in Scotland, returned in triumph to England.

After seeing the first war with Scotland ended, by the conquest of the kingdom, it is time to consider what was doing in France, where Edward's affairs were upon a very different foot. But first it will be necessary to relate the occasion of the rupture, between the two crowns of France and England. Since the treaty between St. Louis and Henry III, the two nations had lived in good understanding, when a quarrel between two persons of little consideration, gave occasion to the two Monarchs to take arms. A Norman Pilot, and an English Mariner, quarrelling in a port of Guienne, where they were landed, the Pilot chanced to be killed. Whether the magistrates of the port neglected to bring the murderer to justice, or he was not in their power, the Normans finding, that the murder of their countryman was left unpunished, resolved to be revenged. To that end, surprizing an English vessel, they hung up the Pilot at the yard-arm. These reprisals occasioned others on both sides, so that the English (3) and Normans made fierce war upon each other, wherever they met, even to the sinking of one another's ships, when it was in their power. For some time, it was only a private war, in which the two Kings were not concerned. But some English ships happening to meet a Norman fleet laden with wine, carried them to England. The Owners complaining to the King of France, he demanded restitution of the ships and goods, and immediate satisfaction for the outrage. Edward not returning a speedy answer, Philip the Fair, who was of an extreme haughty temper, summoned him to appear in person before the court of Peers (4), to answer to the complaints brought against him. This summons was issued in 1294 (5), about the same time Edward cited the King of Scotland, for very trifling matters, as we have seen. The French historians say, Edward not appearing, but only sending his Brother Edmund in his stead, Philip, not satisfied therewith, dispatched the comtable de Nesle into Guienne, where he seized Bourdeaux, with all the rest of the province. Certainly, it must be surprizing, that such a conquest should cost France so little. Was it possible for that General to become master of Guienne, without forming a siege, or fighting a battle; as if it had been an open country, destitute of castles and troops for its defence? This makes me believe, either the French historians were ignorant of what passed on this occasion, or did not think proper to mention it. But what does not appear in their histories, is fully cleared in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, lately printed in England, and which I have so often quoted. And therefore I hope the reader will not be displeased to see the particulars (6).

Edward being summoned before the Peers, as was said, did not think proper to appear in person. He sent Prince Edmund his Brother to Paris, to answer for him; with orders to avoid, as much as possible, engaging him in a war with France. Accordingly, the Prince was fully impowered, to give the King of France all the satisfaction he could reasonably desire (7). Edmund found the French Monarch extremely incensed, and full of threats. After several instances to enter into treaty, his negotiation seeming to him entirely fruitless, he resolved to return home. Just as he was ready to depart, the two Queens, namely, Mary of Brabant, Widow of Philip the Hardy, and Joanna of Navarre, Wife of the present King, intreated him to renew the negotiation with them. The great desire they expressed of procuring a firm peace between the two Kings, and Edmund's instructions from the King his Brother, easily induced him to consent to the proposal. The two Queens represented to him, that Philip was extremely offended at the affronts received from Edward's subjects, and particularly from certain persons of Guienne, against whom he was incensed to the last degree: That therefore it was impossible to come to a good agreement, unless a reasonable satisfaction was

given him. They added, as the King's honour was concerned in the affair, there was no other way to appease him, but by Edward's making him a publick reparation, to shew the world, that he disclaimed what was done by his subjects. To that end, they proposed that Xaintes, Tournay, Turenne, Paymal, Pons, and Monfauquin, together with the persons complained of, should be delivered to Philip. But as this satisfaction seemed unreasonable, they intimated to Edmund, that it was only for form sake, and Philip would engage to restore the towns and persons, upon their own request. Moreover they promised, that as soon as the King's honour was safe by this reparation, he should revoke the summons, and give Edward a safe-conduct to come to him at Amiens, where he would receive his homage. Edmund consented to all these proposals, provided the two Queens would sign them in writing, and promise with an oath, that the particulars agreed upon should be punctually performed. This treaty, which was signed by the two Queens, and for the King of France's honour was to be kept secret, was sent to Edward, who seemed very well satisfied. He was chiefly concerned for Scotland, and in all likelihood his main view was to Babel on trifling occasions, were intended only to cause him to rebel, in order to have an opportunity to punish him. Besides, whilst this affair was negotiating at Paris, he made himself master of Scotland. So that, as a war with France, at such a juncture, could not but greatly embarrass him, he was very glad to give Philip a seeming reparation, which in the mean was no prejudice to him. Looking therefore, the French King was contented with the appearance of reparation, he resolved to give it him more fully than was even desired, in order to be more sure of a peace with France, so necessary for him. To that end, he gave Edward power to deliver to the King of France all Guienne, with its metropolis; and sent positive orders to the Seneschal to obey the Prince's command, without any exception. Edmund acquainting the King of France with the orders he had received, declared he was ready to execute them; but on condition that, in the presence of creditable witnesses, the King would promise with his own mouth, to perform the articles signed by the two Queens. Philip was very willing to give him that satisfaction, and going into a certain room, attended by the Duke of Burgundy, gave his royal word, before the same Duke, the two Queens, Blanch of Navarre, Wife of Edmund, and the English ambassadors, to perform that treaty. At the same time, he revoked with his own mouth Edward's summons, and ordered the revocation to be published in open Hall, by the Bishop of Orleans. Edmund thinking himself secure on that side, ordered the Seneschal of Guienne (8), to deliver the dukedom to the person that should be impowered by the King of France. Ralph de Nesle, constable of France, was commissioned to take possession of Guienne in Philip's name. The Seneschal would have proceeded with caution, and not deliver up the Province, but on the terms of the treaty, of which Edmund had informed him. But the constable refused to be tied to any condition, alledging he knew nothing of the treaties between the two Kings, and was ordered only to take possession of Guienne in his Master's name. Then he demanded the persons agreed upon, and sent them to Paris.

All the articles being more than performed on the part of England, Edmund demanded the restitution of Guienne, and the persons stipulated in the secret treaty. To which it was answered, that his demand should be examined in the King's council. At the same time Philip sent him word, not to be surprized, if he gave him a harsh answer before the council, on account of some Members who were not in the secret; but as soon as they should be gone, he would give him entire satisfaction. Edmund relying upon his word, appeared before the council, where Philip was present, and demanded the restitution of Guienne, to which that Monarch roughly replied, He would not restore it. This answer not surprizing the Prince, who expected it, he withdrew into the next room, waiting for the performance of the King's promise, and was left there some time, without any other answer. At length the Bishops of Orleans and Tournay came and told him, it was in vain to wait

(1) This Mr. Tyrell thinks only a Calumny, invented by Hector Boetius. See Hist. p. 97.

(2) Rapin by mistake calls him William: At the same time Hugh de Gressingham was made Treasurer, and William de Ormesby Justiciary of Scotland. Rymer's Fed. II. p. 726, &c. Walsing. p. 68.

(3) Chiefly the Cinque-Ports. See M. Wess. p. 419. As also Ships from Portsmouth, Ireland, &c. T. Wises, p. 125.

(4) At Paris. Rymer's Fed. Tom. II. p. 619. M. Wess. p. 420.

(5) About the end of November. Rymer's Fed. Tom. II. M. Wess. p. 419.

(6) The beginning of the Year 1295, two Cardinals came into England, to try to make Peace between the Kings of England and France; but nothing could be brought to a Conclusion. M. Wess. p. 424. See Rymer's Fed. T. II. p. 605.

(7) M. Wess. 1295, he had Orders privately to propose a Marriage, and to offer to deliver part of Gasconne, and some Castles, in the Hands of King John, for the Space of forty Days, if the treaty of Marriage took effect. p. 421.

(8) Sir John de Havering; as also Sir John de St. John, Deputy-Governor of Guienne. The Order bears date, February 3, at Paris, in 1293. Rymer's Fed. II. p. 619.

1296. any longer, for the King would not be solicited any more upon that Affair. Some days after, *Philip* came to the Parliament, without acquainting *Edmund*, and ordered the King of *England* to be publicly cited, to appear and answer to the Articles exhibited in the Summons. *Edmund* not being then in the Palace, *Hugh de Vere*, and *John de Lacy*, *Edward's* Ambassadors, entered, and said, they could not have imagined this Affair would be decided by way of Justice, but according to the Treaty, especially as the Summons was revoked. This Excuse not being admitted, they were dismissed; and though they desired only till the next day, to consult with the King's Brother, they could not obtain that Delay. So the Court decreed the Confiscation of *Guienne* to the King of *France* (1).

This is the substance of a Memorial in the Collection of the Publick Acts, where Prince *Edmund* himself gives an account of this Affair, and the manner it was transacted, from the beginning of his Negotiation. It may indeed be objected, that it comes from one of the Parties, and consequently his Testimony is not to be credited. But, besides the Simplicity and Plainness of the Memorial, the Conquest of *Guienne*, without Sieges and Battles, makes the Relation very probable. Moreover, we find in the Collection above-mentioned, several of *Edward's* Letters, complaining of being deceived by the King of *France*. There is one, among the rest, directed to the Prelates and Barons of *Guienne*, wherein he excuses himself from making a Treaty with *France*, without their advice; and tells them, he is deceived as much or more than themselves (2). This is further evident from the disclaiming of the Homage he had done to *Philip*, in the following Words:

Our Ambassadors shall say to the King of France these Words:

Sire, Our Lord the King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, did you Homage conditionally; namely, according to the Form of the Peace made between your Ancestors and his, which you have not kept. Moreover, that all Differences between your Subjects and his might be ended, a secret Treaty was made between you and my Lord *Edmund* his Brother, as you may remember, containing certain Articles which you have not performed, though he has done more than was promised on his part. After that, he required you twice by his said Brother, and a third time by the Peers of France, and other Great Men of your Kingdom, to restore him his Land of *Guienne*, and to deliver those of his Subjects whom you detain in Prison, which you have refused. And therefore it seems to him, that you no longer count him your Vassal; and accordingly he refuses to be so for the future (3).

How great soever *Edward's* Vexation might be, to see himself thus cheated by *Philip*, he chose rather to leave *Guienne* in the hands of that Prince, than relinquish the War with *Scotland*, which to him seemed of greater importance. Besides, he was sensible, before he engaged in a War with *France*, it would be necessary to prevent the Division, the Scots might make on the Frontiers of the North. For this reason he was contented with sending his Brother *Edmund* into *Guienne*, with few Troops (4), his sole Aim being to keep *Philip* employed in those Parts, for fear of his assisting the Scots. *Edward* not intending a vigorous prosecution of the War in *Guienne*, where he had only *Bayonne*, and some neighbouring Places, it may well be thought what passed in those Parts cannot be very considerable. And yet, the French boast of gaining two Battles, one under the Earl of *Valois*, and the other under the Earl of *Artois*. But these Actions could not be very important, considering the small Number of *Edmund's* Forces. The truth is, *France* was obliged to keep there a considerable Army, because she had to oppose, not only the English, but the Revolts of the Natives, who were extremely displeased with having a new Master. The Superiority of the Earl of *Valois's* Forces, obliged *Edmund* to shut himself up in *Bayonne*, where he died in 1296 (5). The Earl of *Lincoln* (6), who

took the Command of the English Troops, besieging *Dares*, 1296, was forced to make a hasty Retreat, upon the approach of the Earl of *Artois*, who was advancing to raise the Siege. Perhaps he received on this occasion some little loss, which the French call a Battle (7). However, I do not think it necessary to dwell any longer on the War of *Guienne*, since it produced no remarkable Event (8).

It was not in *Gascogne* that *Edward* intended to exert his utmost against *France*. He perceived it very difficult to recover a Province so remote from England, and where he had no other Place but *Bayonne*. His Design was to attack *Philip* in *Flanders*, where the situation of Affairs seemed to promise him better Success. The Earl of *Flanders's* Circumstances obliged him to seek for Protection against *France*; and he could find none so near or so ready as that of the King of England, who burned with desire to be revenged. The occasion of the Earl's Difference with *Philip* was this.

In the Year 1284, *Guy*, so the Earl was called, quarrelled with the Men of *Ghent*, on account of the Government of their City, which they pretended he had nothing to do with. In the Reign of *Philip the Hardy*, this Affair was brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, who passed Sentence in favour of the Earl, and fined the Magistrates. *Guy* took this occasion to be as troublesome as possible to the Inhabitants of that large City, which they highly resented. When *Philip the Fair* ascended the Throne, things had another face. *Philip* perceiving, the Quarrel between the Earl of *Flanders* and the People of *Ghent* offered him a favorable opportunity to make an advantage of their Discord, was unwilling to neglect it. Wherefore, he privately sent word to the Magistrates of *Ghent*, that if they would renew their Process against the Earl, he was ready to do them Justice. This was sufficient to engage the City of *Ghent* to renew the Quarrel. The Affair being once more brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, the Authority of the thirty nine Magistrates or Governors, abolished by the former Decree, was re-established in *Ghent*. The Earl was extremely offended, that *Philip* should make it his business to plague him, by restoring to the City a Power, which to him was so odious. He durst not however shew his Resentment; but resolved to take measures to strengthen himself against him, regarding him as an Enemy, whose Designs he ought to try to prevent. Some time after, he set *Robert de Bethun* his Son to work, who, by secret Insinuations, persuaded the Cities of *Flanders* to fortify certain Places, contrary to the Tenor of the Treaties with *France*; assuring them, they would meet with no opposition from the Earl his Father. *Guy's* Aim was to set the Cities at variance with *France*, lest *Philip* should excite them against him. *Philip* was informed of the share the Earl had in this Affair; but, as he was then otherwise employed, did not think proper to discover his Resentment, either against the Cities which had violated the Treaties, or against their Adviser. Mean while his very Silence made the Earl sensible, he was to expect an attack some other time. Things continued thus for some Years. *Philip* dissimbled his Anger, and *Guy* continually thought of means to prevent its Effects.

During these Transactions, the Rupture between *France* and *England*, happened to break out. Though *Edward* used all possible means to avoid a War, by the Negotiation at *Paris*, he believed that whatever fell out, he ought to secure the Assistance of the Earl of *Flanders*, whose Discontent was no secret to him. To that end, he demanded his eldest Daughter in marriage for Prince *Edward* his Son, judging it an infallible means to bind him strongly to his Interests. This Negotiation, though secret, came to *Philip's* knowledge, and gave him great Uneasiness. But he concealed it, lest by shewing it he should deprive himself of the means to prevent an Alliance so prejudicial to *France*. To compass his ends, he pretended Ignorance, and upon some Pretence drawing *Guy* and his Countess to *Paris*, kept them Prisoners. It was a sort of Favour that he gave them their Liberty, on condition they delivered their Daughter in Hostage, and promised to break their Alliance with *Edward*, on pain of Excommunication.

(1) But *John de St. John*, King *Edward's* Governor in those parts, bravely defended *Guienne* for some time against all the Attacks of the French.

M. West. p. 421.

(2) This Letter bears date July 1. 1294. at *Paris*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 645.

(3) I said above, that the French Historians explain not the manner how *Philip the Fair* made himself master of *Guienne*, because I had not then seen *Father Daniel's* History, which relates some part of what is contained in Prince *Edmund's* Memorial, though in a very abridged Manner, with remarkable Differences, and without exactly observing the Order of Time, in quoting *Walsing.* in *Edward's* Rapin.

(4) He sailed with three hundred and twenty five Ships, from *Plymouth*, Jan. 25. and *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, along with him. *M. West.* p. 426. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 638, 699. *Walsing.* p. 65. A good Body of Troops was sent thither in the Year 1297, which were put into the fenced Cities. See *M. West.* p. 423.

(5) He very probably died in June, and lies buried in *Westminster-Abbey*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* T. II. p. 719. *Walsing.* p. 65. A. does also *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, who died this Year, June 13. *M. West.* p. 423.

(6) *Henry de Lacy*.

(7) In one *Skirmish John de St. John*, Governour of *Guienne*, was taken Prisoner. *M. West.* p. 429. *Walsing.* p. 69.

(8) *Father Daniel* will have it, that this was a very sharp War, and that the English were very strong in *Guienne*. The English Historians speak of it in a very different Manner, and with greater Probability, for the Reasons above-mentioned. *Rapin.*

1296 Guy was no sooner in his Dominions but he tried all sorts of ways to recover his Daughter from Philip. But it was not possible to succeed. Philip was too apprehensive of the Earl's Union with England, voluntarily to let go the Pledge he had in his power.

1297 Edward forms a League against France.
M. West.
A. Pub. T. II. p. 659. &c. 761. &c.
Mezemi. Chr. Belg.
Edward checks the Pride of the Clergy. Walsing. M. West. T. Wikes.
A. Pub. II. p. 707.
M. West. p. 428. Walsing.
M. West. Walsing.

Whilst these things passed, the Affairs of Scotland, which wholly employed Edward, afforded him neither Leisure nor Opportunity to think of his projected War against Philip. But as soon as matters were as he wished them, he turned all his thoughts to Revenge. Philip's fraudulent Proceeding, being an Injury not to be easily forgotten, he had put a great Restraint on himself, in delaying thus long to make him repent of it. However as he was going to deal with a potent Adversary, it was necessary to have a powerful Army, which England alone was not able to supply. Wherefore he sought means to form beyond Sea a strong League against France, and though it seemed a difficult matter, failed not to accomplish it. Besides the Earl of Flanders whom he gained without trouble, Adolphus of Nassau, newly elected Emperor, Albert Duke of Austria, the Archbishop of Cologne, and several other Princes of Germany, the Duke of Brabant, the Earls of Holland, Juliers, and Luxemburg were engaged in the League, by the great Sums Edward was to furnish them with (1). All these Princes, proud of their Number and Strength, sent Cartels of Defiance to Philip, of whom he was offended with none so much as the Earl of Flanders; who being his Vassal, boldly told him, he would no longer acknowledge him for a Sovereign.

Whilst Philip was preparing to repulse this Attack, Edward was using all possible endeavours, to procure the Money he wanted extremely, on account of his Engagements with the confederate Princes. To that end he assembled the Parliament at St. Edmundsbury (2), and obtained an Aid of the eighth Part of the Moveables (3) of the Cities and Burroughs, and a twelfth of the rest of the Laity. This Example could not influence the Clergy. They pretended they were exempted from giving Aids to the King, by virtue of a Bull sent the last Year by Boniface VIII. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he had kept without making publick. By this Bull all Ecclesiasticks were expressly forbid to pay any Tax to secular Princes, without the Consent of the Holy See. The Clergy's Refusal extremely provoked the King. Nevertheless before he proceeded to violent Methods (4), he caused it to be represented to the principal Members, That since they possessed Fees in the Kingdom, and enjoyed the Protection of the Laws, as well as the rest of his Subjects, it was but reasonable they should contribute to the publick Expenses. But these Remonstrances were ineffectual. When he found he could not prevail, he commanded all the Lay-Fees possessed by the Clergy to be seized, and their whole Body to be thrown out of the Protection of the Laws; expressly forbidding his Judges to do them Justice, in any case whatever. So bold a Step astonished the Clergy, who, since the beginning of the Monarchy, had never experienced the like Resolution, in any King of England. If Edward had been like his Father or Grandfather, perhaps that powerful Body would have found, in the People's Discontent, means to make the King repent of his Boldness. But as they perceived it would be difficult to stir up the People, they did not think proper to exert their Endeavours, which probably would be to no purpose. So that some speedily compounding with the King for the fifth Part of their Goods, their Example drew in the rest. The Archbishop of Canterbury was treated more severely, as he was not only the first Adviser of the Clergy's Refusal, but persisted in it more obstinately than the others (5). The King ordered all his Estates to be seized, with the Revenues of the Monasteries of his Diocese, and committed the management of them to Officers, who left the Monks no more than was absolutely necessary for their Subsistence. In all appearance, this was to punish them, for too warmly adhering to their Archbishop. The King's Resolution at length made that Prelate stoop, who to recover his Sovereign's Favour, gave him a fourth Part (6) of his Goods. Thus the Clergy when they meet with vigorous Princes, are as submissive, as they are haugh-

ty, when they have to deal with those that are scrupulous and weak.

Shortly after, on much the same occasion, the Lay-Lords shewed more Steadiness than the Prelates, though against the same Prince. To execute his grand Projects, he assembled the Nobility at Salisbury (7), on purpose to see exactly what Troops each Baron could furnish him with (8). His Intention was to make a powerful Diversion in Guienne, whilst he pressed the Enemy on the side of Flanders. But it was difficult to find Lords that would serve, but where he commanded in Person. Every one desired to be excused serving in Guienne, though they were willing to furnish the Troops. Edward, not satisfied with their Excuses, threatened to give their Lands to such as would be more obedient. These Menaces raised great Commotions among the Nobles. They were far from thinking their Lands at the King's disposal. Humphrey Bohun High-Constable, and Hugh Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England, more bold than the rest, plainly told the King, they were ready to follow him where he commanded in Person, and not otherwise. The Marshall added, he was willing to lead the Van-Guard under the King, as his Office obliged him, but would not serve under any other, to which none had a Right to compel him. The King answered in a great Passion, he would make him go. To which the other replied, he should not. By the eternal God, said the King then, in great Rage, You shall march or be hanged. By the eternal God, replied the Earl, I will neither march nor be hanged; and immediately withdrew without returning to Court any more.

Edward had seen, in the King his Father's Reign, frequent and fatal Instances of the Insolence of the Barons. He knew too well their great Union in the defence of their Privileges, to hazard his Reputation and Quiet in a War against them. A Quarrel of that nature must have been very prejudicial to him, as well as to the whole Kingdom. The least Inconvenience that could happen, was, losing the opportunity of being revenged of the King of France. As the Barons stood disposed, it was scarce to be doubted, but they would have all joined against him, if he had undertaken openly to chastise the Insolence of those that dared to withstand him to his Face. He had still farther Reason to be confirmed in this belief, when he heard that, dreading his Resentment, they began to raise Troops in their Defence, in case he designed to attack them (9). Without much penetration it was easy to see, they were supported. These Considerations induced the King to hide his Resentment till he could shew it effectually. Besides, he was unwilling to lose the opportunity of going into Flanders, where the Wants of the Earl his Ally incessantly called him. However, it was not long before he found a favorable Juncture to correct the Boldness of the two Earls, by turning them out of their Posts, because they refused to do something belonging to their Offices, for fear of falling into his hands. He was very near repenting what he had done. Just as he was going to embark, he received from the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the Realm, a long Remonstrance, containing a List of the Grievances of the Nation, and several Violations of the Great Charter. This Proceeding made him sensible, he was to act with deliberation, for fear of provoking a Nation, which seemed ready to take Fire upon the first occasion. He returned therefore a very gracious Answer to the Remonstrance, and promised upon his Honour, to redress, at his return, all the Abuses complained of. He desired the Nobles to be quiet during his Absence, assuring them, he would give them entire Satisfaction. As it was no less necessary to appease the People, exasperated by the secret Practices of the two Earls, he published a Proclamation to justify his Conduct, and shew his Reasons for turning out these two great Officers. Amongst other things, he said in this Proclamation he was informed his People were made to believe, that he refused to receive Remonstrances, tending to the Good of the Publick, which he affirmed to be false. He expressed likewise great Sorrow for having put his Subjects to vast Expenses for the maintenance of

(1) M. Walsing. says, Edward promised to give the Emperor a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, p. 421. In Rymer's *Fœd.* it is three hundred thousand Pounds, &c. black Letters, Tom. II. p. 741. And gave the Earl of Flanders fifteen thousand Pounds, to fortify his Castles. *Id.* p. 429. King Edward immediately assembled his Council, & sent money to his Side, and sent him two and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, to pay the Forces that were to be raised in his Dominions, and the Part of the Count. *Id.* p. 621.

(2) On November 11. *M. Walsing.* p. 428. November 3. says *Walsingham* p. 68, which is according to the Writs of Summons.

(3) *M. Walsing.* says, it was the eighth Penny, from all Merchants and Citizens, of Cities and Towns, p. 422.

(4) He gave them time to consider of this matter till the next Parliament, which was held at London, Jan. 15. *Walsingham*, p. 68.

(5) He caused the Bull above-mentioned to be read in all Cathedrals. *Id.* p. 428.

(6) The fifth Part, by *M. Walsing.* p. 429. and *Walsing.* p. 69.

(7) On February 25. *Mat. West.* p. 429. *Walsing.* p. 69. *Ret. Parl.* 25. *Edw. I. M. Dors.*

(8) He ordered those that held by Knight's Service, and all that were worth above twenty Pounds a Year in Land, to be ready at London, by August 1. with a full and Arm, to go over with him into Guienne. And also raised the Custom upon Wool, from twenty to forty Shillings per Bag. *Id.* p. 430.

(9) They drew several of the Great Men to their Side, and assembled about fifteen hundred Men together, intending to stand upon their own Defence, and to pay all manner of Taxes or Contributions. *Knights.* Col. 2493.

1277. his Wars. He desired his People to excuse what Necessity had constrained him to do, and promised to observe the Great Charter punctually for the future, which he shortly after performed (1). The Prince his Son, whom he left Regent (2), assembling the Parliament (3), and obtaining a large Subsidy (4), confirmed King John's two Charters, by an authentick Act, signed in *Flanders* by the King himself, and sealed with the Great Seal which he had carried with him (5). We may observe in the History of *England* several of the like Instances. I mean, that the Kings, who have dealt gently with their Subjects, and answered with moderation to their Complaints, have seldom failed to appease them, provided they have not, like *Henry III.*, affected continually to deceive them and break their Word. On the contrary, such as have acted too haughtily, have generally brought themselves into great Trouble; of which we have seen very remarkable Examples in some of the foregoing Reigns.

Whilst *Edward* was employed at home in making Preparations to support the League formed against *France*, *Philip* was no less careful to provide against the impending Assault. He strengthened himself by Alliances, with the Kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and raised a powerful Army, whilst *Joan* Queen of *Navarre* his Wife, assembled her own Forces to assist him. *Champagne*, which belonged to that Princess, was first attacked, by the Earl of *Bar* one of *Edward's* Allies, who ravaged that Province from one end to the other. But the Sequel of this Undertaking was as fatal to the Earl, as the beginning was prosperous. Upon the Queen's Approach, who was advancing to defend her Country, the Earl, seized with Fear, and unable to fight, or retreat, was forced to surrender to that Princess, who sent him Prisoner to *Paris*.

Mean while, the confederate Princes made no haste to send their Troops into *Flanders*. *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, detained by Troubles which *Philip* had raised him in *Germany*, or as some affirm, by Presents, could not, or would not perform what he had promised. The Duke of *Austria* was bribed by the same means, and the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Luxembourg*, the Earls of *Guelanders* and *Beaumont*, followed their Example. *Philip* improving this Advantage, entered *Flanders* at the head of three score thousand Men, and immediately sat down before *Lille*. *Guy*, who impatiently waited for the *English* Supplies, was not able to withstand the King of *France*, not having half the Forces he was made to expect. All he could do was to try to break *Philip's* measures by a Diversion, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Juliers*. When the King of *France* heard, this General had taken the Field, he detached the Earl of *Artois*, who meeting him near *Furnes*, gave him Battle, and put his Army to rout. The Duke of *Juliers* was slain in the Fight, and the Earl of *Artois* lost his eldest Son. This Defeat caused *Guy* not to stir from *Ghent* and *Bruges*, where he expected *Edward*. Besides he was in great Perplexity by reason of the Divisions in his Country. There were two Parties in *Flanders*; one, called *Porte-lis*, was in the Interests of *France*, and the other for the Earl.

Edward arrived at last (6), after having been long expected, but with Forces little proportioned to the great Undertaking (7); because he depended upon the Allies, who were not so good as their Word. At his entry into *Bruges*, he found the whole City in Confusion, by reason of the Animosity of the two forementioned Factions. It was with difficulty, that he at length appeased the Commotions of the City, by granting the Inhabitants certain Privileges, concerning their Commerce with *England*. After that he came to *Ghent*, where he found the same Divisions. So that, as on his part, he brought not with him all the Forces he had promised, he him-

self saw with vexation how little able the Earl of *Flanders* was, to supply the Troops he had been made to expect. The *Flemings* were divided concerning the War, some approved it, whilst others maintained it to be destructive to their Country, and undertaken by their Prince for his own, or the King of *England's*, Interests. Whilst *Edward* was employed in composing these Differences, so prejudicial to his Affairs, *Philip*, after a three Months Siege, made himself master of *Lille*. When he was in possession of this Place, he easily reduced *Douay*, *Courtray*, and some other Towns in the neighbourhood. Then he marched to *Bruges*, which surrendered without resistance. He had formed the Project of burning the *English* Fleet, which lay at Anchor at *Dam*. But the Earl of *Flanders*, who had taken this Expedition upon him, not being secret enough in his Preparations, found the *English* Ships sailed.

All *Edward's* measures were broken, by the Treachery of his chief Allies, who forsook him after taking his Money. The Supplies he could expect from the Earl of *Flanders*, were uncertain and inconsiderable, by reason of the *Porte-lis* Faction, which opposed all Resolves any way detrimental to *France*. His own Troops were too few to enable him to withstand his Enemy's Forces. Besides, fresh Commotions in *Scotland*, rendered his Presence necessary in his Kingdom, where too he was not without Fear, that his Absence might occasion some Troubles. All these Considerations together, induced him to seek some Expedient to get off, without being obliged to abandon the Earl of *Flanders*, whom he had engaged in his Quarrel. He found no better than to desire a Truce, which was granted him solely upon the account of the King of *Sicily*, and the Earl of *Savoy*; who used their Interest for him. By this Truce, (which was to last but till the *Epiphany* for *Guienne*, and till *St. Andrew's Day* (8), only for *Flanders*;) *Philip* continued in possession of the Places he had taken. Probably, this Condition served to prolong the Truce for two Years; *Philip* being very well pleased peaceably to enjoy his Conquests. How hasty forever *Edward* might be to settle matters in *Scotland*, he spent the rest of the Winter at *Ghent*, to try to unite the Inhabitants of that powerful City. He hoped by that means to have a considerable Assistance from thence, when the Truce was expired. During his stay, he was in danger of his Life, by a Sedition of the Citizens, who were resolved to murder all the *English*. It is said he owed his Life to the Generosity of a *Flemish* Knight, of the *Porte-lis* Faction, who by his Pains and Intreaties stopped the Fury of the mutinous People. His danger giving him reason to dread some fresh Insult, he relinquished his Undertaking and returned to his Dominions.

Such was the Success of *Edward's* Expedition into *Flanders*. The powerful League, which seemed ready to swallow up *France*, served only to drain the Treasure of the Projector; and convince him, how difficult it would be to recover by Force the Country lost by his Imprudence. To be disappointed in his Projects, was not much: That is a misfortune to which the greatest Men are sometimes liable. But here was more: He could not extricate himself out of the Difficulties he had run into, without greatly injuring his Honour. Notwithstanding his promise to protect the Earl of *Flanders* to the end, he deserted him however, as will be seen hereafter. Let us return now to *Scotland*, which is to be the chief Subject of the rest of this Reign.

Though *Edward* had conquered *Scotland*, he had not subdued the Hearts of the *Scots*, who bore with impatience the Yoke imposed on them by Force. When they saw *Edward* employed in *Flanders*, they took that opportunity to rise under the Conduct of *William Wallace*, a

Act. Pub.
II. p. 791.
Walsing.
Knighton.
M. West.

Philip prepares for his Defence.

He corrupts Edward's Allies.

Walsing.

and besieges Lille.

The Duke of Juliers defeated by the French.

Edward arrives in Flanders.
T. Wikes.
Walsing.
Knighton.
Factions there prejudicial to his Interests.

1297.

He taken by Philip.
who makes the Campaign.

A Truce between the King and Philip.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 791.
See.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 800.
See. Sec. 864, See.

Edward stays in Ghent, and is like to be killed.
M. West.

Against Scotland.

(1) Before King *Edward* departed for *Flanders*, he held a Parliament at *London*, August 1, wherein he restored the Arch-bishop to his See; and ordered the Great Men there present, to swear Fealty to his Son *Edward*, and acknowledge him for his Heir. *Walsingham*, p. 70. *Knighton*, Col. 2510.

(2) The following Persons were appointed his Governors or Counsellors, *Richard* Bishop of *London*, *William* Beauchamp, Earl of *Gloucester*; and *Reginald* de *Gray*, *John* Giffard, and *Alan* Pleschet, Knights. *Walsingham*, p. 73. *John* de *Langton* was appointed Chancellor. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 791.

(3) On October 7. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 793, 794. 10 Claus. 25 *Edward* I. M. 6. Dors.

(4) In consideration of his confirming the two Charters, the Lady granted him the eighth Part of their Goods, they had given before at *St. Edmundsbury*; (for it had not been yet levied; the Earls of *Hertford* and *Northfolk*, having given express Order to the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Sheriffs, not to attempt to collect it; alledging, that it had been granted without their Knowledge, *fine quorum assensu tamquam non debet exigi, vel imponi.* *M. West.* p. 431.) The Clergy also granted the King a Tenth. *Ibid.*

(5) It was sealed at *Caen*, November 5, *Ibid.* This Act, or Statute, is extant in *Coke's second Institute*, p. 520. and contains some Additions to, or Explanations of some Articles in *Magna Charta*. It is as follows, 1. No Tallage, or Aid, shall be imposed, or levied, by us or our Heirs, in our Kingdom, without the Will and Consent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other Freeholders in our Kingdom. 2. No Officer belonging to us, or our Heirs, shall take the Can. Provisions, or any other Good, whatsoever, without the Owner's Consent. 3. Nothing shall be taken in the future, for any Sack of Wool, under the Name and pretence of Customs. 4. We Will and Grant, for us and our Heirs, that all the Clergy and Lay in our Kingdom, enjoy all their Laws, Liberties, and free Customs, as fully and freely, as they have been used to enjoy them at any time. And if any Statute have been made, or Customs introduced, by us or our Ancestors, contrary to them, we Will and Grant, that they be for ever void and null. The rest relate only to the Earls of *Effex* and *Stafford*, &c. See *Coke's second Institute*, p. 532, &c. *Knighton*, Col. 2525. *Walsingham*, p. 73.

(6) He sailed from *Woolwich*, August 22, and landed the 27th near *Noyon*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 791. *Walsingham*, p. 72. *Knighton* says, he carried over one thousand five hundred Men at Arms, and fifty thousand Foot; thirty thousand whereof were *Welshmen*. Col. 2512.

(8) Till eight Days after. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 795—798.

1297.
William
Wallace
stirs up the
Scots to a
Revolt.
Buchanan.
Walsing-
ham.

He drives
the English
out of Scot-
land.

Walsing-
ham.

He is de-
clared Re-
gent.
Buchanan.

Philip and
Edward
choose the
Pope for
Umpire.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 308,
&c.
Walsing-
ham.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 317.

Edward
confirms the
Great Char-
ter.
Walsing-
ham.
Knights.
M. West.

1298.
He marches
into Scot-
land.
Walsing-
ham.
Knights.

and de-
fends
the Scots at
Falkirk.
Buchanan.
Walsing-
ham.
M. West.

Man of no illustrious Family, and of a still meaner Fortune, but of a very great Genius(1). This generous Scot, though of little Authority among his Countrymen, took upon him to raise his Country out of the Gulph of Misery wherein it was plunged; whilst the Persons of the highest Rank, divided by Factions, or adhering to the Conqueror, were striving who should most perpetuate its Slavery. The Scotch Writers give this famous Man a Character, which equals him to the greatest Heroes, and are at a loss for Words lofty enough to express his Merit. Wallace then, though scarce known in Scotland, resolving to retrieve the Liberty of his Country, assembled a small number of Troops for that purpose. How inconsiderable soever this Body was, of which he had the Command, he made so wonderful a Progress, that one does not know which to admire most, either the Boldness, or the first Success, of his Enterprize. All that longed for Liberty, finding there was a Man hardy enough to head them, lifted in Crowds under his Banner, and quickly formed a considerable Army. With this Aid, Wallace attacked the Places possessed by the English, and whose Garrisons were weak, because Edward had wanted his Troops in Flanders. By his Severity to those that fell into his hands, he struck such Terror into the rest, that scarce any Place held out to Extremity, for fear of being liable to the same Treatment. By this means he recovered in a very short Space, all the Towns taken by the English, and left them only the single Town of Berwick (2). These prosperous Successes bred in his Army so great Admiration for his Bravery, that, without standing upon the usual Formalities, he was declared Regent of the Kingdom. Edward, who was then in Flanders, hearing of Wallace's Progress (3), hastened the Conclusion of the Treaty abovementioned, and returned into England (4), bent upon severely punishing the Revolt of the Scots.

Before he undertook this Expedition, it was absolutely necessary to settle two Affairs of equal Importance. The first was, to find some way to make Peace with France, lest Philip should assist the Scots. The second, to give some Satisfaction to the People, as he had promised to do after his Return. He found no better method to accomplish his first Aim, than by getting Philip to agree to refer their Difference to Boniface VIII, who was not yet at variance with that Prince as he was afterwards. Philip closing with this Proposal, the two Monarchs left their Contexts to the Pope's Arbitration, not as Head of the Church, but as a private Person under the Name of Benedict Cajetan.

This Affair being like to succeed, the second was to be thought of. In order to gain the Affection of his Subjects, Edward called a Parliament (5), and, of his own accord, confirmed the Great Charter (6). It is true, he insisted very much upon having this Clause inserted in this Confirmation, *Saving the Prerogatives of the Crown*. But finding the Parliament opposed it with great warmth, he chose to desist, which had a very good Effect upon the People.

Edward being thus freed from the Uneasiness these two Affairs gave him, put himself at the head of a powerful Army, and advancing into the middle of Scotland, met his Enemies at Falkirk. The two Armies were encamped so near together, that the English hearing a great Shout in the Enemies Camp, ran to their Arms in the utmost hurry, believing they were going to be attacked. The King also would mount his Horse; but as he was putting his Foot in the Stirrup, the Horse, frightened by the Noise that was made, threw him on the ground, and with a Kick broke two of his Ribs. This sad Accident hindered him not from being in the Battle which quickly ensued, and commanding with the same presence of Mind as if he had been unhurt. The Battle proved bloody, and withal very fatal to the Scots; who, accord-

ing to some Writers, lost threescore thousand Men: But this is not very likely. Others who reduce the Number to ten thousand, are perhaps as wide of the truth (7). Be this as it will, the Loss of the Scots was so great, that for a long while they were not able to hold up their Head. Wallace with the Remains of his Army, retired behind the northern Fens, where it was not possible to follow him. Mean time, Edward improving his Victory, retook all the Places of Strength, with the same ease he had lost them. So he may be said on this occasion to conquer Scotland a second time. After necessary Orders for the Preservation of the Kingdom, he marched back into England, where he was called by important Affairs.

Wallace was not then in a condition to take advantage of Edward's Absence. He had not only lost his Army, but moreover plainly perceived the Jealousy of the Scotch Lords was one of the principal Causes of his Defeat. His Virtues, instead of filling them with Emulation, made them apprehensive of his aspiring to the Crown. In this belief, they chose rather, that their Country should groan under perpetual Bondage, than see themselves reduced to do Homage to one of so inferior a Birth. These Suspicions must needs have been spread among the Nobility, since Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, Son of the Candidate to the Crown, upbraided Wallace upon that account. This Earl, who served in Edward's Army, being on the day of the Battle of Falkirk, in pursuit of Wallace who was retreating, and stopped by a little River, which the Scots had just passed, sent to desire him to come and speak with him on the opposite Bank. Wallace consenting to it, Robert represented to him, "That he was ruining himself by his Ambition. That there was no likelihood of his resisting the Forces of the King of England; and though he might flatter himself with such Hopes, the great Men of the Kingdom would never be brought to own him for King." Wallace replied, "That in taking up Arms, he was not in the least swayed by Ambition: That he acknowledged himself too unworthy of the Throne, to dare to look so high; but that his only Aim was to free his Country, which the great Men of the Realm suffered to perish by their Cowardice." It is said this Reply made such an Impression on Bruce's mind, that he burst out into Tears. It is further added, that he resolved from that very moment, to use his utmost endeavours to free Scotland from the Slavery she groaned under.

Mean time, Wallace, knowing how much the great Men's Jealousy of him was prejudicial to the Interests of the Kingdom, resigned the Regency, and acted only as a private Person. He ceased not however, to the utmost of his power, and upon all occasions, to endeavour to set his Country free. Some time after Edward left Scotland, they who had any remains of Affection for their Country, chose Comyn for Regent. But this Regency was of little consequence, since it gave him Authority only over a small Part of the Kingdom, and a few confused Troops, escaped from the late Battle.

Upon Edward's return into England (8), he used his utmost endeavours to promote the Negotiation, now in the hands of the Pope, for the Restitution of Guienne (9). Since he despaired of regaining that Province by Arms, the Alliance of the Earl of Flanders was a Burden to him; the Protection he had promised him, being a perpetual Obstacle to the Conclusion of the Peace. He resolved therefore to abandon his Ally, and from thenceforward all Difficulties began to vanish. The unfortunate Earl, forsaken by the King of England, and on the other side, pressed by the Earl of Valois, who commanded the French Army in Flanders, knew not which way to turn himself. In this wretched situation, he was persuaded at length to deliver himself up to that Prince, who promised to con-

(1) T. Walsingham says, That William de Ormesby, King Edward's Justiciary in Scotland, having banished several Persons out of that Kingdom, because they refused to swear Fealty, and do Homage to his Master; they entered into a Confederacy, and chose Wallace for their Leader, in May, this Year, p. 300.

(2) And soon after the Scots became also Masters of it; namely, after the Battle of Stirling, wherein the English were defeated, and Hugh de Cressingham the Treasurer slain; whom the Scots hated so, that they flayed him, and cut his skin in pieces. Walsingham, p. 73.

(3) He ordered John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey and Sussex, to assemble the Militia beyond the Trent, and go and chastise the Scots: Accordingly, the Earl sent his Nephew, Henry de Percy into Scotland, but it does not appear he performed any remarkable Exploit. Ibid. p. 70.

(4) And indeed, March 14, at Sandwich. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 313.

(5) At York. Walsingham, M. Hist. p. 431. And because the Confirmation of the two Charters had been done beyond Sea, the Earls of Hereford and Northumberland desired, that the said Confirmation should be now renewed: The Earls of Surrey, Warwick, and Ralph de Montbarnet, promised, in the King's Name, that it should be done, at his return from Scotland; which was accordingly performed, in a Parliament holden at London, in Lent, 1300. Walsingham, p. 46.

(6) He appointed six Commissioners in each County, to enquire into the Grievances. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 313. The Laitie granted him a Tenth, and the Clergy a Tenth. M. Hist. p. 431.

(7) This Battle was fought July 22. Buchanan.

(8) After the Battle of Falkirk, King Edward intended to march further into Scotland, but was forced to alter his Resolution, because the Country being greatly wasted, and his Fleet returning with Provision, as was expected, a great Scarcity was thereby occasioned in his Camp. He retired therefore through the Fens of Scotland towards England, taking by the way the Castles of Ayr and Leuchmaben in Anandale: And from thence came to Carlisle, and afterwards to Durham, where he held a great Council in the beginning of September, and consulted on several great Men of England and Scotland, the Estates of such Scottish Noblemen as had of late revolted from him. From thence he removed to Tynemouth, and then to Gillingham near Beverley, where he kept his Christmas. Walsingham, p. 75.

(9) Not long after Christmas, King Edward held a Parliament at London, on the first Sunday in Lent; wherein he was petitioned by the Parliament to confirm the Great Charter, and Charter of Forests; accordingly he confirmed the former, but refused to confirm the latter: Whereupon the Parliament broke up in discontent. M. Hist. p. 431.

1298.

duct him to *Paris*, that he might treat in Person with the King, and in case he could not within a twelve Month obtain a Peace, to permit him to be at liberty to return into his Dominions. But *Philip* not thinking himself bound by his Brother's Word, kept the Earl Prisoner (1).

1299.
The Pope's
Sentence.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 833.
T. Wikes.
Walsing.
M. Wall.

The two Years Truce between *France* and *England* being about to expire, the Ambassadors of the two Kings met at *Montreuil upon the Sea*, where the Pope sent them his Sentence of Arbitration, the Substance whereof was as follows: That *Edward* should again take possession of *Guienne*, and, to restore Union between the two Kings, should marry *Margaret* Sister of *Philip* (2); and that *Isabella* Daughter (3) of the same *Philip*, should be given to the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward*. It was said also in the Sentence, that *John Baliol*, formerly King of *Scotland*, should be delivered into the hands of the Pope's Nuntio, to be kept where he should think proper. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns signed this Sentence: But as there were several things to be adjusted in order to put it in execution, they agreed upon a Truce, which afterwards was frequently prolonged before the Treaty of Peace was signed. Mean while, *Baliol* was delivered to the Bishop of *Vincentia*, the Pope's Nuntio, who committed him to the Custody of some *French* Bishops.

Truce granted
to Scotland.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 868.
Buchanan.

When the new Regent of *Scotland* heard, that a Treaty was negotiating at *Montreuil* between *France* and *England*, he sent Deputies to *Philip* to intreat him to cause *Scotland* to be included. The Juncture appeared favorable. *Edward* earnestly wished to recover *Guienne* by a Treaty, not thinking himself in condition to regain it any other way. Probably, therefore, he would, upon that consideration, grant *Scotland* tolerable Terms, if the King of *France* would seriously endeavour to obtain them. And indeed, *Philip* tried at first to persuade *Edward* to leave *Scotland* in quiet. But the moment he proposed it, he found it impossible to procure any thing, but some little Advantages, which too they would be obliged to purchase, by a formal Acknowledgment of the Power that held them in Slavery. *Edward* was in possession of *Scotland*, where he scarce met with any farther Opposition. So that, to propose his granting a Peace to that Kingdom, was in effect to desire him to relinquish his Conquest. On the other hand, he could not grant a separate Peace to the Regent and his Adherents, without leaving in *Scotland* a Power independent of his own. All therefore that *Philip* could obtain was a seven Months Truce, for such as could not think of bearing his Yoke. If we believe the *Scotch* Historians, this Truce was ill-kept by *England*. But it may be, this is only to justify *Comyn's* Resolution to break it. However that be, the Regent assembled the Lords whom he knew to be well-affected to their Country, and represented to them the sad Condition it was reduced to. He told them, if they gave *Edward* time to secure his Conquest, he would take such measures, as would render ineffectual all future Endeavours for the Recovery of their Liberty. That as soon as the few Remains of the *Scots* which still resisted, were subdued, he would entirely reduce the miserable Kingdom to a perfect Slavery. That this Design would now have been executed, had it not been retarded by the Truces procured them by *France*. That there was therefore no time to lose, and it was necessary speedily to resolve to make a generous Effort for the Recovery of their Liberty, or to leave their Country in perpetual Slavery. Then he shewed them with what Ease they might free themselves from the Yoke, whilst *Edward* depended on their Weakness, and the Winter Season offered them Advantages, which they could never more expect when once it was passed. These Remonstrances produced the Effect he promised himself. The Lords, fond of Liberty and impatient of their Servitude, resolved with one accord to rise in Arms, and every one laboured to inspire the People with the same Resolution. It was not difficult to succeed, for the meaner sort were still more exasperated against the *English* than the Nobles, because they were worse treated. In a short time, the whole Kingdom rose, and it was not possible for the *English* Garrisons to put a Stop to so general a Revolt. All the Inhabitants of the Towns as well

Comyn ex-
cludes the Scots
to break it.

All Scotland
rises and
drives the
English out of
the Kingdom.
Buchanan.

as of the Country taking Arms the same Day and Hour, the Garrisons found themselves attacked all at once, both within and without, with such Rage and Fury, that there was no possibility of resisting. In a word, they were reduced to the necessity of desiring leave to depart the Kingdom, otherwise they could not avoid being cut in Pieces.

Edward, intruded that there was no end of these things, raised an Army with all possible speed, and as soon as the Season would permit, entered a third time, to recover in hand, that unfortunate Kingdom. The *Scotch* Army, which consisted only of ill-armed and undisciplined Militia, not being able to stand against *Edward*, would have yielded upon his Approach. But he followed them so closely, that being at length overtaken and obliged to battle, they were entirely routed. Historians affirm, that the fate of *Scotland* would have been determined that day, if the *English* could have pursued their Enemies through the *Forest*, which were known to the Natives, but which the Conquerors durst not venture to pass (5).

The *Scots* upon this Defeat, despairing of making any farther Resistance, had recourse to Intreaties and Submissions. They humbly desired the King to give them leave to redeem their Lands with Money, and to restore their King on what Conditions he pleased. But he refused both these Requests. This Cruelty caused them to seek means to ease their Misery, by putting themselves under the Pope's Protection, to whom they sent Ambassadors with an Offer of the Sovereignty of their Country. *Boniface* VIII, whose Ambition is well known, immediately accepted the Offer. He had been used to proceed very haughtily with Christian Princes, imagining they were implicitly to submit to his Will, and that his Authority reached to Temporals as well as Spirituals. In this belief, his bare Letter was sufficient to cause *Edward* to quit all his Pretensions to *Scotland*. In the beginning of this Brief, which was as follows, the Pope took for granted a thing that had never been heard of.

BONIFACE, Servant of Servants, &c. To our beloved Son *Edward*, illustrious King of *England*, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

Act. Pub.
II. p. 844.
Wikes.
M. Wall.
Kingston.

We know, Dear Son, and Experience has often convinced us, how great your devout Affection is for the Church of *Rome*, who upholds you in the Bowels of Love. We know, I say, your ardent Zeal and Reverence for her, and your Readiness to obey her Orders. This gives us a firm Hope and entire Confidence that your Royal Highness will receive our Words in good part, diligently listen to them, and effectually put them in execution. Your Royal Highness may have heard, and we doubt not but you remember that of old, the Kingdom of *Scotland* did, and does still, belong to the Church of *Rome*, as all the World knows; and, as we have been informed, was never held, either of your self, or Predecessors, &c.

The rest of the Brief, which is too long to be inserted at length, contains most of the Objections before-mentioned, against the Pretensions of the Kings of *England* to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. As in all appearance the Pope had been instructed by the *Scotch* Ambassadors, it is to be presumed, that, if during the Assembly at *Norham*, the States of *Scotland* returned no Answer to what *Edward* alledged, it was not for want of Proofs, but from quite another Motive. The Pope likewise upbraided *Edward* for all the Violences committed in the *Scotch* War, and particularly for the Imprisonment of several Bishops. In fine, he made himself Judge of the Controversy between the *English* and *Scots*, and ordered the King to send Ambassadors to *Rome* with all necessary Instructions, within six Months at farthest, after which he would pronounce a final Sentence.

This haughty proceeding was by no means proper to cause *Edward* to lay down his Arms. He was so offended at it, that, instead of regarding the Pope's Pretensions, he swore, if he heard any more of them, he

Edward
causes to
be sent to
Rome.
Wikes.
p. 848.

(1) This Year died *Hamplrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hertford* and *Essex*, High-Constable of *England*; and *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*. *M. Wall.* p. 431.

(2) *Eleanor*, Wife of *Edward*, died November 23, in 1201, of a Fever, at *Grantham*, in *Lincolnshire*, (see, according to *Walsingham*, at *Houlby*, in the same County, p. 54.) In memory of her, the King created a Cross wherever her Corps rested, in the way from *Lincoln* to *Wymington*. As at *Waltham*, *St. Albans*, *Dunstable*, &c. and particularly *Charing Cross*. *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. II. p. 498. *T. Wikes*, p. 121. *Walsing.* p. 82. 83. *Margaret* was to have from the King her Father 1000 Mark (seven thousand Pounds of *Tunis* piece). *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. II. p. 841. What Dowry King *Edward* granted her, see *Ibid.* p. 844. *Margaret* landed at *Dover*, September 8, and King *Edward* and she were married at *Canterbury*, September 12. *M. Wall.* p. 432.

(3) *Rapin*, by Mistake, says Sister. *Act. Pub.* T. II. p. 842.

(4) And in his way thither, held a Parliament at *York*, November 11. *Walsing.* p. 77.

(5) King *Edward* having kept his *Courts* at *Bristol*, and delivered the Government of *Scotland* to *John de St. John*, and others named in Commission with him, returned into *England* about *Canterbury*, and coming to *Worcester*, he sent for the Citizens of *London*, and ordered them to meet him there, with ten or twelve Years in his Hands. But before he left *England*, he issued out his Writs, dated at *Bristol*, December 29, for the calling a Parliament to meet him at *Windsor*, the second Sunday in *June*; in which the *Great Charter*, and that of *Forest*, were renewed and confirmed; and a new Statute was made for the better explaining them, called *Assize*, *per Chartas*, which you may see in *Coke's* second Institute, p. 347. *Parliamentary History* Vol. III. c. 28. *Ibid.* d. 1.

1300. would destroy Scotland from Sea to Sea. The Deputies of the Scots, who were present, could not hear these Threats without emotion. They told him, he had still a great deal to do before matters could be brought to that pass; and there was not a Scotchman but what could spill the last drop of his Blood in the defence of his Country. But notwithstanding his Resolution, not to leave Scotland before it was entirely reduced, he durst not refuse the King of France a Truce which he demanded in behalf of the Scots (1).

Grants a Truce.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 863.

It was during this Truce that Edward invested his eldest Son, now seventeen years old, with the Principality of Wales, and the Earldom of Chester. The Welsh rejoiced at it, and considered it as a Mark of the King's Favour, because the young Prince was born in their Country.

1301. In the beginning of the next Year, the King summoned a Parliament at Lincoln (2), to consult with them concerning the Pope's Pretensions to Scotland, and what Answer should be returned to his Brief. The Parliament being no less exasperated at the Pope's Pretensions and Haughtiness than the King himself, it was resolved, that a Letter should be sent to the Pope on this occasion, signed by all the Barons of the Realm (3). In this Letter, they plainly tell him the direct contrary to what he asserted in his Brief, namely, that the Crown of England had immemorially enjoyed the Right of Sovereignty over Scotland, and it was publicly known, that Scotland, as to Temporals, never belonged to the Church of Rome. That therefore the Parliament would never suffer the King's Prerogative to be called in question, or Ambassadors to be sent to Rome upon that account, though the King himself should be willing to be so condescending to the Holy See. Finally, they desired the Pope to leave the King and People of England in the enjoyment of their Rights, without giving them any Disturbance (4). This Letter was followed, some months after, by another from the King himself, with a Memorial (5), like that drawn up during the Assembly at Norham, to justify that the Kingdom of Scotland had been always dependent on the Crown of England. But whereas, in the first he carries his Claim higher than Edward the Elder, in this, he derives it from Brutus, first fabulous King of the Isle of Albion, tracing it through all the Reigns of the fictitious Kings mentioned in the History, or rather the Romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth; which he did not venture to do in the Memorial drawn up for the Scots. But every thing was valid to the Pope and Italians, who were not sufficiently versed in the English History, to discern Truth from Falshood. Besides the King's Letter was very respectful, and contained no Expressions offensive to his Holiness. This Moderation on such an occasion, when he was highly provoked at the Pope's Pretensions, must be ascribed to the Need he had of him, in the Affair concerning the Restitution of Guienne (6).

Edward returns into Scotland, and prolongs the Truce.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 892.
M. West.

The Truce with Scotland was no sooner expired, but Edward returned, and spent the whole Winter in that Kingdom. But when he was preparing to renew the War, he was so strongly sollicit by the King of France, that he could not refuse the Scots the prolonging of the Truce till November. One might wonder he should have so much Complaisance for Philip, if it was true, as some affirm, that he had made a Peace with France, at Montreuil, and taken possession of Guienne. But it is certain, the Peace between the two Crowns was not fully concluded till 1303, and the Treaty of Montreuil was properly only the Pope's Arbitration, containing several Articles, the Performance whereof might meet with great Difficulties; though in general the two Kings were well enough satisfied with it. This makes Edward's deference for Philip not so strange, since by a Refusal, he might have retarded the Conclusion of a Peace, by which Guienne was to be restored.

The Truce with Scotland being about to expire, Edward sent Segrave (7) into that Kingdom to renew the War. This general marched thither, not so much with design to fight the Scots, whom he thought unable to resist him, as to destroy the Country. To that end, he divided his Army into three Bodies, which marched at some distance from one another, in order to include the more Ground. His Notion that there was no danger, causing him to march in a careless manner, and without vouchsafing to inform himself of the Posture of his Enemies, he unexpectedly met them near Ros (8), five Miles from Edinburgh. As he was too far advanced with the Body he commanded, to receive any Assistance from the others, the Scotch Army commanded by Comyn and Frazer, attacked him without loss of time, and immediately put him to rout. The nearest of the two other Bodies hearing the General was attacked, hastened to his Relief, but not being able to come time enough, were likewise defeated. Though the Scots were victorious in these two Engagements, it was not without Difficulty and Loss. Their wounded being many, and their Troops much harassed, they were willing to take some rest, when they saw the third Body of the English Army advancing to attack them. This Sight put them into such Disorder, that they would forthwith have taken to flight, if the Exhortations of their Generals had not revived their Courage. This last Battle was the sharpest of the three (9). The English animated with a desire of revenging their Countrymen, and the Scots encouraged by their two Victories, fought a good while with equal Animosity; but the Scots had the Advantage at last, and routed their Enemies. The English Historians slightly pass over these three Battles, and the Scots, on the contrary, take care to extol this triple Victory (10). It may be, the one says too much, and the others too little. Be this as it will, it cannot be denied that this loss appeared of great Consequence to Edward, since it made him resolve to enter Scotland once more, with a greater Army than ever. It was not in his Power however, to execute his Design till the next Year, because he could not help including the Scots in a Truce made with France till June (11).

1301. He sends Segrave into Scotland.

Three Battles gained by the Scots in one Day. Buchanan.

Edward is prevented entering Scotland by a Truce.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 913.

Before the Truce was expired, the Peace between the two Crowns was concluded at Paris, on the 20th of May 1303 (12). Philip restored Guienne to Edward, who promised on his part to do him full Homage, and without limitation, in the City of Amiens. As for the Allies of the two Kings, there was no mention of them in the Treaty. On the contrary, each Monarch obliged himself by Oath not to assist the other's Enemies. Thus the Scots and the Earl of Flanders were equally abandoned. This is one of the many remarkable Instances, how little petty Princes can rely upon their Alliances with more powerful Sovereigns. Though the first Article always runs, that neither Peace nor Truce shall be made without the Consent of all Parties, it is usually this that is first violated. Indeed, Philip persuaded the Scots, that he would procure them a separate Peace, at a future Interview with Edward; but nothing was farther from his thoughts. For he had left the Scots to the Mercy of the King of England, only to prevail with him to abandon the Flemings, who having taken up Arms against him, had now gained great Advantages. Baliol, from whom this Treaty had taken all hopes of being ever restored, lived upon his Estate in Normandy, and spent the residue of his days as a private Person (13).

1303. Treaty of Peace between France and England.
Act. Pub.
II. p. 927.
Ibid. p. 929.
M. West.

The unexpected Contest between Pope Boniface and Philip the Fair, had long delayed the Conclusion of this Peace. The Pope, who had projected to turn the Arms of the Christians against the Infidels, pretended arbitrarily to command all the Princes of Europe, to end their Differences according to his caprice, and prepare to send or lead in Person their Forces to the Holy-Land. The Haughtiness wherewith he would have treated the King

Act. Pub.
II. p. 929.
M. West.

The Peace was made without the Pope.

Walsing.
Knighton.

- (1) It was granted by King Edward, October 30. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 869.
- (2) January 21. M. West. p. 433. In this Parliament the Earls and Barons complained of Grievances, and petitioned the Confirmation of the two Charters, which Request of theirs the King complied with. M. West. p. 433. The Laity granted the King a Fifteenth. Ibid.
- (3) It bears date February 12. at Lincoln. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 875.
- (4) This Remonstrance is subscribed by a hundred Earls and Barons, who declare besides, that they had Authority to represent the whole Community of the Kingdom. Dr. Howell has given the Names of them, and calls it a List of those worthy Patriots who withstood Papal Usurpation. The List and Names of them are in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 873, 874.
- (5) Dated at Kenilworth, May 17. Ibid. p. 888.
- (6) A second Parliament was held this Year at London, in Lent, wherein King Edward renewed the Confirmation of the Charters, and made some Statutes about Fines and Coal-delivery. Walsing. p. 78. See Coke's 2d Institute, p. 521.
- (7) John de Segrave; about the beginning of November, constituting him Governor of Berwick, and Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland. Wals. p. 86.
- (8) At Roslin. Buchanan.
- (9) These three Battles were fought on February 24. 1302. Buchanan.
- (10) The Scotch Historians ascribe all the Glory to Comyn and Frazer, without mentioning Wallace: See Buchanan. Whereas the English attribute all to the brave Wallace. M. West. Walsing.
- (11) In Mid-summer, this Year, a Parliament or Great Council was held at Stanford. Walsing. Knighton. c. 2528. M. West. mentions two Parliaments this Year, one the first of July, the second October 13. p. 445.
- (12) The Commissioners, or Plenipotentiaries, appointed by King Edward to conclude this Peace, were Amadeus Earl of Savoy, Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln, and Otto de Grandison, as appears by the King's Commission to them, dated at Odibam, January 10. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 925.
- (13) He was delivered by Robert de Breugnot, Constable of Dover Castle, to Reginald Bishop of Viterbo, the Pope's Nuncio, at Wisant, in 1290. as appears by the King's Warrant to him, dated at Canterbury, July 14. in Rymer's Fœd. T. II. p. 840. Walsing. p. 76, 77. M. West. p. 433. King Edward, in 1306, granted his Lands and Estate in England, to John de Bretagne, his Nephew. Rymer's Fœd. T. II. p. 1029.

1303. of *France*, occasioned such Disputes between them, as grew at length to an open Rupture. For this Cause, *Philip*, looking upon the Pope as his Enemy, rejected his Arbitration, and concluded a Peace with *Edward*, without the Intervention of him whom they had chosen for Umpire (1).

Edward having nothing more to fear from *France*, carried his Arms a fourth time into *Scotland* (2), with so numerous an Army, that he met with no Resistance. He penetrated even to the utmost Bounds of the Island, ravaging the Country on all hands; the *Scots* being unable to oppose so formidable a Power. *Wallace* alone kept close to him with some Troops, in order to harraß him, and revenge the *Scots* upon the *English* Soldiers, that ventured to stir from the Body of the Army. How great soever *Edward*'s Advantages were, he was not so severe to those who voluntarily submitted, as he was in his former Expedition. He had found, that by driving them to despair, he had himself induced them to revolt. For this reason he treated favorably such as surrendered, and permitted them to redeem their Lands, which he had before refused them. This Gentleness produced so good an Effect, that all the great Men of the Kingdom, seeing no other Remedy, were willing to embrace it (3). Before he quitted the Kingdom, *Edward* ordered *Sterling* Castle to be assaulted, which held out the whole Winter. The vigorous Defence of the besieged, obliged the King to be there in person as soon as the Weather permitted; and yet it was *July* (4) before he brought them to capitulate (5). *Buchanan* says, that, contrary to the Articles of the Capitulation, he committed to prison the Governor and Officers of the Garrison.

The taking of *Sterling* finished *Edward*'s fourth Expedition and third Conquest (6). But though *Scotland* may justly be said to be conquered on this occasion, there were still in the Country, out of the reach of the *English* Arms, certain impenetrable Places, which afforded a Retreat and Sanctuary to those who could not live in Slavery, and who greatly promoted the Restoration of the whole Kingdom to its ancient Liberty. This is what *Edward* himself in the midst of his Successes could not forbear dreading. The Rigour wherewith he treated the brave *Wallace*, who was basely betrayed into his hands (7), is a clear Evidence, he did not think the *Scots* subdued, though he was Master of *Scotland*. To deter them by the Punishment of this great Man, whom he looked upon as the sole Author of their Revolt, he caused him to be tried, condemned, and executed as guilty of High-Treason (8), and ordered his four Quarters to be hung up in four of the principal Towns in the Kingdom (9). This Sentence was pronounced by *English* Judges, tho' *Wallace* was a *Scotchman*, and one that never owned the Jurisdiction of *Edward*. To excuse, in some measure, so extraordinary a Severity, there are Historians who endeavour to defame *Wallace*, and charge him with having committed excessive Cruelties. But neither these Accusations, nor the manner of his Death, have been able to hinder Posterity from doing him the Justice he deserved; and unprejudiced People from still deeming him a Hero worthy of a better Fate (10).

Edward having nothing more to do in *Scotland*, returned into *England*, where he immediately applied himself to cause his Authority to be respected, for which some among the Barons shewed but little Regard. *Segrave* (11) was first attacked on this account, to serve for Example to the rest. This Lord being accused of some Misdemeanour, in defence of his Innocency challenged his Accuser to a Duel, according to the Custom of those Days (12). But the King not thinking fit to consent to it, *Segrave* passed the Sea, in order to fight out of the Kingdom. Though his Disobedience was in some measure softened by his Regard for the King, in forbearing to fight in his Territories, *Edward* considered it as being of too great Consequence to be left unpunished. As soon as *Segrave* came back, he was taken into Custody, and brought to his Trial. The Judges were at a loss to pass Sentence upon this Affair, concerning which there was apparently no Law to direct them. However, after three days Consultation, they declared him worthy of Death, adding in their Sentence, that it should be in the King's Power to pardon him. *Edward* was extremely offended at the Boldness of the Judges, who seemed to set Bounds to his Prerogative, as if he could not exercise his Clemency without their Permission, and gave them a severe Reprimand. Nevertheless he pardoned *Segrave*, upon the Intercession of good Lords, who offered to become Sureties for his good Behaviour (13).

But this was not the only Instance of Severity given by *Edward* after his Return. He was informed that Justice was administered, throughout the whole Kingdom, with great Negligence and Partiality; that the Magistrates suffered themselves to be bribed with Presents, and the rich were screened from the Rigour of the Laws, whilst the Poor were exposed to the Oppression and Tyranny of the Great. So great a Disorder calling for a speedy and effectual Redress, he gave an extraordinary Commission to Judges nominated by himself, to go into all the Counties and strictly enquire concerning all Malefactors of what Rank soever they might be, and empowered them to execute their Sentence upon the spot. This Commission was called *Trail-Bâton* (14), a Word whose Derivation is unknown, concerning which there are several Conjectures too long to be inserted. It suffices to say, in order to give a Notion of this extraordinary Court, it was much the same with what is stiled in *France*, *Grands Jours*. This Severity was a Check to those that thought to screen themselves from Justice by their Credit and Riches, and served at the same time to fill the King's Coßers with the Mulcts and Fines of the Guilty (15).

To these two Instances of Severity he added a third, very proper to shew his Intention that the Laws should be observed, without regard to Birth or Dignity. Prince *Edward* his Son being persuaded by *Piers Gaveston*, one of his Favourites, to commit some Outrage against the Bishop of *Chester* (16), he ordered him to be publickly imprisoned, not suffering his Rank to exempt him from Justice.

This Proceeding would doubtless have been more agreeable to the *English*, if what he did shortly after, had thewn

(1) This Year the said Pope died, on October 12, after he had been accused by the King of *France* of Hæresy, Simony, and Murder, imprisoned, and plundered of all his Goods. *Walsing.* p. 87.—This Year also the King's Exchequer at *Westminster* was broke open, and robbed of about one hundred thousand Pounds; for which several of the Monks of *Westminster* Abbey were imprisoned. See *Rymer's Fæd.* T. II. p. 930, 938.

(2) About *Whitsuntide*. *Walsing.* p. 87. *M. West.* p. 447.

(3) The Terms were, That their Lives, Limbs, and Members should be saved: And they were to be free from Imprisonment, and not to be disinherited; nor pay any thing except for their Ransom and Fine, and the Amends for their Faults only committed against the King, &c. See the Terms at length in *Ryky's Placita Parliam.* p. 369, and *Brady*, p. 78, &c.

(4) The twentieth. *Walsing.* p. 89.

(5) The Governor was *William Olifard*, who was brought Prisoner to London. *Walsing.* p. 89.

(6) After which he returned to *England*, leaving *Scotland* under the care of *John de Segrave*; and when he came to *York*, removed the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, which had been there seven Years, to their old place in London. *Walsing.* p. 89.

(7) About August 15, by Sir *John Monteith*, his pretended Friend, who was bribed by the *English*. *Buchanan.* *M. West.* p. 451.

(8) He was dragged at a Horse's Tail, August 23, and his Head set up on London Bridge. *M. West.* p. 451.

(9) Of *Scotland*. *Ibid.* *Walsing.* p. 90.

(10) A Parliament was held this Year in November. See *Ryky's Placita*. And the King, upon his return from *Scotland*, imposed a Tallage of the sixth Penny upon his demesne Cities and Burroughs, *Cbron. Abind.* This Year also died *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*. *M. West.* *Walsing.* p. 90.

(11) Sir *Nicolas de Segrave*. *M. West.* p. 450.

(12) He was charged with Treason by Sir *John de Cromwell*. *M. West.* Anno 1305.

(13) Thirty of his Peers, girt with Swords, offering to be bound, Body and Goods, that he should be forth coming, whensoever the King should require, he was set at Liberty, and restored to his Possessions, says *Matthew of Westminster*, who calls him, *Unus de præstantioribus Militibus de Regno*. *M. West.* in Anno 1305.—This Year a Parliament was called in *July*; and afterwards prorogued to the 15th of August, and farther to the 15th of September. *Ryky's Placit. Parliament.* p. 503.

(14) This old French Word signifies to draw a Staff. As for the Reason why this Commission was so called, it seems to be altogether unknown. Mr. *Tyrell* gives this Account of it from the *Exeßam Chronicle*. That Chronicle derives it from a certain Instrument anciently belonging to Shoemakers; where-with they used to beat their Apprentices, called a *Trayle-baston*. The King in his return out of *Scotland* was told this Story, concerning those who then made it a Trade to take Money to beat other Men. A certain wicked Person, having hired some of those Ruffians to beat another Man, whom he durst not meddle with himself, they cudgelled him very severely: But he happening to know one of them, found out who it was that had hired them; whereupon desiring them to spare him, he promised them, if they would give as many Blows to him that set them on Work, he would reward them doubly; which they agreed to: Accordingly, in their return, they met with the Man that first employed them, who asking them, whether they had done as he had ordered them? They answered, Yes, and that they were to receive as much more for the like Business; so one of them being a Shoemaker, crying out *Trayle-baston*, they all fell upon him, and cudgelled him twice as much as they did the other. At which Story the King at first smiling, was resolved to secure his People for the future from such Malefactors; and therefore issued out the foreßaid Commission. *Tyrell.* p. 160. The Commission itself is in *Rymer's Fæd.* T. II. p. 960. and dated at *Westminster* the 6th Day of April.

(15) These Justices were in a manner the same with the Justices in Eyre. Their Office was to make Inquisition through the Realm, by the Verdict of substantial Juries, upon Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Eichators and others, concerning Extortion, Bribery, and such Grievances, as Intrusions into other Men's Lands, Barretors, and Breakers of the Peace, &c. For the Etymology of the Word *Trail-baton*, see *Speelman's Glossary*.

(16) There was no Bishop of *Chester* till 1540. when that See was erected by King *Henry VIII.* The Person here meant, was *Walter de Langton*, Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*. (*M. West.* p. 434.) For *Petrus*, one of the Bishops of this See, removing it to *Chester* in 1075, it hence came to pass, that his Successors were many times called Bishops of *Chester*.—The Outrage committed by the Prince against the Bishop, was, that he, together with *Gaveston*, and other ill Companions, had broke down the Fences of the Bishop's Park, and killed his Deer. *Fabian.*

1305. the same Moderation and the same Regard for the People. *Clement V*, Native of *Bordeaux*, succeeding *Boniface VIII*, *Edward* thought he should improve his Interest with the new Pope, to obtain a Dispensation from the Oath he had taken, with regard to the two Charters of Liberties. The Pope made no Scruple to grant him that Favour. He supposed, as it appears in his Bull, that the King was forced to take that Oath; and that Supposition, false as it was, seemed to him a sufficient Reason to absolve him from the same. It is pretended *Edward* purchased this Dispensation by a Present of Gold Plate to the Pope. The Alarm caused by this Step in the Kingdom was not groundless, since it soon began to be perceived, that the King assumed a greater Authority, than was allowed by the Laws and Customs of the Realm. He even affected to discover his Intention, on an Occasion where it could not be mistaken. *Clement V*, granted him a Tenth upon the Clergy for three Years, reserving one half to himself for the Occasions of the Holy See (1). The Parliament not being able to bear this shameful Trade, which tended to impoverish the Clergy without any necessity, and to drain the Kingdom of Money, strenuously opposed it, and forbid the Collectors to levy the Tenth. *Edward*, regardless of the Parliament, removed the Prohibition by his own Authority, and permitted the Collectors to go on. This arbitrary Act coming immediately after the abovementioned Dispensation, made the English apprehensive, the King had formed a Design upon their Liberties, and their Apprehensions appeared but too well-grounded. But if *Edward* had any such Intent, the Troubles which suddenly broke out a-fresh in *Scotland*, prevented the Execution, and rendered the Pope's Favour ineffectual.

The Scots, though so often vanquished, and as often constrained to swear Fealty to *Edward*, could not inure themselves to his Yoke. *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrie*, was one of those that thought they had most Reason to complain. Not only his Father *Robert* was excluded from the Crown, but moreover, *Edward* had now broke his Word with him. He promised to place him on the Throne, in the room of *Balliol*; but made not the least Step towards the performance of his Promise. Nevertheless, *Robert* all along served him faithfully, both before and after his Father's death, flattering himself perhaps, that he would one day accomplish his Promise. But his discourse with *Wallace*, on the day of the Battle of *Falkirk*, and the King's whole Behaviour, convincing him that *Edward* had only his own ends in view, he entertained the generous Design of exerting his Endeavours, to free his Country from the Servitude to which it was reduced. At the same time, he thought of procuring the Crown of *Scotland* for himself, to which he pretended to have a lawful Title, notwithstanding the Sentence given against the Earl his Father. *John Comyn*, surnamed the Red, another Scotch Lord of great Distinction in *Scotland*, but however of less Credit than *Bruce*, was, or seemed to be, in the same sentiments, and to have the Interest of his Country at Heart. This Conformity caused these two Lords to communicate their Thoughts to each other, after long founding one another, without daring to speak their minds. At length, both growing bolder, they had several Conferences together, wherein they agreed upon means to accomplish their Projects. These Conferences ended in an Agreement, containing these two Articles. I. That they should act in common to promote *Robert Bruce* to the Crown of *Scotland*. II. That in consideration of *Comyn's* Services, *Bruce* should make over to him all his private Patrimony, and appoint him his Lieutenant-General. These measures being taken, *Robert* came to *Edward's* Court, where it was necessary to gain certain Scotch Lords, who were in the Interests of that Prince.

Mean time, whether *Comyn* repeated of what he had done, or, as some affirm, had contrived the Plot on purpose to enslave *Robert*, he discovered the whole Project to the King. It is said, he even sent him the original Agreement under both their Hands and Seals. The King immediately designed to apprehend *Robert*, but fearing thereby to miss of his Accomplices, was contented with narrowly watching him. He hoped to make some fresh Discoveries by means of *Comyn*, to whom *Robert* communicated by Letters whatever he did at Court. The King's Design could not be so secret, but it was perceived by the Earl of *Gomer* (2), an old Friend of the Family of *Bruce* then at *London*. This Earl knowing *Robert* was narrowly watched, and not daring by word of Mouth to discover so important a Secret, sent him a Pair of Spurs, with some pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them of him. *Robert*, who was endowed with great Penetration, presently found there was some mystery in this pretended Restitution of his Friend, and concluded, he meant by it to advise him to make his Escape. In this belief, he immediately came to a Resolution, and executed it with such address and diligence, that it was impossible to prevent him, and much more to overtake him. As he had communicated his Thoughts only to *Comyn*, he did not doubt but he was betrayed by that treacherous Friend. Accordingly, as soon as he came into *Scotland*, he repaired to *Dumfries*, where *Comyn* then was, and meeting him in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, little expecting his coming, stabbed him with his own Hand (3). This bold Stroke, added to the Plot he had laid, exposing him to the King's Resentment, he saw himself under a necessity of openly declaring himself, well knowing there was no Safety for him but in the Success of his Designs. Whereupon, such Numbers flocked to him, that he was quickly in condition to go well attended to *Sceme*, where he was solemnly crowned (4). After which, all the People in general sided with him.

It was with extreme Vexation that *Edward* perceived he was mistaken, in imagining he had nothing more to do in *Scotland*. He would not however give over his first design. But to secure for the future the possession of that Kingdom, he resolved to reduce it to such a state, that there should be no more danger of a Revolt. Pursuant to this Resolution, he sent *Audemar of Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke* (5), with an Army to prepare the way, whilst he assembled all his Forces at *Carlisle* (6). To render his Expedition the more signal, he knighted three hundred young Gentlemen, who attended the Prince his Son, whom he was willing, on this occasion, to initiate in the Art of War (7).

Mean time, *Robert* made great Progress in *Scotland*, and took several places. He would have carried his Conquests farther, if the Earl of *Pembroke* had not stopped his career. The Earl entering *Scotland*, marched directly to *Robert*, who, not thinking proper to retreat on this first occasion, went himself to meet him. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, *Robert's* was put to the rout (8). But as his Loss was not great, he was willing to venture a second Battle (9), where he had no better Success. These two Defeats upon one another, obliging him to quit the Country, he withdrew to one of the *Hebrides*, where he lay concealed at a Relation's House, in expectation of a more favorable Juncture. Shortly after, *Edward* entering the Kingdom with a numerous Army (10), found the Scots in Conflation, and their Troops dispersed. So having no Enemies to encounter, he sent out Detachments on all sides to seize *Bruce's* Adherents. Great Numbers were taken, who all felt that Prince's Severity (11). Three Brothers of the new King lost their Heads on a Scaffold. His Queen herself being sent into *England*, was kept in close Confinement.

(1) The Pope granted the King a Tenth out of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England*, for two Years, towards the Relief of the Holy-Land though it was diverted by the King for his own private Occasions. The Pope also reserved to himself the first Fruits of all the Benefices, which continued down to the Reign of *Henry VIII*, who first annexed them to the Crown. But say *M. Walsingham* the Pope was induced to this through the Covetousness of the Bishops, who submitted to this Innovation, on condition they might enjoy one Year's Profit of all vacant Benefices in their Gift. *M. Wals.* p. 454. *Joyce*, p. 107. See *Rymor's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 100, 105, 1042, 1041.

(2) *Buchanan* calls him *Comitus Gomer*, though says *Joyce* there was no such Earl then in *England*. *Joyce*, Vol. IV. p. 168.

(3) *January* 29. *M. Wals.* p. 453. *Buchanan* says, as soon as he came into *Scotland*, he accidentally met a Messenger with Letters from *Comyn* to the King of *England*, which he seized; and in them found how he had advised him to put *Bruce* to Death. Whereupon he rode to *Dumfries*, and shewing along the Letter, accused him of Treachery, for the other confidently denying it, *Bruce* was so exasperated that he stabbed him in the Belly, &c.

(4) *March* 25. *M. Wals.* p. 453. *Walsing.* p. 91.

(5) With *Robert C.* and *Henry Percy*. *M. Wals.* p. 454. *Walsing.* p. 91.

(6) *Finch Davauld's Museum*, *M. Wals.* p. 454.

(7) And men as were to be made Lords, either by paternal Succession, or for their Estates. *M. Wals.* Upon this occasion, of the Prince's receiving the Order of Knighthood, the Clergy and Laity gave to the King a Fourth, and the Merchants a Twentieth. *M. Wals.* p. 454. See *Rymor's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 987, 988. The King his Father gave him at the Time time the Dukedom of *Guines*. *Ibid.* p. 990. *M. Wals.* p. 454.

(8) At *Stirling* from *Perth*, at *St. John's* from *Perth*, *July* 20. *Buchanan*, l. 3. *M. Wals.* p. 455.

(9) At *Dunbar*. *Ibid.*

(10) During his Absence, he appointed *William* Archbishop of *York*, and *Walter* Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Conventry*, Guardians of the Realm. See *Rymor's Fœd.* Tom. II. p. 1057.

(11) The following Persons were committed to several Dungeons in *England*, *Alan* Earl of *Menteth*, The Earl of *Mar*, Son and Heir, to *Brystol* Castle; *Patrick* de *Griffin*, *Walter* de *Rede*, and *Robert* de *Newbury*, to the Tower of *London*; *Hugh* *Loxley*, and *William* de *Warrington*, de *Sandford*, to *Windsor* Castle; *Walter* de *Warrington* to *Carlisle*; The Earl of *Strathern*, to *Kewstoke* Castle; *Thomas* *Randolf* to *London* Castle; &c. *Robert* *Bruce's* Wife to *Brystol* Castle. And the Lands and Estates of most of these Rebels were confiscated. *Ibid.* p. 1012, 1015, &c.

1306. Edward's Age, and Vexation to see himself so often obliged to begin afresh, rendered him so inexorable, that he hardly pardoned any one Person. The Bishops of *Gloucester* and *St. Andrews*, who were taken with their Coats of Mail over their Habits, would have fallen a Sacrifice to his Vengeance, had not his Fear of disobliging the Pope saved their Lives. They were however sent into *England*, and thrown into Prison (1). The Earl of *Athol*, allied to *Edward*, and the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was distinguished from the rest, only by the height of the *Gallows* on which he was hanged. The Countess of *Bugaban*, who assisted at *Robert's* Coronation (2), was put into a Wooden Cage, and placed as a ridiculous Sight to the People on the Walls of *Berwick Castle*. *Mary* her Sister underwent the same Fate at *Roxborough*.

1307. After *Edward* had thus taken Vengeance on *Robert's* Adherents, who were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, he spent the Winter at *Carlisle*, where he summoned the last Parliament of his Reign (3). The first Business of this Assembly, was about means to secure the possession of *Scotland*, by uniting that Kingdom to *England*. *Edward* was resolved to spare nothing to keep the *Scots* in awe, and even to use, for that purpose, the most rigorous Methods. But the Face of Affairs was much altered in that Country, before any fixed Resolution was taken.

This Parliament applied themselves also with great diligence, to prevent the Extortions of the Court of *Rome*, which were still continued with the same Excess as before, notwithstanding the Measures taken to suppress them. Nay, Statutes were made, which might have eased this Grievance, had they been well executed.

At this very time it was, that the Bishop of *Lichfield*, High-Treasurer, causing the King to observe the Ascendant, *Piers Gaveston*, a young Man of a very debauched Life, had over the Prince his Son, and the pernicious Consequences that might spring from so great a Familiarity, *Edward* resolved to apply an immediate Remedy. To that end, with the Advice of the Parliament still assembled, *Gaveston* was banished the Realm, as a Corrupter of the young Prince (4). Moreover the King was pleased, that his Son should promise with an Oath, never to recall him, and that *Gaveston* should swear likewise never more to set foot in *England*. Upon that condition he allowed him a Pension of a hundred Marks, to be paid out of the Revenues of *Guienne* (5).

Notwithstanding *Edward's* Resolution to disabuse *Scotland* from ever recovering, the Time of that Kingdom's Deliverance was at hand. God, who was pleased to chastise the *Scots*, had not decreed the utter Destruction of that Nation, which was reduced to the last Extremity. *Edward* leaving *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce* sallied out of his Retreat, and effectually made use of the King's Absence, and the Sharpness of the Winter, which hindered the *English* Troops from acting. He assembled the Remains of his dispersed Army, and reinforced them with fresh Supplies, which the *Scotch* Lords, exasperated at *Edward's* Severity, brought him from all Quarters. With these Troops he attacked the Earl of *Pembroke*, who commanded in *Scotland*, and obtained over him a signal Victory (6), wherein the *English* General was made Prisoner. Then he marched against the Earl of *Glocester*, who was at the head of another Body, and obliged him to retreat to the Castle of *Aire*, which he besieged, though without Success. As he was master of the Field, and had none to oppose him, he easily took several Places, and caused them to be dismantled; as well not to be obliged to leave Garrisons, as to prevent the *English* from fortifying them hereafter.

Edward, surprized at this unexpected Revolution, and implacably exasperated against the *Scots*, resolved to be signally revenged of that Nation. To that end, he summoned all the Vassals of the Crown without exception, to meet him at *Carlisle* about the middle of the Summer, on

pain of forfeiting their Fees. His Intention was to march into the Heart of *Scotland*, and destroy that Kingdom from Sea to Sea, as he had often threatened. But God permitted him not to execute so barbarous a Purpose. He was hardly arrived at *Carlisle*, where he had drawn together the finest Army *England* had ever seen, when he was seized by a Distemper, which put an end to his Days, and all his Projects. As soon as he found himself ill, he knew he should die; and whilst his Mind was sound, he sent for Prince *Edward* his eldest Son (7), and earnestly recommended to him three things: The first was, vigorously to prosecute the War with *Scotland*, till he had entirely subdued the *Scots*. For that purpose, he advised him, to carry along with him his Bones at the Head of the Army, not at all questioning but that Object would daunt the Courage of the Enemies he had so often vanquished. The second thing he recommended, was to send his Heart to the *Holy-Land*, with thirty two thousand Pounds Sterling, he had provided for the Support of the *Holy Sepulchre*. The third was, never to recall *Gaveston*. After these his last Orders to his Son, he caused himself to be carried by easy Journeys into *Scotland*, being desirous to die in a Country he had thrice conquered. In this manner he advanced as far as the little Town of *Burgh* (8), where his Sickness being increased by a Dyfentery, which came upon him, he resigned his last Breath on the 7th of July, 1307, in the sixty-eighth Year of his Age, having reigned thirty-four Years, seven Months, and twenty Days. His Corps was carried to *Waltham*, and from thence to *Westminster-Abbey*, where it was done over with Wax, and laid by *Henry* his Father (9).

Thus lived and died *Edward* the first of that Name since the *Norman Conquest*, and the fourth since *Egbert*. This Prince had, doubtless, very noble Qualities, and particularly great Valour and Prudence. He knew how to master his Passions, and return to the right way when he had strayed from it; a Quality never to be sufficiently commended in a Sovereign. When we compare him with his Father, his Grandfather and his own Son, his Successor, we find he far excelled them all. This Comparison, which one can hardly help making, has been so much to his Advantage, that the *English* Historians have used the strongest Expressions in his Encomium, and would have him pass for the greatest Prince of his Age. A famous Writer has not scrupled to say, *That God had pitched his Tabernacle in the Breast of that Monarch*. But his whole Conduct, with regard to *Scotland*, does not give of him so advantageous an Idea. However, without examining too closely the Expressions used by the Historians in his Praise, it may be said, he was a great King, and that *England* received considerable Advantages from his Administration. The Kingdom, weakened by the ill Management of the two preceding Kings, was restored to its former Splendor, by the Abilities of this Prince, who knew how to make himself beloved and respected by his Subjects, as well as dreaded by his Neighbours. The Conquest of *Wales*, in vain attempted by his Predecessors, added a great Lustre to his Reign, and was very beneficial to his Kingdom. That of *Scotland* would no doubt have gained him more Honour, had it been entirely finished, since the *Scotch* Historians would have spoken of him in different Terms from what they have done, if at the time of their writing they had been *English*.

He was very personable, and taller than the generality of Men by the Head. His Hair was black, and curled naturally, and his Eyes of the same Colour, sparkled with uncommon Vivacity. He would have been perfectly well shaped, if his Legs, which were a little too long, had been in proportion to the rest of his Body. Hence he had the Surname of *Long-Shanks*. He joined to his bodily Perfections a solid Judgment, a great Penetration, and a prudent Conduct, which very rarely suffered him to make a false Step. Besides this he had Principles of Justice,

(1) The former in the Castle of *P. de la* in *Hampshire*; and the latter in *Winchester Castle*. It will perhaps not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know what Allowance the King made the latter. To the Bishop, for his own Expences, six Pence a Day. For a Servant, three Pence. For a Boy, three half Pence. For a Chaplain the same. See *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1016*.

(2) This Countess was Sister to the Earl of *P. de la*, (then absent in *England*) whose Office it was to crown the Kings of *Scotland*. For which Reason she, being of a brave and manlike Spirit, stole from her Husband with all his Horte, and came and set the Diadem upon *Bruce's* Head at the Abbey of *Scots, on Palm-Sunday, March 25. Walpole, p. 91*. He had been crowned before on *February 2. M. W. p. 453*.

(3) *January 28. M. W. p. 457*.

(4) The Ordinance for his Banishment bears date *February 26, at Lanercost, (or Lanercroft) in Cumberland. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1043*.

(5) This Year the King settled upon his Son *Edward* ten thousand Marks; and upon his Son *Edmund* seven thousand Marks, in Lands and Rent. And to his Daughter *Eleanor*, he gave for her Portion ten thousand Marks, and five thousand Marks for Cloaths, to be paid in seven Years. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1019*.

(6) After *Edward. M. W. p. 458. Walpole, p. 93*.

(7) Whom he had sent into *England*, in order to go over and consummate his Marriage with *Isabella of France. ibid.*

(8) Upon the Sands in *Cumberland*, to distinguish it from *Burgh upon Stainmore* in *Westmoreland*. The Memory of *Edward's* Death had been preserved by some great Stones rolled upon the Place; but in 1688, there was erected a square Pillar nine Yards and a half high. On the West Side is this Inscription; *Monarca intempe Edwardus I. Regis Angliæ longe clarissimi, qui in Belli apparatu contra Scotos occupatus, hic in castris obiit 7 Julii. A. D. 1307*.

It was set up by *John de la*, I. C. at the Charge of *Henry Howard Duke of Norfolk*, and made by *Thomas Langstone*. *Camden*.

(9) And *Amos G. G. 18. (M. W. p. 458.)* on the North Side of the Shrine of *St. Edward*. His Sepulchre is composed of five grey Marbles, two on the Sides, two at the Ends, and a fifth covers it, upon the North Side whereof are pencilled these Words: EDWARDUS PRIMUS SCOTIUM MALLEUS HIC EST. 1303. PACTUM SERVAVIT.

1307. Honour and Honesty, which restrained him from countenancing Vice, not only in his most intimate Courtiers, but even in his own Son. Moreover he was of an exemplary Chastity, a Virtue very seldom found in Sovereign Princes. All these noble Qualities bred in the Hearts of his Subjects, a Love and Esteem, which did not a little contribute to the rendering his Reign peaceable at home, whilst his Arms were employed abroad. As for the Affairs of Scotland, it may be said to procure more Honour than real Advantages to England, since after Torrents of Blood spilt in that Quarrel, the English were constrained in the end to relinquish their Project.

Edward's
Issue by his
first Wife.
Walsing.
Sandford.

Edward had by Eleanor of Castile his first Wife four Sons and nine Daughters (1). Edward II. his Successor was the only Son that survived him (2). Eleanor his eldest Daughter was contracted to Alphonsus King of Arragon; but that Prince dying before Consummation, she was given to Henry Duke of Bar. Joanna, surnamed of Acres, the Place of her Nativity, was betrothed to Hartman, Son of the Emperor Rodolphus I, but the Death of the young Prince preventing their Union, she married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and after his Death, Ralph de Monthermer (3). Margaret was Wife of John

Duke of Brabant: Elizabeth of John Earl of Holland, and afterwards of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford (4). Berenguela, Alice, Blanche, and Beatrix, died young, or unmarried.

Edward had two Sons and one Daughter by Margaret of France his second Wife, whom he married in the sixtieth Year of his Age, though she was but eighteen Years old. Thomas [de Brotherton] (5) the eldest, was Earl of Norfolk, and Marfhal of England. Edmund bore the Title of Earl of Kent (6) Eleanor the Daughter (7) was to marry Otto Earl of Burgundy, but she died in her Childhood.

We have an uninterrupted Series of all the Parliaments held in England, from the 22d Year of this Reign (8). The Constitution of these Assemblies, such as it is at this Day, was so well settled in this same Reign, that there was an additional Law made to the Great Charter, whereby it was enacted, That no Tax should be levied upon the People without the Consent of the Commons (9).

It may be further observed, that in this Reign the Title of Baron, which was common to all that held Lands of the Crown, was confined to those whom the King summoned to Parliament.

(1) Queen Eleanor died, as is related above, p. 381. Note (2), the 28th of November 1291, at Richard de Weston's House at Hardby. At the Places where her Body rested, were erected to her memory goodly Crosses, namely, at Lincoln, Grantam, Starford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-stratford, Dunstable, St. Albans, Waltham, and Claring. Her Bowels were buried in the Cathedral at Lincoln, where the King erected a Centaph for her, on which is placed her Figure of gilt Copper, with an Inscription. Her Body lies in Westminster Abbey, at the Feet of Henry III, under a Tomb of gray Marble, having on the North Side the Arms of England and Leon and Pontieu, with her Figure as large as the Life. It is observable, that Queen Eleanor bore quarterly, Gules, a Castle Or: And Argent, a Lion rampant Purple, which were the Arms of Ferdinand III, King of Castile and Leon her Father, and quartered by him, and were the first two Coats that were born quarterly in one Shield, which our King Edward III. next imitated, when he quartered France and England. These Arms, with those of Pontieu, viz. Or, three Bentsile Azure, within a Border, Gules, are carved in Stone in several Places on the Cross erected to her Memory near Northampton. Sandford's General, p. 129.

(2) John, Henry, and Alphonsus, died young. See above, p. 361.

(3) He was a Servant of her first Husband. The Marriage being done, (in 1296,) without the Knowledge of her Father, this Ralph was committed to Prison, and all those Lands and Castles formerly made over to Earl Gilbert, and Countess Joanna, seized into the King's Hands. But by the Mediation of Anthony Bee Bishop of Durham, Peace was made betwixt the King and his Daughter, and her new Husband, and his Lands restored. Not long after Ralph was summoned to Parliament by the Title of Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, which he enjoyed till his Son-in-law, Gilbert de Clare, came of Age. Afterwards in all Parliaments he was summoned as Lord Monthermer. By the said Joanna he had two Sons, Thomas and Edward. Sir Thomas de Monthermer had an only Daughter Margaret, Wife of John Montague, by whom he had John Montague Earl of Salisbury, from whom the present Duke of Montague, the Earls of Manchester and Sandwich, and the Barons of Halifax derive their Original. Sandford's General, p. 142.

(4) Mary was a Nun at Ambresbury. See above, p. 361. Note (12) and Rymers's Feod. Tom. II. in several Places.

(5) A small Village in Yorkshire, where he was born June 1. 1300. Walsingb. p. 78. Sandford.

(6) He was born at Woodstock, August 5. 1301. M. Wyl. p. 434.

(7) Born at Winchester, May 6, 1306. Id. p. 454.

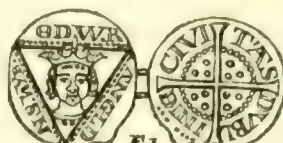
(8) See Notitia Parliamentaria by Breton Willus Esq; and Mr. Pryn's Brevia Parliamentaria.

(9) See above, p. 379. Note (5), and Coke's 2d Institute, p. 532.

The Reader is to observe, that the History of the Royal Revenue in the foregoing Coin-Notes, is all Matter of Fact, taken from the Revenue-Rolls and other Records, and confirmed by numberless Instances by Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer. These Rolls (which are kept in the Pipe-Office, and called the Great Rolls,) of all the Records in the Exchequer, justly challenge the Pre-eminence, not being inferior even to Domesday itself. From the very first Establishment of the Exchequer, it was usual every Year to make a Great Roll, containing an exact Account of all the foregoing branches of the Royal Revenue, as arising in each County. The Great Rolls of most of the Years of Henry II, Richard I, and John, are in being, and as appears by Madox, might be of admirable use to the English Historian and Antiquary. The most Antient of these Records is the Great Roll, (commonly said to be) of the fifth Year of King Stephen. A famous Monument of Antiquity, (says Madox,) whether we consider the Hand-writing, or the Contents. This Great Roll (or rather Bundle) consists of sixteen large Rolls, writ on both Sides, of about four foot long, (one with another, for they are not of an equal Length) and a foot broad. This Great Roll, Mr. Madox proves to belong to some Year of Henry I, Pryn says expressly the Eighteenth. In order to see the Nature of these Rolls in general, I shall add here a few Instances, relating to the several Branches of the Royal Revenue. N. B. r. c. signifies reddit computum (i. e. accounts for). W. de Mandevill comes Essex debet C l, pro Relevio suo. M. Rot. 2 Hen. III. Rot. 7. Petrus de Brus r c de c l pro relevio suo de Baronia quæ fuit Patris sui. In th. l. et Q. c. (that is, In thesauro liberavit et quietus est) Mag. Rot. 6 Hen. III. Rot. 11. Odo de Dammartin r c de D maris pro habenda Custodia filii et terræ Hugonis Pincernæ: In thesauro c c marcas et debet ecc. Marcas. Mag. Rot. 23 Hen. II. Ricardus Basset et Albericus de Ver r c de Firmo de Sudreia, et de Grenetbrugescia et de Hunteadonefca: In thesauro cccc & xiiii l. & xii d. ad Pensum. M. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 4. Hamo de sancto Claro r c de Firma Civitatis Colecestre. In thesauro xxxviii l. & xiv s. & ii d. et debet xxiiii s. and x d. Bl. M. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 14. Burgenses de Carloli r c de x Marcis pro Libertatibus suis habendis. M. Rot. 5 Ric. I. Rot. 5. Felicia de Winterburn debet tertiam partem de perquisito de xv Marcis pro iustificando Willielmo de Winterburn quod reddat ei xv Marcas. M. Rot. 10 Joh. Rot. Walterus de Canceio r c de xv l. ut ducat ad velle suum. M. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 3. Lucia Comitissa Cestrie debet D Marcas, ne capiat Vitum infra v annos. ibid. Rot. 12. Uxor Hugonis de Nevill d. Domino Regi ducentas gallinas, equod possit facere una nocte cum Domino suo Hugone de Nevill. Rot. Fin. 6 Joh. M. 8. d. Adam de Tindal debet x Marcas pro habenda Sessina Bosi de Langel, qui appellatur Wiseteleia cum pertinentiis. Mag. Rot. 10 Joh. Rot. 7. Northumb. Yvo vir Emmar debet lxx s. quia retraxit se de Duello suo die quo debuit pugnare. M. Rot. 31 Hen. II. Rot. 5.

I shall proceed now to show the State of the Exchequer, from the End of the Reign of King John, to the End of the Reign of King Edward II. called by Mr. Madox the second Period; as from William the Conqueror, to King John's signing the Magna Charta, is by him, called the first Period. It may be observed, that at the beginning of this second Period, and for some time afterwards, the Exchequer continued in much the same State it was in during the first; bating the Change made by the Separation of Common Pleas, from the King's Court, and it, (mentioned in a Note, p. 287.) It was as before, a great and solemn Court, frequented by the King's great Officers, and guided for the most part by the antient Rules, Offices and Customs. But before the end of Henry III's Reign, it fell in great measure from its antient Grandeur, and from thenceforward, continued in a State of Declension; inasmuch that about the End of the second Period, it was in many Respects different from what it had been in former Ages. This will appear, by comparing the State of the Exchequer, during the first Period, with the State of it, during the latter Part of the Second. In the King's Exchequer there still remained the Distinction of the two notable Terms of the Year, called the Duo Scaccaria, (See Coin-Note, p. 199.) Besides the principal Exchequer, there were several inferior Receipts or Treasuries, that were called by that Name. There were Exchequers at Durham, Chester, Carlisle, Berwick, and Caernarvon, at which last, the King had his Chamberlain, and Treasurer; and the Writ of Summons was there used for levying the King's Debts, arising in those Parts. The principal Exchequer, when mentioned with any of these, was distinguished by Scaccarium de Londonia, Westmæstren, and with reference to the Exchequer of the Jews, Magnum Scaccarium. The principal times of Session were the two Terms of Easter, and St. Michael. At which times the Process that issued pro rege was returnable, and many Acts became necessary to be done there, in Consequence thereof. The Exchequer was also holden during the other two Law-Terms of St. Hilary, and of the Trinity. But it seemeth, that the Treasurer and Barons sometimes sat, if there was occasion, at other times not comprised within the four Terms, and sometimes on Sundays. The Day of the Liberate was counted the Time of their rising. In the Archive of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, there is a Manuscript Calendar for the use of the Auditors Comptorum, and others, residing at the Exchequer. It is in a Hand of about the Time of Ed. II. or III. Though the Exchequer was generally held at Westminster, during this second Period, yet it was sometimes by the King's special Command held elsewhere. As in the first, so also in the second Period, the King, if he pleased, sat and acted in person at the Exchequer, King Henry III. did so frequently. From the most antient Times, the Persons employed at the King's Exchequer, enjoyed several Privileges. The Records of the first Period, relating to this Subject, are not so clear and full as those of the Second. These Records mention the Privilege of impleading, and being impleaded in the Exchequer only: Freedom from Toll, for things bought for their own Use: Freedom from Suit to County-Courts, Hundred-Courts, &c. and other Privileges. It is also to be understood, that several of the Residents at the Exchequer had Privileges for their Clerks and Men. There was also a sort of Privilege allowed to Persons, who were Suitors or Accomptants at the Exchequer; namely, if they were to appear in any inferior Court or Place, upon a certain Day, in case they were that Day attending at the Exchequer, they were not to be put in default below. The Exchequer was a Court greatly concerned in the Conservation of the Prerogatives, as well as the Revenue of the Crown. It was the care of the Treasurer, and Barons, and the King's Council at the Exchequer, to see that the Rights of the Crown were not invaded by such as claimed Liberties or Exemptions; and to allow, or disallow, of such Liberties as Reason and Justice should require. It is true, this had some relation to the regal Revenue, inasmuch as Men were wont to be punished by Amercements, Seizures, Fines, for undue Usurpations of Liberties, and were obliged or induced to fine for Confirmation or Improvement of their Liberties, if they defied the same. However, many Affairs of this Nature were wont to be examined and regulated at the Exchequer, and therein great care was taken to preserve the Rights of the Crown inviolate. Upon this ground, probably, it became the usual Method for Charters of Liberties to be read and inrolled at the Exchequer. So that commonly, when the King granted or confirmed Liberties by his Letters Patent, a close Writ directed to the Treasurer and Barons, was wont to issue, reciting the Substance of such Grant or Confirmation, and commanding the Barons to allow thereof. In a word, the Authority and Dignity of the Court of Exchequer was esteemed so great, that the Acts thereof were not to be examined or controlled in any other of the King's ordinary Courts of Justice. The Exchequer was a great Repository of the King's Records. Thither the Records of the Court holden before the King, of the Court of Common Bench, and of the Justices in Eyre were brought, to be laid up in the Treasury; where they still remain, under the Custody of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer. Secondly, of the Persons that sat and acted in the Exchequer, during this second Period. The King's chief Justiciary continued at first to preside and act as he had before used to do. Afterwards, when he ceased to preside there, the Power of the Treasurer increased. Then, the Affairs were guided by the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer. To them may be added the King's Council, whom we often find acting both in the superior Court, and in the Exchequer; and that Men were sometimes summoned to appear before the King's Council there, on set Days. The next Person was the Treasurer. King Henry III. by his Charter, granted his Treasury of his Exchequer of England, to Walter Mareschal, Bishop of Carlisle, to hold during Life. Some Persons have been inclined to think, the Office of the King's Treasurer, (or as we now call it, Treasurer of England,) and that of Treasurer of the Exchequer, were two distinct Offices. But in numberless Instances, the Treasurers during the Reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and II. are styled sometimes the King's Treasurer, and sometimes Treasurer.

Treasurer of the Exchequer. It does not appear, what Appointment the Treasurer in the most antient Times received of the King. In the Reign of Henry III. the yearly Salary was c Marks. The same Salary was paid to John Bishop of Ely, Treasurer 2: Ed. I. But at that time, the King used to make other Provision for the Treasurers by some beneficial Grant, or Ecclesiastical Preferment; and is likewise for the Chancellors, and other Officers, who were Ecclesiastical Persons. Sometimes there was at the Exchequer an Officer, called the *Treasurer's Lieutenant*. He acted in the Treasurer's Absence, or if no Treasurer, executed the Treasurer's Office, and was in effect the Treasurer's Deputy, or *Vice-Treasurer*; *Locum tenens*, signifying a Deputy, or a Person that acts in another's stead. There were Lieutenants to several other Officers, as to the King's Chancellor, Earl Marshal, Sheriffs, &c. After the Treasurer, came the Chancellor, who seems to have been appointed to be a check upon the Treasurer. He took an Oath upon entering into his Office to this effect: "That he would well and truly serve the King, in his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: That he would well and truly do, what appertained to his Office: That he would dispatch the King's Business before all others: And that he would seal with the Exchequer Seal, no judicial Writ of any other Court, besides the Exchequer; whilst the Chancery, (or Chancellor) was within twenty Miles of the Place where the Exchequer was holden." *Lib. Rub. Scac.* p. 14. The rest of the Persons that sat in the Exchequer, were the Barons, who were appointed by the King in the following manner: "Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse dilecto et fidei nostro Magistro Alexandro de Swerford Thesaurario Sancti Pauli Londoniæ, Quadraginta Marcas singulis annis percipiendas ad Scaccarium nostrum ad se sustentandum in servitio nostro ad Scaccarium ubi residet per præceptum nostrum, donec ei aliter providerimus. In cuius rei Testimonium, &c. Telle Rege apud Westm. 21: die Octobris." *Pat. 18 Hen. III. M. 2.* Again, "Rex mandat Baronibus de Scaccario suo quod constituit dilectum et fidelem suum Johannem de Colham, Baronem suum ejusdem Scaccarii; ita quod officium Baronis ibidem exerceat quamdiu sibi placerit: Et ideo mandat eisdem, quod ipsum Johannem in Baronem ejusdem Scaccarii ad hoc admittant in forma prædicta. T. Meipso apud Westm. 8 die Junii, anno regni quarto." *Trin. Com. 4 Ed. I. Rot. 8. b.* The next Coin-Note, (which concludes this Subject) will treat of, 1. The Business, 2. The Accounts, 3. The Officers, of the Exchequer, during the second Period.



Edward I. is supposed to be the first of our Kings that perfectly fixed the Standard of our Coin. In the third Year of his Reign, says an old Leiger Book of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury, the Matter was thus ordered by Gregory Rockley, then Mayor of London, and Mint-Master: That in a Pound of Money there should be eleven Ounces two-pence farthing, pure leaf Silver, and only seventeen-pence half-penny farthing Alloy; and the Pound was to weigh twenty Shillings and three Pence in account, each Ounce, twenty Pence, and every Penny, twenty four Grains and a half. In 28 Edw. I. an indented Tryal-piece of the goodness of Old Sterling, was lodged in the Exchequer, and every Pound weight Try of such Silver was to be shorn at twenty Shillings three Pence, according to which the Value of the Silver in the Coin was one Shilling eight Pence farthing an Ounce. This King sent for foreign Mint-Masters, (namely, William de Furnemire and others from Marseilles, and one Freseball, and his Companions from Florence,) in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, to inform him of the manner of making and forging Money, which is said to be thus: First, the Silver was cast from the Melting-pot into long Bars; those Bars were cut with Sheers into square Pieces of exact Weights; then with the Tongs and Hammer they were forged into a round Shape, after which they were blanched or made white by boiling, and afterwards stamped with a Hammer to make them perfect Money. For the coining this Money, (as it is reported in the Additions to the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, which are not of equal Credit with the Book itself) the Mint-Masters had thirty Furnaces at London, eight at Canterbury, (besides three the Archbishop had there) twelve at Bristol, twelve at York, and more in other great Towns, in all which Places the same hammered Money of Silver, supplied by the King's Changers, who according to certain Rates prescribed them, took in the clipped, rounded, and counterfeited Monies to be recoined, and bought Gold and Silver of the Merchants to be fabricated into new Monies; at the same time it was ordained, "Quod proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulli fiat tensura de nova Moneta sub periculo Vitæ et membrorum, et amissionis omnium Terrarum et Tenementorum, &c." And this hammered Money continued through all the Reigns of succeeding Kings and Queens, till about the Year 1663. There are no Indentures with the Mint-Master, by which one can certainly judge of the Proportion of the Fineness and Alloy, to be observed in the fabrication of the Monies till the Reign of Edward III, as will be seen hereafter. The size of the Coin was not, probably, altered by Edward I, the Penny being supposed to have been the only current Money of England. This Prince was the first that used *Dominus Hiberniæ* constantly upon his Money, which was never wanting in his, nor in Edward II's, nor in Edward III's Coins, but was afterwards left out, nor is there any more mention of Ireland upon the Silver Money till Henry VIII. He likewise left out the Scepter, which appears no more upon the small Money till Henry VIII, nor upon the large till Queen Elizabeth's Crown and half Crown, and the Name of the Mint-Master on the Reverse, instead of which he put the Place of Mintage. He was likewise the first that forbid the use of broken Money. But it is difficult to distinguish the Money of this King from Edward II, because the Face, Style, Weight and Reverse, are alike. But a learned Antiquary, (the Archbishop of York) ascribes those with the three first Letters, EDW. to Edward I, because of the Plenty thereof, for Edward I, is known to have coined much more Money than his Son, and also from the Mintage at Dublin, set up by this Edward, which has always EDW. From whence it is to be concluded, that all belong to him that have this Inscription: EDW. R. ANG. DNS. HYB. The King Full-faced, and crowned with an open Crown of three Fleurs-de-lis, with two Rays, or lesser Flowers, not raised so high; the Crois composed of a single Line, pretty broad, and continued to the outer Rim; three Pellets in each Quarter, circumscribed with the place of Coinage, viz. London, Canterbury, (See Fig. 1.) VILL A. KINGESTON, Durham, Newcastle, Berwick, Lincoln, Exeter, Bristol, VILL A. SCI. EDMUNDI. Likewise his Irish Money, the Head in a Triangle, CIVITAS DUBLINIE. (See Fig. 2.) Also Waterford and Cork, which shows there was more than one Mint in Ireland. He is reported, (but says Nicolson, falsely,) to have ordered the minting of *Groats*. J. Speed pretends to give a Cut of one, but he is supposed to be mistaken. The most remarkable Corruptions of the Coin are found in antient Records to be in this Reign, when there was imported a sort of light Money, with a Mitre, another with a Lion, a third of Copper blanched, to resemble the Money of England, a fourth like that of King Edward, a fifth plated, known by the Names of *Crocards*, *Pillards*, *Stallings*, *Eagles*, *Leones*, and *Steepings*. And the Merchants to avoid the Search at Dover and Sandwich, concealed the Parcels in Bails of Cloth, and brought them in by other Ports. *Les queux Chieses si elles fussent long tems jusserts*, (says the *Red-Book*) *elles mettraient la Monnoie d'Angleterre a risque*. And the chief Remedies then applied were: 1. To cry down all Money that was not of England, Ireland, or Scotland. 2. That such as arrived from beyond Seas, should show the Money they brought with them to the King's Officers. 3. And not to hide it in Fardels, upon pain of Forfeiture. 4. That the light and clip Money, might be bored through without Contradiction. 5. And that the same should be received and paid by Weight, at a certain Rate, and that the Persons having such Money, should bring it to the King's Changers, who as well as the Masters of the Mint, had several Offices erected in divers parts of the Kingdom, whose principal Business was to buy in the Silver of the bad Money, *que les Pillards et Crocards et les autres mauvaises monnoies contrefaits soient abatus*. And there was a Writ, then directed to the Sheriffs, to prohibit the Impatation of clipped or counterfeit Monies, and the use thereof in Merchandizing or Negotiating, under severe Penalties, and commanding those that had such Money to bore it thorough, and to bring it to the King's Change to be new coined.



10. EDWARD II. Surnamed of CAERNARVON.

1307.
State of
England.

The English
prepossessed
in Favour of
Edward II.

Edward re-
calls Ga-
veston, and
tells him
with Fa-
vours.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 1.
Walling.

THE Reign of Edward I. had been a glorious and triumphant Reign for England. The Principality of Wales was united to the Crown. Scotland, thrice subdued, was upon the Point of being conquered a fourth time, the English Army having now entered the Frontiers. There were no more Factions in the Kingdom. Discord was banished, and a good Harmony was happily established between the Sovereign and the People. All this seemed to make ample amends for the Losses sustained by the Crown beyond Sea, in the Reigns of John and Henry III, not so much by the Weakness of the English as the Pusillanimity of those two Princes. Edward of Caernarvon's Age, who, when he mounted the Throne, was in his twenty third Year, his noble Stature, good Mien, majestick Presence, joined to the Advantage of being born of a Father so universally esteemed, gave the English fresh Hopes. As never did Prince come to the Crown in more favourable Circumstances, so never was Prince received with a more general Joy and greater Applause. It even seemed, that the extraordinary Satisfaction shown by the People on this occasion, was somewhat injurious to the Glory of the deceased King (1).

This Prince's first Step, a few days after the Death of his Father, blasted all these agreeable Hopes, and turned the Nation's Joy into mourning. He had not yet done the last Offices to the great Prince to whom he owed his Birth, when forgetting his Oath concerning Gaveston, he recalled that Favourite. He did not so much as stay for his Return, to make him in an instant the richest Man in the Kingdom. In the very beginning of his Reign (2) he created him Earl of Cornwall, and gave him the Lands fallen to the Crown by the Death of the late Earl, Son of Richard King of the Romans (3). His Impatience to load with Favours a Man who had been just driven from him, as the Corrupter of his Youth, plainly discovered to what height his Passion was grown, and how much the Consequences were to be feared. But this was not all the Effect it produced. The English began to have a disadvantageous Idea of their new King, and at the same time to think of means to curb the impetuous Heat of a Prince, who gave so just occasion of Fear. For, not content with beginning his Reign with the Breach of his late Oath to the King his Father, in recalling a Favorite despised by all the World, he had loaded him with Benefits, and immediately after his Return presented him with the Isle of Man. But this was not the only or chief Cause of the Discontent of the English Lords. They could not see, without extreme Grief, such a one as Gaveston dispose at pleasure of all the Offices of the Kingdom, and become absolute Master of the Administration of Affairs, which the King wholly left to his Management. It seemed that Edward desired to be King, only to have it in his Power to shower down his Favours on Gaveston. Wholly intent upon pleasing him, as a Lover his Mistress, he concerned himself with nothing, but to devise every day new Ways to procure him Satisfaction. In short, giving himself up intirely to his Guidance, he let him act as King, whilst himself gloried in being his Subject or Slave. A more excessive Passion was never known. Accordingly People scrupled not to say publicly, the King was bewitched.

If a Woman had been thus enamoured of Gaveston, it would not have been thought very strange, since he wanted no Qualification to recommend him to the Favour of the Fair

Sex. He had a beautiful Face without any defect. His Shape fine and easy, his Air noble and grand, in all the Exercises of the Body he was distinguished for his extraordinary Address. One could not help admiring his Wit, and those sharp and quick Repartees, peculiar to the Gascons, among whom he was born. To all this some add an uncommon Valour. If he had been less beloved by the King, he would have made a more lasting, though not so considerable, a fortune; But the Affection of his Prince inspired him with a Pride which proved his Destruction. He would govern the State with an absolute Sway, without sharing his Power with any Person whatever; hardly vouchsafing so much as to use the King's Name. His external Accomplishments, which shone with great Lustre, rendered him so proud and insolent, that he thought himself above all the Great Men, though by his Vices and Debaucheries he degraded himself below the very meanest. The chief means he used to gain Edward's Affection, was a blind Condescension to his Desires, without examining whether they were virtuous or vicious. When once he came to have an absolute Influence over him, his only Care was to indulge him in his Pleasures, to which that Prince was too much addicted. What then could be expected from the strict Union of two such Persons, but a scandalous Licentiousness at Court, and an entire Decay of the publick Affairs? An unexperienced and mean-spirited Minister, who minded nothing but Trifles, Diversions, Balls, Banquets, and some still less innocent Pleasures, was little capable of governing so large a Kingdom. It was not long before the Nation experienced the fatal Effects of so ill a Choice.

Gaveston's Return was immediately followed by the Disgrace of Langton Bishop of Lichfield (4) and High-Treasurer. Edward hated that Prelate mortally, for having been the principal Promoter of Gaveston's Banishment. As soon as he came to the Crown, he confined him in Wallingford Castle, and would not suffer any Person to speak in his Favour. It was not but upon the pressing Instances or rather Threats of the Pope, that he set him at Liberty again after a long Confinement. To this Violence he added the Removal of all his Father's Officers and Domesticks, without vouchsafing to advise with his Council (5).

The beginnings of this Reign being very unpromising, the chief Lords thought betimes of means to stop the Impetuosity of their Prince, and curb his capricious Temper. But these thoughts were interrupted by the Celebration of his Nuptials. The King his Father had contracted him to Isabella of France, Daughter of Philip the Fair, and had strongly charged him, when dying, to consummate the Marriage as soon as possible. This was the only thing wherein he made haste to obey him. Neglecting therefore the War with Scotland, which was no less necessary, he repaired to Boulogne, where the King of France stayed for him, to deliver his Daughter into his hands. Never was Wedding more magnificent. There were present four Kings and four Queens, besides a great Number of Princes and Princesses, Lords and Ladies, who made the most numerous Assembly of Nobles that had been seen a great while (6).

Though Edward's Voyage was very short, it failed not to produce ill Effects. Upon leaving England, he was so weak as to appoint his Favorite Guardian of the Realm, with power to dispose of all vacant Places and Benefices,

Description
and Cha-
racter of
Gaveston.
J. Trokelow.
Walling.
Knighton,
Sir Thomas
de la Moer.

- (1) The new King on the first of August began his March towards Scotland, having summoned the Nobility of that Kingdom to meet him at Dunfermline, and do their Homage, which several of them did. Whereupon Edward being contented with their outward formal Submissions, appointed a symonie de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Guardian of Scotland, and went back into England. *Chronicle de Lanerc.* An. St. Aug. Rymer, Tom. III. p. 7.
- (2) The Patent or Order for creating him Earl of Cornwall, bears date August 6, at Dunfermline. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 4.
- (3) And the Wardship of the Person and Estate of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester. How advantageous the Wardship of such a Person and Estate was in those Days, may be gathered from Simon de Montfort lining in ten thousand Marks to have the Custody of the Lands and Heir of Guiot de Ugentrac in 31 of Henry II. *Rot. 7.*
- (4) See above, p. 383. Note 16.
- (5) October 13. the King held a Parliament at Northampton; wherein the Clergy, together with the Citizens and Burgeses, granted him a Fifteenth, and the Lays a twentieth part of their Moveables. *Rot. Claus.* 1 Ed. II. M. 11. *Chron. Lanerc.* Walling. p. 90.
- (6) The Marriage was celebrated Jan. 25. There were present the Kings of France, Navarre, Aragon, and Sicily, with the Queens Mary of France, Margaret Dowager of England, and the Queen of Navarre. Isabella was but between twelve and thirteen Years of Age. *Walling.* p. 95, 96.

1307.

The Bishop
of Lichfield
imprisoned.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 11.
Walling.

1308.
The King's
Marriage.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 56.
Walling.

Gaveston
made Guar-
dian of the
King's Ab-
sence.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 47.
Walling.
p. 96.

1308.

Barons
leave
against the
King.Edward pro-
mises to satisfy
by them.
Walsing.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 63.Act. Pub.
Ibid.The Corona-
tion-Oath.

Wardships of young Nobles, and in short, to act in all things with an unlimited Authority (1). So many Favors added to the great Presents he had made him before his Departure into *Guienne* his Country (2), roused the Jealousy of the Barons. They carried their Resentment so far, that they combined together to hinder the King's Coronation, the Day whereof was now fixed. *Edward* not being able to break so powerful a League, where almost all the Lords of the Realm were concerned, chose to prevent the Consequences by fair means. He gave his word to the Barons, that in the next Parliament he would grant whatever they could reasonably desire. This Promise satisfied them. But they were extremely troubled, to see *Gaveston* commissioned to carry the Crown of *St. Edward*, with which the King was to be crowned; an Honour that, by antient Custom, belonged to the Princes of the Blood. This Preference provoked the Lords to the last degree against the Favorite, and withal filled them with Indignation against the King, who seemed to glory in his Fondness for a Man odious to the whole Nation. The Coronation however was solemnized (3) without opposition; the Bishop of *Winchester* performing this Ceremony, by Order of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom. The Form of the Coronation-Oath was as follows:

Bishop of Winchester. *Sir, Will you keep and confirm by your Oath to the People of England, the Laws established by the pious Kings your Predecessors, and particularly, the Laws, Customs, Liberties, granted to the Clergy and People by the glorious St. Edward your Predecessor?*

King. *I will and promise it.*

Bishop. *Sir, Will you preserve to God, to Holy Church, to the Clergy and People, the Peace of God, fully and to the utmost of your power?*

King. *I will.*

Bishop. *Sir, Will you cause to be observed in all your Judgments, Right and Justice with discretion, in Mercy, and in Truth, as far as you are able?*

King. *I will.*

Bishop. *Sir, Will you promise to keep and cause to be kept the Laws and Statutes that the Community of your Kingdom shall judge fit to enact, and will you defend and protect them to the utmost of your Power?*

King. *I do promise it.*

As this is the first perfect Copy of a Coronation-Oath to be met with in the *English* History, it will not be foreign to the purpose, to take notice of the Advantage gained by the People upon the Royal Prerogatives, since the Establishment of *Magna Charta*. It manifestly appears by this Oath, that, far from supposing the Great Charter to be the Original Title of the Privileges, granted by King *John* to the People of *England*, it was considered only as a Confirmation of the antient Liberties of the Nation. Upon this supposition, *Edward II* was made to swear, he would observe the Laws of *St. Edward*, which were no other than those of the *Anglo-Saxons*; left by causing him to swear to keep the Great Charter, there might be room to imagine, the Privileges of the People were founded on the Concessions of the Kings. I do not know whether *Edward I* took the same Oath, or it was first introduced at the Coronation of *Edward II*.

The King
forgets his
Promise.Gaveston's
imprudent
Conduct.
J. Trokel. w.

The Solemnity was no sooner over, but *Edward* forgot his Promise to the Lords. He still continued his Favour to *Gaveston*, and left him, as before, absolute master of his own and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Gaveston* for his part, far from endeavouring to allay the impending Storm, affected to govern with an arbitrary Power, without vouchsafing to ask any Man's Advice. He used his Influence over his Master, to divert him from the thoughts of prosecuting the War with *Scotland*, which the King his Father had so earnestly enjoined him, and whereof his Subjects impatiently waited the Issue, in order to be eased of the Burden. Instead of inspiring the King with the Love of Glory and Virtue,

he filled the Court with Libertines, Buffoons, and Parasites, and the like pernicious Instruments, proper to corrupt his Inclinations, though they had been naturally as good as they were bad. To this he added the ridiculous Vanity of affecting to wear the King's Jewels, and the Crown itself, which *Edward* freely permitted. The King's Weakness grew to that height, that he was heard to say, if his Power was equal to his Affection, he would set the Crown on *Gaveston's* head. As that was not practicable, he would at least raise him as near the Throne as possible, by giving him his Niece (4), Sister of the Earl of *Gloucester*, in Marriage.

1308.

Walsing.

Herald of the
Court, saying
Gaveston.

Walsing.

The Parlia-
ment
Gaveston
banished.The King
made him
his Niece.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 63.He forgot his
Promise.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 63.

Every fresh Favour granted to *Gaveston* by the King, increased the Hatred of the Lords. Hardly would an *Englishman*, raised to so high a Station, have been endured, much less a private *Gaveston* Gentleman, in whom they discovered no other Merit, than a handsome Face, an easy Shape, and a quick Wit, very agreeable in Conversation, but little power to govern a State. They plainly saw, it was vain to press the King to part with this Favorite, and that he would never consent to their Request, unless he was forced. In this belief, instead of amusing themselves with persuading *Edward* by reasons, which would have been ineffectual, they laboured to draw into their League (5), the Members of the Parliament which was to meet, and accordingly did meet in *May* 1303. By the management of the Lords, *Gaveston's* Banishment became the chief, or rather the sole Business of the Session. The two Houses being united in the same Design, demanded of the King, in so strong and positive a manner, that *Gaveston* should be banished, that he durst not oppose it. He was afraid his Refusal would deprive him of the Aids he expected, for the Continuation of the War with *Scotland*, and perhaps dreaded something worse. Therefore, without any fruitless Disputes, he ordered Letters Patents (6) to be drawn up, promising to cause *Gaveston* to depart the Realm before *St. John Baptist's* day next ensuing. Mean time, instead of acting so as to give room to believe he designed to perform his Promise, he every day heaped new Favours on *Gaveston*. Fifteen days after his Engagement, he made him a Grant of three thousand Marks a year in Land (7). This Proceeding clearly shewing, he was by no means resolved to part with his Favorite, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had entered into the Barons League, though he lay under great Obligations to the King, excommunicated *Gaveston*, in case he did not leave the Realm by the time prescribed him. *Edward* little regarding this Censure, only intreated the Pope to annul it. At the same time he wrote to the King of *France* his Brother-in-law, to desire him to procure an Agreement between him and the Barons, and so to manage, as he might keep his Favourite (8).

These measures were neither just nor early enough. The Lords finding the appointed time for *Gaveston's* Departure drew nigh, were so urgent with the King to oblige him to keep his Word, that he durst not but do it. However, in performing his Promise, he found means to give his Favourite a fresh Mark of his Affection, by making him Governor of *Ireland*, with a very extensive Authority. This Removal, however honorable it was, failed not to give some Satisfaction to the Lords, who hoped to take advantage of his Absence to ruin him. But he himself was not at all pleased. Besides, that this Change of *England* for *Ireland*, appeared to him very disadvantageous, he was sensible his Absence from Court could not but prove fatal to him. As he was absolute master of the King, hardly was he arrived in *Ireland*, when he caused himself to be recalled, under pretence of assisting at a Tournament to be held at *Wallingford*. The Magnificence wherewith he appeared on this occasion, and the great Number of Foreigners that attended him, and served him for Guards, greatly increased the Jealousy of the Lords, who saw themselves thus braved. To this kind of Insult he added the Indiscretion of passing bitter Jefts on the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Warwick*,

Gaveston
made Governor
of Ireland.
p. 93.
Kingston.1309.
He was recalled,
Walling.and before
the King's
Walsing.
p. 94.

(1) The King's Patent bears date December 26. at *Westminster*. This Act shows the Error of most Historians, particularly Sir *Thomas de la Mer*, *Fleur Orlean's*, Speed, the Annalist upon *Daniel's* History, Dr. *Hume*, &c. who all say *Gaveston* was with the King at the Celebration of his Nuptials. Whereas he was then in *England*, as appears from several Orders in the *Rolls*, signed by him in the King's Audience, with the subscription *Willelmus Gaveston*. Instances of such Mistakes are rectified in *Rapin* by means of the *Federis*.

(2) *Walter Hungerford* says, The King bestowed upon him all the Money hoarded up by the late King, which amounted to a hundred thousand Pounds. Besides this, *Gaveston* had the Confidence, through the King's Indulgence, to take the Treasure and Jewels of the Crown, and send them beyond sea for his own Use. See *Tyrrel*, p. 225. *Walsingham*, p. 94, 95.

(3) On February 24. *Walsingham*, p. 95. His Queen was crowned with him. *Ibid*. p. 96.

(4) *Margaret*. Upon this Marriage the King bestowed upon him the Honours of *Lich*, and *Berkhamsted*, the Castles and Manors of *Shrewsbury*, in *Shropshire*; *High Percy*, *Derbyshire*; *Cockermouth*, *Cumberland*; *Popple* and *Upton*, *Northamptonshire*; *Carsbrook*, in the *Life of Walsingham*, with several other Lands. He also granted him Lands in *Guienne*, to the Value of three thousand Marks a Year. *Tyrrel*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 40, 50.

(5) They met at *Ware*, and from thence went to *Northampton*, and issued out Summons to the rest of the Barons to come thither to a Treaty or Council, concerning the great Affairs of the Kingdom. So that the King having no Forces to oppose them, was forced to summon a Parliament, to meet fifteen Days after. *Chron. St. August.*

(6) Dated May 13. at *Westminster*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 80.

(7) The Grant is dated at *Langley*, *Ibid*. p. 81.

(8) *Walsingham* says, *Gaveston* went out of the Kingdom, and the King of *France* ordered him to be seized if he came into his Dominions; but he looked about in *Flanders*, and returned to *England* before *Gaveston*. p. 93.

1209. *Warren, and Hereford*, which would have induced them to be revenged, even though they had no other reason to complain. He called the Earl of *Lancaster*, *Stage-Player*; the Earl of *Pembroke*, [*Joseph*] *the Jew*; the Earl of *Warwick*, *the wild Bear of Ardenne*; and in like manner, gave every one of his private Enemies Nicknames, to make them ridiculous, or discover their Faults (1). The Lords seeing themselves insulted by the Favorite, and deceived by the King, met together to concert means to oblige *Edward* to keep his Word. Quickly after, they presented a Petition to him (2), setting forth, that the State and his own Household were so ill-managed, that it was absolutely necessary to find means to prevent the Consequences of this Disorder. They added, the only proper Method, as they thought, was, for the King to leave to certain Lords appointed by the Parliament, the Care of making a Regulation for the well-governing the Kingdom and his own domestick Affairs (3). *Edward* had already shewn great Signs of Weakness, in his regard for their former Demands. He had thereby made them sensible, that if, for the future, they shewed any Resolution, he would not have the Courage to resist them. They were not mistaken in their Conjectures. This Prince, as timorous on certain occasions, as he was proud and haughty on others, was incapable of discerning when he should give way, and when stand his ground. Accordingly, he took precisely the contrary to what he should have done. Instead of complying with the Barons, when they first petitioned for *Gaveston's* Removal, he obstinately persisted in retaining him against all the Rules of Policy. Afterwards, far from opposing to the utmost of his power, the Motion of placing the Government in other hands than his own, and instead of running all Hazards, rather than give his Consent, he believed it expedient to yield to their Importunity. Without considering the consequence of a Condescension so pernicious to his Authority and Quiet, he permitted the Parliament to chuse seven Bishops, eight Earls, and six Barons (4), to make the proposed Regulation.

In consequence of the King's Consent, the Lords having finished the Regulation, presented the Plan to the King, who approved it, and gave them Power to cause it to be observed for one Year. It contained but six Articles, whereof the two principal were: *That the King should not dispose of any part of his Revenues; which should for the future be expended in paying his Debts, and maintaining his Household, that he might live on his own Income, without taking any thing from others: That the Great Charter should be punctually kept; and in case any Article should be obscure or doubtful, it should belong to the Lords elected (who were styled Ordainers) to explain it.* There was nothing inserted concerning *Gaveston's* Banishment. Probably, the Barons were of Opinion, there was no danger from that Favorite, so long as the Government was in their hands. Nevertheless, when they afterwards saw the King continue to heap Favours on him, and, without asking their Advice, had made him Governor of *Nottingham*, and Warden of the Forests on this side the *Trent*, they drew up one and forty new Articles, to which the King was forced to assent. By one of these Articles, *Gaveston* was expressly sentenced to perpetual Banishment.

Edward having thus suffered himself to be bound with Fetters which he could not shake off, resolved, tho' with extreme Regret, to part with *Gaveston*. However, to save him the shame of being banished, he gave him an imaginary Commission to levy Troops in *Guienne*, for the Assistance of the Earl of *Foix*, who had been at variance with the Court of *France*, but the Dispute was now at an end.

Gaveston's Banishment was of no long continuance. *Edward*, who could not live without him, disregarding the Articles he had lately signed, recalled him without acquainting the Ordainers. Shortly after he sent circular Letters to the Sheriffs, to give them notice thereof, and to justify what he had done. He told them, that being bound by his Coronation Oath, to see the Laws of the Realm put in execution, there was no Authority that could absolve him therefrom: That *Gaveston* being banished by a notorious Violence, and without a legal Sentence, he could not deprive him of the Benefit of the Law, to which all his Subjects

were intitled: That therefore, he had caused him to return into the Kingdom, not with design to screen him from Justice, but that he might be tried according to the usual Form: That in the mean time, he considered him as a good and faithful Subject, and ordered them to publish this Declaration in their respective Jurisdictions.

The Lords were not much displeased that the King by this Proceeding, had furnished them with a pretence to complete the ruin of a Favorite, who could not be torn from him without violence. In order to open a way to their End, they endeavoured to gain the People by exclaiming against the King's Conduct. They said publicly, there was no depending upon what was enacted by the Parliament, since the King disregarded it. That it was easy to see, the King was aiming at an arbitrary Power, and the whole Nation was equally concerned to oppose the Growth of a despotick Power, which tended to render the Subjects so many Slaves. These Discourses, being supported by their emissaries among the People, began to create an universal Discontent, of which the King had but too much Reason to dread the Consequences. He imagined, he should be able to prevent them by publishing a Proclamation, protesting it was his Intention to observe the one and forty Articles. But as he had violated one of the principal in recalling his Favorite, his Protestation produced no effect.

Mean time, *Gaveston*, still more indiscreet than his Master, instead of appeasing his Enemies by his modest Behaviour, daily grew more proud and arrogant. He acted as if he had nothing to fear, or was ignorant of the Barons Designs. He had even the boldness to speak insolently to the Queen; who not being able to obtain any satisfaction, complained bitterly to the King her Father. She told him that *Gaveston* was the sole Cause of her Misfortunes, and the King her Husband's Fondness for that unworthy Favorite, alienated his Affections from her, and made him an entire Stranger to her Bed. This Complaint has made some suspect, that the Familiarity between the King and *Gaveston* was of a very criminal nature. But it may be their Suspicions are carried too far.

Mean while the Barons kept their first Design always in view. There were among them Persons of great Abilities, who knew how dangerous it is, on these occasions, to act by halves; and that if such sort of Enterprizes are not brought to an Issue, they seldom failed to ruin the Authors. The Earl of *Lincoln* (5) was one of the most considerable of the Party, as well for his Birth and high Offices, as for his Age and Experience. As he was confined to his Bed by a Fit of Sickness, which in all appearance would lay him in his Grave, he was apprehensive, that after his Death the Confederates would give way, and was willing to endeavour to prevent that Accident, which would have occasioned their Ruin. To that end, having sent for his Son-in-law the Earl of *Lancaster*, Grandson of *Henry III.*, "he conjured him in the strongest and most moving Terms, not to abandon the Church and People of England to the Mercy of the Popes and Kings. He told him, his Birth obliged him to endeavour to free the Kingdom from the Oppressions it unfortunately laboured under. He charged him to have always a great regard for the King. But withal, he added, that his Regard ought not to hinder him from doing all that lay in his Power, to remove from the King's Person the Foreign Ministers and Favorites. That Honour, Conscience, the Publick Good, called upon him to procure the Observance of the Great Charter, the only Basis of the Welfare and Peace of the Kingdom. In conclusion, he advised him to join heartily with the Earl of *Warwick* (6), who among all the Confederate Lords was best able to carry on the important Undertaking." It was not long before the Effects of this Advice were seen. The Earl of *Lancaster* entering into a strict Confederacy with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, *Warren*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Bishops and Barons, they unanimously resolved to take Arms, under the usual Pretence of defending the Rights of the Church and State.

The Earl of *Lancaster* was chosen General of the intended Army, an Honour which could not be refused to his Merit, though no Regard had been had to his Quali-

(1) This Year a Parliament was held at *Wimborne*, in the beginning of *Sept.* and afterwards adjourned till a Month after *Febr.*; wherein the King confirmed the Great Charter, and thenceforth the Lords and Commons granted him the twenty fifth Penny of all their personal Estates. Another was held at *St. Pauls*, *July* 26. to repress the Malice of the *Scots*. And another, consisting of some of the Nobility of the King's Party, on *October* 18. at *York*. See *Cl. 2 Edw. II. M. 4. W. Hemmingsford.*

(2) In a Parliament held at *London* in *January*. *Walsing.* p. 97. *Brady* says, it was in a Parliament held *August* 109. *Cl. 4 Edw. II. M. 1. Dors.* This Parliament was continued or prorogued till the beginning of *November*. *Cl. 5 Ed. II. M. 25. Dors.*

(3) The most full and particular Account of this whole Transaction is in *Brady's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 102 — 119. and *Appendix*, Vol. 60. Sec.

(4) They were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *St. David's*, and *London*. The Earls of *Gloucester*, *Lincoln*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Richmond*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*. And their Barons, *Hugh de Per*, *William de Maribus*, *Robert Fitz Roger*, *Hugh de Cressingham*, *William de Mareschall*, *John de Cressingham*. *Brady*, p. 103.

(5) The Earl of *Lincoln*, who came in with the Conquerors.

(6) *Guy de Beauchamp.*

1312. ty (1). Immediately after this Resolution was taken, all the Confederate Barons dispersing themselves into the several Counties, publickly levied Troops. They used such expedition, that in a short time their Forces were assembled at the appointed Rendezvous. It was impossible for Edward to be ignorant of these Preparations. And yet, as if he was unconcerned, he took no Notice of them.

Ind. Law of the King. Act. Pub. III. p. 304, 308, 310.

p. 310.

He has a mind to reform the Regulation. Ibid. p. 310, 337.

The Barons rise, and the King retires to Scarborough with Gaveston. Act. Pub. III. p. 327, Walling.

The Barons seize the King's and Gaveston's Equipage at Newcastle. Walling.

They besiege Scarborough. Act. Pub. III. p. 327, 329, 333, 334.

Gaveston surrenders. Walling.

The Earl of Pembroke takes upon him to carry Gaveston to the King. Walling.

Instead of thinking of means to satisfy the incensed Barons, or defend himself against their Insults, he minded nothing but his Diversions at York, where he was then with Gaveston. His only care was to heap new Favours on his Minion, remaining in a surprizing Indolence, whilst he saw the whole Kingdom ready to rise against him. He seemed to affect continually to act contrary to his real Interests, and to neglect to take such measures, as a Person of an ordinary Understanding might have pointed out to him. At the very time that he saw the Barons in Arms, to compel him to observe the one and forty Articles, he wilfully violated one of the principal, in making the Bishop of Lichfield High-Treasurer without the Consent of the Ordainers. (2) But this was not the only Error he committed on this occasion. As if he had been in a condition to give Laws to the Barons, he would have reformed at the same time the regulation, on pretence he had reserved to himself the Power of correcting, with the Advice of the Ordainers, some Articles prejudicial to his Prerogative. It was easy to see this was no proper Season for that Work. And yet he nominated on his part Commissioners to set about the Alterations.

The Barons had then other Designs. After drawing all their Forces together, they marched directly for York, thinking to surprize the King, whose Supineness gave them room to hope every thing. But upon the first notice of their Approach, he retired to Newcastle, where they followed him without loss of time. That Town not seeming to him strong enough, he left it and shut himself up in Scarborough Castle, which he deemed his best Fortrefs in the North. He began then to see his Error in deferring so long to prepare for his Defence: But it was too late to think of it. However, in spite of the improbability of succeeding, he resolved to go into Warwickshire; where he expected to raise an Army, upon the vain hopes, that the People would flock in Crowds to list under his Banner. But as he was under greater Concern for Gaveston than himself, he left him behind at Scarborough, recommending him to the care of the Governor as a precious Trust, and a sure Pledge of the Confidence he placed in him.

Whilst Edward was taking his too late measures, the Barons, who entered Newcastle the very day he departed, seized whatever was left there by the King and his Favorite, their haste not permitting them to carry away any thing. In Gaveston's Baggage were found many Jewels, belonging to the Crown, and of which an exact Inventory was taken, that an account might be given of them hereafter. And as soon as the Earl of Lancaster was informed of the King's departure from Scarborough, and his leaving Gaveston there, he sent the Earls of Pembroke and Warren to besiege that Castle. At the same time, he marched himself with the rest of the Army towards the Center of the Kingdom, in order to have it more in his Power to oppose the Designs of the King. The two detached Earls advancing towards Scarborough without any opposition, formed the Siege, and carried it on with great vigour. (3) Though the Place was one of the strongest in the Kingdom, it was so ill-provided with necessaries for its Defence, that in a few Days Gaveston was under a necessity to deliver himself into the hands of his Enemies. (4) He obtained however, a sort of Capitulation, whereby it was promised him that he should speak with the King, and be tried by his Peers according to the usual Form.

As soon as Edward heard of his Favourite's being thus taken, he earnestly solicited his Liberty, or that at least, he might see and speak with him according to promise. Above all, he conjured the confederate Lords to spare the Prisoner's Life, assuring them, on that Condition, he would give them entire Satisfaction concerning their Grievances. Most of the Barons were against carry-

ing Gaveston to the King, well knowing that his Request tended only to get him out of their hands. But they consented at last, upon the Earl of Pembroke's representing, that having given his Word in the Name of all the Confederates, they were obliged to perform it: That if they would trust him with conducting him, he would undertake to convey him to the King, and to restore him to them at a day and place appointed.

Pembroke designed to conduct his Prisoner to Wallingford Castle, where the King was to come and speak with him. Accordingly, taking the Road to Oxfordshire, he came to Deddington (5), where he left Gaveston under a Guard, whilst he himself went and lodged in a neighbouring Castle (6). He did not think it necessary to use greater Precaution in a Place where the King had no Troops, and where consequently there was no danger from him: But he found he had taken his measures very ill. The Earl of Warwick, who was violently against this Interview of the King and Gaveston, hearing how they quartered, came that night to the House where Gaveston lay, carried him away by force, and conducted him to Warwick. On the morrow, the same Earl with some others the most violent of the Party, after a quick Trial, ordered his Head to be cut off (7). A mad Action, if ever there was any, which in violating a Capitulation, trampled upon the Laws of the Land, and the respect due at all times from Subjects to their Sovereign. What would these same Lords have said, if the King or Gaveston had done the like?

Though Edward was extremely incensed at the Boldness of these Lords, it was not in his power to be revenged; and the Barons took no care to give him any Satisfaction for this Outrage. On the contrary, not content with being thus rid of the Object of their Hatred, they demanded more haughtily than ever, the Performance of the forty Articles, and a speedy Redress of the Grievances of the State. At the same time, they marched to London, where the King was retired, bent upon obtaining by force, what they plainly saw he would never voluntarily grant them. Mean while, the King not daring to trust the Londoners, was gone to Canterbury, where he was not much safer. In this extremity, he had recourse to the Mediation of the Pope's Nuncio, and of Lewis Earl of Evreux the Queen's Uncle, then in England, and the Earl of Gloucester (8) his Nephew, who had stood neuter. By means of these three Mediators, who laboured heartily in the Affair, certain Articles were agreed upon (9), with which every one seemed satisfied. The Lords promised to restore whatever was taken at Newcastle; publicly to ask the King's Pardon; and declare that without any design against his Person, their sole Aim had been to redress what was amiss in the Government. The King promised on his part, to grant a general Pardon to them and all their Adherents, reserving a Power to grant the like to those that favoured Gaveston's Return.

The Barons punctually performed their Word, in restoring whatever was seized at Newcastle; but Edward was not so sincere. He delayed publishing the General Pardon above a Year, and during that Space used all means to draw the Earl of Lancaster to Court. But what Safe-Conducts soever he offered him, it was not possible to persuade the Earl to put himself in his power, before the Pardon was proclaimed. At length, the Barons weary of all the Evasions used by the King, began to take Arms again, when the King of France sent the Earl of Evreux his Brother, accompanied with Enguerrand de Marigny, to try to adjust these Differences. The Queen likewise did all that lay in her Power. It was very difficult to accomplish it, because the King still deferring to publish the promised Pardon, the Barons believed they had still reason to fear he never designed it. During the Negotiation, the King went and conferred with his Father-in-law, and left Orders that the Parliament should meet whilst he was absent (10). The Earl of Lancaster and the Barons of his Party, made no Scruple to be present, being encouraged by the King's absence. But hearing he was returned and landed at Sand-

(1) He was Son to Prince Edmund Son of Henry III, and Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Flanders, and in Right of his Wife, of Lincoln and Salisbury. Besides he had a great Estate in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Wales, and was Earl of Arundel in Primacy, and consequently the greatest Subject in the Kingdom. Wallingham, p. 100.

(2) The Bishop was thereupon excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the King solicited the Pope to absolve him from that Sentence. See Rymers's Fœd. Tom. III. p. 322.

(3) Though the King ordered them, upon forfeiting their Life, Limbs, and Possessions, to desist from it, by an Order dated at York, May 17. Ibid. p. 323.

(4) He surrendered himself to Henry de Percy. Ibid. p. 334.

(5) About four Miles from Banbury in Oxfordshire.

(6) He committed the Prisoner to the care of his Sisters, and went and lodged with his Lady, at a neighbouring Place. Wallingham, p. 101.

(7) In the Presence of the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, and Hereford, on Blackheath, near Warwick, the sign of peace. This was done first in the Church of the Predicant Fryers at Oxford, and afterwards removed to King's Langley in Hertfordshire, in a Monastery built by King Edward, to pray for Gaveston's Soul. Kingdon, Cal. 2533. Wallingham, p. 101.

(8) Gilbert de Clare, Son of Joanna de Acre, the King's Sister.

(9) A few Days before Christmas. Rymers's Fœd. Tom. III. p. 323.

(10) July 9. Ibid. p. 422.

1313. which, they immediately withdrew, not caring to trust to the Safe-Conducts sent them from the Place of his Landing. Their Retreat obliged the Parliament to break up. Affairs being in such a situation as a fresh Rupture was every moment to be feared, the Mediators were so urgent with the King to give the Barons Satisfaction, that he could no longer defer it. He ordered therefore the two general Pardons to be drawn up, which were confirmed shortly after by the Parliament. But as a general Pardon did not fully satisfy the Parties concerned, it was necessary likewise to give a particular Pardon to four hundred and sixty eight Persons, whose Names are mentioned in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

The Pardon is published. Act. Pub. III. p. 442, 443, 448, 449.

While this Negotiation was in hand, the Queen brought into the World, in the beginning of October (1) 1313, a Prince christened *Edward*.

The publishing of the general Pardons, as well for the confederate Barons as for *Gaveston's* Friends, having at length restored Peace in the Kingdom, the Parliament (2) granted the King a considerable Subsidy towards a vigorous Prosecution of the War with *Scotland*. Before the Parliament broke up, the Barons publicly begged the King's Pardon in *Westminster-Hall*, before all the People. This was done in a very solemn manner. The Barons speaking to the King, made use of the most humble and submissive Terms, as if the Pardon he had granted them were the pure Effect of his Clemency. After this, they returned to their homes, satisfied in Appearance, but however without ceasing to distrust the King. They had too highly offended him, to hope he would ever forget it. The Death of the Earl of *Warwick*, which happened soon after, increased their Mistrust, every one believing he was poisoned.

The Barons published by the King's Pardon. Waiting.

Ibid. p. 103.

After f Scotland.

While *England* endured violent Shocks by the Weakness and little Genius of the Governor, *Scotland* daily grew stronger, by the prudent Conduct of a courageous and vigilant King, who wisely improved the Repose procured to them by the Death of *Edward I.* *Robert Bruce*, who may justly be called the Restorer of the *Scotch* Monarchy, politically suppressed the Factions which divided his Subjects, and united them all in the design of shaking off the Yoke of Servitude. By this happy Union, he was in a condition not only to recover the best Part of his Country, but also to carry his Arms into *England*. I am now going to relate the particulars of the *Scotch* War, which I could not, without confusion, intermix with the Relation of the domestick Troubles in *England*.

War with Scotland.

Edward I. resolved utterly to destroy *Scotland*, and probably would have reduced the Kingdom to a wretched Condition, if Death had not snatched him out of the World very opportunely for the *Scots*. *Robert Bruce* was preparing to take advantage of the Confection of the *English*, occasioned by the loss of *Edward*: But a great Fit of Sickness seizing him at the same time, hindered his entering upon Action. Mean while, the *Scots*, who knew not yet the Character of *Edward II.* were in great perplexity, their King being very dangerously ill, and their Forces much inferior to those of their Enemies. *Edward II.*'s sudden Resolution to return into *England*, after advancing as far as *Dumfries*, and striking Terror into the whole Kingdom, gave them room to entertain better hopes. His Impatience to meet *Gaveston*, to marry the Princess designed for him, and to be crowned, expelled all thoughts of War, to which he had no Inclination. So, leaving his Army under the Conduct of *John Comyn* a *Scotch* Lord, he returned into *England* (3). His abrupt departure caused great murmurs in the Army and Kingdom. People could not behold him without Astonishment, relinquishing the Conquest of *Scotland*, at a time when the Number and Ardor of his Troops, and King *Robert's* Illness, seemed to warrant him a glorious Campaign. His chusing *Comyn* to command the Army was no less disliked. This General was a *Scot*, and though of the opposite Party to *Robert*, and his particular Enemy, his being a Foreigner was alone sufficient to offend the *English*, who thought themselves dishonoured by this Preference. What happened quickly after, shewed their Complaints were not groundless. *Comyn* willing to take advantage of *Robert's* Illness, whom he thought incapable of heading his Troops, advanced in order to attack the *Scots*. Though *Robert* still found himself extremely weak, he believed he ought not to decline

An. S. Aug. Walling.

Act. Pub. I. p. 94.

Parliament by the barons.

fighting. At such a juncture, a Retreat might have disheartened his Subjects, and occasioned the Loss of his whole Kingdom. In this Resolution, having mounted his Horse, supported by two Esquires, he drew up his Army, and expected the Enemies, with a Steadiness that produced a wonderful Effect. The *English* imagined, this little Army would never dare to stand before them. But when by the good Posture of the *Scots*, they found themselves disappointed, their Courage began to cool, that hardly could they be brought to begin the fight. So weak an Attack, and so ill seconded, inspiring the *Scots* with fresh Courage, they fell with great Fury upon their Enemies, and put them entirely to rout. This Defeat was the more dishonourable to the *English*, as, besides their being superior in Number, they were the same Troops that had so frequently vanquished the *Scots*, and now suffered themselves to be beaten by an Army levied in haste, and consisting of undisciplined Soldiers. *Comyn* retiring into *England* after his Defeat, *Robert* entered the County of *Argyle*, which still belonged to the *English*, and ravaged it all over. Shortly after, *Edward Bruce* his Brother, gave the *English* another defeat, in the County of *Galloway*. These two Victories gave the *Scots* such a Superiority, that they began from thenceforward to despise the *English*, and forget their past Losses.

Chron. Lanerc. Another by Edward Bruce.

How little Inclination soever *Edward* had for War, he could not avoid endeavouring to stop the Progress of the King of *Scotland*. In 1308, that is, in the second Year of his Reign, he led in Person a powerful Army into that Kingdom. But as he had taken no care for Provisions, depending upon what he expected to find in the Enemy's Country, he was obliged to march back his Army into *England* for want of Subsistence. *Robert*, more provident than he, had carried away, or destroyed before-hand, whatever might serve to maintain the Enemies Troops. *Edward's* Retreat gave the King of *Scotland* an opportunity to become master of several Places in possession of the *English*, and to make that Year a very prosperous Campaign. The Troubles which afterwards happened in *England* on account of *Gaveston*, enabled that Prince to make a still greater Progress. In 1310 and 1311, he entered *England* twice, and carried away a great Booty. In 1312 he recovered *Perth*, *Lanerc*, *Dumfries*, *Roxborough*; and lastly, *Edinburgh* Castle, which was taken by Storm by the Earl of *Murray* his General. This Year the little *Isle of Man* voluntarily submitted to him.

Edward marches against Scotland, Buchanan.

and returns without doing any thing.

Robert makes great Progress. Buchanan. Chron. Lanerc.

While *Robert* continued his Conquests, *Edward*, wholly employed in seeking means to be revenged on the Barons, for putting *Gaveston* to Death, was surprisingly negligent with regard to *Scotland*. Instead of hastening an Agreement with the Lords, in order to unite all his Forces, he prolonged the Negotiation, by a Policy very pernicious to the Affairs of the State. Mean time, *Robert* took advantage of the Negligence of the *English*. After making himself master of all the Places *Edward I.* possessed in *Scotland*, except *Sterling*, he sent, in 1313, his Brother *Edward* to besiege that Town, the strongest then in *Scotland*. The Siege was carried on very vigorously; but the Besieged made as brave a Defence. However, *Philip Mowbray*, the Governor of the Place, finding his Master made no Preparations to relieve him, thought to do him good Service in signing a Capitulation, whereby he promised to surrender the Town in a Year, if it were not relieved by that time.

Robert besieges Sterling. Act. Pub. III. p. 487. The Town capitulates. Buchanan.

Edward having sufficient time to prepare, and desiring at any rate to prevent the Loss of so important a Place, summoned all his Vassals to meet him with their Troops (4). The *English*, *Gascons*, and *Welsh* (5), were so ready to obey him, that by June 1314, he saw himself at the head of a hundred thousand Men. The Soldiers already devoured in their Imagination, whatever the former Ravages of *Edward I.* had left in *Scotland*. Only the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, and the new Earl of *Warwick*, refused, on this occasion, to serve the King, their mistrust of him not permitting them to put themselves in his Power.

Edward having assembled a great Army of a hundred thousand Men. Walling. Trokelow.

This numerous Army entering *Scotland*, advanced within view of *Sterling*. *Robert* expected them at the head of thirty thousand Men, inured to the Fatigues of War, and who had frequently worsted the *English*. He drew up his Army on an advantageous Ground, where

The Battle of Bannockburn. Buchanan. Walling. De la M.

(1) November 13. at *Windsor*. Rymer's *Fed.* Tom. III. p. 348. *Walsingham*, p. 103. *T. de la Mer*, p. 593.

(2) Which met on *Monday*, September 21, and granted the King a Fifthteenth. *Walsingham*, p. 103. There was another Parliament in July, which did nothing of Moment. *R. Clauf.* 6 *Edward II.* M. 3. D. 11.

(3) The Earl of *Perth* surrendering his Commission of Guardian of *Scotland*, it was conferred, September 13. 1307, on *John* Earl of *Brittany*; who, raising a fresh Army, marched against the *Scots*, and defeated them about November 11. So that *Robert Bruce* was forced to fly into the High-Landers. *Cornwall*, *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. III. p. 104.

(4) At *Windsor*, upon Tuesday, three Weeks after *Philip Mowbray's* Defeat. *Walsingham*, p. 104. And borrowed Money of all the Bishops, and Monasteries in the Kingdom. See *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. p. 442, 443.

(5) And *Irish*. *Ibid.* p. 442, 443.

1314. he could not be surrounded. A Mountain full of inaccessible Rocks covered one of his Flanks, and the other was secured by a deep Morass. How great soever the Inequality of these two Armies might be, the Scots being determined to conquer or die, received their Enemies with that Vigor and Resolution, that they soon put this numerous Army into Disorder and Confusion. The English Horse being pressed at first, with a Fury they could not withstand; were the Occasion by their Flight, of the Defeat of the whole Army; a Defeat the most terrible England had ever endured since the beginning of the Monarchy (1). The Scotch Writers mount the Enemies Loss to fifty thousand Men. They pretend, the Number of the Prisoners taken on this occasion exceeded that of the Conquerors. The Earl of Gloucester, Nephew of Edward II, with many other Lords of Distinction (2), and above seven hundred Knights, lay dead on the Field of Battle. The English reduce the Number of the Slain to ten thousand. But the Consequences of this Action discover that their Loss was much greater, since from that time they ventured no more to take the Field.

The English are routed.

Hist. Doct. Buchanan.

Walsing.

Act. Pub. III. p. 491.

Walsing.

Id. p. 106.

An Impostor pretends to be Edward and is hanged. Walsing.

Edward, with the Remains of his Army, hastily retreated, without thinking himself out of Danger till he was at York, where the dispersed Fugitives came to him (3). He formed a very considerable Body, with which he shewed a Desire to re-enter the Enemies Country, and hazard another Battle. But the Conformation of his Troops was so great, that he could not prevail with them to endeavour to retrieve their Honour. This Battle, called the Battle of Banockbourn, procured the Scots, besides an inestimable Booty, a Peace which lasted several Years. They acquired so great a Superiority over the English, that these last, far from being able to recover what they had lost in Scotland, were long forced to see their Borders ravaged, without daring to make the least Resistance. Their Terror was so great, that one of their Historians affirms, three Scotch Soldiers were sufficient to put a hundred Englishmen to flight, so much were they discouraged by this terrible Defeat.

Whilst Fortune strove on all occasions to humble Edward, an Impostor, one John Deydras, a Tanner's Son of Exeter, fought to take his Crown from him, by maintaining that he was himself Edward, and changed at Nurse. So extraordinary and ill-formed a Project served only to bring the Impostor to the Gallows, instead of a Throne, which he would fain have mounted. Without doubt he built his hopes upon the little Esteem the English had for their King, having probably imagined it would not be difficult, to make them believe he was not Son of Edward I, who had none but noble and generous Inclinations. But it was not this vile Instrument, which Providence was pleased to use, to ruin this unhappy Prince, though in some Measure this Event may be considered as a sort of Preface of what was to happen.

The Loss sustained by the English in Scotland was followed by a dreadful Famine which lasted three Years, and destroyed an infinite Number of People. In vain did the Parliament endeavour to help it by settling the Price of Provisions: They were forced the next Year to revoke the Act that had been passed on that account. (4) But neither War nor Famine, nor the Murmurs of the People, were able to hinder the King from expending a large Sum, in celebrating the Funeral of his Favourite, whose Body was removed to King's Langley in Hertfordshire. He would honour the Funeral Pomp with his Presence, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops. But the Barons positively refused to assist at the Obsequies of a Man so odious to them, and whom

they deem'd unworthy of the Honour done to his Memory. 1315.

Mean time the Famine raged in so terrible a manner that one can hardly give Credit to what Historians say of it. (5) They are not content with telling us, that the most loathed Animals were used for Food, but what is much more horrible, People were forced to hide their Children with all imaginable care, to prevent their being stolen and eaten by Thieves. They assure us, that Men themselves took precautions to hinder their being murdered in private Places, knowing there were but too many Instances that some had been served in that manner, to feed such as could find no other Subsistence. We are told likewise, that the Prisoners in the Goals devoured one another in a barbarous manner, the extreme Scarcity of Provisions not permitting their being allowed necessary Food. The Bloody Flux, caused by gross feeding, completed the Misery of the English. Such Numbers died every day, that hardly could the Living suffice to bury the Dead. The only Remedy that could be found against the Famine, but which was not capable of bringing all the necessary Relief, was, to prohibit on pain of death, the brewing any sort of Beer, to the end, the Corn usually expended that way, might serve to make Bread (6).

1316. The Famine was so terrible.

Notwithstanding these Calamities, which should have turned their thoughts to Religion and Repentance, the mutual Enmity which the King and Barons had long harboured in their Breasts, was seen daily to increase. It was almost impossible but this violent Hatred should in the end produce very fatal Effects. Edward, not being able to forget the Injuries he had received, entertained in his heart a strong Desire of Revenge, which put him upon seeking all possible means to gratify it. He was chiefly exasperated against the Earl of Lancaster, whom he looked upon as the sole Author of his Disgraces, and his most dangerous Enemy. Had the Earl's Life been in his Power, he would not, probably, have spared it. But as his Dissimulation had not been capable of drawing him into any Snare, finding he could not reach his Person, he attempted to deprive him of his Estate and Honour. To that purpose he created him a Trouble, which the most immoderate Mistrust could not have prevented.

Whilst the Earl kept at a distance from Court (7), a certain Knight, called Sir Richard St. Martin, a Man of a mean Look, and dwarfish Stature, presented to the Judges a Petition, claiming the Wife of the Earl of Lancaster, Heiress of the Families of Lincoln and Salisbury. He set forth in his Petition, that he had carnally known her, and that she had made him a Promise of Marriage, before she was contracted to the Earl. The Countess, dissatisfied with her Husband, having, to her eternal Shame, confessed the Fact, was adjudged, with all her Estate, to the unworthy Claimant. This Affair, which would have required a long Examination, was so quickly decided, that it was easy to see the Judges were gained before-hand, and the King himself had been a Promoter of the Process. An Injury of this nature done to a Prince of the Blood Royal, exceedingly beloved by the People, raised an extreme Indignation against the King. Nothing was every where heard but Murmurs against his Government. As he had then no Favourite to bear the Blame, it was all cast on himself; and People said publicly, never was the Throne of England filled by a Prince so unworthy to rule a free Nation. There were even some who took the Liberty to upbraid him to his face for his ill Conduct. Upon a certain Holiday (8), Edward dining in publick in Westminster-Hall, a Woman in a mask came on horseback

1317. The King was so angry that he ordered the Knight to be hanged.

His Wife is taken away and given to another. Walsing.

Murmuring against the King.

(1) This Battle was fought on the 25th of June 1314, by the River Banockbourn. It is said that the Scots had digged Trenches three Foot deep and as this broad; into which, being covered over with Hurdies and drove full of sharp Stakes, the English Horse fell, and by that means were miserably slaughtered. T. de la More. p. 594.

(2) The Lords Robert de Clugford, Pagan Typtote, William Marcell, Giles de Argentan, Edmund de Mowbray, &c. There were slain and taken Prisoners, of Earls, Barons, Bishops, and Knights, one hundred and fifty four in all, according to Walsing. 105. T. de la More. p. 594.

(3) Here he held a Parliament, which sat from August 15. till Michaelmas. In this it was agreed to exchange the Lady of Robert Bruce for Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford; and the Bishop of Glasgow, and Earl of Mar, were exchanged for other Noblemen. Id. de Marston. Walsing. p. 106. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. III. p. 489.

(4) It was enacted and proclaimed, by Order of the Parliament, which met on January the 20th, That the best Ox not fed with Grain, should be sold for sixteen Shillings and no more; and if he were fed with corn, then for twenty four Shillings at most; the best cow not fed with twelve Shillings; a fat Hog of two Years old for three Shillings and four Pence; a fat Weather, or Mutton unhorned for twenty Pence, and horned for fifteen Pence; a fat Goose for two Pence half Penny; a fat Capon for one Penny; a fat Hen for one Penny; two Chickens for one Penny; and twenty four Eggs for one Penny; and those that would not sell these things for, were to forfeit them to the King.—This Parliament granted the King a twentieth part of their Goods; which when it came to be raised, occasioned Disturbances in Staffordshire and Shropshire. There was another Parliament fifteen Days after Easter. Walsing. p. 106, 107. Rot. Clauf. Pat. Edw. 2. M. 12, 27. Doff. Brady's Append. No. 60.

(5) A quarter of Wheat, Beans, or Pease was sold for twenty Shillings; of Malt for thirteen Shillings and four Pence; and of Salt for thirty five Shillings. Walsing. p. 107.

(6) January 28. a Parliament was held at Lincoln, which granted the King, in Aid of his War with Scotland, one stout Footman, out of every Town in the Kingdom, except Cities and Burghs, and the King's Demons; which Footmen were to be armed and furnished with Bows, Arrows, Slings, Lancs, &c. at the charge of the Towns, and their Expences to be paid, till they came at the Place of Rendezvous, and their Wages for sixty Days after and no longer, if the King's Service required it, at four Pence a Day; the King promising, that this Grant should be no Precedent for the future. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. III. p. 742. The same Day, the King summoned the Militia to be at Newcastle upon Tyne fifteen Days after Michaelmas. And the Parliament granted the King for this War, a Fifteenth part of all the Moveables. Rot. Parl. 9 Edw. 2. N. 1. Walsing. p. 107. There was another Parliament after Easter. Id. p. 108.—This Year was born at Eltham, August 15. John, the King's second Son. Id.

(7) About the latter end of May, or beginning of June, Walsing. p. 108. The Historian speaks, as if that ill favoured Knight had stolen her away.

(8) At Westminster. Id. p. 109.

1317.
His conduct
rippled up in
a Letter.
Walsing.

and delivered him a Letter. The King imagining it contained something proper to divert him, ordered it to be read aloud. But he was very much surprized to hear only outrageous Reproaches for his Cowardice, Tyranny, and all the Grievances introduced in his Reign. The Woman being apprehended, confessed, she was bribed by a certain Knight to play that part; and the Knight boldly maintained, That believing the King would read the Letter in private, he thought it the properest way to let him know the complaints of his Subjects.

1318.
The Barons
elected of
General
Counsellors.

Whilst England was reduced to extreme Desolation, Edward, without troubling himself about the Ravages, the Scots continued to make on the Borders, minded only how to humble the Barons, who began to form new Projects, the Consequences whereof he had reason to fear. They had lately presented to him a Petition, containing a long List of the People's Grievances, of which they demanded a speedy Redress. Nothing was farther from his Thoughts than to reform abuses. However as he durst not openly discover his intentions, he had referred the matter to the Parliament which was to meet at *Lincoln*. A Scottish Invasion at the same time, afforded him an excuse to prorogue the Parliament several times, and at length to dissolve it. This Proceeding so incensed the Barons, that with one consent they resolved to take Arms, to obtain by Force the Satisfaction they required. They would have doubtless extremely distressed this weak Prince, incapable of governing himself at so nice a Juncture, if some Lords of more Moderation had not joined with the Pope's Legate to promote a reconciliation. These Mediators obtained of the King, that for the Satisfaction of the confederate Barons he should admit a certain number of them into his Council, and promise to do nothing without their advice. The Earl of *Lancaster* was to be one: but as he could not trust the King, it was agreed he should nominate a Baron or Knight to supply his place (1). Moreover Edward promised to grant an absolute pardon, without any restrictions, to the Earl of *Lancaster*, for all that was passed. This Agreement was made and signed at *Leek* on the 9th of August 1318, and confirmed three days after by (2) the Parliament, called upon the pressing Instances of the Mediators. After this Affair was ended, the King and Earl of *Lancaster* meeting on a Plain near *Leicester*, embraced and kissed one another in token of a perfect Reconciliation. Let us now return to the War with *Scotland*, which still continued during the Troubles in England.

Walsing.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 696,
712.
He said and
dissolved
Parliament.

Agreement
between the
King and
the Barons.
Walsing.
De la Morte.

Act. Pub.
III. p. 724,
733.

After Robert's obtaining near *Sterling* that signal Victory which proved so fatal to the English, he pursued the Vanquished into England, where he committed prodigious Ravages, whilst Edward durst not stir from *York* to oppose his Enemy. The King of Scotland, not satisfied with this Advantage, projected the Conquest of Ireland upon the Crown of England. This Island had long been governed by English Officers who were more careful to enrich themselves, than to promote the Publick Good. Their arbitrary Proceedings had bred among the Irish so great and universal Discontent, that they wanted only a favorable Opportunity to revolt. The defeat of the English Army before *Sterling*, giving them reason to believe, the present Juncture was very proper to execute their Design, they sent word to the King of Scotland, that they were ready to cast off the English Yoke, provided he would give them Assistance. Robert took care not to lose so fair an Opportunity to become master of the Island, or at least to make there a powerful Diversion. He sent thither some Troops under the Command of his Brother Edward, who heading the Rebels, conquered the best Part of the Island, and was even acknowledged for King. Whilst he was carrying on his Conquests, Robert amused the King of England with Proposals of Peace, which he seemed to do with Sincerity and Earnestness, but artfully raised from time to time Difficulties, which hindered matters from being concluded. This Proceeding lasted till 1317, without Edward's perceiving his Enemy's Artifices. His little Penetration would even have made him entirely lose Ireland, had he not been roused by the Murmurs of the People. The Prejudice England might receive by the Loss of that Island was so manifest, and the Consequences so plainly laid before him, that at length he resolved to send thither a powerful Supply, under the Conduct of *Mortimer*.

His first Ed-
ward's
Brother's
then.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 596.
Walsing.

With this Aid the English that were in Ireland, finding themselves able to take the Field, marched to attack the Scotch Prince. Mean while, the King of Scotland, receiving intelligence how much his Brother stood in need of being speedily relieved, went himself into Ireland. But upon his Arrival, he heard his Brother was defeated and slain in a Battle wherein he had rashly engaged (3). Robert's Loss on that occasion breaking all his measures, and disabling him from continuing the War in that Country, he thought it more proper to go and improve the Advantages, lately gained by his Arms in Scotland. In his Absence, Douglas, one of his Generals defeated the Army sent by the King of England into that Kingdom, to try to take advantage of Robert's being in Ireland.

This fresh Victory, which put it out of the Power of the English to withstand the Scots, inspired Robert with the thoughts of improving it, by laying Siege to *Berwick*, which was still in the hands of the English (4). He could not make his Preparations without Edward's knowledge. But his knowing it was to little purpose, since he had neither Money nor Troops sufficient to prevent his Enemy's Designs. His Subjects were so averse to him, that he could not expect to procure, either a timely or powerful Aid. And supposing he could have expected it, he plainly saw the Parliament would make him pay dear for the Subsidy they should grant (5). In this Extremity he turned to the Pope, and earnestly intreated him to interpose his Authority, in order to procure him a Peace, or at least a Truce with Scotland. John XXII, who had lately succeeded Clement V. immediately granted Edward's Request. He looked upon this as a very favourable Opportunity, to extend his Power over crowned Heads. Accordingly he took upon him to make Peace between Edward and Robert, not as a Mediator, but as Sovereign Arbitrer, and by virtue of his Apostolical Authority. To that end, he sent two Legates into England, with a Power, which shewed that he thought himself invested with Sovereign Authority over all Kings, even in temporal Affairs. Their Commission ran, that they were to make Peace between the two contending Nations, in what manner they pleased, and to compel both Princes to accept it, on pain of Excommunication, and an Interdict upon their Dominions. But as he judged such a Peace could not be made without some Debate, which would take up time, he ordered his Legates to cause a two Years Truce to be published in his Name, and by his Authority; and gave them Power to excommunicate those that refused to observe it.

The Legates, furnished with so large and extraordinary Power, came into England, and immediately caused the Truce to be proclaimed. Edward paid an implicit Obedience to it, not considering he thereby sacrificed to the Court of Rome the most authentick Privileges of the Crown. It was not the same with Robert. Under pretence, that the Pope and his Legates gave him not the Title of King, he would never permit the last to enter Scotland, much less to proclaim the Truce there. He even treated very roughly the Superior of the *Cordeliers* of *Berwick*, sent to him by the Legates, who using Surprise, was so bold as to publish in some measure the Truce, in the Presence of several Scots. Instead therefore of obeying the Pope, he belied and took *Berwick* by the Treachery of the Governor (6), if the English are to be credited. This Contempt for the Pope's Orders, obliged the Legates to excommunicate him, and put his Kingdom under an Interdict. But he did not much regard a Censure so manifestly unjust to him, and so very partial to the English. Therefore continuing his Progress he advanced on the Borders of England, and committed great Ravages, without meeting any opposition (7).

Edward found then, that the spiritual Weapons of the Pope were but of little service. Accordingly, on a sudden altering his Method, he found means to raise an Army, with which he would go and attempt the recovery of *Berwick*. Whilst he was employed in the Siege, the Earl of *Murray*, the King of Scotland's General, made a Diversion in England, which proved very fatal to the Borderers. In his return from ravaging several Counties, he met a Body of English Militia to the Number of ten Thousand, with the Archbishop of *York* (8)

1318.

His inde-
fatted and
plain.
Walsing.

1319.

His pretence
to make
Peace.

Act. Pub.
III. p. 94,
611, 613,
621, 635,
645, 737.

His Legates
publish a
Truce.

Act. Pub.
III. p. 793.

Robert
belies
Burdock.
Walsing.
He is excom-
municated.
Act. Pub.
III.

Edward
begins
Burdock.
Ch. Lan. re.
Walsing.

The Murther
of the
defiance.

(1) Walsingham says, that a Knight was taken near *Pontefract*, with a Blank Charter under the King's Great Seal, and other Letters under his Privy Seal, offering the King of Scots what Conditions he pleased, provided he would procure the Death of the Earl of *Lancaster*. This Knight was brought to the King, who ordered him to be hanged.

(2) *Chron. 2.* See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 735.

(3) He was taken, and beheaded at *Dunbar*; and five thousand eight hundred Scots were slain, besides several Noblemen. The Archbishop of *Dublin* was General of the English Forces. Walsing. p. 111.

(4) And of which *Mortimer de Berkeley* was Governor. *Rymer's Fœd.* T. III. p. 516.

(5) This Year a Parliament was held at *Lancaster* on June 24. wherein the King granted, that the Ordinances made by the Lord Ordainers should be observed. There was another Parliament at *London*, about *Michaelmas*, in which it was ordained, that every City and Town in England should find so many Men to assist the King, against the Scots; *London* maintained two hundred; *Canterbury*, fifty; *St. Albans*, ten, &c. Walsing. p. 111.

(6) *Peter Spalding*, who it seems was afterwards hanged by King Robert. Walsing. p. 111.

(7) They took the Castles of *Warrick*, *Hunsbury*, and *Middlebury*; and plundered and burnt *Northampton*, *Leamington*, *Stratford*, &c. *Chron. Lanca.* Walsing. p. 112.

(8) *William de Melrose.*

1319. at their Head. Though his Forces were not near so numerous as those of his Enemies, he courageously charged them, and obtained over these undisciplined Troops a Victory (1), which destroyed above half. The Scots called this Action, *The white Battle*, from some English Priests being killed in the Fight with their Surplices on. This Accident obliged Edward to raise the Siege of *Berwick*. Shortly after, with much Sollicitation, he obtained a Truce for two Years; whereupon he left the North, and returned to London, where he was no less unfortunate.

A Truce for two Years.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 89g.
Walsing.

Promotion of the Spencers, Father and Son.

The Truce restored not to England the expected Tranquillity. Hardly was it proclaimed, before the Kingdom was involved in fresh Troubles, much more violent than those caused by *Gaveston*. The Enmity between the King and the Barons was still kept alive, like Fire under Cinders, and only wanted a fresh occasion to rekindle. Unhappily, an occasion was but too ready (2). The Lords, ever jealous of those about the King's Person, had introduced into Court a young Gentleman, *Hugh Spencer*, whom they believed entirely devoted to their Interests. They had procured him the Office of King's Chamberlain, with a design to make use of him as a Spy, in order to be informed of what passed at Court, where they seldom appeared. But their Project turned against themselves. *Spencer* had a Father named *Hugh* as well as himself, a Person of Courage and good Sense, who gave him quite contrary Instructions. He intimated to him, it would be much more easy to make his Fortune, by labouring directly for himself, than by serving the Barons; and with a little Patience and Obsequiousness, he might render himself superior to those, whom he looked upon as his Protectors. *Spencer* the Son being inclined to follow his Advice, found at first great Difficulties. The King could not behold with a good eye, a Domestick who had already shown too great an Inclination for his Enemies. Nevertheless in time, and by the prudent Counsels of his Father, *Spencer* removed by degrees, the ill Impressions his Master had taken against him. As his Design was to govern the King entirely, he scrupled not to become for some time his Slave, by shewing on all occasions, that he was wholly devoted to him. By this blind Obsequiousness, and by a general Compliance to whatever was agreeable to him, from his Spy, he became his Confident, and at length supplanted in his Heart the Place formerly possessed by *Gaveston*. When he saw himself in this great degree of Favour, he made an ill use of it, like his Predecessor, and by his excessive Pride and insatiable Avarice, made it soon wished, that *Gaveston* had not been oppressed. *Hugh* his Father, whom he had caused to be created Earl of *Winchester* (3), had been till then of a quite different Character. Nothing could be laid to his Charge unbecoming a Man of Honour and Honesty. In all the Posts he had been promoted to, by this and the late King, he had always behaved with great Moderation, Prudence and Impartiality. But he knew not how to preserve the Reputation he had acquired. A blind Fondness for his Son, and Ambition, which had seized him in his old Age, threw him into those Excesses, which rendered both him and his Son odious to the Nation, and particularly to the Nobility. It was not long before an universal Discontent became visible. The Earl of *Lancaster*, a great Favourite of the People, and a sworn Enemy to the King, notwithstanding their outward Reconciliation, had improved these Junctures, to form a Party capable of ruining the two Favourites (4). He had demonstrated to his Friends, "That their Ruin and his own were infallible, if means were not found to remove the *Spencers* from Court. That the King, who harboured a secret Desire of Revenge, was indeed incapable of managing a Design; but that every thing was to be feared from that Prince, assisted by his two new Ministers, of much greater Abilities than *Gaveston*."

De la M. Spencer, the Father, made Earl of Winchester. His Character.

Lancaster stirs up the Lords against the Spencers. Walsing.

"He added, these Ministers were no less guilty than the other, of divers Enroachments on the Privileges of the People, and that all the Endeavours hitherto used, to reduce the Royal Authority within due Bounds, would be fruitless, if the King was suffered to return to his former Courses, and trample upon the Liberties of the Subject." These Reasons, alledged by a Prince, who passed for a disinterested and zealous Asserter of the publick Good, and joined to the Envy raised by the Advancement of the *Spencers*, caused so sudden an Effect, that the old Association was renewed. As the confederate Barons (5) had every thing to fear from the Abilities of the Ministers, they lost no time, which was so precious, in presenting to the King Petitions, as they had done concerning *Gaveston*. Such a Conduct would only have given their Enemies leisure to prepare. And therefore, without discovering their Intentions, they resolved to levy Troops with all possible Secrecy and Expedition, and to surprize the King and his Favorites, before they had time to take any measures. This Design was executed with that speed, that in a very short space, they drew together eleven thousand Men, with whom they ventured to take the Field. Their first Exploit was to plunder the Lands of the *Spencers*, which was left to the Care of *Roger Mortimer the Younger*, so called to distinguish him from his Uncle of the same Name. He discharged his Commission in so violent a manner, and with so little regard for the Favorites, that he did them in a few Days threecore thousand Pound damage. This done, the Barons sent some of their Body (6) to present a Petition to the King, desiring the Removal of the *Spencers* (7). *Edward* perceiving it was not in his Power to curb their Boldness, referred the matter to the Parliament (8). He did not question, but he should have Interest enough with the Commons, to protect the two Ministers. But the Barons Resolution to continue in Arms, broke all his measures. Several Members of Parliament being at the devotion of the Lords, others awed by the Army, and all in general having too little value for the *Spencers*, to run any hazard for their sake, the two Favorites were banished the Realm, without the King being able to screen them (9). This Parliament was called, *The Parliament of the white Bands*, on account of certain white Marks, by which the Adherents of the Barons were to know one another. Whatever Endeavours the King used to oppose these violent Proceedings, he found himself constrained to give way to a Torrent, which he could not withstand. *Spencer*, the Father, being then out of the Realm upon the King's Affairs, the Son was ignominiously conducted to *Dover*, where he was shipped off with great Threats, if ever he pretended to set foot in the Kingdom again.

1320. They renew the Association.

Act. Pub. III. p. 891. Walsing. Kington.

The Spencers banished. Act. Pub. III. p. 891. Walsing. Hunting.

Edward highly repented this Affront, and swore to be revenged. But perhaps means would have been found to appease him, if the Queen, who, on the like occasions, was wont to act the Part of a Mediatrix between the King and the Barons, had not ceased doing them that good Office. Instead of endeavouring to allay the King's Anger, she took care to excite him to Vengeance, being exasperated at an Affront, she lately received from a Baron, and of which she cast the Blame upon the whole Party. The occasion of her Repentment was this:

1321. Walsing.

Whilst *Edward* was thus incensed against the Barons, *Isabella*, designing to go in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*, sent some of her Domesticks before, to provide Lodgings in the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to *Bartholomew de Badlesmere*, one of the associated Barons. As the whole Party were then in extreme distrust of the King, the Officer who commanded in the Castle, denied the Queen's People admittance. There was even one of them killed. So far was *Badlesmere* from disclaiming what was done, upon Complaint made to him, that he had the boldness to write

Affront done the Queen by one of the confederate Barons. De la M.

Act. Pub. III. p. 891. Walsing.

(1) On September 20. at *Merton*, near the River *Seuile*. Walsing. p. 112.

(2) The King called a Great Council at *Northampton* on August 1. wherein it was agreed, that a standing Council of certain Bishops, Earls, and Barons should constantly remain with the King to advise him in all Matters of publick Concern, till the next Parliament. This Council was to consist of the Bishops of *Nottingham*, *Exeter*, *Salisbury*, *St. David's*, *Carlisle*, *Hertford*, and *Worcester*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Richmond*, *Hertford*, and *Shundel*; Sir *Hugh de Courcy*, Sir *Peter de Mortimer*, Sir *John de Segrave*, Sir *John de Grey*, and one of the Bannerets of the Earl of *Lancaster*. See Rymer's *Fœd.* T. III. p. 722, &c. The Parliament here mentioned met at *York*, three Weeks after *Michaelmas*. See Brady's *Appendix*. No. 61. There was another Parliament this Year soon after *Easter*, in which the Clergy granted the King a tenth for one Year, with the Pope's Leave. A. Murymu.

(3) He was not created till 1322. See Walsing. p. 117.

(4) The occasion of this Confederacy against the *Spencers*, was this; *William de Breves*, a Baron, proposing to sell part of his Estate, called *Gowerland*, first agreed for it with the Earl of *Hertford*, who offered to be the Purchaser: But *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, obtained the King's Licence, it being holden of the King in *Capite*, and bought it out of the Earl of *Hertford*'s Hands: Who being highly provoked at this Affront, complained to the Earl of *Lancaster*, and they two engaging a great number of the Barons in their Interests, entered into a Confederacy against the *Spencers*. Walsing. p. 113.

(5) Who these confederate Barons were, see in Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 868, 923. and *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV. p. 279, 280. The Form of their Confederacy in *Tyrrel*, *ibid.* and Brady, p. 128.

(6) It was sent by the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Hertford*, and *Chichester*, who were come to the confederate Barons at *St. Albans* to procure an Accusation. Walsing. p. 114.

(7) What Articles were exhibited against them in this Petition, see in *Tyrrel*, p. 281, and Brady, p. 129, &c. they being too long to be inserted here.

(8) A Parliament was held at *Westminster*, July 15. *Ret. Claus.* 14. *Edw.* II. M. 5.

(9) The Father was then out of the Kingdom, and the Son was ordered to depart by August 29. See the Sentence. *Ibid.* Walsing. p. 114.

1321. She has up
the King's
a Revenge.

The King
issues a Pro-
clamation.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 893.

Helenius
Traps, and
makes the Ca-
le of Leeds.

He recalls
Spencer.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 907.
De la M.
Walsing.
The Barons
in a wretched
Condition.
ibid.

Spencer the
Father re-
called.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 907.

General Ba-
rons slain.
Others are
jailed.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 927.
Walsing.

Mortimer
is put to
Walsing.
Knighten.

1322.
Lancaster
goes towards
Scotland.
Walsing.

Is pursued by
the King.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 927.
Etc.

the Queen a very insolent Letter, expressly approving what had passed. It was very difficult for that Princess, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, not to resent such an Affront. As she plainly saw, the Union of the Barons was the sole cause of *Badlesmere's* Insolence, she thought the readiest way would be to break their Association. The King waited patiently for a favourable opportunity to exercise his vengeance; but a Woman's revenge can bear no delay. The Queen, in her resolution of spurring on *Edward*, persuaded him, that the present Juncture was very advantageous to free himself from the Power of the Barons: that by immediately punishing the Governour of *Leeds*, as he deserved, he would strike such a Terror into the Barons, who did not expect any such thing, that they would not think even of standing upon their Defence, when they should see him Sword in hand, and able to compel them to return to their Allegiance. *Edward* relishing this Advice, gave Orders for levying Troops. But for fear of any Obstacle, and in order to remove the People's Apprehensions, who began to be alarmed at these Levies, he issued out a Proclamation, protesting, he took not Arms to make War on his Subjects, but only to punish the Insolence of a private Person. This Proclamation producing a good Effect among the People, and the Barons not thinking they should engage the Kingdom in a Civil War for the sake of a single Officer, the King raised an Army without opposition. When his Troops were ready to march, he went immediately and besieged the Castle of *Leeds*, and taking it, ordered the Governor (1), with some other inferior Officers, to be hanged. This good Success causing him to forget his Protestation, he made use of his Arms, to take Vengeance on his Enemies. To that end, he besieged some other Castles belonging to the Barons, and particularly *Warwick*, which he became master of with the same ease. When he thought himself sufficiently formidable, he recalled *Spencer* the Son, who since his Banishment had turned Pirate, particularly against the *English*.

Edward continuing his Progress, after the Return of his Favorite, put the associated Barons into the utmost Consternation, who were not prepared for their Defence. They would have been very glad, on this occasion, of the Queen's Assistance: But she was too much incensed against them to stand their Friend. In this ill posture they saw themselves exposed to the Fury of their Enemies, who spared them not. Mean while, the King, by his sole Authority, revoked the Sentence of Banishment against the *Spencers*, and recalled the Father, as he had already done the Son. The King's Diligence threw the Barons into so terrible a Perplexity, that they knew not what Course to take. His Army was in the Center of the Kingdom, ready to fall upon the boldest. The People, as it usually happens on such occasions, joined with the strongest, for fear of being oppressed before the Barons were able to protect them. In this Extremity, most of the associated Barons wisely chose to throw themselves upon the King's Mercy. As for those who refused to follow their Example, many were taken and executed; some fled for Refuge beyond Sea; and others were shut up in several Prisons (2). Of the Number of these last was *Roger Mortimer, junior*, whom the *Spencers* closely confined in the Tower, but who doubtless would not have met with so favorable a Treatment, had not his Life been saved by a powerful Intercession.

The Earl of *Lancaster's* Faction being extremely weakened by the Defection, Flight, Imprisonment, or Death of his Adherents, the Earl, with what few Troops he could assemble, saw himself constrained to retire into the North. He had nothing to depend upon but the Protection of the *Scots*, who promised him Succours; but it was necessary to come and join them. The Rout he took, and some intercepted Letters, discovered his Intention to the King. To prevent it, he ordered *Sir Andrew Harcla*, Governour of *Carlisle*, to draw together what Troops he could and go out against the Earl to cut off the Passes, or at

least to keep him at a Bay, whilst he pursued him in Person with his Army. However expeditious the Earl of *Lancaster* was, and whatever care he took to retard the King's March, by destroying the Country behind him, he was obliged, after passing the Trent over *Burton-Bridge*, to halt, in order to oppose the Passage of the Army which pursued him. But *Edward* retiring, to pass at another place, the Earl resolved to stand his Ground. Nevertheless, whether through Scruple, or fear of the King's superior Forces, he suddenly altered his mind. In hopes of freeing himself from these Streights, he advanced to *Burrow-Bridge*, where ran another River, which afforded no other Passage but over a Bridge defended by *Harcla*. In this extremity, he was under a Necessity either of resolving to fight the King, who closely pursued him, or of attempting to force this Pass, before the Royal Army came up (3). He chose the latter, and without loss of time, ordered the Bridge to be attacked. The vigorous Resistance of the Enemy, the Death of the Earl of *Hureford* (4), slain in the beginning of the Fight, and the Dread of being surprized by the King, who was advancing, so daunted *Lancaster's* Troops, that instead of continuing the Attack, they took to flight, and dispersed themselves in the Country. *Harcla*, perceiving this Disorder, speedily passed the Bridge, and pursued the Runaways, of whom he took great Numbers Prisoners. The Earl of *Lancaster*, who endeavoured in vain to rally his Men, staying too long in hopes of succeeding, could not avoid the misfortune of being taken himself, with fourscore and fifteen Barons and Knights, and conducted to the Castle of *Pontefract* (5). This unfortunate Prince saw himself exposed to the Insults of the Soldiers, who in derision called him *King Arthur*, from his using that Name in some of the intercepted Letters. But this was not the most rigorous part of his Punishment. A few days after, the King being come to *Pontefract*, ordered him to be arrested in the Hall of the Castle, before a small Number of Peers (6), who attended him, among whom were the two *Spencers*. By this little Assembly was the Earl condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered for a Traitor. But out of reverence to his Birth, the King was pleased to save him the Infamy of that Punishment, and only ordered him to be beheaded (7). Nine other Lords of his Party were sentenced to the same Punishment, and executed at *York*. The Lord *Badlesmere*, the first Cause of the War, and four other Barons, suffered the like Death at *London*, *Windfor*, *Canterbury*, and *Glocester*, for a Terror to the Kingdom. Never since the *Norman Conquest*, had the Scaffolds been drenched with so much *English* Blood, as upon this occasion (8). These inhuman Proceedings were ascribed to the *Spencers*, who thereby rendered themselves extremely odious to all the World, and bred in the Hearts of the Nobility a Desire of Revenge, which was but too fully glutted in the end (9).

Edward imagined, that after this Success against his Subjects, he could not but be very formidable to the *Scots*. In this belief, he resolved to march towards *Scotland* (10), big with the Expectation of surprizing *Robert*, and repairing, by this one Expedition, all his former Losses. Whilst he was in his own Territories, he had plenty of Provisions, every one striving to supply his Army, more out of Fear than Affection. But preposterously fancying, he should find the same Conveniences in the Enemy's Country, he was suddenly in a terrible Want. So, instead of advancing any farther, he was forced to return in haste, as he had done once before, without being the wiser by that Experience. But this was not all the Dishonour he received from this ill-concerted Expedition, Hardly had he begun to return into his own Dominions, when *Robert* closely pursued him even into *England*, and overtaking him at *Blackmore*, eased him of his Baggage, and had like to have taken him Prisoner. The *English* Army being all dispersed on this occasion, *Robert* continu-

(1) Thomas Calverton. Walsing. p. 115.

(2) The Lords *Hubert de Aubrey*, Senior, and *Maurice de Berkeley* were sent Prisoners to *Wallingford* Castle. Ibid.

(3) *Robert de Harcla* had promised to bring him a Reinforcement, but disappointed him, which was the Cause of his Defeat. Knighten, p. 2540.

(4) *Hamplins de Buron*, who married *Elsabeth*, Daughter of *Edward I.* and Widow of the Earl of *Holland*. He is said to be thrust thro' the Belly by a Welsh Soldier under the Bridge through a Chink. Knighten Walsing. p. 116.

(5) This Battle was fought March 16. Knighten. De la Mer, p. 596.

(6) The Earls of *Kent*, *Richmond*, *Pembroke*, *Surrey*, *Arundel*, *Archeb.*, *Anagis*, &c. the Monday before March 25. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. III. p. 940, &c.

(7) As he accordingly was, upon a Hill near *Pontefract*, March 25. Chron. Englb.

(8) Historians have given us the following Lists of the Names of the Barons that were put to Death. The Earl of *Lancaster*, the Lords *Warren de Lisle*, *William de la Motte*, *Thomas Mortimer*, *Henry de Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William junior*, *William Clancy*, at *Pontefract*; *Roger Clifford*, *John Mareschall*, *John de Willeby*, at *York*; *John Giffard*, at *Glocester*; *Henry Teyes*, at *London*; *Francis de Aldenham*, at *Windsor*; *Bartolomew de Badlesmere*, and *Bartolomew de Alphenham*, at *Canterbury*. Thiercer and twelve Knights, (besides those hanged in Chains), were shut up in Prison, who upon Fines paid, were afterwards set at Liberty, says De la Mer. Walsing. p. 116. Knighten. Col. 2541.

(9) A Parliament was held at *York* this Year, three Weeks after *Easter*, wherein the Process against the two *Spencers* for their Banishment, was revoked. And a tenth part was granted to the King of the Goods of the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom, and a sixth part of these belonging to the Cities, Boroughs, and ancient Dignities. Brady's Hist. p. 140, &c. Rot. Clauf. 15. 16 Edw. II. There was another held again this Year at the same Place, and the same made or renewed. Rymer's Fœd. T. III. p. 978.

(10) Towards the latter End of *July*, and returned in the beginning of *Septemb.* Walsing.

1323. ed his March, ravaging the Country with Fire and Sword to the very Walls of York (1). At last, having burnt the Monastery of Rippon and ransacked the Abbey of Beverly, he returned home loaded with Booty. Whatever reason that Prince had to expect great Advantages from the Continuance of the War, he entered into Negotiation for a Truce, which at length was concluded on the 13th of May 1324, for thirteen Years. He consented the more readily to this Truce, as he was forced to give some Respite to his Subjects exhausted by so long a War. Besides, he hoped by that means to be reconciled to the Court of Rome, having received intimation, that his Absolution, and the Removal of the Interdict, depended upon his Compliance.

Truce of
thirteen
Years.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 983.
1022.
Walsingham.

The Submission of the English, and the long Truce with Scotland, placed Edward precisely in a Situation most agreeable to his Temper. He had nothing to divert him from his Pleasures; enjoyed a peaceable Kingdom; and could leave the Government to his Favorites, without fear of being controlled by his Subjects. This was a Happiness he could not attain till this Year, being the sixteenth of his Reign. However, his Satisfaction was sometimes disturbed by the Remembrance of things past. The Death of the Earl of Lancaster, of which he began to repent since his peaceable State, now and then stung him with bitter remorse. This manifestly appears, in his Answer to certain Lords petitioning him to pardon a condemned Criminal (2). *Is it possible, cried he, that such a Wretch as this should find so many Friends to intercede for him, when not one would speak in behalf of my Cousin of Lancaster, who, if he had lived, might have been useful both to me and the whole Kingdom? therefore, as for this Fellow, he shall die as he deserves.*

Edward re-
pents of the
Death of
Lancaster.
Walsingham.
p. 117.

The Character of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, was not much less ambiguous than the Earl of Leicester's, in the Reign of Henry III. The King's and the Spencer's Adherents called him Villain and Traitor, one that having taken Arms against his Sovereign, was justly condemned. But the People in general had his Memory in great veneration, considering him as a real Martyr for Liberty. Immediately after his death, his Tomb was flocked to, where many Miracles were pretended to be wrought (3). The King was even obliged, strictly to command the Bishop of London, to put a stop to the Superstition of the People of his Diocese, who came and said their Prayers to the Earl's Picture hung up in St. Paul's Church. Probably, the Uncertainty concerning the Character of this Prince would have lasted much longer, if two things had not determined People in his favour. The first was, the Punishment of Harcla, who being made Earl of Carlisle, for taking Lancaster Prisoner, incurred the Displeasure of the Spencers, and upon a Suggestion of a Correspondence with Scotland, was beheaded (4). The second was, the Canonization of Lancaster in 1389, at the Request of Edward III, Son of him that had taken away his Life (5). After that, there was no room to question the Sincerity of his Intentions: At least, it was no longer permitted openly to defame his Memory.

Uncertainty
about the
Earl of
Lancaster's
Character.

Act. Pub.
III. p. 1033.

Harcla be-
headed.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 983.
994, 999.
Walsingham.

Great Power
of the
Spencers.

The Death of this Prince, and of several other Lords of the same Party, placed the Spencers on the top of the Wheel. As there was now no Man able to oppose them, these two Ministers did, in the King's Name, whatever they thought agreeable with their Interests, without regarding a Party entirely reduced. Had they been so wise to moderate their Passion, and deny themselves the Pleasure of Revenge, they would have doubtless supported themselves in their high Station, and caused their Master to pass an easy and quiet Life. But where are Men of this Character to be found? The Spencers, to compleat their Vengeance, threw the Kingdom into greater and more fatal Troubles, than what were lately appeased. Not content with putting to death the Heads of the opposite Party, with depriving others of their Estates, and with condemning great numbers to perpetual Banishment, they believed themselves yet unsafe, till they were rid of three Persons who made them

They perse-
cute their
Enemies.

uneasy, and with whom they were extremely incensed; namely, the Bishops of Lincoln (6) and Hereford, and Roger Mortimer the younger. This last, who had done them great damage, was in their power, being actually Prisoner in the Tower.

Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, was promoted to that Dignity by the Interest of Pope John XXII, in spite of all the King's Endeavours to the contrary. This Prelate, who had shown but little regard for the Court on that occasion, rightly judged the King would not fail, when in his Power, to be revenged on him. For this reason he joined with the Earl of Lancaster, to screen himself from the Persecution he justly feared. Matters having taken a quite different turn from what he expected, and the King preserving an extreme Resentment against him, his Ruin was determined. To that end he was summoned to answer in the King's Court to a Charge of High-Treason entered against him (7). He appeared, but refused to plead in any but the Ecclesiastical Court, insisting upon the Privilege of his Order. This Refusal would have done him no Service, had he not been supported by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin. These Prelates considering the Sentence which the King's Court was going to pronounce, as a manifest Violation of the Church's Immunities, went in Company with several other Bishops, and forbid the King's Judges to take cognizance of the Case, threatening them with Excommunication, if they dared to proceed. However desirous the King and his Ministers were to be rid of this Bishop, the Clergy's Opposition hindered the Judges from passing Sentence, and the Affair was referred to the Parliament. Nevertheless, till this Process was over, the King ordered the Temporalities of the Party accused to be seized.

1323.

They attack
the Bishop
of Hereford,
but are re-
pelled.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 617.
107.
Walsingham.
De la M.

The Bishop of Lincoln, who was in the same case, plainly perceived what would be his doom, if the Bishop of Hereford was condemned. A common Interest forming a very strict Union between these two Prelates, they applied themselves to find means to raise Troubles, which should shelter them from the King's Vengeance. Unhappily for him their Endeavours succeeded but too well.

The two
Bishops are
joined together.

Roger Mortimer the younger was not, or at least seemed not to be, in very favorable Circumstances. Detained in close Confinement, and destitute of a Character which might screen him from the malice of the Favorites, who were extremely incensed against him, he expected to forfeit his Head for the Damages he had done. And indeed he was condemned to die (8), but found a powerful Intercession with the King; who, notwithstanding the Solicitations of his Favorites, changed his Sentence to perpetual Imprisonment. It was no small matter for Mortimer to escape death. The State he was in seemed to require his Patience, till time should bring some alteration in his favour. But so slow and uncertain a means was not capable of making him easy. Whether he was afraid the King would, one time or other, be gained by his Enemies, or relied upon the same Protection that had already saved his Life, he entered into new Plots. Though a Prisoner, he attempted to make himself master of the Tower, and likewise of Wallingford Castle, by the help of his Friends. This Plot being discovered, one of his Accomplices was condemned to be hanged, and himself once more had the Sentence of Death passed upon him. However, he obtained his Pardon again.

Mortimer
is condemned
twice, and
pardoned.

Pat. 16.
Edw. 2.
Pat. 1. M.
34.

Walsingham.

When a Man reflects on the great Credit of the Spencers, their revengeful Temper, and the reason they had personally to hate Mortimer, he must be convinced, that the Protection which screened him from their Vengeance was very powerful. On the other hand, if all the Circumstances of this Reign be considered, it will not be thought likely, that any other Person but the Queen could possibly obtain such a Favour from the King, against the Interest and Solicitations of the Ministers. This Conjecture is confirmed by the scandalous manner wherein that Princess afterwards lived with Mortimer;

Remarks on
his being
thus par-
doned.

(1) They took, among the rest, John de Bretagne Earl of Richmond Prisoner. Walsingham, p. 117.

(2) He was one of Lancaster's Family and engaged with his Lord in the late Insurrection, and being condemned to be hanged, some, about the King, because he formerly had a Place at Court, offered to intercede for him. At which the King falling into a Passion said as above. Wals. p. 117. The words are translated nearer the Original than in the French.

(3) He was buried in the Church of the Priory of Pontfract. The Prior and Monks giving out that Miracles were wrought at his Tomb, the Report gained Ground in such a manner, that the King was forced to order the Church to be shut up. The King's Letter to the Bishop of London on account of his Picture which was set up in St. Paul's Cathedral, and worshipped by the People, is in Vol. III. p. 1033, of Rymer's Fœd. See Brady. Vol. III. p. 136. &c.

(4) Before his being beheaded he was degraded of the Honour of Knighthood; which is the first Example of this kind. Wals. p. 118.

(5) Queen Isabella writ in 1326, the last Day of February, to the Pope, extolling the Virtues of the late Earl of Lancaster, and desiring his Holiness to canonize him, and King Edward III, permitted a Chapel to be built over the Place where the Earl was beheaded: But his Canonization was not completed till Richard II's Reign in 1389. See Brady's Hist. p. 138, 139. and Appen. No. 64, 66.

(6) Henry Burwarthe. De la Morte. p. 59.

(7) He was arrested in the Parliament held at London the beginning of Lent, and examined before the King and Lords upon divers Articles of High-Treason. Wals. p. 119.

(8) And his Estates, together with his Uncle's, were forfeited, in 1322. Not long after, the elder Mortimer died in the Tower.

1323. from whence it may be inferred, their good Understanding commenced long before it was publicly known. For a further Confirmation of this may be added what all the Historians unanimously relate, that the Queen incessantly complained of the Severities, exercised upon the Friends of the late Earl of Lancaster. This gives occasion to presume, that Mortimer was the principal Subject of her Complaints. Moreover, at this very time it was, that the *Spencers* began to vex Queen *Isabella*, in so much, that by their Persecutions, they obliged her to complain to the King of France her Brother, that she was regarded but as a Servant in the King her Husband's House. Now it does not appear, that the Favorites had any other Reason to mortify her, than the Protection she granted to Mortimer their Enemy. All these Reasons incline me to believe, there was at this time a Familiarity between *Isabella* and Mortimer, and that the Protection she publicly honour'd him with, drew upon her the Malice of the Favorites. The Vexation they gave her, led her to seek means to be revenged in her turn. This is truly the Source of the Events we are going to relate, concerning which Historians have expressed themselves very obscurely. Let us add here, in order not to return to Mortimer till there shall be occasion, that quickly after he found means to escape out of the Tower (1), and he concealed some time in England, notwithstanding the diligent Search that was made to apprehend him. Though Hue and Cry was raised after him, which seldom fails of Success, he had the good fortune to escape the Search, and retire into France. Probably, he was hid in some Place where they durst not look for him. Let us now proceed to the fatal Effects of the Love, Ambition, and Revenge, which at that time possessed the Minds of the principal Persons at Court.

The Queen is
soured by the
Spencers.
De la M.

Mortimer
escapes into
France.
Walsing.
Ad. Murim.
De la M.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 7,
20.

Affairs of
Edward with
France.

The Peace made by Edward I with France still subsisted, notwithstanding certain Disputes between the two Crowns, in the Reigns of Lewis Hutin, and Philip le Long, Sons and Successors of Philip the Fair. Upon Charles the Fair's Accession to the Throne of France, after the Death of his Brothers, these Differences were considerably increased, on account of the Jurisdiction claimed by that Prince over Guienne, as Sovereign Lord of that Duchy. It is probable too that Charles, dissatisfied at the ill Treatment of his Sister Queen *Isabella* in England, sought occasion to give Edward Marks of his Repentment. An unexpected Accident in Guienne, gave him an opportunity to make himself Satisfaction. Hence flowed all those Misfortunes which afterwards fell upon the King of England.

The King
of France
takes occa-
sion to seize
Guienne.
Act. Pub.
III. p. 1005.
IV. 48, 55,
63, &c.

Walsing.
De la M.

At a Town in Agenois, called St. Sardos, held of the Castle of Montpezat, some Outrage was committed, which Edward's Officers in Guienne neglected to redress (2). Whereupon the Parties concerned carried their Complaints to the King of France, as Sovereign. Charles embraced this opportunity to improve his Right over Guienne. He caused the Court of Peers to sentence the Lord of Montpezat, and other Gascon Gentlemen to Banishment, and confiscate their Castles to the Crown of France. By virtue of this sentence, given without summoning the King of England, or his Officers, Charles would have taken possession of the Castle of Montpezat; but was prevented by the English, who placed a strong Garrison there. This opposition occasioned another Sentence, declaring the Garrison guilty of Felony, for opposing the execution of the first. Mean while, the King of France ordered Troops to be raised in Perigord, and the neighbouring Provinces, with design to besiege the Castle. To give the better colour to this Armament, he complained, that Edward had not done him Homage for Guienne and the Earldom of Ponthieu (3), and so had a Pretence ready to confiscate these Provinces, in case his Arms met with the expected Success. Indeed it was visible, his Design was not to take a Castle only, since he sent a formidable Army into Guienne, under the Command of Charles de Valois his Uncle, who made himself master of several Places. Certain it is, nothing was farther from Edward's

1324.
Charles de
Valois
makes great
Progress in
Guienne.
De la M.

thoughts, than a desire of entering into a War with France, and yet he took no Method to avoid it. Instead of giving the King his Brother-in-law some Satisfaction, by doing Justice to the Parties concerned in the Affair of St. Sardos, and by offering the Homage due to him, he still kept his Character of neglecting great matters for the sake of Trifles (4). It is true indeed, he sent Commissioners into Guienne (5), with publick Orders to make inquisition concerning the Business of St. Sardos. But by their private Instructions they were to do their utmost to oblige the Plaintiffs to desist from their Appeal, which was not endeavouring to satisfy the King of France. As for the Homage, though he did not pretend to dispute it, he excused himself from doing it, on pretence he had never been summoned in form. Mean time, he sent his Brother, the Earl of Kent, to command in Guienne, but with so few Troops, that the Earl not daring to keep the Field, shut himself up in Reole, where he was besieged, and at last forced to capitulate.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 9.

Before the Earl of Kent went over to Guienne, he was sent to Paris, to try to adjust the Difference between the two Crowns. He had even agreed with the Court of France upon a Treaty, which the King his Brother refused to ratify. This was the Subject of a long Negotiation, which served only to give the Earl of Valois time to pursue his Conquests in Guienne. At length, Edward perceiving the Duchy was in manifest danger, thought fit to make some Preparations, which occasioned the Court of France to equip a Fleet, to oppose that of the English. The Spencers, ever watchful of occasions to vex *Isabella*, used this to deprive her of the Earldom of Cornwall, assigned her for her private Expences. They suggested to the King, that it was dangerous to leave that Country in the hands of the Queen, when he was in War with the King her Brother. They added, that probably, the Fleet the French were fitting out, was designed for an Invasion from that quarter. This was sufficient to induce Edward to resume that Earldom in a very disobliging manner to the Queen, without dissembling that he thought her capable of holding a criminal Correspondence with the Enemies of the State (6). This Indignity, which she highly resented, added to so many other Reasons of Disgust against the Spencers and the King, in all likelihood, hastened the Project, the particulars whereof I am going to relate.

Negotiation
at Paris.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 42,
63, 98,
100.

Ibid.
p. 84.

Walsing.

Though Edward made some Preparations for War, it was not by the Force of his Arms that he expected the Restitution of what was taken from him. His chief Reliance was on the Pope, who being chosen Mediator between the two Crowns, put him in hopes of a good Issue of this Affair. To work this Agreement, the Pope sent two Nuntios to Paris (7), where Ambassadors from England (8) also repaired. But the Negotiation went on so slowly that the English could not help showing some Impatience. As they seemed inclined to return home, a Person of great Note in the Court of France took occasion to insinuate to the Nuntio's, that if the King of England would send his Queen to Paris, she would undoubtedly obtain from the King her Brother much better Terms than the Ambassadors could expect. The Nuntio's having made this Proposal to the English Plenipotentiaries, it was resolved that one of them, the Bishop of Winchester (9), should take a Journey to London, to persuade their Master to follow the method suggested to them. These particulars are to be seen in a Letter from Edward to the Pope on this occasion, inserted in the Collection of the Publick Acts. It was not therefore a Contrivance invented by the Spencers to be rid of the Queen, as some affirmed, since the Project came first from France. It is much more likely, that the Queen herself put the King her Brother upon it, in order to have an opportunity of going to Paris, and beginning the execution of her Plot against the King her Husband and his Favorites. Be that as it will, the Proposal being debated in Council (10), any expedient was thought preferable to a War, as mat-

1325.
The Pope
tries to ac-
commodate
Matters.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 105.
Walsing.

It is propo-
sed to Ed-
ward to send
his Queen to
Paris.

De la M.
Walsing.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 140.

De la M.
Walsing.

He consents
to it.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 143.

(1) On August 1. this Year. Ad Murim.

(2) The occasion of the present Quarrel was this: Hugh Lord of Montpezat had built a Castle on some Land, which he pretended was within the Territories of the King of England, but which the King of France maintained to be his; and therefore he summoned the said Lord before the Parliament of Paris, which adjudged the Land to the King of France; and his Officer in those parts immediately seized the Castle. To recover which the Lord of Montpezat assembled all his Vassals, and received also Assistance from the King's Seneschal of England in Guienne, by which means he soon became again master of his Castle, and put all the Frenchmen that were in it to the sword. P. Daniel's Hist. of France. Tom. V. p. 41.

(3) He sent the Sieur de Sevrille, and a Notary named Andrew de Florence, to summon him to perform that Homage. Wals. p. 117. De la M. p. 596.

(4) Upon his being summoned by the King of France, he assembled the Parliament in Lent (of which mention is made a little above) to consider what Answer he should return to those Summons. Wals. p. 119.

(5) His Brother Edmund Earl of Kent, and the Archbishop of Dublin. Ibid. p. 120.

(6) There was only a Pension allowed her. Ibid. p. 121. At the same time the King issued out Commissions of Array, which see in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IV. p. 78, 107.

(7) The Archbishop of Vienne, and the Bishop of Orange. Ibid. p. 100. Wals. p. 121.

(8) The Bishops of Winchester, and Norwich, together with John de Bretagne Earl of Richmond, and Sir Henry de Beaumont, but afterwards in his room William de Wyke Canon of York. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IV. p. 106, 145.

(9) Rayn by mistake 1195, Exeter. Ibid. p. 140. Wals. p. 121.

(10) Or rather, in a Parliament, which was held at Westminster, January 21. to deliberate about the Affairs of Guienne. Ibid. p. 121.

1325.

ters then stood in *England*. *Isabella* was therefore desired to go to *France*; to which she seemed to consent only in order to make Peace between the two Kings (1). Immediately after her Arrival at *Paris*, she obtained a short Truce, during which she concluded a Treaty (2) with the King her Brother. By this Treaty the Duchy of *Guienne* was to be wholly resigned to the King of *France*. That afterwards both the Kings should meet at *Beauvais*, where *Charles*, at the Instance of the Queen his Sister, should restore *Guienne* to *Edward*, upon his doing Homage for it. That in this Restitution the Country of *Aginois* lately conquered by *France* should not be included: But that the King of *England* should be allowed to sue for it in the Court of Peers, where Justice should be done him. And in case the Court should decree that *Edward* should have possession again, he should be obliged to pay the King of *France* a certain Sum towards the Charges of the War; but should pay nothing in case he lost his Cause. The day after signing this Treaty, the Commissioners of *France*, for reasons they did not care to explain, deferred fifteen days longer the Interview of the two Kings, which had been fixed to the *Assumption of the Virgin* (3).

Articles of
Isabella's
Treaty with
her Brother.
Ib. p. 155.
Walsing.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 156.

Edward
prepares to go
and do
Homage.
Ib. p. 148,
&c.
De la M.

The giving
up *Guienne*
to his Son is
proposed to
the King.
Cont. Num.
Walsing.
De la M.

He accepts
the Proposal.

Remarks
which make
appear that
the King of
France
acted in
concert with
the Queen
his Sister.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 163,
&c.

Ib. p. 165.

How disadvantageous soever this Treaty appeared to *Edward*, as he was willing at any rate to avoid a War, he failed not to ratify it and prepare to do his Homage. The *Spencers* beheld these Preparations with great Uneasiness, knowing there were in the Kingdom great Numbers of Male-contentants who might take advantage of the King's Absence, to excite fresh Commotions. An Expedient found out in this Interval, either in *France*, or in *England*, freed them from their Trouble. It was insinuated to the King, that if he would resign to Prince *Edward* his Son aged thirteen Years, the Duchy of *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, the King of *France* would receive the Homage of the young Prince, and restore him the Places he had promised to give up by the Treaty. In all likelihood this Overture came from the Court of *France*, as well as the Proposal of the Queen's going to *Paris*. But it was only hinted to the King like the former, in order to induce him to demand that Favour himself. However that be, as every one is apt to flatter himself, *Edward* imagined that, out of Respect to him, the King of *France* had devised this Expedient, to excuse him from doing what was very disagreeable to him, or the Queen had obtained this Favour by her Solicitations. Neither himself nor the *Spencers* perceived the Poison that lurked under this seemingly very advantageous Proposal. They did not question in the least, but the management of *Guienne* would still remain in their hands, in the Name of the young Prince, at least during his Minority. On the other hand, the proposed Change did not appear to be beneficial to *France*. But for that very reason they should have suspected it; since it seldom happens that any thing advantageous is offered to another, without the Proposer's receiving some Benefit, though at first it does not appear. However, as *Edward* suspected not his Queen, he accepted, without hesitation, the Offer, which excused him from a Journey he was very unwilling to make. This was, as one may say, throwing himself headlong into the Snare laid for him, the Queen's sole Aim, in the whole Contrivance, being to get the Prince her Son with her, and to make him her Instrument to ruin the King her Husband.

There is hardly room to question, that *Charles the Fair* was very deeply concerned in this Plot, when it is considered, that from him came the first Proposal of sending *Isabella* to *Paris*. This gives occasion to presume, he was Author of the second too, which tended to draw Prince *Edward* there also. And indeed, if he had not some private View, what Advantage could the Change proposed be to him? Was it not more honourable, to see the King of *England* at his feet, than his Son? And yet, instead of appearing to have made any objection on this account, it is seen in several Places of the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he very readily came into it, by the great haste wherewith this Agreement was made. The 21st of *August*, *Edward* had still thoughts of going to *France*. The 24th of the same Month he writ to *Charles*, to be excused, upon a pretended Fit of Sickness, from meeting him at *Beauvais* on the day appointed. The 2d of *September*, he absolutely resigned to the Prince his Son the Earldom of *Ponthieu* (4). The 4th of the same Month, *Charles* signed Letters Patent, consenting to the Substitution of the Son in his Father's room, on condition King *Ed-*

ward would resign to his Son whatever he held in *France*. But this condition was already performed in *England* two days before, with respect to the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. Hence it is plain, this Negotiation was begun and ended between the 24th of *August* and the 4th of *September*, which doubtless will seem too short a time, if the Court of *France* is supposed not to be already determined, to grant what she well knew was going to be demanded. If the Son's Substitution in the Father's place, had been attended with no Consequence, there would have been no occasion to take much notice of it; the thing in itself being of little moment. But it was necessary to relate the Circumstances, in order to shew it was a Plot contrived long before by the Queen, and a Snare laid by her for the King her Husband, and at the same time that she acted in concert with the King of *France* her Brother. For, it is very hard to believe this Princess so politick, as to draw King *Charles* into her Project, without his or his Council's perceiving it. It is therefore very likely, that before *Isabella* left *England*, she had intimated to the King her Brother, that she wanted to throw off the Dependence she was kept in by the *Spencers*, and free herself from the ill Treatment she received, by their Instigation, from her Husband. So, it may be very probably presumed, it was in order to serve the Queen his Sister, that *Charles* caused to be made indirectly the Proposal of sending her to *Paris*. That it was moreover in prosecution of the same Design, that he so readily came into the Treaty he concluded with her, when he might reasonably expect to become master of *Guienne*. In fine, that it was with the same View, that he consented to receive the Son's, instead of the Father's Homage. It is scarcely to be doubted, that the prolonging of the Term of the Homage, without giving the Reasons, was a Consequence of the same Project. It was believed, without doubt, there would be need of more time, to prevail with *Edward* to send his Son to *Paris*, to which it was imagined he would make some Objections. To all these reasons may be farther added, that afterwards *Charles* permitted the Queen his Sister to stay in *France*, notwithstanding the repeated Instances of her Husband to the contrary. More-

1325.

Mozeral,

over the *French* Historians own themselves, he had promised her Assistance. Add to this, *Isabella's* Hatred of *Spencer* the younger, and her Passion for *Mortimer*, which she took no further care to conceal, when she had the Prince her Son in her power. Moreover let the Readiness be considered, wherewith all the *English* Lords declared for her, when it was time, as we shall see presently. From the Connexion of all these Circumstances it is demonstrable, that *Isabella's* Plot was formed before her Departure from *England*, and that the King her Brother was not ignorant of it. I have dwelt the longer on these particulars, because the Historians seem to me to speak very obscurely of the Causes of the Revolution I am going to relate. The two Kings being agreed upon the expedient proposed, Prince *Edward* departed for *Paris* on the 12th of *September* 1325 (5), after receiving from his Father the absolute Grant of the Duchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Ponthieu*. In a few days after his Arrival (6), he did Homage to the King his Uncle, who actually restored him *Guienne*, but kept *Aginois*, of which *Edward* the Father greatly complained. He pretended, that by the late Agreement *Charles* was obliged to restore all *Guienne* to his Son. *Charles*, on the contrary, maintained, that the restitution he had promised, had relation to the late Treaty, whereby he reserved *Aginois* for himself. This Contest displeased not the Queen, who wanted a Pretence to stay at *Paris*, from whence she did not intend to soon to depart. After the Arrival of the Prince her Son, all the *English* who had fled for refuge into *France*, or been banished their own Country, came to her. *Roger Mortimer* was of this number, and became her chief Counsellor. From thenceforward *Edward's* Ambassadors had but little access to the Queen, and were no longer advised with, concerning the Affair of the restitution of *Aginois*. On the contrary, she held frequent Councils, where none were admitted but the professed Enemies of the King her Husband, and of the *Spencers*. Nay she had secret Conferences with *Mortimer*, which occasioned many Suspicions. In fine, she came to use so little discretion in her Familiarities with him, that *Edward's* Servants at *Paris* were extremely offended thereat. On the other hand, her Return to *England* was deferred from day to day, on divers pretences, notwith-

Prince Ed-
ward comes
to Paris.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 168.
Ib. p. 165,
172, &c.
He does
Homage.

Walsing.

De la M.

The Queen's
Plot against
the King her
Husband.
Her Passion
for Mortimer.
Walsing.

(1) She passed over to *Calais*, in the beginning of *July*, attended only by the Lord *John Cromwel*, and four Knights. *Walsingham*, p. 121.

(2) May 31. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 156.

(3) August 15.

(4) The Articles whereby King *Edward* resigned *Guienne* to his Son, were agreed upon at *Dover*, *September* 9. with the Consent of the Prelates, and other great Men there present. Two of the Articles agreed upon at *Dover*, were, That if Prince *Edward* died before his Father, the Lands in *Guienne* should return to his said Father King *Edward*; and that the King of *France* should neither marry, nor provide the young Prince a Guardian. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 165, 166. *Walsingham*, p. 121. *De la M.*, p. 597.

(5) Attended by *William Bishop of Oxford*, and other great Men. *Ibid.*

(6) September 21. *Walsingham*, p. 121.

standing the repeated orders of the King her Husband to bring home his Son (1). All the Historians unanimously affirm, she was in love with *Mortimer*. Some say, her Passion began at *Paris*: But much more probably, it commenced (as was truly) in *England* before *Mortimer's* Imprisonment. However this be, the Queen's secret Conferences with a Fugitive she ought to have banished her presence, as an Enemy to the King, opened at length the Eyes of the Bishop of *Exeter*, one of *Edward's* Ambassadors. The Bishop plainly perceiving his Master was betrayed, privately withdrew from the Court of *France* (2), to inform him of what was transacting at *Paris*. He acquainted him, not only with the Queen's scandalous Behaviour with regard to *Mortimer*, but assured him also they were contriving some Plot against him. He very justly built his Suspicions on their frequent Councils with the Exiles, without suffering the Ambassadors to be present. *Edward* had already thought it very strange, that after the Homage was done, the Mother and Son should stay so long in *France*, and had often writ to recall them. The Bishop of *Exeter's* late Information entirely opening his eyes, he began from that moment to perceive his great error in sending his Son to *Paris*. This made him repeat his Instances for their Return, and positively command the Queen to bring his Son with her, without staying one minute for the Reasons she had hitherto alledged. His Orders were so urgent, that *Isabella* was obliged to seek other excuses. She caused the King her Brother to send him word, she could not think of returning to *England*, without being first secured against the Treatment she was apprehensive of from *Spencer* the Son (3). *Edward*, in his answer to this Letter, justified *Spencer's* behaviour to the Queen, by her own Letters to that Favorite, full of Friendship and confidence, since her being in *France*. Moreover, he assured the King his Brother-in-law, that he would never suffer *Spencer* or any other Person, to be wanting in the respect due to his Queen. He further represented to him, that if he had not entirely relied on his Sincerity, he should never have sent his Son into *France*, and desired him to remember his promise, and send him back with all speed. He writ in much the same manner to the Queen and Prince: but his Letters were all to no purpose. *Isabella* was determined to pursue her point, and whilst she was taking measures at *Paris* to accomplish her design, her Friends were effectually serving her in *England*. The Heads of her Party were *Henry of Lancaster*, Brother of him beheaded at *Pontefract*, and the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*. They did not find it very difficult to form a strong Party against the King, considering the Dispositions of the Barons since the late cruel Executions.

1326. *Charles the Fair*, as the French Historians are forced to own, had promised the Queen his Sister some Assistance, but was unwilling it should appear he was concerned in her Plots (4). It was necessary therefore for *Isabella* to find a Protector, who would not scruple openly to support her Interests. To that end, she applied to the Earl of *Hainault*, from whom she believed she should be able to procure some Troops, to strengthen her Party upon her Arrival in *England*. But as she could not expect to gain that Prince, without making it turn to his advantage, she concluded with him a marriage between her Son *Edward* and his Daughter *Philippa*, as if it had been in her power to dispose of the young Prince. Several pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts plainly shew, this marriage was in hand whilst the Queen was yet at *Paris*. Amongst others, there was a Letter of King *Edward* to his Son, expressly forbidding him, to enter into any Marriage-Engagement without his Knowledge.

Mean time, the King of *France* still permitted *Isabella* to continue at *Paris*, and read without any Emotion, or Answer, *Edward's* Letters, upbraiding him with Breach of Faith. The Information *Edward* received from the Bishop of *Exeter*; the Queen's frivolous Excuses to defer her Return; and King *Charles's* connivance, troubled him extremely. He plainly saw, some Plot was contriving against him at *Paris*, tho' he could not tell what it was. But he was very sensible, the consequences were to be dreaded, as long as the Prince his Son was in the hands of his En-

mies. Most of the Historians affirm, the Contempt shewn by the Mother and Son for his Orders, induced him at length to banish them the Realm. But a Letter, he sent the Pope on that Subject, manifestly shews, it was only a false rumour spread in *France*, on purpose to justify the Queen's stay. In the Letter *Edward* told the Pope, That he had never such a Thought: That the tender Age of his Son freed him from all Imputation of Disobedience, of which the Queen alone was guilty, and that he had too great an Affection for both, to treat them so inhumanly. After trying in vain all the ways he could devise, to oblige them to return to *England*, he turned his whole Fury upon the Ambassadors, who assisted the Queen in the negotiation of the fatal Treaty, and resolved to make them responsible for the Issue. He particularly charged the Bishop of *Norwich* and Earl of *Richmond*, with prevaricating in the execution of their Orders (5), wherein he committed two egregious Errors: First, as he increased thereby the number of his Enemies, who were already too numerous. Secondly, as he discovered his Incapacity to govern his Kingdom, since, as a minor King might have done, he cast on his Ministers the blame which he himself had incurred, by ratifying the Treaty. This Conduct could not fail to give his Enemies a great advantage; whose chief aim was to persuade the People, the King was very unfit to govern. To this imprudent Proceeding, he added another, no less impolitic, in declaring War against *France*, without being in any readiness to maintain it; and in giving *Charles* a plausible pretence openly to support his Sister's Interests (6).

As *Isabella's* project to dethrone the King her Husband has something detestable in it, the French Historians would fain insinuate that *Charles the Fair* her Brother was no way concerned in it. On the contrary, they affirm, that when he came to know it, he expelled her his Dominions, and forbid his Knights to give her any assistance. They would have spoke the whole Truth, if they had said, he did not do this, till *Isabella* had taken all her measures with the Earl of *Hainault*, and was upon the point of executing her design. *Mezerai* could not help discovering his thoughts, when he said the *Spencers* were so liberal of their Money at the Court of *France*, that *Charles*, gained by Presents, or awed by the Threats of a Rapture, prohibited his Subjects from assisting the Queen. It is true he adds, that because *Mortimer*, who had made his Escape out of the Tower, was come to Queen *Isabella* at *Paris*, *Charles* detesting their shameful Proceedings, would not suffer her any longer in his Dominions. But it is easy to see, the French King was not swayed by that Motive, since it is not true, that *Mortimer* followed the Queen into *France*, where he had been two Years before her. On the contrary, it is certain, *Charles* suffered his whole Court, above sixteen Months, to be witness of the Familiarities between his Sister and *Mortimer*. And if he sent her afterwards out of his Territories, it was purely on account of the Uncertainty of the Issue, and to avoid the Blame of having approved of her Conduct, in case she did not succeed.

Isabella leaving the Court of *France*, passed some days at *Abbeville*, from whence she came to *Valenciennes*. Upon her Arrival, she ratified the Treaty concluded between her and the Earl of *Hainault*, and contracted her Son *Edward* to the Princess *Philippa*. A few days after, she repaired to *Dort*, where she embarked the Troops supplied by the Earl of *Hainault*, who were all ready there, with Ships to transport them. *John de Hainault*, Brother of the Earl, had the Command; and the Queen, as a singular favour, gave him leave to stile himself her Knight. Some reckon these Troops but three thousand Men (7). Others say, they were much more numerous. But she did not rely so much upon these Forces, as upon the Discontents of the English, and the many Adherents procured her by her Friends in *England*. She landed on the twenty second of September [at *Orewell*] in *Suffolk*, where she was joined by *Henry of Lancaster*, and several other Lords (8). At the same time, the Enemies of the *Spencers* were very busy in levying Troops to come to her assistance; and her Army soon became so numerous, that she struck Terror into

(1) The King sent for her, and his Son, again soon after *Michaelmas*. *Walsingham*, p. 122.

(2) Having been dismissed from being at her secret Council, he left her, and returned to *England*. *Ibid*.

(3) It was then reported, whether true or false, That the *Despensers* had procured the King's Consent to make away the Queen his Wife, and Prince *Edward* his Son. *Walsingham*, p. 123.

(4) *Freulart* relates, That as *Isabella* was providing for her Voyage, *Hugh le Despenser* having notice of it, contrived with with Presents to buy off the French King; insomuch that he forbade, under pain of Banishment, any of his Subjects from assisting the Queen. Vol. I. c. 3.

(5) And thereupon seized their Lands and Goods. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 209.

(6) At the same time, he issued out his Orders, dated at *Gaywood*, February 8. to all the Sheriffs in *England*, to summon all the Earls, Barons, Knights, and others holding by Knight's Service, Armies of Foot-soldiers, light Horse-men, &c. to get themselves in a readiness: As also *John de Eatham* Admiral of the North, to *Nicholas Kyriel*, Admiral of the South Seas, and to *Ralph Basset* of *Drayton*, Countable of *Devon* Castle, and Guard of the Cinque-Ports, to oppose the Landing of any of the King's Enemies. *Ibid*. p. 189.—Not long after, viz. April 18. he renewed his Father's Orders confirmed by the Parliament, against those that spread false Rumours, in order to sow discord between the King and his People; the Penalty of which was imprisonment. *Ibid*. p. 202.

(7) Two thousand seven hundred and fifty seven Men at Arms, says *Walsingham*, p. 123.

(8) Particularly *Aymery de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Leicester*, with the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and *Dublin*.

1326. those who were desirous to serve the King. That unfortunate Prince, who had received timely notice that a Plot was contrived against him at *Paris*, had, according to custom, employed himself in seeking ineffectual Remedies for the impending Evils. Instead of raising an Army, and equipping a Fleet, which might have quashed the Designs of his Enemies, he had only writ to the Pope and the King of *France*, Letters which were to no manner of purpose. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of the foreign Troops, he was deserted by all, and unable to withstand his Enemies. In vain did he publish a Proclamation, commanding his Subjects to fall upon the Foreigners, and set a Price upon *Mortimer's* Head (1); not a Man stirred to obey him. The Earl of *Kent*, his own Brother, sided with the Male-contents, and went over to the Queen. In this Extremity he resolved to retire into the West, with the two *Spencers*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Chancellor *Baldac*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few other Adherents of the Favorites.

Mean time, the Queen, whose Army daily increased by the Troops brought her from all Parts, published a Manifesto in her own, as well as in the Names of *Edward* her Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, setting forth the Reasons of their taking Arms. They pretended, their sole Aim was to free the Church and State, from the Oppressions to which they were liable, by the Male-Administration of the King, and the Tyranny of the *Spencers*. Adding, these unworthy Favorites and their Adherents ought to be deemed Enemies of the State, since by their pernicious Counsel, and Abuse of the Royal Authority, they unjustly deprived, some of their Lives, others of their Estates and Liberty; without any regard to the Laws of the Land, or the Privileges of the People. This Manifesto was published at *Wallingford*, *October* the fifteenth, whilst the Queen was marching in pursuit of the King.

Edward was then little able to withstand his Enemies. All his Endeavours to raise Troops had proved ineffectual: No body would expose himself to the Queen's Repentment, or hazard his Life and Fortune for an unhappy Prince, who was now looked upon as lost. In this Extremity, finding no remedy in *England*, he resolved to retire into *Ireland*, and leave *Spencer*, the Father, in *Bristol*. He fancied, the Siege of that Place would so long employ the Queen, that he should have time to take some measures. Pursuant to this Resolution, he went on board a small Vessel, and set sail for *Ireland*.

But he was driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Wales*, where he was forced to land, and lie concealed in the Abbey of *Neath*, till the Wind became fair, or he could form some other Design. Whilst this unhappy Prince could hardly find in his own Kingdom a Place of Safety, the Queen over-ran the Counties with a wonderful Rapidity. Every one was eager to supply her Army with Necessaries. At length she came before *Bristol*, where *Spencer* made but a faint Resistance. The City surrendering after a few days Siege, the old Gentleman, aged fourscore and ten Years, was immediately hung up [in his Armour,] without any Formality (2).

Mean while, the City of *London* following the Example of the rest of the Kingdom, declared for the Queen. In vain did [*Walter de*] *Stapleton*, Bishop of *Exeter*, whom the King had left Guardian of the City, endeavour to keep it for his Master. His Efforts served only to excite against him the Fury of the Populace, who treating him with great Indignity, at length cut off his Head (3). The Citizens likewise, enraged against the King, became masters of the *Tower*, and released all the Prisoners confined by the *Spencers* (4).

At *Bristol*, where the Queen staid some days, she was informed of the King's being embarked for *Ireland*. As he had not committed the Government to any Person, the Lords who attended the Queen, used that pretence, to name for Guardian, or Regent of the Kingdom, Prince *Edward* (5), who took upon him the Administration. This done, the Queen came to *Gloucester*, where the Gates were opened to her. Here she published a Proclamation, inviting the King to come and resume the Government: but herein she acted not with

Sincerity. She not only had no intention to reinstate the King, but very well knew he never would venture to place any Confidence in her, after being so cruelly treated.

Whilst the Queen was at *Gloucester*, a Report being spread that the King was some where concealed in *Wales*, *Henry of Lancaster* was detached in quest of him. His Diligence, and a Reward of two thousand Pounds promised by the Queen, to any Person that should take *Spencer* the younger, soon gained him intelligence of the Place, where the unhappy King thought to be concealed (6). He had with him only *Spencer*, Chancellor *Baldac*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few Domestic Attendants, all the rest forsaking him in his Misfortunes. As the Abbey of *Neath* was no proper place to keep the Prisoners, *Henry of Lancaster* carried them to *Monmouth* Castle till farther Orders (7). When the Queen heard that the King her Husband, and her principal Enemies were in her Power, she held a Council, to know how she was to behave at this juncture. It was resolved in the Council, that the Bishop of *Hereford* should be sent to demand the Great-Seal of the King; as well to hinder him from using it against the Queen, as to be able to call a Parliament, without which nothing could be done but what would want a lawful Authority. If what had hitherto passed, discovered to the King the Design of his Enemies, this last Circumstance fully convinced him, he should be no longer regarded, since by taking from him the Great-Seal, he was deprived at the same time of the Exercise of the Royal Authority. He delivered it however, without shewing any Reluctance, and gave the Queen and the Prince his Son Power to use it as they pleased, even in matters of mere Grace. This was the last Act of Authority performed by this Prince, who shortly after was conducted to *Kenilworth* Castle.

When the Queen had the Great-Seal in her possession, she used it to her own Advantage, as well to order the Payment of her Debts, as to call a Parliament in the captive King's Name. She had not patience to stay till the meeting of the Parliament, to be revenged upon *Spencer* and the rest of her Enemies. The Earl of *Arundel* (8) had now lost his Head by her Orders at *Hereford*; where she had a mind to sacrifice the others to her Vengeance. She marched to that City, ordering the Prisoners to be conducted in a most ignominious manner, to expose them all the way to the Insults and Curses of the People. As soon as she arrived, she caused *Spencer* and *Simon de Reading* to be brought to their Trials; of whom the first was hanged on a Gibbet fifty foot high, and the other ten foot lower. As for Chancellor *Baldac*, as he was in Holy Orders, and it was not safe to proceed against him in the same manner, he was delivered to the Bishop of *Hereford*, and carried to *London*. But in entering the City, the Mob fell upon him, and terribly abusing him, threw him into *Newgate*, where he died of the Blows he had received.

The Favorites and Ministers having thus received the Reward of their Pride and Cruelty, the Queen came to *London*, to take new measures concerning the Parliament which was to meet. She entered the City in triumph, amidst the Acclamations of the People, who called her their Deliverer, and expressed their Thankfulness, for the pretended Service she had done the State. The Parliament meeting in *January* (9) 1327; the first thing taken into consideration, was the deposing of the King, for which every one was now so prepared, that the unfortunate King had not so much as a single Advocate to plead for him. It was unanimously resolved, the King should be deposed, and his Son *Edward* made King in his room. The Heads of the Charge exhibited against him, were digested into several Articles, of which some were very much aggravated, and others only bare Repetitions, in order to swell the Number. In general, he was accused, of not having governed according to the Laws of the Land; of having made use of ill Counsellors, and rejecting the Advice of his faithful Subjects. [The Articles at length were (10):

" I. First, For that the Person of the King was not

" sufficient to govern; for in all his time he was led and

1326. those who were desirous to serve the King. That unfortunate Prince, who had received timely notice that a Plot was contrived against him at *Paris*, had, according to custom, employed himself in seeking ineffectual Remedies for the impending Evils. Instead of raising an Army, and equipping a Fleet, which might have quashed the Designs of his Enemies, he had only writ to the Pope and the King of *France*, Letters which were to no manner of purpose. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of the foreign Troops, he was deserted by all, and unable to withstand his Enemies. In vain did he publish a Proclamation, commanding his Subjects to fall upon the Foreigners, and set a Price upon *Mortimer's* Head (1); not a Man stirred to obey him. The Earl of *Kent*, his own Brother, sided with the Male-contents, and went over to the Queen. In this Extremity he resolved to retire into the West, with the two *Spencers*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Chancellor *Baldac*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few other Adherents of the Favorites.

Mean time, the Queen, whose Army daily increased by the Troops brought her from all Parts, published a Manifesto in her own, as well as in the Names of *Edward* her Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, setting forth the Reasons of their taking Arms. They pretended, their sole Aim was to free the Church and State, from the Oppressions to which they were liable, by the Male-Administration of the King, and the Tyranny of the *Spencers*. Adding, these unworthy Favorites and their Adherents ought to be deemed Enemies of the State, since by their pernicious Counsel, and Abuse of the Royal Authority, they unjustly deprived, some of their Lives, others of their Estates and Liberty; without any regard to the Laws of the Land, or the Privileges of the People. This Manifesto was published at *Wallingford*, *October* the fifteenth, whilst the Queen was marching in pursuit of the King.

Edward was then little able to withstand his Enemies. All his Endeavours to raise Troops had proved ineffectual: No body would expose himself to the Queen's Repentment, or hazard his Life and Fortune for an unhappy Prince, who was now looked upon as lost. In this Extremity, finding no remedy in *England*, he resolved to retire into *Ireland*, and leave *Spencer*, the Father, in *Bristol*. He fancied, the Siege of that Place would so long employ the Queen, that he should have time to take some measures. Pursuant to this Resolution, he went on board a small Vessel, and set sail for *Ireland*.

But he was driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Wales*, where he was forced to land, and lie concealed in the Abbey of *Neath*, till the Wind became fair, or he could form some other Design. Whilst this unhappy Prince could hardly find in his own Kingdom a Place of Safety, the Queen over-ran the Counties with a wonderful Rapidity. Every one was eager to supply her Army with Necessaries. At length she came before *Bristol*, where *Spencer* made but a faint Resistance. The City surrendering after a few days Siege, the old Gentleman, aged fourscore and ten Years, was immediately hung up [in his Armour,] without any Formality (2).

Mean while, the City of *London* following the Example of the rest of the Kingdom, declared for the Queen. In vain did [*Walter de*] *Stapleton*, Bishop of *Exeter*, whom the King had left Guardian of the City, endeavour to keep it for his Master. His Efforts served only to excite against him the Fury of the Populace, who treating him with great Indignity, at length cut off his Head (3). The Citizens likewise, enraged against the King, became masters of the *Tower*, and released all the Prisoners confined by the *Spencers* (4).

At *Bristol*, where the Queen staid some days, she was informed of the King's being embarked for *Ireland*. As he had not committed the Government to any Person, the Lords who attended the Queen, used that pretence, to name for Guardian, or Regent of the Kingdom, Prince *Edward* (5), who took upon him the Administration. This done, the Queen came to *Gloucester*, where the Gates were opened to her. Here she published a Proclamation, inviting the King to come and resume the Government: but herein she acted not with

Sincerity. She not only had no intention to reinstate the King, but very well knew he never would venture to place any Confidence in her, after being so cruelly treated.

Whilst the Queen was at *Gloucester*, a Report being spread that the King was some where concealed in *Wales*, *Henry of Lancaster* was detached in quest of him. His Diligence, and a Reward of two thousand Pounds promised by the Queen, to any Person that should take *Spencer* the younger, soon gained him intelligence of the Place, where the unhappy King thought to be concealed (6). He had with him only *Spencer*, Chancellor *Baldac*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few Domestic Attendants, all the rest forsaking him in his Misfortunes. As the Abbey of *Neath* was no proper place to keep the Prisoners, *Henry of Lancaster* carried them to *Monmouth* Castle till farther Orders (7). When the Queen heard that the King her Husband, and her principal Enemies were in her Power, she held a Council, to know how she was to behave at this juncture. It was resolved in the Council, that the Bishop of *Hereford* should be sent to demand the Great-Seal of the King; as well to hinder him from using it against the Queen, as to be able to call a Parliament, without which nothing could be done but what would want a lawful Authority. If what had hitherto passed, discovered to the King the Design of his Enemies, this last Circumstance fully convinced him, he should be no longer regarded, since by taking from him the Great-Seal, he was deprived at the same time of the Exercise of the Royal Authority. He delivered it however, without shewing any Reluctance, and gave the Queen and the Prince his Son Power to use it as they pleased, even in matters of mere Grace. This was the last Act of Authority performed by this Prince, who shortly after was conducted to *Kenilworth* Castle.

When the Queen had the Great-Seal in her possession, she used it to her own Advantage, as well to order the Payment of her Debts, as to call a Parliament in the captive King's Name. She had not patience to stay till the meeting of the Parliament, to be revenged upon *Spencer* and the rest of her Enemies. The Earl of *Arundel* (8) had now lost his Head by her Orders at *Hereford*; where she had a mind to sacrifice the others to her Vengeance. She marched to that City, ordering the Prisoners to be conducted in a most ignominious manner, to expose them all the way to the Insults and Curses of the People. As soon as she arrived, she caused *Spencer* and *Simon de Reading* to be brought to their Trials; of whom the first was hanged on a Gibbet fifty foot high, and the other ten foot lower. As for Chancellor *Baldac*, as he was in Holy Orders, and it was not safe to proceed against him in the same manner, he was delivered to the Bishop of *Hereford*, and carried to *London*. But in entering the City, the Mob fell upon him, and terribly abusing him, threw him into *Newgate*, where he died of the Blows he had received.

The Favorites and Ministers having thus received the Reward of their Pride and Cruelty, the Queen came to *London*, to take new measures concerning the Parliament which was to meet. She entered the City in triumph, amidst the Acclamations of the People, who called her their Deliverer, and expressed their Thankfulness, for the pretended Service she had done the State. The Parliament meeting in *January* (9) 1327; the first thing taken into consideration, was the deposing of the King, for which every one was now so prepared, that the unfortunate King had not so much as a single Advocate to plead for him. It was unanimously resolved, the King should be deposed, and his Son *Edward* made King in his room. The Heads of the Charge exhibited against him, were digested into several Articles, of which some were very much aggravated, and others only bare Repetitions, in order to swell the Number. In general, he was accused, of not having governed according to the Laws of the Land; of having made use of ill Counsellors, and rejecting the Advice of his faithful Subjects. [The Articles at length were (10):

" I. First, For that the Person of the King was not

" sufficient to govern; for in all his time he was led and

1327. "governed by others, who gave him evil Counsel, to the dishonour of himself, and destruction of Holy Church, and all his People; not considering or knowing whether it was good or evil; nor would remedy these things, when he was requested by the great and wife Men of his Realm, or suffer them to be amended.
- "II. Also, in all his time he would not give himself to good Counsel, nor take it, nor to the good Government of his Kingdom; but always gave himself to Works and Employments not convenient, neglecting the Business of his Realm.
- "III. Also for want of good Government he lost the Kingdom of Scotland, and other Lands and Dominions in Gasconne and Ireland, which his Father left him in Peace and Amity with the King of France, and many other great Persons.
- "IV. Also, by his Pride and Cruelty, he destroyed Holy Church, and the Persons of Holy Church, putting some in Prison, and others in Distress; and also put to shameful Death, and imprisoned, banished, and disinherited many great and noble Men of the Land.
- "V. Also, whereas he was bound by his Oath to do Right to all, he would not do it, for his own Profit, and the Covetousness of him and his evil Counsellors which were with him; neither regarded the other Points of the Oath which he made at his Coronation, as he was obliged.
- "VI. Also, he abandoned his Realm, and did as much as he could to destroy it and his People; and what is worse, by his Cruelty, and the default of his Person, he is found incorrigible, without hopes of Amendment. All which things are so notorious, they cannot be gained.]

This Act passing *Nemine Contradicente*, young Edward was proclaimed King in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Name of Edward III. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury preached a Sermon on these words, *The Voice of the People, the Voice of God*; wherein he endeavoured to vindicate what the Parliament had done, and exhorted the People to pray to the King of Kings for their new Sovereign.

When the News of this rigorous Sentence was brought to the Queen, she seemed to be extremely moved, even to the bursting out into Tears. But her outward Grief little agreed with all her Proceedings to dethrone her Husband; much less with her Passion for Mortimer, of which she gave such publick Marks, that it was impossible to be mistaken. The Prince her Son, whose Youth made him less suspicious, was perhaps the only Person that was affected with her counterfeit Tears. Urged by his generous Inclinations, he solemnly vowed not to accept the Crown during the King his Father's Life, without his express Consent. This Vow somewhat broke the measures of the Parliament. They were afraid Edward the Father would persist in keeping the Title of King, though stripped of all his Authority. In this Perplexity, it was deemed absolutely necessary, to oblige him to resign his Crown to the Prince his Son. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford were sent to prepare him. Then the Parliament nominated twelve Commissioners; namely, three Bishops, three Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Judges (1); to whom was added Judge Trussel, as the Nation's particular Procurator, to declare to him, that the People of England were no longer bound by their Oath of Allegiance, and to receive his Resignation. Nothing shewed so much their Repentment against the unfortunate King, as their Choice of the two first Bishops (2), whom he had all along looked upon as his Enemies, and who indeed discharged their Commission very rudely. Instead of giving him Consolation, they insulted over his Misfortunes, in endeavouring to persuade him, he was deposed for his own Good, and to ease him of the great Weight of the Government, that he might live more happily than he had hitherto done. But as their malicious Discourse made no great impression upon him, they plainly told him, unless he complied with the Parliament, his Condition would be rendered more unfortunate: Adding, his Obstinacy would be a great Prejudice to his Family; for, if he refused to resign the Crown to his Son, the Nation was resolved to elect a King, not of the Royal Family. Upon these words, they withdrew, in order to give him time to consider of his Answer to the Commissioners, who were coming to receive his Resignation.

At the Arrival of the Commissioners, the unfortunate King came out from his Bed-Chamber in a Mourning-Gown, with Looks demonstrating his inward Trouble. As he was acquainted with the occasion of their coming, the sight of that formidable Power, which had just deposed him of Royalty, made such an impression upon his Mind, that he fell into a Swoon, from whence he could hardly recover. As soon as he came to himself, the Commissioners told him their Message, and represented to him, the ill Consequences of his Refusal. Then, the unhappy Prince, with a Sadness that could not be seen without Pity, answered, "That he submitted to whatever was required of him, with the greater religion, as he acknowledged, his Sins were the sole cause of his Misfortunes." He added moreover, "that he could not behold without extreme Grief, the Aversion his People had for him; but if his Sorrow could admit of any Comfort, it was from the consideration of his Subjects Goodness to his Son, for which he returned them Thanks."

After this Answer, he proceeded to the Ceremony of his Resignation, by delivering to them the Crown, Sceptre, and the other Ensigns of Royalty. Then Sir William Trussel, addressing himself to the King, spoke in this manner, making use of a Form of his own, in a case where there was no Precedent to follow. *I William Trussel, Procurator of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and People in my Procuracy named, having for This full and sufficient Power, do surrender unto you, Edward, late King of England, the Homage and Fealty of the Persons aforesaid, and do acquit the same, in the best manner the Law and Custom can give it, and do make this Protestation, in the Name of all those that will not be in your Fealty or Allegiance for the future, nor claim or hold any Thing of you as King, but account you as a private Person, without any manner of Royal Dignity (3). After these Words, the High-Steward, [Sir Thomas Blunt] broke his Staff, and declared all the King's Officers discharged from his Service. Thus ended the Reign of Edward II, in the forty third Year of his Age, having lasted nineteen Years, six Months and fifteen Days.*

This Prince had a very mean Genius, which permitted him not to distinguish what was for his Advantage, from what was hurtful to him. He followed his Humour, without troubling himself about the Consequences, and without being able to remedy the Misfortunes he thereby drew on himself. Though he had many Failings, he may be affirmed to be more weak than wicked. To sum up his Character in a few Words, he was exceeding like his Grandfather Henry III. Edward his Father, a much wiser Prince than he, and taught by the Misfortunes of the two Kings his immediate Predecessors, ever avoided, as a most dangerous Rock, all occasion of Quarrel with the Nobility; chusing rather to give way a little, than hazard his quiet to gratify his Relentment. The Son had not a sufficient Capacity to follow so good an Example, or to improve by his Instructions. He gave up himself entirely to his Favorites, and chose rather to forfeit the Affection of his People, than deny himself the Satisfaction of heaping Favours on those he loved. His Weakness and Incapacity drew on him the Contempt of his Subjects, which was soon changed into hatred, when he was seen to sacrifice all to his Passions. He had the Misfortune to have a beautiful and amorous Wife, who giving way to an infamous Passion, completed his Ruin, for fear perhaps of being herself prevented. Certainly, he was treated too severely by his Subjects, whose Insolence increased in proportion to their Sovereign's Weakness. One cannot observe without wonder, that there was not a single Person willing to draw his Sword in his Defence. I shall not undertake to determine how far, in those Days, the Rights of the People, with regard to the King, might extend. I shall only say, there was no Precedent to follow; for this is the first Instance, in the English History, of a King deposed by his Subjects, at least since the Conquest. Edward II is taxed with being given to drink. Some speak of his Fondness for Gaveston, so as to make it believed very Criminal. Others, on the contrary, commend him for his Continency. And indeed, we do not find he had any Mistresses or Bastards, like some of his Predecessors. He founded Oriel-College and St. Mary-Hall in Oxford (4), and built a Monastery for Friars on his Estate at Langley.

He had by Isabella of France two Sons, and two Daughters. The eldest of his Sons was Edward III, his

Pretended
Son of
the Queen.
Walsing.

The Prince
would not
accept the
Crown with-
out the King's
Consent.
Walsing.

The Parlia-
ment obliges
the King to
resign his
Crown.
De la M.
Knighton.

1327.
Sad State
of Edward.
De la M.

Walsing.
Knighton.
His Answer
to the De-
puties.

He resigns
the Ensigns
of Royalty.

A new Pro-
cedure in
this Case.
Polychron.
1. 7. c. 42.
Knighton.
De la M.

Character of
Edward II.

De la M.

His Wife.
Suc-

(1) Walsingham says, that it was three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights from every County, and a certain Number of Persons from the Cities and great Towns, chiefly from the *Conque-Ports*. p. 126. See De la Mear, p. 600.

(2) Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, and Henry Burghard, Bishop of Lincoln.

(3) This is translated near the Original than in Rapin. Knighton, c. l. 2550.

(4) The Honour of founding Oriel-College is attributed to Edward II, though he did little more than grant Licence to Adam de Brem his Almoner in 1324, to build and endow a College to be called St. Mary's House. To this Society, King Edward III, in the first of his Reign, gave a Tenement called

1327. Successor. The youngest called *John of Eltham*, the Place of his Birth, died in the Flower of his Age, in his Brother's Reign, without Issue. *Joanna* the eldest Daughter was married to *David King of Scotland*. *Eleanor*, the second, was Wife of *Reynald Duke of Guelders* (1).

An Earth-quake.

Suppression of the Templars.
M. Paris.
p. 67.
Walsing.
p. 96.

I shall close the History of this Reign with two events, which I have not had occasion to speak of elsewhere. The first was an Earthquake, the most terrible that had ever been felt in Great Britain. The second was the Suppression of the Order of the *Knights-Templars*, both in England and all other Christian States. This Order was first instituted at *Jerusalem*, in the Reign of *Baldwin IV* (2), for the defence of the *Holy Sepulchre*, and Protection of the Pilgrims that resorted thither from all parts. *Hugo de Paganis* and *Geoffrey de St. Ademar* were the Founders. The Knights of this Order were at first called, *The Poor of the Holy City*. Afterwards they had the Name of *Templars*, because their first House was near the Temple. Hence it is, that all their Houses were stiled Temples. This Order was confirmed in the Council of *Troye*, 1127, and its Rule composed by *St. Bernard*.

After the Downfall of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, about the Year 1186, this Order was dispersed over all Europe, and increased prodigiously by the Liberality of the Christians (3). Riches soon changed the Manners of the Knights. In process of time their scandalous Lives, joined to an insupportable Pride, caused them to be as odious, as they were esteemed in the beginning of their Institution (4). *Philip the Fair*, King of France, being dissatisfied by those of his Kingdom, and (5) not content with punishing the Offenders, attempted the Ruin of the whole Order, by means of *Pope Clement V*, whom he had artfully gained. In the first place, he ordered all the *Templars* in France to be seized (6), as well as the Grand Master of the Order, who resided in the Island of *Cyprus*, and by the Pope's order, was come to *Paris*. Then upon a Charge exhibited against them, that at their reception into the Order, they denied *Jesus Christ*, and spit (7) upon a Crucifix, he caused fifty seven to be burnt, among whom was the Grand Master. To this accusation was added others of Heresy, Sodomy, and other numberless Crimes. To oblige the King of France, *Clement V*, earnestly pressed *Edward II*, to follow the Example of *Philip* his Father-in-law. After much Solicitation, he obtained at length, that all the *Templars* in England should be seized (as they were in France) in one day (8). *Edward*

being prevailed with, in expectation of their Estates, which were very considerable, held a National Synod at *London*, where they were condemned. However, They were not treated so rigorously as in France. They were only dispersed in the Monasteries to do Penance, with a moderate Pension paid out of the Revenues of the Order. The Severities exercised upon them in France and England, would no doubt have sufficed, if the Design had been only to chastise them: but their Destruction was determined. *Clement V*, agreeing in this point with *Philip the Fair*, caused strict Inquiry to be made, and many Witnesses to be heard, who accused not some particular Knights only, but the whole Order, of the most enormous Crimes. If these Depositions were well attested, one can hardly conceive it possible, there could be so detestable a Society among Christians. But every Body was not equally persuaded of the Truth of these Evidences, particularly as to what concerned the Order in general. These Preparations being made, the Pope called at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, a general Council, where he presided in Person; and where *Philip* was pleased also to be present, to promote the Condemnation of the Order. But they did not find the Council disposed as they expected. The Bishops could not think of condemning Men that were not convicted, or even summoned before the Council to answer for themselves. These Proceedings of the Pope, without hearing what the Order could alledge in their defence, did not appear sufficient to the Council, who wished that things were done in a more legal manner. So the Pope was obliged to use the Plenitude of his Apostolical Power, in suspending this Order for ever, by a Bull read in the second Session. As the Council was not prepared for it, no Man ventured to oppose the Bull; and their Silence was taken for an Approbation, according to the method now some time established. By the same Bull, the Pope reserved to the Holy See, the Disposal of the Estates of the *Templars*; and, shortly after, *Clement* assigned them to the *Hospitallers* or *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, called at this Day, *Knights of Malta*. *Edward II*, who had taken possession of the Estates of the condemned Order, in vain opposed the Pope's Grant to the *Hospitallers*, and insisted on the Prerogatives of his Crown, by which all Confiscations were adjudged to him. The Troubles in England during his Reign, would not permit him to keep Possession (9). Thus the whole Order of the *Templars* were made to suffer the Punishment deserved; doubtless, by some of their Members, but which, probably, was not due to all in general.

Ag. Pub.
III. p. 326,
956.

called *Le Ouel*, on which Ground stands *Oriel College*. The present *St. Mary Hall* was a long Time the *Parsonage-House* to the Rector of *St. Mary's*; which Church being appropriated by *Edward II*, to the College founded by *de Broom*, the House came also in their Possession, and was soon after allotted for the Residence of students. *Camd. Add. Oxfordshire*. But if *Edward II* was not the Founder of this College, it is certain he founded in *Oxford* 1313, a House for *Carmelites*, or *White Friars*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 217. In 1317, February 14, died *Margaret*, Relict of King *Edward I*, and was buried in the Quire of the *Grey Friars Church* in *London*. *Id.* p. 219.

(1) She was married to him with a fifteen thousand Pounds Portion, in 1332, in the sixth Year of *Edward III*. This *Earl Reynald*, being Vice-General of the Empire, to the Emperor *Leopold of Bavaria*, he created him the first Duke of *Guelders*. *Erasm.* had by him two Sons, who both died without Issue.

(2) In the Year 1118. *M. Paris*, p. 67.

(3) They were possessed at their Dissolution of sixteen thousand Lordships, besides other Lands. *Heylin's C. sing.* l. 3.

(4) It was a common saying, *To drink like a Templar*. *Cl. Escl. Hist.* p. 507.

(5) *Walsingham* says, That *Philip* King of France had a mind to make one of his Sons King of *Jerusalem*; so that to obtain their Riches for this Son, it is probable, he caused that Order to be dissolved. Or else perhaps, that King and the Pope, envying the Riches, as well as Magnificence of this Order, might agree together to dissolve it, that they might share their Wealth and great Revenue between them. *Walsing.* p. 99. See *Lynd.* Vol. IV. p. 233.

(6) On October 12, 1307.

(7) Three times. See the Articles of Inquiry concerning them in *Brady*, Vol. III. p. 169.

(8) January 7. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. III. p. 34, 45.

(9) The Possessions of the *Knights-Templars* were granted to the *Hospitallers* of *St. John of Jerusalem*, by the Parliament which met in the beginning of *Leut* 1324, when the *Statutum de Terris Templariorum* was enacted. *Walsing.* p. 120.

Having in the last Coin-Note spoken of the Persons that sat and acted at the Exchequer during the second Period, I shall consider II, the Business of the Exchequer during the same, which may be ranked under three general Heads: 1. Affairs of the Revenue. 2. Causes. 3. Business of various kinds. 1. There was in the Exchequer a great Variety of Business, springing from things incident to the Revenue. Fines of divers kinds were imposed, and Amercements set by the Treasurer and Barons. They sometimes tormented the King's Manors, and committed or defrauded the farm. They also committed (by the King's Command and Assent) the Counties to Sheriffs, and removed them from their Bailiwicks. In fine, it was the Business of the Treasurer and Barons, to speed the levying and getting in of the King's Debts, and manage the Crown Revenue to the best Advantage. Nevertheless, if the King thought them remiss, or wanted Money very urgently, he would send Writs or Messages to them, to hasten the getting in of Money, in such manner as he directed. 2. Pleas and Causes: Though after the Separation of the Common Pleas from the King's Court and Palace, it was reduced, by the Great Charter, and afterwards by an Ordinance, to hold Common Pleas in the Exchequer, yet in fact, some Common Pleas were still heard; and the King sometimes gave leave to particular Persons, to bring their Suits and recover their Debts there. In Suits moved between Parties in the Exchequer, the King granted preference to one Person; namely, that he should be paid before other Creditors. 3. Under the Head of Business of various kinds, we may place Conventions and Recognitions, which were frequently made in the Exchequer, and the Presentation and Admission of Officers of the Exchequer, as will be seen hereafter. Several Officers of the Exchange, and Coinage of Money, were from time to time presented and sworn in the Exchequer, as well as some others, who were Officers at large, as Customers and Commissioners of Perambulation of Forests. Particularly the Mayors and chief Officers of Towns, Elicitors, &c. were presented at the Exchequer. The Citizens of *London*, after they had chosen a Mayor, used to present him yearly on the Morrow of *St. Simon and St. Jude*, before the Treasurer and Barons, who swore and admitted him to his Office; to likewise their Sheriff on the Morrow of *St. Michael*. Thus *Nicholas Batt* their Mayor (28 Hen. III.) was presented by the Citizens, and 9 Ed. II. the Mayor, &c. presented their Sheriff *Hamon Gubep*, and *William Baddie*. If the Sheriff of *London* did not come to the Exchequer at the King's Command, to take upon him the Office of Sheriff, he was to be amerced. Sometimes Sheriffs of Counties, Under-Sheriffs of Hereditary ones, &c. were sworn in Person at the Exchequer. Several of the King's Tenants in Cattle, by Knight's Service, did their Fealty; and others who held of the King in Capite, by Rent Service, paid their Rent at the Exchequer. *Walter de Brun*, Farmer at the Strand in *Middlesex*, was to have a piece of Ground in the Parish of *St. Clement*, to place a Forge there, he rendering yearly six Horseshoes. *Mag. Rot.* 19 Hen. III. This Rent was antiently wont to be paid at the Exchequer. It is still rendered there to this Day, by the Mayor and Citizens of *London*, to whom, in process of Time, the said piece of Ground was granted. During this second Period (as well as during the first) the chief Justiciary, the Treasurer, the Barons, and Council at the Exchequer, did sometimes act in Affairs relating to the publick Peace, and to the Government and Defence of the Realm. In general, the Business and Acts of the Court of Exchequer, were wont to be entered or recorded in several Rolls, the principal whereof were, the *Rotulus annalis*, or great Roll of the Pipe, of which I have spoken in the last Coin Note; and therefore shall only add here, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who seems to have been appointed to be a Clerk upon the Treasurer) from antient Times, caused a Counter-Roll of the Treasurer's Great Roll, to be made up every Year. There are many of these *Rotuli Cancellarii* more antient than the Reign of *Henry III*. This observation may serve to relieve a doubt, which the Antiquaries have hitherto lain under, For Example: There is in the Record-Office in the Tower of *London*, a Duplicate Great Roll of 6 Ric. I. and another of 7 John. And there is another of the third of John, in the Custody of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer. The Great Rolls of which several Years are in the Repository of the Pipe. And in the same Repository, there are two Great Rolls of the fourth of John. Now all these Duplicate Rolls Mr. *Madox* takes to be *Rotuli Cancellarii*. The next Records were the *Memoranda*, or *Remembrances*. A Remembrance was antiently wont to be made for every Year, in each of the Remembrancer's Offices. On the part of the Treasurer's Remembrancer, each yearly Bundle contained several Heads or Titles, such as *Communia*, the common Business; *Compta*, or Accounts; *Visus*, Views; *Adventus*, the Advents of the Accountants; and other Titles. So also the *Memoranda*, on the part of the King's Remembrancer, have the like Heads or Titles. Of the Originals of the Chancery, which were wont to be reprinted in the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, I shall speak hereafter. In the *Memoranda* of the Exchequer, was entered great variety of Business: For Instance, the King's Writs and Precepts of many kinds, relating to the Revenue, Tenures, &c. Commissions of Bailiwicks, Custodies, Feams, &c. Presentations and Admissions of the Officers of the Exchequer, and other Officers; Pleadings and Allegations of Parties; Judgments and Awards of the Justiciary, the Treasurer and Barons, and the King's Council; Recognitions of Debts, and Conventions of divers kinds; Accounts, Views &c. Accounts, with several Acts relating to Accountants; Inquisitions of Sheriffs, Elicitors, &c. Advents of Sheriffs, Elicitors and others, and in ge-

so deputed, were at first Knights. In such case, the Chamberlains in Fee was to come regularly in Person, and perform his Deputy to the Treasurer and Barons: And thereupon the Deputy used to be sworn and admitted. But sometimes he procured his Deputy by his Steward, or other Attorney; and sometimes by Letters Patent directed to the Treasurer and Barons. Sometimes also he procured his Deputy to the King himself, and then upon the King's Warrant the Deputy was admitted. The Treasurer and Chamberlains had under them certain Clerks, who during their Attendance on the King, Barons, Bishops, were at Law, or Allowance from the King. These Clerks were usually called, during the first Period, *Clerici Tresorarii et Chamberlani*, and *Clerici de Receptis*, without distinguishing them from one another by particular names of Office. Hence hath arisen some Obscurity. The Clerks themselves seem to have been the Officers afterwards called, *Clerici de Pisis*, *Writers of the Rolls*, &c. and indeed all the Officers of the Receipt, except those whose Offices were Serjeanties, or related immediately to the Chamberlains Office. In the upper Exchequer, there are but few Memorials concerning the Officers or Clerks of the Receipt. The Clerkship of the *Pills* is probably ancient. There is in the Treasury, at the Receipt of Exchequer, a *Pill*, or it may be, a *Carter* of the 9 Hen. III. In the 35th of Hen. III. the *Pill Roll* is called *Magnus Rotulus de Pisis*. In the 21st of Hen. III. *Simon de Winton* was chosen one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. At the Receipt of Exchequer were also some Serjeants or Hereditary Officers; namely, a *Peser* and *Esfor*. The Office of *Peser*, *Ponderator*, or *Veigber*, was the Serjeanty, which in the 4th of King John, was vested in *Thomas de Woodstock*, and remained in that Family for some time afterwards. Another Serjeanty was the *Fufrie*. By *Fufrie* we are to understand *Miles*. One *William* was *Fufrie* in the Reigns of King Henry II. and Richard I. Concerning the Office of the Receipt, nothing remarkable occurs within this Period. I shall conclude with a few Instances of the Allowance made to several Ministers of the Receipt of Exchequer, for their Livings and Offices, and other Necularies. In 9 Hen. III. the Liveries of the Ministers of the Exchequer for fourscore Days, from the Feast of St. Michael, till Monday next after the Feast of St. Lucia were: To three Scribes *ss.* To the two Knights, or the Chamberlains viii Marks. To *John de Wandebere* xiiii *l.* To *Joh* the *Peser* ii Marks and a Half. To *Simon Driel* ii Marks and a Half. To the four Tellers xiiii *l.* To the Vigil, and for Light xii. For a Hatch to lay up the *Memoranda* viii *l.* For Rodds for the Tallies *ss.* For Parchment for the Use of the Chamberlains, and the Chief Justicier's Clerk xiiii *l.* For Ink, during the whole Year, xii *ss.* For Litter for the Chamber of the Barons, and House of Receipt xii *l.* For Necularies for the four Clerks *ss.* For ten dozen of Hatches, xx *ss.* For Wax xii. For Leather for the Tallies ix *l.* For a Hatch to lay the Insignifications in ii *l.* For the Marshal's Hatch xii *l.* For a Sack to put the allowed Tallies in xiiii *l.* For carrying and re-carrying the Hatches *ss.* For a Tonell to put in the 6 Marks, sent to the King at Oxford, by R. Bishop of Chichester xii *l.* For Locks, Bolts, and other small Expences xiiii *ss.* Total, xxiixiiii *l.* xiiii *ss.* viii *l.* *Ex Parte Recepte de Ann.* 9 Hen. III. *Rot. ult. indors.*, *per Thes.* et *Camer.*



Edward II's Coins (if ever he coined any Money, which *Nicolson* says cannot be certainly affirmed) are in all respects like his Father's, and distinguished from them only by Name, *viz.* EDWA. EDWAR. or EDWARD. ANGL. RMS. HYB. On the Reverse, the Names of several Cities in England and Ireland, as CIVITAS LONDON. LINCOL. DUBLIN. WATERFORD, &c. The Title of *Domnus Hybernie* is never wanting on his Coins. *Nicolson* observes, neither our Histories nor Laws afford us any Light, as to this King's Money.



1327. exceeding two Thirds of the Revenues of the Crown. At the same time, a hundred Marks a Month were assigned for the Maintenance of the deposed King. A Sum more than sufficient for the Expences of that unfortunate Prince, who was treated in his Confinement after a very unbecoming manner.

The Parliament shewn by the Parliament in their Proceedings against Edward II, encouraged such as were Sufferers whilst the *Spencers* were in Power, to petition to be restored to their Estates and Honours. Their Petitions met with a favourable Reception. The Parliament, willing to justify their late Conduct, reversed all the Judgments passed in the foregoing Reign, as well against the late Earl of *Lancaster* (1) and his Adherents, as against those that favoured the Designs of the Queen. It was pretended, they were contrary to Law, and manifestly extorted by the Credit of the Favourites. Perhaps this gave occasion to some Historians to say, that Edward III was pleased to begin his Reign with a General Pardon. But if by this General Pardon be meant the reversing the forementioned Judgments, the Honour of it is not to be ascribed to the King. He not only did nothing of himself, but it is certain that herein the sole Motive was to disparage the late Government, and favour the Queen's Party. For the same purpose, the King was persuaded earnestly to solicit the Court of *Rome* for the Canonization of the Earl of *Lancaster*, beheaded at *Pontfract* (2). He was made to say in his Letter to the Pope, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were a clear Evidence, his Punishment was a real Martyrdom. In fine, all the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament tended solely to justify what had been done with regard to the late King, which doubtless would have been deemed very criminal if it had not been crowned with Success.

The Tranquillity England hoped to enjoy under the new King, who was in Peace or in Truce with all his Neighbours, was disturbed by an Incurfion of the *Scots* on the Borders. Robert their King, though in an ill State of Health, and of a great Age, believed he ought not to suffer the Non-age of the King of England to pass without reaping some advantage. He was afraid likewise that a too long repose might enervate his Subjects. In his Circumstances, he thought it necessary to keep them in breath, well knowing they had to deal with formidable Enemies, who in making Truce with them, had not departed from their Pretensions. These are the most probable Reasons of this Rupture, which Buchanan justifies only by saying, it is to be supposed that Robert was swayed by powerful Motives. Be this as it will, he put the Earl of *Murray* (3), and Sir *James Douglas* at the head of twenty thousand Men, and ordered them to ravage the Borders of England (4). Edward could not hear the News of this Irruption, without an eager desire of signalizing himself in the Defence of his Kingdom. Though they who governed in his Name had no great Inclination for War, they did not think it for their Interest to suffer such an Insult. Their Authority might have been shaken, if on this occasion they had shewn any sign of Weakness or Cowardice.

The Opinion of the Council being agreeable to the King's Desires, an Army of sixty thousand Men was raised, including the Troops brought by *John de Hainault* into England. The whole Army being come to *York*, Edward was just going to head them, when a sudden Quarrel arose between the *English* and the *Hainaulters*, wherein many were slain. As the *English* were the Aggressors, Justice could not be done to the Foreigners, without displeasing the Army. So the Court was forced to stay longer at *York* than was at first designed, in order to find means to compose this Difference, before they took the Field. This Delay gave the *Scots* time to pass the *Tyne* between *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and to ravage in a barbarous manner the Country on this side the River. They had four thousand Men at Arms. The rest of the Troops were mounted on little swift Horses, in order the more easily to make Incurfions and retreat. This News hastened the King's Departure. Though he did not know exactly where the Enemies were, he marched in quest of them, guided only by the Fire and Smoak of the Houses still burning in the Road. What speed soever he made, he could not possibly overtake them. As they had no Infantry, nor were encumbered with much Baggage, they made such extraordinary Marches, that not only they were out of the Reach of the *English* Army, but even at such a distance, that there

was no tracing them. The Uncertainty of the Place where they were retired, causing the King to detain of meeting them, he called a Council of War. Some confused Advices making it thought, that the *Scots* had not yet repassed the *Tyne*, it was resolved to expect them beyond the River, near the *Pontfract* where it was thought they would pass in their return home. The *English* was put in execution. But the *Scots* Army did not sooner pass the *Tyne*, than they were forced to retreat again, not finding North of the River wherewithal to subsist.

During the time spent in these Marches and Countermarches, Edward, having never received certain intelligence of the Enemy, was extremely uneasy. As he knew not which way to go in search of them, he ordered it to be proclaimed in the Army, that whoever should bring him certain News of the *Scots*, should be made a Knight, with a Pension of a hundred Pounds Sterling. The Hopes of so good a Reward, set so many People to work, that it was not long before he had the desired Information (5). But it was not without some Confusion that he heard the Enemies, of whom he was so eagerly in quest, were not above two Leagues off. He marched immediately towards them, in expectation of fighting that very Day. But he did not long enjoy the Pleasure of that Expectation. The *Scots* General, who were not ignorant of his Approach, had encamped over against *Stanhope Park*, on a Hill, at the foot of which runs the River *Were*, shallow indeed, but full of Rocks, which rendered the Passage very difficult. How desirous soever Edward was of fighting, he was sensible, to his great Sorrow, that he could not attack them without exposing his Army to manifest Danger. It was a sad thing for a young Prince, greedy of Glory, to see the Enemies so near, without being able to give them Battle. He did not however quite despair of succeeding. As he judged of their Courage by his own, he sent them word, if they would come over the River to him, he would retire at a convenient distance, and give them time to pass, and chuse what ground they should think proper, or else on the same Terms he would come over to them. The *Scots* Generals answered, That the *English* Army being three times stronger than theirs, it would be great Rashness to accept the Proposals: That they were bent upon keeping their Post, and it was the King's Business to dislodge them, if he thought it for his Advantage to attempt it. However, as they were apprehensive, that Edward, in amusing them with his Offers, intended to pass the River at some other Place, they retired in the Night, and encamped in a more advantageous Post than what they left. Besides, that they had still the *Were* in their Front, their Flanks were defended by inaccessible Mountains and Bogs, which removed their Fear of being attacked, though the *English* had passed the River elsewhere. Edward having notice of their Motion, followed them, with the *Were* between him and the Enemy, and having found them posted in that manner, made them the same Offer as before, to which they returned the same Answer.

Whilst the two Armies lay in fight without being able to engage, the Lord *Douglas*, one of the *Scots* Generals, passed the River at some distance from the two Camps, with only two hundred Horse. With this little Troop, he stole into the *English* Camp, and penetrated even to the Royal Tent, where he gave a terrible Alarm. Probably, his Design was to carry off the King; but not succeeding, he retired without much loss. At length, after both Armies had kept their Posts a fortnight, the *Scots* decamped in the Night, and by speedy Marches, which prevented the *English* from pursuing them, retired into their own Country. They were now so far off, when Edward was told of their Retreat, that he did not think fit to follow them. Several ascribed then to *Mortimer* the ill Success of this Campaign, and suspected him of holding Intelligence with the Enemy, to facilitate their retreat without fighting. Edward having nothing more to fear from the *Scots*, returned to *York*, extremely mortified at not being able to revenge himself. Upon his Arrival at that City, he disbanded his Army, and after magnificent Presents, sent back *John de Hainault* to his own Country (6).

Whilst the young King was employed in this Expedition, his Father, still closely confined in *Northampton Castle*, led a melancholy Life, not being suffered to take the least Diversion. He wrote from time to time to his

(1) And restored to his Brother Henry all his Estates. *Rome's Hist. Tom. IV. p. 421.*

(2) See above, p. 396.

(3) On January 2, they endeavoured to surprise the Castle of *Ham*; but the Governor, Sir *Robert Maunsel*, defended it so bravely, that they were obliged to retreat.

(4) It was brought by Sir *Thomas Robey*, *Baron.*

(5) About the middle of August. See *Rome's Hist. Tom. IV. p. 394.* He had returned back to *France* after the Campaign of 1326, and was sent on back again. See *France's Hist. Tom. IV. p. 131.*

1327. Queen, intreating her to render his Imprisonment more easy; but nothing was capable of moving that inexorable Princess, in favour of a Husband, whom she herself had reduced to that wretched Condition without his deserving, at least from her hands, such barbarous Usage. If she had dared to follow her Inclinations, she would have left his Letters unanswered. But as it was her Interest to deceive the Publick by this Correspondence, she was very glad to continue it. She sent him now and then some Linen, and Cloaths, and other little Presents, to persuade the credulous People, she sacrificed her Tenderness to the Good of the State. It was not so easy to deceive *Edward* himself, seeing he could not but be convinced, that she was the sole Cause of his Misfortunes. Accordingly, she never had the Face to appear in his Sight. She would not so much as permit the King her Son to pay his Duty to his unhappy Father; for fear he should learn what she desired he might be ignorant of as long as he lived. So, though the imprisoned King ardently wished to see them both, and frequently asked why they were so unkind as to deny him that Comfort, he could never obtain it.

Mean time, the rigorous Usage of that unfortunate Prince, began to excite Compassion in the Breasts of the English, who are naturally generous. *Henry of Lancaster* himself, who had the custody of him, relented daily to such a degree, that he gave him some small hopes of recovering his Liberty. Another Motive, besides that of Generosity, influenced the Earl; and that was, the irregular Conduct of the Queen, and the great Credit of *Mortimer*, whose Arrogance rendered him odious to all. As he took no care to hide his Sentiments, the Queen and *Mortimer* suspected him of a Design to restore the old King. The Suspicion, whether well or ill grounded, produced a fatal Effect, by determining them to prevent the imagined Danger. To that end, they resolved to take the captive King out of the hands of his Keeper, whom they suspected, and entrust him with such as they could depend upon (1). *Sir John Maltby*, and *Sir Thomas Gurney*, both of so brutish a Temper, as was requisite for the Designs of those that employed them, had orders to remove *Edward* from *Kenilworth* to *Berkley* Castle. It was hardly possible for the unfortunate Prince to fall into worse Hands. At first they carried him to *Corfe*, then to *Bristol* (2), and afterwards to *Berkley* (3) Castle, which was to be his last Prison. In the Journey, they made him suffer a thousand Indignities, even to the causing him to be shaved in the open Field with cold Water taken from a stinking Ditch (4). What Firmness soever he had hitherto shewn, he could not, on this occasion, help lamenting his Misfortune, and discovering his Grief. Amidst his Complaints and Reproaches against those who used him so barbarously, he told them, that in spite of them, he would be shaved with warm Water; and at the same time he shed a Torrent of Tears. His Enemies hoped, the Vexation and Fatigue he was made to endure, would put an end to his Days. But though they were served with a barbarous Zeal by these merciless Guards, who, for that purpose, used the most cruel, as well as insolent means, yet the Goodness of his Constitution prevented them from succeeding. These Wretches, finding their Cruelties had not so speedy an Effect, sent for fresh Instructions, for which they were not made to wait long. They received precise Orders to put that Prince to death, who, though overwhelmed with Misery, caused continual Fears in the Authors of his Calamity. It is said that *Adam Orleton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, one of the Queen's Ministers, sent with these Orders a Latin Letter, wherein by a shameful Equivocation, he advised them at the same time to murder *Edward*, and exhorted them to refrain from such a Crime.

And indeed, the words ascribed to him, are capable of both these Senses, according to the difference of the Pointing (5). These Orders were no sooner come, but the two Keepers, knowing what they were to do, entered *Edward's* Room to put them in execution. He being then in his Bed, they laid a Pillow on his Face, to prevent his being heard; and then, with a Cruelty not to be paralleled, thrust a horn Pipe up his Body, through which they ran a red-hot Iron, and burnt his Bowels. In this horrible manner did that miserable Prince expire (6), amidst such violent Pains, that in spite of the Precaution of his Murderers, his Cries were heard at a distance. To conceal this execrable Deed, the two Executioners sent for some of the Inhabitants of *Bristol* and *Gloster*; who examining the Body, and finding no signs of a violent Death, concluded, he died a natural Death. This account, which was carefully attested by Witnesses, was immediately dispersed over the whole Kingdom, that it might be known unto all.

The Misfortunes of this Prince, whom his Enemies so cruelly persecuted, began to raise the Pity of the English, after ceasing to be formidable to them. But this Pity was unactive, whereas their hatred never suffered them to rest till they had entirely ruined him. Indeed it would be difficult to justify his whole Conduct, but they cannot be charged with being prejudiced in his favour, who assure us, his Faults were disproportionate to his Punishment. He was a Sufferer himself for not having the Resolution to punish his Favorites. An important Lesson for all Princes, but which few are so wise as to learn. The Compassion for his Sufferings, which could not always be concealed, rose to that height, that after his Death he was revered as a Saint; so easily do the People run from one Extreme to another. His Body was immediately buried without any funeral Pomp, in the Abbey Church at *Gloster*. However, some time after, the King his Son ordered a stately Tomb to be erected for him in that Church. So far were his Murderers from receiving for their Parricide the reward they expected, that they were forced to fly beyond Sea to avoid Punishment. The very Persons that employed them, affected to cause diligent search to be made after them, to cover the share they had in the Crime. Three years after, *Gurney* was seized at *Burgos*, and by order of the King of *Castile* carried to *Bayonne*, from whence *Edward* commanded him to be conveyed to *England*. But by some practices, not fully cleared in History, he was beheaded at Sea (7). *Maltravers* spent his Days in Exile, in some place in *Germany* where he had retired. But divine Vengeance stopped not at the Punishment of these two Villains. The Queen, *Mortimer*, and their Accomplices felt likewise its Effects. Perhaps too we are to consider as Consequences of the same Vengeance, the violent or untimely Deaths of almost all the Descendants of *Edward III.*, as well as the Civil Wars wherewith *England* was afflicted, in the Reigns of that Prince's Posterity, as will be seen hereafter (8).

The Death of *Edward II.* suppressed all the motions which began to be observed in the Kingdom. The King his Son finding himself more easy, since by the death of his Father which he believed natural, he was cured of his Scruples upon his account, took this opportunity to solemnize, with *Philippa* of *Hainault*, his Marriage concluded by the Queen his Mother at *Valenciennes*. The Ceremony was performed at *York* (9), where the King came in his Return from his Campaign. Shortly after the new Queen was crowned with the usual Solemnities (10).

After the Rejoycings for the King's Marriage and the Queen's Coronation were over, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Northampton* (11), to consult about two very momentous Affairs. The first concerned the Regency of *France*, which he claimed after the Death of *Charles the Fair* his Uncle, who died in the beginning of this Year.

(1) About the beginning of April. De la Mer.

(2) Where he remained till it was found out, that some of the Citizens had formed a Resolution to assist him in making his Escape beyond Sea. De la Mer, p. 602.

(3) *Thomas Berkley*, Lord of the Castle, treated the King with abundance of Respect, which *Maltravers* and *Gurney* observing, they would no longer suffer him to have access to the King's Person. De la Mer, p. 603. *Walsing.* p. 127.

(4) That he might be thereby the more anguished, and not known to any they should meet with, they made him likewise ride in the Night, with very thin Cloaths, and without any covering on his Head; would never suffer him to sleep; crowned him with Hay, and obliged him to attend the grooms: They also attempted more than once to poison him, but the Goodness of his Constitution rendered all their wicked projects ineffectual. De la Mer, p. 602.

(5) *Edwardum occidere nullo tempore, Edwardus.*
Edwardum occidere nullo, tunc Edwardus.

(6) In *Octob. Rapin.* It was *Septemb. 22.* See De la Mer, p. 603.

(7) For fear he should discover some great Design that had set him to work, as *Sir Thomas More* well observes, p. 605, and *Walsing.* p. 128.

(8) A Parliament was held this Year at *London* on *September 15.* *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 301. and another at *London* on *October 13.* besides that mentioned above, wherein the King restored *London* to its ancient Liberty, that had been forfeited; it seems very probable, that the late Insurrection, wherein *Walter de Stapleton* was beheaded; and granted it new ones. *Walsing.* p. 128. Namely, That the Mayor should be the King's Justice, and that every Alderman, who had been Mayor, should be always justice of the Peace, within his own Ward. He also granted unto the Citizens, the Fee-farm of *London* for three hundred Pounds per Ann. And that the Law of Franchises of the City should not be seized into the King's Hand, but only on occasion of Abuse or Misuse, either by the Town or by the Citizens, maintained or done by the Mayor's City. Further he ordained, that *Southwerk* should be under the Government of the City, &c. *J. Barne,* p. 25.

(9) *Walsing.* p. 128. *Rapin.* c. 252.

(10) The Sunday before April 26. 1330. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 419.

(11) *Rapin* says it was at *London*. He says moreover, that the Laity granted to the King this Year a Twentieth, and the Clergy a Tenth, in a Parliament at *London*. *Ibid.*

1328. I shall speak of this affair in another place. The Second was the Peace with *Scotland* proposed by King *Robert*. Queen *Isabella* and *Mortimer*, who held the Reins of the Government, believing a War was against their Interests, were very eager for a Peace. On the other hand, the King of *Scotland* perceiving he was no longer able to bear the hardships of War, desired to spend the residue of his days in Peace. Besides, as his Infirmities warned him of his approaching Death, he was very glad to prevent, by a Peace with the *English*, the Accidents which a War might cause, during the Non-age of his Son *David* who was but seven Years old. The Parliament being entirely in the Queen's Interest, it was not difficult to obtain their Consent, to enter upon a Treaty, which both Parties were equally desirous of concluding. The Queen-Mother, and *Mortimer* in behalf of the *English*, and *Douglas* in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, were the Managers of this Affair. A Peace was quickly made and confirmed by the Marriage of *David*, Prince of *Scotland*, with *Joanna* (1) Sister of *Edward*, though they were both Children.

Peace between Eng-
land and
Scotland.
Walsing.
Buchanan.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 354.

Edward quits
all claim to
Scotland.
Ch. Lanerc.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 337.
Buchanan.
Knighton.

He restores
all that Ed-
ward I. had
taken from
Scotland.
J. Barnes.

The English
murmur.

Buchanan.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 334.

Nuptials of
the Princess
Joanna.
Walsing.
Knighton.

The *English*, for the most part, were very uneasy to see a Treaty begun, which in all appearance could bring them no Advantage. However, their Uneasiness would have been removed, by the hopes of the Repose it was to procure them, if, to hasten the Conclusion, *Isabella* and *Mortimer* had not given up to the King of *Scotland* such Advantages, as he could not have expected, even after the gaining of many Battles. By their Advice, *Edward* renounced all his Pretensions to *Scotland*, both with regard to the Sovereignty and the Propriety (2). At the same time he restored to *Robert*, all the Charters and Instruments which might prove the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over that Kingdom. Among these Instruments, was the famous Act, called *Ragman's Roll*, signed by *John Baliol*, and all the Barons of *Scotland*; wherein were contained the Rights of the Crown of *England*. This was followed by the Restitution of the Crown, Scepter, Jewels (3), which *Edward I.* had carried away from *Edinburgh*, and of every thing in general which might any way testify the Sovereignty of *England* over *Scotland*. Had all this been done from a Motive of Justice and Equity, to repair, in some measure, the Injuries done by *Edward I.* to the *Scots*; far from being thought strange, such a Christian Conduct should have been highly commended. But as People were fully convinced, that the Queen and *Mortimer* acted not from such a Motive, and besides were prepossessed in favour of the Sovereignty established by *Edward I.*, every one was extremely displeased with this Restitution. They said, "This was dearly purchasing a Peace, neither honorable nor necessary; that by this shameful Treaty, all the Money expended, and all the Blood spilt, in the Conquest of *Scotland*, were rendered entirely fruitless: That the Queen, who under colour of the King her Husband's Incapacity, had divested him of his Authority, plainly discovered, how unable she was herself to govern the State; and that the Faults committed by *Edward II.* during his whole Reign, were nothing in comparison of what she had done the very first Year of her Administration." Notwithstanding all these murmurs, the Queen and *Mortimer* had Credit enough with the Parliament (4), to cause the Peace to be confirmed, and the Sum of thirty thousand Marks, which *Robert* promised to pay within three Years, to be considered as a sufficient Compensation for whatever was restored to *Scotland*. Thus it frequently happens, that the very Persons who pretend to reform the Government by extraordinary Methods, shew afterwards, that they had nothing less in view than the publick Good, which served them for a Pretence.

In consequence of the Treaty, the Nuptials of *Joanna* the King's Sister were solemnized at *Berwick* (5). Shortly after *Mortimer*, as a Reward for his late pretended Service to his Master, was made Earl of *March* in full Parliament (6). *John of Eltham*, the King's Brother, was created Earl of *Cornwall*, and *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*.

Henry of Lancaster, and some other Lords (7), came not to this Parliament. They were dissatisfied that the Queen-Mother and *Mortimer* usurped all Authority, contrary to the Intent of the Parliament, that nominated twelve Barons to manage the publick Affairs. The tragical Death of *Edward II.*, and the late Treaty with *Scotland*, furnishing them with a plausible pretence to complain, they had now begun to hold private Conferences, and project a Reformation of the Government. As Secrecy was very difficult, in a Confederacy where they designed to engage a great many Persons, the Queen and *Mortimer* had soon notice of it. The Earl of *Lancaster*, whom they considered as Author of the Plot, and Head of the Male-content, was the first Victim they resolved to sacrifice to their Safety. An Accident that happened shortly after, afforded them an opportunity, which they believed they ought to embrace, to accomplish their Design. The Earl had a private Quarrel with the Lord *Holland* (8), whom he looked upon as a mortal Enemy to his Family, and one of the principal Authors of the Death of *Earl Thomas* his Brother. Some Threats he let fall against his Enemy, induced Sir *Thomas Wythers*, one of his Domesticks, to revenge his Master. An opportunity offering presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, *Wythers* killed the Lord *Holland*, and took Refuge in the Earl's Palace at *Lancaster*, from whence repeated Orders from Court were not able to force him. The Queen and the Earl of *March* were not sorry, their Enemy gave them so plausible a pretence to exasperate the King against him. They represented to the young Prince, of what Importance it was, not to suffer a Subject, of what Quality soever, to take upon him to protect Criminals, and stop the Course of Justice: That it was acting the Sovereign, and there was danger, that those who assumed such a Power, intended to enlarge it at the expence of the Royal Authority, and were contriving to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. By these provoking Discourses, they persuaded the young King to resolve to chastise this Disobedience.

When the Earl of *Lancaster* knew they designed to attack him, he prepared for his Defence, and formed an Association, which was entered into by *Edmund Earl of Kent*, and *Thomas Earl of Norfolk* the King's Uncles, the Lord *Beaumont* (9), Judge *Trussel*, and some other Lords; who unanimously resolved to stand upon their Defence, in case they were attacked. At the same time they published a Manifesto, containing the Motives of their Armament, all drawn from the publick Good and Grievances of the Kingdom. They said, they had taken Arms, I. To oblige the Queen-Mother to refund into the publick Treasury, the Revenues she had caused to be assigned her, far exceeding the usual Dowry of the Queens. II. To put a stop to the Exactions and Incroachments of those who governed in the King's Name. III. To bring to condign Punishment the Betrayers of their Country, in the late War with *Scotland*. IV. To make Inquiry, by what means the Ordinance of Parliament establishing twelve Barons to govern the State, during the King's Minority, was not executed. V. To cause strict Inquisition to be made concerning the Death of *Edward* the King's Father, after he was, by private Orders, taken out of the Custody of those, to whom he was committed by the Parliament. VI. To bring those to an Account who had seized the Treasures of the late King. VII. To cause the Publick to be informed by whose Advice the King, during his Minority, had renounced all his Pretensions to *Scotland*, and given up all the Charters and Instruments thereof. VIII. Lastly, To call those to an Account, who advised the King to marry the Princess his Sister to *David Bruce*, mortal Enemy to the *English* Nation.

These Articles, Copies whereof were carefully diffused all over the Kingdom, sensibly touched the Queen and the Earl of *March*, who were very plainly designated. But instead of vindicating their Conduct, which indeed could not be easily done, they took another Course, and intimated to the King, that they who had taken Arms, fought to wrest the Crown from him.

(1) The *Scots* called her in Derision, *Jean Make-Peace*. J. Barnes, p. 30.

(2) This Charter is dated at *Tork*, *March* 1, and said to be done by the Assent and Consent of the Prelates, and great Men, Earls, and Barons, and Commons of the Kingdom in Parliament. Rymer's *Fæd.* Tom. IV. p. 337.

(3) Particularly one of great Value, called the *Black Cross of Scotland*. By this Treaty also, no *Englishman* was permitted to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unless he would live there; and the King of *Scotland* renounced all claim to *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*. Knighton, Col. 2553.

(4) This Parliament was summoned to meet at *Tork*, on the Sunday after *Candlemas-Day*. Rot. Clauf. 2 Edward III. M. 3. Dors. Knighton, Col. 2552.

(5) On July 12. Barnes, p. 30.

(6) This Parliament was held at *New-Sarum*, a Fortnight after *Michaelmas*. Walsingham, p. 129. Rot. Clauf. 2 Edward III. M. 31. Dors. Rymer's *Fæd.* Tom. IV. p. 372.

(7) Particularly *Thomas Lord Wake*, *Edmund Plantagenet*, Earl of *Kent*, and *Thomas de Bretherton*, Earl of *Norfolk*. Knighton, Col. 2554. Walsingham, p. 129.

(8) *Robert de Holland*. The Rise and Advancement of this Lord, was, by his being Secretary to *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, whom he deserted after the Battle of *Burrough-Brigge*. Digdale. Knighton, Col. 2553, &c.

(9) The Lord *Thomas Beaufort*, Sir *Hugh Audley*, &c. J. Barnes, p. 31.

1328. They maliciously insinuated, that his two Uncles, and Henry of Lancaster Grandson of Henry III, had formed the Project of excluding the Issue of Edward II from the Throne, of which that Prince was declared unworthy; as if the Faults of the Father were to reflect on the Children. The young King, who had no suspicion of the Queen his Mother, giving ear to this Accusation, resolved by force of Arms to bring Persons to their Duty, whom he now considered as Rebels. He even began his Preparations, to execute this Design. In all likelihood, this Affair would have been attended with fatal Consequences, if the Archbishop of Canterbury (1) had not zealously interposed, to stop the course of these Commotions. The Archbishop artfully hinted to the Queen, that the Manifesto of the Male-contents was so plausible, and such the Grievances complained of, that it was to be feared the whole Nation would join with them. The Queen readily apprehended the Archbishop's Hints, and believing the Attempt to reduce them by force, would be as dangerous for her, as the Male-contents, she was prevailed with to end the Affair by an Agreement, to which the Male-contents were not very averse. As their Party was not yet strong enough to carry things to the Point they desired, their Intent in publishing the Manifesto, was only to convince the Queen of her great danger, in endeavouring to crush them. So, without insisting any further on their Grievances, they accepted the Pardon procured them by the Archbishop, for certain Fines, and the Banishment of Beaumont, Trussel, and the Murderer of the Lord Holland, who were excepted in the Pardon (2). On this occasion the Earl of March pretended to be a Friend to the Princes, but harboured in his Breast a lively Repentment against them, to which the Earl of Kent fell a Sacrifice (3).

The Male-contents accepted a Pardon. Knighton.

1329. Robert, the brave King of Scotland, enjoyed not long his late glorious Peace with England. He died (4) sedate and easy, with the Comfort of having freed Scotland from the Dominion of the English, and of seeing his own Family settled in the Throne. The Scots very justly rank him among their most illustrious Kings, as the Restorer of their Monarchy. This Prince, on his Death-bed, recommended three things, especially to the Persons he had appointed Regents, during the Minority of his Son David, then but eight Years old. The first, never to hazard a Battle in the Kingdom. The second, to make no long Truces with the English, in case the two Nations should come to a Rupture. The third, to have always an Eye upon what passed in England, for fear of being surprized unprepared.

First of March: contents more and more edum.

Walsing. Knighton.

The Earl of Kent's last days. Ibid.

The Earl of March, still supported by the Queen-Mother, saw himself raised so high, that he acted more like a Sovereign than a Minister. He disposed of all the Offices, as well as of the public Revenues, with an Authority, joined to an Arrogance very common to Favorites, and which contributes no less than their Advancement to render them odious. The extraordinary Credit of this Earl roused the Jealousy of the English, who were the same, since the deposing of Edward II; and who had no greater Esteem for this new Favorite, than they had formerly for Gaveston and Spencer. Among those who discovered their Sentiments the most freely, Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's Uncle, was the principal. This Prince, as well as Edward II his Brother, had no great Genius for public Affairs, but was naturally sincere and generous. He had, however, suffered himself to be deceived by the Artifices of Isabella, when he joined with her against his own Brother, never imagining she would have carried things so far. When once he was engaged in that Party, the suddenness of the Revolution which happened immediately after, would not permit him to recede. The Government was changed before he had time to reflect on the Consequences of the Queen's Undertaking. The disorderly Behaviour of that Princess, the Arrogance of the Favorite, the sudden Death of the King, and the ill Management of the public Affairs, at length opened his Eyes. He perceived with Grief the Injustice of the Plot he had unhappily engaged in. A generous Man cannot, without pain, conceal his Sentiments. The Earl, little versed in Politicks, was not careful enough to hide his Uneasiness at past Transactions, and at what he saw every day. He had joined with Henry of Lancaster during the late Commotions,

thereby shewing, it was not his fault that the present Scene of Affairs was not altered. This was sufficient to induce Isabella and the Earl of March to hasten his Ruin, for fear of being prevented. To that end, they laid for him the most extraordinary Snare imaginable, in which it is amazing he should suffer himself to be taken. As his Conduct was unblameable, it was necessary, in order to destroy him, so to manage it, that he should render himself criminal, that his Ruin might be thought the less strange. For that purpose, his two Adversaries, by some who feigned to be his Friends, insinuated to him, that Edward II, his Brother, was still alive, and reported to be dead, only to prevent the Troubles his Friends might excite: That he was strictly guarded in Corfe Castle, and suffered to be seen by none but his Domesticks, who were confined with him. This pretended Secret was supported with divers Circumstances, and confirmed by the Testimony of several Persons of Distinction; among whom were two Bishops who were deceived as well as Edmund, or helped to deceive him. He had himself assisted at the Funeral of the King his Brother. But what he had now heard, joined to a like Report, spread at the Court by the Artifice of his Enemies, and to his Desire that the thing might be true, easily induced him to believe, he might possibly have been deceived by counterfeit Obsequies. In this belief, he resolved to try all ways to free the pretended Prisoner from his Captivity. He was however in suspense on account of his Oath to the King his Nephew; but was quickly eased of that Scruple. It is said, that being commissioned to go to the Pope, and demand the Canonization of the late Earl of Leicester, he took that opportunity to consult John XXII upon this Affair. It is added, but how truly I know not, that the Pope not only approved of

1329.

The Queen and Mortimer lay a Snare for that Prince.

He is made to believe that Edward II is still alive. Walsing.

He resolves to free him.

Walsing. p. 129.

his Project, but charged him to put it in execution, under pain of Excommunication. When Edmund found himself supported by such an Authority, all his Scruples vanished. So, without further Consideration, he departed from Avignon, bent upon using all his Endeavours to free the King his Brother, whom he imagined to be still in Prison. However, as this Belief was grounded only upon Report, the certainty whereof was not well averr'd, he sent a trusty Friar to Corfe, to be assured of the Truth. The Contrivers of the Plot had taken care to have it whispered about in the Country, that Edward was still a Prisoner. So, the Monk upon his coming into those parts for private Information, found the Inhabitants of the Neighbourhood believed it. Prepossessed by these false Rumours, the Friar, pretending Business with the Governor of Corfe, asked him, whether there was really any Foundation for what was reported of Edward? The Governor, who had received his Instructions, returned such an Answer, as confirmed him in his Opinion. It is even said, that he shewed him, at a little distance, a Person sitting at a Table, who was served with great Respect; and by that means entirely convinced him, that he was not deceived. Edmund being confirmed in his Belief by the Friar's Report came himself to Corfe, and without shewing the least doubt, demanded to be conducted to his Brother's Apartment. The treacherous Governor pretending to be surprized at his knowing the Secret, did not deny that Edward was in the Castle; but told him, he had positive Orders to let no Person see him. This Confession made Edmund repeat his Instances, but finding the Governor inflexible, he gave him a Letter for the Prisoner, wherein he assured him, he would do his utmost to procure his Liberty. This Letter was immediately carried to the Queen, who shewed it to the King her Son, magnifying his danger from his Uncle's Practices. It was not difficult for her to obtain the King's Leave to secure the Prince's Person. He was very far from suspecting his Mother to be herself the Author of this Plot. As soon as the King had given his Consent to what was proposed, measures were taken to apprehend Edmund at Winchester, where the Parliament was assembled. His Impeachment being brought before the Peers, his own Letter was produced, which he could not disown: Nay, he confessed that several Lords, and particularly the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, were concerned in the Plot, or at least had advised him to hasten the Execution (5). Upon this Confession, which shewed a settled Design to change the Government

He is apprehended, Act. Pub. IV. p. 424, 430.

Walsing. Knighton.

condemned and executed, March 19. Walsing.

(1) Simon de Melham.

(2) Together with the Lord Thomas Roffelyne. They went over to France. Knighton, Col. 2554.

(3) Besides the two Parliaments mentioned above, there was a third Parliament at York. *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

(4) June 7. says Walsing. p. 129. that it was the 9th according to Buchanan, of a Leprosy. And was Lined at Dumfries. Knighton, Col. 2555.

For Part. I. p. 21. says he died November 7.

(5) Walsingham gives the following Account of Edmund's Confession before the Parliament: On the sixteenth of March, 4 Edward III. he confessed that a certain Friar-Priest of London, told him, that he had conjured up a Spirit, who assured him, that Edward his Brother was yet alive. Also, that Sir Ingram Bawour brought him a Message from William Lord Zouche, desiring he would assist in his flight, and that Sir Robert Tournemant came to him from the Archbishop of York, to encourage him, by assuring him that he had in readiness the same Men to carry on the Work. Also, that Sir Falk Fitz-Warren told him, it would be the greatest Honour that ever could happen to him, in case he appeared in the Attempt; promising

1329. vernment, he was condemned to lose his Head (1). The Execution soon followed the Sentence. All that day the King was so beset by the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *March*, that none could approach him to sue for the Pardon of a Prince so nearly related to him. It is even affirmed, that he knew nothing of the Sentence passed upon his Uncle, or of his Execution till it was too late. Be this as it will, *Edmund* was brought upon the Scaffold, to suffer the Punishment to which he was condemned. But the Executioner fleeing away, he stayed from Noon till Evening, before any could be found to perform his Office. At last, towards Night, one out of the *Marshalsea* severed his Head from his Body (2). Thus died that Prince, in the 28th Year of his Age (3). He left two Sons, who died young; and two Daughters, the youngest of whom was the greatest Beauty of her time. Her second Husband was the famous Prince of *Wales*, her Cousin, eldest Son of *Edward III.* *Edmund* was the only Person prosecuted for the imaginary Crime for which he suffered Death; tho' according to his Depositions, several others ought to have undergone the same Punishment. But the Authors of the Plot wanted no other Sacrifice. Besides, they took care not to examine matters too strictly, for fear of giving occasion to discover, what it was their Interest to conceal. It is even very probable, that several of those impeached by *Edmund* were Betrayers, employed by his Enemies to hurry him into Destruction.

Before I proceed, it will be necessary to speak of *Edward's* Affairs with *France* during his *Minority*. Not only the Order of time requires it, but it is very proper to clear beforehand, the Origin of an Affair which is to be the principal Subject of this Prince's *Majority*. To that end, I must resume the Account of the Disputes between the two Crowns, where I left off in the Reign of *Edward II.*

Affairs of Edward with France. The last Treaty made at *Paris*, by the Mediation of *Isabella*, did not fully end all the Differences between *Edward II.* and *Charles the Fair*. The Queen, who had only in view the Project formed against the King her Husband, did not think it her Interest to discuss all the Articles included in these Disputes. She was too apprehensive of raising some Obstacle to her principal Design. On the other hand, King *Charles*, who was in possession of *Agenois*, did not think proper to urge, himself, any farther discussion of matters. So the Sentence passed at *Paris*, in the Business of *St. Sardos*, which condemned the *Gasccon* Lords to Banishment, and decreed the demolishing of their Castles, was still in force: But the Treaty concluded by the Queen, preserved *Edward's* Pretensions entire, and left him free to prosecute his Right in the Court of *Peers*. The Resignation of *Guienne*, occasioned fresh Difficulties. *Edward II.* pretended, that *Charles* in receiving the Homage of the Prince his Nephew, obliged himself to restore that whole Province; which the King of *France* denied.

Edward III., was no sooner on the Throne, but by Advice of his Parliament, he sent (4) Ambassadors to *France*, to make an agreement between the two Crowns. Shortly after a new Treaty was concluded (5), containing these six Articles.

- New Treaty made at Paris. Act. Pub. IV. p. 279.
- I. That both sides should restore whatever was conquered during the War.
 - II. That *Edward* should pay the King of *France* fifty thousand Marks *Sterling*, to satisfy him for his Charges on occasion of the Rupture.
 - III. That a general Pardon should be granted by both Parties.
 - IV. That the King of *France* should pardon the *Felony* of the *Gasccon* Lords, as to Life and Limbs, on condition they submitted to Banishment.
 - V. That *Edward* should undertake to demolish their Castles.
 - VI. That this Treaty should be of no effect, unless ratified by the King of *England* before *Easter* (6).

missing his best Assistance. Moreover, that Sir *Ingram Barenge* came to him again from Sir *John Peche*, letting him know he should have his Help. And that *Henry Lord Beaumont*, and Sir *Thomas Roffelyne* at *Paris* instigated him thereto, saying, they were ready to come into *England* to his Aid. Lastly, that the said Sir *Ingram* came to him another time at *Arundel*, into his Bed-Chamber, and assured him of the Bishop of *London's* Help. *T. Wals.* p. 110.

(1) He was accused of High-Treason, in the Parliament that was summoned to meet at *Winchester*, on the Sunday before *March 13*, and on the next Day was, by the Judgment of his Peers in Parliament, condemned to die. *Rot. Claus.* 4. *Edw.* III. M. 41. *Dors.* *Walsingham*, p. 510. *Wals.* *Noustr.*

(2) *Rupin* by mistake says, one of the Guards of the *Marshalsea*, but *Knigh-ton* says, it was one of the Prisoners, who did it to save his own Life, on the Eve of *St. Outhbert*, or *March 19*. *Col.* 2552.

(3) He was privately buried in the Church of the *Friers-Predicant*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 147.

(4) *John Stratford*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *William Ayreman*, Bishop of *Norwich*; *John de Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*; *John de Honand*; and *Hugh Audley*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 264, 279.

(5) It was concluded at *Paris*, *March 13*. 1326-7. *Ibid.* p. 281.

(6) It is in the Original, the *Tuesday* after the *Ostaves* of *Easter*, i. e. the *Tuesday* after a Week after *Easter*. *Ibid.*

(7) King *Charles* desired, that if his Queen were brought to bed of a Son, *Philip de Valois* should be his Tutor, and Regent of the Kingdom, till the young Prince should come of Age. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 22.

(8) *Adam de Urleton*, Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Roger Northbrocgh*, Bishop of *Chester*, i. e. *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 354.

The Court of *England* was too desirous of Peace; to neglect the Performance of the last Article. So there was a good intelligence between the two Crowns, during the rest of that Year; both Kings taking care to avoid all Occasions of a fresh Rupture.

Hardly was this Affair ended, when a new and more important occasion of quarrel engaged the two Kingdoms in a War, which caused Torrents of Blood to be spilt, and brought *France* in the end to the very brink of Destruction. *Charles the Fair* dying on the first of *February* 1328. without Male-Issue, and leaving *Joanna* his Queen big with Child, there arose a great Dispute concerning the Regency of the Kingdom, during the Queen's Pregnancy. *Edward* (7) laid claim to it, as Nephew and nearest Relation of the deceased King: But *Philip* Son of *Charles de Valois*, and Cousin-German of the same King, maintained, he had an incontestable Right to the Regency. He founded his Claim upon the *Salick-Law*, which, in his Opinion, debarred the Females and their Descendants from the Succession to the Crown; whence he inferred that neither had they any right to the Regency, in prejudice of the *Male-Line*. This Controversy was decided in favour of *Philip* by the *Peers of France*, who adjudged him the Regency till the Queen was delivered. It was partly on this occasion that *Edward* called the Parliament at *Northampton*, on account, as was said, of the Peace with *Scotland*. He laid before them his Reasons for claiming the Regency of *France*; the Injury he pretended was done him in the Preference of *Philip de Valois*; and the disadvantageous Inference that might be drawn from his Exclusion, with respect to the Crown of *France*, in case the Child, the Queen was big with, should not live, or be a Daughter. Historians do not positively say what the Parliament's Opinion was in this so nice an Affair. But as the Members were at the devotion of the Queen-Mother and the Earl of *March*, very probably they were no more scrupulous with respect to the Affairs of *France*, than they had been concerning those of *Scotland*. There were much more plausible Reasons to dissuade *Edward* from making War with *France*. The Difficulty of the Undertaking; the Strength of the Kingdom; the King's Age, were Objections not easily to be answered. Besides, it might so happen, that the Preparations to support the King's Claim, would be fruitless, if the Queen-Widow should be delivered of a Son. In spite of these Reasons, it was not possible to persuade the young King, to relinquish a Right which he thought very justly belonged to him. However, as he was still a Minor, he perceived it would be very difficult effectually to oppose the Advice of the Queen his Mother, his Council, and the Parliament. But if he tacitly desisted from his Pretensions to a Regency which was about to expire, it was otherwise with regard to the Crown it self, in case the Point in question was not decided by the Birth of a Prince. This appears in several of his Letters to certain Lords of *Guienne*, dated the 28th of *March*, about a Month before Queen *Joanna's* Delivery. On supposition she was brought to bed of a Daughter, he told these Lords, his Intent was to use all possible means to recover the Right and Inheritance of the Queen his Mother.

In *April*, *Joanna* was delivered of a Princess, whose Birth would from that moment have occasioned a bloody War, if *Edward* had been in Condition to prosecute his Pretensions. He demanded however the Crown of *France* by his Ambassadors (8): But *Philip* causing himself to be crowned, by virtue of the Judgment that gave him the Regency, the *English* Ambassadors were not so much as heard. I slightly pass over these things, because it will be necessary to speak of them more largely hereafter. It suffices at present to know, that *Edward* not having it in his power to push this Affair, thought proper to let it lie dormant till a more favorable Opportunity. Several Pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts shew, this was his Intention, and that his Silence argued nothing less than a Design to depart from his Right. We see there, that immediately after the Coronation of *Philip de Valois*, he

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Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 147.

Froissart, l. 1. c. 22.

Froissart, l. 1. c. 22.

Edward and the Earl of Valois dispute about the Regency.

Froissart, l. 1. c. 22.

Act. Pub. IV. p. 344.

The Queen delivered of a Daughter. Edward demands the Crown. Philip is crowned. Froissart, l. 1. c. 22.

Edward bids his Design.

1329.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 368.

began to take measures in order to war against him. His Alliance about this time with the Duke of *Brabant*, and several Lords who engaged to supply him with Troops, is a clear Evidence he was meditating some grand Design, and his Letters to the Lords of *Guienne* shew it was against *France*. In these Letters, dated *September 16. 1328*, he positively said, his Intent was to recover his Mother's Inheritance. Now at that time, he had no Quarrel with *France*, wherein the Queen his Mother was particularly concerned. The Inheritance he mentioned, concerned therefore the whole Kingdom of *France*, since his Contests with *Philip* about *Guienne* had no Relation to *Isabella's* Right.

Philip (sum-
mons *Edward*
cond. Homag.
Froissart,
l. 1. c. 25.
Mezerai.

Philip de Valois being engaged, in the beginning of his Reign, in a War with the *Flemings*, was in no haste to demand *Edward's* Homage for *Guienne* and *Ponthieu*. It was not till *April 1329*, that he caused him to be summoned (1) to appear and do Homage in Person (2). In *Edward's* present Disposition, he would have gladly been excused from paying Homage to a Prince, whom he considered as an Usurper of his Right. But his Council reflecting on his Youth, and the State of the Kingdom full of Male-content, could not think of approving a Refusal which probably would throw him into great difficulties. On the other hand, the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March* did all that lay in their Power to prevent a Quarrel with *Philip*. They represented to him, that he would infallibly lose all his Dominions in *France*, if he unadvisedly discovered his Pretensions to that Kingdom, before he was ready to support them. But these Remonstrances would perhaps have had little weight with him, if for his satisfaction there had not been devised an Expedient, unbecoming indeed the Sincerity Kings ought to profess, but which his Youth and Passion permitted him not to examine too nicely. It was suggested to him, that by protesting beforehand against the Homage, it would be no Detriment to his Claim. Pursuant to this Advice, he made by a Procurator, the following Protestation before his Council: "That for any Homage whatever to be made to the Lord *Philip de Valois*, (now bearing himself King of *France*) by King *Edward of England*, for the Dukedom of *Guienne*, and Earldom of *Ponthieu*, he did not thereby intend to renounce his Hereditary Right to the Realm of *France*, or any ways derogate from the same; even tho' Letters thereupon should be signed with either of his Seals. And he did farther protest, that he would not do any Homage to the Lord *Philip*, of his own free will, but only for the just fear he had of losing the said Duchy and Earldom, and because he was afraid that he could not avoid other great Dangers and irreparable Losses (3)." This Declaration was signed by the King and Council, but was not communicated to *Philip's* Envoy. He only receiv'd this general Answer, that the King would perform as soon as possible what he owed the Crown of *France*.

How great soever *Edward's* Unwillingness was to do this Homage, the Consequences whereof he so much dreaded, he resolved upon it, for fear of making known by his Refusal, a Design which it was not yet proper to discover. To make himself Amends, in some measure, for the mortifying Step he was forced to, he ordered a great Number of Lords to attend him, and with a very splendid Equipage, and a Retinue of a thousand Horse, came to *Amiens*, where *Philip* expected him. On the day appointed for doing his Homage (4), he appeared before the King of *France*, in a Robe of Crimson-Velvet, embroidered with Leopards of Gold, his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and gold Spurs on his heels. The King of *France* received him sitting on his Throne, his Crown on his head, his Sceptre in his hand, and a Robe of blue Velvet, powdered with Flower-de-Luces of

Gold. By him were the Kings of *Navarre* and *Majorca* (5), all the *Peers* and principal Lords of *France*, whom he had expressly sent for, to be Witnesses of this authentick Homage. Before *Edward's* Arrival, *Philip* pretended this should be a liege Homage (6), as indeed it ought to have been. But in the Conferences held on this account, before the Ceremony; matters were otherwise settled. *Edward* protesting he was not perfectly informed of the manner of the Homage, offered to do it in general Terms. However, he promised upon his Honour, that if, upon consulting his Records, he found the Homage to be Full, he would give Letters-Patents of it, under his Great Seal. Upon that condition, *Philip* consented to receive the Homage in general Terms. This was really the manner wherein *Edward* did it, whatever some *French* Historians may have said to the contrary, who, doubtless, were misled by bad *Memoirs*. *Edward's* Historian says likewise, upon no better grounds, that the King of *France* was just going to order him to be seized, but that the Bishop of *Lincoln* gave his Master notice of it, who withdrew without taking Leave. This cannot be true, since *Philip* could not have taken this Resolution, but upon *Edward's* refusing to do full Homage, and yet it is certain he was very willing to receive it in general Terms: Nay, they had several Conferences together, after the Ceremony. Before they parted, it was agreed, that *Edward* should send Ambassadors to *France*, to finish what the late Treaty had left undecided (7).

As *Edward* stood disposed with regard to the King of *France*, he was not very forward to send the promised Declaration. On the contrary, he tried to gain time, by Proposals of a double Marriage of his Brother and Sister with the Son and Daughter of *Philip*. He even kept at *London* almost a Year, on divers Pretences, Ambassadors sent to press him to perform his Promise. During that time, *Edward* was very urgent in his turn with the King of *France*, to end their Differences about *Guienne*, as was agreed at their late Interview. It was easy to see *Edward* sought only to delay. Accordingly *Philip*, who impatiently bore all these Delays, sent him word (8), that he would not be his Dupe. He dispatched into *Guienne* the Earl of *Alençon* his Brother (9), who took and demolished the Castle of *Xaintes*, and plundered that Town. These Hostilities, which *Edward* did not expect, produced a new Treaty between the two Monarchs (10). *Edward* positively promised to send the Declaration of Homage, to pay the fifty thousand Marks Sterling owing to *France*, and sixty thousand Parisian Livres for the Assignment, made him by the King his Father, of *Guienne*. Moreover he promised to see the Castles demolished, belonging to the *Gascon* Lords condemned in the Reign of *Charles the Fair*. Shortly after the Conclusion of this Treaty (11), he sent the King of *France* Letters-Patents under his Great Seal, to confirm and specify the Homage he had done at *Amiens*. He expressly declared the Homage was to be deemed full; and that the Homages which he himself or Successors, Dukes of *Guienne* and Earls of *Ponthieu*, performed hereafter, should be done in the same manner, and with the same formalities, as the King of *France* had expected. In these Letters there was a Pattern how the Homage was to be performed. After he had sent this authentick Declaration, he took a Journey to *France*, under colour of performing a Vow (12). He saw *Philip*, and obtained of him an Abatement of thirty thousand Livres *Tournais*, for the Damage done to the Town and Castle of *Xaintes*, and an absolute Pardon for the condemned *Gascon* Lords. Let us leave a moment *Edward's* Affairs with *France*, to see what passed in *England* during these Negotiations. We shall soon have occasion to resume the Sequel of these Affairs, which are the principal Subject of this Reign.

1329.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 334.

Froissart,
ibid.

Serres.

Barnes.

1330.

Sequel of the
Affairs of
Edward
with France.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 392,
411, 413,
427.

ib. p. 437,
443.

Edward
declares the
Homage to
be full.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 478,
484.
Froissart,
l. 1. c. 26.

New Agree-
ment between
the two
Kings.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 480,
484.
Du Tillet,
p. 47.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 383,
387.
Froissart,
l. 1. c. 25.

Homage done
by Edward
to Philip.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 390.
J. Barnes,
c. 5.

(1) *P. Daniel* says, he caused King *Edward* to be summoned twice; first, by *Peter Reger*, Abbot of *Feshamp*, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of *Clément VI.* but he had no Audience from the King, only from the Queen-Mother, with whom nothing could be agreed on. So that, after the Ambassador's Return, *Philip de Valois* seized the Revenues of *Guienne* and *Ponthieu*. Soon after that, he sent four other Ambassadors to renew the summons. These King *Edward* received very civilly, and promised to come over to *France* in a short time. Which he accordingly did, about six or seven Months after. Vol. IV. ad An. 1328.

(2) In a Letter, dated at *Wallingford*, *April 14.* which contains his Answer to *Philip's* Summons; he tells him, that he intended long ago to have come over to *France*, and paid him his Duty, but had been hindered; however, he would come and do it with all convenient Speed. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 381.

(3) *Informat. Edward. ad Papam Benedict. Tom. VI. Post Epistol. Secret. 302. in Biblioth. Vatikan. Ord. Rayneld.* This is more fully translated than in the French.

(4) *June 6.* He sailed from *Dover*, *May 26.* and appointed his Brother, *John of Eltham*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Regent in his Absence. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 386, 387, 390. He came back to *Dover*, *June 11.* Ibid. p. 390.

(5) And *Babem.*

(6) Full, or Liege Homage, was done bare-headed, and Sword ungirt.

(7) Besides the Parliament mentioned above, there was another at *New-Down.* See *Notitia Parliamentaria.*

(8) By his Ambassadors, the Bishops of *Chartres* and *Beauvais*; *Levis de Clermont*, Duke of *Bourbon*; the Counts de *Harcourt*, and de *Tancarville*, &c. Froissart, l. 1. c. 25.

(9) Taking occasion of some Hostilities committed on the French Territories, by King *Edward's* Subjects, who fortified themselves in the Castle of *Xaintes*. *Contin. Nangui.*

(10) But before that, King *Edward* called a Parliament at *Eltham*, in the beginning of this Year, to take the Affairs of *Guienne* into consideration: There it was resolved, that he should proceed with the King of *France* by way of amicable Treaty. The Lary then promised him an Aid, if a Rupture should happen with *France*; and he writ to the Clergy, *March 18.* to obtain the same Grant from them. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 422, 423. There was another Parliament at *Winchester*, *March 11.* Ibid.

(11) This Treaty was concluded at *Bari de Vincennes*, *May 8. 1330.* Ibid. p. 144. The Letters Patents here mentioned are dated at *Eltham*, *March 30.* 1331. Ibid. p. 478.

(12) He sailed from *Dover*, *April 4.* and returned to *England* the 30th, Ibid. p. 480, 487. His Brother *John* was left Regent in his Absence. Ibid. p. 480.

1330.
Dowry of
Queen Is-
abella and
Mortimer.
Knighton.
Walling.

Information
given the
King.

1. 1. c. 24.

Walling.

Ast. Pub.
IV. p. 452.
Edward
seizes Mor-
timer, and
sends him to
the Tower.

He calls a
new Par-
liament.
Ibid. p. 453.

It was soon after his Return from *Amiens*, that *Edward* began, as 'tis supposed, to be suspicious of the Queen his Mother's Conduct (1). When it was perceived at Court, that the King grew weary of being under the Guardianship of his Mother and the Favourite, their Enemies failed not to do all that lay in their Power, to make him jealous of them. So many things deserving his Attention were insinuated to him, that he resolved at length to have perfect Information of his Affairs. Those to whom he applied, caus'd him to observe, "That the Earl of *March* affected "to out-shine his Sovereign, by a Magnificence too splen- "did for a Subject: That he disposed of all the Offices of "the Kingdom to his Creatures: That he was absolute "master of the Fortune of the *English*, casting down some, "and raising others, according as they appeared for or against "his Interest: That by his private Orders *Edward* II, "was murdered: That the Earl of *Kent* lost his Life by "his secret Practices: Finally, That very probably the "Queen and her Minister had formed the Design of secur- "ing the Royal Authority, by keeping him always a "Minor." Some add, that it was intimated to him, that the Queen his Mother was big with Child by *Mortimer*. What they say is not unlikely, since, according to the Testimony of *Froissart*, the Report of her being with Child was spread over the whole Kingdom. These Informations entirely convinced the King, of what he had hitherto only suspected. He called to mind the sudden death of the King his Father; the Beheading of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle; the dishonorable Peace he was made to conclude with *Scotland*; the extravagant Dowry of the Queen his Mother, the Credit, Riches, and Pride of the Earl of *March*, and abhorring the Wickedness of those who made the *Publick Good* a pretence to gratify their Passions, he resolved to punish them. However, he carefully concealed his purpose, till an Opportunity offered of acting, without danger of ruining himself. To execute his Design, he chose the time the Parliament was to meet at *Nottingham* (2). The Court being come to that Town, Queen *Isabella* and the Earl of *March* lodged in the Castle, with a Guard of one hundred and eighty Knights (3), whilst the King, with a small Retinue, was lodged in the Town. In spite of these Precautions, which seemed to shew that the Queen and the Favorite were not without their Uneasiness, *Edward*, having gain'd the Governor (4), enter'd the Castle through a subterraneous Passage, and came into his Mother's Apartment, accompanied with *Montacute*, and some other Officers, all bent to lose their Lives in his Service. There was at first some Noise made, and two Knights of the Guard were killed, who having less respect for the King than their Companions, offered to resist. The Earl of *March* was apprehended, and notwithstanding the Queen's Cries, and Intreaties to spare the gallant *Mortimer* (5), he was carried out the same way the King came in, and conducted under a strong Guard to the Tower of *London* (6).

This master-piece of Policy succeeding so well, the King dissolved the Parliament, and summoned another (7). As the late Parliament had not regarded so much the *Publick Good*, as the Interests of the Queen and the Earl of *March*, the King bitterly complained, in his Summons, of the Members, and took occasion to exhort the People, to chuse Representatives who had the Good of the State more at heart. The Parliament met at *London*, with Dispositions very different from those of the former. Most of the Members, overjoyed to see the Kingdom freed from the Tyranny of the Earl of *March*, aimed only at the Reformation of what was amiss in the Government, and the Punishment of the Favourite, ac-

cording to his Crimes; the common Fate of Favourites and Ministers who abuse their Power. How great soever they may be, they must expect to see themselves abandoned by all whenever their Affairs begin to decline.

In his Speech to the Parliament, the King complained in general of the Queen and *Mortimer*. After which, he said, that, with the Consent of his Subjects, he designed to assume himself the Reins of the Government, tho' he was not yet arrived at the Age prescribed by the Law. The Parliament gladly consented; all the Members being equally ready to second his Designs (8).

Edward being thus freed from his Governors, his first care was to seize the exorbitant Dowry of the Queen his Mother, and reduce it to a Pension of three thousand Pounds a Year (9). At the same time she was confined to her House at *Rifings* (10), left by her Intrigues she should excite new Troubles. *Mezerai* was mistaken, when he said, that *Edward* hastened his Mother's Death. It is certain, she lived twenty-eight Years in her Confinement, where the King her Son visited her once or twice every Year, more out of Decency than Affection.

As for the Earl of *March*, he was treated with the utmost Rigour. His Impeachment, brought before the Parliament, contained divers Articles of which these were the principal: That he had seized the Government of the Kingdom without Authority, and contrary to the express Regulation of the Parliament: That he had placed, about the King, Spies upon all his Actions, that he might not be able to free himself from the Subjection he was kept under: That he had procured the Death of *Edward* II by his express Orders: That he had contrived a treacherous Plot to take away the Life of the late Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle: that he had appropriated to his own use, the twenty thousand Marks paid by the King of *Scotland*: Lastly, that he had lived in a too familiar manner with the Queen-Mother. For all these Crimes, which were affirmed to be notorious, and for proof whereof, no Evidences were so much as heard, he was condemned to die (11). His Sentence, which ran, that he should, as a Traitor; be drawn and hanged on the common Gallows at *Tyburn* (12), was executed without the least favor. There was this remarkable in his Sentence, that he was condemned without being heard, as he himself had served the *Spencers*. But this irregularity proved advantageous to his Family. For *Roger* his Grandson obtained afterwards an Act to reverse this Sentence, as erroneous. We shall see in the Sequel of this History, his Descendants by the Female-Line mount the Throne of *England*. The Article of his Impeachment concerning his Commerce with the Queen, is a clear Evidence, how much the whole Kingdom was offended at their Familiarity. If it had not been notorious, there is no likelihood that the Parliament would have wounded that Princess's Honour so deeply, which could not but reflect on the King her Son. They who have endeavoured to vindicate her, by the little probability, that a Princess of so high a Rank should so far forget herself, did not consider that a few Years before, the three Daughters-in-law of *Philip the Fair* were as regardless of their Reputation, by the Confession of all the Historians (13).

Thus *Edward* began betimes to wipe out the Blemishes which had sullied his Minority, and in taking upon him the Government, gave happy Prefages of the Glory and Prosperity of his Reign. For a farther Addition to the publick Happiness, Heaven blessed the young Monarch with a Son, whom the Queen brought this Year into the World (14). He was called *Edward* after his Father,

The Queen is
confined to
Rifings.
Walling.

Abrege, &c.
vol. 1, p. 23

The Ear
March
condemned
and executed.
Knighton.
Col. 2556.
Walling.

Froissart.
1. 1. c. 24.

Birth of
Edward.

(1) It is very probable he was suspicious of her, before his Journey, as appears by an Order he gave *Ralph de Nevil* to array the Militia, *Rymer's Fed. T. IV. p. 448*.

(2) Fifteen Days after *Michaelmas*. *Ret. Claud. 4 Edw. III. M. 23. Dorf. Knighton, Col. 2556*.

(3) The Queen had the Keys of the Castle brought to her every Night, and laid them under her Pillow. *Stow*.

(4) He issued out Warrants to all the Sheriffs, for apprehending the Earl of *March*, Sir *Oliver d'Ingham*, and Sir *Simon de Bureford*, bearing date Octob. 20, at *Nottingham*. *Rymer's Fed. T. IV. p. 452*. And on *Novemb. 3*, summoned all Persons whatsoever, that had any Complaints to make against *Mortimer* and the rest, to come and lay them before the Parliament. *Ibid. p. 453*.

(5) Her Words were, *Bel Fiez, Bel Fiez, ayez pitié du gentilhomme Mortimer*.

(6) This was done on the 19th of Octob. *Knighton, Col. 2556*. Besides Sir *William de Montacute* (afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*) there were with the King, Sir *Hamplsey de Bohun*, Sir *Edward* and Sir *William*, his Brothers; Sir *Ralph de Stafford*, Sir *William de Clinton*, Sir *John Nevil* of *Henby*, Sir *William Eland*, &c. The Passage under Ground is still called *Mortimer's Hole*. The two Knights that were killed were, Sir *Hubert de Tynghamton*, Steward of the King's Household, and Sir *Richard Monmouth*, according to the *Federa*, *Tom. IV. p. 475, 505*. but according to *Dugdale and Domes*, Sir *John*. For this piece of Service, the King granted Sir *William de Montacute*, one thousand Pounds per Ann. *Ret. Par. Knighton, Col. 1566*. Sir *John Nevil*, two thousand Marks per Ann. in Land; namely, the Manors of *Lodres*, *Pebbleston*, *Mere*, *Up-Wynburn*, and *Winterburn-Horton* in *Dorsetshire*; and *Chelmsford* in *Berkshire*. *Rymer, ibid. p. 437*. Robert de *Bohun*, four hundred Marks; Robert de *Ufford*, three hundred, and *John de Nevil*, two hundred. *Ret. Par. 4 Edw. III. n. 13*.

(7) To meet at *Weymouth*, *Novemb. 25*. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. IV. p. 453, 454*.

(8) At the same time, the King returned into his Hands, all the Grants that had been made during his Minority. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. IV. p. 476*.

(9) *Rapin* by mistake says, five hundred Pounds. See *Knighton, Col. 2556*. He moreover granted her afterwards, viz. *Septemb. 4. 1334*. the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Montreuil*, during her Life. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. IV. p. 625*.

(10) Near *London*.
(11) The Earl of *March* left four Sons, of whom *Edmund* his eldest died in the Flower of his Age, and left his Son *Roger*, who was restored to his Grandfather's Estates and Honours. The Earl had also seven Daughters, *Katherine* Wife of *Thomas de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Jan* married to *James Lord Audley*; *Agnes* to *Lawrence de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*; *Margaret* to *Thomas* Son and Heir of *Maurice Lord Berkeley*; *Ana* to *John* Son and Heir of *John de Chawton* Lord *Pewis*; *Blanch* to *Peter* de *Grandison*; and *Beatrix* first to *Edward*, Son and Heir to *Thomas* of *Brighthelm* Earl *Marshall*, Son of *Edward* II, and afterwards to Sir *Thomas de Brose*. *Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 146, 147*.

(12) On *Novemb. 29*. *Knighton. Col. 2559. Walling. p. 130*. At a Place then called *Eims*, now *Tyburn*. His Body, after hanging two Days and two nights, was granted to the Friars *Minors*, who buried it in their Church, now called *Christ-Church*.

(13) In this Parliament also Sir *Simon de Bureford* was condemned; and executed in *December*. *Ret. Par. 4 Edw. III 1, 2*.

(14) He was born at *Woodstock*, *June 15*. *J. Timmuth, Hist. Aur. Walling. p. 130*.

1331. and became in his Time the most illustrious and most accomplished Prince, *England* had ever produced (1).

The King
from the
Peace of
Scotland.

After *Edward I* had taken upon him the Administration of Affairs, People were impatient to see, which way the young Prince would turn. His Courage, his Abilities, and his brave Spirit, made them believe he would not, like the King his Father, chuse an indolent Life. It was much more likely he would imitate his Grandfather *Edward I*. *France* and *Scotland* were equally concerned to observe his first Proceedings. *France* might be apprehensive, he would renew his Pretensions to the Crown, obtained by *Philip d'Avalis* to his Prejudice. *Scotland* had no less reason to fear, he would break through the dishonorable Treaty, wherein he was engaged by the Queen his Mother and *Mertin*, during his Non-age. Though the King of *Scotland* was his Brother-in-law, it was known in those Days, as well as at present, that the Bond of Affinity is not always a sufficient Bar to the Ambition of Princes. And indeed, *Edward* had in view these two grand Designs. But it was not possible for him to engage at once in two so considerable Undertakings. He resolved therefore to begin with *Scotland*, that he might, after subduing that Kingdom, attack *France* with the united Forces of the two Nations which divided *Great Britain*.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 329

The Peace concluded two Years before with *Robert Bruce*, seemed to lay an insuperable Obstacle in his way. But ambitious Princes always find Pretences enough to gratify their Passions. *Edward* had one, which to him appeared just, or at least sufficient to authorize his Attempt upon *Scotland*; namely, that he was betrayed by his Mother and Ministers in the late Treaty with *Robert Bruce*. But how specious soever this Reason might seem to him, he did not think proper to use it, till he was almost sure of the Success of his Enterprize. To compass his ends, he made use of the Ministry of *Edward Baliol*, Son of that *John Baliol*, placed on the Throne of *Scotland* by *Edward I*, and afterwards deposed as a Punishment for his pretended Rebellion. It was now thirty eight Years, since his Father was dethroned, after so long an Interval, the Son, who, since the Death of his Father, led an obscure Life in *France*, little expected to see the King of *England* press him to prosecute his Right to the Crown of *Scotland*. This however, was by *Edward's* Order insinuated to him by the Lord *Beaumont*, who since his Banishment resided in *France*. *Beaumont* represented to him, that he had a fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of *Scotland*, usurped by the *Braves*: that *David's* Minority afforded him a Juncture which would not easily be met with again: In fine, that the King of *England* was inclined to second his Endeavours. *Baliol* lent a ready Ear to so flattering a Proposal, and to be certain himself, how far he might rely on the King, came into *England* (2), where he kept himself concealed. During that time, he treated with *Edward*, by the Mediation of *Beaumont*, concerning the Terms on which he was to engage in this Enterprize. *Edward's* Historian labours heartily to vindicate the King, in a Proceeding so contrary to Sincerity, and the late Treaty with *Scotland*. But they who are not concerned to defend his Reputation, will hardly deny, that, on this occasion, Ambition was the sole or real Motive of his Conduct. It is but too probable, that the Prospect of an Acquisition, like That of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, made him overlook his Scruples on that account. Of this I shall hereafter give more than probable Proofs.

It is the
of Baliol
and promises
Walling.

He has in
his Rights,
and promises
Walling.

J. Barnes.

Baliol pre-
sented his
Expectation.

Act. Pub.
IV. p. 336.

The two Parties came to an Agreement without much Difficulty. *Baliol* thought he could not purchase too dearly a Crown, to which he would never have dared to aspire, without being assured of a powerful Assistance. On the other hand, *Edward*, who minded his own, more than the Concerns of *Baliol*, and intended to reap all the Benefit of this Enterprize, scrupled not to promise still more than *Baliol* durst have expected. The Articles of their Agreement were no sooner settled, but the *English* Nobles were privately told, that in serving *Baliol* they would please the King. This was sufficient to engage in his Party those who, having received Lands in *Scotland* by the Bounty of *Edward I*, had afterwards lost them by the Revolutions in that Kingdom. Besides this Aid, *Baliol* could not depend, in *Scotland* itself, upon the assistance of the old Friends of his Family, who found it their Interest to support him. And indeed, the placing this Prince on the Throne, was the only way

to recover the Offices and Posts they were removed from, 1331. after *Robert Bruce's* Advancement.

While *Baliol* was making his Preparations, *Edward* pretended punctually to observe the Peace with *Scotland*, and issued upon that account several Orders, which were not well executed. He even published a Proclamation against such as were engaged in the Service of *Baliol*. But the Step was taken when they were just going, and it was too late to prevent them. His sole Aim was, to make the Publick believe, he was not concerned in an Undertaking, of which he indeed was the real Author.

As soon as *Baliol* was ready, he embarked his little Army, consisting but of two thousand five hundred Men, and landed at *Perth* (3), from whence he sent back his Ships. He was willing by that to shew his Troops, they had nothing to trust to but their Valour. Mean while, his Preparations could not be so privately made, but the Scots had Intelligence thereof. Hardly were his Men landed, when he heard, that *Alexander Seaton* was coming to give him Battle, at the head of ten thousand Men. All means of retreat being taken from the *English*, they had no hopes of Safety but in Victory. Accordingly, expecting their Enemies with a noble Resolution, they fought with such uncommon Bravery, that the *Scotch* General, with an Army much superior, was shamefully and intricly routed (4). The Earl of *Fife*, who followed *Seaton* with a still more numerous Army, willing to revenge this disgrace, had no better success. After these two Victories, *Baliol* advancing farther into the Country, met with another Body of *Scotch* Troops, whom he likewise defeated. Five days after, he fought *Nigel Bruce*, who came to attack him with ten thousand Men. In this last Action he gave no quarter, because he would not be incumbered with Prisoners.

Four Battles lost in so short a Space, throwing the Scots into the uttermost Consternation, *Baliol* had time to besiege *Perth*, called also *St. John's Town*, of which he easily became master. He found there a great Quantity of warlike Stores and Provisions, which he wanted extremely, in order to make farther Progress. His Affairs obliging him to remove from *Perth*, *Patrick Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, took advantage of his Absence, and besieged the same Town. But upon the first News of *Baliol's* marching to relieve it, he hastily raised the Siege, though his Army was superior in number. Such Terror had their former Losses struck into the Scots.

Baliol's good Fortune failed not to produce the usual Effects. Great Numbers of Lords and Gentlemen of the Country came and swore Fealty to him. This Defection, which threatened King *David* with a greater, obliged the young Prince to fly with his Queen into *France*, it being unsafe to remain any longer in their Kingdom. Mean time, to influence the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Edward* so managed it, that several private Persons fitted out a Fleet in their own Name, to give chase to that which the Scots had sent to Sea, and which was their last Refuge. The Loss of this Fleet, which was destroyed by the *English*, quite confounded *David's* Adherents. The Earl of *Fife*, who was one of the principal, submitted to the Conqueror, and his Example was followed by many others. These good Successes determined *Baliol* to cause himself to be crowned. The Ceremony was performed at *St. Andrews*, the usual Place of the Inauguration of the Kings (5).

The new King was no sooner on the Throne, but, in order to perform his Treaty with the King of *England*, he did him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the same manner as his Father had done it to *Edward I*, that is, with all the Circumstances denoting an entire Subjection. In his Letters-Patent he said expressly, that it was with the Consent of the King of *England*, and the Assistance of the *English*, that he recovered the Possession of his Inheritance, of which he supposed, contrary to Truth, that *John* his Father was deprived by *Robert Bruce*. Moreover, he resigned to the King of *England*, in payment of the Supplies received from him, the Town and Castle of *Edinburgh*, which were still in the hands of King *David*. He offered likewise to marry *Joanna*, Sister of *Edward*, if that Princess's Marriage with *David Bruce* could be annulled. Lastly, he promised to furnish the King his Sovereign with Aids of Men and Money, whenever required.

(1) The Year the Act of which was made in *Perth* into *England*, by which the King granted his Protection; and at the same time, that *David Bruce*, Duke of *Scotland*, was made Duke of *Scotland*. — *Act. Pub. IV. p. 336.*

(2) *Philip's* History of *Scotland*, dated at *Perth*, July 21. 1330. *Reynolds's* Hist. I. p. IV. 41. 42.

(3) *Philip's* History of *Scotland*, dated at *Perth*, July 21. 1330.

(4) *Philip's* History of *Scotland*, dated at *Perth*, July 21. 1330.

(5) *Philip's* History of *Scotland*, dated at *Perth*, July 21. 1330.

1332. All these Circumstances plainly shew, *Edward* was but too far concerned in this Expedition, how much soever his Historians may labour to clear him (1).

Edward whilst *Baliol* was employed in pushing his Conquests in *Scotland*, *Edward* called a Parliament to demand a Subsidy (2). His Pretence was, certain Troubles in *Ireland*, which he represented as so dangerous, that there was a necessity of sending an Army thither (3). The Subsidy was readily granted. But whilst the Troops designed for this Expedition were marching to embark, they received Orders to advance towards the Borders of *Scotland*. *Edward* representing to the Parliament, that it was dangerous to leave the northern Counties defenceless, whilst their Neighbours were in Arms; and affirming, his Presence was necessary in those Parts, it was resolved that the Irish Expedition should be deferred to some other time. Probably, the Parliament did not suffer themselves to be deceived, but were willing to shut their Eyes voluntarily, not to obstruct the King's Designs.

1333. Mean time, *Edward* finding, that by the Rapidity of *Baliol's* Conquests, his Project succeeded to his Wish, immediately pulled off the mask. He began, upon frivolous Pretences to complain, that the Scots had violated the Treaty of Peace. He must needs have been in great want of good Reasons, since he used one so very unlikely in the then Circumstances of *Scotland*. The Regent left by King *David* in *Scotland*, spared neither Excuses, nor Intreaties, nor Submissions to divert the impending Storm, but all to no purpose. *Edward*, who had formed the Design of taking *Berwick*, soon after besieged that Place. He pressed it so briskly, that he obliged the Governor (4) to sign a Capitulation (5), promising to surrender the Town, unless relieved by such a Day. During that time, the Regent, seeing *Berwick* could not be saved without exerting his utmost levied an Army, and was advancing with all speed to give the English Battle. *Edward*, who was informed of it, expected him at *Halydon-Hill*, where was fought a bloody Battle, which ended in the entire Rout of the Army of *Scotland*. Seven Scotch Earls were slain on the Spot, with nine hundred Knights, and four thousand Gentlemen, besides thirty two thousand common Soldiers, if we believe the English Historians. But the Scots own but ten thousand, which doubtless is nearest the truth. This Victory was followed by the surrender of *Berwick*, which the King annexed for ever to the Crown of England.

The success of this Campaign answering *Edward's* expectation, he returned into his own Dominions, leaving with *Baliol* a Body of Troops to complete the Reduction of all *Scotland*. Strengthened with this Aid, *Baliol* took several Towns, after which he held his first Parliament at *Edinburgh* (6). He caused whatever had been done in favor of the King of England, to be confirmed and ratified. Moreover, all the English Lords who had served him, recovered the Lands they had lost in *Scotland*, or acquired others. All the Acts of Parliament passed in the Reign of *Robert Bruce* were annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority. *Baliol* was not satisfied with shewing his Gratitude to *Edward*, by the Cession of *Berwick*, and doing him Homage, but resigned to him likewise *Roxburgh*, *Jedburgh*, *Selkirk*, *Dumfries*, and the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in reward, as he said himself in his Letters, for the Assistance received from him to recover his Dominions (7).

This voluntary Homage, and these extraordinary Alienations, made him forfeit the Esteem and Affection of his new Subjects. It was easy for them to see, that *Baliol* was but *Edward's* Instrument to render himself Master of *Scotland*. In this Belief, they resolved to shake off the Yoke of their new King, who so visibly betrayed the Interests of the Nation. Some of the great Men (8), improving this general Disposition, headed a Body of Malecontents, and went in quest of *Baliol*, who expected nothing less than to be attacked. They surprized and defeated him, forcing him to fly on an Horse without a Saddle to *Carlisle*, from whence he sent his Protector word of the Misfortune befallen him.

About the same time *Edward* summoned a Parliament (9), and communicated his Design, as he said, of going to the *Holy-Land* with the King of France, and several other Christian Princes. But the news of the Revolution in *Scotland*, made him alter his pretended Project. Having obtain'd the Aid of Money he demanded, he marched towards that Kingdom, at the head of a numerous Army, and penetrated without opposition to the Northern Counties, whilst the Scotch Army kept in Poss, where it was not possible to attack them. So for want of Enemies to engage with, he left *Scotland*, and returned into England. Hardly had he reach'd the Borders, when *Dunbar*, who commanded the Scotch Army, falling out of his Retreats, retook some Places from the English. As the Season would not permit the King to go in quest of his Enemies, he sent his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and that he might be at hand, resolved to pass the Winter at *Roxburgh*.

In the Spring he attacked *Scotland* by Sea and Land. He even advanced as far as the Northern Ocean. But he reaped no great Advantages from this Incurfion, as the North Parts of *Scotland* could not be kept without an Army always there, superior to that of the Scots: So, finding he could not allure them to a Battle, he staid some time at *Perth*, whilst the Earl of *Caernall* his Brother ravaged the Western Counties of that unfortunate Kingdom. It is true, the Scots gained some Advantage over five hundred English Archers, who suffered themselves to be surprized. They took likewise the Earl of *Namur*, and the Prince his Brother, who served in *Edward's* Army. But this last Advantage proved fatal to them, as it occasioned the Loss of the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of the Kingdom. This Earl, who was so generous as to give his two Prisoners their Liberty, carrying his Civilities a little too far in waiting upon them himself to the Frontiers, had the misfortune to be taken by a Party of the Garrison of *Roxburgh*. This accident added to the Losses already sustained by the Scots, that of a good General, and a very able Regent.

Mean time, the Pope and the King of France were strongly using their Interest, though indirectly, for King *David*, by endeavouring to turn the English Arms another way. Whilst *Edward* was at *Perth*, he received Ambassadors from France, who, jointly with the Pope's Nuncio, pressed him to perform his Engagement to carry his Arms into *Palestine*. He easily perceived, their sole Intent was to divert him from the War with *Scotland*. So, to avoid all farther Sollicitations, he plainly told *Philip's* Ambassadors, that by God's Grace he was in a condition to make War against the Infidels, without their Master's Aid, as soon as he had finished the Conquest of *Scotland*. This Answer convincing the Scots that he was fully resolved not to end the War till he was absolute Master of the Kingdom, the greatest Part voluntarily submitted, plainly perceiving, it was not possible for them to resist any longer. They who took this course obtained very favourable Terms, but there were others who chose rather to be exposed to the last Extremities, than submit to the Yoke of the English, after the Campaign was over. *Edward* returned in Triumph to England (10), having order'd *Perth*, *Edinburgh*, and *Sterling* to be re fortified, and left the Government of *Scotland* to the Earl of *Athol*.

The new General, who, though a Scotchman, had joined with *Edward*, in order to revenge some Affronts received from his Countrymen, had no sooner the Command of the English Army, but he went and laid Siege to *Kildrummy*. *Dunbar* and *Douglafs*, who commanded the Scotch Forces, hastened to its Relief, and though their Army was not near so numerous, they defeated and slew the Earl of *Athol*, and relieved the Town. This Success reviving the Cou-

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(1) These Letters are dated at *Roxburgh*, Novemb. 23. 1332. Rymer's *Fœd* Tom. IV. p. 538.

(2) This Parliament was held at *York*, the 24. of December, *Ibid* p. 539. There were three other Parliaments held this Year at *Westminster*; one on the Monday after March 12. the second April 27. and the third on September 9. *Rat. Clauf.* 6 *Edw.* III. *M. 38. D. 1.* and *Rat. Parl.* No. 1. 3. This last granted him a Fifteenth of the personal Estates of the Prelates, Lords, and Knights of Shires; and a Tenth from all Cities and Burghs. *Ibid.*

(3) He intended it to be raised about the beginning of October. 1331. Rymer T. IV. p. 533.

(4) *William de Ker*. *Ibid* p. 566.

(5) July 16. 1333. *Ibid* p. 568.

(6) *Rat. Parl.* 10. 1334. To which King *Edward* sent his Commissaries, *viz.* *Edward de Bibun*, *William de Montacute*, *Henry de Percy*, *Ralph de Newle*, *Steward* of his Household, and *Geoffrey de Scrope*, Chiet Justice. *Ibid* p. 588, 591.

(7) A Parliament was held this Year at *York*, on the Monday in the 24 Week in Lent. *Walsing.* p. 133. Some time after King *Edward*, by his Letters dated October 6. at *Harving*, desired the Clergy to grant him an Aid for his War with *Scotland*. Rymer's *Fœd* Tom. IV. p. 570, 612.

(8) The Lord *Archibald Douglas*, with the Earl of *Murray*, &c. This happened on December. 2. at *Ayr*. *Walsing.* *King's* C. 1. 2. 61.

(9) At *York*, on July 21. *Rat. Parl.* 8 *Edw.* III. There was another at *Westminster*, about September. 20. Rymer's *Fœd* Tom. IV. p. 628. *Walsing.* p. 133. This last granted the King a Fifteenth from the Lords and Knights of the Shires, and a Tenth from the Clergy, as also from the Citizens and Burghs. *Ibid* p. 134. *Knicholm* Col. 2665.

(10) He intended the Scots a Truce for about a Month, at the Request of the Pope, and the King of France: Which was afterwards prolonged till the 11th. before *After* the 11th Day 1336. Rymer's *Fœd* Tom. IV. p. 676, 681, 684, 685, 690. After his return to England, he held a Parliament at *York*, the Day after the *Ascension*. *Rat. Clauf.* 9 *Edw.* III. *M. 28. D. 1.*

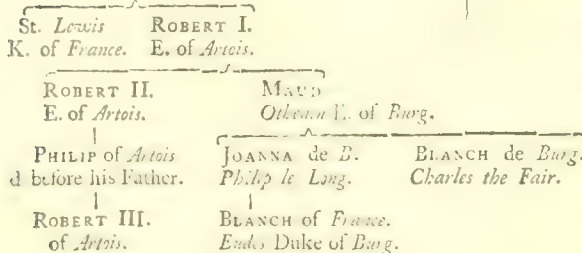
1335. rage of the *Scots*, they came together from all parts under the Conduct of these two Generals, who made a very considerable Progress.

1336. *Edward*, who thought he had sufficiently tamed the *Scots*, fell into a sort of a Fury upon the News of this fresh Revolt. As soon as the Season would permit, he marched a fourth time into the Heart of *Scotland* (1), and ravaged in a merciless manner the Counties that had declared against him. In his return, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen*, and some other Places of less note; and leaving a small Army with *Baliol*, marched back to his Dominions (2), where he was called by more important Affairs. This was *Edward's* last Expedition into *Scotland*. It was time for that unhappy Kingdom to enjoy some Repose. Since it was first invaded by *Edward I.*, so much *Scotch* Blood had been spilt, that it is very surprising, after so many Losses, the People of that Country should still be able to contend for their Liberty (3).

Edward's four Expeditions into *Scotland* gained him no doubt a great Reputation. But it seems that part of his Glory might have been disputed, by the consideration of the Superiority of his Troops, more numerous, better disciplined, and more amply provided with all things necessary, than those of the *Scots*. He was willing therefore to demonstrate in a larger and more noble Field, that he was not afraid to face the greatest Dangers, and to contend with more formidable Enemies. So, from henceforth neglecting *Scotland*, which he believed sufficiently subdued, and which afforded him no more Lawrels; he resolved to attack *France*, the most powerful State of all *Europe*, and to use his utmost endeavours to wrest the Crown from *Philip de Valois*. I have already mentioned his claim to that Kingdom, from which he was excluded by virtue of the *Salic-Law*. As he pretended this Law was misunderstood, and as that was the Origin and Cause of a long and bloody War, which frequently brought *France* into extreme Danger, there would be a sort of Necessity, before we proceeded to particulars, to show the real Foundation of this War. But as this matter cannot be briefly explained, I must beg the Reader's leave to refer him to the Dissertation at the End of this Reign, that the thread of the History may not be interrupted. It suffices here to say in a word, that *Edward* pretended, the *Salic-Law*, in excluding Females from the Succession to the Crown, did not exclude their Male-Issue; from whence he inferred, that the next Male-Heir ought to succeed.

The Collection of the Publick Acts contain several Pieces, clearly shewing, that although *Edward* seemed to submit to the Judgment given against him in *France*, he was meditating some great design, and that against *France*. Amongst others, there is a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*, positively promising them never to make Peace with *France* without their being included, though he was not then in War with that Crown. It was not therefore *Robert d'Artois*, expelled *France*, and sheltered in *England*, that inspired him with the Thoughts of invading *France*, as all the Historians unanimously affirm. I do not deny however, that *Robert d'Artois*, displeased with *Philip de Valois*, helped by his Councils, and perhaps by the Consideration of his Friends in *France*, to make him hasten the Execution of his Project. But since *Robert d'Artois* is generally reckoned the Author of this Undertaking, and of the Calamities suffered by *France* on that occasion, it will not be improper to inform the Reader of the Reasons which that Prince, descended from *Lewis VIII.*, thought he had to complain of *Philip*. For that purpose, it will be necessary to know something of the Genealogy of the House of *Artois*.

LEWIS VIII.



Robert, Earl of *Artois*, Son of *Lewis VIII* King of *France*, had a Son and a Daughter, namely, *Robert* and *Maud*. *Robert II* was Earl of *Artois*, and *Maud* married *Otheman*, Earl of *Burgundy*, by whom she had two Daughters, *Joanna* and *Blanch*, who were Wives to *Philip le Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, Kings of *France*. *Joanna* had a Daughter called *Blanch*, married to *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*. *Robert II* had but one Son, named *Philip*, who dying before the Earl his Father, left *Robert* his Son, the third of that Name, but not Earl of *Artois*. *Robert III.* claimed the Earldom, as Grandson to *Robert II.*, and the next Male-Heir. But *Maud* his Great Aunt, maintained, that the Succession belonged to her, as Sister of *Robert II.*, and nearer by one degree than *Robert III.* The Court of Peers decided the Affair in favour of *Maud*, whose two Daughters were married to the two younger Sons of *Philip the Fair*. *Robert d'Artois* submitted to the Sentence during *Philip's* Life, and all the Reign of *Lewis Huin*, but took Arms in the Regency of *Philip le Long*, and got possession of *Artois*. When from Regent, *Philip* was become King, the Affair of *Artois* was again brought before the Court of Peers, and decided once more in favour of *Maud* his Mother-in-law. After the Death of *Charles the Fair*, *Robert d'Artois* was of all the great Men of *France*, the Person that acted with the greatest warmth, to procure the Crown for *Philip de Valois* his Brother-in-law, and maintained the most strenuously the Authority of the *Salic-Law*. He hoped thereby to establish a Precedent in his favour, with regard to the Earldom of *Artois*, and that the *Salic-Law* being admitted, with respect to the Crown, all the Fiefs thereof would be subject to the same Law. So, depending upon this Precedent which made for him, and the Advantage of being Brother-in-law of the new King, he revived the Process, and produced certain Charters under the Great-Seal, to confirm his Right. But *Philip* caused the Charters to be examined so strictly, that they were discovered to be counterfeit, for which a Gentlewoman of *Artois*, who had forged them, was severely punished. These Charters, on which *Robert* founded his Claim, being rejected, the Earldom of *Artois* was adjudged to *Blanch*, Daughter of *Philip de Long*, by virtue of the Right she had from *Maud* her Grandmother. *Robert*, full of Indignation, fell into a Passion with the King, and upbraided him in such a manner, as touched him very sensibly. It is said, he proceeded to Threats, which determined the King to prosecute him with the utmost rigour. He ordered him to be summoned before the Peers; and causing him to be condemned for Non-appearance, commanded the Sentence to be publicly read in the Streets of *Paris*. *Robert* withdrew into *Hainault*: but *Philip* not letting him rest there, he took the desperate Course of throwing himself into the Arms of the King of *England*. He found that Monarch finishing the War with *Scotland*, and meditating his Enterprize upon *France*. In all likelihood, he contributed by his Sollicitations to hasten the Execution of that Project (4).

So important a War could not be undertaken, without extraordinary Preparations, and the support of divers Alliances, which might balance the Superiority *France* had then over *England*. *Edward* had now gained the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Guelder* and *Hainault*, his Brothers-in-law, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and several other German Princes: Nay, he neglected not the private Assurances of divers Lords of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Gascogne*, who were to supply him with a number of Horse, in proportion to the Sums he gave them. All these Troops drawn together, and joined to the *English*, would have made a very numerous Army. But these Alliances were not near so advantageous to him, as that procured him by *Robert d'Artois* with *James d'Arteville*, a Brewer of *Ghent*. The Credit of that Burgher was so great in *Flanders*, that he had caused the principal Cities to revolt against the Earl (5). This Prince was even reduced to the Necessity of flying for refuge into *France*, till *Philip*, who had engaged to restore him, was able to accomplish his Promise. *Edward* taking advantage of this Juncture, offered his Protection to the *Flemings*, who gladly accepted it, apprehensive as they were, of being oppressed by *Philip*, this Alliance was the more advantageous,

(1) His General in this Expedition, was *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Lancaster*. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 695.

(2) About the end of *Autumn*. Walsing. 1761.

(3) A Parliament was held in the beginning of this Year at *Westminster*, wherein the Clergy granted the King a Tenth. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 689. Another was held at *Northampton*, June 25. Ibid. p. 701.

(4) Two Parliaments were held this Year. The first (which was rather a great Council) at *Northampton*, about *Whitsuntide*. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 701. and the second at *Northampton*, on *Septemb.* 25, which granted the King, for his Wars in *Scotland* and *France*, a twelfth part from the Nobility and Knights of Shires; a tenth from the Citizens and Burghers, a sixth from the Clergy; besides which the Merchants of *England* were to pay fifty Shillings a Sack for all Wool transported, and Foreigners 3*l.* Sterling. Knighton, Col. 268. Rot. Clau. 10. Edw. III. M. 16. This Year also, about the beginning of *Octob.* died *John* of *Eltham*, King *Edward's* Brother, at *Paris* in *Scotland*; and was buried in *Wigmore* Abbey. Walsing. p. 134. Knighton, Col. 268.

(5) This Man by undertaking to be Patron to the People, had all things at his Command. He never walked the Streets without fifty or eighty

Edward's
Deposits
a *and*
France.

Froissart,
l. i. c. 28.

1336.
Maud the
Earl of Ar-
tois's Cafe.

A. Pub.
IV. p. 747.

1337.
E
mark and all
France with
several
Princes.
A. Pub.
IV. p. 744.
Froissart,
l. i. c. 35.

and with
James d'
Arteville.
Id. c. 31.

1337. tagious, as besides the Supplies he expected from the *Flemings*, it afforded him the Conveniency of assembling his Army in *Flanders*, and a means to open a way into the Enemy's Country from that quarter. The Parliament (1), who approved of his Design, having granted him large Subsidies to carry it on, he raised one of the finest Armies that had ever been levied in *England*. Till all his Allies were ready to act, he sent part of his Troops to the Relief of the *Flemings*, whom their Earl was vigorously attacking, with the Assistance of the *French*. Upon the Arrival of these Troops, *Guy*, Brother of the Earl of *Flanders*, who was posted in the Isle of *Cadfant*, was defeated and taken Prisoner. This successful beginning of the *English* Arms, so broke the measures of the Earl of *Flanders*, that the Cities, which till then had been for him, declared against him.

History of
the English
in Flanders.
Mezerai.

Prince Ed-
ward made
Duke of
Cornwall,
Walling-
Knighton.

Edward
writes to the
Pope against
Philip.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 826.
Walling-
p. 136.

Philip's
Answer.

Edward's
Reply.

Edward de-
mands the
Crown of
France by
the Duke of
Brabant.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 818.

to demand the Crown of *France* in his Name. At the same time he made him his Lieutenant-General for that whole Kingdom, with Orders to the *French*, whom he called his Subjects, to pay him Obedience.

To try to prevent the Evils, which a Quarrel of this nature might bring upon Christendom, *Benedict XII*, who then filled the Papal Throne, used all his Interest with the two Kings. But as *Edward* was the Aggressor, the Pope sent first to him two Cardinals, with Instructions to use all possible endeavours to persuade him to Peace. These two Legates discharged their Commission with great Zeal, and were very urgent with *Edward* to put the Affair in Negotiation. They could not however help shewing some Partiality in favour of *France*, because of *Edward's* Alliance with the Emperor, the Pope's professed Enemy. Nevertheless the King let them know, their Mediation was agreeable to him, and he would make Peace, provided Terms were offered answerable to his Rights. He even promised to defer the execution of his designs till next March. But this was no great Favour, since it was then December. He spent the rest of the Winter in preparing his Army and Fleet, and especially in strengthening the League with new Allies. Among whom, we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of *Austria*, and the *Dauphin* of *Viennais*, who are all three reckoned by the Historians among the Allies of *France*. This gives occasion to presume they were first engaged with *Edward*, but afterwards suffered themselves to be gained by *Philip*. The *Dauphin* had entertained the Project of erecting his Dominions into a Kingdom: Which, probably, was the Reason of his joining with *Edward*, hoping without doubt that he would use his Interest with the Emperor to obtain his desire. This Project not succeeding, he espoused the Quarrel of *France*. The Earl of *Hainault*, being willing also to enter into the League, desired, that *Edward* might have the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, in order to have a pretence to join Forces with him, as General of the Emperor's Army. To satisfy the Earl, and in expectation of bringing other German Princes to the same Resolution, *Edward* was pleased to demand that Dignity of the Emperor.

The Pope
sends two
Legates into
England.
Ib. p. 826.

Edward
grants a
short Truce.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 833.
838.
V. p. 2, 14.
Knighton.

Edward
prepares
for War.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 773.
781.
The Dauphin
of Viennais
would erect
his Country
into a King-
dom.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 839.
V. p. 10, 99.
The Earl of
Hainault
enters into
the League.

1338.
Edward
comes to
Antwerp,
July 22.
Knighton.
Froissart,
l. 1.
Walling.

He is made
Vicar of the
Empire.
Froissart,
l. 1. c. 35.
Knighton.

When he had taken all the Precautions suggested to him by Prudence, he departed from *England*, with a Fleet of five hundred Sail (5), and steered his Course towards *Antwerp*, where he was called by important Affairs. It was necessary he should be near his Allies, that he might take with them all proper measures for the execution of his Designs. Altho' his Ambassadors had concluded Alliances in his Name with several Princes, there were still many things to be settled with them, before they could assemble their Forces. This was properly what retarded several Months the opening of the Campaign. But this delay was not entirely fruitless. During that time, *Edward* went and conferred at *Cologne*, with the Emperor (6), who ordered a Patent to be drawn up appointing him *Vicar of the Empire*, according to his desire. This sort of favor was attended with the Promise of a powerful Assistance, a Promise which was afterwards very lamely performed. The Cities of *Flanders* having entered into the League by means of *James d'Arteville*, were grown apprehensive of being one day abandoned to the Vengeance of their Earl, and the King of *France*. It was therefore necessary for *Edward* to shew himself to the *Flemings*, in order to encourage them by his presence. To that end he took a Journey to *Ghent* and granted the principal Cities several

lusty Yeomen at his Heels, who upon a Sign given them, killed every Man they met, who was not a Friend to this *James*. He collected and spent as he pleased the Earl's Rents and Profits; he banished all the Lords, whom he suspected to be the Earl's Friends: And in every Town he had Soldiers in Pay, to spy and give him Notice of any Person, who had a Design against him, whom he never left till he had banished or destroyed. He was murdered at length in 1345, by the Populace, for endeavouring to make King *Edward's* Son Earl of *Flanders*. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 31.

(1) This Parliament was held the Friday before Michaelmas. And in it the Community of the Kingdom granted the King a Tenth, and the Citizens and Burghesses a Fiftieth. The Clergy also granted a Tenth for three Years. — Soon after, the King issued out a Commission for the seizing the Estates of the Lombard Merchants in *England*, who were grown odious on account of their Usury and Extortion. He seized also the Revenues of the *Alien Priories*, especially of the *Cluniac* and *Cistercian* Order. *Rit. Clav.* 11 *Edw.* III. p. 2. M. 40. *Dor.* *Walling.* p. 146. *Knighton.* c. 2570. *Rymer's Fed. Tom.* IV. p. 777.

(2) This Parliament was held about the middle of March; and it was enacted, That no Wool of *English* growth should be transported beyond Sea; and that all Cloth-workers should be received, from whatever foreign Parts they came, and encouraged. *Rymer's Fed. Tom.* IV. p. 723, 751. It was also ordained, That none should wear any Cloths made beyond Sea, except the King, Queen, and their Children; also, That none should wear foreign Furs or Silks, unless he was worth one hundred Pounds of yearly Rents. *A. Murimuth.* *Walf.* p. 135. N. B. *Wallingham* places this under the Year 1335; but he differs from the Records and other Historians by two, and sometimes three Years.

(3) He was invested with this Dukedom, by a Wreath on his Head, a Ring on his Finger, and a Silver Vierge. Since which time, the eldest Son of the King of *England* is born Duke of *Cornwall*. At the same Solemnity were created six Earls, viz. *Henry de Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, *William de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh de Audley* of *Gloster*, *William de Clinton* of *Huntingdon*, *William de Bohun* of *Northampton*, and *Robert de Lifford* of *Sussex*. *Walf.* p. 135. *Knighton*, Col. 2568. Twenty Knights were also then created, among whom, says *Speed*, was Sir *Thomas de la Moor*, who wrote the Life of *Edward II*, and is often quoted by *Rapin*. He wrote in *French*, but has been since translated into *Latin*, and frequently published in *English* by our general Chroniclers. He treats very largely of that King's Sottlings.

(4) *Wallingham* dates this Letter from *Antwerp*, July 10. See p. 140.

(5) He sailed from *Oswell* in *Sussex*, July 16. *Rymer's Fed. Tom.* V. p. 65. *Walf.* p. 136. There was a Parliament held on February 3. in which the Laity granted the King one half of all their Wool for the next Summer; at the same time he took the whole of the Clergy, making them pay nine Marks for every Sack of the best Wool. *Knighton*, Col. 2570.

(6) At this Interview, two Thrones being erected in the open Market-Place, one for the Emperor, the other for the King; the Emperor took his Place first, and King *Edward* sat down by him. There were present four great Dukes, three Archbishops, six Bishops, and thirty seven Earls; and according to the Heralds, seventeen thousand Barons, Bannets, Knights, and Squires. The Emperor having his Sceptre in his Right Hand, and the Globe in his Left, and a Knight of *Almain* holding over his Head a naked Sword; his Imperial Majesty did then and there declare the Disloyalty, Falshood, and Villany of the King of *France*; and thereupon desired him, and pronounced that he and his Adherents had forfeited the Protection and Favor of the Empire. And then he constituted King *Edward* Vicar General of the Empire, granting unto him full and absolute Power over all on this Side as far as *Cologne*; whereof he gave him his Imperial Charter, in sight of all that were present. *Jos. Barnes's Life of Edward III.* *Knighton*, Col. 2571.

1138. Privileges, in order to encourage their Trade with England. During this Interval, he promised the Marquis of Juliers to make him a Peer of England, which he did afterwards, by creating him Earl of Cambridge (1). His Power as *Vicar of the Empire*, enabled him to erect the Earldom of Guelders into a Duchy, and to grant the City of Cologne divers Privileges, by which means he strengthened his Alliance with the Archbishop. Among all his Allies, the Duke of Brabant gave him the most Trouble. That Prince fearing, the two Monarchs would be reconciled at his cost, great Princes frequently neglecting the Interests of the petty ones who have served them, was willing to secure himself, before he engaged in the League. The more diffident he was, the more Edward laboured to be assured of his Assistance. Besides the Money with which he profusely supplied him (2), he gave him hopes of the Honour of having, one day, for his Son-in-law the Duke of Cornwall, presumptive Heir of the Crown of England. Moreover, to make him perfectly easy, he was pleased to give it under his Hand, not to quit the Low-Countries till the War was ended (3).

But all these Affairs, though of great moment, were not the sole Cause of Edward's long Stay in Brabant. As his Expence was excessive (4), he endeavoured, during that time, to borrow Money of all the foreign Princes. He did not scruple even to apply to private Persons, and take up such Sums as they were willing to lend, though never so small: Nay, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he pawned his Crown to the Archbishop of Triers [for fifty thousand Florins.]

During Edward's Stay at Antwerp, his Queen was delivered there (5) of a Prince called Lionel. Here likewise he received a Letter from the Pope, representing to him in strong Terms, the Dangers he was exposing himself to, by his Alliance with Lewis of Bavaria, who stood excommunicated. At the same time, he reproached him, for undervaluing himself, in receiving from the pretended Emperor, the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, so much beneath him. But these Remonstrances made little Impression upon him. Though the Pope threatened to proceed to extraordinary Censures against him, he chose rather to run that hazard, than interrupt the Execution of his Designs.

Every thing being ready to open the Campaign, which had been retarded till September (6), Edward put himself at the head of forty thousand Men, and encamped between Marchienne and Doway. Then he marched (7) towards le Cambresis, and halted some time before the Walls of Cambray. Here he was informed, that Philip was advancing with a formidable Army, to give him Battle. As this War was immensely expensive, and it was his Interest to end it at once; as soon as he received this Intelligence, he passed the Schelde, in order to meet his Enemy. A few days after, the two Armies being encamped pretty near one another, about *Vitransosse*, Philip sent a Herald to offer him Battle, on condition it should be on a Plain where there was no Incumbrance. Edward accepted the Challenge, and left

him to appoint the Time and Place. The 22d of October was fixed for the Decision of this famous Quarrel. But whilst both Sides were preparing with equal ardour for Battle, Philip was discouraged by a Letter from Robert King of Naples. This Prince, who passed for a great Astrologer, foretold him ill success, wherever he fought the English. At least, this is what several Historians affirm; adding, that upon the Credit of this Prediction, Philip retired, not daring to venture a Battle. Others however maintain, with more likelihood, that this Letter would not have induced him to take such a Step, if the great Men, who attended him, had not checked his Ardour by more prudent Counsels. It is said, they represented to him, that in the Battle which was going to be fought, he hazarded no less than his Crown; whereas Edward ventured only Soldiers, most of whom were not his own; and, upon this Remonstrance, he resolved, though with great reluctance, to give his Enemy this small Advantage. When Edward saw there was no likelihood of bringing Philip to a Battle, he marched into Hainault. This is Froissart's Account, who is accused by the French of being, on all occasions, too partial to the English. Nangis, a French Historian, gives a quite contrary Relation, by saying, Edward retired first, not to hazard a Battle. This is not the only Instance of the like Contradiction among the Historians. It seems however, that on this occasion it is not likely, Edward, who passed the Schelde to meet Philip, should retire for fear of fighting. But Philip's Reasons for not venturing a Battle are very strong. The Honour of a King or General, consists not in fighting upon every opportunity, but only at a proper Season; and in not venturing the loss of a Kingdom without extreme Necessity. Be this as it will, the first Campaign ended without any Bloodshed, except in Guienne, where the two Parties made War upon one another. But as nothing very remarkable happened, I shall not stay to relate the Particulars (8).

It was not possible for Edward to return to England so soon as he desired, being detained in the Low-Countries by a troublesome Affair, created by underhand Practices. The King of France, vexed to see the Advantages his Enemy reaped by his Alliance with the Flemings, found means, by the help of his Emisaries, to raise in the Cities of Flanders a Scruple for taking up Arms against their Sovereign Lord. This Scruple, inflamed by the Ecclesiasticks, most of whom were in the Interests of France, had already made a deep impression on the Minds of the People. Perhaps it would have caused in Flanders some Revolution prejudicial to England, had not James d'Arteviller found a speedy Remedy, by advising Edward to assume the Title of King of France. This Proposal being debated in the King's Council, it was approved as a proper means to keep the Flemings in the League. And indeed, Edward reaped from it the Advantage he was made to expect. Pursuant to this Advice, he stiled himself King of France, and quartered with his own Arms the *Flower-de-luces* of France. He added this

(1) On the 7th of May, 14 Edward III. gave him a Grant of twenty Pounds a Year, payable out of the Issues of Cambridgeshire, for the support of that Dignity; with a Pension of one thousand Pounds per Annum. But he never had any Summons to Parliament. He was Queen Philippa's Sister's Son. He died without Male-Issue. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 23. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. V. p. 279.

(2) He gave him July 1, 1337. sixty thousand Pounds. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IV. p. 777.

(3) About this time the Earl of Huntingdon, was made Guardian or Lieutenant of Suffolk, and the Lord Robert Morley of Norfolk; which seems to be the first Example of this kind. *Knights*, Col. 2573. — Young Prince Edward, who was Guardian of the Realm, held a Parliament at Northampton, July 26. which granted out of every Town a Twentieth upon Goods amounting to the Value of twenty Shillings. They moreover granted the King all the Wool of the Kingdom to be bought at a certain Price. An Aid was also given by the Clergy that held in Capite; and afterwards a Tenth for two Years by the Convocation, which met October 1. *Knights*, Col. 2571. *Polybron.* Rot. Claus. 12 Edward III. P. M. 17. *Dors.*

(4) The Reader may judge of it by the following Account taken from Dr. Brady:

The Prince by the Day, twenty Shillings.
The Bishop of Durham, six Shillings and Eight-pence.
Thirteen Bishops, each by the Day, six Shillings and Eight-pence.
Forty four Barons and Banerets, each by the Day, four Shillings.
One thousand forty six Knights, each by the Day, two Shillings.
Esquires, Constables, Captains and Leaders, four thousand twenty two, each by the Day, one Shilling.
Vintners that had the command of twenty Men, or as our Sergeants, and Archers on Horse-back, five thousand one hundred and four, each by the Day, Six pence.
Pauncenars, [they were most Strangers, but what otherwise, is not known] three hundred fifty five, each by the Day, Six-pence.
Hobblers five hundred, each by the Day, Six-pence.
Archers on Foot, fifteen thousand four hundred and eighty, each by the Day, Three-pence.
Matrons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Tent-makers, Miners, Gunners armed, and those that had the Care of the Artillery, three hundred and fourteen, some at a Shilling, others at Ten pence, Six-pence, and Three-pence, by the Day.
Welshmen, Foot four thousand four hundred seventy four, whereof two hundred Vintners, each by the Day, Four-pence. The Residue, each by the Day, Two-pence.
The whole Number of the Men of the Army, was besides the Lords, thirty one thousand two hundred ninety four, Masters, Captain, Mariners and Boys, for seven hundred Ships, Barges, Balingers and Victuallers, sixteen thousand.

The Sum Total of the War, with the Wages of the Mariners from the 4th of June, in the 20th Year of Edward the third, to the 12th of October, in the 21st Year of his Reign, one Year and a hundred thirty one Days. One hundred twenty seven thousand one hundred and one Pounds, two Shilling, and Nine-pence, ob. *Brady's Append.* Vol. III. No. 92. l. 1. c. 37.

(5) November 29. *Walsingham.*

(6) September 1. *Froissart.*

(7) September 19. *R. Ausbury.*

(8) Prince Edward held another Parliament this Year, on October 13. at Westminster; wherein the great Men granted the King, the Tenth Sheaf of all the Corn of their Demesnes; as also the Tenth Fleace of Wool; and the Tenth Lamb of their own Stock, to be paid in two Years. *Rot. Parl.* 13 Edward III. P. 1. M. 28. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 17.

1340. *His Abode.* **Motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT** (1), declaring thereby, that he put his whole Confidence in God, and the Justice of his Cause. This new Title was not very surprising, since all his foregoing Proceedings were clear Evidences of his Design. Some time after, he refused *Philip* the Title of King, and forbid all his Ministers to give him any other but that of Earl of *Valois*. Besides, he had appointed the Duke of *Brabant* his Lieutenant-General in *France*, and by that, had sufficiently shewn, he thought himself the true King; though he had not yet ventured to take the Name. Having broken the Ice on account of the *Flemings*, he made no scruple to use the Title of King of *France* in all Publick Acts, and to mark this Year as the first of his new Reign. At the same time he published a Declaration (2), notifying to the *French*, that the Kingdom of *France* being devolved to him by the Death of *Charles the Fair*, according to God's Will, which he would not oppose, he was resolved to assume the Government. He gave his new Subjects all the usual Promises on the like occasions, and offered his Protection to such as, after the Example of the *Flemings*, would own him for their Sovereign. The same day he published a Manifesto, containing a particular Account of the pretended Injuries received from *Philip de Valois*, and the Offers made by himself in order to a Peace, that they might unite their Forces against the Infidels.

He goes into England. Though *Edward* had entered into Engagements with the Duke of *Brabant*, to stay in the *Low-Countries* till the War was ended, it was not possible for him to keep his Promise. His Affairs necessarily called him into *England*. But to satisfy the Duke, he left him in Hostage four *English* Lords (3) of the first Quality, besides his Queen and the new-born Prince, who continued at *Antwerp* for Pledges of his Return. After this Affair was thus settled, he passed into *England*, where he arrived in *February* (4). Presently after he summoned a Parliament (5), which, upon granting him a considerable Subsidy, obtained from him the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*. Before they broke up, the Lords and Commons presented an Address, praying that the Title of King of *France*, used in the Publick Acts, might have no Influence on the Affairs relating to *England*. This Request was too reasonable not to be immediately granted. Though he had not yet acquired one Foot of Land in *France*, this new Title was not displeasing to the *English*, who fancied their King was become the Greater for it. But Pope *Benedict* was not pleased with it at all. He used his utmost Endeavours to persuade the King to quit the Title, affirming, he had no Right, by reason of the *Salic* Law, concerning which *Philip* had taken care to instruct him to his Advantage. But his Exhortations were ineffectual.

He goes into England. Though the first Campaign had produced no considerable Event, *Edward's* Preparations were a plain Indication, that he expected greater matters from the second. He had increased his Fleet to three hundred (6) sail of Ships fit for War, and his Army was much more numerous than the former. Every thing being ready about *Midsummer* (7), he embarked for *Flanders*, though he had Intelligence, that the *French* Fleet, consisting of four hundred Sail, waited for him in the way to *Sluys*. His eager desire of acquiring Fame, causing him to receive the News with more Joy than Surprise (8), he resolved to open a Passage through the Enemy, notwithstanding their Superiority. He met them on the Coast of *Flanders*, as he expected, and without hesitation, began the Engagement. This was the greatest and most memorable that had been yet seen in those Seas, and the first wherein the King of *England* commanded in Person. The Ships, for the most part, grappling one another, both Sides fought without stirring, as if they had been at

Land, from eight in the Morning, till seven at Night. If *Edward's* Valour filled the Soldiers with Admiration, his Conduct raised no less Wonder in the Mariners, who were amazed to see him give Orders with such Prudence and Foresight, that one would have thought he had commanded at Sea all his Life. The Presence and Resolution of the King, who appeared where-ever was most Danger, so encouraged his Men, that they fought with an astonishing Bravery. The *French* behaved, on their part, with great Courage; but, after sustaining several Hours the Efforts of the *English*, they were forced at last to leap into the Sea, to avoid the Sword of their Enemies. Of the whole *French* Fleet, but thirty Ships escaped (9), the rest being either taken or sunk. So *Edward's* Victory could not be more compleat. The *English* pretend, the *French* lost thirty thousand Men. This grievous Misfortune was long unknown to *Philip*, no one daring to carry him the News, till his Buffoon, by an unluckily Jest, gave him occasion to discover it (10).

Edward's good Success in this Engagement, afforded him an opportunity, of peaceably landing his Troops in *Flanders*, where he assembled the finest Army that was ever commanded by any King of *England*. It consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand Men, *English*, *Germans*, *Flemings* and *Gascons*. With these numerous Forces he besieged *Tournay* (11), after detaching fifty thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Robert d'Artois*, who posted himself near *St. Omer*, to favour the Siege. These last Troops were chiefly composed of the Militia of *Flanders*, who, knowing nothing of Military Discipline, went one day, without order, to the Number of eighteen thousand, to attack the Suburbs of *St. Omer*, with design to plunder. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had thrown himself into that Place, not being able to bear this Bravado, sallied out upon them, and slew above three thousand. This loss would have been inconsiderable, had it not produced a fatal Effect. The same night, the *Flemish* Troops, seized with a panic Fright, quitted their Camp in great disorder, and shamefully retired, some to their own homes, others into *Edward's* Camp. Some affirm, there was on this occasion a Battle, wherein *Robert d'Artois* was entirely routed by the Duke of *Burgundy*. But *Froissart*, a cotemporary Author, who relates this Event in the above-mentioned manner, seems more worthy of Credit, than after-Writers.

Mean time, *Philip*, at the head of an Army much stronger than *Edward's*, was advancing to the relief of *Tournay*. He was accompanied by the Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom. His design was not however to engage, but only to harraßs the Besiegers, in order to oblige them to raise the Siege. *Edward* quickly perceiving *Philip's* Intent, was very sensible how difficult it would be to take the Town, whilst the *French* Army was so near. Accordingly, to oblige his Enemy to alter his purpose, he sent a Herald with a Letter (12), challenging him to single Combat, or offering to decide their Quarrel by a hundred on each Side, or else by a general Battle. The Letter was directed, To *Philip de Valois*, without any other Title. *Philip* answered, "He had seen a Letter addressed to one *Philip de Valois*, but as it was not for him, returned no answer to the Contents; nevertheless he took this occasion to acquaint him, that with God's Help, he hoped to drive him in a short time out of his Territories."

It was difficult to forward the Siege of *Tournay*, by reason of the *French* Army which never ceased Night and Day to harraßs the Besiegers. *Edward* was three Months before the Town, without making any great Progress; and yet could not resolve to raise the Siege, though there was little likelihood of Success. He was in great Perplexity, but freed from it by *Joanna de Valois* his Mother-in-law, Sister of the King of *France*, and

France suffers a great Loss.

Knighthood.

Edward besieges Tournay. Act. Pub. V. p. 197. Froissart. l. i. c. 57. Walling.

Defeat of the Flemings. lb. c. 67.

Approach of Tournay. Walling.

Edward challenges him. Act. Pub. V. p. 198. Walling.

His Answer. Act. Pub. V. p. 198, 199.

Edward in great Perplexity.

Froissart. l. i. c. 58. Knighton. Col. 2578. Walling.

(1) i. e. *God and my Right*.—It having been enacted in the Parliament, see above, p. 419. Note (2), that the *English* Wool should not be exported out of the Kingdom, but be made into Cloths within the King's Dominions; one *Thomas Blauket*, and some other Inhabitants of *Bruges*, set up Looms in their own Houses about this time. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. V. p. 137.

(2) It is dated at *Chart*, February 8. *Ibid.* p. 164.

(3) *Henry of Lancaster*, Earl of *Derby*; *William de Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and Earl *Marshall*; *William de Barre*, Earl of *Northampton*; and *Robert de Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*. *Ibid.* p. 141.

(4) February 21. *Ibid.* p. 171.

(5) Which met *March* 29. And therein the Prelates, Barons, and Knights of Shires, granted the King for two Years, the ninth Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb; the Citizens and Burghers, the ninth part of all their Goods; and the Clergy a Tenth. *Rit. Parl.* 14. *Edw.* III. P. 1. N. 67. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 22. *Knighth.* Col. 2577. *Walling.* p. 147. In consideration of this, several Arrears and Debts due to him, &c. were remitted. *Walling.* 148. There was a Parliament before this, which met the 20th of *Jan.* The Prince being gone to answer to his Father, six Commissioners were appointed to find it in his room. In this, the Commons granted the King for an Aid twenty thousand Sacks of Wool; in the transporting of which, Merchants and Owners of Ships were to bear half the Charges. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 19. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. V. p. 153.

(6) Two hundred and sixty. *R. Avesbury.*

(7) He embarked June 22. at *Orveel*. *Froissart*, l. i. c. 55. *Rymer's Fæd.* p. 195. *Knighth.*

(8) He sent the Lords *Reginald de Cobham*, *John de Chandos*, and *Stephen de Laubekin*, to view the Enemy's Fleet. *Knighth.* Col. 2577.

(9) Sir *John Crabbe*, one of King *Edward's* Admirals, was detached with forty Ships, to pursue them, but could not overtake them. *Knighth.* Col. 2577.

(10) He came into the King's Presence, in a seething Passion, and cried out several times, cowardly *Englishmen*, dastardly *Englishmen*, fast-baited *Englishmen*. The King asked him, why he called them so? The Jester answered, *Because they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, when brave Frenchmen did.* *Walling.* p. 148.

(11) About the latter-end of *July*, or beginning of *August*. *Froissart*, l. i. c. 54. *Walling.* p. 149.

(12) Dated in the Fields near *Tournay*, *July* 26. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. V. p. 199. *Philip's* Answer is dated the 30th of the same Month. *Ibid.*

1340. Widow of the late Earl of Hainault. This Princess, who was retired to the Abbey of Fontenelle after the death of her Husband, came from her retreat on this occasion, to try to reconcile the two Monarchs, one her Brother, the other her Son-in-law. She so managed it, that at length she prevailed with them to consent to a Truce, which was to last from the 20th of September, to the 25th of June the next Year. It was afterwards prolonged for two Years by the Pope's Mediation. As soon as the Truce was signed, Edward departed for England (1) with his Queen, who had lived three Years in the Low-Countries. She had been delivered there of two Princes, namely, *Lisel* [at Antwerp,] and *John* at Ghent, known afterwards by the name of the Duke of Lancaster (2).

Truce between the two Kings. Knighton. A. Pub. V. p. 255, 280, 281. Edward returns into England. Ib. p. 216.

The Emperor and Duke of Brabant fall off. A. Pub. V. p. 238. Knighton. Walling.

A. Pub. V. p. 113. 134, 152, 214.

The Emperor revokes his Grant of Vicar General. Ib. p. 262. Knighton. Walling.

Quarrel between the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Angl. Sacra. Walling. A. Pub. V. p. 223, 236, 240.

1341. Walling.

It was a great Mortification to Edward to be obliged, by the Necessity of his Affairs, to make a Truce against his Inclination, and which in effect broke all his Measures. Three very urgent Reasons compelled him to take this Step, which seemed so little agreeable to his vast Designs. First, the defection of the Emperor and the Duke of Brabant, who had both receded from the League. Secondly, the excessive Charge of maintaining so numerous an Army, for which the Money that came from England in less Sums than he expected, could not suffice. Lastly, it was only a Truce, which might in some measure save him the Shame of raising the Siege he had undertaken. These Reasons were not only sufficient to induce him to sign the Truce, but also indispensably engaged him to procure some Repose, in order to remedy the Inconveniences happened by the Levity of his Allies, and the exhausting of his Treasure. As for the Duke of Brabant, he allured him some time with the hopes of the fore-mentioned Marriage. He even demanded the Pope's Dispensation for it. But this Affair, whether obstructed by the King himself, or the Court of Rome, came to nothing. Whereupon the Duke of Brabant finding himself amused, withdrew his Troops, without openly breaking however with the King. As to the Emperor, the Assistance Edward received from him was so inconsiderable, that he would not have been much weakened by that loss. But the Emperor, in making a private Peace with France, on pretence that Edward had concluded a Truce without him, had at the same time revoked his Patent of Vicar General of the Empire. This unexpected Accident, which caused some of the German Princes to go from the League, obliged Edward to take other measures.

But Edward's chief Business was to consider how to pay his Debts, which were very considerable. Moreover it was necessary to find means to continue the War when the Truce should be expired, without being liable to the like Inconveniences. When he left England he settled his Affairs in such a manner, that he did not question to receive punctually the Money he wanted to pay his numerous Army. But he was no sooner engaged in the Siege of Tournay, but, contrary to his expectation, he was in want of Money, and found himself thereby in very great Streights (3). Upon his Arrival at London, he highly complained of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had left Prime Minister in his Absence. He accused him of maliciously obstructing the levying of the Subsidy granted by the Parliament, though it was by his Advice and Instances, that he had engaged in the Undertaking. Moreover he complained, that having begun the Siege of Tournay upon the Archbishop's Assurances that nothing should be wanting, he saw himself abandoned when he had most need of Assistance. That the Archbishop had not only broke his Word, but likewise opposed all the Expedients offered to raise Money. In short, that he was the sole Cause of the Length and ill Success of the Siege of Tournay. The Archbishop, seeing himself thus exposed to the King's displeasure, who, not content with threatening him, was resolved not to spare him, attempted in his Turn to vex him. He complained of an extraordinary Levy of Money made since the King's Return, contrary to the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, and threatened the Collectors with Excommunication. His Aim was to raise a Commotion among the People. Probably, he would have carried his Revenge

farther, if he had not perceived his Proceedings disapproved by the Parliament. As he was afraid of being abandoned, he chose, though somewhat of the latest, to cast himself upon the King's Mercy. Edward very willingly received his Submissions, for fear of engaging in a Quarrel, which must have been prejudicial to him, by reason of his frequent occasion for the Clergy's Assistance.

1341. The Archbishop submits. Benedict XII partial to France. H. puts Flanders under an Interdict. Walling.

Some have imagined the Archbishop suffered himself to be gained by the Pope, who was displeased with the War, and very much biassed in favor of France. There appeared quickly after a sensible Proof of the Pope's Partiality in his putting all Flanders under an Interdict, because the Flemings had been against the King of France their Sovereign Lord. The Flemish Clergy observed the Interdict so strictly, that People were obliged to send into England for less scrupulous Priests to celebrate Divine Service. The Flemings received these Ecclesiasticks without any Difficulty, and pretended to evade the Pope's Censures, by affirming they were built upon a wrong Foundation, since Edward was the real King of France, and Philip an Usurper.

The War undertaken by Edward against France had succeeded so ill, that all his Expenses had not acquired him one Foot of Land in the Kingdom he had taken upon him to conquer. After so great, though fruitless Endeavours, there was no Appearance of his ever being able to exert the like. Consequently, it would probably make him desist from his Design. Besides, the Truce affording his Enemy leisure to prepare, he could have no hopes of surprizing him. And yet, it is hard to judge, whether the Negotiations set on foot for a Peace during the Truce, were sincere on his Part, or intended only to amuse his Enemy. Be this as it will, if he really designed to make Peace, he was not long in that Mind. The Prospect of fresh Advantages from the Posture of Affairs in the Duchy of Bretagne, soon made him resolve to improve so favorable a Juncture. The share England had in the Quarrel concerning the Succession of that Dukedom, obliges me to give some Account of the Case, for the better Understanding of the Sequel.

Negotiation for a Peace between the two Kings. A. Pub. V. p. 251, 260, 306. Knighton.

ARTHUR II. Duke of Bretagne.

1. Wife.			2. Wife.
JOHN II. D. of Bret. d 1341.	GUY E. of Pontievre.	PETER d. without Issue.	JOHN E. of Monfort.
JOANNA Charles de Blois.			

Arthur II, Duke of Bretagne, left three Sons by his first Wife; namely, John II, who succeeded him, Guy Earl of Pontievre, and Peter. By a second Wife he left a fourth Son called John, who was Earl of Monfort by his Mother. John II, and Peter had no Issue. Guy, who died in 1330, left a Daughter, named Joanna, who was given by her Uncle John in Marriage to Charles de Chastillon, Brother of Lewis Earl of Blois. He was generally called Charles de Blois. John II dying in 1341, there remained two of the Family, John Earl of Monfort, and Joanna his Niece, Wife of Charles de Blois. They both laid Claim to the Dukedom. Joanna by right of Representation, as Daughter of Guy elder Brother of John de Monfort, and this last as Brother of the late Duke, and consequently one Degree nearer than his Niece. He pleaded likewise the advantage of his Sex; a Reason of little weight, since Bretagne owned not the Authority of the Salick Law. But Charles had a great advantage over his Competitor; namely, his being Nephew to Philip de Valois, who was to decide the Affair. On the other hand, the Earl of Monfort had so managed, that immediately after the Death of the Duke his Brother, he got possession of Bretagne, and caused the greatest Part of his Subjects to swear Fealty to him: Nay, he was now gone to England, where he had privately done Homage to

Affairs of Bretagne. Argenté. Hist. de Bret. Froissart, l. 1. c. 69, &c. Dispute between John de Monfort and Charles de Blois. Walling.

(1) And landed at the Tower. November 30. Rymer's Fæd. Tom. V. p. 216.

(2) During King Edward's Absence, viz. July 7. a Parliament met at Westminster; wherein the Lords and Commons granted his Majesty the Ninth of their Corn, Wool, and Lambs. And the Clergy undertook to raise twenty thousand Sacks of Wool for his Service: So that for every Sack of the best sort, the King should be answered six Pounds; for others, five Pounds; and for the worst of all, four Marks; besides his Custom of forty Shillings for every Sack. Rymer's Fæd. Tom. V. p. 197. Cotton's Abridg. p. 27.

(3) The King, upon his Return, ordered the following Persons to be imprisoned, the Lord Nicolas de la Beche, Constable of the Tower; Andrew Aubrey, Mayor of London; the Lord Thomas Wake; Sir John St. Paul, Keeper of the Great Seal; the Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor; the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Lord Treasurer; Sir John St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Michael Watb, Henry Stratford, and Robert Chickwell, Clerks of the Chancery; and Philip Thorp, Clerk of the Exchequer; who had been concerned in levying the late Subsidies, and had not acted honestly. Wall. p. 147, 150.—During the Contest between the King and the Archbishop, a Parliament met at Westminster, April 23. which granted the King thirty thousand Sacks of Wool, as a Compensation for the Ninth granted in one of the last Parliaments, that had been embezzled by the Persons mentioned in this Note. Rot. Claus. and Par. 15 Ed. III. P. 1. M. 37. D. 7. and N. 4.

1341. *Edward*, acknowledging him for King of *France*, and made an Alliance with him. By this Proceeding, of which *Philip* was informed, he entirely forfeited that Monarch's Favor, who had no great kindness for him before. However, *Philip* willing to observe the customary Formalities, ordered the two Competitors to be summoned before the Court of Peers, to defend their Rights, and receive Judgment. *Montfort* very impudently repaired to *Paris*, imagining, what he had done in *England* was still a Secret. But at his first Audience, he found what he was to expect from the King; who plainly told him, he had no Pretensions to *Bretagne*, and reproached him for his Homage to the King of *England*. *Montfort* contended he had been in *England* to see his Friends, but denied the Homage. But *Philip* being better informed than he imagined, commanded him not to stir from *Paris*, and appointed a Day for the Judgment of the Process. It was easy for *Montfort* to see, what danger both his Cause and Person were in. So, taking a sudden Resolution, he made his Escape from *Paris*, disguised like a Merchant, and repaired to *Bretagne*. This did not hinder in his Absence the Decision of the Affair, in favour of *Charles de Blois*, who was declared Duke of *Bretagne*, and forthwith admitted to Homage. It is pretended, that in this Judgment the Peers observed not all the Formalities requisite in Causes of this nature, and that their Proceedings were not altogether regular. As to the main of the Affair, though this Decision was directly contrary to That in the Case of the Earl of *Artois*, they pretended, the diversity of the Customs of the two Countries was the Reason; for in *Bretagne*, Representation took place, but was not received in *Artois*. Be this as it will, *Philip* being highly provoked with the Earl of *Montfort*, for doing Homage to the King of *England*, confiscated the Lands of *Montfort*; but to make up this Loss, *Edward* gave him in *England* the Earldom of *Richmond*. Shortly after, *John*, eldest Son of *Philip de Valois*, being commissioned to execute the Decree given in favour of *Charles de Blois*, entered *Bretagne*, at the head of a powerful Army, and *Montfort* retired to *Nantes*, where he was immediately besieged. Quickly after, the City being taken, and *Montfort* made Prisoner, he was conducted to *Paris*, and committed to the great Tower of the *Louvre*.

Montfort
restored
from Paris.
Bretagne ad-
judged to
Charles de
Blois.
Froissart.
l. 1.
c. 74--77.

Philip con-
fiscates the
Earldom of
Montfort.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 28C,
299.

The Earl of
Montfort
taken Pri-
soner.

His Wife
manages his
Affairs.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 77.

She renews
the Treaty
with Ed-
ward.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 331.

1342.
Edward
sends Robert
d' Artois in-
to Bretagne.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 391,
320, 340.
Knights.

Robert de
Artois
killed.

Edward re-
ceives
Robert de
Artois's
four Troops.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 340,
330.
Knights.
Walling.

knowing how prejudicial to him the Settlement of this English in *Bretagne* might be, resolved to drive them thence at any rate. To that end he raised an Army of fifty thousand Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Normandy*, his eldest Son. The young Prince marching with the utmost expedition, had the good fortune to enter *Bretagne*, before any of the Places besieged were taken. His approach obliged the King of *England* to raise these four Troops, and draw all his Troops together, which were far inferior to the French. The two Armies remained, the best part of the Winter, encamped near each other, but so well intrenched, that neither or the Leader showed any inclination to engage. The Duke of *Normandy* was unwilling to run any hazard, because having done what he wanted, he was in hopes of having his Brother, *Edward* called as little to venture a Battle, as he forced, against an Army much stronger than his own. Whilst these two Princes lay thus encamped, two Legates from *Clement VI*, the new Pope, had time to arrive, and negotiate between the two Crowns a Truce for three Years (4), wherein all the Allies on both sides were included. They made the two Kings likewise promise to send Ambassadors to *Augsburg*, to treat of a Peace by the Pope's Mediation (5).

The Duke of
Normandy
came down to
the English
camp.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 320.

True Jan.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 340,
330.
Froissart.
Walling.

Whilst *Edward* was employed in his Wars with *France*, the Scots improved that Diversion to try to recover their Liberty. Since *Edward* quitted *Scotland*, King *David's* Adherents had gained great Advantages over *Baliol*, who commanded the English Army, but had not sufficient Forces to stop their Progress. *Robert Stuart*, Regent of *Scotland* for King *David*, maintained, by his Valour and Conduct, the Interests of the young exiled Prince. He was bravely seconded by *William Douglas*, and some other Lords, who still retained an inviolable Fidelity for their lawful Sovereign. Though a Body commanded by *Douglas*, received a sad Loss, *Robert* still continued to keep his ground. He even saw himself, shortly after, in a condition to besiege *Perth*, or *St. Johnston*, the strongest Place the English had in *Scotland*. The Siege lasted three Months, by reason of the Besiegers great want of Ammunition. But a seasonable Supply from *France* enabled them at length to take the Place. This Loss obliged *Baliol* to quit the Center of the Kingdom, and retire to the Borders, where he sheltered himself, by means of the Places he had resigned to the English. The Truce concluded before *Tournay*, wherein *Scotland* was included, obliged *Stuart* to lay down his Arms for some time. But no sooner was the Truce broken, on account of the Affairs of *Bretagne*, but the Scots re-assembled and besieged *Stirling*, of which they became masters, after numberless Assaults without any Intermission.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 340,
330.
Froissart.
Walling.

Knights.

and Stirling
in 1341.

This Progress convincing *Edward* of his mistake, in imagining that Kingdom was disabled from giving him any Trouble, he resolved to invade it once more, and take any Land. To that purpose, he repaired to the Frontiers (6), where he waited for his Fleet, which was to join him at *Northfleet*. But a violent Storm, which lasted several days, rendered his Ships unserviceable for the rest of that Year. This sad Accident hindered his entering *Scotland*, as it deprived him of the Provisions and Ammunition, on board his Fleet. He could not expect to find any in the Enemy's Country, because the Scots themselves destroyed them, to deprive his Army of the means of subsisting. However, their Ignorance of his State freed him from his present Difficulties. As they saw themselves much inferior to that Prince, who treated their Country with utter Desolation, they humbly sued for a Truce, which they thought themselves very happy in obtaining. *Edward* took care not to refuse it; but taking advantage of their Terror, would grant it only upon this condition; That they should own him for Sovereign of *Scotland*, and renounce their Allegiance to King *David*, in case that Prince came not in Person into that Kingdom before *May* next ensuing, with an Army strong enough to give Battle. This Condition put the King of *France* under a Necessity of assisting his Ally, better than he had hitherto done, for fear of being deprived of the Advantages, procured by the frequent Diversions of the Scots. Wherefore, he furnished King *David* with Men and Money, and sent him into *Scotland* (7), where he levied a very considerable Army, consisting, as it is said, of sixty thousand Men, Scots,

Edward
invades
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 340,
330.
His Fleet
departs
Scotland.
Knights.
Buchan.

He grants
the Scots a
Truce.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 305.
Knights.

David re-
turns to
Scotland.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 73.
Buchan.
l. 9.

(1) With *William de Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Hugh Courtney* Earl of *Deserpsine*, and the Lord *Stafford*, *William de Montacute* Earl of *Sunderbury*, *Robert de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*, &c. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 96.----- These Forces were sent into *Bretagne*, by Advice of a Parliament, or great Council, held at *Walling* about the End of April. *Rot. Claus.* 16 *Edw.* III. M. 38. D. 6.

(2) *William de B. Jun.*

(3) He went thither about the beginning of *October*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 342.

(4) *Rymer* by mistake lays for two. It was to be from the beginning of *February* till the *Michaelmas* ensuing. And from that time it was to be till the *Michaelmas* three Years. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 340, 307. *Walling*. p. 159. This Truce was signed *January* 19, 1343.

(5) King *Edward* returned to *England*, *March* 2. and landed at *Weymouth*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 357.

(6) He came to *York* about the beginning of *September*, and from thence marched soon after to *Berwick*. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 70.

(7) He landed on *June* the 3d at *Inverbercy* in *Scotland*. *Buchan*. l. 9.

1343. *French, Danes, and Norwegians.* With these Troops he marched towards the Frontiers of *England*, and penetrated as far as *Durham*, which he besieged. In a few days, he took the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the sword. He would have proceeded, but, upon Advice that *Edward* was hastening to give him Battle, he resolved to retire; his Generals representing to him, that he could not stay any longer in *England*, without exposing himself to the hazard of a Battle, which might a second time endanger his Kingdom. Whilst he was marching back to *Scotland*, the Garrison of *Wirk Castle*, belonging to the Countess of *Salisbury*, falling upon some of his Troops that stayed behind, he was so incensed, that he resolved to take the Castle. He stormed it several times, but was bravely repulsed by the Countess's People, who was herself in the Place. This Resistance, and the News of *Edward's* Approach, made him desist. He could not retire more seasonably, since *Edward* came that very day to the Castle. He paid a Visit to the Countess of *Salisbury* (1), which has given occasion to some Historians to say, he fell desperately in Love with her. It would be easy to confute what they groundlessly advance; but as his Love, whether true or false, produced no remarkable Event, it will be needless to say any thing of it. Next day, *Edward* continued his march in quest of the Enemy, but being informed, the Scots were retired to *Geddeur's* (2) Forest, he ceased his Pursuit. As his Affairs were not yet in a good posture in *Scotland*, and this War was very unseasonable, with regard to the measures he was to take with *France*, he sent *David* an offer of a two Years Truce, which was accepted with *Philip's* Consent. This Truce helped the King of *Scotland* to fix himself more firmly in his Throne, and gave the King of *England* time to think of his other Affairs.

Edward's Thoughts for many Years were so wholly engrossed by Military Affairs, that he had not been able to find time to redress several Grievances complained of by the People, and which highly deserved a particular Attention. When the Truce with *France* and *Scotland* afforded him some Respite, he called a Parliament (3) to consult of means, to secure the Welfare and Tranquility of the Nation. During this Session, which lasted good part of the Winter, the Parliament made it their chief Business to enact divers Regulations, very beneficial to the People, and not opposed by the King. On the contrary, *Edward* very solemnly confirmed all the Liberties contained in the *Magna Charta*; showing thereby, that he had no less at heart the Good of his People, than his own, or that of his Successors. Among the several Acts passed in this Parliament, one of the most important was the *Statute of Provisors*, that is, an Act against those who brought Provisions from the Court of *Rome* for Benefices. The former Popes very much abused the Power they assumed, to dispose of the Benefices of the Kingdom. Nay, without staying till they were vacant, they frequently conferred them on Persons, who were to take possession upon the death of the present Incumbents, which raised loud Complaints from the Patrons. *Clement VI.*, proceeding, in this respect, farther than any of his Predecessors, the Parliament was forced to complain of it to him, but to manner of purpose. Instead of reforming this Abuse, which was the more intolerable, as all the Benefices were bestowed upon Foreigners, the Pope exhorted the King in a Letter, to withdraw the Complaints against the Provisions, which, in his Opinion, were an undeniable Prerogative of the Holy-See. This Letter showing, it was in vain to expect any Redress from the Pope, the Parliament resolved to provide against this Evil by their own Authority. To that end, the fore-mentioned Statute was passed, whereby it was Death (4) for any Person, to bring for the future, the like Provisions into the Kingdom. Though this Statute extremely displeased the Pope, he thought fit to be silent, being informed that the King and Parliament were resolved to support it, and condemn his Censures, in Case he had recourse to them. However, not to suffer his pretended Right to be entirely lost, he feigned to take no notice of the Statute. But although he afterwards granted, from time to time, several Provisions, it was with such Caution, that the Abuse was considerably lessened during this whole Reign. On the other hand, the King,

who had no mind to break entirely with the Court of *Rome*, was content with leaving the Statute in force, without a rigorous Execution. But in process of time, under *Edward's* Successors, the Popes returning to their former Courses, there was a necessity frequently to renew this Statute, which was called the *Statute of Præmunire*, containing, besides the Prohibition of Provisions, several other Cases concerning the Disputes with the Popes (5).

In this Parliament the King created *Edward* his eldest Son, *Prince of Wales*, and invested him with a Coronet, and a Ring of Gold: This Prince was then thirteen Years old, and gave great hopes of what he would one day prove.

Whilst *Edward* seemed wholly employed with domestick, he neglected not foreign Affairs. His Mind was continually on the rack, to find means to renew the War with *France*, the moment the Truce was expired. He appeared however inclinable to Peace, and continued, at the Court of *Rome*, Negotiations, which daily met with fresh Obstacles. But, whether his View was only to amuse his Enemy by these Negotiations, or he expected them to be unsuccessful, he neglected not his Preparations for War. He had found so little Advantage in his Alliances with the Princes of *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*, who had caused him to consume such immense Sums to no purpose, that he resolved to take another Course. To that end, he dispatched into the *Low-Countries* and *Germany*, Agents, with Power to treat with all sorts of Persons, that were willing to supply him with Men or Money. Besides that all these Aids, when drawn together, would produce the same Effect with much less Expence, he hoped to be able to dispose of his Troops more absolutely, than he had done those of the Princes. Moreover, his aim was to render *Philip's* intrigues more difficult, whereby he was perpetually endeavouring to corrupt his Allies. For the better accomplishing his Design, and to draw into his Kingdom Multitudes of foreign Lords, with whom he might in Person negotiate, he bethought himself of an Expedient, which could not fail of Success, because it was entirely agreeable to the Taste of that Age. He ordered Tournaments to be published, and gave an honorable Reception to all Persons of Distinction, that were pleased to be present, caressing them in such a manner, that they could never sufficiently admire his Politeness, Magnificence, and Liberality. To render these Entertainments the more solemn, and withal to free himself from the Ceremonies, to which the Difference of Rank and Condition would have obliged him, he caused a circular Hall of Boards to be run up at *Windsor*, two hundred foot in Diameter. There it was that he feasted (6) all the Knights at one Table, which was called the Round Table, in memory of the great *Arthur*, who, as it is pretended, instituted an Order of Knighthood by that Name. Next Year he caused a more solid Building to be erected, that he might continue yearly the same Diversions. During that time, he treated with these several Lords about the Aids wherewith each could furnish him, in proportion to his Forces. The Collection of the *Publick Acts*, is full of the Treaties with private Persons, managed either by himself, or his Agents. *Philip* could not see without jealousy, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *Frenchmen* themselves, flock to *England* to assist at the Tournaments. He suspected some hidden design in these Entertainments, and to break *Edward's* measures, caused the like to be published in his Dominions (7). This way of opposing his Enemy was in itself just and honorable; but soon after he used another means that was not so generally approved, and was attended with great Consequences. It is affirmed, that having drawn to *Paris*, under colour of a Tournament, *Oliver de Clifton*, and ten or twelve other Lords of *Bretagne*, who attended *Charles de Blois*, he commanded their Heads to be cut off, without any Formality of Justice. But it appears by a Letter from *Edward* to the Pope upon this occasion, that *Philip* did not allure these Lords to *Paris*, but apprehended them in *Bretagne*. As this Action was the Cause of breaking the Truce, it will be necessary to explain it; for there is no other way of knowing who was Author of the Rupture. *Oliver de Clifton* a Lord of *Bretagne*, having served *Charles de Blois*

(1) Her name was *Joan*. She was Sister to *John Plantagenet*, Earl of *Kent*, and Daughter of *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, King *Edward's* Uncle. *J. Barnes*, p. 261.

(2) So it is called by *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 81. But by our *English* Historians, *Yedworth*. See *Tyrell*. Vol. 3. p. 466.

(3) This Parliament met April 23. *Rot. Parl.* 17 *Edw.* III. N. 7, 839. There was another Parliament held this Year, but when and where is not mentioned. See *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

(4) The Act makes it not Death; but in case any Person was convicted, he was to abide in Prison till he had made Fine and Ransom to the King at his Will, and Satisfaction to the Party that should feel himself aggrieved; and likewise find sufficient Surety not to do the like in time to come. 25 *Edw.* III. See the Statute.

(5) See the Notes in the State of the Church at the End of the Reign of *Richard II.*

(6) These Feastings began on January 1. *Wals.*

(7) And also gave his Subjects free leave to cut down Timber in his Forests, and build Ships, that he might be able to beat the *English* at Sea. *Wals.* p. 164.

1343. during the War, was taken Prisoner by *Edward*, who having probably gained him, consented he should be exchanged for an *Englishman* (1). Whether *Philip* had Proof of his having changed Sides, or only suspected it, he ordered him to be apprehended in *Bretagne*, with ten or twelve Lords and Gentlemen, and conducted to *Paris*, where their Heads were struck off. I believe I may venture to affirm, these Lords were apprehended in *Bretagne*, because the Pope in his Answer to *Edward's* Letter, and in his vindication of *Philip*, to the utmost of his Power, said not a word tending to the contrary. But perhaps some of these Lords or Gentlemen were seized at *Paris*, and the rest in *Bretagne*, by Order of the King. What makes it so difficult to judge rightly of this Action of *Philip's*, is, that according to *Froissart*, *Argentré*, and all the *French* Historians, these Lords had all along espoused the Quarrel of *Charles de Blois*, and yet *Edward* in his Letter to the Pope, calls them his *Adherents* (2). They must therefore have changed Sides, either publicly or privately, after the Truce, and this is difficult to know precisely. It seems however, *Edward* would have had no reason to concern himself so much in this Affair, if these Lords had only been his private Adherents, whilst outwardly they continued all along attached to the Interests of *France*. This, added to *Edward's* Letter to the Pope, seems to prove at least, some of these Lords openly declared for the Earl of *Montfort*. Upon this Supposition, there is no doubt that *Philip* violated the Truce, in commanding them to be seized in *Bretagne*. But, on the other hand, if these Lords are supposed to have been only *Edward's* secret Friends since the Conclusion of the Truce, the two following Questions may be put. First, whether *Philip* had a Right to cause them to be seized in *Bretagne*, during the Truce? Secondly, whether as Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne*, he might exercise such a Power over these Lords, especially as the putting them to Death in so illegal a manner, was rather a Murder than an Act of Justice? Be this as it will, *Edward* pretended that by this Action the Truce was violated, and *Philip* maintained, that *Edward* used this wrong pretence to break it.

Walsing.
A.C. Pub.
V. p. 453.

1344.
Edward
sends Word
to the King
of France
that the
Truce is
broken.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 418,
450.

He sends a
Defiance to
Philip.
Ib. p. 449.

The Earl of
Derby begins
the War in
Guienne.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 107.
Walsing.
Edward re-
ceives the
Homage of
Montfort and Har-
court.
Argentré.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 452,
460, 465.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 118.
Buchanan.

ters Patent, either to recover his Estate, or give him an Equivalent in *France* or *England*. Shortly after, he published a Manifesto, concerning all the Injuries received from *Philip de Valois*. After setting forth, he exhorted the *French* to own him for Sovereign, promising to exempt them from Taxes, and govern them according to the Laws and Customs observed in *France*, under St. *Lewis* his Predecessor. He forgot not to write to the Pope, to inform him of his Reasons to renew the War. But the Pope's Answer plainly showed him to be a partial Mediator. He not only excused *Philip's* Proceedings against the Lords of *Bretagne*, and charged *Edward* with being the first Violator of the Truce, but threatened also to exert his Apostolick Authority against him. This was sufficient to convince *Edward*, he could expect no Favour from the Pope. Accordingly he addressed himself to him no more, but only for Form sake, and to keep a Decorum (5).

Act. Pub.
V. p. 453
465.

Whilst these things were transacting, *Philip* was trying to disengage the *Flemings* from the Intercit of *England*. *Edward* hearing of these Practices, suddenly passed into *Flanders* (6), where he stayed but three Weeks. At his Return, he pretended to have prevented the Mischiefs, he had reason to fear from the Inconstancy of the *Flemings*. But the Sequel showed, he had flattered himself too much, or the *Flemings* had deceived him; since it is certain they never more gave him any Assistance.

1345.
Edward goes
into Flanders.
Ib. p. 472,
474.

Mean time the Earl of *Derby* made a considerable Progress in *Guienne*, where he carried by Storm the Town of *Bergerac*, which was given up to be plundered (7). History ought not to omit making honorable mention of the Generosity of that General, seldom imitated by those of our Days. Whilst the *English* were busy in plundering the Town, a *Welsh* Knight chanced to light upon the Receiver's Office. He found there such a Quantity of Money, that he thought himself obliged to acquaint his General with it, imagining so great a Booty naturally belonged to him. But he was agreeably surprized, when the Earl told him with a pleasant Countenance, that he wished him Joy of his good fortune, and did not make his word to depend upon the Greatness or Smallness of the thing promised (8).

Progress of
the Earl of
Derby.
Froissart.

Generous Act
of him.
Walsing.

This Year the *Scots*, at the Instigation of the King of *France*, made an Inroad upon the Borders of *England*, but were repulsed by *Edward's* Troops in the northern Counties.

Walsing.

John de Montfort, who took the Title of Duke of *Bretagne*, died in *September*, leaving to the King of *England* the Guardianship of his Son, and to *Margaret* his Duchess the Management of a very important War (9).

Knightoni

Whilst these things passed, *Edward* lost the Assistance of a powerful Ally, by the Death of *James d'Arville*, who was torn in pieces by the *Flemings* (10). His Death entirely changing the face of Affairs in the *Low-Countries*, it was by no means proper to attack *France* from that quarter. For this reason *Edward* resolved to carry the brunt of the War into *Guienne*. The Duke of *Normandy* had now entered that Province, at the head of sixty thousand Men (11), to stop the Progress of the Earl of *Derby*, and compleat the Conquest thereof. Upon the Approach of this formidable Army, the Earl left the Field, and retired to *Bourdeaux*. His Retreat giving the Duke of *Normandy* an opportunity of retaking several Places, he was at length engaged in the Siege of the Castle of *Aiguillon*, seated upon the Confluence of the *Gironne* and *Lot*. This Siege was very remarkable, as well for the vigorous Assaults of the Besiegers, who for a whole Week, stormed the Town three times a day, as for the brave Defence of the Besieged, who were not to be discouraged by so frequent Assaults. To relieve these brave Men, *Edward* hastened his Preparations, determining to go in Person, and oppose the Duke of *Normandy's* Progress (12).

1346.
The Duke of
Normandy
makes great
Progress in
Guienne.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 119
122.

The famous
Siege of Ai-
guillon.
Ib. c. 124.

(1) He was exchanged for the Lord *Stafford*. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 104.

(2) *Quarundam rebelium, nobiles Adherentes, captorum in Britannia*. *Rymer's Fæd.* V. p. 453.

(3) Along with him was sent *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, as joint Lieutenant; and also *Laurence Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Manny*, &c. together with three hundred Knights and Esquires, six hundred Men at Arms, and two thousand Archers. They landed at *Bayonne*, June 6. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 107. *Knighton*, *Walsing*.

(4) Brother of the Count of *Harcourt*: He was a very considerable Nobleman, Lord of *St. Sauveur le Vicompte*, and several other Towns in *Normandy*. He was banished from *France*, upon account of some Jealousy conceived of him by King *Philip*. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 118.

(5) This Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, June 7. which granted the King a Tenth for three Years. And the Commons granted the King, besides, Two Fifteenths of the Commonalty of the Land; and two Tenths of the Cities and Burroughs. After which the Commons granted another Fifteenth. *Rot. Parl.* 18 *Edw.* III. N. 5. --- 10. *Wals.* p. 164.

(6) He sailed from *Sandwich*, July 3. and came back the 26th. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 5. p. 472, 474.

(7) After this they took the Towns of *Beaumont*, *Le Lac*, and *Marignol*; and attacked the Castle of *Peligran*; but before it could be taken, the Garrison falling out, carried the Earl of *Oxford* away Prisoner. Soon after, on *August* 10. the *English* defeated the Count de *Laule*, who was besieging *Aubersche*, in which Action seven thousand of the *French* were slain. *Froissart*. l. 1. c. 109. --- 117. *Knighton*. Col. 2585.

(8) Mr. *Tyrell* thinks it most probable, that this happened at the taking of *Montreuil* and *Bennin*: Vol. 3. p. 532. but it might have been at the taking of *Bergerac*; if, as *Knighton* relates, that Town was so full of Riches, that the Earl of *Derby* got there a Pipe full of Gold. Col. 2585.

(9) This Year, in *July*, died the famous *Adam de Orleton* Bishop of *Winchester*, often mentioned. *Wals.* p. 162.

(10) He had formed a Project, in order to raise his Family, utterly to disinherit *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, and to put the Government of it into the Hands of the King of *England*; on condition he would bestow it upon Prince *Edward's* Son, with the Title of Duke. Accordingly, King *Edward* went over about *Midsummer*, to Slays for that purpose. But the Populace disliking *Arville's* Proposal, one of them slew him outright. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 119.

(11) *Froissart* says, he had with him about one hundred thousand Men. c. 122.

(12) But first held a great Council at *Westminster*, where, by their Advice, he took into his hands all the Revenues in *England* enjoyed by alien Ecclesiastics; and the Cardinals of the *French* Faction. *Knighton* Col. 2585. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 5. p. 490.

1345. Every thing being ready for his Departure, he came to
Southampton, bringing with him the Prince of *Wales*
his eldest Son, about sixteen Years old (1), who was to
make his first Campaign. Before the Imbarcation of the
Troop, he addressed his principal Officers, and “ ex-
pected them to behave, as should render them wor-
thy of his Esteem, and the Rewards he designed for
those that discharged their Duty. He declared his Inten-
tion was to send back his Ships the moment he arrived in
Guienne, and therefore it would be in vain to hope to
see their own Country again, unless they returned vic-
torious. He added, if any Man’s Heart failed him,
he need only speak freely, and he should instantly have
his Leave to stay behind.” This Speech being spread
in the Army, the Soldiers cried out with one voice, they
were ready to follow their King wherever he was pleased
to lead them. So sudden and universal a Resolution, in-
spiring him with great hopes, he embarked his Troops
with design to sail for *Guienne*: But the Wind proving
contrary, he was forced to put back twice (2). *Geoffrey*
de Harcourt, who attended him, made use of this Juncture
to persuade him to land in *Normandy*, a very plentiful
Country, which had been long exempted from the Calami-
ties of War. *Edward* following his Advice, landed at
la Hague in *le Cotentin*, where he was by no means ex-
pected (3).

The moment he set foot on Shore, he knighted the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and several other young Lords (4), after which, he headed his Army, consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Men at Arms. He divided his Troops into three Bodies, who marched separately in the Day, but commonly rejoined in the Evening, in order to encamp all together. In their first marches, they revenged in a terrible manner, the death of the Lords beheaded at *Paris*. *Valagne*, *St. L.*, *Carentan*, *Harfleur*, were the first Towns that felt the Fury of the *English* Arms. *Ralph* Earl of *Eu*, Constable of *France*, then at *Caen*, offering to oppose the

such a Passage, in the Face of the Enemy, for an Army which cannot enlarge its Front beyond the breadth of the Ford, and is obliged to march through the Water, and at the same time handle their Arms. But all this was not capable of stopping the *English*, who, in the Sight of their King, Witness of all their Actions, marched through all these Obstacles, as to a certain Victory. It was not possible for the *French* to sustain so furious an Attack. After some endeavours to repulse the *English*, they were forced to abandon that important Passage, through which *Edward* immediately marched his whole Army. The same Evening (6) he encamped at *Cressy*, whilst *Philip* passed the *Somme* at *Abbeville*, but three Leagues from thence.

Edward seeing himself so closely pursued, and perceiving it would be impossible to avoid fighting, stopped short to expect his Enemies, and chose an advantageous piece of Ground, where he drew up his Army. *Philip* being persuaded, that *Edward's* Retreat was the effect of his Fear, did not question, if he could but come up with him, he should quickly vanquish him. Accordingly, not to afford him time to retire any further, he marched next day from *Abbeville* with design to attack him. The *English* Army was divided into three Bodies, of which the Prince of *Wales* commanded the first (7). The second was led by the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* (8) and the Lord *Rofs*. The King kept at some distance with the third (9), to assist those that should want it. *Philip* could not come in sight of the Enemy till three in the Afternoon, having marched that Day three Leagues, so that it was almost four o' Clock when the Battle began. He had likewise divided his Army (10) into three Bodies, the first whereof consisted of *Genesee* (11), under the Command of *Antonio Doria*, and *Carolo Grimaldi*. As the chief Strength of his Infantry lay in these Troops, he would have them charge first. Just as the Battle was going to begin, a great and sudden Rain slackening the Strings of the *Genesee* Cross-Bows, they became unserviceable. However, as they were now too far advanced, they saw themselves exposed to a Shower of *English* Arrows, which made them give ground. *Charles* Earl of *Alençon*, the King's Brother, who supported them with a great Body of Horse, seeing them give way, without knowing the Cause, imagined there was Treachery, and immediately ordered the Horse to fall upon them, by which rash Action he began to put the *French* Army in Disorder (12). Mean time, the Earl never troubling himself about the *Genesee*, nor minding what passed behind him, attacked the first Body of the *English*, commanded by the Prince of *Wales*, and was received with a Firmness he little expected. He continued however his Endeavours, which only caused him to lose his Life, valiantly fighting. By his Death the Body he commanded began by degrees to stagger, and as they could not be speedily supported, by reason of the Disorder caused by themselves among the *Genesee* Troops, were at length put to Flight.

The Prince of *Wales* having for great an Advantage in this first Onset, *Philip* ordered a numerous Body of Horſe to advance, to repair the diſorder cauſed by the Deſeat of the firſt. Thus the *French* had always the Superiority of Number, though the *Engliſh* ſtill kept their Ground. In all appearance the young Prince, who fought with an heroic Courage, determined to conquer or dye, would have been overpowered by Numbers, if the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* had not come to his Relief. Their Approach drew thither more *French* Troops, the ſmall extent of the Field not permitting the two Armies to engage all at once. So the Fight was very obſtinate. The Valour of the Prince of *Wales*, which filled the *Engliſh* Generals with Admiration, made them at the ſame time extremely uneaſy with regard to his Perſon, becauſe of the ſuperior Number of the Ene-

(1) He was but thirteen Year, and a Month old.

(2) He is called *Sail* *Yay*, but was drawn back by the Coast of *Corceat*. *Enf. l. i. c. 124. H. l. p. 166.* His Army consisted of four thousand Men in Arms, ten thousand Archers, twelve thousand *Wepi* Footmen, and six thousand *Irish*. Besides great Numbers of the chief Nobility, whose Names are in *Enf. l. i. c. 124. K. l. p. 166.* *K. l. p. 166.* says he had not in all but hundred Ships, great and small. *Col. 2585.*

(3) That he might do by way of Retribution, for a Project formed by the People of that Country and their Duke to come and invade England.

(c) *H. am. de Mexico* for Fall of Salisbury, R. → Lord Alington, &c. *Chron. Eccl.*

(8) A Yemeni son of Noman, called *Gharad*. *For. I. I. c.* 128.

(6) Which was on Friday, *March 23. Feb. c. 135.*

(7.) And with him were ones, *Thomas Bar, Lord of Warwick, John I're Earl of Oxford, Geoffrey Harcourt*; and the following Lords, *Ralph Stafford, John de la Ware, Thomas Holland, Richard Cobham, Bartholomew Burghaj, John Moun, Robert Buncher, John de la Pole, Count of Arden, and Sir Robert Noddy*; the Body consisted of eight hundred Men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and one thousander, according to other, six thousand *Walsham*.

(8) *Richard Fitz Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, and *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*. Together with the Lord *John Willeby*, the Lord *Ralph* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Malvoyn*, Sir *Lancelot* *Bispe* of *Towton*. This Body consisted of eight hundred Men at Arms, two thousand four hundred Archers, and two thousand Eight Men.

Who had with him, *John Lord Mowbray, Roger Lord Mortimer, Thomas Lord Dagworth, Sir Richard Gresham, Sir Richard Ramsey, Sir John de Lacy, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir John de Basing.* This Body consisted of seven hundred Men at Arms, six thousand Archers, and five thousand three hundred Bill-Men, in all twelve thousand Men: And the whole Army amounted to thirty thousand complete. *J. Barnes. p. 354. Fragm. l. 1. c. 13.*

10. It consisted of near one hundred thousand Men. See *Fr. c. 122, 129.* The *French Army* began the Attack; it seems, against the King's *Cour*; and engaged in a very confused and disorderly manner; and besides had the Sun in their Faces. *Ibid. l. 1. c. 131.*

11. It is said there were no less than fifteen thousand *Geneys*. *Ibid.* c. 132.

(12) In the manner the *French* Hit man, fork of the beginning of the Engagement. It must be that the Straps of the *Gorget* Cross-Bows were of a different Nature from those of the *English*, since the Rain had no Effect on these last. *Rapin*. It seems the *English* Bows were kept covered by their Cases.

1347.

*He stays for
Philip at
Cresby.
Freilart.
l. r. c. 129,
130. &c.
Knighton.*

Battle of
Cressy.
Froissart.
c. 132.
Knighton.
Walsing.

*The Body
commanded
by Alençon,
defeated.*

*The Prince
of Wales
performs
Wonders.*
Froissart.
l. i. c. 132.

1346.

The King
leaves the
Honour of the
Day to his
Son.
Ibid.

mies. Apprehensive that some Misfortune might happen to him in the end, they speedily sent the King Word, that it was time to come to the Prince's Relief, who was like to be oppressed by Numbers. Far from being moved at this Message, Edward asked, whether his Son was still alive? and being told, he was not only alive, but fighting with an astonishing Valour, replied to the Messenger, *Tell my Generals, that as long as my Son is alive, let them send no more to me, for the Honour of this Day shall be his, and he must now merit his Spurs.* This Answer inspiring the Prince with fresh Courage, he broke through his Enemies who were ready to surround him. His Troops imitating his heroic Bravery, seconded him so well, that the French began to give ground, and at length to disperse in confusion.

The King of
Bohemia
slain, and
his Banner
taken.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 132.
Villani.
Walsing.

Philip had one Body left which had not yet engaged, at the head whereof he was himself. Towards this Body the Prince of Wales directed his Steps, after routing the other two; and in this last Action it was that he acquired the greatest Honour. Philip, enraged to see his two Bodies routed and dispersed, performed Wonders, to snatch the Victory from the young Heroe before it was complete. The King of Bohemia, who, though blind, would be present at the Battle, causing his Horse's Bridle to be tied to those of two brave Knights, was slain according to his Wish, in fighting for France. His Standard, on which were embroidered in Gold, three *Ostrich-Feathers*, with these Words, *ICH DIEN*, that is *I SERVE*, was taken and brought to the Prince of Wales, who, in memory of that Day, bore three *Ostrich-Feathers* for his Crest (1), with the same Motto. Mean time Edward, who stood with his Troops on a rising Ground, watched the proper time to charge, being unwilling however to make too much haste, for fear of robbing the Prince his Son of part of his Glory. But in this state of inaction, he failed not to strike Terror into the French, who saw him ready to fall upon them with Advantage. Philip for his part, after many fruitless Attempts to repulse the English, rallied some of his Nobles and Men at Arms, and threw himself into the midst of the Battle, in order to animate his Troops by his Example. It must be confessed, that on this occasion he gave signal Proofs of an undaunted Valour. It was not till after being twice dismounted, and wounded in his Neck and Thigh, that he suffered himself to be led, though with extreme Pain, out of the Field of Battle. His Retreat quite discouraging those of his Men that still maintained the Fight, they were entirely routed with the rest of the Army. Then it was that a dreadful Slaughter ensued of the flying Troops, who were pursued till the Night was far advanced. It is affirmed, that in this memorable Battle, the English began for the first time to use Cannon, a thing yet unheard of in France. Four Pieces, planted on a little Hill, did great Execution among the French Troops, and struck them with such Terror, that the Success of this Day is partly ascribed to the Surprise of the French at this Novelty. France lost in this Battle, the King of Bohemia, the Earl of Arden Brother of the King, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Blois, fifteen other great Lords of the Kingdom, twelve hundred Knights, and above four-score Standards.

The English
gain a com-
plete Victo-
ry.

Cannon first
used by the
English.
Mezerai.

Edward
pays his
Son.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 133.

Mobility of
the Prince.

When Edward found, by the hasty Flight of the Enemies, that his Victory was certain, he advanced to show his Son Marks of his extreme Satisfaction. Dear Son, said he, embracing him in his Arms, *You have acquitted yourself nobly this Day, and truly deserve the Crown for which you have fought.* The young Prince, out of Countenance at the King's Commendations, with a modest Silence, fell on his Knees, and asked his Father's Blessing, according to the Custom practised in England. The Night of this glorious Day was spent by the English in Rejoycings. But the King published in the Camp express orders, not to insult over the Misfortunes of the vanquished, exhorting his Army to return God Thanks

for the Victory he was pleased to give them. On the morrow, some Troops, sent to pursue the flying Enemy, meeting a Body of Militia, who, without knowing what had happened, were marching to Philip's Camp, slew seven thousand. It is said, the loss France sustained on the second Day, was greater than that of the Battle, as well by the defeat of the Militia, as by the Slaughter, or taking of the Soldiers, who in flying, were dispersed in the Country (2).

1346.
Another
Loss on the
Side of
France.
Ibid.

Edward continued some Days near the Field of Battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded, as well those of the Enemy, as his own. Then marching through le Boulonois, he approached Calais, in order to besiege it. This Place, which was exceeding strong, was no less incommodious to the English, than Dunkirk has been in our days. In becoming master of it, he not only freed himself from a very troublesome Neighbourhood, but also opened a way into France. He invested it on the 8th of September, and summoned the Governor to surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the Garrison and Inhabitants all to the Sword. John de Vienne, the Governor, answered, He owned no other King of France but the Person that committed to him the custody of the Town, in whose Service he was resolved to live and die.

Edward be-
sieges Calais.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 135.
Knighton.
Walsing.
Aet. Pub.
V. p. 520.

The King having taken an exact view of the Fortifications of Calais, found it would be very difficult to accomplish the Siege by force; so from the first, resolved to reduce the Place by Famine. For that purpose, he drew round the Town four Lines of Circumvallation, with regular Fortifications, resolvedly bent not to relinquish his Enterprize till accomplished. The Governor, who saw the Preparations, foreseeing the length of the Siege, took care to send away all useless Mouths, that he might not be exposed to the Danger of wanting Provisions. Though, according to the Maxims of War, Edward was not obliged to take pity of these Wretches, who were to the Number of seventeen hundred, he received them however into the Camp (3), and gave them leave afterwards to go where they pleased (4).

Froissart.
Ibid.

Mean time, Philip, who was very uneasy concerning this Siege, sought all possible means to raise it. He saw but two proper for that purpose. The first, which was to attack the Lines of the Besiegers, could not be soon enough put in practice, to hope the Town would hold out till he was able to relieve it. The second was, to make a Diversion in England by the Arms of the Scots. This being deemed the speediest, he engaged the King of Scotland to make an Inroad into England. He did not question its Success, because all the English Forces were employed in France. It was to be presumed, the Alarm caused by this Invasion, would raise such Commotions in England, that Edward would be forced to raise the Siege he had undertaken. David, looking upon the Interest of France as his own, and readily following the Suggestions of Philip, put himself at the head of thirty thousand Men (5), and advanced as far as Durham (6). This unexpected Invasion, at such a Juncture, alarmed the English, but however was not capable of disheartening them. Young Lionel, left by the King his Father Guardian of the Realm, not being yet of Age to command an Army, Queen Philippa took upon her to repulse the Enemy. To that end, heading the Troops, drawn together from all parts with wonderful Expedition, she marched directly to the Scots, and offered them Battle. David was no less impatient to engage. He imagined nothing more easy, than to put to flight undisciplined Troops, commanded by a Woman. But the Success did not answer his Expectations. He not only had the mortification to lose the Day, but also to see himself a Prisoner in the hands of the English (7).

1347.
The King of
Scotland en-
ters Eng-
land.
Buchanan.
Knighton.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 139.
140.
Walsing.
Aet. Pub.
V. p. 524.
530.

He is de-
feated and made
Prisoner by
the Queen.
Aet. Pub.
V. p. 551.
Charles de
Bois defeat-
ed and taken.
Argentre.
Mezerai.
Froissart.
Walsing.

Fortune was never weary of favouring Edward. As his Arms were victorious in France and England, so were they likewise in Bretagne. Sir Thomas Dagworth, who commanded the English Troops in that Country, twice

(1) Or rather in his Coronet.

(2) This memorable Battle was fought on Saturday, August 24; (but according to Walsing. p. 166. and Fa. Daniel on the 26th. Hist. of Fr. Tom. 4. p. 155.) in the Fields between Abbeville and Crèssy in Picardy. There were slain, on the French side, eleven Princes, fourscore Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, and about thirty thousand common Soldiers. Froissart. l. 1. c. 131, 134. Knighton. Col. 2588. How many of the English were slain, is not mentioned in History.

(3) Froissart says, he gave them a good Dinner, and two Sterlings a-piece; and then let them go where they would. c. 135.

(4) During the King's Absence, a Parliament was summoned by his Son Lionel, Guardian of the Kingdom, which met on September 11. and granted the King two Fifteenths. Rot. Claus. 2c. Edw. 3. P. 2. M. 22. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 526.

(5) About fifty thousand. Froissart. l. 1. c. 139. But Speed says sixty two thousand Men, and Knighton thirty six thousand. Col. 2589.

(6) In the beginning of October.

(7) This Battle was fought not far from Nevil's Cross, near Durham, on October 17. There were no less than fifteen, or according to others, twenty thousand Scots slain. Knighton. Col. 290. The chief Persons of the English that signalized themselves in this Expedition were, William de Zouche Archbishop of York, Gilbert de Umfreville, Earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, William Dymecourt, and Henry Scrop. Wals. p. 167. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 528. The Scotch King, though he had two Spears hanging in his Body, his Legs almost incurably wounded, and his Sword beat out of his Hand, disdaining Captivity, provoked the English by opprobrious Language to kill him; and when John Copland Governor of Roxburgh Castle advised him to yield, he struck him on the Face with his Gantlet so fiercely, that he knocked out two of his Teeth. But however Copland conveyed him away out of the Field a Prisoner. Upon his refusing to deliver him up to the Queen (who stayed at Newcastle during the Battle) the King sent to him to Calais, where he excused his Refusal to handiely, that the King sent him back with the Reward of five hundred Pounds a Year in Land, where he himself should chuse it near his own Dwelling, and made him a Knight Banneret. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 528. Froissart. l. 1. c. 140, 141. Buchanan. l. 9.

1347. defeated *Charles de Blois*, and took him Prisoner in the last Battle, fought near *la Roche de Rien*.

Philip tries in vain to relieve Calais.
Act. Pub. V. p. 562, 564.
Froissart.
Mezerai.
Knighton.
Walsing.

He offers Battle, but Edward refuses.

He makes him Proposals of Peace, which are rejected.

He sends him a Challenge, which is not accepted.

Edward receives a Reinforcement.
Act. Pub. V. p. 562, 564, 572.

Philip retires.

Calais surrenders.
Froissart.
I. 1.

Edward resolves to sacrifice six of the chief Burgbers.
Ibid.

A generous Act of a Burgher.

Froissart.
I. 1. c. 148.

Mean time, the Siege, or rather Blockade of *Calais*, was still continued by Sea and Land. *Edward* had sent for seven hundred Ships to guard the Sea. As therefore nothing could be brought into the Town, it was at last reduced to Extremity. The sad Condition of the Besieged being discovered to the King by an intercepted Letter, he sent it immediately to *Philip*, and withal bid the Messenger tell him, he had no time to lose, if he intended to relieve the Place. *Philip* improving this Intelligence, speedily took the Field, and approached the *English* Camp with an Army of one Hundred and fifty thousand Men. He hoped to draw the Enemy out of his Intrenchments, by offering him Battle several times. But *Edward* was too wise to run any hazard, well knowing the Impossibility of forcing his Lines: Besides, he had good reason to expect, the Town would quickly be at his Mercy. So, without being moved with all these Defiances, he constantly answered, his Business there was to take *Calais*, and if *Philip* thought fit to hinder him, he had only to take the most proper measures. *Philip* seeing he could not without manifest danger attack him in his Intrenchments, nor draw him into the open Field, sent two Cardinals with Proposals of Peace. He offered him *Guienne*, the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Marriage between their Children. *Edward* made a jest of these Offers. He replied, *Guienne* and *Ponthieu* belonged to him; that he should quickly be master of *Calais*, and so had no need of his Bounties. This Project not succeeding, *Philip* proposed to him by a Herald, to decide their Quarrel by a Combat of six on each Side. The Herald adding, the King of *France* would appoint the Time and Place, the Earl of *Derby* made answer, *That must be Edward then, since he is the true King of France*. This Pretension alone, was sufficient to cause the Proposal to fall to the ground, to which it is certain *Edward*, in his present Circumstances, had no Inclination. His sole Aim was to take *Calais*, without putting that event to Arbitration. A few days after, he received a Recruit of seventeen thousand Men, brought him by his Queen from *England*. If we may believe some *English* Historians, this Supply came very seasonably, to enable him to have his Revenge of *Philip*. It is affirmed, he offered to fight him in open Field; to fill up his Trenches himself, and demolish his Works, provided he might have sufficient Security that nothing should be conveyed into *Calais* till after the Battle. It is added, that *Philip* refusing this offer, chose to retire. Thus much is certain, he did not think proper to attack *Edward* in his Intrenchments. So, the Besieged despairing of being relieved, desired at length to capitulate. A Capitulation, deferred till the last Extremity, could not be of any great Advantage. Accordingly, *Edward* refused the Besieged all manner of Terms but That of Life, which he was willing to grant both to the Soldiers and the Inhabitants. However, he excepted, out of the last, six of the principal Burgbers, to sacrifice them to his Vengeance, leaving the Inhabitants to chuse the Victims themselves. This Severity caused a great Consternation in the Town. It was very difficult to chuse these six Persons, and yet there was no time to lose. History ought not to pass over in Silence the generous Action of *Eustace de St. Pierre*, one of the chief Inhabitants. This brave Burgher seeing Fear and Despair painted on the Faces of his Countrymen, voluntarily offered himself to be one of the six. So uncommon a Magnanimity affected the rest to such a degree, that five more were quickly found, who, after his Example, devoted themselves for the Preservation of their Townsmen. These six illustrious Burgbers, bent to appease the Conqueror's Rage, by the Sacrifice of their Lives, went out bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, and presented to him the Keys of the Town. They found him so highly incensed, that notwithstanding

ing the Intercession of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the great Men about him, he commanded them to be led to Execution. But if he had Resolution enough to refuse that favour to the pressing Instances of his Son, he could not find in his Heart the same Insensibility for the Queen. This good Princess, moved with the Misfortune of these miserable Men, casting herself at his Feet, intreated him with Tears in her Eyes, to pardon them for Christ's sake. How resolved forever he might be, he could not behold at his Feet a Queen, whom he so tenderly loved, without feeling his Heart relent, and in spite of the Resolution he had armed himself with, was overcome by her Intreaties. The Queen, not content with saving the Lives of these unfortunate Men, ordered Cloaths to be brought them; and after giving them an Entertainment in her own Tent, dismissed them with a Present to each of six pieces of Gold. An Action which did then, and ever will, redound to the Honour of that generous Princess.

The Queen obtains the Pardon of the six Burgbers.

Thus the important Town of *Calais*, after a Year's Siege, became subject to the Dominion of the *English* (1).

A few days after *Edward* had made his Entry into *Calais*, he turned out all the Inhabitants, in order to people it with *English*. Probably, this Precaution was the means of *England's* keeping that Place two hundred Years. The Siege had been so long and fatiguing, that *Edward* thought himself obliged to give his Troops some repose, by consenting to a Truce proposed to him for one Year. Which done, he left a strong Garrison in *Calais* (2), and returned in triumph to *England* (3).

Edward turns the French out of Calais, and puts in an English Colony.
Act. Pub. V. p. 575, 588. &c.
623, 629, &c.
Knighton.
Walsing.
Froissart.
I. 1. c. 149.

Never had the *English* Name been more glorious than at this time; and never had *England* enjoyed a more compleat Happiness. If the Valour, Wisdom, and good Fortune of the King, gave an extraordinary Lustre to the Realm, the rare Qualities of the brave Prince of *Wales*, Heir-Apparent to the Crown, afforded no less hopes for the future. The prodigious Plenty which immediately followed *Edward's* Victories, seemed also to demonstrate, that Heaven took a peculiar Care of the *English* (4).

To add still a fresh Lustre to *Edward's* Glory, Ambassadors from *Germany* arrived the next Year, with offers of the Imperial Dignity. The Election of *Charles IV.*, who was now crowned at *Bonn*, not being agreeable to all the Electoral Princes, some (5) were resolved to make a new Choice. To that end, they cast their Eyes on the King of *England*, whom the Battle of *Cressy*, and taking of *Calais*, had rendered very famous. But *Edward*, who was not ignorant how much the acceptance of this Dignity, at a like Juncture, had cost *Richard*, Brother of *Henry III.*, was too wise to throw himself into the same Difficulties. Besides, he had need of all his Forces and Endeavours to acquire the Crown of *France*, which to him seemed a more substantial Good. On these accounts, he refused the Honour intended him by the *German* Princes, and declined taking so great a Burden upon him (6).

Edward refuses the Imperial Dignity.
Act. Pub. V. p. 622.
Knighton.

During the Prosperity enjoyed by the *English*, it is no wonder that Ease and Plenty threw them into the Excesses, that are the usual Attendants thereof. All the Historians unanimously affirm, an unbridled Debauchery at this time prevailed throughout the Kingdom; and the Women, laying aside their Modesty, the great Ornament of their Sex, seemed to glory in the Loss of their Virtue. Nothing was more common, than to see them riding in Troops to our Tournaments, dressed like Cavaliers, with Swords by their Sides, and mounting their Steeds adorned with rich Trappings, without any regard to their Honour or Reputation. The Mens Excesses were no less scandalous. God permitted not these Disorders to go long unpunished. A terrible Plague, after raging in *Asia*, and part of *Europe*, spread itself into *France*, and from thence into *England* (7), where it made such Desolation, that one half of the Nation was swept away. *London* especially felt the Effects of its Fury, where, it is observed, in one Year above fifty

Corruption of Manners in England.
Knighton.
Walsing.

A terrible Plague in England.
Walsing.
Stow's Ann.
Knighton.

(1) Or rather near an eleven Months Siege. It was delivered to the King on the 4th of August. Knighton. Col. 2594, 2595. John de Cliverston, was made Governor of the Town, and Sir Americ of Pavia, Captain of the Castle. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 584, 593.

(2) And built a Castle at Risbank to secure Calais. Stow's Ann.

(3) Where he arrived October 12. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 594. Wals. p. 167.

(4) This Year was finished St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, formerly belonging to the King's Palace, but now the Place where the House of Commons meets. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 631.

(5) Namely, Henry Archbishop of Mentz; Redolph and Rupert, Counts Palatine of the Rhine, and Dukes of Bavaria, Lewis Marquis of Brandenburg and Lusatia; and the Duke of Saxony. Ibid. p. 622.

(6) This Year a Parliament met at London, Jan. 15. Rot. Claus. 22 Edw. III. Pt. 2. M. 9. Dors. As did another on the 17th of March, which granted the King Three Fifteenths, to be levied in three Years. Ibid. Pt. 1. M. 32. Dors. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 611. Knighton says, he had had before twenty thousand Sacks of Wool, and also a Tenth from the Clergy for two Years. Knighton. Col. 2595.

(7) This Plague first began in the Kingdom of *Cythay* in *Asia* in 1346, from whence it spread into other parts of *Asia*, and passed into *Greece*, *Africa*; and afterwards into *Europe*, and so into *France* and *England*: In which last it broke out first in *Dorsetshire*, about the beginning of August, and spread itself all over the Nation, continuing till Michaelmas twelve Month after; it was so great in both Years, that there hardly remained the Tenth part of People alive in most Places. Wals. p. 168. And a Parliament being summoned to meet on the Monday after January 14. 1349. it was prorogued till a fortnight after Easter, and afterwards respite till a new Summons. Stow's Ann. p. 245. Wals. p. 247. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 5. p. 655, 658.

1349. thousand Persons were buried in a Church-yard belonging to the *Cistercians* (1).

Philip corrupts the Governor of Calais. Froissart. Mezerai. Walsing.

Though this terrible Scourge had been no more favorable to France, Philip was making great Preparations to renew the War, with a resolution to use all possible Endeavors to recover Calais. The loss of that Place lay heavy upon his Mind, because of the Consequences which he plainly foresaw. However, as he rightly judged, it would be very difficult to retake the Town by Force of Arms, he resolved to use a surer way, by bribing the Governor. The Lords of *Montmorency* and *Charny*, to please their Master, very readily took upon them the execution of this Project, and the Ignominy of the Action. But what *Mezerai* says is not very likely, that they thought it no great fault to surprize the Town during the Truce. In all appearance, their Ignorance was not so great. However that be, they held private Intelligence with *Amyer de Pavia* the Governor, who promised to deliver up the Place for twenty thousand Crowns. This Sum being sent him, he found means to introduce by degrees into the Town a hundred Men at Arms, and twelve French Knights, whom he concealed in the Castle (2). On the day appointed for the Performance of his Promise, the Lords of *Charny* and *Ribaumont* lay in Ambush near the two Gates of the Town, in order to rush in as soon as they were opened. So just were their measures, that they thought themselves sure of Success. But they did not know all that had passed. A little before, Edward receiving some Intelligence of the Plot, sent for the Governor to London, and promised him Pardon, on condition he would betray the French. The Villain, perceiving himself inevitably ruined if he refused to comply with the King, fully informed him of all the Circumstances of the Plot, and the day agreed upon to let the Enemies into the Town. By this means Edward knowing how matters stood, ordered it so, that he came the Evening before to Calais, attended by the Prince of Wales, and eight hundred Men at Arms (3). On the morrow by break of day, he sallied out at one Gate, and the Prince of Wales at the other, to attack the French; who little expected any such thing. The King, who was pleased to fight on foot, under the Banner of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, engaged in single Combat with *Eustace de Ribaumont*, a Knight of *Picardy*, by whose fierce Blows he was twice struck down on his Knees. The speedy Relief he received from his own Men, freed him from this danger, and even enabled him to defeat *Ribaumont's* Troop, and take him Prisoner.

Edward has notice of it.

He comes to Calais, Walsing.

and attacks the French. Froissart. l. i. c. 153.

Whilst the King was thus employed, the Prince of Wales vigorously charged the Lord *Charny*, who, after a long Resistance, was at length defeated, and taken Prisoner by the Prince. The French lost in this Action six hundred Men, besides a good Number of Prisoners, who, with their two Leaders, were brought into the Town, of which a few hours before they hoped to be Masters (4). Though the way they had used was far from being honorable, Edward considering it was in obedience to their Sovereign, treated them very civilly. That very Evening he entertained the principal Prisoners with a splendid Supper, and was even pleased to come and see them whilst at Table. He could not forbear upbraiding *Charny* with the infamous means he had used, to take from him by Treachery, and during the Truce, a Place that cost him so dear, and was fairly won. Then addressing himself to *Ribaumont*, he greatly commended his Valour, and made him a Present of a String of Pearls of great value, which he wore in his Cap, as a Testimony of his Esteem. He added, that hearing he was a great Admirer of the Ladies, he desired him to

Edward's Generosity to Ribaumont. Froissart. l. i. c. 154.

wear it in their Company, telling him, they would not look upon him with less favorable Eyes. After several other obliging Expressions, he gave him his Liberty without any Ransom. Before he left Calais, he made *Jehn de Beauchamp* (5) Governor, not thinking it prudent to trust any longer the Custody of that important Place in the Hands of a Lombard, who had suffered himself to be bribed. But this was not all the Punishment the Traitor received for his double Treachery. The next Year, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the French, who caused him to be torn in Pieces with four Horses.

The Attempt upon Calais failing, contrary to the expectation of the French, Philip disowned the Authors. As Edward was not ready to renew the War, he was contented with that slight Satisfaction; so the Truce still subsisted, notwithstanding the just Cause given by Philip to break it.

Edward having nothing more to do at Calais, returned to England, where soon after he instituted the famous Order of the Garter (6). According to the common opinion, this Order owes its Origin to an Accident in itself of little Importance, but in regard to its Consequences very remarkable, if it be true, that it gave Birth to the Institution of this Order of Knighthood. It is said, that Edward being at a Ball, where the Countess of Salisbury in dancing dropped her Garter, stooped to take it up; that the Lady imagining he had some other design, and showing her Surprise, he said to her, to clear himself, *Honi soit qui Mal y Pense*, Evil to him that Evil thinks. It is added, that in Memory of this Accident, he instituted the Order of the Garter, to which he gave for Motto, the Words spoken to the Countess. An Origin, so little worthy of the Lustre wherewith this Order has all along shone since its Institution, appears at first sight so very offensive, that several ingenious Wits have endeavored to find out a more honorable. Some affirm, the Reason of Edward's instituting this Order, was, because on the day of the Battle of *Creffy*, he had given Garter for the Word. Others say, it was, because on that day he ordered his Garter to be fixed at the end of a Lance for a signal of Battle. Lastly, there are who advance, that Edward only revived and regulated an Order of Knighthood, begun by King Richard I, at the Siege of *Acres* in *Palestine*. They say, King Richard resolving to storm the Town, distributed to some of his principal Officers certain Leather-Strings to be tied round the Leg, to distinguish them during the Assault, and in memory of that Event, Edward instituted the Order of the Garter. But all this is said without sufficient Proof. Besides, whatever Endeavors have been used to give this Order a different Origine from the first above-mentioned, nothing has hitherto been found satisfactory concerning the reason of the Motto, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*. The Motto agrees very well with the first Circumstance, but has no Connexion with those substituted in its room. It is no less uncertain why the Knights wear the Garter on their Left rather than on the Right Leg, or why the Founder chose to put the Order under the Protection of St. George. But this is certain, that great Prince's Design was to engage the present and future Knights to distinguish themselves by their Courage and Virtue. This of all the like Orders has best adhered to the Rules of its Institution. More ancient than those of the *Golden-Fleece* (7), and *Holy Ghost* (8), it has never degenerated as to the Number, which has all along been twenty six, including the Sovereign of the Order, who is always the Person that wears the Crown of England. The Kings and other Sovereign Princes, who have been, and still are, desirous of being admitted into this most noble

Institution of the Order of the Garter. Walsing. Ashmole.

Camden.

(1) The Charter-House. The Lord *Walter Manny*, considering the great danger of burying in the Church-yards, during this great Plague, purchased a piece of Ground called *Spittle-Croft*, then belonging to the Master and Brethren of *St. Bartholomew-Spittle*, containing thirteen Acres and a Rod, without the Barrs of *Smithfield*, and caused it to be inclosed and consecrated. In this place was buried above fifty thousand Persons that died of the Plague. In memory whereof, the said Lord, in 1171, built a Chapel on the same Ground, and founded a House for *Charter-House*, or *Carthusian* Monks. *Stow's Ann.* p. 246.

(2) *Froissart* says, that the Governour let them in at a Postern, the very night King Edward came to Calais; and having received the twenty thousand Crowns from them, carried them into the great Tower of the Castle to take possession of it; but King Edward, who was in the same Tower, rushed upon them, and took them Prisoners. c. 153.

(3) Three hundred Men at Arms, and six hundred Archers. *Froiss.* l. i. c. 153.

(4) *Rapin* by mistake calls him Henry. He was younger Son of *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*. *Dugdale*, Vol. I. p. 231. His Commission bears date at *Westminster*, January 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 655.

(5) *Rapin* by mistake calls him Henry. He was younger Son of *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*. *Dugdale*, Vol. I. p. 231. His Commission bears date at *Westminster*, January 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 655.

(6) Mr. *Ashmole* fixes the Institution of this noble and honorable Order, on the 23d of April, 1349. p. 185. But Dr. *Brady* justly doubts, whether it was instituted this Year, because the Plague at that time raged terribly at London, and other Parts adjacent. See *Hist.* p. 247. and *Stow's Ann.* p. 245, 246.

(7) An Order of Knighthood, instituted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, at his Marriage with *Isabella* of Portugal in 1430. The Order was at first composed of four and twenty Knights, who were Gentlemen of Birth, and unblemished Reputation. This Order is now common to all the Princes of the House of Austria, as being descended from Mary of Burgundy, Daughter of Charles the Hardy, last Duke of Burgundy. *Chifflet. Fœder. Mon. fœd.* Vol. II. fol. 54.

(8) This is an Order of Knighthood in France, instituted by King Henry III, who celebrated its first Festival on the 31st of December, 1578. The Number of Knights was limited to a hundred, without including those of the Clergy, viz. Four Cardinals, and four Bishops, together with the great Almoner, and the Officers of the Order, viz. A Chancellor, Treasurer, Register, and King at Arms, and ordered the Knights to wear a Cross of Malta, having a Dove in the Center of it. To which King Henry IV, in 1598, added a Collar made of Trophies, from whence proceed Flames intermixed with crown'd Heads.

1349.

Order, are a clear Evidence of its great Repute throughout all Europe (1).

Edward
fights the
Spanish Cru-
sades.
Art. Pub.
V. p. 679,
688, 691.
R. Aves-
bury.
Walsing-
hamton.

However glorious *Edward* had hitherto been, he disdained not to hazard his Reputation, in an Affair which seemed below his notice. But the greatness of his Courage would not suffer him to weigh too nicely such sort of Considerations. The Merchants complaining of certain *Spanish Ships* infesting the Coasts of *England*, and doing them much Damage, he promised to clear the Seas of them. To that end, assembling such of his Ships as were fittest ready, he would go himself and give chase to the Cruisers. He fought and defeated them (2), took twenty of their Ships, sunk many more, and dispersed the rest. This Action, though in itself of little Importance, seemed to him so glorious, that he caused a Gold Coin to be struck, whereon he was represented in a Ship with his Outruls in his Hand, in order to perpetuate the Memory thereof (3).

1350.
Death of
Philip de
Valois.
John Jac-
cobs.
Memoirs.
Walsing-
hamton.
Art. Pub.
V. p. 690.
1351.
The Duke of
Lancaster
makes In-
roads into
France.
Frontlet.
Memoirs.
Art. Pub.
V. p. 710.
Knighton.

Philip de Valois lived not to see the end of the Truce made with *Edward*. He died the 22d of *August* 1350, leaving for Successor his Son *John*, who renewed the Truce till *Whitsontide* 1354. But it was ill observed on both Sides. In *Britayne*, *Gascoigne*, *Picardy*, frequent Hostilities were committed, which occasioned mutual Complaints and even Reprisals, each Party throwing the Blame on his Enemy. The Earl of *Derby*, honoured with the Title of Duke of *Lancaster* (4), was sent to *Calais* with an Army, as if it had been open War. He made Inroads into the *French Territories*, and ravaged the Country from *Calais* to *Terouenne*. The greatest Advantage *Edward* reaped by the Non-Observance of the Truce, was the Acquisition of the Town of *Guines* sold him by the Governour. When King *John* complained of it, *Edward* replied, that his Father *Philip*, by attempting to purchase *Calais*, had taught the English Commanders that Buying and Selling was no Breach of a Truce (5).

The Flem-
ings call
for Ed-
ward.

This Advantage however did not balance the Loss sustained by *Edward* in *Flanders*, by the entire Defection of the *Flemings*. Hitherto they had been his Friends, but for some time past, the Face of Affairs was entirely changed in that Country. After the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, slain at the Battle of *Cressy*, the *Flemings* sent Deputies to *Philip de Valois*, to demand the Son of their deceased Sovereign, under colour of putting him in possession of his Father's Inheritance. *Philip* consenting to their Request, when they had the young Prince in their Power, they contracted him to one of *Edward's* Daughters. This Accident would doubtless have been very prejudicial to *Philip*, if the Earl himself had not freed him from this. The young Prince, who by Education was wholly attached to the Interests of *France*, not bearing the thoughts of marrying into the Family of his Sovereign's Enemy, privately withdrew from his Subjects, and cast himself again into his Arms. From thenceforward the *Flemings* began by degrees to be disengaged from the Interests of *England*. They even approved of the Marriage concluded by *Philip* between their Earl and the Duke of *Brabant's* Daughter, who had entirely forsaken *Edward* (6). Their Levity was the Cause that the Staple (7) of the *English Wool*, set up in their Country, was removed into *England*, to

Walsing-
hamton.
1353.

their great Damage, but to the Benefit of the Eng- 1353.
lish (8).

The new King of *France* seemed to be extremely de- 1354.
sires that the Truce might be changed into a firm Project of
and lasting Peace, to which *Edward* was not averse. In Peace be-
the Negotiations on this occasion, *John* offered to re- tween the
sign to the King of *England*, *Guienne*, with the Earl- Walsing-
doms of *Artois* and *Guines*, to hold them in full Sove- Art. Pub.
reignty, without Homage to the Crown of *France* (9). V. p. 772,
But presently after, to his own, as well as to his King- 779, 851.
dom's Misfortune, he abruptly broke off the Negotiation, which ended only in prolonging the Truce till April the next Year.

It was not difficult to perceive that the King of *France* fought only to gain time, to enable himself the better to maintain the War. *Edward* was very sensible of it, but had himself need of some respite, in order to settle some domestic Affairs of Importance. The Obstinacy of the *Scots* in support of their King, though a Prisoner, fully convinced him, it would not be easy to reduce *Scotland*, as long as he was at War with *France*. This Consideration inclined him to patch up a Peace with the *Scots*, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to renew the War. But this Peace could not be made without their King's Release; so firmly did they insist upon that Article. To settle this Affair, *Edward* appointed Commissioners (10) to treat with the *Scots*, concerning King *David's* Liberty. This Negotiation, which was prolonged for some time, ended at length in a Treaty concluded at *Newcastle*, July the 13th, 1354, whereby *Edward* promised to free *David* for a Ransom of ninety thousand Marks of Silver. This Treaty was ratified a little after by the Prince of *Wales* his Son, but was not executed for Reasons mentioned hereafter. So *David* continued a Prisoner till 1357 (11).

When this Treaty was concluded, *Edward* considering from henceforth the Affairs of *Scotland* as of little moment, applied himself chiefly to those of *France*. The Truce being about to expire, he invested the Prince of *Wales* his Son with the Duchy of *Guienne*; and sending him thither, commanded him to renew the Hostilities (12). Some affirm, King *John* had now invested the Dauphin *Charles* his Son, with that Duchy, and thereby occasioned a Rupture. But there is no mention of this Circumstance either in the *French Histories*, or in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Besides, it is certain the War was not renewed till after the Expiration of the Truce. Whilst the Prince of *Wales* was preparing to renew the War in *Guienne*, the King his Father landing at *Calais* (13), ravaged *Boulonois* and *Artois* without opposition. Upon this News, the King of *France* speedily assembled his Forces. At the same time, he sent *Edward* a Defiance, offering to fight him alone, or at the head of their Armies: At last, this is what the *French Historians* affirm; adding, that *Edward* declined it, and knowing *John* was approaching to give him Battle, retired into *England*. The *English*, on the contrary, maintain, the Defiance was sent by *Edward*, and refused by *John*. The wonder is, that the *Collection of the Publick Acts* makes no mention of this Expedition of *Edward*, though

Treaty about
the King of
Scotland's
Liberty.
Art. Pub.
V. p. 733,
787, 791,
792, 799.
VI. p. 31,
46, &c.
Knighton.
Edward
gives Gui-
enne to the
Prince of
Wales.
Walsing-
hamton.
Art. Pub.
V. p. 830.

He goes into
France and
commits some
Ravages.
Walsing-
hamton.
Avesbury.
Frontlet.
I. c. 159.

(1) *Cambden* reckons in his Time twenty two Kings, besides the Kings of *England*, and as many foreign Dukes and Princes. He has likewise given us a List of the first six and twenty Knights, who are called the Founders of the Order; namely, *Edward III* King of *England*; *Edward* his Son Prince of *Wales*; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*; *Ralph* Earl of *Stafford*; *William* Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*; *Roger* Mortimer Earl of *March*; *Capauld* de *Buicke*; *John* de *Isle*; *Bartholomew* Bingham; *John* de *Beauchamp*; *John* de *Mohan*; *Hubert* Courtney; *Thomas* Holland; *John* Grey; *Richard* Fitz-Simon; *Miles* Stapleton; *Thomas* Walle; *Hubert* Wriestley; *Niel* Loring; *John* Clandis; *James* de *Audley*; *Otho* Holland; *Henry* Esce; *Zancket* Dabridgecourt; *William* Paynel. The Countess of *Salisbury*, who it seems gave Occasion for the founding this Order, was the wonder of her time for Shape and Beauty.

(2) The Engagement happened Aug. 29. near *Winchelsea*. Twenty six of the *Spanish Ships* were taken. *Wals.* p. 169.

(3) See the Coins at the end of this Reign.

(4) Son of *Henry*, Brother of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster* beheaded in the Reign of *Edward II*, who was Son of *Edmund*, younger Son of *Henry III*. This *Henry* for his Merit was advanced by the general Consent of the Parliament, and the King's special Charter, dated the 6th of *March*, 25 of *Edward*, to the Title of Duke of *Lancaster*, being the second that bore that Title in *England*. At the same time also the Lord *Ralph* Stafford was created Earl of *Stafford*, with a Pension of one thousand Marks, till the King could provide Lands of that value to settle on him. *Knighton.* Col. 2602. *Wals.* p. 170.

(5) This Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, Febr. 10. wherein were enacted the Statutes of *Labourers* and *Provisors*. *Rot. Parl.* 25 *Edw.* III. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 75. *Knighton* relates that the King took twenty Shillings from every Carrucate, and a Fifteenth. And also that there was granted him a Fifteenth, and a Tenth for three Years. *Col.* 2600, 2602. *Wals.* p. 170.

(6) A Parliament met this Year on Jan. 17. at *Westminster*, which granted the King three Tenths, and three Fifteenths, to be paid, as the last were, within three Years. *Rot. Parl.* 25 *Edw.* III. P. 2. N. 7, 9, 10. In this Parliament the Lord *John* Maitraviers, who was thought to have a Hand in the Murder of *Edward II*, having some Years since come in and submitted to the King's Mercy, and lately received his Pardon, petitioned the Parliament to have it then confirmed; which, in consideration of his late faithful Service to the King in *Flanders*, was accordingly granted. *Ibid.* N. c. See *Typ.* p. 421. There was this Year, besides this Parliament, a Council at *Westminster*.

(7) *Staple* signifies this sort of Town, whether the Merchants of *England* were, by Act of Parliament, to carry their *Wool*, *Cloth*, *Lead* and *Tin*, for the selling them by the *Great*. What were the Staple Commodities of this Realm may be seen in the Statute of 14 *Richard II*. c. 1. as *Wool*, *Leather*, *Wool-fells*, *Lead*, *Tin*, &c. The Staple of *Wool* was removed to *Westminster*, *Canterbury*, *Gloucester*, *Bristol*, *Lincoln*, *Hull*, and *Calais*. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 5. p. 618. *Wals.* p. 170.

(8) This was done by the Authority of the Parliament, which met this Year on Sept. 23. and continued, for some time longer, the Subsidy of *Wool*, *Leather*, and *Wool-fells*, granted to the King in some of the late Parliaments. *Rot. Parl.* 27 *Edw.* III. N. 1.---6.

(9) Provided he would quit his claim to the Crown of *France*. *Wals.* p. 170.

(10) *Thomas* Hatfield, Bishop of *Durham*, and the Lords *Henry* Percy, and *Ralph* de *Nevil*. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 5. p. 733. King *David* himself went, with King *Edward's* permission, in 1351, into his Kingdom, and afterwards in 1353, as far as *Newcastle*, to treat with some of his Nobility, about his Ransom, but could bring nothing to a Conclusion. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 5. p. 722, 727, 737, 746. *Knighton.* Col. 2600.---2607.

(11) April 28. A Parliament was held; in which the Lords *Roger* Mortimer, and *Richard* Fitz-Alan were restored in blood. *Rot. Parl.* 28 *Edw.* III. N. 1, &c. 13.

(12) He sailed from *Plymouth*, Sept. 8. attended by the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; with one thousand Men at Arms, and the like Number of Archers. *Wals.* p. 171.

(13) *Newcomb*. 2. attended by his Sons *Lionel* and *John*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; the Earls of *Northampton*, *March*, and *Stafford*, &c. and about two thousand Men at Arms. *Wals.* p. 171.

1354. whenever the Kings of England went beyond Sea, a Memorandum of the day, both of their departure and return, is hardly ever omitted. But since the Historians of both Nations speak of *Edward's* going to *Calais*, a bare negative Proof is not sufficient to invalidate their Testimony. However, if *Edward* returned so hastily, it is certain, that very important Reasons called him home. The *Scots* having taken *Berwick* by Surprise, it was very dangerous to leave in their hands a Place of that Importance, which gave them at all times an Inlet into *England*. To retake this Town was the occasion of *Edward's* hastening his return (1).

The Scots
surprize
Berwick.
Buchanan.
Walsing.

Avesbury.

Walsing.

Immediately after his Arrival he called a Parliament (2), complaining of the Treachery of the *Scots*, who, after a Treaty concluded and ratified, abused his good Faith, by the Seducements of the King of *France*. The Parliament knowing the Necessity of recovering *Berwick*, and the King's want of Money to continue the War with *France*, granted him fifty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool (3) sold in the Kingdom. It is said, this Subsidy amounted to more than three hundred and fifty thousand Marks a Year, so considerable was the woollen Trade in those days. With this Aid the King quickly raised an Army, at the head of which he advanced to the Borders of *Scotland*. Upon his Approach, the *Scots* quitted *Berwick* (4), after demolishing the Fortifications, which he revenged by ravaging their Country (5). This unexpected Rupture of the *Scots* surprized him the more, as he had just made a Treaty with them, for releasing their King, and only stayed for the payment of the Ransom agreed upon. This Proceeding of theirs quite altered the King's mind as to Peace, and caused him to take a new Resolution, with respect to the Affairs of *Scotland* (6).

Edward
retakes
Berwick.
Hect. Boeth.
Walsing.
Knighton.

1355.
Condition of
Balio.

After *Balio's* Expulsion, he still kept the Title of King, but without any real Power, and in so servile a Dependence on the King of *England*, that he was looked upon only as a Subject. It is true, *Edward* left him the Command of his Troops, but they were so very few, that he was never able to make any Progress. So he spent his Days in a melancholy manner, with a Pension of five Marks a day, allowed him by *Edward*, and some Presents for his extraordinary Expences. There are manifest Proofs of his great Dependence in the Collection of the *Publick Acts*, particularly in the frequent Pardons for hunting in *Edward's* Forests. He was therefore but the Shadow of a King, made use of hitherto by *Edward* to compass his Ends. It was needless for the King to wear the mask any longer, all his Proceedings plainly shewing he had been labouring more for himself than for *Balio*. Laying aside therefore the Scruples by which he had till then been restrained, or rather throwing off the cloak under which he had concealed his Intentions, he caused that Prince to resign all his Right to *Scotland* (7) for the yearly Pension of two thousand Pounds Sterling; a poor Recompence for a Crown, had it not been an imaginary Crown, which *Balio* was very willing to part with. This Resignation proved fatal to King *David*. He had thereby the mortification to see himself more closely confined, and to lose withal the hopes he had conceived of recovering his Liberty (8).

Th. p. 832,
833, 835,
838, 852.

Charles de
Blois related
p. 746, 862.
Knighton.

Charles de Blois Prisoner in *England*, since the Battle of *la Roche de Rien*, was more fortunate than the King of *Scotland*, at least with regard to his Liberty, though it was purchased at a very dear rate. He articked with *Edward* to pay seven hundred thousand Crowns for his Ransom, and left his two Sons in Hostage for Security of Payment (9).

1356.
The Prince
of Wales
ravages
Languedoc.
Mezerai.
Walsing.

Whilst *Edward* was employed at home, the Prince of *Wales* ravaged the southern Provinces of *France*, and particularly *Languedoc*. He made into that Province a sudden Irruption, which rendered him master of *Carcaffone* and *Narbonne*, where he met with a very great Booty, and then returned to *Bordeaux*. By his retreat, the measures to oppose his Invasion being neglected, he thought he might safely venture upon a second. As soon as his Troops were a little refreshed, he marched again (10) at the head of twelve thousand Men, of whom not above three thousand were Natives of *England*. He traversed *le Perigord* and *le Limousin*, entered *Berry*, and appeared before the Gates of *Bourges*. But the News of the King

The King
follows him
with a great
Army
Frontart.
l. 1. c. 161.

- (1) Which was on November 17.
- (2) It had been called before his going over, and met on November the 12th, but was put off till the 25th. Rot. Parl. 29 Edu. III. Cotton's Abridg. p. 90.
- (3) For six Years. Wals. p. 171.
- (4) January 13. Ibid.
- (5) And utterly ruining *Edinburgh*, *Haddington*, &c. Hist. Boet. l. 15. Knighton.
- (6) This Year, January 7, was born *Thomas*, the King's seventh Son, at *Woodbeck*. Wals. p. 171.
- (7) This he did on Jan. 20. at *Roxburgh*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. V. p. 832, &c. Wals. p. 171. Knighton, Col. 2611.
- (8) There were two Parliaments held this Year, but where, and when is not mentioned. Notitia Parliament.
- (9) *Edward* forgave him half the Sum, on condition he would pay the other half punctually at the Days agreed on. The Act for this Purpose is dated at Westminster the 10th of August 1356. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. V. p. 862.
- (10) On the fifth of July. Wals. p. 171.
- (11) He insisted at first, upon having four of the principal English Noblemen at his Mercy, and that the Prince and all the rest of the Army should yield themselves Prisoners. Froissart, l. 1. c. 163.

of *France's* approach, with sixty thousand Men, prevented his besieging that Place, and even obliged him to take a Compass in order to retire to *Bordeaux*. But *John*, foreseeing his design, marched with such expedition, that he overtook him near *Poitiers*. It being impossible for the Prince to retreat, he resolved to intrench himself at *Mauportuis*, in a Post incumbered with Vines and Hedges, and of a very difficult Access. Two Legates sent by the Pope to the two Princes, to persuade them to Peace, used their utmost Endeavours to prevent an Engagement. They even induced the Prince of *Wales* to promise to repair all the Damages done in his Incurfion, and engage not to bear Arms against *France* for seven Years. *John's* Superiority causing him to reject these Offers, he expected, the Prince with his whole Army should surrender at discretion (11). This Condition not being relished by the Prince, he generously replied, he had rather dye Sword in hand, than be guilty of a thing contrary to his Honour, and the Glory of the English Name.

Offers of the
Princes
rejected.

All hopes of Agreement vanishing, the Prince of *Wales* made a short Speech to his Troops, telling them, "That Victory depended not on Numbers, but on Bravery." "That for his own part, he was resolved to conquer or dye, and would not expose his Country to the disgrace of paying his Ransom." All King *John's* Generals unanimously advised him to starve this little Army, cooped up in the middle of an Enemy's Country, where they would quickly be in want of all things. This Advice appeared to him too wary and inconsistent with his Impatience. He fancied, they would rob him of the transcendent Glory, he hoped to acquire by the Defeat of so renowned a Prince, to feed him with the imaginary Honour of conquering without fighting. So, full of the pleasing Expectation of obtaining an easy Victory, and revenging his Subjects, he resolved without delay to attack the Enemies. He committed at first a very great Error, in causing his Horse to dismount and begin the Fight. The Horse unaccustomed to charge on foot, were not able to break through the English, who had the Advantage of the Ground, in a Country full of Hedges, through which there was a necessity to pass, in order to force their Intrenchments. The dismounted Cavalry being repulsed with great loss, the Infantry supplied their Place, and met the same Resistance, notwithstanding the King's Efforts, who maintained the Fight four Hours, encouraging his Troops by his Voice and Example, without fearing to expose his Person to the greatest Dangers. What Efforts soever he made, it was not possible for him to rout this handful of English, whom the necessity of conquering, caused to fight desperately; being moreover animated by the Example of the Prince, who performed that day Acts of Wisdom and Valour, comparable to those of the most renowned Generals. Of four Sons the King of *France* had with him, the three eldest retiring betimes, with eight hundred Lances, their Retreat did not a little contribute to discourage the rest of the Army. Mean time, King *John* acted by despair, signalized himself in all the most dangerous Places, and drew upon him the bravest of his Enemies. Though he saw himself forsaken, he inspired the boldest with Terror. But, in all appearance, he would at length have sunk under the Multitude of the Enemies that surrounded him, and left him no hopes of saving his Life, if *Denis de Morbeck*, a Knight of *Artois*, dispersing those who pressed him the most vigorously, had not earnestly persuaded him to yield himself Prisoner. He would have been very glad to deliver his Sword to the Prince of *Wales*, but as the Prince was too remote, he was forced to surrender himself to *Morbeck* with *Philip* his fourth Son, about thirteen Years old, who had all along fought by his Side. In this unfortunate Day, so fatal to *France*, there were not above six thousand Men slain, but among that Number were eight hundred Nobles, the Duke of *Bourbon* a Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Athenes* Constable of *France*, the Marshal de *Nesse*, and above fifty other great Lords of the Kingdom.

Battle of
Mauportuis.
Froissart.
l. 1. c. 194.
Walsing.

John's
surrender.
Act. Pub.
V. p. 869.
VI. p. 72,
154.
Froissart.
Walsing.
Knighton.

Submission
and Mercy
of the Prince
of Wales.
Froissart.
Walsing.

1356.

Battle, the King supping in the Prince of Wales's Tent, pressed him to sit at Table with him; but he very civilly declining it, stood and talked with him all the while. As the King, whose thoughts were still employed with his unfortunate Condition, was complaining of his Fate, the Prince said to him, in a free, though modest and unaffected manner, "That he had one great Reason to be comforted, that the Battle was not lost by his fault: That the *English* had found to their cost, he was the bravest of Princes; but that God alone had disposed of the Victory. And, (continued he) if your ill fortune has thrown you into your present Disgrace, you may at least rest assured, that an inviolable Regard shall be preserved for your Person; and you shall find in me a very respectful Relation, if I may be allowed to glory in that Title." So great a Modesty in a young victorious Prince, little more than five and twenty Years of Age, melted the King into Tears, and filled the Hearers with Admiration. As soon as *John* had recovered himself, he turned to the Prince, and said to him, with an Air of Satisfaction, "That since it was his Destiny to be vanquished and taken, it was a great Comfort in his Misfortune, that he had not behaved himself unworthily; and was fallen into the hands of so valiant and generous a Prince." On the morrow, solemn Thanks were returned to God, in the *English* Camp, for this great Victory. The Prince thanked his victorious Troops, with such Expressions, as ascribed to them the Honour of the Day, without the least mention of himself. Then he marched for *Bordeaux*, laden with an inestimable Booty, and so great a Number of Prisoners, that it would have been difficult for the *English* to defend themselves, in case they had been attacked (1).

P. Emyl.

1357.

Froissart.
Pol. Viég.

It is easy to conceive, the Joy this News spread over all *England*, and how great *Edward's* Satisfaction was in particular. God's Protection of the Prince of *Wales* being too visible to be disregarded, the King ordered publick Thanksgiving for this signal Victory, to be returned to God for eight Days together, in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* spent the Winter at *Bordeaux*, where two Legates from the Pope came, and pressed him so earnestly, that he consented, with the Approbation of the King his Father, to a Truce for two Years, wherein all the Allies of both Crowns were included. In *April* following (2) he came into *England*, bringing his Prisoner with him. He was received there with excessive Joy, but constantly refused all the Honours that were offered him, being satisfied with those paid to the captive King. When they made their Entry into *London*, the Prince of *Wales* rode on a little black Nag, by the King of *France's* side, who was mounted on a stately white Courser, adorned with costly Trappings. One would have thought that all the Pomp (3) displayed on this occasion, was intended purely to do Honour to the captive King; so great care was taken to avoid all signs of his Disgrace, and every thing that might be offensive to his Eyes. Though *Edward* disputed with him the Title of *King of France*, he treated him however like a King. The Sight of the captive Prince putting him in mind of the Instability of human Grandeur, he received him with as cordial Embraces, as if he had been his own Brother, or one come on purpose to pay him a Visit. In this noble and generous manner, the Father and Son strove with Emulation to comfort the unfortunate King, by all the Marks of Respect due to a great Prince, in whatever State Fortune may have placed him. It is reported, when *Edward* received the News of the Victory of *Poitiers*, he said to those about him, that his Satisfaction at so glorious a Success, was not comparable to the Pleasure caused by the generous Behaviour of the Prince. King *John* and Prince *Philip* his Son were lodged together in the Palace of the *Savoy* (4), with all the honourable Freedom they

could desire. The other captive Lords met with the same Treatment and Civilities. 1357.

Edward enjoyed then a so much greater Glory, as it was very uncommon, I mean of having Prisoners his two most potent Enemies; the King of *France* at *London*, and the King of *Scotland* at *Odiam* [in *Hampshire*.] King *David* should have had his Liberty long since, pursuant to the Articles agreed upon three Years before; but for the Reasons above-mentioned, saw himself still detained in Captivity. However, when he had least Cause to expect any Favour from a victorious Enemy, who had just reduced *Scotland* to an irretrievable State, *Edward* was moved by the pressing Instances of the Queen his Sister, and agreed to renew the Treaty of 1354. To that end he granted Safe-conducts to Ambassadors from *Scotland*, who, during a short Truce, obtained their King's Liberty, upon much the same Terms as in the first Treaty. They engaged to pay for his Ransom a hundred thousand Marks Sterling; namely, ten thousand every Year, till the whole was paid; and for Security, the King of *Scotland* gave twenty Hostages. At the same time, a ten Years Truce was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. *David* was released (5) upon these Conditions, which he took care to ratify as soon as he came into his Kingdom, after an eleven Years Captivity. It seems that *Edward*, wholly taken up then with his vast Projects against *France*, had lost all Thoughts of becoming master of *Scotland*. At least he believed it best to defer the Execution of that Design, till a more convenient Season.

The King of Scotland at Liberty. Act. Pub. VI. p. 39--68. Buchanan. Walling.

Edward's late Truces with *France* and *Scotland* having freed him from the trouble of foreign Affairs, he confined his thoughts to the Government of his Kingdom. But as nothing extraordinary passed, he spent part of his time in Diversions, of which the King of *France* and the other chief Prisoners always partook. The Tournament he held at *Windfor* on the 23d of *April*, 1358, to solemnize the Feast of *St. George*, Patron of the Order of the Garter, was the most sumptuous and magnificent that had ever been seen in *England*. The Duke of *Brabant*, with several other foreign Princes, and an infinite Number of Knights of all Nations were present, and splendidly entertained.

1358. Magnificent Tournament at Windfor. Froissart. Walling. Knighton.

This Diversion was followed by the Funeral of Queen *Isabella*, the King's Mother. She died at the Castle of *Rifings*, aged sixty three Years, after a twenty eight Years confinement (6). If the Marriage of this Queen was fatal to the King her Husband, it was no less so to *France*, since it proved the occasion of a long and bloody War, which brought that Kingdom to the very brink of Destruction.

Queen Isabella dies. Act. Pub. VI. p. 119. Walling. Knighton.

Geoffrey d'Harcourt, of whom I have spoken on occasion of the King's Descent at *la Hogue*, and who served the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, was there slain about this Time (7). As he had by Will made the King of *England* his sole Heir, and as his Lands were in the Demesns of the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, *Edward* took possession, and gave them to the Lord *Holland*.

Earl of Harcourt makes Edward his Heir. Froissart. l. i. c. 174. Act. Pub. V. p. 856.

Whilst *England* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, *France*, was in extreme Desolation, by the intestine Troubles caused by the King's Imprisonment. *Charles* the Dauphin, *John's* eldest Son, held the Reins of the Government, by the Title of Lieutenant-General, afterwards changed into that of Regent. His Regency was so disturbed by the Cabals of some restless Men, who found their Advantage in the Confusion of Affairs, that it was not possible to think effectually of freeing their King. The Affairs of *France* were then in a deplorable situation. *Charles the Bald*, King of *Navarre*, though sprung from the Royal Family of *France* (8), raised daily Commotions and Tumults in *Paris*, where he had a powerful Party (9). The Authority of the Dauphin was thereby so restrained, that, though a Prince of

Great Troubles in France. Froissart. l. i. c. 179.

Walling.

(1) This Battle was fought on the 19th of September, 1356. Rymer's Fæd. p. 870. There were above six Frenchmen to one Englishman. Walling. l. i. p. 120. Prince Edward had only one thousand nine hundred Men at Arms, and the same Number of Archers. p. 172. But J. Burnes lay, his Army consisted of about eight thousand Men. p. 504. What Persons of Distinction were in it, see *Ibid*. The Prisoners are said to be more in Number than the English Army. And among them were, besides the King and his Son, seventeen Earls, and of Barons, Knights, and Esquires, to the Number of one thousand five hundred. P. Emyl. Wall. p. 197. On the sixteenth of May was held a provincial Synod at St. Paul's, wherein the Bishops granted the King a Tenth for two Years, and the inferior Clergy for one Year. R. Avesbury, c. 108.

(2) According to Walling, the Prince landed at Plymouth, May 5. and made his entry into London the 24th of the same Month. p. 172.

(3) He was received by Henry Poind and the Lord Mayor (the same that afterwards so magnificently entertained at one time the four Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus) with the Aldermen, &c. in all their Formalities, with the City Pageants; and in the Streets, as he passed to Westminster, the Citizens hung out all their Plate, Tapestry, and Armour, so that the like had never been seen before in the memory of Man. Barner, p. 526.

(4) So called from Peter Earl of Savoy, who lived in it. Eleanor, Wife of Henry III, bought it of the Fraternity of Mountjoy and gave it to her Son Edward Earl of Lancaster, and it was now in the Possession of Henry Duke of Lancaster.

(5) On the first of November. Wall. p. 173.

(6) She died in November, and was buried in the Choir of the Grey Friars, now called Christ Church in London. A little after died also her Daughter Jean Queen of Sicily, and was buried in the same Church with the Queen her Mother.

(7) He was slain, some Years before, King Edward, and joined the King of France; as appears by an Order from King Edward, to the Bailiffs of Westminster, dated March 5. 1347. for seizing his Jewels, Armour, Goods, Chattels, &c. See Rymer's Fæd. Tom. V. p. 552.

(8) From the Branch of Ebercaux, or rather of En.

(9) And his Brother Philip, with the Lord James de la Pype, and Robert Knives, cruelly wasted Normandy and Bretagne about this time. Walling. p. 175.

1358. great Abilities, he knew not which way to govern so divided a State. Amidst this Confusion, the *French* lived in a kind of Anarchy. The Nobles and Officers of the Army oppressed the meaner Sort of People, especially the Peasants, to whom they gave the Nick-Name of *Jaques Bon homme* (1). Raillery joined with Oppression, driving these poor Wretches to Despair, they assembled in great Troops in *le Beauvoisin*, bent upon extirpating all the Nobles. In a short time, their Number being considerably increased, they became so formidable, that there was a Necessity of drawing together all the Forces of the Kingdom, to disperse this Army of *Rusticks*, which daily grew stronger. This War, which was called the *Jaquery*, created the Regent great Trouble. It was one of the principal Causes, that prevented his taking measures to oppose the Invasion threatened by the *English*, as soon as the Truce was expired.

During all these Disorders, King *John*, heartily tired of his Confinement in *England*, however easy it was, treated himself with *Edward* concerning his Liberty. He could not obtain it without yielding to the Conqueror's Terms. But, as he was fully informed of the Disturbances in *France*, he believed he could not purchase too dearly a Freedom, which might enable him to restore Peace in his Kingdom. Wherefore, he agreed with *Edward* upon a Treaty very disadvantageous to *France*, whereby he resigned several Provinces to the Crown of *England*. The General Assembly of the States being met upon this occasion in 1359, found the Conditions so hard, that they would not ratify the Treaty. By this Refusal, the captive King saw all his hopes vanish. Mean while the States plainly perceiving, they had given occasion to renew the War, offered the Regent all necessary Assistance to procure better Terms, by way of Arms. But they promised more than they performed. *Edward* loudly complained of being deceived, and suddenly altering his Carriage to King *John*, confined him in the Castle of *Sammerton*, from whence he afterwards removed him to the Tower of *London*. Doubtless he did not think it prudent to leave that Prince at *London* upon his Parole, as before, whilst he himself should be in the Heart of *France*, where he resolved to carry the War.

1360. The Preparations for this fresh Expedition were prodigious. An Army of an hundred thousand Men, transported to *Calais* (2), was a plain Indication of his Design, to make a powerful Effort to subdue *France*, whilst the Troubles of that Kingdom offered him so fair an Opportunity. When his Forces were landed at *Calais* (3), he divided them into three Bodies. The first was commanded by the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had lately given his only Daughter in Marriage to *John of Gaunt* the King's fourth Son (4). The Prince of *Wales* headed the second, and the King himself commanded the last. With these numerous Troops, conducted by the three most famous Generals then in *Europe*, *Edward* marched into *France* without opposition. The Dauphin not being strong enough to venture to appear in the Field, was contented with providing his principal Towns with Ammunition, without hazarding a Battle with Forces so unequal to those of the Enemy.

Mean time, *Edward* traversing *Artois* entered *Champagne*, and approached *Rheims* in order to surprize the City, where some groundlessly affirm, he designed to be crowned. But missing his Aim, he fell upon *Sens*, which he easily took. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving himself unable to save his Country from plunder, obtained a separate Truce for three Years, upon promise of paying two hundred thousand Florins (5), and supplying the *English* Army with Provisions. *Le Nivernois* followed the Example

of *Burgundy*, but *la Brie* and *le Gatinois* were ravaged (6). *Edward's* Aim being to draw the *French* to a Battle, he neglected nothing to provoke them. For that purpose, he went, about the end of *Lent*, and encamped within seven Leagues of *Paris*, between *Chartres* and *Mont le Herry*. His Approach not being capable to draw the Dauphin out of *Paris*, he advanced to the very Gates of the City, without succeeding in his Design. Though the Smoak of the Villages, set on fire by the *English*, might be seen from the Walls, the Dauphin, to whom was afterwards given the Surname of *the Wise*, was too prudent to run any Hazard on this occasion. Taught by the fatal Examples of the Kings his Father and Grandfather, he took care not to venture the Crown upon the Decision of a Battle, where he could have little hopes of Success. As he knew *Paris* was able to maintain a long Siege, he kept himself shut up in the City, and all *Edward's* Insults could not oblige him to alter his Resolution. He tried, however, to deliver *France* from the impending Danger, by offering certain Proposals to his Enemy, but which were scornfully rejected. *Edward* thought he was in condition to give law, and prescribe what Terms he pleased himself. He seemed at first to have formed the Design of besieging *Paris*, but afterwards finding it too difficult an Undertaking, turned back towards *la Beauce*. Cardinal de *Langres* the Pope's Legate, attended him every where, and continually pressed him to bound his Ambition, but these Remonstrances were then ineffectual. *Edward* stayed some time in *la Beauce*, from whence he designed to lead his Troops to the *Loire*. Mean while, though his Army still marched through very plentiful Countries, it was daily diminished by Sickness. It was doubtless a great Mortification to that Monarch, to see the little Progress he had made with so numerous an Army. Though he was in the Heart of *France*, he could not flatter himself with any one certain Conquest. This perhaps was one Reason of his hearkening at last to the Legate's Solicitations, though his Change is ascribed to another Cause. One day, as he lay encamped in the Country about *Chartres*, a sudden and dreadful Storm arose, accompanied with Thunder and Hall of a prodigious size, which killed six thousand Horses and a thousand Men (7). So extraordinary an Accident was deemed by the Troops as a Sign of God's Wrath. The King himself seemed to be possessed with the same Opinion. It may be he was very glad, this Event furnished him with an Opportunity, to shew his Willingness to grant a Peace to *France*, from a pure Motive of Generosity, and thereby hide the Shame of not being able, with so fine an Army, to do any thing more than to destroy the open Country. Be this as it will, in the midst of the Storm, he turned his Face towards the Church of *Chartres* which he saw at a distance, and [falling on his Knees] made a vow to consent to a Peace upon equitable Terms. The Legate improving this Disposition, earnestly pressed him to execute his generous Design, and prevailed with him to send Plenipotentiaries to *Bretigny*, a Village near *Chartres*, to treat of a Peace. Here it was the Dauphin and his chief Counsellors appeared (8) for *France*; and for *England*, the Prince of *Wales*, with such Assistants as the King his Father appointed. In a few days, a Treaty was concluded which gave some Intermission to the Calamities of *France*. This Peace, which annulled all former Treaties, and served for Foundation to new Rights, makes a very considerable Epocha in the *English* History, with regard to the Differences between the two Crowns. Accordingly there is no understanding the Relation of the Events which ensued, without a perfect Knowledge of the Articles of this Treaty, which therefore it is absolutely necessary to insert (9).

(1) Or *James Goodmar*.

(2) *Walsing.* relates, he had then no less than one thousand one hundred Ships. p. 174.

(3) The King sailed from *Sandwich*, October 28. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 142. He divided his Forces into three Bodies, *Novemb.* 4. *Froissart.* l. i. c. 206. *Walsing.* p. 174.

(4) Then Earl of *Richmond*; *Rapin* by mistake says the King's third Son. *Henry Plantagenet*, Duke of *Lancaster* had two Daughters, *Maud* and *Isabella*. *Maud*, after the had been married first to *Ralph* Son and Heir to the Lord *Stafford*, and after his Death, to *William* Duke of *Zealand*, died without Issue in 1363; by which means the whole Estate fell to her Sister *Blanch*, who was married to the Earl of *Richmond*, on April 14. at *Reading*, in 1360, who upon the Death of his Father-in-law, was made Duke of *Lancaster*. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 789. *Wals.* p. 173.

(5) It is in the Treaty itself two hundred thousand Moutons, or Deniers of Gold. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 161. which was equal to about thirty five thousand Pounds Sterling, according to Mr. *Tyrell's* Computation. p. 625.

(6) While King *Edward* was thus employed beyond Sea, some *Normans* landed at *Winchelsea*, on March 15, 1359, and plundered that Town: But the *Londoners* and some other Towns, sent out, the next Year, a Fleet of eighty Ships, having on board fourteen thousand Men; and therewith scourged the Seas. At last, landing in *France*, they made themselves masters of the Isle of *Saint*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. p. 167. *Walsing.* p. 174. *Knibton.*

(7) The Lord *Merley* was killed outright, and the Lord *Guy de Beuchamp*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, being mortally wounded by one of the *Hal-Stones*, died thereof on the 28th Day of April following. *Tyrell.* p. 629.

(8) On the 1st of May. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI.

(9) *Rapin* has somewhat abridged most of the Articles of this Treaty, but the Translator believing it to be more satisfactory to have them at large, has inserted Dr. *Brady's* faithful Translation from the *French*, with Notes, where they were afterwards altered and corrected by the two Kings at *Calais*. This famous Treaty was managed by the Prince of *Wales*, and *Charles* Regent of *France*, in the Names of both Kings. Commissioners for the *English* were, Sir *Reginald de Cobham*, Sir *Bartolomew Burghers*, Sir *Francis Hale*, *Banerets*; Sir *Miles Stapleton*, Sir *Richard la Vache*, and Sir *Nicolas Toring*, Knights, with others of the King's Council: On the *French* Party were, the Elect of *Beauvais*, the Chancellor *Charles* Lord *Montmerency*, *Monsieur John de Meingre* Marshal of *France*, *Monsieur Aynart de la Tour* Lord of *Strezy*, *Monsieur Ralph de Ravenal*, *Monsieur Simon de Bucy*, Knights; *Monsieur Stephen de Paris*, and *Peter de la Charite*, with many others of his Council, named by King *John* himself. ----- The Original, from whence this Translation was made by Dr. *Brady*, is printed in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VI. p. 229, 178, &c.

TREATY of BRETAGNY.

Edward, eldest Son to the King of France and England, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; To all those who shall see these Letters, Greeting: We make you know, That after all the Debates and Disorders whatsoever, moved or stirred between our Lord and Father, King of France and England, on the one Part; and our Cousins the King, his eldest Son, Regent of the Realm of France, and all those it may concern on the other Part; for the Good of Peace, it is agreed, the eight Day of May, 1360, at Bretigny near Chartres, in the manner following:

" I. THAT the King of England, with what he holds in Gascoigne and Guienne, shall have, for him and his Heirs for ever, all those things which follow, to hold them in the same manner the King of France, or his Son, or any of his Ancestors, Kings of France, held them: That is to say, those in Sovereignty in Sovereignty, and those in Demefn in Demefn, according to the time and manner hereafter declared. The City, Castle, and Earldom of Poitiers, with the whole Land and Country of Poitou; together with the Fief of Thouars, and Land of Belleville; the City and Castle of Xaintes, and the whole Land of Xaintonge, on this side, and beyond the River of Charente; the City and Castle of Agen, and the Land and Country of Agenois; the City and Castle and whole Earldom of Perigort, and the Land and Country of Perigoux; the City, Castle, and whole Earldom of Limoges, the Land and Country of Limosin; the City and Castle of Cahors, and the Land and Country of Cahorsin; the City, and Castle, and Country of Tarbe, and the Land, Country and Earldom of Bigorre; the Earldom, Land, and Country of Gaure; the City and Castle of Angoulême, and the Earldom, Land, and Country of Angoumois; the City and Castle of Rodes; the Land and Country of Rouergne. And if there be any Lords, as the Earl of Foix, the Earl of Armagnac, the Earl of Lisle, and the Earl of Perigort, and Viscount of Limoges, or others, which hold any Lands within the Bounds of these places, they shall do Homage to the King of England, and all other Services and Devoirs due by reason of their Lands, in the same manner they did in times past (1).

" II. Also the King of England shall have all that any of the Kings of England anciently held in the Town of Monstreul upon the Sea, with their Appurtenances.

" III. Also the King of England shall have all the County or Earldom of Ponthieu entirely; save and except, that if any thing of the said County or Appurtenances have been alienated by the Kings of England for the time being, and to other Persons than the Kings of France, the King of France shall not be obliged to render them to the King of England: And if the said Alienations have been made to the Kings of France for the time being, without mean, and he doth possess them at present, they are entirely to be released to the King of England; except the Kings of France had them by exchange for other Lands of the Kings of England, then both were to release. But if the Kings of England for the time being, had alienated any thing to other Persons than to the King of France, and afterwards they came into his hands, he shall not be obliged to render them. Also if the things abovesaid owe Homage, the King of France shall convey them to others, who shall do it for the King of England: And if they do not owe Homage, the King of France shall appoint a Trustee or Tenant to perform the Devoir, within one Year after he shall depart from Calais.

" IV. Also the King of England shall have the Castle and Town of Calais; the Castle, Town, and Seigneurie of Merk; the Towns, Castles, and Lordships, of Sangate, Calongue, Harnes, Wale and Oye, with Lands, Woods, Marshes, Rivers, Rents, Lordships, or Seigneuries, Advowsons of Churches, and all other Appurtenances lying between the Meets and Bounds following; that is to say, from Calais by the Course of the River that goes before Graveling, and also by the Course of the same River round about Langle, and by the River which goes beyond the Poil, and by the same River that falls into the great Lake of Guisnes, and so to Fretton, and from thence by the Valley about the Hill Calculy, inclosing that Hill, and so to the Sea, with Sangate, and all the Appurtenances.

" V. Also the King of England shall have the Castle, Town, and County, or Earldom of Guisnes, with all the Lands, Towns, Castles, Fortresses, Places, Men, Homages, Lordships, Woods, Forests, and the Rights of them, as entirely as the Earl of Guisnes, lately dead, had them at the time of his Death; and the Churches and good People being within the Limits of the County of Guisnes, of Calais, and Merk, and other places abovesaid, shall obey the King of England, as they obeyed the King of France, or Earl of Guisnes for the time being; all which things of Merk and Calais, contained in this and the precedent Article, the King of England shall hold in Demefn, except the Heritages of the Churches, which shall remain to them entirely wherever they be; and also except the Heritages of other People, of the Country of Merk and Calais, lying out of the Town of Calais, to the value of a hundred Livres of yearly Rent, or under, of current Money of the Country, which shall remain to them. But the Heritages and Habitations being in the Town of Calais, with their Appurtenances, shall be to the King of England in Demefn, to dispose of them at his pleasure; and also the Inhabitants in the County, Town, and Lands of Guisnes, shall enjoy all their Demefns entirely, and shall wholly be returned to them, saving what hath been said concerning the Borders, Meets, and Bounds in the precedent Article.

" VI. Also it is agreed, the King of England and his Heirs shall have and hold all the Isles adjacent to the Lands, Countries, and Places before-named; together with all other Isles which he holds at present.

" VII. Also it is agreed, the King of France, and his eldest Son the Regent, for them, their Heirs and Successors, as soon as they can without Deceit, and at furthest by the Feast of St. Michael, in one Year after the same Feast next coming, shall render, transfer, and deliver to the King of England, his Heirs and Successors, all Honours, Obediences, Homages, Liegeances, Vassals, Fees, Services, Recognifances, Rights, mere and mixt Empire, and all manner of Jurisdiction high and low, Reforts, Safeguard, Collations and Patronages of Churches, and all manner of Seigneuries, and Sovereignities, and all the Right they have, or can have, appertains, or can appertain to them, by what Cause, Title, or Colour of Right soever, or to the Kings and Crown of France, by reason of the Cities, Counties, Towns, Castles, Lands, Countries, Isles, and Places before-named, and all their Appurtenances and Dependances, and every one of them, wherever they are, without retaining any thing to them, or their Heirs and Successors, or to the Kings or Crown of France. And also, that the King, and his eldest Son, should send their Letters Patents to all the Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Prelates of Holy Church; and to the Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Noblemen, Citizens, and others of the Cities, Lands, Countries, Isles and Places before-named, that they should obey the King of England and his Heirs, and their certain Command, in the same manner they had obeyed the Kings and Crown of France; and by the same Letters they should quit and absolve them after the best manner they could, from all Faiths, Homages, Oaths, Obligations, Subjections and Promises made by any of them, to the Kings and Crown of France, in what manner soever (2).

(1) The first Article was corrected; and instead of the Words, (those in Sovereignty in Sovereignty, were inserted these, (those in Fee in Fee.)
(2) This Article was corrected; the Word (Reforts) being left out in the corrected Copy, and these Words, or Sentence (and all manner of Seigneuries, and Sovereignities) and these Words or Sentence (without retaining any thing to them or their Heirs and Successors, or to the Kings or Crown of France) all the last Word, in what manner soever.)

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" VIII. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *England* shall have the Cities, Counties, Castles, Lands, Countries, Isles, and Places before-named, with all their Appurtenances and Dependences, wherever they are; to hold to him, his Heirs and Successors, heritably and perpetually in Demesne, as the Kings of *France* held them, and in the same manner, saving what hath been said above, in the Article of *Calais* and *Merk*; and also the Cities, Castles, Counties, Lands, Countries, Isles, and Places before-named, Rights, mere and mixt Empire, Jurisdiction and Profits whatever, which any Kings of *England* held there, with their Appurtenances and Dependences; any Alienations, Donations, Obligations, or Incumbrances, had, or done by any of the Kings of *France*, in seventy Years from that time, by whatsoever Cause or Form it was; all such Alienations, Donations, Obligations or Incumbrances, are now, and shall be wholly annulled, repealed, and made void: And all things so given, alienated, or incumbered, shall be really rendred and delivered to the King of *England* entirely, and in the same Condition they were seventy Years since, or to his special Deputies, as soon as they may without fraud; and at furthest, before *Michaelmas* next come twelvemonths, to hold them heritably and perpetually, and to his Heirs and Successors; except what is said in the Article of *Ponthieu*, which is to remain in its force; and saving all things given and alienated to Churches, which shall peaceably remain to them in all Countries before and after-named, so as the Parsons of the Churches pray diligently for the Kings as for their Founders, wherewith their Consciences shall be charged.

" IX. Also, it is agreed, The King of *England* shall have and hold all the Cities, Counties, Castles, and Countries above-named, which anciently the Kings of *England* had not, in the same Estate as the King of *France*, and his Sons hold them at present.

" X. Also, it is agreed, That if within the Limits of the Countries the Kings of *England* anciently possessed, they should now have any thing that was not then theirs, of which the King of *France* was in possession, on the 19th of *September*, 1356, they shall be and remain to the King of *England*, and his Heirs as above-said.

" XI. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, and his eldest Son the Regent, for them and their Heirs, and for the Kings of *France* and their Successors for ever, as soon as they can without deceit, and at furthest before *Michaelmas* 1361, shall render and deliver to the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, and transfer to them all the Honours, Liegeances, Obediences, Homages, Vassals, Fees, Services, Recognizances, Oaths, Right, mere and mixt Empire, all manner of Jurisdctions, high and low, Reforts, Safeguards, and Seigneuries, which can, or may belong in any manner to the Kings or Crown of *France*, or to any other Person, by reason of the King or Crown of *France*, at any time, in the Cities, Counties, Castles, Lands, Countries, Isles, and Places above-named, or in any of them, their Appurtenances and Appendances whatsoever, or in Persons, Vassals, Subjects, or whosoever of them, be they Princes, Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church, Barons, Noblemen, and others whosoever, without reserving or retaining any thing to them, their Heirs, and Successors, or to the Crown of *France* or others, whatever it be, whereby they, their Heirs, and Successors, or any Kings of *France*, or other Person, under pretence of the King and Crown of *France*, may challenge, and demand any thing in time to come, from the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, or upon any of the Vassals and Subjects aforesaid, by reason of those Countries and Places: Also all the before-named Persons, their Heirs and Successors, shall for ever be the Liegemen and Subjects of the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors; and that he and they shall hold all the Persons, Cities, Counties, Lands, Countries, Isles, Castles, and Places aforesaid, and all their Appurtenances and Appendances, and they shall be and remain to them fully, perpetually, freely in their Seignery, Sovereignty, Obedience, Liegeance, and Subjection, as the Kings of

France had and held them in any time past; and that the said King of *England*, his Heirs, and Successors, shall have and hold perpetually all the Countries before-named, with their Appurtenances and Appendances, and other things before-named, with all perpetual Franchises and Liberties, as Sovereign and Liege Lord, as Neighbour to the King and Realm of *France*, without acknowledging any Sovereign, or performance of any Obedience, Homage, Refort, Subjection, and without doing in any time to come any Service, or making Recognizance to the King or Crown of *France*, for the Cities, Counties, Castles, Lands, Countries, Isles, Places, and Persons before-named, or for any of them (1).

" Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, and his eldest Son the Regent, for them, and their Heirs, and for the Kings of *France*, and their Successors, for ever, as soon as they can without fraud, and at furthest before *Michaelmas* 1361, shall render and deliver to the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, and transfer to them, all the Honours, Liegeances, Obediences, Homages, Vassals, Fees, Services, Recognizances, Oaths, Right, mere and mixt Empire, all manner of Jurisdctions high and low, Safeguards and Seigneuries, which can or may belong in any manner, to the Kings or Crown of *France*, or to any other Person by reason of the King and Crown of *France*, at any time in the Cities, Counties, Castles, Lands, Countries, Isles, and Places above-named, or in any of them, their Appurtenances, and Appendances whatsoever, or in Persons, Vassals, Subjects, or whosoever of them.

" XII. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France* and his eldest Son, shall renounce expressly all Reforts and Sovereignities, and all the Right they have or can have in all those things, which by this Treaty ought to belong to the King of *England*. And in like manner, he and his eldest Son shall renounce expressly all those things, which by this Treaty ought not to belong or be delivered to him, and all demands he makes of the King of *France*, and especially to the Name, and to the Right of the Crown of the Kingdom of *France*, and to the Homages, Sovereignty, and Demesne of the Duchy of *Normandy*, the Duchy of *Tourain*, the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, and the Homages and Sovereignities of the Country and County of *Flanders*, and all other Demands he can or shall make of the King of *France*, for what Cause soever, except what by this Treaty ought to remain, and be delivered to the King of *England* and his Heirs; and one King shall part with, release and transfer to the other perpetually all the Right which either of them hath, or can have, in all the things which by this Treaty ought to remain, and be delivered to each of them; and of the time and place where and when the said Renunciations shall be made, the two Kings shall agree and appoint when they meet at *Calais* (2).

" XIII. Also, it is agreed, That to the end this Treaty may speedily be accomplished, that the King of *England*, shall bring the King of *France* to *Calais*, within three Weeks after *Midsummer*, (there being no just hindrance) at his own Expence.

" XIV. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France* shall pay to the King of *England*, three Millions of Crowns of Gold, whereof two shall be of the value of a Noble of *English* Money; where six hundred thousand Crowns shall be paid to him or his Deputy, within four Months after the King of *France* shall arrive at *Calais*, and within a Year following, four hundred thousand Crowns to be paid at *London*, and every Year four hundred thousand Crowns to be paid there until the whole was discharged.

" XV. It is also agreed, That for the Payment of the six hundred thousand Crowns at *Calais*, and for the delivery of the Hostages hereafter named, within four Months after the King of *France* shall be come to *Calais*, the Town, Castle, and Fortresses of *Rochelle*, the Castles, Fortresses, and Towns of the County of *Guines*, shall be rendered to the King of *England*, with all their Appurtenances, and Appendances; and the Person of the King of *France* shall be delivered out of

(1) The Article was corrected, and at least two Parts of three left out of the corrected Letter (as then called) or Copy, the whole Article there being no more than what follows in the next Paragraph.

(2) This Article was entirely left out of the Treaty corrected at *Calais*, when the two Kings met there.

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“ Prison, but he is not to arm himself or People against the King of *England*, but is to accomplish what was to be done by this Treaty; and the Hostages are the great Prisoners taken at the Battle of *Poitiers*, and these following:

“ That is to say, Monsieur *Lewis* Earl of *Anjou*, Monsieur *John* Earl of *Poitiers*, the King's Sons, the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Brother, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Blois*, or his Brother, the Earl of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Alençon*, or Monsieur *Peter* of *Alençon* his Brother, the Earl of *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Portien*, the Earl of *Valentinis*, the Earl of *Briene*, the Earl of *Vaudemont*, the Earl of *Forest*, the Viscount *Beaumont*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Fienne*, the Lord of *Preaux*, the Lord of *St. Venant*, the Lord of *Garencieres*, the Dauphin of *Acvergne*, the Lord of *Hangeft*, the Lord of *Montmorency*, Monsieur *William* de *Craon*, Monsieur *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Monsieur *John* de *Ligny*. The Names of the Prisoners taken at *Poitiers* are these:

“ Monsieur *Philip* of *France*, the Earl of *Eu*, the Earl of *Longueville*, the Earl of *Pontbieu*, the Earl of *Joigny*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, the Earl of *Dammartin*, the Earl of *Ventadour*, the Earl of *Salbruche*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Vendosme*, the Earl of *Craon*, the Lord of *Darnalt* or *Rual*, the Marshal of *Danchar* or *d'Andeneham*, the Lord of *Aubigny*.

“ XVI. Also, it is agreed, That the Prisoners aforesaid, which come to remain in Hostage for the King of *France*, shall therefore be delivered out of Prison, without paying any Ransom, according to Agreement, made before the third of *May* past; and if any of them be out of *England*, and not in Hostage at *Calais*, within the first Month after the said three Weeks after *Midsummer*, without just hindrance, he shall not be quit of his Imprisonment, but be forced by the King of *France* to return into *England*, and there remain Prisoner, or pay the Penalty by him promised and incurred, for not returning.

“ XVII. Also, it is agreed, That instead of those Hostages, which shall not come to *Calais*, or shall die, or shall remove out of the Power of the King of *England*, the King of *France* shall deliver others of the same Quality, as soon as may be, within four Months after the Bayly of *Amiens*, and the Major of *St. Omer*, upon the King of *England*'s Certificate, shall have notice thereof; and the King of *France*, upon his departure from *Calais*, may have in his Company ten of the Hostages, such as the two Kings shall agree upon, so as thirty may remain.

“ XVIII. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, within three Months after he shall be gone from *Calais*, shall send thither, to remain in Hostage, four Persons of the Town of *Paris*, and two of every Town following, of *St. Omer*, *Arras*, *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, *Lisle*, *Douay*, *Tournay*, *Reims*, *Châlons*, *Troyes*, *Chartres*, *Touluse*, *Lyons*, *Orléans*, *Compiègne*, *Rouen*, *Caen*, *Tours*, *Bourges*; the most sufficient of these Towns for the Accomplishment of this Treaty.

“ XIX. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France* shall be brought from *England* to *Calais*, and remain there for four Months, but shall pay nothing the first Month for his Guard and Keeping; but for every one of the other Months he shall remain there, he shall pay six thousand *Royals*, as they shall be then current in *France*, before his departure from *Calais*, and so afterwards for the time he stays there.

“ XX. Also, it is agreed, That as soon as may be, within a Year after the King of *France* is departed from *Calais*, Monsieur *John* Earl of *Montfort*, shall have the Earldom of *Montfort*, with all its Appurtenances, doing Homage Liege to the King of *France*, and his Devour and Service in every Case, as a good and loyal Vassal Liege ought to do to his Liege Lord by reason of his Earldom; and also his other Heritages shall be rendered to him, that belong not to the Duchy of *Bretagne*, doing Homage and other dues belonging to them; and if he will demand any thing in any of the Heritages belonging to that Duchy, out of the Country of *Bretagne*, he shall receive good and speedy reason from the Court of *France*.

“ XXI. Also, upon the Question of the Demesne of *Bretagne*, which is between Monsieur *John* de *Montfort*, and Monsieur *Charles* de *Blois*, it is agreed, That the two Kings calling before them or their Deputies, the principal Parties, they shall inform themselves of

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“ their Right, and shall endeavour to make them agree about all that is in debate between them, as soon as they can: And in case neither the Kings, or their Deputies, can make an Agreement within a Year after the King of *France* shall arrive at *Calais*, Friends on both Sides may make the best Agreement between them they can, and as soon as they can; and if they cannot compromise the matter within half a Year, they shall make report thereof, and what they find concerning the Rights of each Party, and why the Debate remains between them, to the two Kings or their Deputies, and then they, as soon as may be, shall make an Accord, giving their final Sentence upon the Right of each Party, which shall be executed by the two Kings; and in case they cannot end the Controversy in half a Year, then the two principal Parties of *Blois* and *Montfort* shall do what seems best to them, and the Friends of one Part and the other, shall assist which Part they please, without hindrance of the said Kings, or without receiving any Damage, Blame, or Reproach from them; and if it happen that one of the Parties will not appear before the Kings or their Deputies, at the time appointed, and also in case the Kings or their Deputies shall declare an Accord between the Parties, and shall give their Opinion of the Right of one Party; and either of the Parties will not consent to, and obey the Declaration, then the said Kings shall be against him with their whole Power, and aid the other which shall comply and obey; but the two Kings shall not in any case, in their proper Persons or by others, make War upon one another for the Cause aforesaid, and the Sovereignty and Homage of the Duchy shall always remain to the King of *France*.

“ XXII. Also, That all the Lands, Towns, Countries, Castles, and other Places delivered to the King, shall enjoy such Liberties and Franchises as they have at present, which shall be confirmed by the said Kings or their Successors, so often as they shall be duly required, if they be not contrary to this Agreement.

“ XXIII. Also, the King of *France* shall render, or cause to be rendered, and confirm to Monsieur *Philip* of *Navarre*, and to all his Adherents, after this time, as soon as may be, without deceit, and at furthest within a Year after the King of *France* shall be gone from *Calais*, all the Towns, Fortresses, Castles, Lordships, Rights, Rents, Profits, Jurisdictions, and Places whatever, which he, in his own Right, or in Right of his Wife, or his Adherents, held or ought to hold in the Kingdom of *France*: And that he shall not do them any Damage or Injury, or reproach them for any thing done before that time, and shall pardon them all Offences and Misprisions for the time past, by reason of the War; and for this they shall have good and sufficient Letters, so as the said Monsieur *Philip* and his Adherents return to their Homage, and perform their Duties, and be good and loyal Vassals.

“ XXIV. Also, it is accorded, That the King of *England* may give, for this time only, to whom he pleases, the Lands and Heritages that were Monsieur *Godfrey* de *Harcourt*'s, to hold of the Duke of *Normandy*, or other Lords of whom they ought to hold, by Homage and Services anciently accustomed.

“ XXV. Also, it is agreed, That if any Man or Country, under the Obedience of one Party, shall, by reason of this Agreement, go under the Obedience of the other Party; he shall not be impeached for any thing done in time past.

“ XXVI. Also, it is agreed, That the Lands of the Banished, and Adherents of one Party and the other, and the Churches of one Party and the other, and all those that are disinherited and outed of their Lands, or charged with any Pension, Tax, or Imposition, or otherwise in any manner charged by reason of the War, shall be restored entirely to the same Rights and Possessions which they had before the War began; and that all manner of Forfeitures, Trespasses, or Misprisions, done by them, or any of them in that time, shall be wholly pardoned; and these things to be done so soon as they well can, or at furthest within one Year after the King shall leave *Calais*; except what is said in the Article of *Calais* and *Merk*, and the other Places named in that Article; except also the Viscount of *Fronsfac*, and Monsieur *John* Gaillard, who are not to be comprised in this Article, but their Goods and Heritages shall remain as they were before the Treaty.

“ XXVII. Also,

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“ XXVII. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France* shall deliver to the King of *England*, as soon as well he may, and at furthest within one Year after his departure from *Calais*, all the Cities, Towns, Counties, and other Places abovenamed, which by this Treaty ought to be delivered to him.

“ XXVIII. Also, it is agreed, That upon delivery of the Towns, Fortresses, and whole County of *Ponthieu*; the Towns, Fortresses, and whole County of *Montfort*; the City and Castle of *Xaintes*; the Castles, Towns, Fortresses, and all the King held in Demesne in the County of *Xaintonge*, on both sides the River *Charente*; the City and Castle of *Angoulême*, and the Castles, Fortresses, and Towns which the King of *France* held in Demesne in the Country of *Angoumois*, with Letters and Commands of releasing of Faith and Homage to the King of *England*, or his Deputies; He at his proper Cost and Charge shall deliver all the Fortresses taken and possessed by him, his Subjects, Adherents, and Allies, in the Countries of *France*, of *Anjou*, of *Maine*, of *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Burgagne*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and *Normandy*, and in all other Parts and Lands of the Kingdom of *France*; except those in the Duchy of *Bretagne*, and those Countries and Lands which by this Treaty ought to be and remain to the King of *England*.

“ XXIX. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France* shall give up, and deliver to the King of *England*, his Heirs, or Deputies, all the Towns, Fortresses, Castles, and other Lands, Countries, and Places before-named, with their Appurtenances, at his proper Costs and Charge: And also if he shall have any Rebels or Disobedient, that will not render and give up to the King of *England* any Cities, Castles, Towns, Countries, Places, or Fortresses, which ought to belong to him, the King of *France* shall be bound to cause them to be delivered at his own Expence: And likewise the King of *England* shall cause to be delivered at his Expence, the Fortresses that by this Treaty ought to belong to the King of *France*. And the said Kings, and their People, shall be bound to aid one another, when they shall be required, at the Wages of the Party that shall require it, which shall be one *Florin* of *Florence* a Day for a Knight, and half a *Florin* for an Escuyer, and to others according to that rate. And for the surplus of the double Wages, it is agreed, That if the Wages be too small, in regard of the Rate of Provisions or Victuals in the Countries, they shall be regulated by four Knights chosen for that purpose, two of one Party, and two of the other.

“ XXX. Also, it is agreed, That all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, and Men of Holy Church, by reason of their Temporalities, shall be subject to that King under whom they hold their Temporalities; and if they have Temporalities under both Kings, they shall be subject to each King for the Temporality they hold of him.

“ XXXI. Also, it is agreed, That good Alliances, Amities, and Confederacies be made between both the Kings and their Kingdoms, saving the Conscience and Honour of one King and the other, notwithstanding any Confederacies they have made on this side, or beyond the Sea, with any Persons, be they of *Scotland*, or *Flanders*, or any other Country.

“ XXXII. Also, it is agreed, That the King of *France*, and his eldest Son the Regent, for them and for their Heirs Kings of *France*, as soon as it may be done, shall declare themselves, and depart from all the Confederacies they have with the *Scots*; and promise, that they nor their Heirs, nor the Kings of *France* for the time being, shall give or do to the King or Realm of *Scotland*, nor the Subjects thereof, present and to come, any Aid, Comfort, or Favor, against the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, nor against the Kingdom, nor against the Subjects in any manner; and that they make not other Alliances with the *Scots* in time to come, against the Kings and Kingdom of *England*. And in like manner, as soon as it may be done, the King of *England* and his eldest Son shall declare themselves, and depart from all Alliances they have with the *Flemings*; and promise that they nor their Heirs, nor the Kings of *England* for the time being, shall give or do to the *Flemings* present and to come, any Aid, Comfort, or Favor against the King of *France*, his Heirs and Successors, nor against his

Kingdom, nor against his Subjects in any manner, and that they make no Alliances with the said *Flemings* in time to come, against the Kings and Kingdom of *France*.

“ XXXIII. Also, it is agreed, That the Collations and Provisions made of Benefices, vacant in time of the War, by one Party and the other, shall hold and be good; and that the Costs, Issues, and Revenues, received and levied of any Benefices, or other things Temporal whatever, in the Kingdom of *France* and *England*, by one Party or the other, during the Wars, shall be quitted by one Party and the other.

“ XXXIV. Also, That the Kings above-said shall be bound to cause to be confirmed all the Things above-said by our Holy Father the Pope; and they shall be made sure, and strengthened by Oaths, Sentences, and Censures of the Court of *Rome*, and all other Places, in the most strong manner that can be; and there shall be obtained Dispensations, Absolutions, and Letters from the Court of *Rome* for perfecting this Treaty, and they shall be delivered to the Parties, at farthest within three Weeks after the King shall be arrived at *Calais*.

“ XXXV. Also, That all the Subjects of the said Kings, which come to study in the Universities, and Places of Study in the Kingdoms of *France* and *England*, shall enjoy the Privileges and Liberties of those Places and Universities, as well as they might have done before the War, or as they do at this present.

“ XXXVI. Also, it is agreed, That to the end the Things debated and treated of as above, may be more firm, and valuable, there shall be made and given the Securities which follow: That is to say, Letters (or Instruments) sealed with the Seals of both Kings and their eldest Sons, the best that can be made or directed by their Council. And the said Kings and their eldest Sons, and other Sons, shall swear, and also those of their Lineage, and other great Men of their Kingdoms, to the Number of twenty on each side, That they will observe and keep, and help in the keeping of the things treated and agreed, inasmuch as shall concern them, and without Fraud or Deceit shall accomplish them, without ever doing any thing to the contrary, and without any hindrance of the same. And if there shall be any of the Kingdom of *England* or *France*, which shall be Rebels, and will not agree to the things above-said, the said Kings shall use the Power of their Bodies, Goods, and Friends to bring such Rebels to Obedience, according to the Form and Tenor of the Treaty. And farther, the said Kings, their Heirs and Kingdoms, shall submit themselves to the coercion of our Holy Father the Pope, that he may constrain by Sentences, Censures of the Church, and all due ways, him that shall be Rebel, according to Reason. And according to these Establishments and Securities above-said, both Kings and their Heirs shall by Faith and Oath, renounce all Wars and Contentions. And if by Disobedience, Rebellion, or Power of any Subjects of *France*, or any just Cause, the King of *France* or his Heirs, cannot accomplish all the things above-said, the King of *England*, his Heirs, or any for them, shall not make War against the King of *France*, his Heirs, or Kingdom; but both together, shall endeavour to bring the Rebels to true Obedience, and accomplish the things above-said. And if any of the Realm, or Obedience of the King of *England*, will not render the Castles, Towns, and Fortresses, which they hold in the Realm of *France*, and obey the Treaty above-said, or for just Cause cannot do that which by this Treaty they ought to do, the King of *France*, nor his Heirs, nor any for them, shall make War upon the King of *England* or his Kingdom; but both together shall employ their Power to recover the Castles, Towns, and Fortresses; and that all Obedience and Compliance may be given to the Treaty. And there shall be made and given on both sides, according to the nature of the Fact, all manner of Security that shall be known, or can be devised, as well by the Pope, the College of the Court of *Rome*, as otherwise, holding and keeping the Peace perpetually, and all the things as above-agreed.

“ XXXVII. Also, it is agreed, That by this present Treaty, all others, if any have been made before, shall be null and void, and never be any Advantage to either

1360. "ther Party, nor cause any Reproach of one to the other
"for not observing them.

XXXVIII. Also, the present Treaty shall be approved, sworn to, and confirmed by the two Kings, when they shall meet at *Calais*; and after the King of *France* shall be gone from thence, and be in his own Power, within a Month next following, he shall make Letters Patent of Confirmation, and send and deliver them at *Calais* to the King of *England*, and receive such and the like from the King of *England*.

XXXIX. Also, it is agreed, That neither King shall procure, or cause to be procured, by himself or others, any Injury, or Molestation by the Church of *Rome*, or any of Holy Church whoever they be, to, or concerning this Treaty, towards either of the Kings, their Coadjutors, Adherents, and Allies, whoever they be, or their Lands or Subjects, on occasion of the War, or other thing, or for Service the Coadjutors, Adherents, or Allies of either side have performed; or if our Holy Father will do it of himself, both Kings shall hinder it, as well as they can, without Deceit.

XL. Also, the Hostages that are to be delivered to the King of *England* at *Calais*, the manner and time thereof, the two Kings shall there direct (1).

Remarks on
the Treaty of
Bretigny.

After reading this Treaty, the Conditions whereof appear so hard for *France*, a Man can scarce forbear representing to himself a triumphant King treading upon the Neck of his vanquished Enemy, and obliging him to receive without Examination whatever Terms he is pleased to impose. Indeed this Idea is very just, provided it be not carried too far. But if we pretend to add that of an unjust Conqueror exacting from his Enemy, Conditions entirely repugnant to reason and Equity, we shall doubtless frame a wrong Idea of this famous Treaty; the Terms whereof are more moderate, than they appear at first sight. For it must be remembered that almost all the Provinces resigned by *France* to *England*, belonged formerly to *Edward's* Predecessors, and that not by Conquest, or Treaties extorted by Violence, but by a Right of Inheritance, immemorially received from their Ancestors. Never were the Kings of *France* heard to complain, that the Dukes of *Guienne*, or the Earls of *Poitiers* had wrested those Countries from them by force. On the contrary, we have seen in the History of the foregoing Kings, that *Philip Augustus* and *St. Lewis* dispossessed by force of Arms *John Lackland* and *Henry III.*, not only of the Provinces in question, but likewise of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Normandy*. Moreover the Treaty by which they were surrendered to *France*, was made whilst *Henry III.* was in Captivity to the Earl of *Leicester*. Upon the Supposition of these Truths, it is easy to perceive the Foundation of this Treaty. *Edward*, improving such favorable Junctures, aimed at the Recovery of what was before wrested by *France* from his Ancestors. It is true he required moreover *Calais*, the Earldom of *Guines*, and the Sovereignty of the Provinces he recovered. To clear this Article, it must be observed, *Edward* had a Right to demand whatever belonged to his Predecessors, not to mention now his Claim to the Crown itself. In this belief, he thought, in leaving to *France*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, with the Homage of *Bretagne*, he gave an Equivalent for *Guines* and *Calais*, and the Sovereignty of *Guienne*. And if to this Cession be now added his Title to the Crown of *France*, which no doubt he deemed very plausible since he made it the Ground of the War, I do not know whether there will be any great Cause to exclaim against the Unreasonableness of this Treaty. *Edward* therefore cannot be blamed for being willing to recover *Guienne* and all its Dependencies, without condemning at the same time *Philip Augustus* and *St. Lewis*, who took by Force the greatest Part of that Province from his Ancestors; and *Philip de Valois*, who seized the rest before the War was declared, upon the frivolous pretence of *Edward's* refusing to obey his Order, forbidding all his Subjects and Vassals to harbour *Robert d'Artois*. If *Edward* had received that Prince at *Bois de Senne*, there would have been some-

thing to object, but his being Vassal for *Guienne* could not rob him of the Privilege of acting as King of *England*. In fine, will it be said, that the Kings of *France* above-mentioned had a Right to re-annex to the Crown, Provinces that were part of the Kingdom under the second Race? But *Hugh Capet* granted them in Fee to Lords, from whom they were devolved to the Kings of *England* by lawful Succession. Wherefore it can only be pretended that *Philip Augustus* had just Cause to confiscate *Normandy*, *Poitiers*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and that *Guienne* was justly forfeited by *Edward III.* But all this is much easier said than proved. If a Prescription of twenty Years is alledged in favour of *France*, a much longer may be pleaded in behalf of the King of *England*, when these Countries were taken from them.

In fine, if any one still imagines that *Edward* performed not his Vow, to conclude a Peace upon equitable Terms, let him add to the foregoing Remarks, the Consideration of the State of the French Affairs at the time of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. King *John* was Prisoner at *London*, and the Dauphin shut up in *Paris*, from whence he durst not stir. An Army of an hundred thousand Englishmen was in the Center of the Kingdom, to which no considerable Body of Troops could be opposed. *Edward* was master of many Places taken by himself, or Generals, since his Invasion. In short, an universal Conternation was spread all over the Kingdom, from whence the intestine Troubles destroyed all hopes of ever being able to expel the English. These were very real Advantages which *Edward* actually enjoyed. He might therefore justly hope to become master of all *France*, and attain the end he proposed to himself in beginning the War. What then prevented his improving for favorable a Juncture? Certainly it could be nothing else but willingness to be satisfied with a Part, when he might have expected the whole; and with a Part which he thought might with Justice be taken from *France*, by whom it was unjustly acquired. It is time now to return to the Occurrences, after the Peace of *Bretigny* (2).

This famous Treaty, negotiated in eight Days, was approved by both Kings. *John* was conducted to *Calais* in July (3), and stayed there four Months, according to Agreement. At his first Meal he was waited upon by *Edward's* four Sons, who shewed him all possible Respect, pursuant to the King their Father's Orders. These four Months were spent in drawing up all the necessary Acts, as well for explaining as confirming and executing the Treaty, that they might be all signed the same Day. It was not till the 24th of October that the two Kings signed and swore the Treaty at *Calais*, where *Edward* came some days before. All matters concerning the Treaty being finished, King *John* was released on the 26th of the same Month. Just before his Departure, *Edward* gave him a sensible Mark of Friendship, in permitting him to carry with him Prince *Philip* his Son, taken at the Battle of *Poitiers*. Of all his Children this was his greatest Favorite. And though of all the Hostages in *Edward's* hands, this was the chief, by reason of his Father's Affection for him, he very readily consented, he should be one of the ten that were to be freed by the XXII Article of the Peace of *Bretigny*. The two Monarchs upon parting gave mutual Tokens of cordial Love and Esteem (4).

As soon as *John* arrived at *St. Omer*, he ratified by his Letters Patent, and voluntarily swore to, all the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. By that he shewed, no Violence had been used to oblige him to swear at *Calais*. The rest of his Behaviour was agreeable to this first Step. He shewed upon all occasions that his Intention was to perform his Engagements, and at last gave the most sensible Proof of it, by putting *Edward* in possession of the Countries resigned to him. There was only some Difficulty concerning the Earldom of *Guines* in *Gascony*, and the Territory of *Belleville* in *Poitiers*, about which the two Kings could not agree (5).

The Peace between the two Crowns appearing thus firmly established, *Edward* sent [Sir *John*] *Chandos* into *France*, to command in his Name, in the Countie belonging to him, with the Title of Lieutenant-General. He could not make a better Choice (6). *Chandos* was one of the most accomplished Lords then in *England*;

1360.

John is
conducted to
Calais.

A. P. 136.
VI. p. 219.

and is set at
Liberty after
swearing to
the Treaty.

Henry
the Treaty
when in
France.
A. P. 136.
VI. p. 223.

1361.

(1) In the corrected Instrument or Letter of the Treaty, the Words Relist and Sovereignty are always, and in all Articles, omitted, in respect to the King of *England's* enjoying them in the Place which were to be delivered to him, where, in the uncorrected Articles and Instrument, they are given to him.

(2) As soon as King *Edward* received the News of the Ratification of this Treaty by the Dauphin, Regent of *France*, he raised his Camp from *Barrois*, and marching to *Calais*, came over to *England*, and landed at *Rye*, May 18. *Du Cressy*, p. 602. *Rymer*, Fœd. T. III. p. 136.

(3) A sufficient Fleet was equipped for that purpose, under the Command of Sir *John Beauchamp*: King *John* was attended to *Calais* by Prince *Thomas*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and many other Noblemen; they arrived there on July 19. *Ibid.* p. 198.

(4) All things being thus brought to Conclusion, King *Edward* embarked at *Calais*, October 31, and landed at *Dover* the next Morning.

(5) This Year there were two Parliaments held in *England*. *Norman*, p. 100. This Year also, on June 24, and July 17, 1361, the High-Chamberlain of *England*; and the Bishop of *Beauvais*, held at *Northampton*; and December 2, Sir *John Beauchamp*, youngest Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, was crowned in the Choir of *St. Paul's*. *Dugdale's Barons*.

(6) He behaved so bravely in the Battle of *Poitiers*, that the King, for a reward of his good Service, granted him two Parts of his Manor of *Alton* in *Bedfordshire*. *Rymer*, Fœd. T. III. p. 241.

1361. which is no small Commendation, considering the time. As affable and temperate in Peace, as he was brave in War, he was a Subject every way qualified for so great an Employ. As the King designed to gain the Affection of his new Subjects, he had taken care to send them for Governor, a Person whose Prudence was extremely proper to produce that Effect. Moreover, he settled upon him a very considerable Salary, which enabled him to keep a splendid Court at Niort in *Poitou*, where he resided; and invested him with Power to pardon all sorts of Crimes; that both by his outward Lustre, and the Distribution of his Favours, he might procure for his Master the Love of the newly conquered People (1).

Edward restores to the Priories their Lands.

When Edward saw he was like to enjoy a lasting Peace, he restored to the Alien-Priories (2) the Lands taken from them twenty Years before, towards the Charges of the War. A thing very uncommon, to see Princes freely make Restitution of what they have once acquired.

Death of the Duke of Lancaster. Dugdale's Baron. Knighton.

The Plague still raged in *England* this Year. Among the rest, it deprived the Kingdom of the Duke of *Lancaster*, the most esteemed of all the *English* Lords. He was commonly called the *Good Duke*. Accordingly, his Death was extremely lamented. He founded the Collegiate-Church of *Leicester*, and in the same Place an Hospital for three hundred poor Men, which still subsists to this Day (3).

Marriage of the Prince of Wales. Walling.

The Prince of *Wales*, who never thought of marrying during the War, took this peaceable Time to espouse *Joanna of Kent*, his Cousin, Countess Dowager of *Holland*. This Princess was Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, beheaded in the beginning of this Reign, by the Intrigues of Queen *Isabella* and *Mortimer*. She was commonly called *Joanna the Fair*, by reason of her great Beauty.

1362. Edward makes Guineen a Principality. Act. Pub. VI. p. 384. Walling. Knighton.

The next Year, the King being pleased to give publick Marks of his Esteem and Affection for the Prince his eldest Son, who had raised to so great a height the Glory of the *English* Name, erected for him the Duchy of *Guienne* into a Principality, under the Name of the *Principality of Aquitaine*. Then he solemnly invested the Prince with it, obliging him only to pay yearly, in lieu of all Service, an Ounce of Gold to the Crown of *England* (4).

Publick Acts to be in English. Walling.

Edward spent the rest of this Year in making several wife Regulations with his Parliament, concerning domestick Affairs (5). Such, for example, was the decreeing that for the future, in the Courts of Justice, and in all Publick Acts (6), the *English* Language should be used instead of the *French* or *Norman*, introduced by *William the Conqueror*.

A General Pardon. Id.

In this Parliament the King declared, that being arrived to his fiftieth Year, he would have it solemnized as a sort of Jubilee. To that end, he granted a general Pardon for all Offences whatever, Treason itself not excepted (7); He confirmed also *Magna Charta*, which was confirmed ten several times in this Reign.

Edward confers Titles on his Sons. Id.

After *Edward* had performed what he thought necessary for the Publick, he was pleased likewise to do something for his Family, by creating *Lionel*, his third Son, Duke of *Clarence*: *John of Gant*, his fourth Son, Duke of *Lancaster*: And the fifth, called *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*. In fine, after establishing the Staple of Wool at *Calais*, he was pleased to spend the rest of the Winter in Entertainments and Diversions. He took a Progress into several Counties, attended by the principal Nobility, and the *French* Hostages, who partook of all the Recreations which the People strove to divert their Sovereign with.

1363. The Prince of Wales goes and keeps his Court at Bourdeaux. Walling. Froissart.

In the beginning of the Year 1363 (8), the Prince of *Wales* departed for his Government of *Aquitaine*. He resided at *Bourdeaux*, where he kept a Royal Court, beloved and respected by all his Subjects, who were very happy in being governed by so great a Prince (9).

This same Year was remarkable for King *John's* Return into *England*, where it is pretended he came to yield himself Prisoner again, to atone for the Fault committed by the Duke of *Anjou*, his second Son, in withdrawing from *Calais* without leave. At least, this is the Reason generally given of this extraordinary Proceeding. Some add, he had a mind to confer in Person with *Edward* about the *Crusade*, of which he was declared General by the Pope. There are Historians, who have made no scruple to advance a much less noble motive of his Return. They pretend, his Passion for the Countess of *Salisbury*, was the real Cause of this Journey, to which other Motives served only for a Pretence. But this is a romantick Notion, without any Foundation (10). Whatever enquiry has been hitherto made, the real Occasion of this Prince's Return is still a Secret. That of Love is the most unlikely; and that of repairing the Fault of the Duke of *Anjou*, though adopted by the Generality of Historians, is, I think, groundless. To clear this matter, it will be necessary to relate some particulars which belong to the History, and which I have reserved for this Place, though they were transacted between the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and the Time I am now speaking of.

Among the thirty Hostages in the Hands of *Edward*, besides the Burghers of several Cities, there were four Princes of the Blood; namely, *Philip*, Duke of *Orleans*, King *John's* Brother; *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*; *John*, Earl of *Poitiers*, afterwards Duke of *Berry*; and the Duke of *Bourbon*. These four Princes, commonly stiled, *The Lords of the Flower-de-Luce*, being tired of *England*, sought all possible means to return into their Country. This however was no easy thing, since upon these four Hostages *Edward* chiefly relied for the full Performance of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and particularly for the Payment of King *John's* Ransom. Nevertheless, by their Sollicitations, they agreed with him for their Liberty, upon the following Terms: I. That the King should release these four Princes, provided, that before the first of *November*, the Territory of *Belville*, and Earldom of *Gaure* were resigned to him, with two hundred thousand *Florins*. II. That before the Departure of the Princes, certain Lands in *Poitou* should be given him for Pledge. III. That in case the first Article was not executed by the Time agreed on, the Lands given in Pledge should remain to the King for ever, and the four Princes be obliged to surrender themselves in Hostage as before. There were some other Articles, but of no use in clearing this Fact. *John* ratified this Agreement, and the four Hostages were conducted to *Calais*, where they continued upon their Parole, till the Execution of the first Article. They had liberty to go out of the Town whenever they pleased, and even to stay away three Days, provided they came and lodged within the Walls on the fourth. It appears by *Edward's* Letter to the Prince of *Wales*, inserted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Agreement was not executed, and thereby the Princes despaired of recovering their Liberty so soon (11). The Duke of *Anjou*, more impatient, and less scrupulous than the rest, took advantage of his Permission to go out of *Calais*, to make his escape, and returned no more. Four other less considerable Hostages followed his ill Example. This is the Foundation whereon it is asserted, that King *John* came and surrendered himself Prisoner at *London*; namely, to repair the Fault of the Prince his Son. But as nothing in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* gives the least hint, that this was the motive of his Voyage, there is great reason to question it. Besides, King *John* was by no means obliged to take this Step, even tho' all the Hostages had made their Escape; his whole Engagement consisting only in sending the same Hostages, or others of the like Quality in their room (12). Now it is not said, that the Duke of *Anjou* absented himself from his Father's Court, and con-

(1) This Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, about Jan. 20. to whom King *Edward* communicated the late Treaty concluded at *Bretigny*; and by whom it was approved. Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. III. M. 4. Dors.

(2) There were two sorts of Priories, such as were independent like the Abbeyes, and such as depended upon some great Abbey, from which they received their Priory. When the Convent to which any Priory belonged was beyond Sea, it was stiled an Alien Priory.

(3) He and his Father both lie buried in this Church: He styles himself in his Will, Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Derby*, *Lincoln* and *Leicester*, &c. Knighton, who lived in that Age, says: Henry Duke of *Lancaster*, was the first Founder of the Collegiate Church and Hospital without South-gate at *Leicester*, in which he placed a Dean and twelve Canons Prebendaries, as many Vicars and other Ministers, one hundred poor and weak Men, and ten able Women to assist the sick and weak, and sufficiently endowed the Hospital. It still in some measure subsists by certain Stipends paid out of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, together with divers new Charities. Can. d. in Leicest.

(4) So that he was Prince of *Wales*, and of *Aquitaine*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Kent*; this last in right of his Wife.

(5) This Parliament met at *London*, October 13. and granted the King twenty six Shillings and Light-pence on every Sack of Wool for three Years, besides the former Subsidy of Wool-Fells, and Skins. Rot. Parl. 36 Edw. III. N. 2. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 92.

(6) This Statute ordained only, that all Pleadings and Judgments in the Courts of *Westminster*, should for the future be in *English*, whereas before they were wont to be in *French*. As for other publick Acts, such as Statutes and the like, it does not appear they were writ in *French* till about the time of *Edward* I. See above, p. 178. Note (8).

(7) It is likewise said that the Custom of our Kings, who upon Maunday Thursday wash, feed, and cloath as many Poor as they are Years old, had its Rise from this Jubilee of King *Edward*. Pol. Virg. lib. 19.

(8) About the beginning of Febr. Wall. Froissart, l. 1.

(9) This Year there was a Parliament, which met eight Days after Michaelmas. Rot. Parl. 37 Edw. III. N. 1.

(10) This is asserted only by Sir Richard Baker, and some other Moderns.

(11) P. Daniel says, the Dauphin hindered these Articles of Agreement from being executed. Rapin.

(12) See Article XVII of the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

1363.

frequently it was easy to send him back. In short, if *John* returned to *London* as a Prisoner, he would by that very thing have freed all the Hostages, since they were detained at present only as Security for the Payment of his Ransom. All the rest of the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny* were executed, except that relating to *Gaune* and *Beloeille*, which required not so great Security. And yet, during *John's* three Months stay at *London*, there was never any talk of releasing the Hostages. *Froissart*, whose Testimony is urged, does not say, *John* surrendered himself Prisoner again, but only that one of the Motives of his Voyage was to excuse, and not to repair, the Duke of *Anjou's* Fault. These are the Historian's own Words: *I was then informed, and true it was, that King John professed and desired to go and see King Edward, his Brother, in England, and could not be dissuaded from his purpose, though he was sufficiently advised to the contrary: And being told by several Barons and Prelates, he was going to commit a great Indiscretion, he replied, He had found much Honour in the King of England and his Sons, that he did not question their proving his true and faithful Friends on all occasions; and moreover, he had a mind to excuse the Duke of Anjou his Son, who was returned into France.* Here is nothing importing, that *John* returned to *England* to yield himself Prisoner, and therefore it is plainly a groundless Assertion. As for the third Motive, namely, his desire to confer with *Edward* about the *Crusade*, it is much more probable. But after all, this is only a Conjecture, which cannot be entirely relied on (1).

C. 220.

John is honourably received in England.
Froissart.
C. 221.
Knighton.

Sumptuousness of Sir Henry Picard, Citizen and Wine-Merchant, ought not to be passed over in Silence. He invited all the four Kings, with their Retinues, to a Feast at his own House (3), where they were magnificently entertained. King John lodged in the Palace of the Savoy, as before, and was still treated at the King's Expence. About the middle of March, three Months after his Arrival at London, he was seized with a Distemper of which he died the 8th of April 1364, to Edward's great Grief, who had a singular Esteem for his Virtue. There is ascribed to this Prince a Saying, worthy to be had in eternal Remembrance by Posterity: Though Faith and Truth were banished from the rest of the World, they ought, however, to be preserved in the Mouth of Kings. It is pretended, this was said on the occasion of his returning into England; but it may, with much more likelihood, be ascribed to his sincere Performance of the Treaty of Bretigny, in spite of the Obstacles thrown in his way by some of his Counsellors (4). Charles V. his Successor, followed not the same Maxims.

1364.
Death of King John.
Froissart.
ibid.
Walling.
Knighton.

Edward's good Fortune not only shed its Influence on himself and his Subjects, but also on his Allies. This same Year, *John de Montfort* his Son-in-law, won the famous Battle of *Avray*, against *Charles de Blois* his Competitor, who was slain. This Victory decided the Quarrel between the two Houses, who were contending for the Duchy of *Bretagne*, and produced the Treaty of *Guerande*, whereby *Bretagne* was assigned to *John de Montfort*, who did Homage for it to the King of *France* (5). *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who served *Charles de Blois*, and became afterwards very famous, was taken in this Battle by Sir *John Chandos*, General of the English Troops in *Montfort's* Service.

The English Name was then famous in all Parts of the World. Some gallant Englishmen who had attended [Guy de Lusignan] King of *Cyprus* into the East, performed Wonders, and returned loaded with Honours and Riches taken from the Infidels. At the same time, *Thomas Hackwood* an Englishman, who departed from *England* a Journeyman Taylor, taking afterwards to Arms, signalized himself in the Italian Wars, by his Valour and Conduct, which raised him to the highest Posts. He gained such Honour and Reputation for restoring in those parts military Discipline, which was almost entirely lost, that after his Death the *Florentines* erected in their City, a black Marble Statue, in memory of the Services he had done them (6). *John Chandos* and *Robert Knolles* distinguished themselves likewise in a very singular manner, in all *Edward's* Wars with *France*. The Fame of the English not only reached beyond the Alps, but flew also over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, as we shall see presently, (7).

Edward's great Acquisitions in *France*, made Pope *Urban VI*, think the present Juncture very proper, to demand the Tribute promised by King *John Lackland* to the Roman Church, and of which there was thirty Years Arrears due. In this Relief he was pleased to require the Payment, but with so much Haughtiness, that he nominated, even beforehand, Commissioners to summon *Edward* before him in case of refusal. The King's great Spirit not brooking such haughty Proceedings, he caused the Pope's Demand to be laid before the Parliament (8), where it was declared, "That the King of *England*, had not Power to bring his Realm in such Servitude, without the consent of Parliament: That, if Necessity forced King *John* to such a proceeding, his Engagement was null, as being contrary to his Coronation-Oath." This august Assembly, not content with so particular a Decision, came also to this vigorous Resolution: "That, if the Pope should attempt by any means whatever, to prosecute his unjust Pretensions, the Nation should with all their Power oppose him." The Firmness of the Parliament caused the Pope to desist, and had not only a present Effect, but prevented the Kings of *England* from being ever after troubled, upon that occasion.

The Prince of *Wales* lived three Years in *Guienne* without exercising his Valour, and even without any Prospect of doing it a good while. On a sudden he was drawn out of this State of Tranquillity, by the Solicitations of *Peter King of Castile*, surnamed the Cruel, who was lately expelled his Dominions. Never did Prince give his People greater Cause of Discontent. Cruel to excess, and of an unbounded Avarice, he illegally put to Death his

1364.
Battle of Avray,
which put Montfort in Possession of Bretagne.
Froissart.
l. i. c. 229.
Walling.
Knighton.

1365.
Exploits of some Englishmen in the East.
Fortune of Thomas Hackwood.
Walling.

1366.
Urban IV, proudly demands the Arrears of his Tribute.
O. Raynold.

The Parliament declares King John's Engagement to be void.
Rot. Parl.
40 Edw. III.
N. 1. c. 24.

Affairs of Castile.
Froissart.
l. i. c. 231.
Mezerai.

(1) A Parliament met this Year at *Westminster*, on Oct. 6, which was prorogued to the Friday following, and dissolved the 3d of November. *Rot. Parl.* 27 *Edw.* III. N. 1. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 96, &c. This Year also died the Lord *Edward Baliol*, late King of *Scotland*, at *Doncaster* in *Yorkshire*, without Issue, being the last of the Family of *John Baliol*. *Knighton.* Col. 2627.

(2) Which was on January 4. *Froissart.* l. i. c. 221.

(3) Which stood over against St. Martin's Church, at a Place called the *Trinity*. *Barnes.* p. 63.

(4) *Knighton* says, That King *John* on his Death-bed confessed to *Edward*, that he had Conspirators in *London* and elsewhere, who secretly collected the finest Gold of the Kingdom, made it into Plates, and sent it in Barrels to *France*, with great Quantities of Bows and Arrows, &c. and that he had unjustly withheld the Crown of *France* from him, till the Peace of *Bretigny*. For all which, upon his Request, *Edward* entirely forgave him, and caused the Gold and Arms to be sent. But this seems to be an improbable and malicious Story, inconsistent with the Character of this Prince, who was deemed one of the most, and most liberal and sincere Princes of his Time. His Body was carried into *France*, and buried at St. Denis.

(5) This Battle was fought on September 29. King *Edward* made the Pursuivant at Arms, who brought him the News of this Victory, a Herald by the name of *Walter*, which Title continues to this Day. *Froissart.* l. i. c. 229. *Tyrrel.*

(6) When, upon the Delivery of the Towns to the French King by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, the Officers and Soldiers were ordered to depart, some of the French King's *Genoises* and *Flamens*, refused to obey those Orders; and being refused to maintain themselves by War, great Numbers of common Soldiers of all Nations flocked to them, and increasing to sixteen thousand Men, ravaged *France* in a miserable Manner. At length dividing themselves into two Bands, one Part marched to *Avignon*, and by their ravages grew so formidable to the Pope that he published a Crusade against them; but that coming to nothing, he engaged the Marquis of *Montferrat* to hire these Adventurers, to assist him in his Wars against the Viscount of *Melan*. The Marquis accordingly treated with their Captain Sir *John Hawkwood* an Englishman, and agreeing with him, *Hawkwood* went with his Men into *Italy*, to the great Joy of the French King. *Hawkwood* was a Tanner's Son of *Essex*, and being bound Apprentice to a Tailor in *London* quitted his Trade, and went a Soldier into *France*, where he was knighted for his Valour, and going into *Italy* (as was said) was so much in favour with the Duke of *Milan*, that he gave him his natural Daughter in Marriage. After the Duke's Death, he served the Commonwealth of *Florence*, and performed such great Actions for them, that dying in their Service, they erected a Monument for him in the Cathedral of that City. The Translator serving as Chaplain to Sir *Charles Wager*, in the late Expedition to *Italy*, on the Duke's Account, and being at *Florence*, took particular notice of this Monument. He is painted on the Wall of the Church on Heriback in Armour, the whole of a green Colour, with these two lines under his Horse's Feet.

Johannes Acutus Eques Britannicus, Dux suae aetatis
Cautissimus, et rei militaris peritissimus, habitus est.
And underneath at a little Distance these Words: Opus Pauli Uccelli.

(7) A Parliament met this Year at *Westminster*, on Jan. 27, wherein the second Statute against *Procurjors* was enacted. *Rot. Parl.* 38 *Edw.* III. N. 1, 2. *Statute* p. 100. Which contained the Pope's demanding the Arrears of his Tribute.

(8) The Parliament met at *Westminster*, March 30, this Year 1366. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 102.

1366.

great Men, with the sole View of confiscating their Estates. He minded only the gratifying his Passions, without any regard to Honour or Conscience. His Barbarity was grown to that height, that he poisoned *Blanche de Bourbon* his Wife, Sister of the Queen of *France*, to marry *Maria de Padilla*, whom he had long kept as his Mistress. Of his five Bastard-Brothers, the eldest had lately been sacrificed to his Suspicion, and the other four were in Danger. *Henry* Earl of *Trevelmar*, one of these Brothers, seeing himself every moment threatened with the same Fate, rebelled against *Peter*, and engaged in his Quarrel the King of *Aragon*, with the principal *Castilian* Lords, who could no longer bear the Tyranny of their Sovereign. His Enterprize being at first unsuccessful, he was repulsed by the Tyrant, and forced to fly to the King of *France*, who promised him Aid. Besides King *Charles's* desire to revenge the Death of the Queen his Sister-in-law, he was very glad to find Employment for a great Number of idle Soldiers, who, since the late Peace swarmed in *France*, and committed great Disorders (1). With this view, he raised for *Henry's* Assistance an Army, the Command whereof he gave to *John de Bourbon* Earl of *Marche*, the Queen's Cousin-German, and was pleased that *du Guesclin*, whose Ransom he paid to *Chandos*, should be of this Expedition.

Peter the Cruel expelled his Dominions. Froissart, l. i. c. 231. Walling.

He desires the Aid of the Prince of Wales, who undertakes to restore him. Knighton.

Act. Pub. VI. p. 512, &c.

1367. He marches towards Castile. Walling.

Act. Pub. VI. p. 544. Froissart.

Battle of Nejava. Froissart, l. i. c. 239. Walling. Knighton.

Peter thanks the Prince for the Victory. Act. Pub. VI. p. 551. 1368.

With these Troops, and the Assistance of the *Castilians*, *Henry* marched through *Aragon* into *Castile*, where the Tyrant saw himself immediately forsaken by all his Nobles, except one single Knight. This Defection putting it out of his Power to withstand his Brother, he would have retired into *Portugal*, but was denied Entrance. In this Distress, he chose to go out of *Spain*, by way of *Bayonne*, from whence he repaired to *Bordeaux*, to implore the Aid and Protection of the Prince of *Wales*. If the young Heroe had reflected on the Unworthiness of the Prince who desired his Assistance, he would doubtless have refused his Request. But considering, on this Occasion, only the Honour of restoring a deposed King, and perhaps weary of an unactive Life, he undertook to replace him on the Throne. To that end, he levied an Army of thirty thousand Men, and marched at their Head towards *Spain*, loaded with Promises (2) from the *Castilian*, and big with Expectation of gathering fresh Laurels (3). As he had no other way to enter *Castile* but through *Navarre*, he had taken care to secure a Passage, by a Treaty with the King of that Country (4). So he marched without opposition to the Frontiers of *Castile*. *Henry*, who was now crowned at *Burgos*, receiving Advice of the March of the *English* Prince, advanced towards *Navarre* with a powerful Army, to oppose his Passage. He might very possibly have executed his Design, considering the Superiority of his Forces, had he been so wise as to avoid a Battle. This the Prince of *Wales* was most apprehensive of, and therefore to provoke him, sent him a very insulting Defiance, which *Henry* could not forbear to accept. The two Armies approaching each other, the Battle was fought near *Nejava* (5), a little Town on the Frontiers of *Castile*. As the Fields of *Cressy* and *Poitiers* had seen the Prince of *Wales* perform Wonders, that of *Nejava* was likewise Witness of his heroic Actions, which after a long Struggle, made Victory incline to his Side. The *Spanish* Army reinforced with a strong Body of *French* Troops, was entirely routed. *Bertrand du Guesclin*, with the Marshal *D'Endregben* were taken Prisoners. *Henry* having no refuge left in *Castile*, after the loss of his Army, retired into *Aragon*, from whence he repaired to *Languedoc*, to implore the Aid of the Duke of *Anjou* the Governor.

Peter was at first so grateful, that presently after the Battle, he threw himself at the Prince of *Wales's* Feet, to thank him for restoring him to his Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* lifting him up immediately, and holding him in his Arms, said, "It was to God alone he was indebted for the Victory, and not to a Prince who was "only a weak Instrument in his hand." The Consequence of this good Success was the Restoration of *Peter*

to the Throne from whence he had been driven. It was now time for that Prince to think of performing his Promises, and rewarding the brave Soldiers, who had ventured their Lives in his Service. But as he was no less perfidious than cruel, after long feeding them with hopes of Provision and Money, he repaid them with black Ingratitude. Want soon bred among the Soldiers a Mortality, which swept away great Numbers, and the loss of losing the rest obliged the Prince, who saw himself betrayed, to retire extremely distressed. He was even forced to sell his Plate, to provide for the more pressing occasions of his Army, till he could entirely satisfy them. But this was not all the Mischief caused by this fatal expedition. During the Prince's stay in *Spain*, he contracted a Distemper of which he never recovered.

Thus ended the Enterprize of the Prince of *Wales*, an Enterprize glorious indeed, if the Success only be considered, but not very honorable as to the Cause he attacked, since it was solely to restore to the Throne the basest of Princes. Heaven afterwards took care to revenge the *English* and *Castilians*. *Du Guesclin* paying his Ransom, went and joined *Henry* again, and both together laboured, with the Assistance of *France*, to bring a fresh Army into the Field. As soon as they were ready, they re-entered *Castile*, and made so great a Progress, that they were soon in condition to besiege *Toledo*. *Peter* flying to the Relief of that City, was defeated and forced to retire to the Castle of *Montiel*, where he was immediately invested. As he saw his Case to be desperate, he resolved to go to *Du Guesclin* in his Tent, imagining he would procure him tolerable Conditions, or help him to make his Escape. Unhappily for him, he found *Henry* his Brother there. The two Princes falling first to Reproaches, and then to Blows, *Henry* threw his Brother to the Ground, and stabbed him with his Dagger. After that he caused himself to be once more acknowledged King of *Castile*, without any opposition.

Edward III has appeared hitherto on the Theatre of the World, as one of the most glorious Princes that ever swayed Scepter. If he had finished his Course before the Revolution I am going to speak of, perhaps it would have been difficult to find an Instance of a Reign more constantly fortunate. But his latter Years will present us with a very different Scene from those we have seen. Fortune grew weary of favouring this Monarch in his old Age, after caressing him so much in his younger Days. She robbed him before his Death of all his glorious Conquests, which were purchased so dearly, and these Losses were attended with many other Vexations. This is what remains to be considered in the Sequel of this Reign (6).

Lionel Duke of *Clarence* *Edward's* third Son, being contracted to *Violanta* Daughter of *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* (7), went to consummate his Marriage, with a splendid Retinue, and many young Noblemen who attended him to do him honour. For some time there was nothing but Entertainments and Diversions, which were daily renewed in favour of a Prince whose Alliance was so honorable to the Duke of *Milan*. These Diversions so lavishly procured him, hastened his end. Five Months after his Marriage, he died in *Montferrat* in the thirty second Year of his Age. By his first Marriage with the sole Heiress of the Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, he left a Daughter called *Philippa*, of whose Posterity I shall have frequent occasion to speak hereafter (8).

Edward's Trouble for the Loss of his Son was quickly followed by another, of which he was no less sensible. The Treaty of *Bretigny* was so disadvantageous to *France*, that *Charles V*, who had himself made it, probably consented to it only with Intention to break it, the first opportunity. The *French* were no better disposed. This quickly appeared in all the Difficulties caused by them when the resigned Provinces came to be delivered to the King of *England*. King *John* was the only Person that acted with Sincerity, and it was he, that by his own Authority prevented these Obstacles from being carried

1368. Difference between the end, and beginning of Edward's Reign.

Prince Lionel's second Marriage. Froissart, l. i. c. 238. Act. Pub. VI. p. 547, 564.

He dies in Italy. Walling.

1369. Charles V. forms the Design of breaking the Treaty of Bretigny. Froissart. Walling. Mezerai.

(1) These were the other Body of disbanded Soldiers mentioned in the Note above, who remained in *France*, and called themselves the Companions. They routed the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Anjou*, under the Command of Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, Son of *Thomas Dagworth*, treacherously slain in *Bretagne* several Years before. As they were most *English*, the King of *England* was desired to restrain them by his Authority, who calling them home by Proclamation, they replied, as they held nothing in *England* of the King, so neither for him, nor any one else, would they leave their Garrisons and Livelihood, got with so much labour. *Walf.* p. 178.

(2) He engaged to pay fifty six thousand Florins for the Wages of his Army, and left his three Daughters Pledges for the Money; he transferred also by his Charter the Castles of *Pembois*, *Lequeto*, *Bilbas*, and *Ordiales*, with the Province of *Biscay*, to Prince *Edward* and his Heirs for ever, wholly discharged of all Sovereignty and Resort. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 512, 521, 550. *Barnes*, p. 684.

(3) It must be observed that he had by private Messengers drawn off the Companions (now commanded by Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Robert Knolles*) from the Service of *Henry*, and they were in his Army to the Number of twelve thousand. *Walf.* p. 181.

(4) And by engaging to pay him twenty thousand Livres. *Froissart*, l. i. c. 231.

(5) On April 3. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 557. *Froissart*, l. i. c. 236. *Walf.* p. 181.

(6) A Parliament met this Year on May 1. which granted the King for two Years, on every Sack of Wool, thirty Shillings and Eight pence, so much of every two hundred and twenty Fells, and of every Last of Skins four Pounds over and above the old Custom of six Shillings and Eight pence on every Sack of Wool, and so much on twenty dozen of Fells, and thirteen Shillings and Four pence on every Last of Skins. *Ret. Par.* 42 *Edw.* III. N. 1. ----8.

(7) He had with her one hundred thousand Florins of Gold, and the Cities of *Mondou*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Clarajiki*, and *Cunet*, with their Territories, and Appendances. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 547.

(8) He was buried at *Pavia*, and afterwards brought over into *England* by *Thomas Newbern*, Esq; and others, and interred at *Clare* in *Suffolk*, in the Convent Church of the *Augustin* Friars, near his first Wife *Elizabeth de Burgh*. His young Widow *Violanta* was married to *Orto Palaeologus*, Marquis of *Montjeu*, flabbed afterward by an Hostler.

1369. too far. *Charles* his Son and Successor, whom the *French* surname the *Wife*, was not of so scrupulous a Temper. He was no sooner on the Throne, but he tried to evade what remained unexecuted of the Treaty. He even neglected to do *Edward* Justice upon the Duke of *Anjou's* Escape, nor delivered up the Earldom of *Gauze*. The Judgment upon the Affair of *Belville*, referred to Arbitrators, was delayed on several pretences. King *John's* Ransom was not paid, or if *Charles* paid any thing after his Accession to the Crown, it was but a small part in respect of what was yet due. Meantime *Edward*, who had still in his hands the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, and several other Hostages, could not imagine, that *Charles* thought of renewing the War, and believed his Inability to be the only Cause of all these Delays. Affairs proceeded thus slowly from the Death of *John*, till his Successor was able to take just measures, to accomplish his Designs. He ever pretended a Willingness to complete the Execution of the Treaty, and, under colour of paying his Father's Ransom, to which he was bound, he heaped up Money very liberally supplied by the States, well knowing for what it was intended. With this Aid he engaged several *German* Princes in his Interest, and when he thought matters ripe, sought a pretence to break with *England*.

Edward dissolves the League of Guienne. Art. Pub. VI. p. 496. *Charles* promises to protect them.

The Prince of Wales lays a Tax on Guienne. Froissart. l. 1. c. 239, 240.

Waiting.

When *Edward* was meditating a War with *France*, he believed it proper to attach to his Service the principal Lords of *Guienne*, by several Grants which he revoked immediately after a Peace. This Proceeding so exasperated these Lords, that they wanted only a favorable Opportunity to show their Resentment. In all appearance, they would have long waited in vain, if *Charles* had not given them private Intimation that they should be supported. As soon as they were sure of his Protection, nothing was wanting but a pretence to complain; and they were not long without having one, as they thought, sufficiently plausible, to authorize them to throw off the Mask. The Prince of *Wales* having laid upon *Guienne* a Tax [called *Feuage*, or *Chimney-Money*] in order to pay the Arrears due to the Troops levied for the *Spanish* War (1), inadvertently furnished his Enemies with the desired Opportunity to declare themselves. The Lord *d'Albret*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Cominges*, *Perigord*, and *Carmaing*, encouraging their Vassals to complain of this new Tax, received their Complaints, brought them to the Prince, and addressed him upon that occasion. Their Remonstrances were ill received, both because the Prince was in want of Money, and by reason of the Haughtiness wherewith they were made. This was the very thing the Lords wanted. On pretence they could not have Justice from their Prince, they applied to the King of *France*, whom they supposed to be still Sovereign Lord of *Guienne*, and prayed him to grant them Letters of Appeal to his Parliament. *Charles* not thinking proper to declare himself yet, cherished this Disposition, and in the mean time, kept them at *Paris*. The Journey of these Lords, and their long Stay at the Court of *France*, gave the Prince of *Wales* some Suspicion. He writ Letter after Letter to the King his Father, to warn him that something was contriving at *Paris* against him, but these Warnings were to no purpose. The King and his Council imagining, the warlike Prince tired with an idle Life sought occasion to renew the War, were regardless of his Remonstrances.

Whilst *Edward* relied on the Sincerity of the *French*, his Son's Dis temper daily growing more dangerous, turned at last to a real Dropsy. The Prince's ill State of Health, and the King his Father's Infirmities, hastened the Resolutions of the King of *France*. As he saw there could not be a more favorable Juncture to execute his Designs, he granted the *Gasccon* Lords, the Letters of Appeal they required; pretending, notwithstanding his Oaths, and all his Father's Resignations and Renunciations, that he was still Sovereign of *Guienne*. He built his Pretensions upon *Edward's* not having sent his Renunciation to the Crown of *France*, pursuant to the Treaty of *Bretigny*. But that Renunciation being only a Consequence of the full Performance of the Treaty, *Edward* did not think himself, as indeed he was not, bound to make it, till the whole was executed. However he had absolutely quitted the Title of King of *France* (2), a clear Evidence that he had no ill Intentions. Besides, *Charles* himself had not been more punctual to renounce the Provinces yielded to *England* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*. These reciprocal Renunciations were considered as the Seal of the Treaty, after the two Kings should be satisfied concerning the Execution. However that be, *Charles* used this Pretence to summon the Prince of *Wales* to appear

before the Court of Peers, to answer for his pretended Tyranny upon the People of those Provinces (3). The Prince's high Spirit not suffering him to bear this Affront without showing his Resentment, he replied, he would not fail to appear, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand Men. Mean while *Charles* was amusing *Edward*, by expostulating with him, as if he were desirous the Affair should be put in Negotiation. *Edward* answered by giving Words for Words, not imagining they really designed to dispute his Sovereignty of *Guienne*, so clearly settled in the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and much less that *France* was able to renew the War. But he preposterously flattered himself. It was not the Sovereignty of *Guienne* only that *Charles* designed to dispute, he pretended moreover that the Treaty of *Bretigny* was void, because *Edward* had not prevented certain Plunderers (4) that came out of his Dominions, from entering *France*, and because he had not evacuated all the Towns that were to be restored. On these Pretences he ordered War to be proclaimed by a Footman, because the Prince of *Wales* had seized those that brought him the Summons. Shortly after, he published an Edict confiscating all the Lands held by the *English* in *France*, and annexed them to the Crown.

The Praises bestowed on this Prince by the *French* Writers for so wisely improving the Junctures that offered to recover his Dominions, deserve some Reflection. It is true, he acted with Prudence, if Sincerity and Honesty are to go for nothing. The good Success his Conduct was crowned with, freed *France* for a time from her unfortunate Condition. But if we consider it closely, this Prudence is real Perfidiousness. For even supposing *Edward* had not executed any one Article of the Treaty, his Non-performance did not give *Charles* a Right to proclaim War against him. The King his Father and himself had expressly renounced, with an Oath, all violent Methods in case of Non-execution. Besides, he had not himself performed all the Articles of the Treaty, so that all he could reasonably demand, was a Compensation. But it was an open renouncing of good Faith, to annul the whole Treaty, on pretence that some Articles remained still to be performed by *England*, when he himself left several unexecuted. Moreover, his Pretences of a Rupture were so frivolous, that the *French* Historians not being able to relate them precisely, confine themselves to Generals, without mentioning Particulars. The most plausible Pretence alledged by *Froissart*, is this, The Prince of *Wales* not having wherewithal to pay the Troops lately returned from Spain, six thousand Men disbanding themselves, and afterwards joining again, committed great Ravages in *Guienne*. The Prince desiring them to depart his Dominions, they threw themselves into the neighbouring Provinces of *France*, and plundered them unpunished, the French not being able to hinder them. Supposing the Thing to be as *Froissart* relates it, it was not now practicable for the Prince of *Wales* to go into *France* and quell these roving Plunderers, who had entered that Kingdom. It appears however, he did all that lay in his Power, since he imposed on his Dukedom the *Feuage*-Tax, in order to pay his Troops. But *Charles* made this very Thing a pretence for a Rupture, whence it is evident he only sought occasion to quarrel. The same Historian says further, that *Charles* ordering the Treaty of *Bretigny* to be examined in his Council, the chief Debate ran upon the Article, whereby the two Kings renounced all violent methods in case of Non-execution. He adds, he was advised upon that foundation to proceed to a Rupture, because *Edward* never ceased to make War upon *France*. But he does not say, How or Where, neither mentions any particulars. However, from what that Author relates, it is very easy to infer, that before the Treaty was examined, *Charles* had resolved upon War, and, that this Examination was only made to find some Pretence. *Mezerai* says, the occasion of the Rupture was, *Edward's* not withdrawing all his Troops out of the Kingdom; but does not name any one Place where these Troops remained. Thus it is manifest, the *French* Authors were at a loss what to alledge.

From what has been said, it may be easily concluded, that *Charles's* Wisdom was not a very scrupulous Virtue; whether he signed the Treaty with an Intention to break it, or formed not that design till a favorable opportunity offered. It is therefore the Effect, and not the Cause, which made this Prince's Conduct to be so much admired. Had he been as unsuccessful, as he was fortunate, he would have re-plunged *France* into a gulph of

1369. His Answer. Froissart. l. 1. c. 240, 241, 242.

Charles pretends the Treaty of *Bretigny* is void.

He proclaims War. Ibid. c. 246.

Remarks on this Rupture.

c. 238.

Art. xxxvi.

Lords summons the Prince of Wales.

(1) At one Livre a Chimney, this Tax would have amounted to twelve hundred thousand Livres a Year. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 239. This Tax was laid on by the consent of the Estates of *Guienne* assembled in Parliament; and was to last only five Years. *Ibid*.

(2) And ceased to quarter the Arms of *France* with those of *England*.

(3) This Citation is dated at *Paris*, Jan. 25. *Froissart*, l. 1. c. 241.

(4) The Companies mentioned in a foregoing Note, and which were sent away by Prince *Edward* some time after his return from Spain.

2569. Misery, and thereby justly incurred the blame of the whole World, and doubtless, of those very Writers who have given him so great Commendations.

State of Affairs between the two Crowns.
Before I enter upon the particulars of this second War, it will be farther necessary to consider, how matters stood between the two Crowns, at the time of the Rupture. The French complained, Edward had not ceased to make War against France, nor withdrawn all his Troops out of the Kingdom, pursuant to his Engagements. But these are general Complaints, containing no particular Fact. Besides, it is not very likely, that Edward, to whom this Treaty was so advantageous, would have furnished France with a pretence to break it. The Treaty it self shews, the English Monarch's Engagements were inconsiderable, in respect of the advantages he reaped by it. This gives occasion to presume, that being a Prince of great Abilities, as all must own, he could not be so unwise as to raise any Obstacles himself against the execution of so advantageous a Treaty. As for the pretended Injury done the Gascons by the Prince of Wales, it is evident from the Treaty, that Charles had no right to interpose.

It was not the same with respect to the English, whose Complaints appear much more just. It is true, King John, whose Sincerity can never be too much commended, performed the Treaty to the utmost of his power. He was no sooner returned into his Dominions, but he ratified every Article, separately, by particular Acts. Then, not content with the swearing himself to the observance thereof, he obliged the Dauphin his Son, who was to succeed him, to take the same Oath. So that all defects in his Engagements, by reason of his Captivity, were removed by his Ratifications, when at full Liberty in his own Territories. Performance was a still more authentick Confirmation than Promises or Oaths. He put Edward in possession of the Lands resigned by the Treaty, without any reserve, and particularly those held of Guienne. If he had not meant to give up the Sovereignty with the Lands, it is not credible that he, and the Prince his Son, should make no exception of that Sovereignty, either in the Treaty it self, or in any of the Ratifications of each particular Article. At least they would not have neglected to make a Protestation, when Edward erected Guienne into a Principality, and invested the Prince his Son, without the participation of France. Indeed, there was a Dispute between the two Kings, concerning two inconsiderable Territories, but not to quarrel for such a Trifle, the matter was put to Arbitration. As for the Ransom, King John's Inability was the sole Cause of his not paying it at the time appointed. Edward was so well satisfied of that Prince's Sincerity, that he made no scruple to prolong the time of Payment, in order to give him some respite. This Moderation was the reason why at the time of King John's Death, there remained still to pay, two hundred thousand Crowns of the first Million. Moreover, in expectation, that John, or the Dauphin his Son, would pay him in time, Edward was not so strict with regard to the Hostages as he should have been. I have observed he readily consented, that Prince Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, should be one of the Ten to be released by the XVIIth Article of the Treaty, tho' it was in his Power to give one of less Distinction. All the rest had in England all the Liberty they could reasonably desire. The Collection of the Publick Acts¹ is full of Licences granted them, to go and take care of their private Affairs in France. The Duke of Anjou, the Earls of Grand-pré and Brenne, the Lords of Clere and Derval abused this favour, and all Edward's Instances could not procure him the least Satisfaction upon that Article.

The Duke of Orleans, by the Grant of certain Lands to Thomas of Woodstock, one of the King's Son's, procured his own with the Freedom of Audresfel one of the Prisoners.

The Duke of Bourbon having opportunity to do the King some Service with the Pope, was set at liberty, on payment only of twelve thousand Crowns, given by the Prince of Wales to the Person that took him at Poitiers.

The Affair of Belville being put to Arbitration, Ed-

ward relying on the Sincerity of the French, and the Justice of his Cause, made no scruple to enter into an Engagement, to which he was not obliged. He was pleased, even after the Duke of Anjou's Escape, to promise to release the Duke of Burgundy, and the Earl of Arden, in case the matter in dispute was decided in favour of France. He even carried his Generosity so far, as to give these two Princes leave to return home, contenting himself with taking their word, that if the Affair was determined in his favour by the Arbitrators, they would come back to England and remain in Hostage, only till he was in possession of the Territory in dispute. These two Princes embraced his Generosity, and returned to France. Mean while, the Affair was left undecided, and the Hostages thought no more of returning.

The Earl of St. Pol obtained his Liberty, upon leaving his two Sons in his room.

Charles d'Artois made his Escape without taking Leave.

The Lords of Luxemburg, Estampes and Hengest, died in England, and Charles sent not other Hostages in their room, though he was often required.

The Earl of Harcourt had leave for a certain time, and returned no more.

Guy de Blois did the same thing; but agreed afterwards with Edward, by giving him Soissons.

Montmorency, Bouchepes and Montevrier, had leave to go to France, but took care never to return. It is likely, however, they gave the King some Satisfaction, since we do not find any Complaint against them in the Collection of the Publick Acts, from whence I have taken these particulars.

As for the other Hostages of less note, and the Burgesses of the Towns, whereof Toulouse neglected to send Her's, Edward generously gave some their Freedom, and the rest compounded for their Ransom, or died in England.

As for King John's Ransom, there still remained unpaid, near two Millions. It is true, Edward received of Charles, at several times, about three hundred thousand Crowns, which, added to what was paid by the King his Father, amounted to little more than the first Million, which was due seven or eight Months before.

It appears then, that Edward was the only Person wronged, and yet Charles pretended, the Treaty of Breteigny was void, by the Non-Performance of some Articles on the part of England; Articles, which no Historian has distinctly mentioned. Upon this foundation he asserted, that France, restored to her ancient Right, might justly confiscate the Provinces resigned to England. After these Remarks, which seemed necessary for clearing this Fact, it is time to resume the thread of the History.

Edward was extremely surprized to find that Charles, who passed not for a Warrior, durst attempt to enter into competition with a Prince that had gained so many Battles. He was still more astonished, shortly after, when he heard that the Earldom of Pontieu was seized (1), and the principal Cities of Guienne were in Arms against him. He summoned a Parliament (2), which granted him a great Aid to maintain so necessary a War, wherein he was unwillingly engaged. By the Advice of this Parliament, he re-assumed the Title of King of France, which he had relinquished since the Peace (3). After obtaining this Aid from his Subjects, and a positive Promise to support him as long as the War should last, his first Care was to send Troops to the Prince of Wales, to recover the Cities of Guienne. Then he dispatched the Duke of Lancaster, his fourth Son, to Calais, with a powerful Army. But the Duke's Progress ended only in ravaging the open Country, without making any Conquest.

The renewal of the War was not the only thing that disturbed Edward's Repose this Year. The Loss of his Queen was to him a very great increase of Affliction. He had lived with her forty Years in perfect Union, and had by her twelve Children. This good Queen was likewise extremely lamented by the People,

(1) By Guy Count de St. Paul, and Sir Hugh de Chastillon, Master of the Cross-Bows of France. Froiss. l. 1. c. 246.

(2) This Parliament met at Westminster, May 27. and granted the King for three Years, of Denizens for every Sack of Wool, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every twenty Dozen of Fells, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every last of Skins, four Pounds. Of Ardens, for every Sack of Wool, fifty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every twenty dozen of Fells, fifty three Shillings and Four-pence; and of every last of Skins, five Pounds six Shillings and Eight-pence, over the old Custom. Rot. Parl. 43 Edw. III. N. 1, 9, 10. *Custom's Abridg.* p. 168. See *Baron's* p. 759. Froiss. c. 246.

(3) This Year the King set forth an Order for the arming of all Clergymen. Part of it runs thus: "The King commands and requires all the Prelates assembled in Parliament, that in regard of the great Danger and Damage, which may happen to the Realm and Church of England by reason of this War, in case the Enemy should invade the Kingdom, that they will appear themselves in the Defence of the Realm, and cause their Tenants, Dependents, Monks, Parsons, Vicars, &c. to be prepared for the Field in a military Manner, and be ready to counter the Force, and disappoint the Malice of his Enemies." All which the Prelates in Parliament engaged to perform. Rot. in *Parl. Lond.* in 43. *Edward III.* Rymer, Tom. 6. p. 631.

1369. who had always found her ready to relieve them in their Necessities. The Poor especially were great losers by her Death (1).

1370. The War was continued in France to the Advantage of England, under the Conduct of Chandos, who commanded in Saintonge and Poitou, and maintained his Master's Affairs in those parts in a flourishing Condition. But this brave General being slain at length in a Battle (2), they began to decline in these two Provinces (3).

Guienne was in no better state. The Prince of Wales, who, because of his Illness, could do little more than give Directions, saw himself extremely weakened by the Revolt of the chief Towns depending on his Principality of Aquitain. Limoges, a City of great importance, was surprized by the French, or rather desired to change Masters. The Disloyalty of the Inhabitants so incensed the Prince, that he resolved to make them an Example. To that end, having received a Supply of Troops, brought him by the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, he besieged the Town, took it by Storm, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

This was the last warlike Exploit of that great Prince, whose Distemper obliged him to be carried in a Litter. At last, finding himself utterly unable to act, he resolved to return into England. He had still some small hopes, that his native Air would restore him to his Health. After resigning to the King his Principality of Aquitain (4), which he could no longer govern, he departed, leaving the Command of the Army to the Duke of Lancaster. Before his Departure, he had the Vexation to see Edward his eldest Son die (5), in the seventh Year of his Age. He was a Prince of great Hopes, and seemed much more like his Father and Grandfather, than his younger Brother Richard, who succeeded them. The Prince of Wales took his Son Richard with him, in order to have him educated in England.

David King of Scotland died last Year (6), leaving his Crown to Robert Stuart his Nephew, Son of his eldest Sister. Robert was no sooner on the Throne, but he made an Alliance offensive and defensive with France against England. But this League was kept secret, Charles not having then occasion for this Aid, which doubtless he reserved for a more urgent Occasion (7).

The Departure of the Prince of Wales entirely ruined the Affairs of the English in Guienne. The Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Cambridge, perceiving that with so few Troops they could not hope to reduce the revolted Towns, or effectually withstand the French, resolved to return into England to solicit fresh Supplies. Before they departed, they married the two Daughters of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, expelled and slain by Henry his Bastard-Brother. The Duke of Lancaster espousing Constance the eldest, immediately assumed the Title of King of Castile and Leon, thereby shewing, he designed to prosecute his Wife's Right (8). This Proceeding obliged Henry to unite more closely with France. As it was his Interest to help as much as possible to humble England, he resolved to assist Charles with all his Forces.

About this time the Flemings, who had declared for

France, were defeated at Sea by the Earl of Hereford, who took six and twenty of their Ships.

But this advantage could not balance those gained by du Guesclin upon England in Guienne, and the neighbouring Provinces. This brave General, whom Charles had drawn from the King of Castile's Service, to make him Constable of France, beat the English every where. After driving them out of Limesin, Perigord, and Rouergue, he carried his Progress so far, that he found himself able to march into Saintonge, and at length to lay Siege to Rochelle, with the Assistance of a Fleet sent by the King of Castile, to block up the Town by Sea. When Edward received this News, he speedily sent the Earl of Pembroke with forty Ships to throw Succours into the Town. This Precaution seemed sufficient to save Rochelle; but for some time nothing had prospered with the English. The Earl of Pembroke (9) being about to sail into the Port, met the Spanish Fleet, commanded by Admiral Bocanegra a Genes, who fiercely attacked him. The Fight lasted two days, and ended at length in the entire Defeat of the English Fleet (10), the Admiral and many Officers being taken and sent bound into Spain. This Loss complicated the Ruin of the English Affairs. Rochelle however might have still held out, had it not been for the Treachery of the Mayor (11). This Magistrate, who held intelligence with the Besiegers, found means to cause the Garrison to be drawn out of the Citadel, under colour of a Muster, and by means of a forged Order of the King, which the Governor (12) not being able to read, took for real. When the Garrison was come out, the Mayor shut the Gates, and would not suffer them to re-enter. Whereupon the Town capitulated, and obtained such advantageous Terms (13), that she rather became free than changed Sovereign.

The Loss of Rochelle alarming Edward's Adherents in those parts, du Guesclin improved his advantages. He marched into Poitou, where he took several Towns, and at length formed the Siege of Thouars, where the principal Lords of the Country were retired. The Siege was so vigorously carried on, that the besieged were at last forced to capitulate, and promise to return to the Obedience of France, if the King of England or one of his Sons did not come before Michaelmas, with an Army strong enough to give Battle. Such Capitulations were very common in those days, when good Faith was more esteemed than at present. Accordingly, they are no longer practised. The Loss of Thouars was of too great Consequence to leave that Place unrelieved, especially as the King's Honour was concerned. Edward's extreme desire to save that Town, and with it the rest of Poitou, caused him to use his utmost endeavours. In a very short time he assembled a Fleet of four hundred Sail (14), with which he would have gone in Person to raise the Siege (15). But the Winds constantly refusing to assist him on this occasion, all his endeavours proved fruitless. He was six Weeks at Sea, without being able to reach Poitou. At last he was forced to return to England after great Fatigues and a vast expence, which almost drained his Treasury. He was scarce come to London when he heard the French were masters of all Poitou (16).

Edward's

(1) She died on the 15th of August 1369, having been married two and forty Years, and was buried in the Chapel of the Kings in Westminster-Abbey, under a fair Tomb-stone black Porphyry, with her Portraiture thereon of Alabaster. About her Monument were placed the Figures, one may remain the Shields of Arms carved and printed of thirty illustrious Persons. Among other works of Charity, she contributed largely towards the founding and endowing of Queen's College in Oxford, founded in 1340, by Robert Eglesfield, her Chaplain and Confessor.

(2) In a small Encounter he received a wound in the Head, of which he died two Days after. Fr. Hist. l. 1. c. 269. --- About that time Sir Robert Knolles was sent with an Army into France, and waited that Kingdom from Calais to Paris. Id. c. 276, 279. Walling. p. 184. Rymer's Fed. Tom. VI. p. 633.

(3) In the beginning of this Year, the King was in so great want of Money, notwithstanding the large Aids granted him by his Parliaments, that he borrowed great Sums of Money from Merchants and Persons of Estates. Wall. p. 184. Rymer's Fed. Tom. VI. p. 635.

(4) Which he did on Octob. 5. 1372. Ibid. Tom. 7. p. 6.

(5) In the beginning of January, Froissart, l. 1. c. 285.

(6) A Parliament met this Year at London, on February 24. wherein the Laitie granted the King fifty thousand Pounds to be raised out of every Parish in the Kingdom (except the County of Chester and the Church Lands) which was afterwards, in a Great Council at Worcester held this Summer, limited to the rate of one hundred and sixteen Shillings out of each Parish, the larger to contribute to those of less Value. The Clergy also granted them a separate Aid of fifty thousand Pounds more for one Year: And all this for the War in France. Rot. Parl. 45 Edw. III. A. 1. 6, 7. Cotton's Amdg. p. 111. Strach's Ann. p. 268. Wall. p. 186.

(7) Peter King of Castile, when he came to implore the Assistance of Prince Edward, brought two young Daughters with him, who were left as Pledges for their Father's Performance of the Conditions agreed on between him and that Prince, which their Father taking no care to perform, and being killed not long after, the young Ladies were left upon Prince Edward's Hands. When they came to Women's Estate, the Duke of Lancaster was desired to marry the Eldest, being deemed the true Heire's to the Crown of Castile, and the Earl of Cambridge married Isabella the youngest.

(8) Who was appointed the King's Lieutenant in Guienne: And at the same time the Duke of Lancaster was ordered to invade France by the Aid of Picardy, with a large Army. Froissart, l. 1. c. 294, 295. Rymer, Tom. 7. p. 7, 13.

(9) This Defeat happened on June 23. There was in one of the Ships taken by the Enemy, twenty thousand Marks in ready Money to pay the Army. Froissart, l. 1. c. 29. Walling. p. 186.

(10) John Candeler, Froissart, c. 302.

(11) The Conditions were: That their Castle, which commanded the Town, should be razed; and that they should have a Mint allowed them. They also obtained a Charter of their Privileges and Liberties, in as ample manner as they desired. Ibid. c. 302.

(12) And gathered a large Army together, about three thousand Lances, and ten thousand Archers, by summoning all Men to come ready armed to St-denis, and other Parts. Froissart, l. 1. c. 303.

(13) He sailed from Sandwich the 31st of August, or beginning of September, with his Son, the Black Prince, who was now grown well recovered; but was forced to return to England, in the beginning of October. See Rymer, Tom. 6. p. 748. Wall. p. 187.

(14) This Year a Parliament met at Westminster, November 3, and granted the King the former Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-sells, for two Years longer. See above, p. 441. Note (2). They moreover granted a Fifteenth for one Year, to be levied as the last was. The Citizens and Burgesses granted also, for the safe-conveying of their Ships and Goods, a Custom of two Shillings upon every Tun of Wine, coming in or exported out of the Kingdom, and Six-pence in the Pound of all their Goods and Merchandise for one Year. Rot. Parl. 46 Edw. III. A. 1. 2, 3, 9. Wall. p. 184. This Year also Jan. 15. died the Lord Walter Manny, and was buried in the Charter-House, which he had founded. And his only Daughter and Heir was married.

1373.
Affairs of
Bretagne,
Argentan,
Mezeris.
Froufart,
l. 1. c. 306.

Act. Pub.
VI. p. 698,
133, 768.

1374.
The Duke of
Lancaster
goes to
Guienne.
Froufart,
l. 1. c. 308,
&c.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 7.
13.
Walling.
Battle agreed
on, prevented
by a Truce.

1375.
Froufart.
l. 1. c. 311.
Act. Pub.
VI. p. 702,
704, 711,
760.
VII. p. 53,
66-81.

1376.
Truce pro-
longed.
Ib. p. 89,
200.

Edward's Affairs prospered little better in *Bretagne*, though the Duke his Son-in-law did his utmost to promote them. The People were weary of War, and were troubled to see, that, solely for the Interest of the *English*, they were going to be plunged again into their late Calamities. On the other hand, the Lords of *Bretagne*, bribed by *French* Pensions, opposed with all their Power their Prince's Designs, and treated as Enemies, the Troops sent thither by *Edward* to support the War. In this situation, the Duke, whose Heart was entirely *English*, had it not in his Power to serve the King his Father-in-law as he wished, or to perform his late Treaty. Thus embarrassed, he resolved to go himself into *England*, and solicit a Supply capable of procuring him greater Authority in his own Dominions. *Edward* was very sensible of the Importance of this Demand, but could not do every thing (1). He was obliged therefore to send back the Duke of *Bretagne* with fair Promises only, whilst he turned all his thoughts to restore the Affairs of *Guienne*, which touched him more nearly (2).

Pursuant to his Resolution to make a powerful Effort in *Gascogne*, he assembled an Army of thirty thousand Men, the Command whereof was given to the Duke of *Lancaster* his Son, styled in *England*, King of *Castile* (3). The Duke landing at *Calais* (4), traversed all *France* without opposition, and came to *Bordeaux* (5). From thence he advanced into upper *Guienne*, with Design to expel the Duke of *Anjou*, who had taken several Towns. He offered him Battle, which the *French* Prince accepted. The time and place were now appointed, but the two Generals receiving advice of a Truce concluded between the two Crowns, both retired (6).

Some time since, at the pressing Instances of the Pope, the two Kings sent Plenipotentiaries (7) to *Bruges*, where the forementioned Truce was concluded, in order to labour a Peace more sedately. But the Pretensions of the two Monarchs being too opposite, for a Peace to be so easily made, their Negotiation ended only in a Prolongation of the Truce to April 1377. As soon as the Truce was signed, the Duke of *Lancaster* led back his Troops into *England* (8).

Though the Consequences of this last War were no less considerable than those of the former, since *France* recovered in this, whatever she lost in the other, yet, the particulars are very far from being so entertaining. In the first, *Edward's* Conquests were rendered illustrious by a naval Engagement, where the King commanded in Person. The Battle of *Creffy*, where all the Nobles of both Kingdoms fought in the presence of the two Kings, and gained by a Prince of sixteen Years old, is one of the most moving Scenes in History. The Conquest of *Calais*, in the sight of an Army of a hundred and fifty thousand Men, is no less capable of affecting the Reader. The Victory of *Poitiers*, obtained by an Army of twelve thousand against sixty thousand, and the taking of King *John*, are Events which command our Admiration, and quicken our Attention. In a word, the first War was ended by the most important and solemn Treaty, ever made between the two Crowns. In the second, there was not one general Action. The two Kings, contenting themselves with directing their Affairs in the Cabinet, never appeared at the head of their Armies. As for the Sieges, excepting those of *Limoges* and *Rochelle*, there was scarce one worth mentioning. The Towns lost by the *English*, were taken or surprized with a wonderful Rapidity. Some even surrendered before the Enemy's Approach. The Losses therefore of the *English* may be

truly called a Defeat, which affords but few particulars proper to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity. For this reason, I have not insisted upon a Detail, which must have been tedious. It suffices to observe, that at the time of the last Treaty, *England* had lost whatever was acquired by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, except *Calais* alone. So true is it, that Acquisitions gained by force of Arms, ought not to be relied on, as has been, and is daily confirmed by numberless Instances. Sooner or later, a superior Force finds means to wrest them from the Conqueror, or his Children. Thus *France* lost in the Reign of *John*, what was conquered upon the *English* by *Philip Augustus* and *St. Lewis*, and thus *Edward III.* lost the Conquests made by himself in *France*. We shall be in the course of this History, that one of *Edward's* Successors amply retrieved all these Losses; and the *French*, in their turn, recovered, quickly after, whatever was taken by the same Prince. Such Examples, frequently occurring in History, ought to teach Princes to moderate their Ambition; but few are so wise as to profit by these Examples. If we inquire into the natural Causes of this Revolution by which *Edward* lost what he had acquired by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, they will appear to be very obvious. The Revolt of the *Gascons*, the Prince of *Wales's* Distemper, *Edward's* old Age, his too credulous Reliance on the King of *France's* Sincerity, the Prudence of *Charles the Wise*, who, without stirring from the Cabinet, managed the whole War, the Conduct and Bravery of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, were the Instruments in the hand of Providence, to produce this Revolution.

The *English* were in some measure comforted for all their Losses, by the Tranquillity enjoyed by the Truce. The King himself appeared to lay aside his martial Inclinations, for others, which somewhat endangered his Reputation. In his old Age he fell in Love with one *Alice Pierce* (9). His Passion had such an Ascendant over him, that it made him guilty of Weaknesses unbecoming to great a Prince. The Money raised for the War, was quickly consumed by this greedy She Favorite. From thence followed an universal Discontent throughout the Kingdom. Wholly employed with pleasing his Mistress, the King thought only of procuring her Diversions. Entertainments were daily made with immense Expence. Taxes were the more grievous, as the Nation was entirely drained by continual Wars. They were extremely troubled, to see the Money designed for the Payment of the publick Debts, squandered away in Vanities. Above all, a Tournament held in *Smithfield*, gave great offence, where *Alice Pierce*, to whom her old Lover had given the Name of *Lady of the Sun*, appeared by his Side in a triumphant Chariot, and attended by many Ladies of Quality, each leading a Knight by his Horse's Bridle. When the King's Coffers were empty, he called a Parliament (10) to demand a Subsidy. But he had the mortification to see that his People, who so powerfully assisted him in his glorious Undertakings, had not the same Zeal, to provide for useless Expences. Before the Subsidy was granted, the Parliament bitterly complained of the ill-management of his Ministers, particularly of the Duke of *Lancaster*, whom the King his Father had chiefly intrusted with the Administration of Affairs. They even petitioned the King to remove from his Person the Duke of *Lancaster* his Son, *Alice Pierce* (11), *Latimer* Lord Chamberlain, and others that were most in his favour. This Petition was made with such warmth, that the King perceiving he could not reject it without danger, granted their request, least in their turn the Parliament should refuse him the Money he wanted. It was not questioned, but the Prince of *Wales* had privately induced the Parliament to take this Step, in order to re-

married to *John de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Dugdale's* Baron. Vol. II. p. 150. The 16th of the same Month died *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hertford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*, Constable of *England*, the tenth of that Name, and last Male of that noble Family. He left behind him only two Daughters, *Flower*, afterwards married to *Thomas of Woodstock*, King *Edward's* youngest Son; and *Mary* to *Henry* Earl of *Deby*, who became King, by the name of *Henry IV.* Id. Vol. I. p. 187.

(1) In the Year 1375, having obtained an Aid from King *Edward*, he sailed in the beginning of the Spring, from *England*, with three thousand Archers and two thousand Men at Arms, and recovered several of his Towns and Castles. *Froiss.* l. 1. c. 311. *Walf.* p. 183.

(2) This Year, on the 20th of *March*, Sir *John Dancoux* marched from *Niort*, with a considerable Army to relieve *Sancerre*, then besieged by the *French*, but was entirely defeated. *Froiss.* l. 1. c. 304.

(3) He was appointed the King's Lieutenant in *Bretagne*, by Letters Patent, bearing date *June* 12. *Rymer's* *Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 13.

(4) *July* 24. *Froiss.* l. 1. c. 310. *Tyrr.* p. 744.

(5) About the beginning of *Novemb.* Id. p. 745.

(6) A Parliament met this Year at *Westminster*, *November* 1. which granted the King two Fifteenths, to be paid in two Years; and also of every twenty Shillings of Merchandise coming into the Realm, or going out, six pence for two Years, except of *Wools*, *Skins*, and *Wool-fells*. And also the Subsidy of *Wools* for two Years, upon Condition, that if the Wars ceased within two Years, then the latter Payments of all their Grants should cease. *Rot. Parl.* 47. *Edw. III.* N. 4. 5. *Cotton's* *Abbridg.* p. 116. *Walf.* p. 189.

(7) The *English* Plenipotentiaries were *Simon* Bishop of *London*, *Edward* Earl of *March*; *Richard* de *Stafford*, and *Roger* de *Beauchamp*, Knights Banners; *Simon* de *Meiton*, Doctor of *Laws*, and *John* de *Brakelste*, Treasurer of *Tork*. *Rymer's* *Fœd.* Tom. 6. p. 760.

(8) In the beginning of *July*. *Froiss.* l. 1. c. 311.

(9) She was one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to Queen *Philippa*. In a Grant to her of some Jewels belonging to Queen *Philippa* deceased, dated at *Westminster*, *August* the 8th, 1373, she is called *Peters*. *Rymer's* *Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 28. This is the only Record in the *Fœdera*, which proves *Edward's* Affection for this Lady; a thing Mr. *Barnes* will by no means allow, for two Reasons, because *Edward* was so chaste in the Flower of his Age, and because so noble a Baron as the Lord *William Windsor* married her afterwards.

(10) This Parliament met at *Westminster*, the Monday after *April* 23. and granted the King the like Subsidy of *Wool*, *Skins*, and *Wool-fells*, as were granted in the last Parliament, to last three Years, from the Feast of *St. Michael* next ensuing. *Rot. Parl.* 50. *Edw. III.* N. 2. 0. *Walf.* p. 189.

(11) She was accused of coming into the Courts of Justice, sitting on the Bench with the Judges, and making them do as she pleased. *Walf.* p. 189.

more the Duke of Lancaster, who was in too great Credit with the King. As the Prince found he must die, he could not reflect without uneasiness, that he was going to leave his young Son Richard to the Mercy of an ambitious Uncle, who might use his his Credit to take the Crown from him. And indeed, Richard, by reason of his Youth, was incapable of opposing the Duke's Designs, in case they should tend, as it was suspected, to the procuring himself to be declared the King's presumptive Heir, after the Death of his elder Brother. This obliged the Prince of Wales to seek, for his Son, the Protection of the Parliament, as the only means to support him in his just Rights. For the same reason, probably, the Parliament (1) petitioned the removal of the Duke of Lancaster. During this Session, Edward, now in the fiftieth Year of his Reign, caused a general Pardon to be published, which pleased the whole Nation exceedingly.

A general Pardon. Act. Pub. VII. p. 136. Death of the Prince of Wales. See Chorus. Walsing.

A Sorrow no less universal quickly followed this Joy. It was caused by the Death of the Prince of Wales, the most excellent Prince England had ever produced. He was possessed of all Virtues in an eminent degree. A good Soldier, and a great General, brave without Fierceness, bold in Battle, but very affable in Conversation, and of a Modesty which could never be sufficiently admired. Ever submissive and respectful to the King his Father, whom he never once disobeyed. Generous, liberal, pleased with rewarding Merit wherever he found it, he wanted no Qualification requisite to form a perfect Hero. The English commonly called him, *The Black Prince*, not for his warlike Exploits, as some have imagined, but because he wore *Black Armour*. The News of his Death was received with unconceivable Grief, though it was long expected. The Parliament was willing, on this occasion, to express their just Sorrow for the loss of so great a Prince, who had gained the Affection and Esteem of the whole Nation, by attending his Corps to *Canterbury*, where he chose to be interred (2). This renowned Prince died in the forty sixth Year of his Age, lamented by the King his Father, who shewed upon this occasion less Firmness, than he had done in all his other Misfortunes (3). The King of France himself, though he had little reason to be sorry, gave him Marks of his Esteem, by ordering a solemn Service to be celebrated at *Paris*, at which he was pleased to be present in Person. Prince Edward left but one legitimate Son, about ten Years old, and two natural Sons, who made no great Figure in History (4).

Froissart, l. 1. c. 312.

The English were the more sensible of their late loss, as it was soon followed by a fresh occasion of Sorrow. The King recalled to Court those that were removed from his Person. *Peter de la Mare*, Speaker of the House of Commons (5), who, in presenting the above-mentioned Petition to the King, had spoken a little too freely against *Alice Pierce*, was, at her Solicitation, confined in *Nottingham-Castle*. The Duke of Lancaster resumed his old Post, and all the other Ministers were restored to their former Offices. However, though he gave the Duke of Lancaster this express Testimony of his Affection and Confidence, Edward would not give him occasion to expect, he designed him for his Successor. On the contrary, to prevent all Disputes after his Death about the Succession, he created Richard his Grandson [Duke of Cornwall] and Earl of Chester, and presently after, conferred on him the Title of Prince of Wales (6). But not content with discovering his Intention, he caused all the Nobility to take their Oath to him, as to the Heir Apparent of the Crown. Finally, for fear his Uncles might entertain hopes of ascending the Throne to his Prejudice, he was pleased to put him as it were in possession of the Rank he designed him for, by causing him to

He creates Richard his Grandson, Prince of Wales. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. VII. p. 126. Walsing.

take place of them in all publick Solemnities. Thus did that wife Prince take measures to prevent the Dissentions, which might arise after his death in his Family, concerning the Succession; pleasing himself withal in honouring the memory of a Son he had tenderly loved, and perfectly esteemed, by doing Justice to young Richard (7).

Whilst these things were transacting at Court, John Wickliff, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, began to publish his Belief upon several Articles of Religion, wherein he differed from the common Doctrine. Pope Gregory XI, being informed of it, condemned some of his Tenets, and commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the Condemnation, and in case of Refusal, to summon him to Rome. It was not easy to execute this Commission. Wickliff had now many Followers in the Kingdom, and for Protector, the Duke of Lancaster, whose Authority was very little inferior to the King's. Nevertheless, to obey the Pope's Order, the Archbishop held a Synod at St. Paul's in London, and cited Wickliff to appear. Accordingly, he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Percy, Marshal of England, who believed their presence necessary to protect him. After he had taken his Place, according to his Rank, and been interrogated by the Bishop of London, he would have answered sitting, and thereby gave occasion for a great Dispute. The Bishop insisted upon his standing, and being uncovered, and the Duke of Lancaster pretended, Wickliff was there only as Doctor, to give his Vote and Opinion, and not as a Party accused. The Contest grew so high, that the Duke of Lancaster proceeded to Threats, and gave the Bishop very hard Words. Whereupon the People that were present, thinking the Bishop in danger, took his part with such heat and noise, that the Duke and Earl Marshal thought fit to withdraw, and take Wickliff with them. Their withdrawing appeased not the Tumult. Some Incendiaries spread a Report, that at the instance of the Duke of Lancaster, it was moved that day to the King in Council, to put down the Office of Lord Mayor, take away the City Privileges, and reduce London under the Jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal. This was sufficient to enrage the People. They ran immediately to the *Marshalsea*, and freed all the Prisoners. But they did not stop there. The Mutineers, whose number continually increased, posted to the Duke of Lancaster's Palace in the *Savoy*, and missing his Person, plundered the House, and dragged his Arms along the Streets. The Duke was so provoked at this Affront, that he could not be pacified but by the removal of the Mayor (8) and Aldermen, whom he accused of not using their Authority to restrain the Seditious.

Wickliff explains his Notions of the Eucharist.

To return to Wickliff. The Bishops being met a second time, the Doctor declared before them his Sentiments concerning the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, explaining the Eating of the Body of Christ, much in the same manner as *Berengarius* had done before him. Though his opinion was contrary to the Doctrine of the Church in those days, the Bishops not daring to proceed rigorously against him, were contented with injoining him Silence. It is said, he promised to obey, but however, the Dispute was revived in the following Reign.

Let us conclude this Reign with Edward's last publick Action, who, in an Assembly of the *Knights-Companions of the Garter* at *Windsoor*, conferred that Order on Richard his Grandson. This was the only Honour he could yet give him, after declaring him his Successor. Shortly after, this great Prince, who was now indisposed, fell so dangerously ill, that his Death was believed to approach. Before he left the World, he had the mortification to see the World leave him. Alice his Favourite

The King makes Richard Knight of the Garter. Walsing.

He falls ill, and sees himself deserted by all. Walsing.

(1) This Parliament was called the Good Parliament. *Walf.* p. 191.

(2) He died of a Fever, June 8. 1376, and by his Will disposed of his Body to be buried in the Cathedral of the Trinity at *Canterbury*. Over his Grave is erected a stately Monument of grey Marble, with his Portraiture thereon of Copper, gilt; the ends and sides are garnished with Eucyteons also of Copper, enamelled with his Arms and Devices, and inscribed with the Words *Hocum et Iob dien*. On an Iron Bar over the Tomb, are placed the Helmet and Crest, Coat of Mail and Gaults, and (on a Pillar near thereto) his Shield of Arms richly diapered with Gold, all which he is said to have used in Battle. On a Fillet of Brass round the Monument is circumscribed this French Epitaph, "Cy gist le noble Prince Monsieur Edward, aînéz filz du tresnoble Roy Edward tiers: Jedis Prince d'Aquitaine & de Gales, Duc de Cornuaille & Comte de Cestre, qui moult en la feste de la Trinite qestoit le viii jour de Juyn, l'an de grace mil trois cens Septante six, L'ame de qi Dieu eit mercy Amen." On the South-side, at the Foot, and at the North-side of the Tomb, are French Verses.

(3) *Walsingham* says, With him died the Hopes of the English, during whose Life they dreaded no Invasion, nor feared to encounter any Enemy. He never undertook an Expedition without Conquest, never formed a Siege without carrying the Place, &c. p. 190.

(4) His natural Issue were: 1. Sir John Soudour, of whom there is no other mention than of his Name. 2. Sir Roger de Clarendon, so named probably from the Place of his Birth. He was made one of the Knights of the Chamber to Richard II, who granted him one hundred Pounds per Ann. during Life. He was attainted in the Reign of Henry IV, and is thought to be the Ancestor of a Family of the *Smites in Essex*. He bore, Or, on a bend Sable, three Crest-Feathers Argent, the Quills transfixed through as many Scales of the fish. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 189. Besides Prince Richard, and the two natural Children here mentioned, it is certain that Prince Edward had a Daughter, though she is not mentioned by any of our Historians. She was married to *Waleran de Luxemburg, Count de Ligny, ard de St. Pol*. All this appears from a Challenge sent by that Count to Henry IV. King of England, in which are these Words: "Considerant l'affinité, amour, & confédération, que j'avoie par devers tresnoble & puissant Prince Richard Roy d'Angleterre, duquel j'ay eu la seur en espouse." &c. &c. Vol. I. p. 14.

(5) He was not speaker, it seems, (though *Walsing.* says it by mistake) but a considerable Knight of *Herefordshire* both for Prudence and Eloquence. He was confined till the beginning of the next Reign.

(6) November 20. 1376. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 126.

(7) This Year a Parliament met at London, Jan. 27. which granted the King Four-Pence by way of Poll from every Person in the Kingdom, Male and Female, above fourteen Years of Age, except mere beggars. *Rot. Parl.* 51. *Edw.* III. n. 10, &c. 19. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 144, &c. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 134. *Walf.* p. 191.

(8) Adam Staple, in whose room Sir Nicholas Brember was chosen. *Stow's Survey.*

1377. who managed him in his Sickness, suffered very few to come into his Room. When she saw he was dying, she seized every thing of value she could find, even to the Rings on his Finger, and withdrew. His Courtiers and Chaplains showed no less Ingratitude. They all deserted him, without vouchsafing to warn him of the little time he had to live, and of the account he was shortly to give of his actions to God. There was only one single Priest, who accidentally seeing him forsaken in his last Agonies, came near the Bed to comfort him. He addressed to him some Exhortations, to which the dying King endeavoured to reply; but his Words were not articulate enough to be understood. The only Word distinctly pronounced, was the name of Christ, just as he fetched his last breath. Thus died this illustrious Prince at *Shene*, (now *Richmond*.) in the sixty-fifth year of his Age, and the fifty-first of his Reign (1).

Death of
Edward.

His Cha-
racter.

After relating the principal actions of *Edward III.*, in the History of his Reign, it will be necessary, in order to compleat the character of this famous Prince, to give some account of his Person, and accomplishments of Body and Mind. He was very tall, but well-shaped, and of so noble and majestic an aspect, that his very looks commanded respect and veneration. Affable and obliging to the good, but inexorable to the bad; there are few Princes to be met with in History, in whom were so well mixed the Duties of a Sovereign with those of an honest Man, and a good Christian; though in this last respect, his conduct was not altogether blameless. His conversation was easy, and always accompanied with gravity and discretion. Friend of the Poor, the Fatherless, the Widow, and all who were unhappily fallen into misfortune, he made it his business to procure them some comfort in their affliction. Never had King before him bestowed honours and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. Though his valour was acknowledged and admired by all the World, it never made him proud. Never did he show greater signs of humility, than in the course of his Victories, which he constantly ascribed to the sole protection of Heaven. He knew how to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown, without encroaching on the Privileges of the People. In all the former Reigns, there had not been enacted so many advantageous Statutes to the Nation, as in this. *Edward* always agreeing with the august Body of the Nation's Representatives, made that harmony instrumental to curb the designs of the Court of *Rome*, which never dared to quarrel with him. The Glory of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, added a new

Lustre to his own; and his constant Union with his Queen increased his happiness. As he was never too elate in prosperity, so in adversity he was never too much dejected. His moderation appeared no less in his loss of the Provinces, that had cost him so much Toil and Treasure, than in his Victories, which had gained him the Possession. In a word, he might be reckoned an accomplished Prince, if his ambition had not caused him to break, in a dishonourable manner, the Peace made with *Scotland*, in order to dispossess a minor King, who besides was his Brother-in-law. Some add likewise the rupture with *France*, and his pretensions to the Crown of that Kingdom, which they term extravagant, and wholly ascribe to an ambitious motive. The following Dissertation will help the Reader to judge of his conduct. As to his weakness in falling in love in his old Age, with *Alice Pierce*, that blemish is much lessened by the many noble qualities which rendered him so praise-worthy. One might in some measure excuse him, by saying, he considered this passion, at first, as an amusement only, to divert him in his troubles, and knowing little of Love in his youthful days, took not sufficient care to keep himself from it in his old Age (2).

Philippa of *Hainault*, his Queen, brought him twelve Children, some of whom died before him. *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldest Son, left but one Son, who ascended the Throne after his Grandfather, *William*, his second Son, died an Infant (3). *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, who ended his days in *Italy*, left only a Daughter called *Philippa*, by his first Wife, an *Irish* Lady (4). *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was twice married in his Father's lifetime, and had Children, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the following Reigns. *Edward's* fifth Son was *Edmund*, surnamed of *Langley*, the place of his birth. He was created Earl of *Cambridge* by the King his Father, and afterwards Duke of *York*, in the Reign of *Richard II.* his Nephew. *William*, surnamed of *Windsoer*, died young (5). *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, the seventh Son, was made Duke of *Buckingham* by *Richard II.* and afterwards Duke of *Glocester*. *Isabella*, eldest Daughter of *Edward*, was married to *Ingelram de Coucy* Earl of *Soissons* (6). *Joanna* was first contracted to the Duke of *Austria*, and afterwards to *Pedro* (7) the Cruel, King of *Castile*, before he was King; and died at *Bordeaux* as she was going to *Spain* to consummate her Marriage. *Blanch* lived but few years (8). *Mary* was married to *John de Montfort*, Duke of *Bretagne*, and died in 1363. *Margaret* was Wife to *John Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke* (9).

A D I S-

(1) He died of the Shingles, on June 21, 1377. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 7. p. 151. *Walsing.* *Tyrrel*, and lies buried at *Westminster-Abbey*, with this Epitaph upon his Tomb, according to the gingling Rhime of those Days.

Hic Decus Anglorum, Flos Regum Præteritorum,
Forma Futurorum, Rex Clemens, Pax Populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, Regni complens Jubilæum,
Invidius Pardus, Bellis pollens Machabæum.
Prospera dum vixit, Regnum Pietate revixit,
Armipotens Rexit: Jam cælo (cælice Rex) sit!
Tertius Edwardus famâ super æthera notus.
Pugna pro Patria.
MCCCXXXVII.

(2) Among other publick Acts of Magnificence and Charity, King *Edward* rebuilt *Windsoer* Castle, of which *Struquire*, the famous *William* of *Wickham* was Surveyor: He also founded *King's-Hall* in *Cambridge*, now part of *Trinity College*; and the Collegiate Chapel of *St. Stephen's* at *Westminster*, for a Dean, and twelve secular Canons. *Stow's Ann.* p. 277. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 631.

(3) *William* of *Hatfield* (the Place of his Birth) born 1336, dying in his Childhood, was interred in the Cathedral of *York*.

(4) *Elizabeth* de *Burgh*, in whose Right he was created Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*. *William* de *Burgh*, her Father, married *Maud*, Daughter of *Henry*, Son of *Edmund*, second Son of *Henry III.*

(5) And was buried at *Westminster*. Where in the Chapel of *St. Edmund* is to be seen a Tomb of grey Marble, on which lie the Figures of this *William* and his Sister *Blanch* de *la Tour*, carved in Alabaster, in the Habit of the Time, each about a Foot and half long. The Fillet of brass, containing their Epitaph, is torn away.

(6) Who was by *Edward III.* created Earl of *Bedford*, 1366. This *Isabella* was buried in the Church of the *Friers-Minors* without *Allgate*, leaving Issue, *Mary* de *Coucy*, Wife of *Robert* de *Barr*, and *Philippa* de *Coucy*, Wife of *Robert* de *Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, Marquis of *Dublin*, (a Title before unknown in *England*) and Earl of *Oxford*, who forsaking her, married once *Lancaster*, a *Jyner's* Daughter, (as is reported) who came with King *Richard II's* Wife out of *Bohemia*. He died at last in great want at *Louvain*, 1352; and his Corps was brought home, and interred at *Earl's Colne* in *Essex*.

(7) She was married by Proxy, and entitled *Queen of Spain*, but died of the Plague as soon as she came into *Spain*; so that the King her Spouse coming to meet her, to solemnize the Nuptials, accompanied her to Church, only at her Funeral, in 1348. She was born in the Tower, 1335. All our Historians unanimously affirm, she was contracted to *Alphonso XI.* King of *Castile*; but that it was to his Son *Pedro*, surnamed the Cruel, is undeniably manifest from *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 5. p. 475--478, 498--503, 601--607, 612. &c.

(8) She was called *de la Tour*, because born in the Tower of *London*. She was buried in *Westminster-Abbey*, 1340, and her Figure of Alabaster lies as above-mentioned in Note (5).

(9) This *John Hastings* being sent to raise the Siege of *Rocheb*, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and after two Years Captivity, was sold to a Nobleman of *France*, with whom agreeing for his Ransom, he was at his Departure poisoned at a Banquet, 1375, without Issue by the Wife, being the first Subject who followed the Example of King *Edward III.* in quartering Arms, as may be seen in his Effigieon, on the North-side of *Edward III's* Tomb; upon which he bears quarterly, Or, a *March Gules*, by the Name of *Hastings*; and, Barry of twelve pieces Argent and Azure, an Orle of eight Martlets Gules, being *Valence*, impaling, *France* *June* and *England* quarterly. *Sandf. Genl.* p. 180.

By a Charter-Mint to the Abbot of *Reading*, it seems that there was not any greater Piece coined, till after the twelfth Year of *Edward III.*, than a Penny. For the Charter runs thus: "Rex dilectis sibi Johanni de Flate custodi Cambii nostri London: Cum per Cartam nostram concessimus dilectis nobis in Christo-----Abbat & Monachis de *Reading* quod & ipsi & Successores in perpetuum habeant unum Minutarium & unum Cancum, &c.-----Vobis Mandamus quod tres Cuneos de duro & competenti Metallo, unum, videlicet pro *Sterlingis*, alium pro *Shillings*, & tertium pro *Feringis*, pro monetâ apud dictum Locum de *Reading* faciendi, de Impressione & Circumscripturâ quas dicis.-----Abbas declarabit, &c.-----" T. 1. de *Shardishe* apud *Wilm.* xviij. die Nov. Regis nostri xiiij. But in the eighteenth of his Reign, we find the Standard of Gold Coins, was the old Standard or *Sterling* of twenty three Carats, three Grains and a half fine, and half a Grain alloy. And for the Silver Coins, the old *Sterling* of eleven Unces, Two-penny Weight fine, and eighteen Penny Weight alloy. The same in 20th, 23d, 27th, 30th, 46th of his Reign. In the eighteenth Year, every Pound Weight of Gold of this Standard, was to be coined into fifty *Florentines*, at six Shillings a-piece, which made in Tale fifteen Pounds, or into a proportionable Number of half and quarter *Florentines*. This was by Indenture between the King, and *Walter de Dunstouwer*, Master and Workmen. These *Florentines* were so called from the *Florentines*, who (in the Year 1252) first minted such Pieces; so that *Florentus* was generally used all over *Europe*, for the chief Gold Coin, as it is now for the best Silver. *Taban* calls the *Floren*, a Penny; the *Half-Floren*, a Half-penny; and the *Quarter*, a Farthing, or Gold. And these Words are often met with in old Histories and Accounts, applied to several

A DISSERTATION on the SALIC LAW, And the DISPUTE between PHILIP of Valois and EDWARD III.

BY the *Salic Law* is generally meant at present, a fundamental Law of the Monarchy of *France*, which excludes the Females and their Descendants from the Succession to the Crown. This is the Idea commonly annexed to the Term *Salic Law*. In this sense also it is that *Bodin* says, this Law was the foundation of the Monarchy; *Marca*, that it was a Privilege and Custom peculiar to the *French*; *Thuanus*, that it was the *Palladium of France*. I might cite numberless other *French Authors*, who speaking of the *Salic Law*, consider it only as a Law relating particularly to the Succession of the Crown of *France*. This Idea is the reason that most People, verily believing it was never thought otherwise since the Establishment of the Monarchy, cannot understand how *Edward III.*, Son of a Princess of *France*, could, with the least colour, dispute the Crown of *France* with *Philip de Valois*, descended from Father to Son, from *Hugh Capet*. But they who reason thus, are not aware, they take for granted a thing

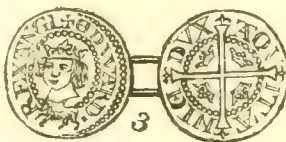
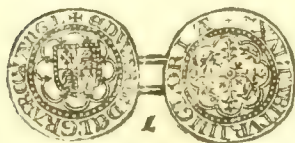
not contested indeed at present, but which at the time of this famous dispute, was the only point in question between the two Kings. Since that point was decided, the present notion of the *Salic Law* is just and certain, but I will venture to say it was then doubtful, and this is what I hope to demonstrate very clearly.

By the *Salic Law*, *Edward*, the next Male Heir of *Charles the Fair*, was deprived of the Succession, and the Regency; or to speak more properly, the Crown was adjudged to a more distant relation. It will therefore be necessary, for the better understanding this process, to know what is meant by the *Salic Law*, which is in every one's mouth, which so few have any knowledge of, and concerning which the *French* themselves are not agreed, though they reckon it a fundamental Law of their Monarchy.

Some, as the famous *Jerom Bignon*, say we are not to look for the *Salic Law* among Records, since it is a Law of Nature, and if there are any Nations where it does not take place, they are examples more worthy of

Bignon de l'Excel. du Roy. du France. l. 3. p. 298. of

veral Coins, as Reals, Angels, &c. where is to be understood by *Denarius*, the Whole; by *Obolus* the Half; and by *Quadrans* the fourth Part or Farthing. In the same eighteenth Year, a Pound Weight of Gold of old Standard, was to contain thirty nine Nobles and a half, at six Shillings and Eight-pence a piece, amounting in the whole to thirteen Pounds, three Shillings and Four-pence in Tale, or a proportionable Number of half and quarter Nobles. Which was by Indenture between the King and *Percival de Perche*, by this Indenture the Trial of the Pix was established. These were indisputably the first Gold Coins, and are so beautiful and rare, that they merit the Esteem of Medals, being inscribed, EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. The Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly within a Rose, (whence called Rose Nobles;) the Arms *Semi-de-lis*, and not stunted to Three, (as in *Edward IV.*) Reverse, a Cross Fleury Lioneux, the four Lions are passant, with the Words, EXALTABITUR IN GLORIA. (Fig. 1.) The Rose-Noble described by Mr. Evelyn, is of *Edward IV.* For the *French Fleurs-de-lis* were not stunted till *Henry V's* time, nor had they a Sun, but only a Cross on the Reverse. The Author of *Num. Britt. Hist.* saw a half Noble of this Prince, which answers the Description. The King standing in a Ship crowned, holding a Sword upright in his Right-hand, and a Shield on his Left, with the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, the Arms of *France Semi-de-lis*, three Lions passant, and three *Fleurs-de-lis* upon the Side of the Ship. EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. H. Reverse, in a large Rose, a Cross Fleury, with a *Fleur-de-lis* at each Point, and a Lion passant under a Crown in each quarter, the Letter E in a Rose in the Center. DOMINE. IN FVRORE. TVO. ARGVAS. ME. (Fig. 5.) It is to be observed from these famous Rose-Nobles, every imaginary Half-Mark, was afterwards called a Noble, the most early use of the Word in that Sense being in the *French King's* Parole of Ransom, in the 34th Year of this Reign. The Florens did not much differ from the Rose-Nobles in weight, and whether they differed at all in the Impression is uncertain.---In 20 *Edward 3.* a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make by Tale forty two Nobles, at six Shillings and Eight-pence a-piece, amounting to fourteen Pounds; and a Pound of Silver of the old Sterling, was to make twenty two Shillings and Six-pence; and *Percival de Perche* was Master.---27 *Edward 3.* A Pound Weight of Gold, of the same Sterling, was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale seventy five Groats, (i. e. Groats,) amounting to twenty five Shillings; or a hundred and fifty half Groats at Two-pence a-piece; or three hundred Sterlings at a Penny a-piece: *Henry Briffel* was Master and Worker. These Groats (so called because they were the greatest Monies then used) exhibit the King full-faced, crowned like the preceding, and inscribed, EDWARD. D. G. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. D. HYB. which last Title is never wanting on the King's Groats. On the Reverse, in a large Circle, POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTOREM. MEVM. (a Motto continued by all his Successors to the Union of the two Kingdoms) in the lesser Circle the Place of Mintage, viz. London, York, or Calais. (Fig. 2.) One has CIVITAS DVNELMIE. There are some Coins before he assumed the Title of *France*, EDWARD. DEI. G. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. Z. AQUIT. *Thoresby* describes one of the Pieces, called *Lufbury*, cried down by Act of Parliament, inscribed, EIWANNES. DNS. Z. REVB. Reverse, the Cross and Pellets, as the *English Money*, LVCEBGENSIS. Likewise, another Piece, inscribed, EDWARD. REX. ANGL. Under the King's Head a Lion passant; Reverse, DVX. AQUITANIE. A Crown in each quarter of the Cross; a most rare Piece, and to be ascribed to this *Edward*, who was not only created Duke of *Aquitain* in his Father's Life-time, but also crowned King of *England*, (Fig. 3.) His Penny, and Half penny, (called sometimes *Mails*) and Farthings, were like those of his Predecessors, but distinguished by the Name EDWARDVS. (Fig. 4.) Those of *Ireland* in a Triangle. It is remarkable, what *Bishop Tonstal* observed of the Gold of this Reign, that it came nearest to that of the ancient *Romans*, or, that four Rose Nobles weighed an Ounce, and were equivalent to the *Roman Aurei* both in weight and fineness; and six Noble-Angels made an Ounce, which were antequivalent in all points to the old *Roman Solidus Aureus*. Likewise in Silver Coins, that an old Sterling Groat was equivalent to the *Roman Denarius*, the Half Groat to the *Quinarius*, and the old Sterling Penny to the *Sestertius Nummus*; *Sestertium* (in the Neuter Gender) a thousand *Sestertii*, to five Pounds Sterling, when three Shillings and Four-pence went to the Ounce; but now to seven Pounds ten Shillings, according to Sir *Thomas Smith's* Account, when five Shillings goes to the Ounce.



of wonder than imitation (1). Some pretend, that *Pharamond* the first King of the *Franks* decreed by an express Law, that the Females should not succeed to the Crown, which has ever since been inviolate. Others attribute this Law to *Clovis*. *Mezerai* pretends the Succession of the Males to the Crown of *France* was not established by a written Law, but by an inviolable custom. This confusion of Ideas, which makes the *Salic* Law to be considered, one while as a Law of Nature, another while as a positive and express Law, and sometimes as a mere custom, renders this matter obscure; which I shall endeavour to clear, in order to give the Reader a true notion of the famous contest between the two Kings.

Before the *Franks* settled in that part of *Gaul* they have so long possessed, they were dispersed by Troops, in *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, from whence they received several names, according to the different Parts they inhabited. Some were called *Salians*, from the River *Sala*, which ran through the Country (2). Others were distinguished by the names of *Chamavi*, *Catti*, *Attuarians*, *Ripuarians*, or *Ribarols*. Each of these Colonies had Laws, common, no doubt, to all the *Franks*, and probably particular ones too. The Laws of the *Salians* and *Ripuarians* are still extant. Among the *Salian* Laws we find this:

De Terra vero Salica, nulla Portio ad MULIEREM transit, sed hoc VIRILIS SEXUS acquirit.

This Law, as it is easy to observe, concerns private Inheritances, and the Title *de Alodio*, under which it is placed, puts it out of dispute. Accordingly, this is the opinion of numberless Authors, as well *French* as others, whose names it would be needless to repeat. *Mezerai* was doubtless of the same opinion, since he said, the Succession of the Males to the Crown was not established by any written Law. All that can be alledged with any plausibleness, by those who ground the Exclusion of the Females upon the above-mentioned Paragraph of the *Salian* Law, is, that the Succession to the Crown is included in the Law, which settled the Succession to the Inheritances of the noble Families. This opinion is also embraced by Father *Daniel* in his History of *France*. He pretends, that the rule concerning the Succession to the Crown, is contained in that particular Article of the *Salian* or *Salic* Law, which includes all the Laws of the *Salian* *Franks*. What this able Historian says, in the Reign of *Clovis*, being of great service to clear up this point, I shall transcribe part of it here, in order to save the Reader the trouble of consulting him.

“It was then, probably, that *Clovis* published the famous *Salic* Law. I am sensible most of our Historians ascribe the honour of it to *Pharamond*; but I follow here the opinion of one of our best Critics. [*Hadr. de Valois*.]

“Many speak and hear of this Law without knowing what it is. It is a common notion, that it concerns solely or chiefly the Succession of the Males to the Crown of *France*, by determining the qualifications of those who may put in their Claim. This notion is wrong in several respects. Of the seventy two Articles, this Law consists of (3), there are but three or four Lines of the sixty second relating to this point. Besides, they do not particularly concern the Succession of the Males to the Crown; but belong in general to all the noble Families, whose Rights they regulate, as well as those of the Royal Family. The words run thus: *As for the SALIC LAND, no part shall descend to the FEMALE, but all shall go to the MALE.*

“By *Salic* Land is meant the Lands of the Nobles of the Nation, and moreover, according to some, the Lands of Conquest, such were almost all those of the *French* Monarchy on this side the *Rhine*. What has chiefly occasioned this popular notion, was the great Dispute formerly between *Philip de Valois* and *Edward III*, King of *England* ----- Besides this famous Contest, the little use made of this Law at present, which is seldom cited by our Lawyers upon other accounts, was the reason of this common persuasion of its being thus limited. But in reality, it contained numberless regulations concerning all sorts of matters.

“I am apt to believe, what we now have of the *Salic* Law, is only an Abstract of a larger Code, abridged on purpose, that the People and Judges might more easily learn the substance and principal points. What makes me believe this, is, that in the present Book of the *Salic* Law, the *Salic* Law it self, is quoted with certain Forms not to be found in that Book. ----- And this moreover leaves no room to question that it was at first composed in the Language of the *Franks*, and afterwards the Abstract translated into *Latin* for the use of the *Gauls*, to whom it was to be common in several Articles, with the *Franks*. This is the Abstract or Abridgment that has been transmitted to us.”

Thus we have three different opinions, given by three learned Critics concerning the *Salic* Law, the Law I mean which renders Women incapable of succeeding to the Crown. *Bignon* says, it is a Law of Nature which ought to be common to all Nations. According to Father *Daniel*, by the *Salic* Law we are to understand, an Abridgment of the *Salian* Laws published by *Clovis*. As for the particular Law settling the Succession to the Crown of *France*, he pretends it is a mere Chimera, a vulgar Error, and adds, without alledging however any proof, that the Exclusion of the Females with respect to the Crown, derives its whole force from that particular passage of the *Salic* Code (4), which settles the Inheritance of the noble Families, and consequently, in his opinion, the Inheritance of the Family Royal, that is, of the Crown. According to *Mezerai*, by the *Salic* Law, or the Law that settles the Succession, is meant, not a written Law, but an inviolable Custom, which is instead of a Law. To give a distinct notion of this matter, I shall examine these three Opinions, and show the objections they are liable to.

First, as to the opinion that supposes the *Salic* Law, or, which is the same thing, the Exclusion of the Females and their Descendants from the Succession to the Crown, to be a Law of Nature: I own, it might with some reason be maintained, that Nature requires States and Kingdoms to be governed by Men, if the *Salic* extended no further; but since it reaches to the Exclusion of the Male-Heirs of the Women of the Royal Family, methinks Nature does not appear in that Extension. In the next place, if the *Salic* Law was a Law of Nature, it would be practised in all States, or at least the exceptions, if any, would be but few. But here we find just the contrary. Of all the independent Kingdoms of *Europe*, established by the northern Nations, *France* alone follows this pretended Law of Nature. All the other States, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Swedenland*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Scotland*, admit of the Femal Succession. Only *France* then must be said to follow Nature, and all the rest of the States to deviate from her Law, which to me seems absurd. Wherefore in the third place, the *Salic* Law has all along been deemed, as it is at present, a Law peculiar to *France*; and we do not find that *Philip le Long*, or *Philip de Valois* ever pretended to urge it, upon any other foot.

As for Father *Daniel's* opinion, whatever esteem I may have for his History, which I take to be the best of all the *French* Histories, I cannot forbear saying, it is not only groundless, but improbable. It is easy to demonstrate, that the Paragraph of the *Salic* Code, on which he grounds the Exclusion of the Females and their Descendants, has no manner of relation to the Succession of the Crown, as will appear, if the whole Title under which it is placed, be but considered. It is the 62d, entitled, *de Alodio*, which settles the Inheritance of the *Alodial* Lands. But first, it must be observed, that *Alodial* Lands, were Lands of Inheritance, not held of any other Lord. This distinguishes them from those termed, *Beneficia*, which were distributed among the Nobles, on condition of personally serving the State upon certain occasions, which Women were incapable of. These were the Lands called *Terra Salica*, because they were considered, as belonging properly to the collective Body of the Nation, and were held by private Persons, on the sole condition of serving the State. This being supposed, the whole Title of the *Salic* Law, where the Paragraph is inserted, runs thus:

TIT. 62. DE ALODE.

“1. Si quis homo mortuus fuerit, & filius non dimiserit, Edit of Pithou.

(1) One may justly say, there is no Beginning or End of the *Salic* Law, for it is a Law of Nature born with Men, and not written, as *Aristotle* observes. The Law of Nature and Nations is not written. *Bignon*, l. 3. *Rapin*.

(2) There are a dozen different Opinions about the Etymology of the Word *Salic*. That from the *Salians*, whose Name is taken from the River *Sala*, seems to me the most probable. See *Limnaeus de Jure Imp. Roman. Germ.* l. 1. c. 2. *Rapin*.

(3) Some Editions have more, some less. *Rapin*.

(4) *Rapin*, in expressing here Father *Daniel's* Opinion, seems to make use of too strong Terms; for it is plain, from that Author's own Words, that he makes the *Salic* Law receive part of its Force from ancient Custom, which he even calls *inviolable*.

“ *si Pater aut Mater superfuerint, ipsi in Hæreditatem succedant.*
 “ 2. *Si Pater aut Mater non superfuerint & Fratres vel Sorores reliquerint, ipsi Hæreditatem obtineant.*
 “ 3. *Quod si nec ipsi fuerint, Sorores patris in Hæreditatem succedant.*
 “ 4. *Si vero Sorores patris non extiterint, Sorores matris ejus Hæreditatem sibi vendicent.*
 “ 5. *Si autem nulli horum fuerint, quicumque proximiores fuerint de paterna generatione, ipsi in Hæreditatem succedant.*
 “ 6. *De Terra autem Salica, nulla Portio Hæreditatis mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem Sexum tota Terræ Hæreditas perveniat.*”

Hence it appears, I. That the *Salic Lands* were *Alodial* like the other, that is, were the real Patrimony of the Possessor, otherwise they would not have been placed here. II. That the design of the sixth Paragraph was to distinguish the *Salic*, from the common *Alodial Lands*, that the former were liable to military Service, which Women could not perform. But by reason, the sense of the sixth Paragraph must, I think, be strangely wrested, to extend it to the Succession of the Crown, the most that can be pretended, is, that the King's own Demesns were subject to this Law.

But, more fully to show, this Article concerns not the succession to the Crown, it must be remarked, there are two original Editions of the *Salic Law*, one procured by *Herold*, the other by *Fr. Pithou*, and in the latter, this sixth Article of Title 62, is imperfect, there being no more than what is inserted above. But in the other Edition, the Paragraph runs in this manner:

De Terra vero Salica in mulierem nulla portio Hæreditatis transit, sed hoc virilis Sexus acquirit, hoc est, Filij in Hæreditate succedunt. Sed ubi inter Nepotes & Pronepotes, post longum Tempus, de Alode Terra contentio suscitatur, tunc non per stirpes, sed per capita dividantur.

I do not see, considering the whole Paragraph, how it can with the least shadow of reason, be applied to the Succession of the Crown.

To this may be added, that very probably, when the *Salic Law* was made, the *Franks* had not yet a King. We not only see no sign of any such thing in the several Articles of this Law, but moreover find in the Preambles, what makes it believed the *Franks* were not subject to a Sovereign Power.

This is the beginning of the *Salic Law*, according to *Herold's* Edition.

IN CHRISTI NOMINE.

Incipit Pactus Legis Salicæ.

Hi autem sunt qui Legem Salicam tractaverunt, Wifagast, Arogast, Salegast, & Windogast, in Bodham, Saleham, & Widham.

According to the other Edition.

Incipit Tractatus Legis Salicæ.

Gens Francorum inclita, auctore Deo condita, dum adhæc ritu barbarico teneretur, inspirante Deo, inquirens scientiæ clavim, juxta morum suorum qualitatem, desiderans justitiam, & custodiens pietatem, distavit Salicam Legem, per Proceres illius Gentis, qui tunc temporis, ejusdem aderant Rectores Electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus, Wifogastus, Bodogastus, Sologastus, & Wodogastus, in locis, cognominatis, Soleheim, Bodoheim, & Widoheim, qui per tres Mallos (1) convenientes, omnes causarum origines sollicitè tractantes, discutiendo de singulis, sicut ipsa Lex declarat, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo. At ubi, Deo favente, Rex Francorum Clodovæus, florens & pulcher, & inclitus, primus recepit catholicum Baptismum, & deinde Childebertus & Clotarius, in culmen Regale, Deo protegente, pervenerunt, quicquid in Pacto (2) habebatur minus idoneum, fuit per illos lucidius emendatum & sanctius decretum. Vivat qui Francos diligit, &c.

In all likelihood, this Preamble was placed before the *Salic Law*, between the Reins of *Clothaire II*, and *Charlemain*, and perhaps before the time of *Dagobert*, since he is not mentioned, though he made some alterations in this Law, as well as *Clothaire* and *Childebert*.

Another Preamble made in the time of *Charlemain*.

(1) That is, *Proceres Alodiales*. *Baron.*

(2) That is in the Law called, *Factum Legislationis*. *Rapin.*

PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ

Placuit atque convenit inter Francos & eorum Proceres, ut propter servandum inter se pacis studium, omnia incrementa veterum rixarum, rescare deberent, & quia cæteris Gentibus juxta se positis, fortitudinis brachio præminebant, ita etiam Legum auctoritate præcellerent, & juxta qualitatem causarum, sumeret criminalis actio terminum. Extiterunt igitur inter eos, electi de pluribus quatuor viri, his nominibus, Wifogastus, Bodogastus, Sologastus, & Wodogastus, in villis quæ ultra Rhenum sunt, Saleheim, Bodoheim, & Widoheim, qui per tres Mallos convenientes, omnium causarum Originem sollicitè discutiendo, tractantes de singulis, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo.

EX CODICE. M. S.

Marchomiris quoque dedit Francis id Consilium, & elegerunt Faramundum ipsius Filium & levaverunt in Regem super se crinitum. Tunc habere Leges ceperunt, quas eorum Proceres gentiles tractaverunt, his nominibus Wifogastus, Arogastus, Sologastus, in Villis quæ ultra Rhenum sunt, in Botagin, Selecagin, Wiedecagin.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi DCCXCVIII, Dominus Carolus Rex Francorum inclitus, hunc Libellum Tractatus Legis Salicæ scribere jussit.

What likelihood is there, that, if the Authors of these Prefaces were of opinion, the *Franks* had a King when the *Salic Law* was made, they should not have mentioned him? For as to the Abstract of the Chronicle, it is a separate piece, added by the Author of the last Preface, as treating of the same subject. But if the *Franks* had not a King, how can the sixth Paragraph of the sixty second Title be applicable to the succession of the Crown of France.

Another objection to Father *Daniel's* opinion is this: Supposing the Article, *De Terra vero Salica*, concerned the Succession to the Crown, as well as private Inheritances; if it be true, that this Law was abrogated under the third Race of the Kings of France, with respect to the *Salic Lands* or great Fiefs, it may, I think, be inferred, that it was also annulled with regard to the Crown. But the thing speaks of it self, since it cannot be denied, that the Dukedoms, Earldoms, in a word, all the great Fiefs of the Crown, descended to the Females. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Ponthieu*, and *Montreuil*, fell to the Kings of England by the Women. It was the same with the Earldom of *Toulouse*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*. The Succession of the Earldom of *Flanders* always devolved to the next Heir, without any preference of Sex, since the time of *Charles the Bald*. All these examples actually subsisted at the time of *Lewis Hutin's* death, when the *Salic Law* began for the first time to be urged in favour of the Males. There were large portions of the *Salic Lands* fallen to Women, purely by Right of Inheritance. Where was then the observance of the Article, *De Terra vero Salica nulla Portio ad mulierem transit?*

There seems to me to be but two ways of answering this objection. First, by saying the *Salic Lands*, or great Fiefs of the Crown, descended to the Women, only when there was no Male-Heir in the Family. But this Reply has no foundation. Besides what has been said concerning the Earldom of *Flanders*, in the very time of *Philip de Valois*, *Artois* was adjudged to *Maud*, to the prejudice of *Robert d'Artois*, Grandson by his Father of the last Duke; and the Duchy of *Bretagne*, to the Wife of *Charles de Blois*, though Earl *Montfort*, Brother of the late Duke, was alive. But, supposing this Law was not annulled when *Hugh Capet* came to the Crown, it was at least abrogated by that Prince, in granting in Fee to the Nobility the great Fiefs, without excluding the Females.

The other way of answering the objection, is by asserting, that though the Law was repealed as to the *Salic Lands*, it was not so with regard to the Succession of the Crown, where it was always inviolable. But how can a Law be supposed to be abrogated in the undoubted sense of the words, and remain in force in a disputable sense, which is taken for granted without the least proof? Besides, I shall make appear hereafter, there had never been any occasion to break it.

A third objection against Father *Daniel's* opinion, may be taken from his own Preface to the History of France. This able Historian maintains, Article III, that the Crown, after being hereditary in the first Race, became elective in the second, and was hereditary in the third, only by way of Association practised by the first Kings of that Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip Augustus*. It so, where shall we find the observance of the *Salic Law*, with respect to the Crown, from *Pepin the Short* to *Lewis VIII*? How

History of the Earls of Flanders at the Hague. 1698.

could it subsist in an elective Kingdom, where it was in the power of the great Men to give the Crown to whom they pleased, and even to chuse Kings not of the Royal Family, as for instance, *Ralph and Eudes*? Hear what Father *Daniel* says of this matter.

The last
Page of the
Preface.

It is extremely probable, that *Hugh Capet* having confirmed the Dukes, Earls, and other Lords in their Usurpations, not only for themselves, but their Posterity, obtained likewise from them the Establishment of the Hereditary Succession to the Crown in his Family. But, as he mistrusted their Levity, he associated his Son *Robert*. *Robert* did the same by his Son *Henry*; and the Custom of Associating lasted till *Philip Augustus*, who thinking Hereditary Right sufficiently established by the Succession of several of his Predecessors, from Father to Son, down to *Hugh Capet*, and whose Reigns for the most part were very long; never troubled himself to associate *Lewis VIII*, his Son.

I shall now examine *Mezerai's* opinion, and theirs, who with him, believe the *Salic Law*, that is, the exclusion of the Females and their Descendants, to be founded only upon an inviolable Custom. But it will be necessary, in the first place, to remove all ambiguity in the term Custom; for by that may be meant, either a negative, if I may be allowed that expression, or a positive, Custom. I call a negative Custom, that to which no instance to the contrary can be alledged, and which however, does not form or establish any right. For example, there never was in *England*, a lame or a one-handed King. Now let it be affirmed, as strongly as you please, that this is a Custom that was never violated, if unfortunately, the only Son of a King of *England* should become lame, or happen to lose a hand, would this be a good reason to exclude him from his Father's Succession? It is the same with the inviolable Custom of *France*, taken in this sense. Because there never was in *France*, a Queen that wore the Crown by her own Authority and Right, it does not necessarily follow, that the Females have no right to the Succession; as it cannot be said in *England*, that a lame or a one-handed Man cannot mount the Throne, because in that Country there never was a lame or a one-handed King. I call a positive Custom, that which is grounded upon some Law, or at least upon examples and precedents, which demonstrate it to have been inviolably practised, and to have served for Rule on certain occasions. Of such a Custom *Mezerai* must be understood to speak, since he confounds it with the *Salic Law*, and endeavours to produce an Instance of its being observed. The question then is to know, whether there was in *France*, any such positive Custom before the Reign of *Philip le Long*; who in support of his Right, pleaded the *Salic Law*, whether he thereby meant the Paragraph of the *Salic Code* above-mentioned, or an inviolable Custom. But where are the Authors that speak of it? Is it not strange that, for nine hundred years, from *Pharamond* to *Philip le Long*, this inviolable Custom, which serves for fundamental Law to a great Kingdom, should not be mentioned by a single Author? I believe I may give this for certain Fact, though I have not read all, because it appears to me impossible that of so many learned Men, who, from the time of *Philip le Long* to this day, have diligently sought after proofs in defence of the *Salic Law*; not one should have been so happy as to discover, in the antient Authors, any Passages favouring, or, at least, alluding to, this written or un-

written Law. Of all the Testimonies alledged, there is not one but what is later than the Reign of *Philip le Long* (1). I am well aware, this objection has already been answered, by affirming that *Marculphus*, who lived in the middle of the VIIIth Century, mentions the *Salic Law* in his *Formularie*. But this is a Fallacy. No body ever pretended to dispute the existence of the *Salic Law*, if thereby is meant the *Salian* or *Salic Code* in general. But the business is to prove the existence of this particular Law, called the *Salic Law*, whereby Women and their Descendants (2) were deprived of the right of succeeding to the Crown, before the Reign of *Philip le Long*. *Marculphus* mentions the former in several places of his *Formularies*, but says not a Word of the latter, which is the point in question. It remains therefore, that this unwritten Law, this inviolable Custom, is to be founded upon examples and precedents, by which it was established, or at least confirmed, otherwise there is no knowing what to think of it. It should therefore be shown, that before the Reign of *Philip le Long*, there were instances of Women and their Descendants being excluded from the Crown, by virtue of the *Salic Law*, or inviolable Custom: And this is what remains to be examined.

To begin with the third Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip le Long*, no such case could happen, for the Kings of that Family succeeded from Father to Son.

In the second Race, it is not possible to find any instance in favour of the *Salic Law*, or inviolable Custom. On the contrary, a precedent might be brought in favour of the Females from divers Princes, descended from *Charlemain* by the Female Line, dividing the *French Monarchy*, and possessing several parts of *Charlemain's* Succession. But as this was at a time when there were only two Princes alive of that Emperor's Family; namely, the Emperor *Arnold*, who was a natural Son, and *Charles the Simple*, who might also be deemed as such, I shall not insist upon it.

The first Race affords three precedents, which may favour the Custom in question. The Daughters of *Childebert I*, King of *Paris*, succeeded not their Father, but *Clotaire I*, their Uncle possessed his Brother's Kingdom. Shortly after, *Cherebert* King of *Paris* dying without Male-Issue, *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, and *Chilperic* his Brothers, shared the Succession, without leaving any part to his Daughters. *Gontran* having but one Daughter, left his Kingdom to *Childebert II*, his Nephew. If it could be shown, that all this was done in consequence of the *Salic Law*, or inviolable Custom, these precedents would amount to the strongest proofs. But unhappily, not a single Writer before *Philip le Long*, speaks on this occasion of the *Salic Law* or Custom. It is true, *Mezerai*, who wrote twelve hundred years after, boldly affirms, that *Clotaire* succeeded his Brother by virtue of the *Salic Law*, and that this is the first instance of the observance thereof. But in relating the Fact, he says *Clotaire* imprisoned his Nieces (3), for fear they should dispute with him their Father's Succession. The same thing happened in the Succession of *Cherebert*. His Brothers used force to seize his Kingdom, without alledging the *Salic Law* to support their Right (4). Accordingly *President Fauchet*, convinced of the violence practised on these two occasions, gives up these two Precedents (5), and confines himself to the third, which is the most specious. *Gontran* having but one Daughter, adopted *Childebert II*, his Nephew, and left him his Kingdom. But this Daughter was a

(1) *Rapin* must have overlooked a Passage in Father *Daniel's* History, quoted from *Agathias*, expressly mentioning this Law. The Passage is likewise alledged by *Fauchet* and *Du Chesne*. *Agathias*, the Scholastic or Lawyer, lived in the sixth Century, and began to write the Continuation of *Justinian's* History after *Procopius*, in 565. This Author, at the end of Chap. vii. Lib. ii. says, "Whilst these Things passed, *Theobald*, who ruled in *France* over the Provinces next to *Italy*, died in the Flower of his Youth. *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, as his nearest Relations, were by the Law of the Country called to the Succession of his Kingdom." By the Law of the Country then, *Theobald's* two Sisters were excluded from the Right of succeeding him. As for *Childebert's* Daughters, *Agathias* continues thus: "But the Disputes about the Division had like to ruin their Dominions, *Childebert*, besides his extreme old Age, languished with an incurable Disease. He had only Daughters, and no Male Issue who might inherit the Crown." The last Words seem to be a demonstrative Proof, that it was then universally known, that the Daughters of *France* were absolutely excluded from the Right of Succession to the Crown. *Agathias* did not say this to favour *Clotaire*, who succeeded his Brother *Childebert* in exclusion of his Nieces, for he was born in *Asia*, and lived very remote from *France*. He was cotemporary with these Kings.

(2) There was no occasion to say their Descendants. For there are two different Questions; the first, which is properly the Point in hand, Whether the Daughters were antiently excluded from the Crown? The second, which has nothing to do here, Whether the Sons of those Daughters were of the excluded from the Crown with their Mothers? The former seems to be expressly mentioned by *Agathias*: see the foregoing Note.

(3) *Gregory de Tours*, a Cotemporary, says only, he banished them, with their Mother. And Father *Daniel* makes them not to be banished till some time after his Father's Death, when *Cbranne*, Son of *Clotaire*, rebelled against him a second time. *Mezerai's* Words are, "Their Uncle, whether in hatred of their Father, or for fear of their pretending to the Succession, kept them in Prison till he was possessed of the Kingdom." This alternative of Doubt is only a Conjecture of *Mezerai*. For *Clotaire* seems to have acted rather out of hatred to his Brother, than from private Views.

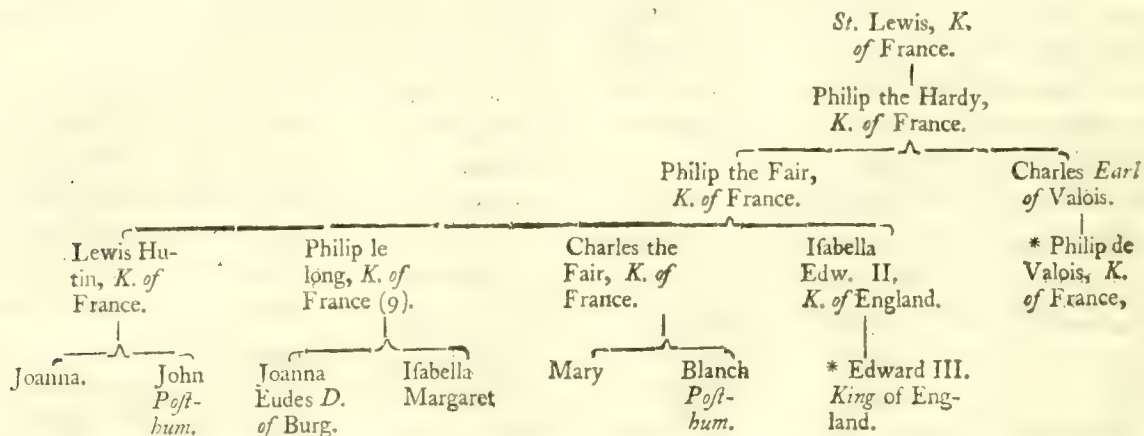
(4) This does not seem to agree with what *Rapin* says in the History of the Church of *Kent*, p. 65, where he represents *Chilperic*, who succeeded his Brother *Cherebert*, as behaving like a Father to his Brother's Daughters, and refusing to marry *Bertba*, one of them, to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, because he was an Idolater. Now *Chilperic*, had he thought she had the least Reason to claim her Father's Succession, should have been glad of so fair an Opportunity to send away his Niece. Indeed, it does not appear that he used any Violence upon them; or imprisoned them, as *Rapin* insinuates.

(5) *Rapin* does not quote *Fauchet*, so it is to be supposed he alludes to what this Author says in his Treatise, *de l'Origine des Dignitez*, &c. l. i. c. 2. where he gives the Reasons why the Daughters of *France* are excluded. "I forbear, says he, to speak of the Daughters of *Childebert I*, King of *Paris*, for it may be said, their Uncle *Clotaire* was so strong, that it was easy for him to shut them up in a Cloister. Much less shall I speak of those of *Cherebert*, also King of *Paris*, because it will be said, their Uncles did not treat them more civilly. But what can be objected to what *Gontran* did to *Clotilda* his own Daughter, &c.?" In this Passage, *Fauchet* does not seem absolutely to give up the two first Precedents, but only thinks them liable to the Objections he mentions. For he urges them both as Enemies of the Exclusion of the Daughters, in Chap. 22. l. 1. 2. des Antiquitez, &c.

Nun (1). Besides, from *Gontran's* believing it in his power to leave his Succession entire to *Childebert II.*, without giving any share to *Cloaire II.*, who was also his Nephew, and *Childebert's* Brother (2), it may, it seems be inferred, that he did not look upon himself as bound by any Law, and that there was not then any settled rule with respect to the Succession (3). It will be said perhaps, that in appointing *Childebert*, the eldest of the two Brothers, for his Successor, he only followed the disposition of the Law or Custom; but this objection is groundless (4). The whole History of the first race plainly shows, the eldest had no Privilege, and that the Kingdoms, of which the *French* Monarchy then consisted, were always divided among the Brothers (5). But be that as it will, it is not sufficient to show, that *Gontran* did a thing agreeable to the pretended disposition of the *Salic* Law or Custom; it must also be proved, that he did it with intention to observe that Custom or Law, which I think impossible (6). It would be quite another thing, if the Law was perfectly known, or the Custom undeniably established by former precedents, which might give occasion to suppose *Gontran* designed to conform himself to it (7). If a Man examines what passed during

the first Race, with respect to the Succession, he will find nothing fixed or settled upon that head; and that force and Arms, had a greater share in it than Laws. This is so true, that it is even doubtful, according to Father *Daniel*, whether the Children were to be preferred to the Brothers, and that this question was not fully decided till long after the beginning of the second Race (8). It is evident then, from what has been said, that the opinion that there was in *France*, before the Reign of *Philip le Long*, a Law or Custom excluding the Daughters from the succession to the Crown, cannot be supported by any certain Testimony, or undeniable matter of Fact.

Having shown what we are to understand by the *Salic* Law, of which so many People talk, without having a just notion of the thing, it will be necessary, in order fully to clear this matter, to make appear how the practice of this Law was established in *France*. But for the better understanding of this, it will be proper to set before the Reader the following part of the Genealogy of the Kings of *France*, which will serve likewise to show the occasion of the dispute between *Edward* and *Philip de Valois*.



Lewis Hutin dying in 1316 left by *Clemence of Burgundy* his Wife only one Daughter, an Infant called *Joanna*. But as his Queen was big with Child, the Crown was not disposed of till she was delivered. The reason of this delay was, because, if the Queen was delivered of a Son, he was to succeed his Father, not by virtue of the *Salic* Law, but by a Law, common to all States, according to which the Males have always the preference to the Females of the same degree. Till the Queen's delivery, *Philip le Long*, the eldest of the deceased King's two Brothers, was appointed Regent. I say, appointed, in the Words of Father *Daniel*, who does not acquaint us by whom he was appointed. *Philip* was then at *Lyons*, busy in procuring a Conclave for the Election of a new Pope. This was the reason he could not come to *Paris*, till three Weeks after the death of the King his Brother. He found there a Party already formed against him, at the Head of which was *Charles* Earl of *Valois* his Uncle, who intended to dispute the Regency with him, and was in possession of the *Louvre*. But *Philip*, at his arrival, found means to dislodge him. The next day, he assembled the Parliament, and by the unanimous consent of the Lords and Knights there present, the Regency was adjudged to him for eighteen Years, in case the Queen was delivered of a Son.

Mean time, as the Queen might chance to have a Daughter, *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle by the Mother's side to *Joanna*, Daughter of the late King, was preparing to prosecute his Niece's right. At length, the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince, who was called *John*, and lived but a few days. Then *Philip*, grounding his claim upon the *Salic* Law, pretended the Crown was fallen to him. As he had a powerful Party, and was unwilling to have his Title questioned, he repaired to *Rheims*, in order to be crowned. But the Duke of *Burgundy* opposed the Coronation, with a Protestation, in the presence of the Peers, to maintain *Joanna's* Right, to whom he pretended the Crown belonged, both by natural and civil Law; and at least the Coronation ought not to be performed, before the pretensions of the young Princess were duly examined. Though the Earl of *Valois* had attended *Philip* to *Rheims*, he was known to be a friend of the Duke of *Burgundy's*. On the other hand, *Charles* Earl of *Marche*, the King's own Brother, being of the same Party, left *Rheims* the morning before the Solemnity. If the *Salic* Law could be proved to be acknowledged and admitted before that time, I confess, the opposition of these Princes would be of no great weight. But as that proof is very difficult, as I have before shown, it may be inferred from the opposition of

(1) This does not seem to be a convincing Reason why *Gontran* should dispossess a Daughter he entirely loved. For if *Gontran* had thought his Daughter could have the least Shadow of Right to succeed him, would he have made her a Nun? So that her being a Nun, is rather a strong Presumption, that the Daughters could not succeed to the Crown. But it may be said, was she not a Nun before her Father adopted *Childebert* his Nephew? Now this ought to be proved indeed, to make *Rapin's* Argument of any force: but the contrary is most probable. For *Mezerai* says, *Gontran* was not married till his Accession to the Crown in 561. Now supposing *Gontran* married *Cloaire's* Mother the first Year of his Reign, she was too young to receive the Veil in 577, when he adopted his Nephew *Childebert*. Besides, in a Treaty with his adopted Son, an Article is inserted, "That whatever is granted by King *Gontran*, to his Daughter *Cloaire*, whether Moveables, Cities, Lands, and Revenues, shall remain in her possession." Such Grants do not seem fit for a Nun, though a Princess. Now this Treaty (as *Fauchet* says) was made in 587, that is, ten Years after his making *Childebert* his universal Heir. But after all, supposing she was a Nun before *Childebert's* Adoption, would not *Gontran*, upon the Death of his Sons, instead of adopting a Nephew, have procured a Dispensation for a beloved Daughter, if the *Salic* Law would have allowed it? So that *Cloaire's* being a Nun, cannot weaken the Argument drawn from her Exclusion, in favour of the *Salic* Law.

(2) *Rapin* is mistaken in making *Childebert* to be eldest Brother of *Cloaire II.* They were only Cousin Germans, Sons of two Brothers; the first of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*; and the other of *Chilperic*, King of *Neustria*. So that his Remark, that the eldest had no Privilege, &c. is not to the purpose here.

(5) Does not the contrary seem rather to be inferred from this Prince's Conduct, that he did think himself bound by the Law or Custom, excluding the Females from the Crown, and knew the Succession to be so settled in an inviolable manner; otherwise it is incredible that he should not do what lay in his Power, to leave his Dominions to his only beloved Daughter.

(4) That this Objection is not altogether without Foundation is certain, from the Passage of *Agathias*, in the Note above.

(3) *Rapin* did not seem to be of the Opinion, that the Succession was divided among all the Brothers, in the Dissertation on the Government of the Saxons, p. 128, 129. Neither indeed was it true, as appears in a Citation from *Mezerai*, in p. 158, of the same Dissertation.

(6) As *Gontran* himself succeeded to part of his Brother's Succession, in Exclusion of his three Nieces, *Childebert's* Daughters, it is more than probable, that he adopted his Nephew in Exclusion of his Daughter, in consequence of the same Law or Custom by which he was preferred to his Nieces.

(7) We have for it the Authority of *Agathias*, who speaks of it in express Terms; and the Treaty between *Gontran* and *Childebert*, where it is supposed, and made the Foundation of their Agreement. Besides, this Law or Custom is to be considered as unquestionably established, before *Gontran* disposed of his Dominions, in prejudice of his own Daughter, since there were three Examples in fifteen Years: 1. The Exclusion of *Theseld's* Sisters in 555. 2. Of *Childebert's* two Daughters in 558. 3. Of *Childebert's* three Daughters in 570.

(8) There were Contests between Brothers and Cousins, concerning the Succession; but it does not appear, that the Exclusion of the Daughters was uncertain or doubtful.

(9) *Du Haillan* says, *Philip le Long* had four Daughters, whose Names were, *Joanna*, *Margaret*, *Mary*, and *Blanch*.

the Princes of the Blood themselves, and contrary to their own Interests, that this Law passed not then for incontestable.

The Duke of Burgundy's Protestation, and Prince Charles's Retreat, made Philip so uneasy, that he ordered the Gates of Rheims to be shut during the Ceremony of the Coronation, for fear of interruption, or that other Peers might absent themselves. A few days after, he held an Assembly at Paris, where were present a great number of Nobles, almost all the Prelates, the most considerable Burgeſſes of Paris, and the University. It was this Assembly that examined the Laws of the State; decided, that the Females were incapable of succeeding to the Crown; and approved and confirmed the King's Coronation. It might be demanded, whether such an Assembly had power to make a decision of this nature; but since the French Nation has thought fit to receive it, it is needless to insist upon that. I shall only observe, that it was now almost nine hundred years since the establishment of the Monarchy, and this the first time it was expressly decided in France, that the Daughters were incapable of succeeding to the Crown.

Notwithstanding this decision, Queen Clemence, Widow of the late King, the Earl of Marche the King's Brother, the Earl of Valois his Uncle, the Duke of Burgundy Prince of the Blood, and their adherents, did not fail to show a dissatisfaction, at seeing Philip on the Throne. This created uneasiness in the new King, who, to free himself from it, found means to gain the Duke of Burgundy, the head of the Party, by giving him his eldest Daughter in marriage, with the Earldom of Burgundy for her Portion. The Duke being thus gained, the Party dispersed, and the Salic Law passed, from thenceforward, for a Law as antient as the Monarchy. But great care was taken to confound, as has been done ever since, the Salic Law in general, or the Collection of Salic Laws, with the pretended Salic Law in particular, which excluded the Daughters from succeeding to the Crown.

Philip le Long being dead, after a short Reign, and leaving only Daughters, Charles the Fair his Brother, mounted the Throne without opposition, to the prejudice of his Nieces. This was a second decision in favour of the Males. From that time none ever thought of questioning the Authority of the Salic Law. Thus was established the observance of this famous Law in France, without its being yet known, whether Philip le Long, in urging it in support of his pretensions, proceeded upon the sixth Paragraph of the 62d Title of the Salic Law, or upon inviolable Custom. What may be affirmed, is, that in those days the French must have had very confused notions concerning this Law, since even after its being incontestably acknowledged for authentick, the most learned cannot agree upon that subject.

I come now to the famous Dispute between Philip of Valois and Edward III. Charles the Fair, who died February 1328, leaving no Male-Issue, and his Queen finding herself with Child, the same Rule was followed as was observed after the death of Lewis Hutin. That is, the Crown was not disposed of, till the Queen's Delivery, who was seven months gone with child. But it was necessary to appoint a Regent, to take care of the Government in the mean while. Then it was that the great Contest about the Regency arose, between Edward III, Nephew, by his Mother, to Charles the Fair, and Philip Earl of Valois, Cousin German to the same Prince. This was an affair of very great consequence. Besides that the Regency was to be long, in case the Queen was delivered of a Son, it was easy to foresee, that the Judgment given for the Regency, would be a strong Precedent for the Crown, if she happened to have a Daughter. For this reason the affair was very warmly contested on both sides, not before the States-General, as some have affirmed without any foundation, but before an Assembly of great Men, purposely convened upon that occasion. Edward pleaded his being the next Male-Heir of the late King. Philip adhered to the Salic Law, which, according to him, excluded not only the Daughters, but also their Descendants, from the Succession to the Crown, and consequently from the Regency. Philip carried the Cause as to the Regency, and was afterwards crowned, upon the Queen's being delivered of a Daughter in April. As Edward endeavoured not to prosecute his Right till some years after, the question between them, was no longer concerning the Regency, but the Crown itself. All the French Historians call Edward's pretensions chimerical; and the English, on their part, exclaim against the injustice that was done him. The business therefore at present is to examine the Rights of both Parties, independently of the Events, and Philip's

possession. This will be the only means to enable us to judge, whether the War occasioned by this affair, was just or unjust, or whether, as I believe, there was on both sides, sufficient reason to justify the attack and the defence.

In order to have a clear notion of this matter, it must be considered, that the Point in question between the two Kings, was not, Whether there was any such thing as a Salic Law, excluding the Daughters from the Succession to the Crown of France? Whether the Law was real, or only imaginary, it was equally the interest of both Kings to suppose it, since it was the sole foundation of their respective Claims. Without this Law, the Crown would have indisputably belonged to Joanna Daughter of Lewis Hutin, and the two last Kings must have been reckoned Usurpers. Moreover, had there been no Salic Law, Philip and Edward would have been manifestly excluded by the Daughters of the three last Kings, Sons of Philip the Fair. The only thing therefore was to know, whether the Salic Law was limited to the Persons of the Daughters, to exclude them from the Succession, or whether it extended to all their Posterity. This was a new Query, which had never been decided, because the same case had never happened, since the beginning of the Monarchy. Philip maintained, that Edward could pretend to the Crown, but by right of Representation, as Son of Isabella; and that representing only a Woman, he could not derive from his Mother, a right which she had not. But Edward took care not to ground his Claim upon Representation. He insisted, on the contrary, upon nearness of Blood; and affirmed, that the Crown was devolved to him, as the next Male-Heir capable of succeeding.

Indeed, it cannot be conceived what use he could have made of Representation, which serves only to put a distant Relation, in the place of the Person represented. He had no occasion to be brought nearer, since he was Nephew of the late King, and Philip de Valois but Cousin-German. Accordingly, in all the pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts concerning this matter, there is not so much as one, where he alleges in his behalf the right of Representation, but always that of nearness of Blood. And yet almost all the French Authors that have writ on this Subject, have been pleased to combat this chimæra, and ground their reasonings upon the impertinency of this Representation; which, after all, was never urged by Edward. The English, for their part, are fallen into the like error, by strenuously opposing the Existence of the Salic Law, not considering, it was no less necessary for Edward than for Philip. So, it may be affirmed, both sides have understood, and stated the question wrong.

But, to prevent mistakes, and clear this matter as much as possible, a Man must fancy himself cotemporary with this Dispute, and consider that the point in question was never decided. Each Party therefore was free, before the decision, to explain and comment upon the Salic Law, as he judged for his purpose, without being liable to be taxed with rashness. Whereas now it would be ridiculous to dispute upon the interpretation of a Law acknowledged by the French, and admitted, as then explained by Philip, and which they have ever since followed.

This being supposed, the business then, in order to decide this new Query, was, fully to understand the meaning of the Salic Law, concerning which there was reason, as I have shown, to doubt, whether it ever existed. But supposing its existence, the Question was to be decided, either according to the Paragraph of the Salic Code, *De Terra vero Salica*, &c. which gave no light into the point in hand, or according to the inviolable custom observed in France for nine hundred years, though there had never been occasion to put it in practice. Upon which ever of these two foundations a Man grounded a Judgment, he could not but meet great difficulties. Could he say, that by the Paragraph *De Terra Salica*, it was plain, the Male-Issue of the Daughters, were to be excluded from the Succession to the Crown? Was it evident that this Law, so long disused with respect to the Salic Lands, and the Estates of the Nobles, had preserved its full force with regard to the Crown? On the other hand, if a Man grounded his Judgment upon Custom, what method could he take to know, whether it was the intent of the first Establishers, whoever they were, to exclude from the Succession the Male-Heirs of the Daughters, as well as the Daughters themselves? He could have no Precedents or Examples to direct him, since the same case had never happened. It is therefore rashness, in my opinion, absolutely to decide now against either of the two contending Princes, and more so, peremptorily to pronounce the Pretensions of either to be extravagant. This is the more unjust, as they both supported their Claims by very specious reasons, the substance

stance whereof I am going to relate; if so be, that part of these Reasons have not since been fathered upon them.

Edward maintained, that what had hitherto been decided concerning the *Salic Law*, regarded only the Persons of the Daughters, and could not be extended to their Male-Issue, without proving it to be the intent of the Law. But this was impossible, considering the time between its establishment, and the first occasion of putting it in practice. That indeed, the exclusion of the Daughters was built on very plausible reasons, taken from the weakness of their Sex, and the temper of the *French Nation*, which would never venture to be governed by a Woman; but that these reasons could not be alledged against their Sons. That formerly, among the *Ostrogoths of Italy*, who observed the same Custom, there was a like instance, which plainly showed, that the exclusion of the Daughters might subsist without that of their Male-Heirs. That after the death of *Theodoric, Amalazonta*, his Daughter, did not succeed him, because she was a Woman; however, that did not hinder *Athalaric* her Son, though an Infant, from being placed on the Throne of his Grandfather (1). He farther added, that the *Salic Law* was an extraordinary Law, contrary to the Law civil and natural, for which reason it was to be confined within just bounds, rather than extended, as if the Women of the Royal Family were to be punished for some great crime, which deservedly drew down vengeance on all their Posterity. If the *French* believed Women unworthy, or unfit to govern them, with all his heart, he pretended not to oppose that Law. But what had the Princesses of the Blood done to deserve, that all their Posterity should suffer a punishment, from which the Daughters of the Peers, and the other great Men of *France* were exempted, as well as their Descendants? Finally, in explaining the *Salic Law*, so as to deprive the Male-Issue of the Women of a natural Right, was to make a new Law, under colour of interpreting the old.

Philip replied, that *Edward* acknowledging the Authority of the *Salic Law*, was much mistaken in confining the intent of that Law, to the hindering the Kingdom of *France* from being governed by a Woman. That there was another and no less essential end, namely, to prevent the Crown from devolving to Foreigners. That the *French Nation* had willingly submitted to *Hugh Capet* and his House, but never meant to subject themselves to other Families; and to receive a foreign King, a new contract was necessary (2). That the intent of the *French* manifestly appeared, in their not considering the Descendants of the Princesses of the Blood, as presumptive Heirs of the Crown (3). Consequently, it was not indifferently the next Male-Heir which was to succeed, but the next descended from Father to Son from *Hugh Capet*.

It is a strange thing, that among so many Authors who have writ of this famous Contest, not one, at least that I know of, except *Father Daniel*, rightly understood the state of the Question between the two Kings. They have all amused themselves with combating *Chimæras*, and making the Parties alledge Arguments nothing at all to

the purpose, and sometimes even contrary to their real interests. Some make *Philip* urge very strong reasons against the right of Representation, which it is certain *Edward* never meant to use. Others alledge for *Edward* the most plausible arguments against the *Salic Law*, though it was evidently his interest to support it. And therefore I am apt to believe, the Harangue *Paulus Emilius* puts into the mouth of *Robert d'Artois*, in defence of *Philip's* Right, is a mere invention of the Historian; since the Orator doth not confine himself to the true case, though in all appearance, *Robert d'Artois* was not ignorant of the state of the Controversy. *Pasquier*, though a great Civilian, and well versed in the History of *France*, and in short, all the Writers, as well *English* as *French*, are guilty of the same error. As for *Father Daniel*, after truly stating the case, and briefly relating the reasons of *Philip de Valois*, without giving his own opinion, he makes *Edward's* pretensions to be considered, in the course of his History, as chimerical (4).

This case was never decided as to the Crown, but only with regard to the Regency. It cannot be denied, that in this judgment *Philip* had a great advantage, for the Judges were all his Relations and Friends, and the Person who disputed the Regency with him, a Minor and Foreigner. *Philip* took for granted afterwards, in imitation of *Philip le Long*, that the same judgment which adjudged him the Regency, gave him a Right to be crowned, and by that the question was really decided. He was so prejudiced in favour of his own right, that he commanded the Hands and Feet of a Burgher of *Compiègne* to be cut off, for maintaining, that *Edward's* Title was better than his. One cannot say what the Issue would have been, if the decision of the affair had been referred to the States of the Realm, as it was the opinion of several, who believed That to be the only means of solidly establishing *Philip's* Right. All that can be affirmed is, that the establishment of the *Salic Law* in favour of *Philip le Long*, and its confirmation by the advancement of *Charles the Fair* to the Throne, could not have prejudiced *Edward*. The sole business was, either to limit the *Salic Law* to the Persons of the Daughters, or to extend it to all their Posterity, and this is what had never before been decided.

My design in what I have said, as well concerning the *Salic Law*, as the Contest between the two Kings, was, I. To rectify most People's notion concerning this Law. II. To show precisely wherein consisted the Dispute between the two Competitors. III. That this affair had its difficulties, and was not easily to be determined by Law. IV. Lastly, That the two Kings had each very plausible reasons, and consequently it was a just matter of Process. And this is what I could not do in the Body of the History, without making too long a digression. As the War occasioned by this quarrel was very lasting, and renewed by several of *Edward's* Successors, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know the origin and foundation thereof. Nay, this quarrel may be said not to be yet ended, since from the time of *Edward III.*, the Kings of *England* have all along born, and still do bear the Title of Kings of *France*.

(1) There are some Writers, who not knowing that the Dispute between *Philip* and *Edward*, was not about the Exclusion of the Women, but of their Male Issue, have alledged this Example in favour of *Philip de Valois*. *Rapin*.

(2) It would perhaps be pretty difficult to prove this Engagement of the *French Nation* with the Family of *Hugh Capet*. The Association practised by the first Kings of the third Race, seems to argue, that they did not much rely on this pretended Engagement, of which *Father Daniel* contents himself with saying, that it is very likely. *Rapin*.

(3) I question whether this can be affirmed with certainty, with respect to the Time before the Reign of *Philip le Long*. At least, it is very doubtful, with regard to the second Race. *Rapin*.

(4) It is certain, that *Rapin*, in asserting, that all the *French* and *English* Authors understood not the State of the Question between the two Kings, was mistaken. For of the *French*, *Vertot*, in his Dissertation on the *Salic Law*, (which *Rapin*, it is plain, never saw) states the Case exactly as he owes. So do likewise *Bodin*, *Du Haillan*, *Mexerat*, and *Le Gendre*. So also the famous *Puffendorf*; and of our Historians, *Martin*, *Tyrrel*, &c. It must indeed be owned, that some, after truly stating the Case, in other Places alledge Arguments against the *Salic Law*, which entirely destroy *Edward's* Pretensions. Of this *Father Daniel* is a famous Instance. For after he had already said, "That the *Salic Law* was allowed on both sides; namely, that the Daughters could not succeed to the Crown, and therefore the Queen of *England*, though the late King's Sister, could not pretend to it: But the *English* Lawyers maintained, the next Person, where this defect of Sex was not found, ought, by nearness of Blood, to succeed, and upon this Title *Edward* founded his Pretensions." I say, after thus truly stating the Case, he says, in his Dissertation on the Antiquity and Author of the *Salic Law*, "If the *English* had not been perverted of the Antiquity of this Law, they would not have failed to attack, more strongly than they did, this fundamental Principle of *Philip's* Right." What! Should they attack a Law allowed by *Edward* as well as *Philip*? A Law, without which neither of them would have had any Pretensions to the Crown? It is in this inconsistent manner that many, both *French* and *English* Historians, talk upon this Subject. See these Things more largely discussed in *Rival's Examination of L'Abbe de Vertot's Dissertation on the Origin of the Salic Laws*.

1377.
 'Tis feared
 Richard's
 Uncle would
 dispute the
 Crown with
 him.

Reasons of it.

Richard
crowned.
Act 1. ub.
V. l. p. 157
Walling.

*The King's
Chaplain.
Walling.*

1377

Several Ho-
nors confer-
red.
Idem.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 160.

*Negligence
of the En-
glish as to
the War.*

The French
manage the
Coys of
England.
Walsing.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 162.
Froissart,
l. i. c. 313.

*The King's
Under-
govern the
State.*

5 Walsing.

(r) As the Coronation Oath was somewhat larger than that already mentioned by our Historians, and because this Form, with some small Alterations, has been administered to all succeeding Kings and Queens ever since, it may not be improper to infer it. "I. That he would permit the Church to enjoy all her Liberties: That he would reverence his Ministers, and maintain the Truth. II. That he would refrain Violence and all Oppression, in all Parts of Men: That he would cause good Laws to be every where observed, especially those of St. Edward, King and Confessor: And would also cause all evil Laws or Customs to be abrogated. III. That he would be no respecter of Persons, but would give right Judgment between Man and Man, and "would chiefly observe Mercy in all his Decrees or Judgements, as God should shew Mercy to him." Then the Archbishop led the King (the Lord-March I walking before him) to all the four Sides of the Scaffold, and shewing the King to the People, declared the Purport of the Oath he had now taken, and asked them, *If they would be subject to this Prince as their lawful Ruler, and be obedient to his Commands?* This Ceremony, though not mentioned before in any of our Historians, was no Innovation, but seems to be a Remainder of the old English Custom of electing the King, as may be observed by comparing the manner of the Coronation, and Election of King Edward the Confessor, and William I, with this Action, and which has been observed ever since. *Lynn*, Vol. III. p. 289. *Walsh*. p. 195.

(21) The Manor of *Scriwelby*, in Right of *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter of *Sir John Marmion*.

(3) With a Pension of a thousand Marks. *Walpole*, p. 197. The 22d of July, this same Year, he was appointed High-Confable of England. *Rymers's Fed. Tom.* 7. p. 152.

(4) With the Lake Pension. *Walling.* p. 197.

(5) He performed the Office of Earl-Marshal, at the Coronation, by Writ from the King, saying to every one their Right, because that Office was claimed by *Margaret*, Heiress of *Thomas Brotherton*, late Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marshal of *England*.

(6) Orders were however given for securing the Coasts of *Kent* and *Essex*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 154, 155.

(7) Bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Essex*. *Walsing.* p. 199. *Tyrrel*, p. 831. Upon account of these Invasions, Orders were issued out for arming the Clergy. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 7. p. 169.

(8) On the Day King *Edward* died, the Citizens sent Deputies to Prince *Richard*, then at *King's*, at the Head of whom was *John Gb'ps*, to acknowledge *Richard* for their lawful Sovereign, and request that he would please to honour them with his Presence, and never Reside; and they submitting all Differences between the Duke of *Lancaster* and them, to the young King, Matters were soon adjusted. *Walpole*. p. 193.

and it was feared, he would assume his former haughtiness, if entrusted with the Administration. As he knew very well what people thought of him, he behaved very circumspectly, apprehensive as he was of being excluded from the Regency to which he aspired. But all his precautions were not capable to prevent the murmurs of the People, already prejudiced against him. The little care, the two Princes took to guard the Coasts, was openly complained of, without considering they had neither Fleet, nor Troops, nor Money, nor even any lawful authority to raise extraordinary Forces. Another accident helped very much to incense the people against them. The Scots having taken by surprize the Castle of *Roxborough*, the loss was ascribed to the negligence of those, who governed the Realm (1).

The Parliament's first care, which met in *October* (2), was to settle the Administration of the Government during the King's minority. For that purpose, they appointed several Governors to the King, to take care of his Education, and ordered that his three Uncles should be Regents of the Kingdom; but joined with them some Bishops and Lay-Lords (3). This precaution was founded on the danger of trusting the Person and Affairs of a minor King, to the sole management of the nearest Relations, who in their Administration, might have self-interested views. This was a great mortification to the three Princes, and particularly to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had flattered himself with the hopes of being sole Regent (4).

This affair being finished, the Parliament granted the King a Subsidy (5), for the maintenance of the War; but it was clogged with this condition, (which plainly showed, they were resolved to be upon their guard during the Minority,) that the Money should be lodged in the hands of *Philpot* and *Walworth*, two eminent Aldermen of *London*, who were ordered to take care it should be expended only in repulsing the *French* and *Castilians* in league against *England*. Moreover, it was declared, that the Subsidy granted the King, should not be drawn into a Precedent, but for the future, what should be necessary for maintaining his Household, and defraying the Charges of the War, should be supplied out of his ordinary Revenues. After this the Parliament admitted an accusation against *Alice Pierce*, Favorite of the late King, who being convicted of several Misdemeanors (6), received a Sentence, whereby all her Estate was confiscated to the King's use, and herself condemned to banishment. But this Woman, who had an able and intriguing head, quickly found means to be recalled by the King, and restored to her Estate (7). Before the Parliament broke up, *Richard* confirmed King *John's* two Charters, and gave his assent to several Acts, relating to the Contests *England* had with the Court of *Rome*.

It was not without reason, that the Duke of *Lancaster* was hindered from having the sole management of affairs. This Prince was of a proud and haughty Temper, which suffered him not to have much regard for his Inferiors, particularly in affairs where his interest was concerned. Presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, he gave a proof of his violent Temper, by an action which showed what he was capable of, if the whole power had been lodged in his hands. As he had a claim to the Kingdom of *Castile*, he thought it might be of some advantage to gain to his interest the young Earl of *Denia*, a *Castilian* Lord, then at *London*. The Father of this young Earl, being taken at the battle of *Najara* by two *English* Knights, was brought into *England*, where he had remained several years in the custody of those who took him Prisoner. At length, by leaving his Son in Hostage,

he obtained leave to return home, where he died before his Ransom was paid. The Duke of *Lancaster* hoping to make friends in *Castile* by means of the young captive Earl, so managed it, that the King ordered the two Knights to release him. But as there was no mention of the ransom, they concealed their Prisoner, and made him promise he would not discover himself. This disobedience exasperating the Duke of *Lancaster*, he sent the two Knights to the Tower, from whence however they made their escape, and took refuge in the Church of *Westminster*. This Sanctuary was not capable of saving them. The Duke of *Lancaster* sending Soldiers into the Church (8) to bring them away, one of the Knights (9) was retaken, but the other (10) defending himself, was slain with a Monk, who too warmly took his part. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* communicated all that were concerned in the breach of the Church's privileges; but the Duke's authority prevented any farther prosecution of the affair. Sometime after, the King taking upon him to pay the *Spanish* Earl's ransom, it was discovered, to the People's great admiration, that the young Lord, not to be forced to break his promise, had all along attended, in a Footman's Habit, the Person to whom he had given his word.

Mean time, the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was vexed to see the Money granted the King by the Parliament, in the hands of two Citizens of *London*, promoted not the equipment of the Ships, for the defence of the Coasts. This affected negligence occasioned many complaints. But he pretended, he could not form any project, lest it should not be approved by those, who had the management of the Money. In fine, he so importuned the other Regents, that the two Aldermen were ordered to put into his hands the sums they were charged with. He promised for his part, that the Coasts should be better guarded, and the Merchant-men protected. However, he still delayed a considerable time sending out a Fleet, because he expected from *Bayonne* some Ships which were to join those he equipped.

Whilst the Fleet was preparing, the Earls of *Arundel* (11), and *Salisbury* (12) had orders to go to *Normandy*, and take possession of *Cherbourg*, which the King of *Navarre* had promised to deliver to the *English*. They had scarce left the Coasts of *England*, when they were met by some *Spanish* Men of War, who fiercely attacked them (13), and did them some damage. Notwithstanding this obstacle, they put a Garrison into *Cherbourg*, which afforded the *English* an inlet into *Normandy*, as *Calais* did into *Picardy*.

Before the Fleet, designed for the guard of the Coasts, was quite ready, one *Mercer*, a *Scotch* Pyrate, seeing the *English* neglected the northern Seas, entered the Port of *Scarborough*, and carried away the Merchant-men that lay there. This success inspiring him with greater hopes, he long cruised in those Seas, and took considerable prizes. The damage sustained by the Merchants on this occasion, caused fresh complaints against the Duke of *Lancaster*, who so ill performed his promise. *Philpot*, before mentioned, full of indignation to see the *English* Merchants exposed to the ravages of this Pyrate, undertook, at his own expence, what the Duke neglected to do with the publick Money. He fitted out some Ships, and with a thousand Soldiers, went in quest of the *Scotch* Pyrate, whom he defeated, and taking him Prisoner, returned in triumph to *London*. This action, which gained him the applauses of the People, offended the Regents, who thought it of dangerous consequence, to suffer a private Person to undertake a thing of that nature, without the Government's permission. But he made so good a de-

(1) But *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* entering *Scotland*, at the head of ten thousand Men, wasted and plundered the Country for three Days, especially the Earl of *Dunbar's* Lands; for it was he that had surprized *Roxborough*. *Walsing.* p. 198.

(2) *October* 13. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Reg. H.* 1. *Sec.* *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 154.

(3) Namely, the Bishops of *London* and *Salisbury*; *Edmund* Earl of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*; *William* Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Colham*; *Sir Roger de Beuchamp*, and *Sir Richard de Stafford*, Knights Bannerets; *John* Knyvet, *Ralph de Ferrers*, *John* Devereux, and *Hugh de Segrave*, Knights Batchellors. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 7. p. 161.

(4) He thereupon withdrew from Court, and retired to *Kenelworth* Castle; but, probably, it was not till after the Parliament here mentioned, for it is certain the Duke was at this Parliament. *Walsing.* p. 198. *Tyrrel.* p. 332. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 155.

(5) Two Fifteenths and two Tenths out of Cities and Burroughs; the Fifteenth of all Lands whatsoever, and Tenths of all manner of Goods; to be levied between that and *Candlemas*' ensuing; and to be deposited in the Hands of *William* *Walworth*, and *John* *Philpot*, Merchants of *London*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 156. *Walsing.* p. 200.

(6) The Articles alleged against her, were, 1. That she, in the Time of *Edward* III, procured *Sir Nicholas Dagworth* to be recalled from *Ireland*, where he was sent: And 2. That she procured from the same King a Remittance of three hundred Pounds, due from *Richard* *Lym* to the Exchequer; and farther, procured him a Grant of a thou and Marks, as a Gift. But, as *Sir Robert Cotton* observes, the Record proves no such remittance; after; only that she was in such Credit with *Edward* III, as she sat at his Bed's head, when all of the Council and of the Privy-Chamber stood waiting with out doors, and that she moved those Suits which they dared not; and these two Suits for which she was condemned, seemed very honest; her misdeed was, that she was too ready to many, but all were not so to her. *Abridgement.* p. 158.

(7) she married, not long after the Sentence, *Sir William de Windesore*, a Person of Note; and notwithstanding this Ordinance, they both, in the next Parliament, petitioned for a Revocation for divers Errors therein recited, and thereupon obtained a Reversal of the same. *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Hen. 4.* N. 36.

(8) *Sir Alan de Buxhall* Constable of the Tower, and *Sir R. Ferrers*, with fifty armed Men. *Walsing.* p. 214, 215.

(9) *John* *Nbakel*.

(10) *Robert* *Houle*, he was buried under a Brals plated Stone in *Westminster* Abbey. *Walsingham* calls them valiant *Squires*, and says, they belonged to *Sir* *John* *Urbados*, p. 214.

(11) *Richard* *Fitz-Alan*.

(12) *William* *de Montacute*.

(13) Namely, a Squadron commanded by *Sir Philip* and *Peter Courtney*, two Brothers. *Sir Peter* escaped; but *Sir Philip* was taken Prisoner. *Tyrrel.* p. 339.

1378. fence, and with so much Modesty, that he was dismissed without further trouble.

Schism in the Church. The late Schism formed in the Church by the double Election of Urban VI, and Clement VII, employed the Parliament some time, which met in October 1378. France espoused the Cause of Clement, and perhaps that was the principal reason of England's declaring for Urban. However, as the matter is stated by the friends of Clement themselves, it cannot be denied, that his Election was very irregular. The rise of the Schism was this.

Rise of the Schism. Gregory XI, leaving Avignon, upon certain pretended Revelations, in order to reside at Rome, died March the 7th, 1378. Of the three and twenty Cardinals then in being, six remained at Avignon; one was a Legate, and the sixteen others, of whom twelve were Frenchmen, and four Italians, were at Rome when Gregory died. These last being entered the Conclave, to proceed to the Election of a Pope, were greatly embarrassed. Their intent was to chuse a Frenchman; but as they foresaw the People of Rome would oppose it, they resolved to give them a seeming satisfaction, by pretending to elect an Italian. But they agreed first among themselves, that as soon as they were at full Liberty, they would chuse another, who should be the true Pope; a project which could hardly fail of begetting a Schism. According to this agreement, of which we could have no certainty, but by their own Confession, they elected the Archbishop of Bary, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Urban VI. The Election was notified to all Christian Princes as Canonical, even by the Cardinals the Electors, and for some time they themselves acknowledged Urban for head of the Church. And yet, whether in consequence of their agreement, or, as some affirm, because Urban treated them too haughtily, these same Cardinals leaving Rome on pretence of great heat, met at Anagnia, and elected one of the Cardinals of Avignon, who styled himself Clement VII. These two Elections by the same Persons, long employed the most noted Divines in Europe, and occasioned a Schism, which lasted above thirty Years. It ought not to seem strange, that it was so difficult to decide, which of the Popes was head of the Church: It would have been much easier to find good reasons to reject them both. However, the Schism divided all Christendom, each State declaring for one or other of the two Popes, not so much on account of the Right of the Parties, as for political Reasons. France, whose interest it was that the Pope should reside at Avignon, joined with Clement, and for a contrary reason, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the Pope of Rome.

The Duke of Lancaster undertakes to restore the Duke of Bretagne. Whilst the two Pontiffs were darting their Spiritual Thunders against one another, the Duke of Lancaster equipped his Fleet, which had been so long preparing. His design was not only to guard the Coasts as he had engaged: He had in view a more important expedition, namely, to restore the Duke of Bretagne, dispossessed by the King of France, with the connivance of the Lords of Bretagne, whom he had gained to his interests. This unhappy Prince, seeing himself abandoned by most of his Subjects, came into England towards the end of Edward's Reign, to demand his assistance; but losing that refuge by the death of his Father-in-law, retired to the Earl of Flanders, his relation and ally. During his stay in that Country, a French Envoy, who was going to Scotland, being stopped on the way, by the Earl's Order, Charles pretended it was done by the Duke of Bretagne's instigation, and insisted upon the Earl's dismissing him from his Court. The Earl, not believing, his being Vassal obliged him to that condescension, furnished the King by his refusal, with the pretence he was apparently seeking, to be revenged of the Duke another way. He sent into Bretagne an Army, to compleat the ruin of that unfortunate Prince, who was unable to resist him. England was too much concerned to support him, not to make some effort in his favour. The Duke of Lancaster find-

ing his Fleet ready for Sea, went on board himself, and set sail for Bretagne, where he laid Siege to St. Malo. But he met with so many obstacles from Du Guesclin, who commanded the French Army in those Parts, that he was forced to desist from his enterprize.

This ill success would have perhaps discouraged the English, had not the Duke of Bretagne repaired to England, and offered to deliver to the King the Town of Brest, during the War, provided he would lend him an Aid proportioned to his wants. So advantageous an offer inspired the King's Council with fresh hopes, since it would enable them to make from that side a powerful diversion, which could not but be very troublesome to France. And indeed, if the English had wisely improved their advantages, it would have been in their power to invade France from four several Quarters, namely, Guienne, Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, by means of Bourdeaux, Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, which gave the English so many inlets into that Kingdom. Richard's Council resolving to embrace so favorable a juncture, accepted the Duke of Bretagne's offer, and made with him a Treaty, upon the spot proposed by himself. The Parliament, which was consulted on this affair, approving the Council's designs, granted a very considerable Subsidy, to execute a project that was likely to procure great advantages to the State. Besides the Party the Duke of Bretagne had still in his own Country, several of his Adversaries began to wish for his Restoration, not being able to bear, without extreme uneasiness, the insolence of the French. But as the strong holds were in the hands of the friends of France, the faithful Subjects could undertake nothing, unless supported by the English, who were, with all possible diligence, preparing the promised Supplies.

Mean while, the King of France, who saw the gathering storm, took measures to divert it, by procuring from the side of Scotland, a diversion, to hinder the English from carrying their Arms abroad. The King of Scotland, gained by the presents and promises of the French Monarch, suddenly broke the Truce, and took Berwick Castle, by surprize (1); the Town having been dismantled in the former Wars. The Earl of Northumberland (2), Governor of the northern Counties, surprized at the loss of that place, which was imputed to his negligence, drew together a Body of Troops (3) with such speed, that he was at Berwick before the Scots had notice of his design. Immediately after he invested the Castle; and seizing a Bridge, the only Pass by which Succours could be thrown into the place, pushed the Siege so vigorously, that in nine days he took it by Storm. Douglas (4) who was advancing to raise the Siege, finding himself disappointed, hastily retired into his Country; to avoid a Battle. He was pursued by the Earl of Northumberland, who to retard the Enemies retreat, detached a Body of six hundred Men (5), under the conduct of Musgrave (6), with orders to amuse them, without engaging too far. But whilst he was himself advancing with the rest of his Army, he had intelligence, that his detachment was fallen into an ambush, and entirely defeated (-). Henry Percy his Son, signalized himself, both at the Siege of Berwick, and in the late Action, and gave extraordinary proofs of his great Courage, which gained him the surname of Hotspur. The Plague beginning to rage in the northern Counties, obliged the two Nations to a better observance of the Truce, without a new Treaty (8).

Mean time, the preparations for the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne were vigorously carrying on. But as the expence rose higher than was imagined, the Parliament (9) granted the King another Subsidy, the burden whereof was entirely borne by the Nobility and Clergy. Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Earls; and [mitred] Abbots, were taxed at ten Marks (10) each, besides forty Pence to be paid by the Abbots for every one of their Monks.

(1) It was surprized towards the latter end of November, by Alexander Ramsay, and forty two young Fellows, in the middle of the Night, when the Citadel was asleep. Buchanan. l. 9. Sir Robert de Boynton was Governor. Wals. p. 219.

(2) Henry de Percy.

(3) To the Number of about ten thousand. viz. three thousand Men at Arms, and seven thousand Archers. With whom were John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the Lords Nevill, Lucy, Stafford, &c. Froissart. l. 2. c. 6.

(4) Archibald Douglas, whom Froissart calls Constable of Scotland. l. 2. c. 6.

(5) Raped by mistake six thousand. This Body consisted only of three hundred Lances, and the same number of Archers. See Froissart. l. 2. c. 7.

(6) Sir Thomas Musgrave.

(7) About a hundred and forty of the English were taken Prisoners, and with them Sir Thomas Musgrave. Ibid.

(8) A Parliament was held this Year, which met at Gloucester, October 20, and granted the King the former Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Woollens, for three Years: Of Wool, forty three Shillings and four-pence the Sack; of Wool-fells as much, that is, for every two hundred and forty of them (accounting a hundred and twenty to the hundred); and for Leather four pounds six Shillings and Eight pence every Last, which were exported by Denizens and Strangers, besides the ancient custom. And, as an additional Grant, they gave besides, thirteen Shillings and four-pence for every Sack of Wool, as much for every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, and for every Last of Leather twenty six Shillings and Eight-pence. Also they gave Six pence in the Pound for every Pound value of Merchandise, as well of Denizens as Strangers, both imported and exported for one Year. Brady, p. 338. Cotton's Abridg. p. 163. Rot. Parl. 2 Ric. II. Pt. 1. N. 1, 2, &c.

(9) This Parliament met April 21, at Westminster, and took off the Mark upon every Sack of Wool, and the Six-pence in the Pound for all Merchandise, given in the last Parliament, but granted the King the Subsidies of Wools for one Year longer; and a certain Sum of Money of all Degrees of Men, from the Highest to the lowest; namely, every Justice of the two Benchs, with the chief Baron, was to pay five Pounds; an Earl four Pounds; the Mayor of London four Pounds; every Alderman forty Shillings, and a Baron the same; every Advocate at Law forty Shillings. Brady's Append. N. 102. Cotton's Abridg. p. 163.

(10) Walsingham lays, six Marks, p. 221.

The Scots take Berwick. Buchanan. Walsing. Froissart. l. 2. c. 3.

The Earl of Northumberland takes it.

A Detachment of English defeated.

1379. Tax upon the Nobles and Clergy. Brady's Appendix. N. 102. Walsing. Cotton's Abridg.

1379. The rest of the Clergy and Nobility, and all that had Places, being rated according to their incomes, the Subsidy produced very considerable Sums.

The King of France confis- cates Bretagne. Walling.

The King of France was in a great passion with the Duke of Bretagne, for attempting to recall the English into his Country. At least, he made that a pretence to summon him before the Court of Peers, where the Duke took care not to appear. But the Widow of Charles de Blois sent Agents to the King, to represent to him, that he had no manner of Right to confiscate Bretagne, which was not originally a Fief of the Crown of France. She maintained, if any of the former Dukes had thought proper to submit to any personal services to the Kings of France, it was not in their power to subject the Dukedom, without the consent of their People. But the Court, regardless of these Remonstrances, decreed the Confiscation of Bretagne to the King's use. This proceeding convincing the Bretons, that Charles's Quarrel was not so much with the Duke as the Duchy, they were afraid of falling under the Dominion of France, and seeing their Country a Province of that Kingdom. This apprehension occasioned an association of the great Men, which ended at length in recalling their lawful Sovereign. The Duke receiving the agreeable news, hastened his return into his Dominions, in expectation of the Succours preparing for him in England. He was received by his Subjects with great Demonstrations of Joy (1). Mean while, as the principal places were in the hands of his Enemies, he earnestly intreated the Court of England to send him some Troops to support him, till a more powerful Supply should be ready. Upon these instances, the Council dispatched some Ships with Troops (2). But they were for the most part lost in a violent Storm.

The Bretons recall their Duke. Froissart, l. 2. c. 37. Walling.

The War continues between France and England. Walling.

1380. Parliament.

Affairs of the King's Subjects.

Foreign Monks expelled.

The Earl of Warwick's Governor of the King. Walling.

Commissioners to examine the King's Revenues had been put to.

The Duke of Buckingham's Alliance with the Duke of Bretagne. Froissart, l. 2. c. 42. Walling. Art. Pub. VII. p. 223. 226.

All this while, the French and English continued the War in several Places, but without coming to a decisive Battle. The Governor of Cherbourg (3) gained some advantage over the French, who had quickly their revenge, by taking several Merchant Men.

The Parliament which met in October 1380 (4), granted the King a new Aid to continue the War with France and Scotland, as well as to assist the Duke of Bretagne. This Parliament is famous for a Statute against the Blood-suckers, who had long devoured the Land. I mean, the foreign Ecclesiastics, who by this Statute were rendered incapable of holding any Benefice in England. But as this probably would not be sufficient to curb the Court of Rome, who did not think herself bound by Acts of Parliament, another Statute was made, to render the Pope's favours, in this respect, fruitless to Foreigners. By this Act, all the King's Subjects were forbid, on severe Penalties, to farm Benefices conferred on Strangers by the Court of Rome. This was properly attaining the same end another way. For the Pope usually giving English Benefices to his Domesticks, to Italian Bishops and Cardinals, these Men could neither reside on their Benefices, nor find any Farmers in the Kingdom. At the same time, the Parliament petitioned the King to expel all foreign Monks, for fear they should give the English impressions destructive of the good of the State.

After the Parliament's care of the Ecclesiastical affairs, all the King's Governors were removed, as well to retrench the great expence, as because their Number was prejudicial to his education. Instead of these Lords, Thomas de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was chosen to have the sole care of educating the King.

Since Richard's accession to the Throne, his Revenues had been so ill managed, that the House of Commons wanted to know on whom the blame was to be laid. To that end, fourteen Commissioners were appointed to examine to what uses the Revenues of the Crown had been put, and to lay their report before the next Parliament, which was not to meet under a twelvemonth.

Shortly after, the Succours designed for the Duke of Bretagne being ready, the command was given to the Duke of Buckingham (5) the King's Uncle. This Prince landed at Calais (6), in order to go to Bretagne by Land. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to perform his

Enterprise, with an Army consisting only of eight thousand Men, had not the Duke of Burgundy, who kept close to him all the way, with much more numerous Forces, received express Orders from the King of France his Brother, not to attack the English. That Monarch had a surer way to be rid of his Enemies; namely, by a reconciliation with the Duke of Bretagne, who desired peaceably to enjoy his Duchy, of which he saw no likelihood, as long as France was his Enemy. For this reason, the Duke of Buckingham meeting with little opposition, committed great Ravages upon his rout. Whilst he was marching, the King of France died, leaving for Successor Charles VI, his eldest Son, about twelve years of Age. His death might have been very advantageous to the English, if the Duke of Bretagne had firmly adhered to their Interests. But the Duke thinking it his wisest course to take advantage of the confusion of the Court of France, in the beginning of a Minority, speedily concluded his Treaty with the new King (7), who granted him whatever he could desire.

Death of Charles V. Charles VI succeeds.

Duke of Bretagne makes a Treaty with France.

The posture of affairs being changed by this agreement, the English were very coldly received in Bretagne. The Duke did not openly declare himself at first, because the English were in possession of Brest. However it was easy to see he had no design to make use of them, since all the Towns denied them admittance. At length, the Duke opened his mind to the Duke of Buckingham, and making the best excuse he could, provided him with Ships to return into England (8).

The English sent back. Froissart, l. 2. c. 55. Walling.

The Plague which raged at the same time in England and Scotland, caused the Truce to be renewed between the two Kingdoms till the next Easter.

Truce with the Scots. Walling.

Though it was agreed that the Parliament should not meet under a twelve-month, some unexpected affairs obliged the King to assemble it in November (9), in order to demand a fresh supply of Money, which was accordingly granted, to enable him to execute the resolutions which I shall presently speak of. But whereas the Nobility and Clergy had supplied the former Subsidy, this was levied by way of Poll-Tax, from which no Person was exempted, not even the very Monks and Nuns. All above fifteen Years old were to pay Twelve-pence a head.

Parliament. Walling. Cotton's Abridg.

Poll-Tax. Walling.

One cannot but very much wonder, that whilst the Kingdom was actually engaged in a War with France and Scotland, the King's Council should think of leaving it unprovided, by sending Troops to the King of Portugal who was in war with Castile. But private interest prevailed above that of the publick, as is usual in the Councils of the Kings, especially during Minorities. 62.

Resolve to assist Portugal against Castile. Act. Pub. VII. p. 254. Froissart, l. 2. c. 61.

The motive of this resolution, seemingly so little agreeable to the State of the Kingdom, was this. Ferdinand King of Portugal, had undertaken against John King of Castile, Son of Henry the Bastard, a War beyond his strength. He had been so unsuccessful, that instead of making Conquests upon his Enemy, he had drawn him into his Dominions. The ill success of this War made him court the Alliance of the English, in order to obtain Succours against the Castilians, their common Enemies. Though it was by no means proper to send Troops so far, when England could hardly defend her own Coasts, the Duke of Lancaster's credit was so great in the Council, that it was resolved, Ferdinand should be assisted. This resolution was coloured with the pretence of hindering the growth of the King of Castile, mortal Enemy of the English; but the Duke of Lancaster's private interest was the sole motive. This Prince, who had assumed the Title of King of Castile, on account of his Marriage with Constantia eldest Daughter of Peter the Cruel, hoped that by sending Troops into Portugal, they might be serviceable in promoting his own Affairs. And therefore, after the Parliament's approbation of the intended Expedition, and Grant of a Supply to carry it on, he caused the Command of the Troops to be given to the Duke of Cambridge his Brother, designing speedily to

(1) He was conveyed by Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir Hugh Calverly, and landed on August 4, at a Port near St. Malo's. Walling. p. 226, 226.
 (2) Two hundred Men at Arms, and four hundred Archers, under the Conduct of Sir John Arundel, the two Knights mentioned in the last Note, and many other Knights and Esquires; Sir John Arundel's Ship was lost, and himself drowned; as likewise twenty five more; and above a thousand Men. The happened on December 10. Walling. p. 232, 235. Froissart, l. 2. c. 38. Stow, p. 282.
 (3) Sir John de Harcourt, who being trained for want of Provisions, sailed with the best part of his Garrison, to go and fetch some in: In his return he was met by a Party of French, with whom encountering, he was knocked down, and lay for dead, but was rescued by Sir Geoffrey Worke. Walling. p. 223.
 (4) This Parliament, which Richard here places in October 1380, is probably the same that met at Gloucester in 1378. See above, p. 455. Note (8). As for the Act mentioned here by him, it was made in the Parliament, which met this Year 1380, on January 17, at Westminster. This Parliament granted the King, on the tenth and thirtieth, to be taken out of the Cities and Towns, and one Tenth and a half to be taken within Cities and Towns, by way of Loan, until the next Parliament. They also granted the Subsidy of Wools, Wool-tells, and Skins, from the Feast of St. Michael next, until Michaelmas then following. R. 2. Part. 3. Ric. II. A. 12, 16. Cotton's Abridg. p. 182, &c.
 (5) Thomas de Beauchamp.
 (6) Though he had, in the beginning of this Year, viz. on March 1, concluded an offensive and defensive League with King Richard. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 250.
 (7) Arrived at St. Neustampton. The sufficient People in every Town were to contribute to the Alliance of the less able, so as none paid above sixty Groats, including their own household and Wife. Brady, p. 344. Cotton's Abridg. p. 188. Walling. p. 240. Knighton, Col. 2633.

1380. follow him in Person with greater Forces. Mean while, as the Truce with Scotland was about to expire (1), the Council by his direction, resolved to propose to the King of Scotland the Prolongation thereof; otherwise the sending of the Troops into Portugal might be obstructed. That this Negotiation might not fail of Success, he undertook it himself, and without delay repaired to the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, where the Scotch Ambassadors were likewise to be. But whilst he was treating with them, there happened in England Affairs of much more consequence than the Truce with Scotland, or the War with Castile (2).

The Poll-Tax imposed by the Parliament was levied with great gentleness, inasmuch that the Collectors excused many Persons. But as there are but too many who make it their business to enrich themselves at the expence of the Publick, there were some that perfwaded the King and Council, if the Tax was levied with more strictness, it would bring in much greater Sums, and even offered Money to have the management of it. Very probably, they were Flemings that farmed the Tax, and obliged themselves to give the King a certain Sum for the Produce thereof. The new Collectors appointed by these Farmers, levied the Tax with extreme rigour. One who collected in Kent, demanding of a Tyler at Deptford, named Walter, twelve pence for one of his Daughters, the Father affirmed she was under the Age set down in the Act of Parliament. Whereupon the insolent Collector, as these sort of People generally are, endeavouring to know the Truth by an indecent Action, the Father with his Hammer knocked out his Brains. All the Spectators applauded the Action, and promised the Murderer, commonly called Wat Tyler (3), to protect him.

At the same time, the spirit of Rebellion seized not the Inhabitants of Deptford alone, but likewise all the meaner sort of the County of Kent, who were soon followed by those of Essex. The Poll-Tax was not their sole Grievance. The People of those parts had long been in a ferment, which being inflamed by this Accident, broke out into open rebellion. They complained of the little care to hinder the frequent Descents of the French, who had committed great Ravages in these two Counties. To this was added a general Discontent against the Judges, and all the Agents of the Law, who ruined Families by their Extortions. The Nobles and Gentry were no less hated by the Peasants, on account of the Right of Villainage, which was extremely abused. The Populace were moreover extremely incensed against the Duke of Lancaster, who was charged with causing by his negligence, all the Calamities, the two Counties had endured. All these Complaints being spread in those parts, and countenanced by the Seditious, or as some affirm, by the Monks, who thought themselves injured by the Poll-Tax, to which they were liable, produced a wonderful Effect. In a short time, Wat Tyler, chosen by the Seditious, Chief and Protector of the poor People, saw himself at the head of above a hundred thousand Men, breathing revenge on the Nobility, and Professors of the Law. Thus attended, he marched directly to London, freeing in his rout, all the Prisoners detained in the publick Goals. Amongst these was a Priest of Maidstone, one John Ball (4), who by his seditious Sermons, raised the People's Fury to the utmost height. He perfwaded them, that all Men being Sons of Adam, there ought to be no distinction, and consequently it was their Duty to reduce the World to a perfect Equality. Pursuant to this Maxim, they resolved to dispatch all the Nobility, and those that were distinguished by their Posts. So, without further Consideration, they cut off the heads of all the Lords, Gentlemen, Judges, Counsellors, and Lawyers, that fell into their hands. After this, they bound themselves by Oath, never to acknowledge for

King, any Man whose Name should be John. This Resolution sprung from the Hatred to the Duke of Lancaster, who bore that Name, and was suspected of aspiring to the Crown.

Richard hearing the Seditious were come as far as Blackheath, where Wat Tyler reviewed his Army, sent to know what they wanted. They replied, they had Affairs of great moment to communicate to the King, and desired to come and talk with him in Person. This insolent Request being debated in Council, some were of opinion, the King should comply with the Rebels, alledging, that as he was not in condition to oppose Force to Force, gentleness was the only way to gain them. But Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, and [Robert de] Hales Prior of St. John's, and High-Treasurer of England, strenuously opposed it, maintaining it was not safe for the King to trust his Person with this Rabble. Accordingly the Rebels Request was rejected with Threats, little agreeable to the present situation of the Court. Upon this News, the Seditious fell into such a Fury, that immediately they marched towards London, and possessed themselves of Southwark, parted from the City by the Thames. The Plunder of the Suburbs having given them no great Interruption, they endeavoured to enter the City. London-Bridge had then Gates, which being shut at their Approach, might have stopped for some time their Impetuosity, if the Mob, who presently sided with them, had not opened them (5) in spite of the Magistrates. Nothing more opposing their March, they entered the City (6), where they committed all the Ravages that could be expected from so numerous a Body, guided solely by their Fury. The Duke of Lancaster's Palace (7) was reduced to Ashes, and the Houses of such as they deemed their Enemies, were given up to be plundered. However, their Leaders pretending not to be swayed by Avarice, hindered their People from appropriating to themselves any Part of the Booty. They even threw into the Fire, which consumed all the plundered Riches, a Man that would have retained a Piece of Plate. In this universal Confusion, wherein London was like a Town taken by Storm, the Archbishop's Palace, and the Temple with all the Writings kept there, were devoured by the Flames (8). The Houses of the Judges, Lords and principal Citizens shared the same fate. This unruly Mob took care to accomplish their Oath, to extirpate all Appearances of Grandeur or Distinction. The Flemings, against whom they were extremely incensed, were above all others exposed to their Fury. They dragged them from the Churches where they had taken Sanctuary, and upon their not being able to pronounce certain Words, very difficult for Foreigners, they were immediately massacred.

After the Rebels had thus given these first Marks of their Fury, they approached the Tower, which might have been easily defended (9), if the Terror spread in the Garrison had not caused them to open the Gates. There they found the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Treasurer, who thought themselves safe in that place, and without any Process, cut off their heads. This done, they divided themselves into three Bodies. Wat Tyler remained about the Tower with thirty thousand Men. Jack Straw [another of their Captains] advanced into the City with the Rebels of Essex, to the number of sixty thousand. The rest under the Conduct of another Leader, lodged themselves upon Mile-end-green.

Mean time, the King and Council were in the utmost perplexity. After long Debates how to stop these furious Proceedings, no better way was found than to offer the Rebels an authentick Charter, confirming the Privileges of the People (10), and a general Pardon for all Crimes committed since the Insurrection. The Essex-Men readily accepted these Offers, though they were now in the

(1) This Summer the Scots had made an Incurfion into Wiltshire and Cumberland, and carried off a large Booty; and among the rest, about forty thousand Beasts of all sorts. Wall. p. 240.

(2) This Year, a famous single Combat was fought on June 7. at Westminster, in the King's Presence, between John Annelee Knight, and Thomas Katryngton, Esq; whom the aforesaid Knight had accused in Parliament, of Treason, for selling to the French the Castle of St. Saviour's, built by the Lord Chandos in the Isle of Cotentin in France; Katryngton was overcome, and thereupon run mad. For a full Account of this Transaction, See Wall. p. 237, 238.

(3) Walsingham says, he was called Walter Helier, or Tyler. p. 252.

(4) Rapin calls him John Straw. The Mob let him out of Maidstone Goal. He preached to the Army upon this proverbial Rhyme:

When Adam dulse and Eve span,
Who was then a Gentleman? Walsing. p. 275.

(5) On May 23. Ibid. p. 249.

(6) The Savoy. Ibid.

(7) And also the Hospital of St. John's Clerkenwell. Ibid.

(8) There were at that time six hundred warlike Men in it, and six hundred Archers. Ibid. p. 250.

(9) This Charter confirmed no Privileges, but only abolished Villainage; and granted the Rebels a Pardon. The Contents of it were as follows:
"Richard, &c. Know ye, That of our special Grace, we have manumitted, or set free, all and singular our liege Subjects, and other of the County of Essex; and them and every of them from all Bondage, do release and acquit by these Presents. And also we pardon to our said Liegemen and Subjects, all manner of Felonies, Treasons, Transgressions, and Extortions, by them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever, done or committed, &c."
.....Witness our Self at London, the 15th of June, in the 4th Year of our Reign. Ibid. p. 234.

1381. Heart of the City. Accordingly leaving some of their Leaders to hasten the Charters and Pardon, they returned to their Homes.

Wat Tyler revolts them. The King sends for him to meet him. Walling.
But *Wat Tyler* was not so tractable, though he pretended his sole Aim was to obtain equitable Terms. However as he appeared willing to enter into Negotiation with the King himself, *Richard* with a few Attendants came to *Smith-field*, from whence he sent a Knight (1), to desire him to come and confer with him. *Wat* insolently replied, he would come when he thought proper. Nevertheless he moved forward immediately, at the head of his Troops, but so slowly that the King, beginning to be out of patience, and willing to press him to make more haste, sent the same Knight to him, which had like to have cost him his Life. *Wat Tyler* was just entered *Smith-field*, when the Knight delivered the King's Message, without alighting, not imagining he would stand upon that Ceremony. But the proud Leader was so offended at this want of Respect, that he was going to kill him, if the King, who was himself advancing, had not cried out to the Knight to dismount.

Conference of the King with Tyler. Walling. Knighton.
In *Wat Tyler's* Conference with the King, being both on horseback, he made such extravagant Proposals, that *Richard* knew not what to say to him. He demanded in short, that all the antient Laws should be abolished, and the Government modelled according to certain fantastical Notions framed by himself (2). Whilst he made these Demands, he now and then lifted up his Sword, as it were to threaten the King (3), in case he granted not immediately what the Rebels would have. This brutish Insolence so raised the Indignation of [*William*] *Walworth*, Mayor of *London*, who attended the King, that without considering to what Danger he exposed his Master, he discharged such a Blow on the Rebel's head with his Sword, as laid him dead at his feet (4).

The King is in great Danger; Walling.
This Action, no less imprudent than bold, should naturally have occasioned the Ruin of the King and all his Attendants, but by an unexpected happiness, produced a contrary Effect. It is true, when the Rebels saw their Leader on the ground, they encouraged one another to revenge his Death. Nay their Bows were now bent to shoot at the King and his Retinue. But *Richard* prevented the Danger, by a bolder and more prudent Action than could be expected from a young Prince of fifteen Years. Instead of flying, he turned to the Rebels, and cried with a resolute and courageous Voice: *What, my Lieges! will you then kill your King? Be not concerned for the Loss of your Leader, I my self will now be your General; follow me into the Field, and you shall have whatever you desire.* Upon saying these Words, he gently turned his Horse, and putting himself at their head, rode towards *St. George's Fields*. The young King's resolution made such an impression on the minds of the Rebels, that imagining he really declared for them, they altered their first purpose, and followed him without delay. They were no sooner come into the Fields, but they saw marching towards them a Troop of a thousand armed Citizens, raised by the Mayor under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knolles*, an Officer of great Reputation. This Sight struck them with such Terror, that falsely imagining the whole City was in Arms to attack them, the foremost Ranks threw down their Arms and begged Quarter. This Proceeding terrifying the rest who knew not the Cause, every one pressed to follow their Example. Thus in a few Moments the whole multitude was dispersed without the Effusion of any Blood but the Leader's.

The Rebels are frightened and throw down their Arms. Knighton.

One cannot, without wonder, consider an Event so singular and full of extraordinary Circumstances. An Insurrection indeed is not so very strange, but to see it headed by such a Person as *Wat Tyler* is not usual, though the like instances may possibly be found in other Histories. But it is doubtless beyond the common Course of Events, for a single Man, as the Mayor of *London*, to dare to kill this Leader, attended by thirty thousand Men. It is still more surprising, that a young Prince, but fifteen Years old,

should have the presence of Mind and Resolution, shown by *Richard* on this occasion, and that his Boldness should produce so good an effect. In fine, that so numerous a Multitude, just glutted with Blood and Slaughter, should disperse on a sudden by a panick Fear, at the sight of a few armed Citizens, is what cannot be considered without Astonishment, and without ascribing the Cause to him, who holds the Hearts of the People in his hand. And indeed, we shall see presently, that no less than a sort of Miracle could prevent the utter Destruction of *England*, considering the pernicious Designs the Rebels had formed.

It was not only in the Counties of *Kent* and *Essex*, that the spirit of Rebellion possessed the People. Whilst *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* were marching to *London*, *John Ball* and *John Wraw* (5), two seditious Priests, stirred up the Populace of *Suffolk*, where they quickly assembled fifty thousand Men. They committed in those Parts numberless Barbarities, as if they were afraid of being out-done in Cruelty, by those who exercised their Fury in *London*. Sir *John Cavendish*, Chief Justice, fell a Sacrifice to their Rage. After that, they burnt all the antient Charters in the Abbey of *St. Edmund's-Bury*, and in the University of *Cambridge*.

On the other hand, *Littester*, an Ale-House-Keeper (6) at *Norwich*, headed another Body of Rebels in the County of *Norfolk*, and cruelly put to death all the Judges and Lawyers that fell into his hands. As for the Lords and Gentlemen, he had the Insolence to oblige them to serve him on the Knee, and if any one scrupled to submit to that Indignity, immediately ordered his head to be cut off. In this manner he treated the Earl of *Suffolk* (7), who would not feign to approve of their Rebellion. As it was impossible for the King's Council, to take measures speedy enough to remedy these Disorders, it was necessary that private Persons should of themselves use their Endeavours, without staying for Orders from Court, to free themselves from the impending Danger. *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich*, a Prelate of great Courage, though educated in an unwarlike Profession, thought it his duty to do something more than barely offer up Prayers, on so pressing an occasion, which equally threatened Clergy and Laity. He headed a few loyal Subjects, and attacking the Rebels made a terrible Slaughter (8). The two Leaders *Wraw* and *Littester* being taken in the Fight, the first was beheaded upon the spot, and the other sent to *London*, to receive the just reward of his Crimes.

These Troubles being appeased sooner, and more happily, than could be expected, the King, by advice of his Council, resolved to chastize the Guilty. To that end, the Lords had Orders to raise in every County, Troops of known Loyalty, and lead them to *London*. In a short time was drawn together an Army of forty thousand Men, which being divided into two Bodies, one marched into the County of *Kent*. At the head of the other the King went himself, to punish the People of *Essex*, who began to stir again, upon the Revocation of the Charter and general Pardon, with which they had been allured (9). As these People had not had time to take just measures, and found themselves prevented by the King's diligence, they were easily defeated. Great numbers were slain, and many others reserved for publick Examples. Among the last, was *Jack Straw*, Companion of *Wat Tyler*, and head of the *Essex* Rebels. He confessed, if they had succeeded in their Projects, as they had reason to expect, their Design was to murder the King, root out the Nobility and Clergy, excepting the Mendicant Friars, part *England* into several Kingdoms, make *Wat Tyler* King of *Kent*, abolish all the antient, and make new Laws. Probably these Projects were framed only in general, and it may be, over their Bowls, whilst they were on the March to *London*. Be that as it will, such a Design, managed by Heads little capable of executing it, could hardly fail of ending in the Ruin of the Authors. It is affirmed, that besides those that fell with their Arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred died by the Hangman (10). Judge *Tresilian* was com-

(1) Sir *John Newton*, *Wals.* p. 252.

(2) Besides a general Enfranchisement of all Bondmen; he demanded, That all Warrens, Parks, and Chases, should be made free and common to all, so that the Poor as well as the Rich should have Liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt, in all places throughout the Kingdom, &c. *Knighton*, Col. 2636.

(3) And also took hold of the King's Bridle. *Ibid.* p. 2637.

(4) The King had ordered the Mayor to arrest *Tyler*, *Wals.* p. 253. For this good Service, King *Richard* knighted the Mayor, and also *John Philpot*, *Nicholas Brombar*, and *Robert Laund*, Aldermen; and gave Sir *William Walworth* a hundred Pounds per Annum; and to the other three, forty Pounds per Annum for ever. Not long after he knighted *Nicholas Truyford*, and *Adam Francis*, two other Aldermen. *Stow's Survey*, B. 1. p. 261. *Knighton*, Col. 2637. It is a common Notion that the Dagger was added, upon this account, to the Arms of the City of *London*: But Mr. *Stow* thinks it to be *St. Paul's* Sword. *Survey*, l. 2. p. 186.

(5) They are supposed to give themselves these Names in contempt of the Nobility and Gentry.

(6) A Dyer. *Wals.* p. 263.

(7) This is a Mistake. *William Ufford*, then Earl of *Suffolk*, was not beheaded by *Littester*. For, understanding that the Mob intended to surprise him, and carry him along with them, to countenance their irregular Doings; he suddenly rose from Supper, and disguising himself, came through by-ways to the King at *St. Albans*, with a Wallet on his Shoulder, pretending to be a Servant of Sir *Roger Boyl*. *Ibid.*

(8) At *North-Walsham* in *Norfolk*. *Ibid.* p. 264.

(9) This Revocation was done by a Proclamation under the Great-Seal, dated at *Chelmsford*, July 2. *Wals.* p. 269, 270.

(10) The chief of whom were *John Straw*, *John Kirby*, *Alan Treder*, *Thomas Scot*, *Ralph Ruge*; and *John Starling*, who had beheaded Archbishop *Sedbury*; *John Littester*, &c. *Ibid.* p. 265, 267, &c.

1381. missioned to go into the revolted Counties, and try the Guilty. As the number was very great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and barbarous Temper, in punishing the unfortunate Wretches, to whom he showed no Favour. The Cruelties he exercised during his Commission, may well be compared to those practised of late Years by a Judge of the same Character (1), in the Reign of James II.

There are Historians who would father this Rebellion upon the Wickliffites, (who were commonly called Lollards,) but without any foundation. It is certain, Religion had no share in these Commotions, since the Duke of Lancaster, open Protector of Wickliff, was the principal Object of the Rebels Malice. Besides, Wickliff, who then resided on his Living of Lutterworth [in Leicestershire,] was never questioned on that account. All that can be alledged to give the least colour to this Accusation, is, that John Ball, a Franciscan Frier, one of the Ring-Leaders of the Rebels, was a little before thrown into Prison, by Order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for preaching the new Doctrine. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that Wickliff's Followers excited the Insurrection. Moreover, Insurrections caused by a religious Zeal, are seldom appeased in so short a time as this, which lasted but a Month, from the beginning to the end.

The Duke of Lancaster was on the northern Borders, when the Rebellion broke out in Kent, which lies at the other end of the Kingdom. Upon the first News, he speedily concluded a three Years Truce (2), with the Scots, for fear these Commotions should render them more difficult. Mean while, as he was apprehensive of exposing himself to the Rage of his Enemies, if he returned to Court, and also of giving the Northern Counties a Pretence to imitate the Southern, if he staid in the Kingdom, he chose to retire into Scotland, where he remained till the Sedition was appeased. The King of Scotland offered him twenty thousand Men, to suppress the Rebels, but he refused them, lest by introducing Foreigners, he should cause a general Revolt in the Kingdom. Notwithstanding these Precautions, he could not prevent his Enemies from spreading a Report, that he designed to march to London, at the head of a Scotch Army, and seize the Crown. But he easily cleared himself from this groundless accusation.

Whilst, by this unexpected Insurrection, Richard saw himself in danger of losing his Crown and Life, his Ambassadors were negotiating his Marriage in Germany. From the Year 1379, he had been desirous of espousing the Daughter of Barnabas Duke of Milan. This Project not succeeding, he demanded in 1380, a Princess of Bavaria, Daughter of the late Emperor Lewis. But this Negotiation had no better Success than the former. At last on May 2. 1381, his Marriage with Ann of Luxembourg, Sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus was concluded at Nurembergh. This Princess arriving in England (3) a little after the Troubles were appeased, was received with great Pomp, agreeably to the King's Humour, who was very fond of these sorts of Solemnities.

Edmund Earl of March, Grandson of Roger Mortimer beheaded in the beginning of the Reign of Edward III, died in February 1382, in his Government of Ireland. He had married Philippa only Daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son of Edward III, and by her had a Son called Roger, who succeeded him in his Honour of Earl of March.

The Parliament which met about the end of the Year 1381 (4), and was prorogued on account of the Queen's Arrival, sat again in May the next Year (5). Some Historians affirm, in this Parliament an Act was passed empowering the Bishops to imprison Hereticks, without the King's License (6). But others, upon better grounds, maintain, the Commons refused to pass the Bill, and that the Bishops obtained that Power of the King alone. This last Opinion is confirmed by the Complaints made after-

wards by the Commons to the King, as of a Breach of Privilege. Be that as it will, it is certain, before that time the Bishops had no such Power, without the King's express Consent, for every particuilar case. Of this there are Proofs in the Collection of the Publick Acts, where we find the like Permissions granted by Edward III, to the Bishop of London and others. It is evident, these Permissions would have been needless, had the Bishops enjoyed this Privilege without the King's Consent. Besides, in a Commission of the same Nature directed by Richard II, to the University of Oxford, extant also in the Collection, there is no mention of any Statute upon that Subject, though it was a constant Custom when the King acted by virtue of an Act of Parliament, to mention it in his Letters Patent or Orders. Of this we may be easily satisfied in the same Collection.

Richard being now in his seventeenth Year, began more plainly to discover his Inclinations, which hitherto had been restrained by the Authority of his Governours. He had a high conceit of his own merit, and thought himself as well qualified to govern the State as Edward III, was at his Age. But there was a great Difference between these two Princes. Edward, when very young, with a great Penetration, had none but noble and generous Inclinations, tending to his own Glory, and his People's Happiness. Richard on the contrary, minded only Trifles, and thought of nothing but his Pleasures. He loved Pomp and Magnificence more than any of his Predecessors, and thereby ran into superfluous Expences, which idly consumed his Revenues. Flatterers had a great sway over him. He expressed as great Affection for those that applauded his Passions, as Aversion for such as advised him to lead a Life worthy a great Prince. Not being of a warlike Disposition, he was observed in Council, to be always inclined to Negotiation, rather than to vigorous Resolutions. As soon as he was out of his Childhood, he was seen to chuse Favorites, whose Inclinations suited with his own, or at least who artfully feigned to approve of whatever he did. Among these was, Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, a

young Man full of Vivacity, whose youthful Gallies were very pleasing to his Master, Michael de la Pole, a Merchant's Son of London (7), and Judge Tresilian, who never wanted Reasons to countenance whatever was agreeable to the King. These Favorites, who missed no opportunity to flatter him, were amply rewarded for the least petty Services, whilst those who managed the publick Affairs, and took all the Pains, were very little regarded. This Behaviour began to be displeasing to the People, when an Accident, towards the end of this Year, quite put them out of Conceit with their Sovereign. One of the forementioned Courtiers, obtaining of the King a considerable Grant, Richard Scrope the Chancellor, refused to annex the Great-Seal to the Patent. He even plainly told the Person that solicited him, that the Duty of his Office would not suffer him to set the Seal, committed to his keeping by the Parliament, to all the King's indiscreet Grants, till he had acquired a little more Experience. Richard provoked at this Refusal, sent for the Great Seal, but he refused to deliver it, as holding it not of the King, but the Parliament. This Resolution still farther incensing the young Prince, he went himself to the Chancellor's to require his Obedience. Whereupon the Chancellor delivered him the Seal, declaring he would serve him no more in any publick Post, but content himself with keeping in all other things the Allegiance due from a Subject to his Sovereign. Richard kept the Great Seal some days in his hands, and for fear another Chancellor should obstruct in like manner his inconsiderate Grants, he put the Seal himself to several Patents; and then delivered it to Robert Braybrooke Bishop of London, who probably was not so scrupulous as his Predecessor. This Action, extolled by the Favorites with great Commendations of the King's Steadiness, displeased the rest of the Nation. The King began from thenceforward to be

(1) Judge Jeffreys.

(2) From July 18. 1381, till Febr. 2. 1383. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 7. p. 312, &c.

(3) She arrived at Dover, about the latter end of December, and was married to the King, in the Chapel Royal at Westminster, on January 14. She was crowned soon after. Instead of her bringing any Dowry, King Richard gave the Emperor no less than ten thousand Marks, or eighty thousand Fiorins, for his Alliance; and was also at the whole Charge of her Journey, and coming over. Tyrrel, p. 871. Hall, p. 281. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 7. p. 296, 301, 336.

(4) This Parliament was held at Westminster, on Novemb. 2. and repealed the Grant of Manumission of Villains, made by the King, during the late Insurrection; it also continued the Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells. Rot. Parl. 5. Ric. 2. n. 8, 13, 40. Cotton's Abridg. p. 195. Hall, p. 280.

(5) It met on the Monday after May 6. Cotton's Abridg. p. 193.

(6) The Act was as follows: "Forasmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil Persons within the Realm, going from County to County, and from Town to Town, who by their subtle and ingenious Words, do draw the People to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their Errors by strong Hand, and by great Routs. It is ordained and assented in this present Parliament, That the King's Commissions be made, and directed to the Sheriffs and other Ministers of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other sufficient Persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and also their Fautors, Maintainers and Abettors, and to hold them in Arrest, and strong Prison, till they will justify to them according to the Law and Reason of Holy Church. And the King willeth and commandeth, That the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that be by the Prelates, or any of them shall be certified, and thereof required as is aforesaid. This was the first Statute against the Followers of Wickliff, and indeed was no Act of Parliament duly made, but only by the King and the Clergy."

(7) Ot King's upon Hall, of which Place his Father William de la Pole, was the first Mayor. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 182.

1382. considered as a Prince capable of falling into great Excesses, unless timely Care was taken to bridle his Passions.

The Bishop's Power of imprisoning Hereticks revoked. Cotton's Abridg.

For that purpose, in the next meeting of the Parliament (1), the House of Commons resolved to remedy this Inconvenience, arising from the too great Authority the King began to assume. The Power given to the Bishops to imprison Hereticks, was considered as very destructive to Liberty, since the Clergy thereby became in a manner absolute Masters of the Honour and Fortune of private Persons. The Complaints from all parts, obliged the Commons to present a Petition to the King, to revoke a Concession to which they had not given their Consent (2), *Richard* who wanted Money, durst not reject the Parliament's Request. But some pretend, that by the Artifices of the Clergy, this Revocation was razed out of the Parliament Rolls, where it is not to be found.

Urban VI publishes a Crusade against Clement VII. Froissart. l. 2. c. 108, &c.

The Schism still continued in the Church, to the great Scandal of the Christians, who were in doubt which of the two Popes was to be regarded as *Christ's* Vicar. *Urban*, whose Party was strongest, perceiving Spiritual Weapons were insufficient, thought it more advantageous to use Temporal Arms. To that end, he published against *Clement* and his Adherents a Crusade, of which *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich* was declared General. The Pope by this Bull granted the same Indulgences (3), to all that were willing to engage in this Undertaking, as to those who bore Arms against the Infidels. The Effect produced in *England*, by the publication of the Crusade, answered the Pope's Wishes. The Nobles, Gentry, People, and Clergy, engaged in it with the same ardour as if they had been to wage War with the Enemies of the Christian Name. Whilst they waited for the Parliament's Approbation, which was not at all questioned, every one was diligently preparing to obtain the promised Indulgences, either by serving in Person in the War, or by contributing money for promoting the same.

The Bishop of Norwich made General. Walsing. Knighton. A. S. Pub. VII. p. 372, 383, 391. The English engage in it with Zeal.

Whilst the *Croisès* were making their preparations, the Earl of *Cambridge* returned from *Portugal*, where he had met with the same Treatment the Earl of *Buckingham* his Brother had done in *Bretagne*. That is, the King of *Portugal* used the *English* Succours, to make an advantageous Peace with the King of *Castile*, to whom he even gave *Beatrix* his only Daughter, promised to the Earl of *Cambridge's* eldest Son. So the *English* Prince returned extremely dissatisfied, after losing all hopes of procuring his Son the Crown of *Portugal*, and helping to place the Duke of *Lancaster* his Brother on the Throne of *Castile* (4).

The Earl of Cambridge returns from Portugal, much dissatisfied. Walsing. Froissart. l. 2. c. 70, 75, 76.

The Parliament, which met in the beginning of the Year 1383 (5), not only approved of the Crusade published by *Urban*, but also granted a considerable Subsidy upon that account. When every thing was ready, the Bishop of *Norwich* embarked the *Croisès*, consisting of fifty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. Upon his Arrival at *Calais* (6) he held a Council of War, to consider which way he should turn the Arms of the *Croisès*. Most were for entering *France*, since the Bull imported, that the Crusade was designed against *Clement* and his Adherents. Probably, for this reason, the Court of *England* had engaged so heartily in the Affair. But the General, for private reasons not discovered in History, caused it to be resolved, that the War should be carried into *Flanders*. To colour this Resolution, it was alledged, that *Flanders* was a Fief of the Crown of *France*, though the Earl of *Flanders* had acknowledged Pope *Urban*. So, contrary to the Intention of the Court, and no doubt of the Pope himself, the *Croisès* invaded *Flanders*, and took *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, *Mardike*, and *Dunkirk*. The Earl of *Flanders*, surprized at this unexpected Attack, levying some Troops with all possible diligence, was so

Walsing. Knighton. A. S. Pub. VII. p. 399.

rash, as with twelve thousand Men, to offer the *Croisès* Battle, who had received a strong Reinforcement from the *Gantois*. This daringnefs cost him dear, since he had the misfortune to see this Army, his only refuge, entirely routed. Reduced to this sad extremity, and beholding his Country on the point of being utterly destroyed, he saw no other way to free himself from this danger, but to apply to the Court of *France*. He represented to the young King's Council, how much it concerned *France* to save *Flanders*; and the more, because in all appearance, the design of the *Croisès* was not to rest satisfied with that single Conquest. The Court of *France*, roused by these Remonstrances, or rather by their own Interest, which would not suffer them to see *Flanders* fall into the hands of the *English*, resolved to assist the Earl. *Charles VI* heading a powerful Army, marched against the *Croisès*, who were besieging *Ypres*. Upon his Approach they raised the Siege (7), and retired to *Bourbourg*, where they were invested. The Bishop-General, wanting Provisions for the Subsistence of his Army, would have been at a loss to free himself out of this strait, had not the Duke of *Bretagne* used his Interest in his favour. By the mediation of this Prince, the *Croisès* obtained leave to retire, upon restoring the Places they had taken. Thus ended the Crusade, undertaken for the sole Interest of *Urban*, without the Pope or *England* receiving the least Benefit. When the Bishop was returned, the King ordered the Temporalities of his See to be seized (8), and several of his principal Officers imprisoned, for not following their Instructions.

1383. Froissart. c. 112. Walsing.

Froissart. c. 116. Walsing. Knighton.

Whilst the *Croisès* were employed in ravaging *Flanders*, *England* was a great Sufferer in her turn, by the frequent Descents of the *French*, and Incursions of the *Scots*. As there was no Army on foot to repulse these Enemies, the King was forced to call a Parliament (9), who granted him a Subsidy to continue the War with *Scotland*, the Conduct whereof was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster*. The King of *Scotland* being informed of the Preparations against him, sued for Peace, but it was absolutely refused.

The French and Scots ravage *England*. Froissart. l. 2. c. 124, 141. Walsing.

Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* used his Endeavours to reconcile the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. With much solliciting, he at length prevailed with the two Kings, to send their Plenipotentiaries between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. But this Negotiation ended only in a Truce for ten Months (10), in which the Kings of *Scotland* and *Castile*, if they desired it, were to be included. The Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle of the King of *France*, undertook to answer within such a time for the King of *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Flanders* his Father-in-law dying in this Interval, his care to take possession of his Dominions, made him forget, or neglect, this Engagement. Mean while, whether the *English* thought the *Scots* would not be included in the Treaty, or were willing to reap some Advantage from the Expence they had been at, the Duke of *Lancaster* went (11) and ravaged *Scotland*, to the very Gates of *Edinburgh*. This Incursion obliged the King of *Scotland* to desire to be included in the Truce, which was granted, by the mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Truce with France. Walsing. Froissart. l. 2. c. 128, 122. A. S. Pub. VII. p. 412. Froissart. c. 123.

Shortly after the Duke of *Lancaster's* Return, a certain *Irish* Monk came to the Court, then at *Salisbury* (12), and discovered to the King a Secret of great moment, namely, that the Duke of *Lancaster* his Uncle had conspired to murder the King, and seize the Crown. This Accusation was attended with so many Circumstances, that *Richard* could not help believing it. But the Duke, without the least emotion, vindicated himself upon each Article, in such a manner that the King seemed satisfied. He ordered however the Accuser to be taken into Custody, either to punish him, or examine him more strictly.

Froissart. Ibid.

The Scots included in it. Id. c. 125. A. S. Pub. VII. p. 434, 469.

1384. The Duke of Lancaster accused of conspiring against the King. Walsing. He vindicates himself. Walsing.

(1) This Parliament met at *Westminster*, Octob. 6. and in it the Lords and Commons granted the King a Fifteenth, and a Tenth out of the Cities and Towns. Rot. Parl. Cotton's Abridg. p. 281. Walsing.

(2) They represented to him, "That that Statute was never agreed nor granted by the Commons, but whatsoever was moved therein was without their Assent, and therefore prayed that the said Statute should be annulled." Which was accordingly done. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 281.

(3) The Form of the Absolution ran thus: "By Authority Apostolical committed unto me for this purpose, I absolve thee, A. B. from all thy Sins confessed, and for which thou art contrite, and from all those which thou wouldst confess, did they occur to thy Memory, and grant thee with a full Pardon of all thy Sins, the Reward of the Just, and the Assurance of eternal Salvation: And I give thee moreover, all the Privileges granted to those who go to War in Defence of the Holy Land, and make thee Partaker of the Benefit of the Prayers of the Catholic Church." Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 295.

(4) Besides the Parliament above-mentioned, there was another held, or rather a Great Council at *London*, in the beginning of May, to whom *John Walsley* presented seven Articles, containing the Substance of his Doctrine. Walsing. p. 288.

(5) On Febr. 24. at *Westminster*. It gave the Bishop of *Norwich* the fifteenth granted in the last Parliament: Who engaged, in consideration thereof, to serve the King one whole Year in his Wars in *France*, with three thousand Men at Arms, and two thousand five hundred Archers, well mounted. Cotton's Abridg. p. 286, &c. Walsing. p. 296.

(6) Which was on April 23. Froissart. l. 2. c. 109.

(7) His Army mutinying, he was forced to raise the Siege, and to leave his great Cannon behind him: But after this he obtained a complete Victory over the *French*, in which three, or, according to others, twelve thousand of them were slain. Walsing. p. 299, 303.

(8) 1. Walsing. says, the King countermanded him, just as he was going to embark, which it seems the Bishop took no notice of, p. 298. The Temporalities of *Norwich* Bishoprick were restored, Octob. 24. 1385. Rymer's i. ed. Tom. 7. p. 479. Walsing. p. 321.

(9) Which met at *Westminster*, on Octob. 25. and granted the King a Fifteenth; Six-pence for every Pound of Merchandize, and two Shillings of every Tun of Wine. Rot. Parl. 7. Ric. 2. n. 3, 12, &c. Cotton's Abridg. p. 290. Walsing. p. 307.

(10) On rather about eight and half, viz. from Jan. 26. till Octob. 1. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 7. p. 419.

(11) With two thousand Lancers, and six thousand Archers. Froissart. l. 2. c. 123.

(12) At a Parliament or Great Council, held there on the Friday after April 25, which granted the King a Moiety of a Tenth and a Fifteenth. Rot. Parl. 7. Ric. 2. M. 10. Cotton's Abridg. p. 298. Walsing. p. 309.

1384. But when he was to be brought before the Council, he was found to be hanged over-night in the Prison, without any possibility of discovering the Author of this outrage. This Accident did the Duke of Lancaster great Injury, because People were prejudiced against him, though it was as probable, that the Monk was murdered by the Authors of the Accusation, as by the orders of the Party accused.

Walsing.

He is further justified.

The Truce with France prolonged. Act. Pub. VII. p. 430, 438. Project of destroying the Duke of Lancaster. Walsing.

The Duke prepares to defend himself.

The Princess of Wales reconciles him to the King. Walsing.

1385. France prepares to exert it self. Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 435.

Sends Succours to Scotland. Buchanan. Knighton. Froissart. l. 2. c. 141.

The English levy a great Army. Walsing.

The Duke of Lancaster marches into Scotland. Knighton.

Another Accident, shortly after, confirmed the People in the suspicion raised by the Monk's Report against the Duke of Lancaster. An Alderman of London, a great Favorite of the Duke, being charged with conspiring against the King, was found guilty, after a strict Examination. Though the Duke was then absent, his close Friendship with the Criminal, and the Endeavours of his Friends to prevent the Sentence, and afterwards to procure the King's Pardon, occasioned Reflections not at all to the Duke's advantage. He was then upon an Embassy at Paris, where he spent fifty thousand Marks, in obtaining only the Prolongation of the Truce for some Months.

If the Duke of Lancaster was not beloved by the People, he was no less hated by the Favorites, who could not hope to dispose of all things at their pleasure, as long as he was in Credit with the King. It is well known, the way of most Favorites is, not to suffer about their Master, any but their Creatures. These looking upon the Duke of Lancaster as a troublesome Inspector, and incapable of condescending to court them, believed they ought before all things to be rid of that Prince. For that purpose, they all acted in concert, to create in the King Suspensions, which should cause him to consider this Uncle, as a very dangerous Enemy. Richard, who neither did, nor would, see any thing but with their Eyes, suffered himself to be so prejudiced, that he consented to a Resolution of accusing the Duke of High-Treason. Judge Trefilian, a Man of a cruel and daring Temper, took upon him to draw up the Articles of Accusation, and manage the Evidences. He even offered to try him as a private Person, though by the Laws of the Land he could be judged only by his Peers. As this Plot could not be so secretly contrived, that the Duke should have no notice thereof, he thought it imprudent to deliver himself into the hands of his Enemies, who were bent upon his Ruin. So, without troubling himself about his Vindication, he withdrew to his Castle of Pontfract, where he assembled some Troops, and made other Preparations in order to defend himself, in case of attack. Though he had not many Friends, yet being persecuted by the Ministers, who were still less beloved than himself, he easily found People enough to take his Part. A Civil War was just going to be kindled in the Kingdom, when the Princess of Wales, the King's Mother, interposed to make Peace, before Hostilities were commenced. She succeeded at length, after many Journeys and Fatigues, and Richard, satisfied of the falseness of the Suspensions, suggested to him against the Duke his Uncle, received him again into favour (1).

During these Broils, no Preparations were made for the War, though the late Truce with France and Scotland was about to expire. It was imagined, it might be renewed; but the King of France had other Designs. As he saw the Court of England in a perfect Security, he resolved to improve it, by making a powerful Effort, from which he promised himself great Advantages. To that end, he sent a numerous Army into Guienne, hoping to finish the Conquest of that Dukedom, before the English should be able to oppose it. At the same time he sent the King of Scotland an Aid of a thousand Men at Arms (2), under the Command of John de Vienne, who was to make a powerful Diversion in the North (3), in order to favour the Descent of the French in the southern Parts of the Island. The Alarm taken by the English at all these Preparations, turned to their Safety. The Court gave such pressing Orders to levy Troops, and the Orders were executed with such ardour and diligence, that, if the Historians are to be credited, Richard quickly saw himself at the head of three hundred thousand Men. He detached sixty thousand, under the Command of the Duke of Lancaster, to march into Scotland (4), whilst

with the rest, he himself expected the French on the southern Coast. Upon the Duke of Lancaster's Approach, the Scots, who were now ravaging the Borders of England, retired to the Center of their Kingdom, leaving the English General free to revenge his Countrymen, by his ravages in Scotland, where he had followed them. The great Army assembled by Richard, destroying the King of France's hopes of succeeding in his Project, he deferred the Execution to a more convenient season. By that means Richard was at liberty to march towards Scotland (5), with the Choice of his Army. In all likelihood, he would have entirely subdued that Kingdom, had he known how to improve his Advantages, since the King of Scotland was unable to withstand him. But the Favorites jealousy of the Duke of Lancaster, who commanded under him, was the reason, so fair an opportunity was irrecoverably lost. The Scots, perceiving the King of England, instead of pushing them vigorously, was amusing himself with ravaging the Country about Edinburgh, began to recover from their Fright, caused by his formidable Forces. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the best way to oblige him to quit Scotland, was to make a Diversion in his own Country. Pursuant to this Resolution, they removed at a greater distance from the English Army, to make the King believe it was to avoid a Battle. But on a sudden, by speedy Marches they came into Cumberland, where they made terrible Ravages (6). Whilst they were marching thither, Richard never troubled himself to inquire after them. So, imagining they were fled, and satisfied with the Advantages already gained, he resolved, as not being fond of War, to return into England. He had Intelligence by the way, of the Scots entering Cumberland, and might easily have cut off their Retreat. But notwithstanding all the Duke of Lancaster's Endeavours to persuade him to a vigorous Resolution, he chose rather to follow the Earl of Oxford's Advice. This Favorite, who had a great Influence over him, persuaded him, that the Duke of Lancaster only sought to expose him to danger. This Advice corresponding with his Suspensions and Inclinations, he continued his march, without going in quest of the Enemy. All but the Favorites, were so amazed at his unconcern for the Calamities of his Subjects of Cumberland, that they could not help loudly murmuring, and considering the King himself, as a Prince regardless of the good of the Publick.

Whilst the King was on his Journey to London, the Lord Holland (7), his half Brother, quarrelling with the Earl of Stafford's eldest Son (8), killed him, and took Sanctuary in Beverly Abbey. The Action was so heinous, that notwithstanding the Ties of Blood, Richard resolved to abandon the Murderer to the rigour of the Law. In vain did the Princess of Wales, their common Mother, intercede for her Son, she could never obtain his Pardon. This refusal sat so heavy upon her Mind, that she died with Grief a few days after (9). Nevertheless, whether the King was sorry for being so cruel to his Mother, or the Murderer found a more powerful Intercessor, the Princess was hardly in her Grave, when he granted the Pardon she had sued for in vain.

The fear of the French Invasion being vanished, the Duke of Lancaster brought his own Affairs upon the board, and demanded Assistance of the King to prosecute his Right to the Crown of Castile. There could never be a more seasonable Juncture to obtain his desire. Ferdinand King of Portugal being dead, without leaving any legitimate Children but Beatrix Queen of Castile, the King her Husband pretended, the Crown of Portugal was devolved to his Queen, by the Death of the King her Father. But the Portuguese, not bearing the thoughts of living under the Dominion of the Castilians, had placed on the Throne, John natural Son of the late King. As this Quarrel could scarce possibly be decided but by Arms, the King of Castile entered Portugal, and advancing as far as Lisbon, laid Siege to the City. But meeting with a braver Defence than he expected, he was forced to retire. In the next Campaign he lost a Battle, which obliged him to quit Portugal, still hoping to compass his Ends, by the Assistance of France. The

(1) This Year, on Novemb. 12. a Parliament met at Westminster, which granted the King two Fifteenths. Rot. Parl. S. Ric. II. N. 1, &c. 10. Cotton's Abridg. p. 303. In this Parliament the Sentence passed against Alice Pierce in a former Parliament, was reversed. Ibid. — This Year also died the famous Sir John Palspe. Wals. p. 310.

(2) Every Man at Arms had with him three, or four, and sometimes five Knights. Rapin.

(3) He also sent ten thousand Livres to Robert King of Scotland, and forty thousand to the Nobility of that Kingdom. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 434.

(4) During the Session of the last Parliament, the Scots surprized Berwick Castle, having bribed the Deputy-Governor; but it was retaken, or rather bought again, by the Earl of Northumberland, the Governor. Wals. p. 311. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 463.

(5) He entered that Kingdom about the beginning of August. Wals. p. 316.

(6) They burnt Penrth, made an attempt upon Carlisle, and cruelly ravaged the whole Country. Knighton, Col. 2674.

(7) John de Holland, Brother to Thomas Earl of Kent. Froiss. l. 2. c. 142.

(8) Whose Name was Ralph. Wals. p. 316.

(9) She died at Wallingford Castle, and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors at Stanford. Ibid. The King had a Chapel built at Stanford to pray for her Soul. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 527.

1385. new King of *Portugal* finding his Enemy was about to receive Aid from the King of *France*, sent Ambassadors to *England*, to make an Advance with *Richard*, offering to acknowledge the Duke of *Lancaster* for King of *Castile*, and support his Right with all his Forces. Affairs in *England* were then in a posture, very proper to render the Negotiation of the *Portuguese* Ambassadors successful. *Richard*, prejudiced against the Duke his Uncle, heartily wished his removal; his Favorites representing him as a dangerous Relation, and a very troublesome Governor. They told him moreover, it was his Interest to dethrone the King of *Castile*, sworn Enemy of the *English*, which was the more practicable, as the King of *Portugal* offered to make a powerful Diversion. The Duke of *Lancaster* hastened with all possible ardour, the Conclusion of this Affair, imagining, with the Forces of *England*, and Assistance of *Portugal*, it would not be impossible to succeed in his Designs. All these Considerations induced the King's Council, to give a favorable hearing to the King of *Portugal's* Proposals, and to promise the Duke of *Lancaster* an Aid proportionable to the Importance of the Undertaking. Pursuant to this Resolution, the King called a Parliament (1) to demand a Subsidy to enable him to accomplish this Project. The Commons readily granted it, and expressed great earnestness for the Expedition, not so much out of love to the Duke, as to remove him out of the Kingdom, where it was continually feared he would at last occasion Troubles fatal to the State. For that reason, they had this Affair so much at heart, that the Clergy refusing to pay their part of the Subsidy (2), they petitioned the King to seize their Temporalities. *Richard*, who loved not his Uncle enough to quarrel with the Clergy for his sake, refused to comply with the Commons Request. His Moderation procured him from the Clergy, what Force would hardly ever have extorted from them. Thus the Duke of *Lancaster*, secure of the Parliament's Assistance, made, as King of *Castile*, a League offensive and defensive with the King of *Portugal*, and prepared for the War with all possible diligence.

In this same Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* was declared presumptive Heir of the Crown, in case *Richard* died without Issue. He was Son of *Philippa*, only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward III.* and Grandson of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, executed as a Traitor in the late Reign. But the Sentence passed upon him was afterwards repealed, because the Formalities prescribed by the Laws and Customs of the Realm were not observed at his Tryal (3).

Before the Parliament broke up, the King conferred on the Earl of *Cambridge* (4) his Uncle, the Title of Duke of *York*; on the Earl of *Buckingham* (5) his other Uncle, that of Duke of *Glocester*. He could not help raising these two Princes to higher Degrees of Honour, unless he would leave them below the Earl of *Oxford* (6), whom he created at the same time Marquis of *Dublin*, and quickly after, Duke of *Ireland*. This Favorite was the first that bore the Title of Marquis in *England*, where it was hitherto unknown. *Michael de la Pole*, another of the King's Favorites, was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor (7).

In the beginning of the Year 1386, *Leo* King of *Armenia*, expelled out of his Dominions by the *Turks*, came to *England* to confer with *Richard*. His Design was to procure a firm and lasting Peace between *France* and *England*, in expectation that afterwards the two Crowns would join all their Forces to restore him to his Kingdom. But if he succeeded not in his Project, at least he

obtained from *Richard* a considerable Present, and a yearly Pension of a thousand Pounds (8).

As soon as the Duke of *Lancaster* had finished his Preparations for his Spanish Expedition, he embarked at *Portsmouth* (9), with an Army of twenty thousand Men, among whom were two thousand Men at Arms (10). He carried with him *Constantia* of *Castile*, his Wife, and her two Daughters *Philippa* and *Catherina*, the first of whom he had by *Blanch* of *Lancaster*, and the other by *Constantia*. The King and Queen accompanied them to *Portsmouth*, and wishing them good Success, presented them with two Gold Crowns. The Duke setting Sail, made some stay at *Bristol*, and obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to raise the Siege of that Town, which all his Solicitations had not been able to get out of the hands of the *English*. Then pursuing his Voyage, he arrived August the 9th at *Oran*, where he landed his Troops. Upon his Arrival, he made himself master of several Places in *Gallicia*, and at last of *Compostella*, where he passed the Winter. While the Season prevented him from continuing his Progress, he concluded a Marriage between *Philippa* his eldest Daughter and the King of *Portugal*, and spent the rest of the Time in projecting the next Campaign.

The Duke of *Lancaster's* departure, which had long before made a great Noise, prompted the Court of *France* to improve so favorable a conjuncture. As *England*, deprived of her best Troops, would be probably defenceless, *Charles* resolved to make a fresh Effort to conquer that Kingdom. To that end, he made such prodigious Preparations, that all *Europe* expected with Astonishment the success of this Undertaking. He had prepared nine hundred Transport-Ships (11), and caused a wooden Fort to be made, (which could be taken in Pieces,) for the Defence of his Army after landing. If the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle, who wanted to render the Project abortive, because, says a Historian, he was not the Author, had not too long delayed his coming, the *French* would have found *England* unprovided with Troops for her defence. But the Duke not repairing to *Sluice* till the 14th of September (12), *Richard* had time to prepare, as to have no reason to fear the mighty Efforts of his Enemies. Very likely, the great diligence of the *English*, rather than the Season, which was not too far advanced for so short a Passage, obliged the King of *France* to send his Troops into Winter Quarters.

As soon as the grand Designs of *France* were known in *England*, Troops were levied with that speed and success, that an Army of two hundred thousand Men were drawn together (13). Part of these Forces were put into the Places most exposed, whilst the rest stood ready to hinder the Enemies landing. But as this Army was to be maintained, as well as raised, which could not be done without a very great Expence, a Parliament was called to consider of Ways and Means (14). The King demanding a Subsidy, proportionable to his Wants (15), the Parliament was very willing to grant it, but could not think of leaving the Money in the Power of the King and his Favorites, among whom the Marquis of *Dublin*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, held the first Rank. These Lords were so universally and excessively odious, that in order to ruin them the Parliament scrupled not to hazard the loss of the whole Kingdom. They presented an Address to the King, desiring that the Treasurer (16), and the Earl of *Suffolk* the Chancellor, might be removed from their Places. Moreover that all those might be called to an Account, through whose hands the publick Money had passed, affirming, the King would find in the Con-

(1) Which met at *Westminster*, on the Friday after *Oct. 18*, and granted the King a Fifteenth, and half a Fifth for the Duke of *Lancaster's* Expedition; and a Tenth, and half a Tenth for the late-keeping of the Sea, and Marches of *Scotland*. *R. 1. Parl. 9. Ric. II. N. 10. Cotton's Abridg.* p. 309. *Wals.* p. 306.

(2) The Lords and Commons required they should give a Tenth and a half. They granted at first one Tenth.

(3) He was not brought to answer, or make his Defence; but was attainted and condemned without ever being heard, and consequently without any legal Conviction. For which reason this Judgment was afterwards reversed as erroneous, by the Parliament which met in April, 1354. See *Cotton's Abridg.* 1. 6. 8. 85, 86.

(4) *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward III.*

(5) *Thomas of Woodstock*, his seventh Son.

(6) *Robert de Vere*.

(7) He granted the two first a thousand Pounds a piece out of the Exchequer, till he should provide them with Lands to the Value of a thousand Pounds a Year. To *M. de la Pole* he allowed five hundred and twenty Pounds out of the Profits of the County of *Suffolk*, and out of the Profits of *Wiltshire* late Earl of *Suffolk*. And to the Marquis of *Dublin*, he gave the old Lands and Revenues of *Ireland*, with all Profits, &c. whatsoever. The Reader is to observe, that these Honours were now only confirmed in Parliament; for the King had invested these Noblemen with them, in his late Expedition into *Scotland*, at *Hounslow-Lodge* in *Trentdale*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 310.

(8) *Rapin* by mistake says, twenty thousand Marks. It is plain from *Rymer's Fœd.* that it was only one thousand Pounds a Year—*Concessimus eidem*—*Mille Libras Monete nostre Angliæ, percipiendas singulis annis.*—*Tom. 7. p. 494.* See also *Wals.* p. 321.

(9) In May, *Frail.* 1. 2. c. 175.

(10) And eight thousand Archers.

(11) *Frailant* says, he had twelve hundred and eighty seven Ships of all sorts, 1. 2. c. 178. And, according to others, no less than sixty thousand fighting Men. *Wals.* p. 325. *Tyrel.* p. 904.

(12) *Walsingham* says, he was there by the first of August, p. 325.

(13) The Earl of *Suffolk* caused a great part of the Militia of the Kingdom to be sent for up toward *London*, to repel the *French* if they should land. These Forces, consisting of Men at Arms and Archers, were quartered within twenty Miles round the City, where they did almost as much mischief as an Army, for having no Money to pay for their Quarters, they lived at discretion. *Wals.* p. 323.

(14) The Parliament met at *Westminster* on *Oct. 1.* *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 314.

(15) Four Fifteenths of the Commons, and as many Tenths from the Clergy. *Knigh-ton, Col. 2681.*

(16) *John de Rotham*, Bishop of *Durham*.

1386. fication of the Mismanagers Estates, wherewithal to answer the occasions of the State. *Richard*, who expected quite another thing, in the present juncture of Affairs, received the Address with an Indignation, which it was not possible for him to conceal. He answered very sharply, that the Parliament ought to mind the Business for which they were called, and not meddle with what belonged not to them. He rashly added, that, *To please the Parliament, he would not turn out the meanest Scullion in his Kitchen.* At the same time he withdrew to *Eltham*, not staying for a Reply.

The King's rash Decision. Knighton.

The King demands the Subsidy in an impetuous manner.

Disputes between the King and Parliament. Knighton. Col. 263.

Though the King could not doubt, but so offensive an Answer would extremely incense the Commons, he sent, a few days after, the Chancellor himself to order them, in an imperious manner, to grant the desired Subsidy. This Order, hitherto unusual in Affairs of this nature, was received with so great a Concern, that the two Houses uniting upon this occasion, as having one and the same Interest, sent the King word that they would proceed to no Business till he returned to his Parliament, and his Ministers were punished according to their Deserts. This Reply provoking the King to the highest degree, he commanded the two Houses to send to him forty of their Members, to give an account of their Proceedings. But the Parliament was so far from complying, that they would have come to an open Rupture, if the most prudent had not prevailed with them, though with great difficulty, to send to the King the Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle, and the Bishop of *Ely* (1). These two Lords being come to *Eltham*, told the King in the Name of the two Houses, that as the Sovereign had Power to assemble them, they had likewise a Right to require his Presence in his Parliament. They added, it was enacted by an old Statute, That in case the King absented himself forty days from his Parliament, without lawful cause, the Members might return to their Homes; which they were resolved to do, if the King persisted to deprive them of the Honour of his Presence. To this vigorous Declaration *Richard* replied in a great Passion, and with no less Imprudence, That he plainly saw his Subjects were resolved to rebel against him, and therefore he had nothing more to do, than to desire the Assistance of the King of *France*, to reduce them to their Duty. The same made Answer, the King of *France* was the most mortal Enemy of the *English* Nation, as appeared in his present Endeavours to destroy them; therefore the King's desperate Resolution could not but proceed from the pernicious Advice of his evil Counsellors, who fought only to set him at variance with his faithful Subjects. Upon these Words they withdrew, saying, their Orders were only to intreat him to return to his Parliament, whose sole View was his and the Kingdom's Welfare.

The King consents to the removing of his Favorites.

Knighton. Col. 263. Walling.

Fourteen Commissioners appointed to govern with the King.

The Chancellor forced to make Resignation. Knighton. Walling.

The Deputies being retired, *Richard* came to more moderate Resolutions. Probably, the Ministers and Favorites were afraid of the Consequences which might attend a Rupture with the Parliament. In this disposition, he repaired to the Parliament, and with a good grace granted whatever they had required. The Chancellor was not only removed from his Office (2), but summoned to appear and give an account of his Administration, wherein he was notoriously guilty of many Misdemeanors (3). As for the Marquiss of *Dublin*, lately made Duke of *Ireland*, he was sent thither with a Pension of three thousand Marks (4), his whole Estate being confiscated by order of Parliament. This done, the two Houses appointed fourteen (5) Commissioners to take care of the Publick Affairs jointly with the King. The Duke of *Glocester* and the Earl of *Arundel*, were authorized to examine the Publick Accounts, and how the King's Revenues had been disposed of. A few days after,

- (1) *Thomas de Arundel*. Knighton, Col. 2680.
- (2) In which he was succeeded by *Thomas de Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, October 23. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 548. And *J. In Gilbert*, Bishop of *Hereford*, was made Treasurer. Knighton, Col. 2633. Wallingham, p. 325.
- (3) See the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him in Knighton, Col. 2634, &c.
- (4) Thirty thousand, says *Wallingham*, p. 324.
- (5) Knighton 119, there were fourteen appointed, whereas *Rapin* says but thirteen. They were the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Bishops of *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Winchester*, and *Exeter*; *John de Walsingham*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; *Edmund de Langley*, Duke of *York*; *Thomas de Walsingham*, Duke of *Glocester*; the Abbot of *Winton*; the Earl of *Arundel*; the Lord *John Cobham*; the Lord *Richard le Scrope*; and the Lord *John de Enghien*. Col. 2685.
- (6) And was confined to *Windsor* Castle. Ibid. Col. 2683.
- (7) On October 31. Wallingham, p. 325.
- (8) Before their breaking up, they granted the King one half Disme, or Tenth, and one half Fifteenth, both on the Clergy and Laity; to be paid by the beginning of *February* next, and the like Sum to be paid at *Michaelmas*, if there should be occasion. They gave also, of every Tun of Wine, imported or exported, three Shillings, and Twelve-pence of every Pound of Merchandize, except the Staple-ware and Wools. *Rot. Parl.* 10 Richard II. M. 42, 18.
- (9) Or rather to assassinate him. Wallingham, Ibid.
- (10) *Richard de Exton*. Ibid.
- (11) *Richard Fitz-Alan*. Wallingham observes, this Earl did not, as other Admirals used to do, that is, man the Fleet with Persons not used to the Sea, to whom they gave but half Wages, and to put the rest of the Money, allowed by the Government, into their own Pockets; but he chose the stoutest and best Sailors he could get, p. 326.
- (12) *Thomas Mowbray*.
- (13) About the beginning of *March*, Knighton, Col. 2692. Wallingham, p. 326.
- (14) Fifty six. There were about a hundred and sixty taken in all. Knighton, Ibid. This Engagement happened on *March* 24. Wallingham, Ibid.

the Chancellor being found guilty of Mismanagement, was compelled to restore all the Grants he had received of the King (6). These Grants were so excessive, that *Richard* himself, who had never computed them, could not help being surprized, and upbraiding his Favourite for abusing his Good-will.

Towards the end of this Session came the agreeable News of the *French* Army being separated, and their Fleet so damaged by a Storm (7) that it could not be fit to put to Sea again a good while. Of the great number of Ships prepared by the *French*, the most part flundered at Sea, or were lost on the *English* Coasts. Among the left were found some laden with Plank for building the Fort above-mentioned.

The Parliament breaking up as soon as the fear of the Invasion was passed (8), the King quickly gave Proof of his Levity, by recalling to Court the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Archbishop of *York*. He even affected to care, them more than before their Disgrace, and load them with fresh Favors. The Favorites resumed their former Post with Hearts full of Revenge, especially against the two Commissioners of the publick Accounts, who by a strict Examination of their Conduct, had occasioned their Condemnation. It was not difficult to persuade the young King, they had suffered for his sake, and that the designs of their Enemies aimed not so much at the Ministers, as at the King himself. They represented to him, "That accusing the Counsellors, is a clear Evidence that the Sovereign is thought incapable of governing, and that the readiest way to discredit a Prince, is to persuade his Subjects, he makes use of ill Ministers." These Insinuations frequently repeated, made so strong an impression on the King's Mind, that he resolved to free himself from the Subjection of the Parliament. But the Favorites intimated to him, it would be a very difficult thing to execute, so long as the Duke of *Glocester* was at the head of the Factious. By this means they led him to consent to all their Plots for his Uncle's Destruction. When they were sure of the King's Approbation, they concerted the means to compass their Ends. They found no better way than to poison (9) the Duke, and some other of their principal Enemies, at a Feast to which they were invited by the City of *London*. But as they durst not execute this Plot, without securing the Mayor (10), he gave the Duke of *Glocester* notice of it, who came not to the Feast.

Had it been as easy for the Favorites to destroy their private Enemies, as it was to draw upon them the King's Hatred, there would scarce have been left in the Kingdom a Lord capable of giving them any umbrage. But in a Government like that of *England*, particularly during a Minority, it is no easy thing for the King and his Ministry to do whatever they please. The Favorites then, in their continual Fears of being themselves prevented, were obliged to recur to secret ways to ruin their Enemies. Mean while they continued to prejudice the King against his best Subjects, till being of Age he might act with a more absolute Authority. The Earls of *Arundel* (11) and *Nottingham* (12), Admirals of *England*, putting to Sea in the beginning of the Spring (13), took a Fleet of *French*, *Spanish* and *Flemish* Merchant-Men, and brought some of them to *England* (14), laden with Wine. After that they failed to *Bretagne* and relieved *Brast*, besieged by the Duke. This Service which deserved some Return from the King, only made them incur his Indignation. When they came from their Expedition, he would not vouchsafe even to speak to them; so much was he prejudiced against them by his Ministers. It was intimated to him that the taking of these Ships would not fail of bringing Troubles upon him, which would very

1386.

The French Fleet being damaged by a Storm.

The Parliament breaking up.

The Duke of Glocester was at the head of the Factious.

He escapes from prison.

1387.

The Favorites rise in up against their Enemies.

The Earls of Arundel and Nottingham resign their Places.

1387. much embarrass him. The two Earls, highly offended at this uncivil Reception, resigned their Commission, which was given to the Earl of Northumberland.

The Duke of Ireland desires his Wife, Cousin to the King, Walling.

Thus did the Favorites stir up their Master against the principal Lords, in hopes of reaping the Fruit of their Artifices, when the King should be of Age, of which he wanted but little. But an Accident which happened soon after, made them hasten the Execution of their Projects. The Duke of Ireland presuming upon his Influence over the King, had the Insolence to divorce his Wife (1), Daughter of the Lord Coucy, and Grand-Daughter of Edward III, in order to marry Lancerona, Maid of Honour to the Queen, a Bohemian of mean Birth (2). Though this Divorce was very injurious to the Royal Family, Richard shewed not the least Concern. But it was not the same with the Duke of Gloucester, who highly resented the Affront, and declared he would revenge it the first opportunity. This Threat made the Duke of Ireland resolve to prevent him. To that end, after concerting the means with the King, he feigned to go into Ireland, and took the Road to Wales where the King was pleased to accompany him. But this pretended Voyage was only to consult more privately how to execute their Project of assuming an arbitrary Power, of which the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham (3), were to feel the Effects. The Result of this Consultation was, that the King should raise an Army to terrify these Lords, and then call a Parliament, the Election whereof should be so managed, that the Members should be all at his devotion; and that he should cause to be passed all such Acts as were necessary to secure him an unlimited Power.

The Duke of Gloucester threatens him. Walling.

Plot to make the King absolute. Knighton.

Richard communicates his Design to the Sheriffs, Walling.

As soon as the Plot was contrived, they went to Nottingham, where the King sent for all the Sheriffs, some of the principal Citizens of London, and all the Judges. When they were met, he communicated to them his Design of raising an Army to chastise such Lords, as he named to them, among whom was the Duke of Gloucester, and demanded of the Sheriffs what number of Troops each could furnish him with. Then he told them, he intended to call a Parliament, and ordered them to let no Representative be chosen, but what was in the List he should give them himself (4). The Sheriffs made answer, it was not in their Power to execute his Orders. That the People were so well inclined to the Lords he had mentioned, that there was no prospect of levying an Army against them: That it was still more difficult to deprive the People of their Right of freely electing their Representatives in Parliament. But the Judges (5) were not so scrupulous in what related to them. The King asked them, whether he had not Power to turn out the fourteen Commissioners appointed by Parliament, and annul such Acts as were prejudicial to him? They replied, *The King was above the Laws* (6). Nevertheless, when they were required to subscribe their Opinion, some endeavoured to be excused, but were compelled to it by the Menaces of the Favorites. It is affirmed, one of the Judges (7) said aloud after signing, *That never did Action better deserve hanging than that he had just done*. The Opinion of the Judges being thus extorted, Richard thought he had surmounted all Difficulties. He immediately issued out Commissions to levy an Army; but found so few willing to serve him, that he was forced to desist from his Project. Enraged at this disappointment, he returned to London, after a fruitless Declaration of his Designs, which rendered him more odious to the publick.

who refuse to engage in the Plot.

Knighton. Col. 2693.

The Judges decide, that the King is above the Laws. Knighton.

The King's Plot comes to nothing.

The Duke of Gloucester tries to appease the King. Knighton. Walling.

A Plot of this nature, so openly contrived, and not executed, seldom fails of proving fatal to the Authors. The Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lords of his Party, perceived their Destruction was resolved; and if the King and his Favorites had not already sacrificed them to their Animosity, it was not for want of Will but of Power. The only Remedy left, in their Opinion, was, a recourse to Arms. But as prudent People use not that Method till all

others prove ineffectual, the Duke of Gloucester thought he should try once more to remove the King's Prejudices. For that purpose, he sent the Bishop of London with respectful Assurances of his Allegiance, and an Offer to clear himself by Oath of the Crimes falsely laid to his Charge. Richard seemed at first inclinable to admit of this Justification; but the Earl of Suffolk soon made him alter his Mind, by telling him, even before the Bishop, he would never be safe on the Throne as long as the Duke of Gloucester was alive. The Bishop of London was so offended at these Words, that he could not forbear saying to the Favorite, that being condemned by the Parliament, and holding his Life purely by the King's Grace, it became him less than any Man, to accuse Loyal Subjects. This Boldness was so displeasing to the King, that he commanded the Prelate to depart from his Presence. Affairs being come to this Point; and the proscribed Lords believing that a vigorous Defence was the only way left to screen them from the Designs of the Court, resolved at length to take Arms. As they were in great Credit with the People, who considered them as their Protectors, they had soon drawn together an Army of forty thousand Men, with which they marched directly to London.

The Earl of Suffolk kinders the Reconciliation. Knighton. Walling.

The Lords take Arms.

The Diligence of the Lords broke all the measures of the King and his Ministers. Richard was resolved to go to France, and refer to King Charles, Calais and Cherbourg, in order to obtain a powerful Aid, which might enable him to reduce his rebellious Subjects, as he termed them. But the sudden Approach of the Lords not suffering him to execute this Design, there was a necessity of having recourse to other means, to free himself from the present Difficulties. The best way, as he thought, was to amuse the Malecontents, whilst the Duke of Ireland raised an Army in Wales, where he had many Friends. Pursuant to this Project, he sent word to the Male-content Lords, that he was ready to grant them all their reasonable Desires, and should be on the morrow in Westminster-Hall, where they might come and present their Petition. The Lords gladly embraced the Offer, and taking care not to be surprized (8), repaired to the Place appointed. They found the King seated on a Throne, in his Royal Robes, expecting their coming. As they approached the Throne, they fell on their Knees, in a suppliant Posture, though in effect it was not so much to ask Pardon, as to obtain of him the Punishment of his Ministers. The Bishop of Ely, who was Chancellor (9), asking the reason of their taking Arms, they replied, it was solely with Intention to procure the Good of the King and Kingdom. Adding, the King's Person should be always inviolable to them, and that their Design was only to bring the Traitors about him to condign Punishment. Then they named in particular, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, Judge Tresilian, and one Brembar, an Alderman of London, who was of the same Cabal. The King gravely answered, that in the next Parliament (10) Justice should be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their Presumption, intimating, it was in his Power to crush them, but out of pure Condescension he was pleased to give them a favorable hearing. After that he took the Duke of Gloucester by the hand, and bidding them all rise, said, their Complaints should be considered. As he intended only to amuse them, he ordered a Proclamation to be published, to justify their appearing in Arms, in hopes they would be induced to dismiss their Troops. But they were too well acquainted with the Character of the King and his Ministers, to rely on their bare Word. Apprehensive of being suddenly oppressed, when they should be no longer feared, they resolved to continue in Arms till the Parliament was assembled. They quickly saw how necessary this Precaution was. The Duke of Ireland having levied an Army in Wales with great Expedition (11), marched with all speed to the King's Assistance. Had he been able to ap-

The King's Motion is frustrated. Knighton.

He tries to amuse the Lords.

Interview of the King and Lords. Walling. Knighton.

The King puts them off to the next Parliament. Walling.

Knighton. Col. 2701.

The Lords continue armed. Walling.

The Duke of Ireland marches to the King's Relief.

(1) Philippa, Daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Seffins, and Isabella, eldest Daughter of King Edward III.

(2) She was a Vintner's, or, according to others, a Joiner's Daughter. Wallingbam, p. 328.

(3) Thomas of Woodstock, Richard Fitz-Alan, Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Bullingbroke, Thomas Mowbray.

(4) But such as he and his Council should direct and nominate. Wallingbam, p. 329.

(5) They were Sir Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice; Sir Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Holt, Sir Roger Multon, Sir William Burgh, together with John de Lokton, the King's Sergeant at Law. Knighton, Col. 2694.

(6) There were ten Queries put to them; which, together with the Judges Answers, see in Knighton, Col. 2694, &c. and in Sir Robert Howard's Life of Richard II. p. 99, &c. They returned their Answers on August 25.

(7) Sir Robert Belknap, who had upon signing, "Now went I nothing but a Ship, or a nimble Horse, or an Halter, to bring me to that death I deserve; if I had not done this, I should have been killed by your Hands, (for it seems, the Duke of Ireland, and Earl of Suffolk, threatened to kill him, if he refused to sign) and now I have gratified the King's Pleasure and yours in doing it, I have well deserved to die for Traitors against the Nobles of the Land." Knighton, Col. 2694.

(8) The Bishop of Ely, and divers other Persons of Honour and Credit, giving their Oaths on the King's behalf, That no Treachery or ill Practice should be used, but that they might come and go with safety. Which was no unnecessary Caution; for on the Day they were to appear, they received notice of an Ambuscade being laid for them in Westminster, by Sir Thomas river, and Sir Nicolas Brembar. Wallingbam, p. 330, 331. Knighton, Col. 2700.

(9) De la Pole was not Chancellor again after he was recalled.

(10) Which he appointed to be on February 3. Knighton. Wallingbam, p. 331.

(11) That this was done by the King's Commission, is evident from hence, because Sir Thomas Mowbray, Constable of Chester Castle, was ordered to accompany and safe-conduct the said Duke, with all the Forces he could get, to his Majesty's Presence. Wallingbam, p. 331. Knighton, Col. 2702.

1387.
Is departed.
Walsing.

Letters
found in his
Casket.

He retires
into Hol-
land.
Walsing.
Knighton.

The King's
Designs are
discovered.
Knighton.
Walsing.

1388.
Conference
of the Lords
with the
King.
Walsing.
Knighton.

They re-
proach the
King.

The King
answers
with Tears.

Upon the
King's re-
fusing to
come to
Westminster
as he had
agreed, they
threaten to
choose a new
King.
He consents
to the Ban-
ishment of
his Favo-
rites.
Walsing.

1389.
The Parlia-
ment meets.
Knighton.
Col. 2713,
&c.
Walsing.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 566,
590.

proach London, it was not certain that the Citizens would join the Confederates. To prevent this Danger, the Earl of Derby (1), eldest Son of the Duke of Lancaster, went with part of the Army to meet the Duke of Ireland, and finding him in Oxfordshire (2) gave him Battle, and gained an easy Victory over a General who was nothing less than a Warrior. In the beginning of the Fight, the Duke, who was afraid of falling into the hands of his Enemies, took to flight, without troubling himself about what became of his Army. All his Baggage being taken, in a Casket was found a Letter from the King, commanding him to march to London with all possible speed, and promising him to live and die with him. This Defeat breaking all the King's measures, the Duke fled into Holland, and, after some stay at Utrecht, went and lived at Louvain, where he died three Years after. The Earl of Suffolk would have retired to Calais, but the Governor (3) not daring, at such a Juncture, either to arrest or protect him, chose to send him back to the King. Mean while, Richard, uncertain how the victorious Lords would deal with him, took refuge in the Tower. He had the more reason to fear, as a Frenchman was seized at that time, bringing him a Safe-Conduct to come to Boulogne, where King Charles expected him. It was farther discovered by a Letter found upon the same Person, that Charles expected to be put in possession of Calais and Cherbourg, and had even advanced part of the Sum, he was to give for these two Places.

The Confederate Lords being now fully satisfied of the pernicious Designs of the King, and his Ministers, marched their whole Army into London, and then demanded a Conference with the King. Richard would fain have been excused, but, as he saw no remedy, and was apprehensive of starving in the Tower, durst not refuse it. At this Interview, they bitterly upbraided him with the Nottingham Plot to destroy them; with his design to make himself absolute, by means of an Army; with his attempting to have a Parliament at his devotion; with his Orders to the Duke of Ireland to march to London, whilst he was amusing them with vain Promises: Lastly, with his Treaty with the King of France, to deliver up Calais and Cherbourg. Richard answered these Reproaches, with a Shower of Tears, which moved the Lords. They imagined, the King's ill Conduct proceeded only from his little Experience, and the bad Counsels of his Favorites, and as they were removed he would be reclaimed. This belief rendering them more tractable, it was agreed, the King should on the morrow be at Westminster, to settle with them the Affairs of the Government. Hardly were they out of the Tower, before he altered his mind, and sent them word, he would not confer with them. This Fickleness so incensed them, that they immediately let him know, in case he came not to Westminster next day, according to his Promise, they would go themselves, and proceed to the Election of a new King. So precise a Declaration threw him into such a Fright, that he not only came to the Place of Conference, but consented also to the Banishment of his two principal Favorites, with the Archbishop of York (4), the Bishops of Durham and Chichester (5), and several other Lords (6) and Ladies (7), who had favoured the Designs of the Court. As for the Judges, since it was designed to treat them with the utmost Rigour, they were taken off the Benches in Westminster-Hall, and sent to the Tower.

The Parliament being assembled in February (8) 1389, several Persons were accused of High-Treason, and sentenced to divers Punishments: Tresilian, Brembar (9), and some other Knights and Gentlemen were hanged at Tyburn. The rest of the Judges, with the Bishop of Chi-

chester, received the same Sentence; but had their Lives granted them, and were banished to Ireland (10). As for the two Favorites, and the Archbishop of York, they were condemned to exile, and their Estates confiscated to the King's Use (11).

After the Parliament had thus paid what was thought due to Justice, two Acts were passed, the first of which forbade the ascribing to the King the late Commotions, and the other, granted a general Pardon to both Parties. Matters being thus settled, the King renewed his Coronation-Oath, as if he begun a new Reign, and all the Lords did him Homage, and repeated their Oaths of Allegiance (12). This Parliament, called the Merciless, did not break up till June the 4th.

During the Troubles in England, the Scots willing to take advantage of the Juncture, were advanced as far as Newcastle, under the Conduct of Sir William Douglas (13), and committed great Ravages on the Borders. As soon as these Commotions were appeased, Henry Percy, fir-named Hotspur, Son of the Earl of Northumberland, marched against the Scots, and giving them Battle, slew Douglas with his own hand. But the Earl of Dunbar coming upon him during the Battle, with a Body of fresh Troops, so changed the Scene, that the English Army was at length defeated, and Hotspur taken Prisoner.

About the same time, the Earl of Arundel, whom the Parliament had made High-Admiral, went to the Assistance of the Duke of Bretagne, attacked by the King of France. This Aid obliging Charles to grant the Duke Peace, the English were sent home. In his return, the Earl of Arundel took from the French eighty freighted Ships, and plundered the Isles of Ree and Oleron: after which he sailed with his Fleet to England. Shortly after, the two Crowns agreed upon a three Years Truce, wherein the Scots were included.

Since the last Parliament, England remained in Tranquillity. The new Ministers being guided by different Maxims from those of the old, took care not to engage the King in such Proceedings that had like to prove his Ruin. But though the King's Council was successfully changed, it was not so easy to change his Temper. Full of his own Merit, he was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of Age to hold the Reins of the Government himself. Upon his entering into his two and twentieth Year, he called his Council, ordering all the Members to be present. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which answer was made, he was full Twenty Years of Age. Since it is so, added he, I will govern my Kingdom my self; the Condition of a King ought not to be worse than that of his Subjects, who are at Liberty at that Age to manage their own Affairs. Having thus made known his Intentions, he commanded the Chancellor (14) to deliver him the Great-Seal, which he gave to the Bishop of Winchester (15). At the same time he turned out the Bishop of Hereford from being Treasurer, and removing from the Council-Board the Duke of Gloucester his Uncle, the Earl of Warwick, and some others, whom he did not like, put such in their room as he believed more pliant to his Will. This Proceeding was not in it self strange, since it was in his Power to make these Alterations. However, it was remarked, he had never given less Signs of Prudence, which those who begin to be of Age are supposed to have, than in the choice of his new Ministers, who were by no means qualified for their Posts. Accordingly it was not long before Disorder and Confusion were visible in the Publick Affairs. The Favorites first care was, to insinuate to the King, that the Duke of Gloucester had ill Designs upon his Person. But

1388.

A General
Pardon.
Walsing.
Knighton.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 572.

The English
defeated by
the Scots.
Frontlet.
13 c. 123,
124.
Buchanan.
Walsing.
Knighton.

Exploit of
the Earl of
Arundel.
Walsing.

Truce with
France.
Walsing.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 622.

Richard
takes upon
him the Go-
vernment.
Walsing.
Act. Pub.
VII. p. 612.

Walsing.

Changes the
Ministry.
Walsing.

The Duke of
Gloucester
being accu-
sed clear-
himself.

(1) Henry of Bullingbroke.

(2) At Babbelake, near Burford. Walsing. p. 332.

(3) His own Brother Edmund de la Poë, who was Governor of the Castle, refused to harbour him, without the Consent of the Lord William Beauchamp, Governor of the Town, who sent him back as a Prisoner into England. The Lord Beauchamp was sent for over, and committed Prisoner upon this account. Ibid.

(4) Alexander Nevil. He was succeeded by Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 574. Wals. p. 336.

(5) John Fordham, and Thomas Ruythke. Ibid. p. 333.

(6) The Lords Zouche, Haringworth, Burel, and Bemand; and also Sir Alberic de Vere, Sir Baldwin Buresford, Sir Richard Adderbury, Sir John Wort, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir John Lovel, Sir Simon Burley, Sir Thomas Trewet, Sir Nicholas Brembar, &c. Walsingb. p. 334. Knighton, Col. 2705.

(7) The Lady Mauren, the Lady de Molyng, and the Lady Pownings. Walsing. p. 334. Knighton, Col. 2705.

(8) On Feb. 3. 1388. They granted the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 620. And a Subsidy of Wool, Skins, and Wool-fells, over and above the old Custom; viz. of every Sack of Wool, forty six Shillings and Eight-pence; of every Lait of Skins, four Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence; of Denizens, and of Aliens, four Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence. Rot. Parl. 11. Ric. 2. No. 1, 16. Cotton's Abridg. 332. There was another Parliament at Cambridge after Harvest, in which the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the Laity a Fifteenth. Walsingb. p. 335. Knighton, Col. 2729. In this Parliament John Holland, the King's Half-Brother, was created Earl of Huntingdon. Ibid.

(9) Brembar was beheaded. See Knighton, Col. 2726.

(10) They had Allowances made them out of the Exchequer, for their Maintenance, as follows: Fulstorp, forty pounds per Annum; Burgh, forty Marks; Beisnap, forty Pounds; Helt, forty Marks; and Cory and Lokton, twenty Pounds per Annum a-piece. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 591. Knighton.

(11) See the Articles exhibited against them in Knighton, Col. 2715, &c.

(12) See the Form of it in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 572.

(13) Or rather of his Father, Archibald Douglas Earl of Galloway. See Buchan. l. 9.

(14) Thomas de Arundel, Archbishop of York.

(15) William Wickham, Founder of Winchester School and New-College in Oxford. Walsingb. p. 337.

1389. the Duke so fully vindicated his Innocence, that the King was ashamed of giving Ear to so groundless a Charge. He would not however, suffer the Duke to prosecute his Accusers, though they were confuted in his presence.

1390. Whilst Richard was apprehensive of the Attempts of this Uncle, who was represented to him as a very dangerous Enemy, he saw another arrive, who was no less formidable. This was the Duke of Lancaster, who was returned from the Spanish Expedition (1). The Progress he had made in that Country, had at length obliged the King of Castile to make a Treaty with him, promising to pay down six hundred thousand Livres, with a yearly Pension of forty thousand (2), during the Lives of him and his Dukes. This Treaty was followed by a Marriage of the Princess Catherine, the Duke's Daughter by Constantia, with Henry, eldest Son of the King of Castile, on account of which the Duke and Dukes resigned their Pretensions to that Crown.

Though Richard was not very well pleased with the Duke of Lancaster's Arrival, he received him however with such Careless, as gave room to hope for a happy Union in the Royal Family for the future. This hope was confirmed by the Reconciliation procured by the Duke of Lancaster (3), between the King and the Duke of Gloucester; a Reconciliation seemingly so sincere on the King's side, that all the World was deceived. Notwithstanding these fair Appearances, the Duke of Lancaster's Preference was very grievous to Richard. This may be judged by the Price wherewith he was willing to purchase his Absence. To attain his Ends, he made him the richest Present that a King of England could then make a Subject, by investing him with the Duchy of Guienne, with the same Privileges as were granted to the late Prince of Wales, the King's Father. As he had never any Affection for him, his making him so noble a Present, could be only with a view to remove him from England (4).

Shortly after the Earl of Derby, eldest Son of the Duke of Lancaster, went (5) and bore Arms in Prussia, where he signalized himself by many gallant Actions. Whilst this Prince was endeavouring to gain a Reputation by his warlike Exploits, Richard passed his time in Sham-Fights. He spent immense Sums in Tournaments, which gave occasion to compare him, very much to his Disadvantage, with his Cousin the Earl of Derby who was in great Esteem (6).

Whilst the King was employed in these Diversions, the Parliament revived a Statute, enacted in the Reign of Edward III, and confirmed in this. By this Act it was made High-Treason to bring into the Kingdom Provisions from the Court of Rome, without the King's License. A Nuntio, sent to England upon this account (7), made a great Noise, and even threatened that the Pope would proceed to Extremities. But his Menaces were incapable of obliging the Parliament to annul the Act. All he could obtain was a Reprieve for this new sort of Offenders, till the ensuing Parliament (8).

Though a terrible Plague, and a Famine no less intolerable, then afflicted England, the King, who was excessively fond of Pageantry and Pomp, retrenched none of his Diversions or Expences, which ran out to prodigious Sums. He is said to entertain daily six thousand Persons. He valued himself upon surpassing in Magnificence all the Sovereigns of Europe, as if he had been possessed of an inexhaustible Fund of Treasure. In his

Kitchen alone, three hundred Domesticks were employed, and the Queen had the like Number of Women in her Service. The Courtiers so readily obtained whatever they asked, that the King's Favours were the less valued. In short, he affected in every thing a Profuseness, which could not but be very chargeable to his Subjects, and by a necessary Consequence draw on him their Aversion.

As his Revenues were not sufficient for so many Expences, he had a mind to try to obtain some Assistance from the Londoners. But, not to frighten them, he was contented first to see how they stood affected, by borrowing only a thousand Pounds, probably with design not to confine himself afterwards to such a Trifle. How inconsiderable soever this Sum was, he had the vexation to be refused in a very mortifying manner, even to the cutting in pieces by the Populace an Italian Merchant, who offered to lend the Money himself. Richard highly resented this Affront, which he soon after found an opportunity to revenge. Under colour of punishing a Tumult of little consequence, raised by a Baker's Apprentice, he stripped the City of all her Privileges (9), took away her Charter, and removed the Courts of Justice to York. It is true, he afterwards restored the whole, but the Londoners were obliged to redeem their Charter with a Present of ten thousand Pounds, and two Gold Crowns. But though they paid dearly for refusing to lend the King a thousand Pounds, it was nothing in comparison of the Prejudice the King himself received by it. By this Proceeding he entirely forfeited the Affection of the Citizens, who made him sensible afterwards, how dangerous it is for a King of England to have London for his Enemy (10).

In the beginning of the Year 1393, arrived at London Deputies from the English settled in Ireland, imploring Assistance against the Natives (11). For some time there had been frequent Insurrections in the Island, which showed, the Irish wanted to shake off the Yoke of the English. These Disorders should have had a speedier Remedy, but Richard too much addicted to his Pleasures, had neglected the Affairs of Ireland, as if he had been wholly unconcerned. At last, the Mischief was so increased, that he could not, without hazarding the Loss of the Island, any longer delay applying a suitable Remedy. The Duke of Gloucester offered to go and suppress the Rebels (12); but the King not thinking proper to trust him with the Command of an Army, resolved to go himself. In this Resolution he called a Parliament (13), which granted him a large Sum as well for the Irish War, as for the Charges of an Embassy of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, who were to negotiate a final Peace with France. But this Affair came to nothing, by an Accident which prevented the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries between Ardres and Guines, according to Agreement. King Charles, who was from time to time seized with a Distemper, which deprived him of his Understanding, being come to Abbeville on purpose to let the English see he was in his Senses, fell into one of his usual Fits. This Relapse occasioned the deferring of the Negotiation to a more convenient Season.

The King's Preparations for his Voyage to Ireland, were somewhat interrupted in the beginning of the Year 1394, by the Funerals of his Queen (14), and of the Duchesses of Lancaster (15), and York (16), who died about the same time. It is said the Queen was a great Follower of Wickliff's Doctrine, and, had she lived any lon-

(1) He returned to England about the beginning of November. *Walsh.* p. 342.

(2) Ten thousand Pounds. *Ibid.*

(3) In a Council held at Reading in December, where the Duke posted immediately after his Return. *Ibid.*

(4) This was done in a Parliament which met at Westminster, the Monday after January 14, wherein King Richard was declared of full Age. This Parliament granted forty Shillings on every Sack of Wool; of which ten Shillings were to go to the King's present Occasions, and the other thirty Shillings to be reserved in the Hands of Commissioners appointed by Parliament, and not to be spent unless in case of War. In this Parliament it was enacted, That the King should not extend his Pardon to any Persons convicted of Murder. *Ret. Parl.* 13. *Reg. H. N.* 1. *See Coten's Abridg.* p. 332.

— In this Parliament also, Edward, eldest Son of the Duke of York, was created Earl of Rutland, with a Pension of eight hundred Marks, issuing out of the Town of Chatham in that County. *Coten's Abridg.* p. 332. *Walsh.* p. 343.

(5) With a thousand Knights. *Knighton.* Col. 2737.

(6) This Year was slain at a Tournament John Hyllings, the last Earl of Pembroke of that Family: In which it is remarkable, that none of the Sons ever saw his own Father, the Father dying always before the Son was born. *Walsh.* p. 343.

(7) By Pope Boniface IX. *Idem.* p. 344.

(8) This Parliament met at Westminster, November 12, and granted the King half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth, which they offered to make whole ones, if as the same was only employed upon the Defence of the Realm; and upon condition that the Staple was removed from Calais to England, and so continued. *Coten's Abridg.* p. 338. *Walsh.* 346.

(9) On May 25. In a Council then held at Stamford. *Walsh.* p. 347. *Knighton.*

(10) This Year a Parliament met at Westminster on November 3, which granted the King one Tenth and a half, and one Fifteenth and a half. *Coten's Abridg.* p. 341. 342.

(11) King Edward III, used to receive from that Kingdom thirty thousand Pounds yearly; but after his Decease, the English settled there, stocked to England in such Numbers, that the rest remained not only exposed to the Depredation of the Natives, but it cost the King thirty thousand Marks a Year to preserve that part of the Island belonging to him. Whereupon he ordered all that belonged to Ireland to repair thither on pain of death. *Walsh.* p. 350.

(12) He had lately been created Duke of Ireland. When his Forces were just ready to embark, he was recalled to the great Prejudice both of England and Ireland. For upon the Report of his coming, almost all the petty Kings of Ireland resolved to submit to the English. *Ibid.*

(13) This Parliament met at Westminster on January 22. The Clergy granted the King a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons a Fifteenth. *Walsh.* p. 349. *Knighton.* Col. 2741.

(14) She died on June 7, at Shene in Surrey, and was buried at Westminster, August 3. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VII. p. 776.

(15) Constantia, Daughter of Pedro the Cruel King of Castile. (See above, p. 442.) She was buried at Leicester. *Knighton.* Col. 2741.

(16) Isabella, Sister of Constantia. She was buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers at King's Langley in Hertfordshire. *Walsh.* p. 350.

1394. ger, would have saved the *Lollards* (1), (so *Wickliff's* Followers were called, many of the Calamities they afterwards endured. The Departure of the Duke of *Lancaster*, their chief Patron, who was gone to take possession of the Principality of *Guienne*, not a little contributed to hasten the Designs of their Enemies, who improved these favorable junctures to persecute them.

The King goes to Ireland, and makes some Progress. Froitart. Walling. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 782.

How great soever *Richard's* Grief was for the Death of the Queen, he set out however for *Ireland*, according to his Project (2). He arrived there in *September* (3), and at first made some Progress against the Rebels. But as the Season would not permit him to proceed, he went to *Dublin*, where he held a Parliament, whilst the Duke of *York* assembled another in *England* (4), which granted a Subsidy for prosecuting the *Irish* War.

1395. Designs of the Lollards which oblige the Clergy to send to the King. Walling.

Richard was preparing to take the Field again, when the Archbishop of *York*, and Bishop of *London*, arrived from *England*, to treat him in the Name of the Clergy, to hasten his return. They even intimated, that the least Delay might bring an irreparable Damage to Religion. The Foundation of this great Alarm was, that in the late Parliament, the *Lollards* had made Instances to set on foot a Reformation of the Church (5). As they had many Friends in the Kingdom, and in the Parliament itself, the Clergy were afraid they would proceed to this Reformation. For which Reason, the two deputed Prelates so magnified the Danger Religion was in, that *Richard* immediately departed for *England* (6), leaving to the Earl of *March* the management of the War. Upon his Arrival at *London*, he took certain measures with the Clergy to suppress the Sect of the *Lollards*, and compelled Sir *Richard Story* publicly to abjure their Doctrine, threatening to punish him with Death if ever he relapsed to that Sect.

The King's Return. Tries to suppress the Lollards. Walling.

Shortly after, was brought into *England*, by the King's Order, the Corpse of the Duke of *Ireland*, who died at *Louvain*. This Object reviving the King's Affection, he caused the Coffin to be opened, that he might once more have the Pleasure to see the Man whom he had so tenderly loved. Then he ordered him a magnificent Funeral, and was pleased to honour it with his Presence, as *Edward II.* had formerly done with regard to *Gaveston*. But the Nobility would not show that Respect to a Favorite, of whom they had so much Cause to complain. So that, like *Edward II.*, *Richard* was attended at the funeral Pomp, with only some of the Clergy (7).

1396. The Gasccons refuse to acknowledge the Duke of Lancaster. Froitart. l. 4. c. 11. Walling. Knighton.

Whilst the King was employed in his *Irish* Expedition, the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was gone to *Bordeaux* to cause his Sovereignty to be acknowledged, had met with unexpected Obstacles. The *Gasccons*, pretending, their Country was inseparably united to the Crown of *England*, maintained, it was not in the King's Power to alienate it. This pretension was strengthened with a motive of Interest, which confirmed them in their Obstinacy. They said, if they were once separated from *England*, they ran the risk of being deprived of the only Protection, capable of preventing their falling under the Dominion of *France*. For this reason, they asserted the Alienation in question was equally prejudicial to themselves and the Crown of *England*. It was objected, that they had never made the same Scruple with regard to the Prince of *Wales*, the King's Father. But they replied, there was a wide Difference between that Alienation and this. That the first being made in favour of the next Heir to the Crown, was to be only for a time, whereas this might easily happen to be for ever. After several Contests on this Subject, which lasted some time, the King

1396. resolved at length to revoke the Grant, to which the Duke of *Lancaster*, since he could not help it, readily submitted. To comfort him in some measure for this loss, the King gave him leave to marry *Catherine Roet*, Widow of Sir *Thomas Swinford* (8). The Duke had long kept her as his Mistress, and had by her several Children, who were legitimated by the King and Parliament, by the Name of *Beaufort*. Some time after, the King created the eldest, Earl of *Somerset* (9).

Before the Duke of *Lancaster's* Arrival the King had sent Ambassadors to *France* (10), to demand in marriage *Isabella*, Daughter of *Charles VI.* The Court of *France* had at first rejected this Proposal, because the Princess was but seven Years old, and besides was promised to the Duke of *Bretagne*. However, notwithstanding these Difficulties, the Marriage was concluded, in a second Negotiation, and withal, a twenty eight Years Truce, between the two Crowns. Shortly after, both the Kings met between *Ardes* and *Calais*, under Tents pitched on purpose, where the two Courts displayed all their Magnificence, and where the Treaty was signed and the Nuptials solemnized (11). *Richard* is said to expend on this occasion three hundred thousand Marks, a Sum far exceeding that of two hundred thousand, which he received in deduction of what was promised him with his Queen. The Duke of *Gloucester*, who liked neither the Marriage nor the Truce, could not forbear showing his Discontent. He frankly told the King, it would have been more advisable to attempt, by a vigorous War, to recover what *England* had lost in *France*, than to enter into an Alliance with a Crown, that had all along gained more advantages by Treaties with the *English*, than by the Success of its Arms.

Richard marries the King of France's Daughter. Walling. Act. Pub. VII. p. 802, 811, 812, 820. A 28 Years Truce. Froitart. l. 4. c. 13, 20, 26. Interview of the two Kings. Walling.

The Duke of Gloucester reproaches the King. Walling.

The King's usual Expence, with the Charges of his late Marriage, having entirely drained his Exchequer, and even obliged him to borrow large Sums, there was a necessity of recurring to extraordinary Ways to fill his Coffers. Though the Parliament which met in the beginning of the Year 1397 (12), granted him a very considerable Sum, it was not sufficient to enable him to pay his Debts. Besides, he took occasion to increase the Expence of his Household, from a Report that the Electoral Princes had cast their Eyes upon him, to raise him to the Imperial Dignity, and thereby reduced himself to still greater Straights. As he was ashamed to demand a fresh Supply from the Parliament, he had recourse again to Borrowings, or rather to extorted Grants, which he exacted from the Rich. There was not a Lord, Bishop, Gentleman, or rich Burgefs, but what was obliged to lend him Money, though it was well known he never designed to repay it. But though this Method of raising Money upon the People, had ever been considered by the *English*, as one of the greatest Breaches of their Privileges, it occasioned no Commotion. Every one was intimidated, and though this Injustice was highly repented, it was taken patiently, in hopes it would be the last.

1397. The King's excessive Expence. Walling.

He makes use of illegal Ways to borrow Money. Walling.

The Restitution of *Cherbourg* (15) to the King of *Navarre*, and of *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was not looked upon with the same Tranquillity. Though these two Places belonged not originally to *England*, the *English* had been at so great an Expence, in aiding the Princes, to whom they appertained, that they might have been justly kept till the whole was repaid. This occasioned a general Dissatisfaction, and the more, because it brought the King but an inconsiderable Sum, which was also lavished away in needless Expences. It is true he pretended, his Engagement to restore these Places after a Peace, or a long Truce with *France*, made this Restitution neces-

He gives up Brest and Cherbourg. Walling. Act. Pub. VII. p. 756, 759, 802. See Publick murmurs at it.

(1) They were so called, either from *Walter Lollard*, a German, who flourished about the Year 1315, or else from the Word *Lelliam*, signifying *Darnel* or *Tares*; because they were reputed as Tares sowed by the evil one in the Field of God's Church.

(2) And in the beginning of this Year held a Parliament at *Westminster*, viz. on Jan. 29. wherein the Lords and Commons granted him, for three Years, a Subsidy upon Wools, Wool-kills, &c. Twelve-pence of every Pound of Merchandise, and three Shillings of every Ton of Wine, imported or exported. *Cotton's Abridg.* 351, 352. *Rot. Parl. Walling.*

(3) Attended by the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, *Rutland*, &c. *Walling.* p. 351.

(4) This Parliament was held at *Westminster* on Jan. 29. not by the Duke of *Gloucester*, as *Rapin* says by mistake, but by *Edmund Duke of York*, who had been left Regent. The Duke of *Gloucester*, whom the King had carried along with him to *Ireland*, repaired to *England* to set forth the King's Wants. See *Walling.* p. 351. In this Parliament the Clergy granted the King a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons a Fifteenth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 353. *Rot. Parl.* 18. *Kil.* 2. *M.* 25. *de. Wall.* p. 351.

(5) They delivered a Remonstrance into the House by Sir *Thomas Latimer*, and Sir *Richard Story*, against the Corruptions of the Church, containing twelve Articles. *Wali.* *Ibid.*

(6) In the beginning of *May*.

(7) He was hurt by a wild Bear, in *Huntings*, whereof he died. Being brought to *England* in *November*, he was buried at *Earl's Coln* in *Essex*. He was succeeded in his Estate and Honour of *Earl of Oxford*, by *Adrien de Vere* his Uncle. *Knighton.* Col. 2727. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. I. p. 197.

(8) This Woman was born in *Hainault*, and Daughter of Sir *Parn Roet*, or *Ruet*, a Knight of that Country: She was, in her Youth, brought up in the Duke of *Lancaster's* House, and waited on his first Wife *Elanob*, but afterwards became the Duke's Concubine. *Stow's Ann.* p. 322. *Froissart.* l. 4. c. 20.

(9) There were four, *John*, *Thomas*, *Henry*, and *Joanna*. They were surnamed *Beaufort*, from the Castle of *Beaufort* in *France*, that came by *Blanch* of *Arras*, the Duke's first Wife.

(10) The Earl-Marshal, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *St. David's*, the Lords *John Beaumont*, and *William Scrope*. *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. VII. p. 802.

(11) They were married on Feb. 31. in *St. Nicolas's Church* at *Calais*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. She was crowned *January 7.* *Stow's Ann.* p. 213. *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. VII. p. 848.

(12) This Parliament met at *Westminster* on *January 22*, and therein the Clergy granted the King half a Tenth, and the Lords and Commons Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandise imported, and three Shillings in the Pound for every Tun of Wine. *Rot. Parl.* 21. *Rec. It.* *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 360. In this Parliament, the Judges banished to *Ireland*, obtained leave to return to *England*. *Ibid.* *Wali.* p. 353.

(13) It seems that this Town had been only mortgaged to the *English*, by the King of *Navarre*, for the Sum of twenty two thousand Marks. *Wali.* p. 200. *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. VII. p. 756, 757.

1397. fary; but it was well known also that the King of Na-
The Duke of varre, and the Duke of Bretagne had failed him first. Be
Glocester this as it will, the Duke of *Glocester* thought this Fault so
reproaches prejudicial to *England*, that he could not help upbraiding
him with it. the King in very sharp Terms; to which *Richard* made
 such a Reply as plainly showed how much he was offend-
 ed at his Remonstrance. This Accident revived the
 King's former hatred of the Duke of *Glocester*, which be-
 ing rather stifled than extinguished, shewed itself from time
 to time; how careful soever he might be to conceal it.

Richard sug-
gests his
Uncl's
Froissart,
l. 4. c. 32.
 He complained to the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, that
 the Duke of *Glocester* took upon him to controll his Ac-
 tions, and amongst his complaints, he dropped some Ex-
 pressions, which made them think he suspected all three
 of having ill Designs upon him. The two Princes pro-
 tected they had an unshaken Loyalty for him, and did not
 question but the Duke their Brother had the same, though
 his hasty Temper caused him sometimes to speak with
 too much Warmth. The King appeared satisfied with
 their Justification. However, his Easiness to be appeased,
 after showing so great Anger, bred in them Suspensions,
 which induced them to quit the Court, and retire to their
 Estates. Their withdrawing was probably the occasion
 of the Duke of *Glocester's* Ruin, as it gave his Enemies an
 opportunity to inflame the King's Displeasure against him,
 and to determine him at length to be rid of so troublesome
 an Inspector. But as nothing could be found in his
 Conduct which might expose him to the Rigour of the
 Law, and besides it would be dangerous to destroy him
 that way, *Richard* resolved to make use of a speedier
 and more certain Method. To execute this Design, he
 came one Morning to his Uncle's Country House, and
 finding him in Bed, desired him to rise immediately, and
 go with him to *London*. He pretended, he wanted him
 in a very important Affair, which he would impart to
 him on the Road. The Duke presently mounting his
 Horse, rode by the King, who talked to him about the
 pretended Affair, without showing he had any other De-
 sign. Whilst they were discoursing together, they came
 to a hollow Way, where the Duke was suddenly surround-
 ed with some Horsemen, and carried on board a Ship,
 which lay ready in the *Thames* to convey him to *Cal-*
lais (1). When the King came to *London*, he sent for
 the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and after familiarly
 talking with them some time (2), ordered them to be ap-
 prehended and sent to the Tower. He served the Lord
Cobham in the same manner with some others (3), whom
 he designed to get rid of. Mean time the Intelligence
 he received of the People's beginning to stir, obliged him
 to issue out a Proclamation, declaring, these Lords were
 taken into custody for new Misdemeanours, and prom-
 ising they should be proceeded against according to
 Law.

The Dukes of
York and
Lancaster
quit the
Court.
Ibid.

The King
gets rid of
the Duke of
Glocester.
Froissart,
l. 4. c. 33.

And appre-
hends the
Earls of
Warwick
and Arun-
del.
Walsing.
A Proclama-
tion about it.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 6.

The Peers
are sum-
moned.
Walsing.

The King
gets a Par-
liament at his
devotion.

This Proclamation having somewhat appeased the Peo-
 ple, the King summoned all the Peers of the Realm to
Nottingham (4). This was done with design to sound
 them, rather than ask their Advice concerning the man-
 ner of proceeding against the Prisoners, since he was al-
 ready determined. However he made use of this Pretence
 to convene them. After the Affair was debated in Coun-
 cil, the Lords (5) fearing to incur either the King's In-
 dignation, or the Hatred of the Publick, if they came to
 any resolution, declared it to be of such a nature that it
 could only be decided by the Authority of the Parliament.
 This was precisely what the King wanted. He had al-
 ready taken all necessary Measures to have a Parliament
 at his devotion. Some time since, he had changed all the
 Sheriffs of the Kingdom, and suffered none, but what had
 promised to be subservient to his Designs. He had taken
 the same Precautions, with respect to all Officers that

had Credit and Power in the Burroughs and Counties. 1397.
 So by means of the Magistrates, and Persons in publick
 Posts, he had caused such Representatives to be chosen as
 he had secured beforehand. If any were elected not agree-
 able to him, the Sheriffs were ordered not to return them,
 but to cause others to be chosen in their room. Besides,
 as the House of Commons were the sole Judges in the
 Affair of Elections, he was well assured that such a Par-
 liament would confirm or reject whom he pleased.

It must not be thought very difficult for a King of
England to execute such a Project. Experience has since
 confirmed, on numberless Occasions, that by the like ways,
 it is very possible, to cause Representatives to be chosen
 devoted to the Court. However, Historians remark, that
 it was in this Parliament, that such Practices were first
 used. But it must likewise be added, that it was one of
 the principal Causes of *Richard's* Destruction, as will be
 seen hereafter. And indeed it is impossible that a Nation
 can see their Liberties in the hands of Men, whom they
 have not themselves freely chosen, without desiring to be
 delivered from such an Oppression.

The Parliament being thus composed (6), the Bishop
 of *Exeter* (7) opened the Session with a Speech, labouring
 to prove that the Regal Power was unlimited, and that
 such as endeavoured to bound it, deserved the severest
 Punishments. Pursuant to this Principle, which met with
 a general Approbation, the Parliament repealed the Act
 of Grace, passed nine Years before in favour of the Duke
 of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and all
 their Adherents. All the Acts were likewise annulled
 passed in the Parliament, which appointed the fourteen
 Governours to the King, as being extorted during his
 Minority.

If the Parliament of 1385, deserved to be called the
Unjust and
Merciless, I know no Name odious enough for this. By
 a manifest Prevarication, this Assembly made no scruple
 to sacrifice to the Passions of the King and his Ministers,
 the most distinguished Lords of the Kingdom, as well as
 the Liberties and Privileges of the People. *Thomas Arun-*
del, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was impeached of High-
 Treason, for being one of the Commissioners appointed
 by the Parliament of 1386, to whom was committed the
 Inspection of the Administration of the publick Affairs.
 For this new sort of Offence, the Archbishop was con-
 demned to Banishment, and his Estate confiscated to the
 King's use. Then the Earls of *Arundel* (8) and *War-*
wick (9), were accused (10) of the same Crimes, for which
 nine Years before the King had granted a Pardon, and
 sentenced to die by this truly merciless Parliament. *Frois-*
sart says, the King would be present at *Arundel's* Exe-
 cution. Another Historian adds, that the Spectacle re-
 mained so deeply imprinted in his Memory, that his Sleep
 was often interrupted by Dreams, representing to him the
 Earl covered with Blood, and upbraiding him with his In-
 justice. To this contributed, perhaps, the Rumour that
 several Miracles were wrought at the Tomb of the deceas-
 ed (11), and that his Head was miraculously re-joined to
 his Body. Though to prevent the ill Consequences of
 this false Notion, the King had ordered the Corpse to be
 taken up and exposed to publick view, ten days toge-
 ther, in a Church, it was not possible to cure the People
 of their Prepossession. As for the Earl of *Warwick* who
 willingly confessed himself guilty, without taking advan-
 tage of the Pardon, he was treated with less rigour, his
 Punishment being changed into perpetual Banishment in
 the Isle of *Man*. As to the Duke of *Glocester*, in all
 appearance, the King was apprehensive it would be very
 dangerous to put him to death publicly, or that the Par-
 liament would not be so compliant as to sacrifice so con-
 siderable a Person. Be this as it will, he had taken care

The Bishop
of Exeter's
Speech upon
the absolute
Power of
the King.
Walsing.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 34.

Unjust and
Merciless
Proceedings of
the Parliam-
ent.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Arundel
banished.
Walsing.

Earls of
Warwick
and Arundel
sentenced to
die.

The latter
executed,
and passed
for a Mar-
tyr.
Walsing.

Warwick is
banished.
Walsing.

Glocester
strangled
at Calais.
Froissart.
l. 4. c. 36.
Walsing.

(1) The Account given of this Transaction, by *Froissart*, is as follows: "The King, under pretence of a Hunting-Match, came to a Seat of his near *Ramford* in *Essex*, called *Hawering Beaver*; from whence he set out one Summer's Afternoon, and came about five a-Clock (only with a few Attendants, having left the rest at *Waltham*) to the Duke's Castle at *Plyhey* in the same County, as if it were to give him a Visit. He was received by the Duke and his Dukes with all due Honour and Respect; and supper was got ready for his Majesty. But before he sat down, he desired the Duke to order five or six of his Horses to be saddled, to accompany him that Night to *London*; for that he himself, with his two Uncles of *Lancaster* and *York*, was to hold a Council the next Day, in which he wanted also his Advice, what Answer to give the *Londoners*, to a Petition they were to present him. Upon this the Duke, who suspected no harm, taking along with him only three Equires, and four Servants, accompanied the King towards *London*; who took the way of *Bendelay* (or *Epping-Forest*), to avoid the great Road, and *Belade*, (perhaps *Brentwood*) and other Towns; still talking familiarly with the Duke, as they went along. When they came near *Stratford*, between ten and eleven of the Clock, the King putting spurs to his Horse, rode away before; and at the same time *Thomas Mowbray* Earl-Marshall, who lay in Ambush with a great Number of Horsemen, seized upon the Duke, who in vain cried out to the King for help." *Froissart*, l. 4. c. 33, 36. The Castle of *Plyhey*, where King *Richard* came to the Duke, was the Seat of the High-Constables of *England* even before the Conquest. *Thomas Woodstock* became possessed of it, by his marrying *Eleanor*, eldest Daughter, and one of the Coheiresses of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Of this famous and antient Castle, nothing now remains but the Mount.

(2) He gave them many fair Words and gracious Promises; and had invited the Earl of *Warwick* to a Feast the same Day he had him arrested. *Walsing.* p. 354.

(3) And also Sir *John Cheney*, &c. The Lord *Cobham* was sent Prisoner to *Jersey*. *Idem* p. 355.

(4) On the first of *August*.

(5) These Lords were, the Earls of *Rutland*, *Kent*, *Huntingdon*, *Nottingham*, *Somersetshire*, *Salisbury*; *Thomas Lord Despenser*, and *William le Scrope*. *Walsing.* p. 354.

(6) This Parliament met at *Westminster*, on September 17. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 367. *Tyrrel*, p. 964.

(7) *Edmund Stafford*, who was consecrated in 1395. He was Lord-Chancellor.

(8) *Richard Fitz-Alan*.

(9) *Thomas Beauchamp*.

(10) The Earl of *Arundel* on the 21st of September, and the Earl of *Warwick* on the 28th of the same Month. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 377.

(11) He was buried in the Church of the *Augustin Friars* in *London*. *Walsing.* p. 355.

1397.
Act. vol.
VIII. p. 29.

as was afterwards known, to have him privately strangled (1) at *Calais*. Mean time, his Enemies gave out that he died of an Apoplexy, and before he expired, confessed himself guilty of Treason against the King. Upon this Report, without any examination of the Grounds, the Duke's whole Estate was confiscated to the King's Use.

The King
gratifies fe-
veral Lords.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Walsing.

It was almost impossible that these Severities should not produce some alteration among the Nobility. But, to prevent Accidents, *Richard* took care to gratify the principal Lords, and particularly the Princes of the Blood. He created [*Henry*] Earl of *Derby* his Cousin, eldest Son of the Duke of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, [*Edward Plantagenet*] Earl of *Rutland*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*, was made Duke of *Aubomarle*. [*Thomas de Holland*] Earl of *Kent*, received the Title of Duke of *Surrey*. [*John de Holland*,] Earl of *Huntington*, the King's half Brother, was created Duke of *Exeter*. [*Thomas Mowbray*,] Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; and [*Sir William de Scrope*] Earl of *Wiltshire* (2). Lastly, out of complaisance to the Duke of *Lancaster*, the King made [*John Beaufort*] his eldest Son by his third Marriage, who was already Earl of *Somerset*, Marquis of *Somerset* (3). To these honourable Titles he added other Favours, by distributing among these Lords the forfeited Estates of the Duke of *Glocester*, and of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* (4).

The Parla-
ment ad-
journed to
Shrewsbury.
Walsing.

In those days the Parliament seldom sat above one Session, unless the Business required a short Prorogation. But this was too well disposed for the King, to be willing to run the hazard of having one less devoted to him. So not thinking fit to dissolve it, he was pleased to adjourn it to *Shrewsbury*; this Town in the Neighbourhood of *Wales*, where he had many Friends, seeming more proper for his Delights than *London*, where he knew he was not beloved.

1398.
The Extra-
ordinary Pro-
ceedings of the
Parliament of
Shrewsbury.
Cotton's
Abridg.

The new Session (5) was only a Continuation of the extraordinary Proceedings already began at *Westminster*. The Parliament strove to carry the Prerogative Royal to a greater height, than any King of *England* had ever pretended to stretch it, and established such Maxims as were destructive of the Constitution, and the Liberties of the People. They approved, as conformable to Law, the Opinions for which nine Years before, the Judges were condemned. Pursuant to this Principle, the Judges who attended during the sitting of the Parliament, decided, that *When the King proposed any Articles to be debated in Parliament, it was High Treason to bring in others before the King's were first dispatched*. By this and the like decisions, the Cases of High Treason were so multiplied, that hardly was it possible to prevent falling into that Crime, unless by making the King's Will and Pleasure the sole Rule of Action (6). At last under colour of dispatching Business, the Parliament appointed a certain Number of Commissioners (7), who were invested with the Authority of the whole House. Thus by an unprecedented Act, the whole Power of the Nation was devolved to the King, twelve Peers, and six Commoners. To give the more strength to these irregular Proceedings, the King caused them to be confirmed by the Pope's Bull, which was published in all the Counties of the Kingdom (8).

Walsing.

Idem.

Cheshire
made a Prin-
cipality.

During this second Session, *Richard* brought into *Shrewsbury* a numerous Guard of the Militia of *Cheshire*, who expressed so strong an Inclination to serve him, that to gratify the County, he erected it into a Principality (9).

Remarks on
the English
Constitution.

Let us stay here a moment, and reflect on the Constitution of the *English* Government. It is certain, the Institution of Parliaments is very advantageous to the Kingdom, being the only support of the Liberties of the People, who, without that, would long since have fallen into a fatal Slavery. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that these Assemblies become sometimes very dangerous, when influenced by Popular Factions, or the

Cabals of an ambitious Prince. Accordingly, it has often happened, that instead of procuring the Good of the Realm, they have produced Confusion, and the Subversion of the Laws, one while by too much depressing the Prerogative Royal, another while, by carrying it higher than is consistent with the Welfare of the Nation. At such times, the Evil is so much the harder to be cured, as what is done by the Parliament is deemed to flow from the unanimous Consent of the whole Nation. For this Reason, it rarely happens that this disorder can be remedied, but by means as violent as those made use of to produce it, from whence generally spring Civil Wars. This is one of the principal Causes of the domestick Troubles, which have all along afflicted *England* more than any other *European* State.

It may be further observed, that the violent Method practised by *Richard* to attain to Arbitrary Power, I mean forced Elections, and the Opinions of the Judges, was exactly copied in our days by one of his Successors, who had without doubt the same Intention. But we may add, that the Attempts of these two Monarchs served only to promote their own Destruction, and that their designs came to the same Catastrophe. This is what we are going to see, with regard to *Richard* II, in the remaining Part of his Reign.

Every thing seemed to contribute to the support of the King, in the Enjoyment of the despotick Power he had lately assumed. They who would have been most capable of opposing his designs, had suffered a tragical Death, or were banished the Realm; and they who still remained, were gained by Places, Grants, or other sorts of Favours. The great Officers of the Crown, the Governors of the Towns and Counties, were all devoted to the King. Among the Magistrates of the Towns and Country, not one was suffered but what was ready to promote, to the utmost, the Increase of the Regal Power. Notwithstanding all these Advantages, *Richard* was much mistaken, in imagining this new-acquired Power was safe, since the People were not for him, but on the contrary, hated him for his violent Actions. It is even likely, that among those whom he accounted his Friends, there were many, who, out of Weakness or Prudence, did but conceal their real Sentiments, till an opportunity offered to free the Kingdom from the Yoke it began to groan under. And an opportunity presented itself sooner than the King imagined; for suffering himself to be swayed by his Passion, he had not the Prudence to keep within some Bounds, an Error which Princes of his Character seldom fail of committing. As they are always surrounded with Flatterers, they fancy all the rest of the People are in the same Sentiments, and generally it is too late before they perceive, that the small Numbers they have gained, is a weak Defence against the Fury of an enraged Nation. For a while, five or six hundred Persons, who compose the Parliament, and some hundreds of Magistrates in the Towns and Counties, seem to make the Body of the Nation, and the rest are reckoned as nothing. But a time comes when every single Person must be taken into the account, and then the Number of those that are in Office, is infinitely small in comparison of the rest of the Nation.

Richard, incapable of making these Reflections, suffered himself to be blindly guided by his Passion, which made him consider, as a great Advantage, all occasions of exercising the Arbitrary Power he thought to have so firmly established. Towards the end of the Year 1398, he gave a signal Proof of the little regard he intended to have for his Subjects, on occasion of a Quarrel between two of the principal Lords of his Court. The Duke of *Hereford*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Lancaster*, awed by the Examples of the Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle, and the other Lords, whom the King had sacrificed to his Revenge, limiting his Desires, made it the height of his Ambition, to keep in his favour, and carefully endea-

1398.

Quarrel be-
tween the
Dukes of
Hereford
and Norfolk.
Walsing.
Froissart,
l. 4. c. 38,
39.

(1) He was not strangled, but smothered between two Feather-beds, in September; as appears by the Confession of *John Hall*, a Servant of *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Captain of *Calais*; which *Hall* was concerned in that Murder, and executed for it, in the Year 1400. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 400. His Body was brought over to *England*, soon after his Death, as appears by King *Richard's* Order for that purpose, dated Oct. 4. (*Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VIII. p. 201, 211.*) and buried in *Westminster-Abbey*. According to some, it was at first buried in his Castle of *Hales* in *Essex*, thence removed into the Church of the College founded by him at *Pleshey* for Canons-Regular, and afterwards into *Westminster-Abbey*, where his Tomb is still to be seen.

(2) *Rapin* says by mistake, of *Glocester*. It was *Thomas le Despenser*, who was created Earl of *Glocester*. *Dugdale Walsing.* *Thomas* was also created Earl of *Worcester*; and *Sir Ralph* *Neville* Earl of *Westmoreland*.

(3) He was first made Marquis of *Devon*; but this Title was afterwards changed into Marquis of *Somerset*, by a new Charter of the Creation, bearing the same Date with the former. Nevertheless, though his first Title was cancelled, he was always called Marquis of *Devon*. *Dugdale.*

(4) After this, on September 30. the Bishop and Lords took an Oath to observe all the Statutes, &c. made in this Parliament; the Form of which Oath see in *Tyrel*, p. 97.

(5) Which began Jan. 29. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 371. See *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VIII. p. 21.*

(6) It was also made Treason: 1. For any Person whatsoever to compass or imagine the King's Death; 2. To contrive his Deposition; 3. To ride armed, or make War against the King in his Realm; 4. Or to claim the Homage. And the Heirs of all Persons convicted of any of these four Articles, were for ever to be deprived of the Land and Possessions of their Ancestors. *Comp. Hist.* p. 278.

(7) The Dukes of *Lancaster*, *York*, *Aubemarle*, *Surrey*, *Exeter*; the Marquis of *Devon*; the Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, *Northumberland*, *Glocester*, *Wiltshire*, and *Wiltshire*, or any six of them; together with *John Holby*, *Henry Green*, *John Russell*, *Henry Chelmsfords*, *Robert Tey*, and *John Galsgre*, Knights, for the Commons of the Kingdom, or any three of them. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 374. *Tyrel*, p. 985.

(8) This Parliament granted the King the Subsidy of Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells for Life; and one Tenth and Fifteenth, and half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth. *Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. N. 75.* *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 374.

(9) And added to the rest of his own Titles that of Prince of *Cheshire*.

1398. voured to avoid giving any cause of Suspicion. It was, probably, from this Consideration, that fearing the Duke of *Norfolk* had laid a Snare for him, in speaking to him very disrespectfully of the King (1), he informed *Richard* of the same. The Duke of *Norfolk* denying he had ever spoken against the King, and the Duke of *Hereford* maintaining his Accusation, it was ordered, that the Affair should be decided according to the Law of Chivalry, that is, by single Combat (2). *Creventry* was appointed for the Duel, at which the King would be present in Person. But just as the two Dukes were entering the Lists, the King, on pretence of avoiding the Effusion of Blood, but in reality to be rid of these two Lords at once, commanded them to proceed no farther. Then, though there could be but one guilty, he banished them both, the Duke of *Norfolk* for Life, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years. The former died shortly after at *Venice*, and the other retired into *France* (3). This Act of Authority was no less contrary to the Privileges of the Nobility, than what the King had hitherto done with regard to the whole Nation in general; for by the Laws of the Land, these Lords could only be tried by their Peers. But at that time the Privileges of the People were little regarded.

Not long after the Duke of *Hereford's* departure, his Father, the Duke of *Lancaster*, died (4) little lamented by the People, and still less by the King, who could not help fearing him. By the Death of this Prince, his Honours and Estates, which were very considerable, fell to the Duke of *Hereford* his Son, to whom before his departure, the King had remitted four Years of his Banishment. Moreover, he had granted him Letters Patent, empowering him, though in Exile, to take possession by his Attorney of his Fees, that should happen to fall to him in his Absence, with a suspension of Homage till his return (5). Notwithstanding immediately after the death of the Duke his Father, the King, by a Sentence no less unjust than the former, decreed, that his Banishment should be perpetual, and confiscated all his Estate.

By such Acts of despotick Power, the Laws and Liberties of *England* were in a deplorable state. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, and the Earl of *Arun-del* being dead, *Warwick* sent away, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* in Exile, there was scarce a Man in the Kingdom able to oppose the Arbitrary Power usurped by the King. The Duke of *York* alone, the King's Uncle, might have defended the Nation's Interests. But as he loved his ease, he was no proper Person to engage in such an Undertaking. *Richard* seeing himself therefore above all restraint, gave himself up to a soft and effeminate Life, regardless of the Good of the Publick. Mean time, his Ministers, little qualified for their Posts, suffered their Affairs to decay, and saw without any concern, the *English* Nation fall into the utmost contempt. The *Scots* frequently broke the Truce (6), by Incursions upon the Borders, being very sure, the Court of *England* was far from thinking of revenging their Insults. The *English* Possessions in *France* were almost reduced to nothing, and the Places which might one day have served to repair these Losses, were sold without any necessity. The Merchant Ships were daily plundered by the Corsairs of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, without any means used to protect the Trade. Amidst these disorders, the Ministers, of whom the Earl of *Wiltshire* was the chief, sought only to augment the King's Revenues, by Borrowings, new Taxes, and still less legal Ways. Pretences were no longer sought to demand Subsidies; the Ministers whole Business was only to find speedy and effectual means to extort Money from the People, to whom the demanding it was thought to be too great an Honour. At length, having practised divers Expedients, as unjust as extraordinary, to supply the King's prodigious Expences (7), and satisfy his Ministers

Avarice, a Method was used which could not fail of procuring large Sums. As the late Parliament had reversed the Pardon granted in 1386, to the Duke of *Glocester's* Adherents, Accusations were brought against such as had then taken Arms in favour of that Prince. By the Judgments given upon these Accusations, seventeen Counties were condemned as guilty of Treason, and the Estates of all the Inhabitants adjudged to the King. In this Extremity, the richer sort of Gentlemen and Burgeesses were forced, in order to avoid the seizure of their Estates, to give blank Obligations, which the King caused to be filled with what Sums he was pleased to exact. Moreover, by what was inserted in these Notes, which were termed *Ragmans* (8), every Person was bound, under great Penalties, to support the Statutes of the *Shrewsbury* Parliament, and all the subsequent Acts; that is to say, they entirely threw themselves upon the King's Mercy (9). It was impossible that a Government so tyrannical, should not draw the hatred of the Nation upon the Prince and his Instruments. It was also very visible, that these Oppressions kindled in the hearts of the People, an ardent desire of freeing themselves from them, inasmuch that the least Spark was capable of producing a fatal Combustion.

Whilst *England* was exposed to all these Calamities, the *Irish*, contemning the small number of Troops left by *Richard* in their Country, took up Arms with one Consent. *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Governor of *Ireland*, opposing the Rebels, was slain in the first Battle. This Prince, who was declared by an Act of Parliament presumptive Heir of the Crown, left two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, the eldest of whom succeeded him in his Honour of Earl of *March*, and died without Issue, as well as *Roger* his Brother. But the Marriage of *Ann* their Sister with the Duke of *York's* second Son, proved a fertile source of Troubles, which long afflicted the Kingdom.

Richard receiving the News of the *Irish* Revolt, resolved to go in Person and chastise the Rebels, being in a terrible Rage, that such a pitiful and wretched People should dare to contemn his Power, at a time when he found no opposition in *England*. Pursuant to this Resolution, he levied a numerous Army, which furnished him with a fresh occasion to exact great Sums from his Subjects (10), whereby he considerably increased the hatred already entertained against him.

When he was ready to embark, some Suspicions instilled into him, of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governor of the northern Counties, moved him to send that Earl a positive Order to come and join him without delay. But the Earl excusing himself, on account that his Presence was absolutely necessary in those Parts, the King, without further Examination, pronounced him a Traitor (11), and ordered all his Estate to be seized. Then leaving the Regency of the Kingdom to the Duke of *York* his Uncle, he set sail, and arrived *May* the 31st at *Waterford*, from whence he marched to *Dublin*. He was attended by the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaster*, by his third Wife, and by those of the late Duke of *Glocester*, whom he carried like Hostages; and had taken with him the best part of his Jewels, as if he had foreseen he should never more return to his Palace. He made at first some Progress against the Rebels, and in several Encounters, gave Marks of Valour, which caused a belief, that if hitherto he had shewn no great Inclination for War, it was not to be ascribed so much to a want of Courage, as to a bad Education.

But whilst his Vanity was flattered with the Advantages he gained over the *Irish*, a Conspiracy was forming in *England* to deprive him of the Crown. Under an arbitrary Government, such as *Richard's*, there must needs be great numbers of Malecontents. Some Persons indeed find their account in the absolute Power of the

(1) The Words were, That the King notwithstanding his fair Countenances, and great Oaths, did yet intend to oppress the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the two Dukes of *Hereford* and *Gloucester*, viz. *Edward Plantagenet*, and *John de Hlland*. *Cotton's Account*, p. 372. *Placita Canon. in Parl.* 21. Ric. II. This Accusation against the Duke of *Norfolk*, was brought in by the Duke of *Hereford*, on Jan. 30, while the Parliament was sitting.

(2) *Eng. Hist. lib. 1. c. 10.* and others, who say that the Duke of *Norfolk* accused the Duke of *Hereford* of having spoken ill of the King, were mistaken. See the *Acts of Parliament* 21 Ric. II. *R. 1. c. 10.* as likewise guilty of this Error, p. 603. Vol. I.

(3) When he was nearly recovered by the King of *France*, and found such favour in that Court that he was offered in Marriage, the only Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the said King *Richard* having notice thereof, used means to stop the Prosecution of that Treaty. *Freightart*, l. 4. c. 45, 46.

(4) *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, died about Feb. 2. and was buried in *St. Paul's* Cathedral, where his Monument was to be seen till the great Fire. See a Print of it in *Southey's Great Brit.* p. 245.

(5) On the 14th of Feb. 1399, p. 387.

(6) This Year, on Oct. 26, Commissioners from both Nations met at *Haudensbank*, on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, to take care of the Release and Exchange of Prisoners, taken in the Truce of *Leedingham*, in 1389; and to regulate all Affairs relating to the Borders. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. VIII. p. 34. &c.

(7) Among other Expedients, they borrowed very large Sums of the Abbies, Towns, and Men of Estates in the Kingdom, giving them Securities for their being repaid again; which was never done. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. VIII. p. 9.

(8) They were afterwards burnt by order of *Henry IV.* *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. VIII. p. 109.

(9) Among other Grievances, the Sheriffs of all the Counties through out the Kingdom, were forced to take an unusual Oath, viz. That they would obey all the King's Commands, whether under the Great-Seal, Privy-Seal, or Signet; and if they knew any Person in their respective Bailiwicks, that had spoke any thing to the Scandal or Damage of the King, they should imprison him, or what Degree or Condition severer they were. *Walsing. Topog.* p. 553.

(10) *Walsingham* says, that he extorted Money from his Subjects; made them furnish him with Horses, Carriages, and Viduals, for his Expedition, without paying any thing, which rendered him more dear than ever, p. 356.

(11) And caused him to be banished. *Freightart*, l. 4. c. 47.

1399. Prince, but they are far from being the Majority. So, though a King of this Character is commonly surrounded with a crowd of Flatterers, who endeavour to persuade him, that the People bear his Yoke patiently; if he has any Knowledge of the World, he ought to consider, there is no preserving the Power acquired by force, but by the same way it was usurped. And if he is so impolitick, as to confide in Subjects he has violently oppressed, in vain does he expect from them a Fidelity, which serves only to increase their Misery. This is what *Richard* did not fail to experience. By an imprudent Security, he had left his Kingdom, and carried all his Forces into *Ireland*, at a time when the People's hatred of him was at the height; wherein he committed a capital Error, which his Enemies failed not to improve. He was scarce gone for *Ireland*, with almost all the Lords his Creatures, but the Male-contents in *England* began to think of means to dethrone him. To that end, after several Conferences together, they sent Word to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, since his Banishment, was retired into *France*, "That all *England* was ready to rise, and nothing was wanting but a Leader of Distinction to head the Male-contents. That upon mature Deliberation, they thought none so proper as the Duke of *Hereford*, for whom the People had a great Esteem and Affection, and who moreover had a very plausible Pretence to take up Arms, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries he had suffered: That if the Duke would repair into *England*, they engaged to assist him to the utmost of their Power; and in the present disposition of the Nation, there was no doubt, but they would join those that should undertake to free them from the Oppression they endured." The Archbishop, who was himself extremely incensed against the King, communicating this Letter to the Duke, that Prince resolved to lay hold of the Juncture, to try what Fortune would do in his favour. However, as he was sensible he could not carry on this Enterprize by himself, he took care so to manage it, that he might easily desist, in case things were not disposed as he was made to expect. Pursuant to this Resolution, he privately repaired into *Bretagne*, where he fitted out three Ships, and embarked in Company with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (1), and about fourscore Men, among whom there were but sixteen or eighteen Lances (2). With this small Force he set sail, and hovered some time about the Coast of *England*, now in one Place, then in another, without landing any where. His design was to see what Effect his Approach would have among the People, and to engage the *English* openly to declare for him, in a belief that he was attended with greater Force. This Trial succeeded beyond expectation. When it was known that he was on the Coast, the People rose in several Parts, not considering whether the Aid which appeared was sufficient to protect them; and this readiness determined the Duke to push his Enterprize farther. In the beginning of July (3), he landed at *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*, where the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Henry Percy* his Son (4) immediately joined him with some Troops. After this Junction, the concourse of People, flocking in Crowds to lift under his Banners, was so great, that in a few days his Army was threescore thousand strong. So eager were the Nobles and People to put themselves under the Protection of a Prince, who stood himself in so great need of their Assistance.

The Conferrers call the Duke of Hereford, Frontant, l. 4. c. 47. dec.

He repairs to Bretagne, and embarks, Walling. l. 4. c. 49.

The Regent in vain tries to prevent a general Revolt. Walling.

The Council retire to St. Albans.

London declines for the Duke.

The Duke publishes a Manifesto. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 84.

to obtain Satisfaction for all the Injustices done him. This Manifesto produced so great an Effect, that when the Regent would have issued out Commissions to levy Troops, he hardly found any willing to accept them. Every one said publicly, he did not care to oppose the lawful Pretensions of a Prince so unjustly oppressed. This Refusal convincing the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the rest of the Ministry, that instead of being able to support their Authority, they ran the hazard of seeing themselves sacrificed to the publick Hatred, they deserted the Duke of *York* and retired to *Bristol* Castle. After the Flight of the Counsellors, the Regent perceiving there was no stemming the Torrent, threw up the care of the publick Affairs, and withdrew to his own House, leaving the Kingdom like a Ship exposed to the Winds and Waves, without Pilot or Mariners. All the other Lords, who had as yet remained Neuter, in order to join the strongest Party, finding the King's Interest abandoned, no longer deferred openly declaring for the Duke.

1399. The King cannot levy Troops.

The Ministers desert the Duke of York, and retire to Bristol.

The Duke marches to London, where the Citizens had invited him. He was triumphantly received in that noble City, with all the Demonstrations of Zeal and Affection, which could be given by a People extremely incensed against their Sovereign, and considering themselves as delivered from Tyranny.

He takes Bristol Castle, and retires to London.

The Wind binds the King from leaving Ireland. Walling.

He deserts his going to England.

Salisbury to levy troops.

The King is detained by contrary winds.

The Earl of Salisbury's Army, that the King was dead in *Ireland*, the Troops would have disbanded themselves. It was with great difficulty the Earl prevailed with them to stay a few days, in order to have certain News of the King. This Delay being expired, and *Richard* not appearing, the *Wiltshire* and *Cheshire* Men deserted their Colours, and retired to their Homes.

The King arrives, and knows not what Cause to make. Walling. Frontant. l. 4. c. 52.

Mean while, the Duke improving these Advantages, marched with all speed to *London*, where the Citizens had invited him. He was triumphantly received in that noble City, with all the Demonstrations of Zeal and Affection, which could be given by a People extremely incensed against their Sovereign, and considering themselves as delivered from Tyranny. But how pleasing soever the Honours he received from the *Londoners* might be, he staid no longer than was necessary to secure their Allegiance; after which he marched directly towards *Bristol*. Upon his arrival, the Gates being opened to him with joy, he commanded the Castle to be assaulted, where the Counsellors were retired. The Siege was pushed so vigorously, that in four days the Besieged were forced to surrender at Discretion. The People's Fury against the Earl of *Wiltshire* and his Companions was so violent, that the Duke thought he could not refuse them the Satisfaction to see these odious Ministers sacrificed to their Vengeance. So without considering the Power he assumed was still more illegal than the King's Usurpations, he ordered the Earl of *Wiltshire* to be beheaded, with some others of the Council (6), to satisfy the People who loudly called for their Death. The happy Success of this Expedition made the whole Kingdom embrace the Duke's Party, and shortly after he had the Satisfaction to see his Uncle the Duke of *York* come and assist him with his Counsels.

Whilst these things were transacting in *England*, *Richard* was in *Ireland* in a perfect security. The contrary Winds which continued to blow above three Weeks, hindered his receiving any News. When he heard of the Duke of *Lancaster's* Descent, he imprisoned his Brothers, with the Duke of *Glocester's* Sons, and resolved to go immediately into *England*, and fight his Enemy. But the Duke of *Albemarle* advised him to a stay few days, to have time to prepare Ships to transport all his Forces at once. He took this fatal Advice, which compleated his Ruin, since every Moment is precious at such a juncture. And indeed, it was during that time that *London* declared for the Duke, which perhaps would not have been, had the King been known to be in *England*, with a Resolution vigorously to oppose the Designs of his Enemies. *Richard* being determined to stay some days longer in *Ireland*, sent the Earl of *Salisbury* before, to levy Troops in *Wales*, affuring him he would quickly follow him (7). The Earl used such Expedition, that in a few days he assembled an Army of forty thousand Men, the *Wiltshire* and *Cheshire* Men zealously taking Arms for the King. If *Richard* had arrived with his Forces by the time he had promised, he might at least have had the Satisfaction, of trying the fortune of a Battle in Defence of his Crown. But the Wind returning to the East, detained him eighteen days longer in *Ireland*, and would not permit him to make so short a Passage. During that time a Rumour being spread in the Earl of *Salisbury's* Army, that the King was dead in *Ireland*, the Troops would have disbanded themselves. It was with great difficulty the Earl prevailed with them to stay a few days, in order to have certain News of the King. This Delay being expired, and *Richard* not appearing, the *Wiltshire* and *Cheshire* Men deserted their Colours, and retired to their Homes.

Richard landed a few days after (8), and as he knew nothing of the Earl of *Salisbury's* Army being dispersed, marched to *Caermarthen* in hopes to meet them. But

(1) And *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, Son and Heir of the late Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Cobham, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramoyle*, &c. Walling. p. 358.
 (2) Only fifteen Lances, says *Walsingham*. Ibid.
 (3) About July 4. Ibid.
 (4) With *Ralph Nevill*, Earl of *Westmoreland*. Ibid. And also the Lords *Wiltshire*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Beauchamp*. Tyt. p. 99.
 (5) Consisting of *Edmund Stafford*, Bishop of *Chichester*, the Chancellor; *William Scrope*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Treasurer; and Sir *John Bury*, Sir *William Bagot*, Sir *Henry Grene*, and Sir *John Russell*. *Walsingham*, p. 358.
 (6) Sir *John Bury*, and Sir *Henry Grene*. Sir *William Bagot* escaped into *Ireland*. Ibid.
 (7) Within six Days at furthest.
 (8) At *Meirton* haven; with the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Exeter* and *Surrey*; the Bishops of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Carlisle*. *Walsingham*, p. 358.

1399. when he heard that he had lost that Refuge, and all the Nobility had declared against him, that his Ministers were beleagued at *Bristol*, and the People ardently espoused the Duke of *Lancaster's* Quarrel, he knew not what Course to take, all that were proposed appearing equally dangerous. The Officers and Soldiers would have had him put himself at their head, and give his Enemy Battle. They promised to spill the last drop of their Blood in his Defence, and inspired him with hopes that his Army would daily increase in his March, by the junction of those, who through Force, or the belief of his Death, had deserted him. Some advised him to return, and fortify himself in *Ireland*. Others were of opinion, that he should fly for Refuge into *France*, to the King his Father-in-law, till a more favourable Season afforded him an opportunity to return to his Dominions. Amidst these Uncertainties, the unfortunate King, incapable of trusting the best Advice, and having none about him but such as wanted Courage or Capacity, could not come to any Resolution. However as he distressed every Body, he could not long remain in a Situation which seemed to him so very dangerous. On a sudden, without advising with any Person, he privately withdrew from his Army in the Night, and shut himself up in *Conwy* Castle, which was deemed impregnable, but at that time unprovided of all things. He had no sooner disappeared, but the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worcester*, Master of the Household, broke his White-Staff (1) before the King's Domesticks, and went to meet the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was advancing towards *Chester* at the head of his Army.

Conwy
Walling.

Richard
finds himself
alone in the
Castle.

Richard
finds himself
alone in the
Castle.

Richard
finds himself
alone in the
Castle.

Richard
finds himself
alone in the
Castle.

Richard
finds himself
alone in the
Castle.

Richard finding himself almost alone in the Castle he had chosen for his Sanctuary, without any prospect of being able to defend himself, was afraid, if he attempted to escape, of falling into the hands of an enraged People, who gave him but too many Proofs of their Hatred. In this extremity, he saw no other Remedy but to throw himself upon the Generosity of his Enemy. He sent him word by one of his Attendants, that he was ready to submit to what Terms he himself should judge reasonable, and desired him to send some Person to confer with him. The Duke immediately dispatched the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Northumberland*, both sworn Enemies of the King (2), to know his Intentions. In the short Conference with these Deputies, *Richard* offered, if his Life were secured, with an honourable Pension for himself and eight Persons (3) he should name, to resign his Crown, and be content to lead the Remainder of his Days like a private Person. The Deputies giving him hopes his Offer would be accepted, he desired to confer with the Duke himself. To that purpose he went to *Flint*, not above ten Miles from *Chester*, where the Duke was now arrived. Next day the Duke being come to *Flint*, went to the King, who said to him with a cheerful Countenance: "Cousin of *Lancaster*, you are welcome." Then the Duke thrice bowing to the Ground, replied, "My Lord the King, I am come sooner than you expected me, because the common Fame of your People is, that you have for this one and twenty Years governed very ill, and rigorously, with which they are not at all satisfied; but if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the future." To which the King only returned, *Fair Cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us too* (4). Some add, that *Richard* intreated the Duke, in very submissive Terms, not to touch his Life, in consideration of his having spared his Brothers, whom he had only confined in *Ireland*, and that the Duke gave him a positive Promise he would not. There are Historians who say, that *Richard* was betrayed by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who persuading him to demand this Conference, laid an Ambush for him in the way, and carried him Prisoner to the Duke. Be that as it will the two Princes went the same day (5) and lodged at *Chester*, from whence they set out together for *London*.

Upon their Approach, the *Londoners* came out in crowds,

to receive, the one with a thousand Curfews, and the other with excessive Applauses and Commendations. Then the King was conducted to the Tower, and confined there, whilst the Duke took measures with his Friends to complete his Work. The suddenness of this Revolution, and the Duke of *Lancaster's* Diligence in travelling so many Counties are very surprising. If it is considered that in seven and forty days, he marched from *Ravensthorpe*, where he landed, to *London*, *Bristol*, *Chester*, and from thence back to *London*, it will hardly be conceivable, that an Army of sixty thousand Men could possibly run over so much Ground in so short a Space (6).

1399.
Richard is
confined in
the Tower.

The moment the Duke had got the King in his Power, he took care to cause him to summon a Parliament at *London*, that no time might be lost. In the Conferences he had with his Friends, before the meeting of the Parliament, the Question was not so much concerning what was to be done, since the placing him upon the Throne was resolved, as how to proceed. Some were for his taking possession, upon *Richard's* bare Promise of resigning the Crown. Others thought, the Promise appeared too constrained to be the Foundation of any Right, and the more, as there was a nearer Heir than the Duke. This was *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son of that *Roger* who was declared *Richard's* presumptive Successor. The Truth is, he was descended from *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward III.*, whereas the Duke of *Lancaster* was Son of *John*, younger Brother of *Lionel*. Though *Edmund's* Right was only derived from a Woman, that would have been no Objection, provided the usual Practice had been observed, since there was no such thing in *England* as the *Salic Law*. Thus by *Richard's* Resignation, the Duke of *Lancaster* had no Right to claim the Crown. For this Reason they added, that since there was a necessity of setting aside the Law, the Authority of Parliament was absolutely requisite. Hence they concluded that *Richard* must be formally deposed, and the Duke elected by the same Authority. This Opinion had likewise Difficulties, as it ascribed to the Parliament a Power to dispose of the Crown, contrary to the Laws and Customs, to the prejudice of the lawful Heir, to whom nothing could be objected to weaken his Title. At last, after many Debates upon so nice a Point, it was the Duke of *York's* Opinion to unite the three ways proposed, in order to give the more Strength to what they had resolved. In the first place, *Richard* should be obliged to make an absolute Resignation. Secondly, the Parliament should proceed to depose him before the Crown was disposed of. Lastly, these two Steps being taken, and the Throne declared vacant, the same Parliament, in consideration of the Duke of *Lancaster's* great Service to the State, should adjudge him the Crown by their supreme Authority, which, in extraordinary Cases, was superior to the Laws. This Opinion was unanimously approved. Thus in punishing a King for setting himself above the Laws, a Power was given the Parliament no less contrary to them. So difficult it is on such occasions to keep within the Bounds of Justice and Equity. This Expedient, then thought proper to restore the Peace of the Kingdom, proved the real Source of the Calamities which afterwards afflicted the Nation, when these violent Proceedings seemed to be entirely forgotten. The Descendants of the Duke of *York*, who proposed this Opinion, found it their Interest to destroy the Foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the Parliament had exceeded their Power, in transferring the Crown to the House of *Lancaster*.

The Duke of
York's Pro-
posal is fol-
lowed.

Pursuant to the Resolutions the Duke of *Lancaster* had taken with his Friends, he repaired to the Tower, the Day before the opening of the Parliament (7), attended by a great number of Lords. There, in the presence of all, *Richard* delivered up the Crown and Scepter, with the other Emblems of Royalty, and by an Instrument signed with his own Hand, confessed himself unworthy and unfit to govern any longer (8). Next Day the Parliament being

Richard
delivers up
the Crown ab-
solutely.
Walling.

(1) The Officers of the King's Household carry a white Staff as a Badge of their Office, and when they break it, their Authority ceases, and those that are under them are discharged from their Service. *Richard*.

(2) *Walling* says, they were the Princes who desired himself to confer withal, p. 3. 8.

(3) He only desired, that the Duke of *York* should be spared, with out a Pension for them. *Id.*

(4) These were all the Words they said together, without adding any thing else, or taking from them, said (says the Author of the Chronicle of *Lancaster*) and by and heard him.

Which was *August 20.* *Walling*, p. 3. 8.

(5) He had moreover the good Fortune to have the King's Jewels and Treasure, which amounted to seven hundred thousand Pounds, with all his Horses and Furniture, carried into his Hands.

(6) *Id.* p. 29.

(7) In the Name of God, Amen. I *Richard*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, do absolve the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates what so ever, of Churches secular or regular, of what Dignity, Degree, State, or Condition they are; Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, Barons, Knights, and my Liege-Men what so ever, Ecclesiasticks or Secular, by whatever Name they are called, from all Oaths of Fealty and Homage, and all others to me made, and from all Bonds of Liegance, Regality, and Government or Command, by which they have sworn, or may be bound to me; and from their Hairs, and Sacraments for ever, from the time of their Oaths, and other things which they have sworn, or may be bound to me, and make them free, absolved, and quit, as to my Person, according to the whole Effect of the Law, which may be drawn from the Premises, or any of them, And I do put by, free of my own accord, simply and absolutely, in the best Manner, Way, and Form that I can by these Writings, and more wholly, and more by Word and Deed, put from me, and recede far ever from all Royal Dignity, and Majesty, the Crown and Lordship, and the Power of the said Kingdoms and Lordships, and other my Dominions and Possessions, which may or may not belong to me, and to all Rites, Orders of Rites, and Title, Possession and Dominion, that I ever had, have, or may have, in the

1399.

being met, the Instrument of Resignation was produced, and approved by unanimous Consent. But as this Resignation alone, according to the Measures agreed upon, did not appear sufficient, the two Houses ordered Articles of Accusation against *Richard* to be drawn up, to serve for reasons of his Deposition, to which they intended to proceed. The Articles were as follow (1):

Articles of
Accusation
against
Richard.
Rot. Pat.
1 Hen. IV.
no. 10.
X. Scriptor.
Col. 2743,
C.

" I. It is objected to King *Richard*, That for his evil Government, by giving the Goods and Possessions of the Crown to unworthy Persons, and indiscreetly disposing of them; and for this cause imposing grievous and intolerable Burthens upon the People, and otherwise committing other innumerable Evils: Having, by his Assent and Command, by the whole Parliament, chosen and assigned certain Prelates and other Lords Temporal, who with all their Power should faithfully labour, at their own Costs, about the just Government of the Kingdom, made a Conventicle of his Accomplices, proposing to impeach of high Treason the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, so employed about the Government of the Kingdom, and violently drew the Justices of the Kingdom to confirm his wicked purpose, for fear of Death and Torment of Body, endeavouring to destroy the said Lords.

" II. The same King lately at *Shrewsbury*, caused to come before him, and others that favoured him, in a Chamber, many Persons, and the greater Part of the Justices, where, by Threats, and divers Terrors, he induced, caused, and forced them singly to answer to certain Questions on his behalf, touching the Laws of his Kingdom, against their Will, and otherwise than they would have answered, had they not been forced; by colour of which answers the same King propounded to have proceeded to the Destruction of *Thomas Duke of Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and other Lords, with whom he was very angry, especially because they desired him to be under good Government; but by divine Providence, and the Resistance and Power of the said Lords, the King could not bring his Design to effect.

" III. When the Lords Temporal, in defence of themselves, resisted his Malice and Craft, the said King prefixed a Day for the Parliament to do them and others Justice, who upon Faith and Confidence therein, remained quietly in their own Houses; the King privately, with his Letters or Commission, sent the Duke of *Ireland* into *Cheeshire*, to raise Arms against the said Lords, Great Men, and Officers of the Common-wealth, publicly erecting his Banners against the Peace he had sworn to, from whence Murders, Captivities, Dissensions, and other infinite Evils followed in the whole Kingdom, for which cause he incurred Perjury.

" IV. That although the said King had pardoned the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and all their Assistants in full Parliament, and for many Years had shewn cheerful Signs of Peace and Love towards them; yet the same King always bearing Gall in his Heart, taking opportunity, caused to be seized the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the said Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*; and sent the Duke to *Calais*, to be imprisoned under the keeping of the Earl of *Nottingham*, one of his Appellants; and without Answer, or lawful Process, caused him to be strangled, and inhumanly and cruelly murdered. The Earl of *Arundel* pleading his Charter of Pardon, and demanding Justice in Parliament, was encompassed with great Numbers of armed Men, and had his Head damnable struck off; and committed the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Cobham* to perpetual Prison; confiscating their Lands, against Justice, the Laws of the Land, and his express Oath, giving them to their Appellants.

" V. At the time when in his Parliament he caused the Duke of *Gloucester*, and Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to be adjudged; that he might more freely exercise his Cruelty upon them, and in others fulfil his injurious Will, he drew to him a great Multitude of Malefactors out of the County of *Chester*, who marching up and down the Kingdom with the King, as well within his own House, as without, cruelly killed his Lieges, beat and wounded others, plundering the Goods of the People, refusing to pay for their Victuals, violating and ravishing Men's Wives, and other Women. And

" although Complaints were made to the King of these Excesses, yet he took no care to apply Remedy, or do Justice in them; but favoured those People in their Wickedness, confiding in them and their Assistance against all others of his Kingdom; wherefore his good Subjects had great matter of Commotion and Indignation.

" VI. Though the said King caused Proclamation to be made through the Kingdom, That he caused his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to be arrested not for any rebellious Congregations, or marching with Horse within the Kingdom; but for many Extortions, Oppression, and other things done against his Regality and Royal Majesty; and that it was not his Intention, that any of their Company at the time of the Congregation and Marching with Horse aforesaid, should for that reason be questioned or disturbed: Yet the same King afterwards, in his Parliament, impeached the said Lords, not for Extortions, Oppressions, or other things aforesaid; but for rebellious Tumults, and Congregations and Marching with Horse, adjudged them to Death; and caused many of their Company for fear of Death, to make Fine and Ransom as Traitors, to the great Destruction of many of his People; and so he craftily, deceitfully and maliciously deceived the Lords, their Followers, and People of the Nation.

" VII. After many of these Persons had paid their Fines and Ransoms, and had obtained his Letters Patents of full Pardon; yet they received no Benefit by them, until they made new Fines for their Lives, by which they were much impoverished: and this was much in derogation to the Name and State of a King.

" VIII. In the last Parliament holden at *Shrewsbury*, the same King propounding to oppress his People, subtilly procured and caused to be granted, that the Power of Parliament, by consent of all the States of the Kingdom, should remain in some certain Persons, who, after the Parliament should be dissolved, might answer the Petitions depending in Parliament, then undetermined, under pretence whereof they proceeded to other general Matters touching that Parliament, according to the King's Will, in derogation to the State of Parliament, great Disadvantage to the Kingdom, and a pernicious Example. And that these Actions might seem to have some Colour and Authority, the King caused the Rolls of Parliament to be changed and blotted, contrary to the Effect of the Grant aforesaid.

" IX. Notwithstanding the said King at his Coronation swore, That he would do in all his Judgments, equal and right Justice and Discretion, in Mercy and Truth, according to his Power; yet the said King, without all mercy, rigorously, amongst other things, ordained, under great Punishments, That no Man should intercede with him, for any favour towards *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, then in Banishment; in so doing, he acted against the Bond of Charity, and rashly violated his Oath.

" X. That though the Crown of *England*, the Rights of the Crown, and Kingdom itself, have been in all times so free, as the Pope, or any other foreign Power, had nothing to do in them; yet the said King, for the confirming of his erroneous Statutes, supplicated the Pope to confirm the Statutes made in his last Parliament; whereupon he obtained his Apostolic Letters, or Bull, wherein were contained grievous Censures against all such as should presume to contravene them. All which things are known to be against the Crown and Royal Dignity, and against the Statutes and Liberty of the Kingdom.

" XI. Though *Henry*, now Duke of *Lancaster*, by the King's Command, exhibited his Bill of Accusation against the Duke of *Norfolk*, concerning the State and Honour of the King, and duly prosecuted it, so as he was ready to make it good by Duel, and the King had ordered it; yet the same King put it by, and without any lawful Cause banished the Duke of *Lancaster* for ten years, against all Justice, the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, and the Military Law, damnably incurring Perjury.

" XII. After the said King had graciously granted to the now Duke of *Lancaster*, by his Letters Patents,

" same or any of them; also the Government and Administration of the said Kingdoms and Lordship, and all mere and mixt Empire in the same; and to all Honour and Royalty therein, leaving to my Successors Kings of *England*, in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Premises, for ever their competent Rights. And I do confess, acknowledge, repute, and truly of certain Knowledge, judge myself to be insufficient for the Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, and for my notorious Demerits not unworthily deposed. And I swear by these Holy Gospels of God by me corporally touched, That I never will contravene this Resignation, Renunciation, Dimission, and Cession, or will any way oppose them in Word or Deed, by myself or others, nor will suffer them to be opposed or contravened, as much as in me is, publicly or privately, but the same Renunciation, Resignation, Dimission, and Cession, will for ever hold firm, and will firmly hold and observe them in the whole and every part as God and his Gospels help me."

(1) Instead of the imperfect Abstract given of these Articles by Mr. *Kapin*, it has been thought proper to insert them all at length, translated from the authentick Copy or the Roll of Parliament, printed at the end of *Dixon's Scriptures*, Col. 2743, C.

1399.

" That while he was in Banishment his Attorneys might sue for Livery of any Inheritance that might fall to him for which Homage was due, which should be respited for a reasonable Fine; he injuriously revoked those Letters Patents, against the Laws of the Land, incurring Perjury.

" XIII. Notwithstanding it had been ordained, That every Year the King's Officers, with the Justices, and others of his Council, should nominate and chuse the Sheriffs of all Counties according to their Discretion; yet he commanded others of his Party, and such as would do as he would have them, to be Sheriffs; to the great Grievance of his People, contrary to the Laws of his Kingdom, notoriously incurring Perjury.

" XIV. That whereas the said King borrowed several Sums of Money from Lords and others by his Letters Patents, promising faithfully to pay them at a certain Term; he did not perform his Promise; whence his Creditors were much grieved; and not only they, but many others thought him an unfaithful King.

" XV. Whereas the Kings of *England* used to live upon the Revenues of the Kingdom, and Patrimony of the Crown in time of Peace, without Oppression of his People; that the same King during his whole time, gave the greatest part of his Revenue to unworthy Persons, and imposed Burthens upon his Subjects as it were every Year; by which he excessively oppressed his People, and impoverished his Kingdom, not employing these Goods to the Advantage of the Nation, but prodigally wasting them in Ostentation, Pomp, and Glory, owing great Sums for Victuals and other Necessaries of his House, though his Revenues were greater than any of his Progenitors.

" XVI. The same King not willing to keep and protect the just Laws and Customs of his Kingdom, but do what he pleased, when those Laws were declared to him by the Justices and others of his Council, desiring Justice might be done accordingly, he said expressly with an austere countenance, That the Laws were only in his Mouth and Breast: and that he only could make and change the Laws of this Kingdom. and being so seduced, he would not permit Justice to be done to many of his Lieges, but by threats and Terrors, forced many to cease from the Prosecution of common Justice.

" XVII. That whereas Laws made in Parliament do always bind, until revoked by another Parliament, yet the same King, desiring to enjoy such Liberty as no Laws might bind him, and to do what he pleased, he cunningly procured such a Petition, on behalf of the Community of his Kingdom, to be exhibited in Parliament, and to be granted, That he might be as free as any of his Progenitors before him. By colour of which Petition and Grant, he often commanded, and caused many things to be done contrary to the Laws not revoked, doing expressly and knowingly against the Oath taken at his Coronation.

" XVIII. Though it had been ordained, That no Sheriff should continue in his Office above a Year, and could not be again chosen to that Office in three Years after, the same King, for his singular Profit, and sometimes for the Benefit of others, suffered some Sheriffs to remain in their Offices for two or three Years, contrary to the Tenor and Effect of the Statute, incurring Perjury; and this was notorious, publick, and famous.

" XIX. Although by Law and Custom, the People ought to be free to chuse Knights to represent them in Parliament, to propound their Grievances, and provide Remedies for them; yet the said King, that he might obtain his own rash Will in his Parliaments, directed by Writs often to the Sheriffs, to send such as he named, some of whom he induced by Favors, others by Threats and Terrors, others by Bribes, to consent to things prejudicial to the Kingdom, and grievous to the People; and especially by granting to him the Subsidy of Wool for his Life, and another Subsidy for certain Years, too much oppressing the People.

" XX. The same King, that in all things he might act Arbitrarily, unlawfully made and commanded all the Sheriffs to swear beyond their usual Oath, That they would obey all his Commands sent to them under the Great Seal, Privy Seal, or Signet; and in case they should know any in their Bailiwicks or Jurisdic-tions, that should speak any ill publicly or privately, to the disgrace or scandal of the King's Person, they should arrest and commit them to Prison, there to remain while they received other Commands from the King, as it might be found upon Record; which

Practice might likely tend to the Destruction of many of his Subject. 1399.

" XXI. The same King, that he might supplant his People, and get their Estates to enrich himself, caused the People of sixteen Counties, by Letters under their Seals, to submit to him as Traitors; by colour of which, he obtained of them great Sums of Money to procure his Favour: And although to please the People, those Letters Obligatory were restored to them; yet their Procurators had full Power to bind themselves for them to the King, which he caused to be done; and so deceived his People, and subtilly extorted their Goods from them.

" XXII. Although the same King swore at his Coronation, to preserve the Liberties granted to the Church of *England*; yet by reason of his Voyage into *Ireland*, he by his Letters, commanded many religious Persons, Abbots, and Priors, some to send him Horses, others Waggons, others great Sums of Money; and by his way of writing, he forced many by Fear, to comply with his Demands; whence they were impoverished and oppressed, in manifest derogation to Ecclesiastick Liberty; by which pretext he incurred Perjury.

" XXIII. In many great Councils, when the Lords and Justices were charged to counsel him faithfully, in things that touched his own, and the State of the Kingdom, they were often so sharply rebuked and reproved, that they durst not speak Truth, in giving Advice concerning the State of the Kingdom.

" XXIV. The Treasurer Reliques and Jewels of the Crown, which ought to be preserved in the Treasury, for the Honour of the King, and Conservation of the Kingdom, if any thing might happen, the said King carried with him towards *Ireland*, without the Consent of the States of the Kingdom; whence the Kingdom had been greatly impoverished, if God had not otherwise provided for the taking of those Goods from him against his Will. And further, he caused the Records concerning the State and Government of his Kingdom to be razed, in great prejudice of his People, and disinheretance of the Crown, and very likely, as it was believed, for the support of his ill Government.

" XXV. He was so variable and dissembling in Words and Writing, and so contrary to himself, especially in writing to the Pope, Kings, and other Lords, without and within the Kingdom, and also to his Subjects, that no Man living, knowing what he was could confide in him; yea he was reputed so unfaithful and inconstant, that he was not only a scandal to his own Person, but to the whole Kingdom, and all Strangers that knew him.

" XXVI. Though the Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels of all Freemen, by the Laws of the Land, ought not to be seized without Forfeiture; yet the said King intending to enervate those Laws in the presence of many Lords, and others of the Community of the Kingdom, he often said and affirmed, That the Life of every Subject, his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, were his, to be disposed as he pleased without forfeiture; which was altogether against the Laws and Customs of his Kingdom.

" XXVII. Although it had been made a Law, which had hitherto been confirmed, That no Freeman might be taken, &c. nor any ways destroyed, nor that the King should proceed against him, but by lawful Trial of his Peers, or the Law of the Land; yet according to the Will, Command, and Appointment of the said King, very many of his Lieges being maliciously accused, for having spoke publicly, or privately, Words that might tend to the scandal and disgrace of the King's Person, were taken, imprisoned, and brought before the Constable and Marshal in the Court Military; where being accused, they could not be admitted to give any other Answer, than Not Guilty; and could defend themselves no otherwise than by their Bodies, their Accusers being young Men, lusty, and found; whereas they were old, impotent, lame, and infirm; from whence not only the destruction of Lords and great Men, but of singular Persons of the Community of the Kingdom very likely might have followed: When therefore the said King willingly contravened this Law, no doubt he incurred Perjury.

" XXVIII. Although the People of *England*, by virtue of their Liegeance, were sufficiently bound to their King, and if they offended in any manner, he might correct and punish them by the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom; yet the said King desiring to supplant, and too much oppress his People, that he might more

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"freely execute, and be able to follow the fancy of his foolish and unlawful Will, he sent his Letters into all Counties of his Kingdom, that all his Lieges, as well Spiritual as Temporal, should take certain Oaths in general, which were too burthenfome to them, and which very likely might cause the final Destruction of his People, and that under their Letters and Seals they should confirm these Oaths; which Command the People obeyed, lest they should incur his Indignation, and for fear of Death.

"XXIX. When the Parties contending in the Ecclesiastick Court, in Causes merely Ecclesiastick and Spiritual, endeavoured to procure Prohibitions to hinder Process in the same, from the Chancellor of England, who out of Justice refused to grant them, yet the same King often granted them under his Signet, wickedly infringing the Church Liberties granted in *Magna Charta*, which he had sworn to preserve, damnably incurring Perjury, and the sentence of Excommunication pronounced by the Holy Fathers against the Violators of Church Liberties.

"XXX. The said King in Parliament, compassed about with armed Men, without reasonable Cause or legal Process, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, banished *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Spiritual Father, being then absent by his Contrivance.

"XXXI. Upon perusal of the said King's Will under his Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, there was in it this Clause: *Also we Will, that the Debts of our House, Chamber, and Wardrobe being paid, for which we allow twenty thousand Pounds, and the Leprose, and Chaplains we appointed to be maintained at Westminster, and Bermondsey, for which we allow five or six thousand Marks, the Residue of our Gold shall remain to our Successor, upon condition he approves, ratifies, confirms, holds, and causeth to be holden and observed, all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Judgments, made, had, or done, in the Parliament held at Westminster, on the 17th of September, in the 21st of our Reign, and continued or adjourned to Shrewsbury, and all things done at Coventry, on the 16th of September, in the 22d of our Reign, as also what was done at Westminster, on the 18th of March, in the same Year, by Authority of the same Parliament. But if he shall refuse to do these things, then we will that Thomas Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke of Aumale, John Duke of Exeter, and William le Scrope Earl of Wiltshire, my Debts, &c. as aforesaid, being paid, shall have the said Residue for the Defence of the Statutes, Ordinances, Judgments, and Stabiliments aforesaid, to the utmost of their Power, yea, to Death, if it be necessary. Upon all which things we burthen their Consciences, as they will answer it at the Day of Judgment.*" By which Article it appears evidently, That the same King endeavoured pertinaciously to maintain those Statutes and Ordinances, which were erroneous, wicked, and repugnant to all Law and Reason, not only in his Life, but after he was dead, neither regarding the Danger of his Soul, or the utmost Destruction of his Kingdom or liege People.

"XXXII. In the eleventh Year of the said King Richard, at his Manor of Langley, in the presence of the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and many other Lords, desiring, as it seemed, that his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester, there also present, might trust and have Confidence in him, of his own accord, swore upon the venerable Sacrament of the Lord's Body placed upon the Altar, that he would pardon unto him all things which were said to be committed against his Person, and that he should never receive any Damage for them; yet afterwards the said King, notwithstanding this Oath, caused the Duke for those Offences horribly and cruelly to be murdered, damnably incurring the Guilt of Perjury.

"XXXIII. After a Knight of the Shire, who had a Vote in Parliament, impeached the Archbishop of Can-

terbury, publicly before the King and all the States of the Kingdom, upon certain Defects committed against the King, with little Truth, as it was said; Although he offered presently to answer what was objected against him, and desired to be admitted by the King so to do, sufficiently trusting, as he said, to demonstrate his Innocency, yet the same King contriving by all the ways and means he could, to oppress and reduce to nothing the State of the Archbishop, as the Event shewed, kindly spake to, and earnestly desired him, that he would say nothing then, but expect a more fit time: That day being past, for five days and more together, the King deceived him, advising and persuading him not to come to Parliament, but to remain at his own House, promising, that in his Absence he should not receive Injury; but the said King in that Parliament, banished the Archbishop during his Pleasure, being absent, and not called to answer, without any reasonable Cause, confiscating all his Goods against the Laws of the Land and all Justice, by which he incurred Perjury. Further, the King intending to palliate his Inconstancy, by flattering Words, endeavoured to cast the Injury done him upon others: Whence the Archbishop having discourse with the King, the Duke of Norfolk, other Lords, and great Men lamenting said, he was not the first that had been banished, nor should be the last, for that he thought within a short time the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords would follow him; and constantly told the King, that the Consequences of the Premises would fall upon his own Head at last: To which the King, as if he had been astonished, presently answered, he thought it might so happen, he might be expelled his Kingdom by his Subjects; and farther said, if it should be so, he would go to the Place where he was; and that the Archbishop might believe him, he shewed him a great Jewel of Gold, which he would send to him as a Token, that he would not defer his coming to the Place where he was. And that the same Archbishop might have greater Confidence in him, he sent to him, advising him, that he should privately send all the Jewels belonging to his Chapel to be safely kept, left under the colour of the Judgment of Banishment, they might be seized; it being so done, the King caused the Goods to be put in Coffers, which he caused to be locked, and sealed by one of the Archbishop's Clerks, by whom he sent the Keys to him; and afterwards caused the Coffers to be broken, taking the Goods, and disposing of them as he pleased; the same King also faithfully promised the Archbishop, that if he would go to the Port of Hampton, in order to go out of the Kingdom, that by the Queen's Intercession he should be recalled; and if it should so happen as he should go out of the Kingdom, yet after Easter next coming, without fail, he should return into England, nor should he any way lose his Archbishoprick: This he faithfully promised, swearing to it, touching the Cross of Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury: Which Promises notwithstanding, the King caused the Archbishop to go out of the Kingdom, and wrote to the Pope for his Translation; and thus, and otherwise, by the Frauds and Cheats of the King, was the Archbishop, a Man of good Faith, craftily circumvented.

These Articles being drawn up, were laid before the Parliament, who with one Voice acknowledged them to be well grounded and publicly known, and pronounced, that Richard should be deposed. At the same time, Commissioners were appointed to give him notice of his Deposition, and to annul the Oaths and Homage of the People of England, after much the same manner as in the Case of Edward II (1).

This Affair being thus settled, and the Throne become vacant, the Duke of Lancaster rose up, and after crossing himself, claimed the Crown. He built his Pretensions, upon his being descended from Henry III, and upon the Right

(1) The Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Glasbury, the Earl of Gloucester, the Lord Berkeley, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Grey, and William Thyrning Justice, were appointed to pronounce Sentence of Deposition against King Richard, which being drawn up in writing, was read by the Bishop of St. Asaph as follows: "In the Name of God, Amen. We John Bishop of St. Asaph, John Abbot of Glasbury, Thomas Earl of Gloucester, Thomas Lord Berkeley, Thomas de Erpingham, and Thomas Grey, Knights, and William Thyrning Justice, by the spiritual and Temporal Peers, and Great Men of the Kingdom of England, and by the Communities of the same, representing all States thereof, being specially deputed Commissioners for the things underwritten, duly considering the many Perjuries, Cruelty, and many other Crimes committed by King Richard in the time of his Government, and publicly exhibited and recited before the States, which were so publick, notorious, manifest, and famous, as they could no way be denied; and also of his Contention, acknowledging, and truly of his own certain knowledge, judging himself to have been altogether insufficient for the Government of the Kingdoms and Lordship aforesaid; and that for his notorious Dements he was worthy to be deposed; which thing by his own Will and Command were published before the States. Having had diligent Deliberation upon these things, for the greater Caution to the Government of the Kingdoms, and Dominion aforesaid, the Rights and Appurtenances of the same, in the Name and Authority to us committed, do pronounce, decree, and declare, that very Richard to be deposed de facto from all Royal Dignity and Honour, and for the like Caution, we depose him by our definitive Sentence in this Writing, expressly inhibiting all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vassals, and Vassalors, and all other Men and Subjects of the said Kingdoms and Dominion or Places belonging to them, for the future to obey the said Richard as King." Then the States, that nothing might be wanting, being severally interrogated, did constitute certain Persons to be their Proctors, named by the said Commissioners, to go and resign to King Richard the Homage and Fealty that had been made to him, and give him notice of what had been done touching his Deposition and Renunciation. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.

1399. he had received from God, by the Assistance of his Relations and Friends, for the Recovery of his Realm of England, which was upon the brink of Destruction (1).

Remark.
Richard II.

It was not without reason that he affected to make use of obscure Expressions, which left undetermined the Foundation on which he built his pretended Right. If he seemed to derive his Title from Henry III, rather than from Edward III his Grandfather, it was, because there was a Rumour, that Edmund Earl of Lancaster, surnamed Crouch-Back, was eldest Son of Henry III, but by reason of his Deformity, Edward I, his younger Brother, was placed on the Throne. According to this Supposition, the Duke would have made the Ignorant believe, he could ground his Title upon being Son of Blanch of Lancaster, Grand-daughter of Edmund Crouch-Back, and Heiress of that Family. But as he was sensible, every Body could not be imposed upon by so gross a Forgery, he added certain Expressions, intimating, that he built his Right also upon the Service he had just done the State. This is the meaning of the Claim, expressed in such obscure Terms.

As it was resolved to adjudge the Crown to the Duke, the Parliament took care not to examine his Claim too closely, but were very willing to suppose it uncontestable. Thus, without any Regard to the just Rights of the Earl

of March, it was decreed that Henry of Lancaster should be proclaimed King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, which was done that very Day, being the 30th of September (2).

Thus ended the Reign of Richard II, a Prince who in his younger Years seemed to have noble and generous Inclinations, but unfortunately suffered himself to be corrupted by Flattery. He had the Advantage of being descended from a Father and Grandfather so universally esteemed, that had he never so little answered the Nobleness of his Birth, he might have been one of the most glorious Kings that ever wore the English Crown. But like Edward II his Great-grandfather, he had the Weakness to give himself up to the Guidance of his Favorites. Accordingly he underwent the same Fate with that Prince, whom he did but too much resemble in every other respect. The chief Difference to be observed between them is, that Richard was of a more cruel and inflexible Temper, and usurped a more absolute Power than Edward, which rendered him more odious, and less lamented. Let us close this Reign with a Reflection which the sad Catastrophe of these two Princes affords; namely, That in a Government like that of England, all the King's Endeavours to usurp an arbitrary Power, are but so many Steps towards his Destruction (3).

End of the
Reign of
Richard II.

THE STATE of the CHURCH,

FROM THE

Reign of EDWARD I, in 1272, to the End of the Reign of
RICHARD II, in 1399.

Summary of
the Causes of
the Decline and
Fall of the
English Monarchy.

AFTER John Lackland became Vassal and Tributary to the See of Rome, the Popes considered England only as a conquered Country, for which they had no manner of regard. Of this the Reigns of John and Henry III, afford us such flagrant Instances, that it would be needless to add any thing to shew to what Excess the Papal Power was carried in the Kingdom. It will suffice to remark, that the Inroachments of the Court of Rome continuing incessantly, or rather daily increasing, the English grew so weary of them, that at length in the Reign of Edward I, they began to seek effectual means for their Deliverance. This was not however till after frequent Experience, that all their Complaints and Solicitations to the Popes were to no

purpose. Herein chiefly consists what I have to say concerning Religion during the four Reigns we have gone through. But to render this matter more intelligible, it will be necessary briefly to observe the Occasion of the Disputes England had, as well with the Court of Rome, as with the Clergy.

I. The first Cause of Complaint, was the frequent Appeals to the Court of Rome, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent Citations were complained of, caused by these Appeals, which obliged People to spend their Substance in Journeys to Rome, to solicit their Affairs.

III. That the Pope had usurped the Collation of almost all the Church-Preferments, not excepting the Bishopsricks

Complaints of
the English
against the
Pope.
Ryley's
Placit.
Parl. p. 376.
Statutes.
Act. Pub.
IV. p. 382.
383. &c.

(1) He claimed the Crown in the Form following: "In the Name of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this Rewme of England and the Crowne, with all the Membres and the Appurtenances, as I that am defendit be right Lyne of the Blode, coming fro the gude Lord King Henry the third, and thorghe that Ryght that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of my kyn and of my frendes to recover it: the which Rewme was in paynt to be undene for default of Governace, and undeyng of the gude Lawes."

(2) After all which King Henry said, "Sire, I thank God and Zowe Spirituel and Temporel, and all the estates of the Lond, and do zowe to wyte, it es myght my will that no Man think that be waye or conquest I wold disherit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other ryghts that him aght to have, nor put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude Lawes and Custumes of the Rewme; except thos persons that has ben agan the gude purposse and the comynne profyt of the Rewme."

(3) In King Richard's Reign, was brought in the Custome of wearing piked Shoes, tied to the Knees with Chains of Silver. Also Ladies used high Attire on their Heads, piked Horns, with long trained Gowns, and rode on Side-Saddles, after the Example of the Queen, Ann of Bohemia, who first brought that Fashion into this Kingdom; for, before, Women used to ride astride like Men. *Stow's Ann.* p. 295. In 1397. King Richard began repairing Westminster-Hall, and caused the Walls, Windows, and Roof to be taken down and new built, with a stately Porch, as it now remains. *Stow's Survey*, B. 6. p. 43. *Camden in Middlesex.* *Fynes's Fed.* Tom. VIII. p. 749.



In the 18th of Richard II, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of half or quarter Nobles: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale seventy five Groffes or Groats, amounting to twenty five Shillings, or a hundred and fifty half Groffes, at Two-pence a-piece, or three hundred Sterlings at a Penny a-piece, or six hundred half Sterlings: And Nicholas Malakine a Florentine, was Master and Worker. These Rose Nobles (if that in Speed be genuine, for it wants both the R and the constant Legend of *Jesux autem*, &c.) gives his Portraiture in a sedentary Posture, with a Sword in his Right hand, and RICAR. D. GRA. AGLIE. FRANCIE REX. D. AQUIT. On the Reverse, AVXILIVM. MEVM. A. DOMINO. His Crown is Fleurie, as in those of his Predecessors, but no Rays betwixt the Flowers. We ought perhaps to read HYB for AQUIT. since it's hard to imagine, why Aquitaine should be so much as mentioned after France; and AGLIE instead of ANGLIE, makes it probable, that this was rather coined by Richard III, (in whose Reign that way of writing was in use) than by the II^d. His other Coins were exactly like his Grandfather's. RICARDUS, REX. ANGLIE. Reverse, CIVITAS. EBORACI.

and Archbishopricks, contrary to the Rights of the King, the Chapters, and the Patrons.

This Encroachment was grown to that height, that there was not a Benefice great or small, but what the Popes disposed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be masters of all the Collations. One while, by the Plenitude of the Apostolick Power, they reserved to themselves all the Benefices which should become void by Translation. Another while, all such as should be vacant by Death, or any other way whatever. By this means they eluded all the Canonical Elections in *England*, without alledging other Reasons, save, that they had reserved to themselves beforehand the Right of Nomination to these Benefices. It appeared so plainly, that their Aim was to procure by degrees the Collation of all the Benefices of the Kingdom, that every one could not but see it. For whenever they could not make use of these Pretences, they seldom failed to object against the Party elected, and confer the Benefice upon another. Very often, when the Bishop elect came to be confirmed, he found his Bishoprick already disposed of by the Pope.

Ibid. p. 371.
385. IV. But as this was generally the occasion of great Contests, and as those that were canonically elected were commonly supported by the King, the Pope found a certain means to free himself from these Importunities. He bestowed these Bishopricks, and other Benefices, before they were vacant, by way of Provision; and this was another great cause of the Complaint for the *English*.

V. It was moreover complained of, that most of the Benefices disposed of by the Pope, by the Plenitude of his Power, were conferred on Foreigners, particularly on the Cardinals, and their Relations, who by virtue of the Pope's Dispensation, enjoyed the Profit without ever residing. These Benefices were commonly farmed out to the *English*, who, to make the most profit, got the Cure served for a very small Salary. Hence Divine Service was neglected, the Churches ran to ruin, Hospitality was banished, and the Instruction of Christians almost wholly abolished. Hence likewise this further Inconvenience, the Money was carried out of the Kingdom for ever. It may easily be judged how prejudicial this was to the Country, if it is considered, that by a Calculation made in the Reign of *Henry III.*, the foreign Ecclesiasticks were found to have greater Revenues in *England* than the King himself.

VI. Another cause of Complaint sprang from the frequent Taxes imposed on the Clergy by the Popes; one while, under colour of a Crusade; another while, to supply the Necessities of the Holy See; and lastly, by the Tenth, which they liberally granted to the King, because they generally had a share.

Act Pub.
VI. p. 558. VII. In the next Place, the Legates and Nuntio's, sent into *England* without any Necessity, were a great Grievance to the *English*. The Clergy were not only obliged to maintain them at a great Expence, but also to make them considerable Presents, and pay them Procurations, and other Impositions, which the Pope allowed them to levy upon the Ecclesiasticks. Hence the Money went out of the Kingdom, without any possibility of recovering it.

P. 747. VIII. The Popes were likewise possessed of the First-Fruits of all the Benefices, from whence arose the same Inconvenience, I mean a great exhausting of the Kingdom's Treasure.

IX. *Peter-Pence*, which originally was only a charitable Allowance, granted by the *Saxon* Kings for the Maintenance of the *English* College at *Rome*, was converted into a Tribute; which the Pope collected in a very rigorous manner, very different from that practised in former Days.

X. In fine, the Tribute King *John* had engaged to pay the Holy See, and which the Popes exacted with great haughtiness, was considered by the *English* as an intolerable Yoke, and a standing Badge of their Servitude.

Complaints
against the
Clergy. XI. As to the Contests between the Crown and the Clergy, the King and the Magistrates complained, that the Clergy were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, secure as they were, of being always supported by the Pope.

XII. That the Clergy had extended their Jurisdiction to many things purely Civil, under pretence there is no Cause but where Religion may be concerned. This Complaint chiefly regarded Matrimonial Causes.

XIII. They said further, that the Ecclesiasticks, instead of supporting, on occasion, the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, were always ready to join with the Pope, as if he were their only Sovereign.

These are the principal Grievances complained of by the *English*, and from which they endeavoured from time
No. 24. Vol. I.

to time to free themselves, either by Acts of Parliament, or Orders of Council. But these Precautions to screen themselves from the Papal Usurpations, afforded the Popes at the same time, occasion of complaining in their turn, that the *English* were striving to rob the Church of her Privileges. Herein they had a great Advantage, by loudly urging the Cause of God, which they always took care to confound with their own Interest. In a Bull of Pope *Clement V.*, inserted in the *Collection* Act. Pub.
III. p. 224. of the *Publick Acts*, are specified the Complaints of the Court of *Rome* against the *English*. And since I have related the Grievances of the *English*, it is reasonable I should likewise make known those of the Pope.

I. The Pope complained, that the Cardinals were hindered from enjoying the Prebends he conferred on them, without any consideration of the Respect due to Persons ordained by God, to bear their part of the Burden of governing the Church. Grievances
of the Popes
against the
English.

II. He said, though he had an incontestable Right to collate Benefices, as well in *England* as in all other States, yet those on whom he had bestowed them were not permitted to take possession, neither were they that had the boldness to oppose it excommunicated.

III. That such as were summoned upon that account, were not suffered to obey the Summons. That Notaries were forbid to act, and the King's Subjects to appear out of the Kingdom.

IV. That the Pope's Nuntio's were hindered from exercising their Commission, without the King's Licence. That some of them had even been publicly imprisoned, and not released, without paying a large Fine.

V. That the Magistrates would not suffer the Excommunicated to be imprisoned, after the forty days, which, according to good and laudable custom, were allowed them, to make the Church satisfaction.

VI. That the King sent frequent Prohibitions to the Ecclesiastical Courts, not to try Causes which were of their Cognizance.

VII. That the same Courts were abridged of their Jurisdiction over the Clergy, without considering, that Ecclesiastical Persons are in no manner dependent upon the Laity.

VIII. That the Civil Courts dared to condemn Ecclesiasticks, without the consent of their Superiours.

IX. That Clergymen were made to appear in their Shirts in the Civil Courts, notwithstanding they pleaded their Privileges. That indeed they were sent back to the Ecclesiastical Court when they were demanded; but it very often happened, if they were not found guilty, the Civil Judges were so bold, as fully to acquit them, without suffering the Ecclesiastical Court to take any cognizance of the matter.

X. That Clergymen were subjected to the Tryal of twelve Lay-Persons, and were acquitted or condemned by the Verdict of these twelve incompetent Judges.

XI. That the great Men frequently lodged in the Monasteries, and put them to a great Expence, on the frivolous pretence of their being founded by their Ancestors.

XII. That during the Vacancy of the Abbeyes, those who were entrusted with the Custody by the King, wasted the Revenues, and committed great Damages.

XIII. Lastly, that the Tribute of a thousand Marks due to the Holy See, was not regularly paid, and the Arrears which were to be sent to *Avignon*, were put to other uses.

These are the mutual Complaints of the *English* and the Popes, concerning which it may be observed, that both Parties were agreed as to Facts, and differed only as to Right. To discover on which side the Right lay, it would be necessary to imagine, whether the Pope and Clergy were originally possessed of the Rights they assumed; or, they were granted by some Authority; and lastly whether that Authority could lawfully confer them. But this would be entering into an old beaten Dispute, on which nothing new can be expected. Leaving every one therefore to his own Notions, I shall only relate the Means used by the *English*, to do themselves Justice for the Injuries they complained of, and the Endeavours of the Popes, to support the Privileges they were possessed of. But first, it will be proper to take notice, that in these Contests, the Popes had great Advantages. Every Pope constantly adhered to the same Maxims, without the least Variation. But it was not the same with the Kings of *England*, who, to please their Humour, or gratify their Passions, scrupled not, very often, to derogate from the Prerogatives of the Crown. This is the true Cause of the slow Progress of the *English* in their Design of freeing themselves from the oppressions of *Rome*. The least Relaxation
6 E

Advantages
of the Popes.

Some dif-
advantage
to Rome.

laxation made them lose a great deal of Ground. And it may be, they would never have accomplished the redress of any one Grievance, if the Schisms in the Church had not afforded them Opportunities, which they wisely improved. For the Popes, who, at such Junctures, stood often in need of the Kings of England, found themselves many times obliged to Compliances, to which doubtless they would never have submitted at any other Season.

Means of
strengthening the
Catholic Church
in Mortmain.

As the Pope and Clergy mutually supported each other, one of the most effectual means practised in England to oppose the *Papal* Power, was to check the Growth of the Clergy's Riches. To that end, in the Reign of *Edward I.*, the Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted, as has been related. This was a fatal Blow to the Clergy, who, without this Statute, would have been masters of all the Lands in the Kingdom, since they incessantly acquired, and never alienated. But this Statute was almost as prejudicial to the Pope, since bounds could not be set to the Clergy's Power, without lessening, at the same time, that of the Court of *Rome*. *Edward I.*, struck likewise at the *Papal* Authority, at least with regard to the Collation of the Bishopricks, by obliging the Bishops to renounce the Article of the Provision-Bull, which gave them their Temporalities, wherein he was followed by his Successors (1).

Renuncia-
tion of the
Bishop.

Fruitless
Attempts
under Ed-
ward II.

If *Edward II.*, had shown more Resolution and Firmness, or had not been forced by the Circumstances of the Times to keep fair with *Rome*, he might have greatly promoted the Work of Liberty, which the *English* had so long and so passionately desired. Never were they in a better disposition to shake off the galling Yoke. This appears in the King's Letters to the Pope, and in the vigorous Resolutions of several Parliaments in his Reign. But *Edward*, expecting always to find in the Pope's Authority, a Protection against his Subjects, frequently stooped to Condescensions for the Court of *Rome*, destructive of the Interest of his Kingdom. This rendered the Parliament's Endeavours ineffectual during the Course of his Reign.

The Statute
of Provisions.

But under *Edward III.*, more effectual measures were taken to be delivered from the so long complained of Oppressions. I mean the two Statutes, which tended to cut up by the Roots two of the most considerable Grievances, had they been punctually executed. The first was the Statute of *Provisions*, whereby it was enacted; that in case the Pope collated any Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Dignity, or other Benefice, contrary to the Rights of the Kings, Chapters, or Patrons, the Collation was to devolve to the King for one turn. And if any Person sued for, and procured, Reservations, or Provisions from the Court of *Rome*, he should be imprisoned till he had made Fine to the King at his Will, and found sufficient Security not to prosecute any Man in the Court of *Rome*, on account of his Imprisonment.

Statute of
Præmunire.

The second Act was the Statute of *Præmunire*, by which it was enacted, That in case any of the King's Subjects should carry into a foreign Court, Causes, the Cognizance whereof belonged to the King's Court, they should be imprisoned, and their Lands, Goods, and Chattels be forfeited to the King.

Memorial to
the Parlia-
ment against
the Court of
Rome.
Ret. Parl.
50. Edw. III.
N. 94.

Notwithstanding these two Acts, which seemed to take from the Pope all hopes of disposing for the future of any Benefice, and ought to have made him apprehensive, that the Parliament would proceed to redress other Grievances, the Court of *Rome* still continued her Oppressions. In 1376, that is, about a Year before the Death of *Edward III.*, a Memorial was presented to the Parliament, showing, that by the Death and Translation of Bishops, the Pope exacted five times the yearly Revenue of the vacant See, and by that means drew out of the Kingdom twenty thousand Marks a Year. That the Pope's Agents collected the same Sum, for the Necessities of the Holy See. That this very Year, the Pope had seized the First-Fruits of all the Benefices in England. That he had increased the Number of the Cardinals to thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well-affected to England. That the Pope's Avarice was worse than the Plague. That in spite of the Statute of *Provisions*, there were Persons every day provided with Benefices by the Court of *Rome*, and there was no hindering it, but by banishing all that should dare to accept of these Provisions. In short, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to these Oppressions, in order to prevent England from falling into a fatal Slavery. Upon these Com-

A memorial
presented to Ed-
ward III.,
and Grego-
ry XI.

plaints, which were carried to *Gregory XI.*, there was a sort of Agreement made between the King and the Pope, but so full of Equivocations and Reservations on the part of the Pope, that it was easy to perceive he did not mean to desist from his pretended Rights. He was content with promising in general, that he would consider the Complaints of the *English*, and behave with more Moderation for the future. *Gregory* dying soon after, his Successors regardless of his Engagements, still continued to bestow *English* Benefices upon Foreigners. This Conduct obliged the House of Commons to petition *Richard II.*, to seize all the Effects of the Beneficed Agents, and banish them the Realm, which the King did accordingly.

Fresh Ef-
forts of the
English.

In the same Reign, the Statute of *Provisions* was confirmed [and enlarged.]

Two Years before, *Richard* forbid the Clergy under great Penalties, to pay a Tax imposed by the Pope.

The next Year he issued out a Proclamation commanding, upon pain of Death and forfeiture of Estate, all Persons that were gone to *Rome* to sollicite the Repeal of the Statutes of *Provisions* and *Præmunire*, to return into England within such a time.

All these Precautions being insufficient to check the Popes, who pretended not to be bound by Acts of Parliament, the Statute of *Præmunire* was revived in 1392, with Enlargements, which seemed to leave the Court of *Rome* no hopes of evading it. The Act ran, That all Persons that should pursue, in the Court of *Rome*, Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Mandates, or any other things whatsoever, contrary to the Rights of the King and Crown, should be put out of the Protection of the Laws, and proceeded against according to the Statute of *Præmunire*. That all those who should bring into the Kingdom these foreign Instruments, or receive and publish them, should be liable to the same Penalties. Lastly, that they who pursued any Process in a foreign Court, to the prejudice of the King's Right, should be treated in the same manner.

The Statute
of Præmu-
nire en-
larged.

This rigid Act might well curb the *English* who were subject to the Laws, but not the Pope, who was out of their reach; accordingly he desisted not from his Pretensions. In 1398 he translated the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the See of *Chester* (2); and gave the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* to *Henry Beaufort*, a Son of the Duke of *Lancaster*. But the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had not sued for this Translation, not daring to accept it, by reason of the Statute of *Præmunire*, retired to a Monastery, and the Pope translated the Bishop of *Landaff* to the See of *Chester*. *Richard* was extremely offended, that the Pope should take upon him, without being desired, to remove Bishops from one See to another. He summoned the Clergy upon this occasion, and demanded their Opinion of these Translations contrary to his Will. This was a puzzling Question for the Clergy, who, fearing to displease the King or the Pope, avoided giving a positive Answer. Some time after, the Pope sent a Nuntio into England, to try to procure a Repeal of the forementioned Statutes. But though the Nuntio met with an honourable Reception, he could not possibly succeed in his Commission. *Richard* being deposed the next Year, the Contests with the Court of *Rome* remained in this Situation.

The Pope
goes on, not
withstand-
ing.

Certainly it was time for the *English* Nation, as well as the rest of *Europe*, to use their utmost Endeavours to stop the Growth of the *Papal* Power. They must have voluntarily shut their Eyes, not to see that all the Proceedings of the Popes tended to render them Temporal Sovereigns of *Europe*. Of this the *Decretal Unam Sanctam* of *Boniface VIII.*, which shows, that Pope thought himself invested with the Temporal as well as Spiritual Power, is a clear Evidence. But since it might be said, it is not reasonable to ascribe the ambitious Design of *Boniface* to all the Popes, this Evidence may be supported by another, which demonstrates that *Boniface* did but tread in the Steps of his Predecessors. I mean *John XXII.*, who by his sole Authority, published a Truce between England and Scotland, against the Consent of one of the Parties, and impowered his Legates to conclude a Peace between the two Kingdoms, upon what terms they pleased; with Orders to compel the two Kings and their Subjects, punctually to observe the same, under pain of Excommunication. Does not this proceeding show that the Popes all acted with the same Spirit, and if their Ambition had been indulged, would have considered Christian Princes but as Subjects, or at least, as Vassals of the See of *Rome*?

Defence of
the Popes to
extend their
Authority over Tem-
porals.

(1) King *Edward I.* restored the old Custom, used before the Conquest, and for above eighty Years after, of bringing the whole Body of the Clergy to appear annually in Parliament, as a part thereof, which helpfully effected, by inserting into the Writ of Summons to the Archbishops and Bishops that remarkable Clause of *Præmunire*, which is still continued to this Day: Whereby they were obliged to warn the Priors and Chapters of their Churches, and the Archdeacons, and all the Clergy of their respective Dioceses; the Archdeacons and Priors in their own Persons, and the Chapters and Clergy by two next Proxies, with sufficient Power from them to be present with the King, there by all means to treat, ordain, and do, together with him, and other Prelates and Bishops, and other Inhabitants of the Kingdom, &c. *Tyrrel*, Vol. III. p. 219.

(2) On *Lincoln* and *Conventry*. See above, p. 383. Note (16).

Heresies.

Let us proceed now to the Heresies, or rather the Opinions branded with that Name, during the Interval we have gone through.

Opinions
condemned.
T. Wikes,
p. 114.
Knighton.
Col. 2467.
Spelman.
Conc. T. II.
p. 347.

In 1286 or 1287, *Peckam* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, censured eight Propositions, maintained by one *Richard Knapwell* a *Dominican* Friar. Some of these Propositions, which will serve to show what Subjects were discussed in the Schools, and wherein Knowledge was made to consist, were as follows:

I. That the dead Body of *Jesus Christ* had not the same substantial Form, as when living.

III. That if the Eucharistical Bread had been consecrated with these Words, *This is my Body*, during the three Days *Jesus Christ* lay in his Grave, the Bread would have been transubstantiated into the New Form, which the Body of *Christ* took at the Separation of his Soul.

IV. That after the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, the Eucharistical Bread is transubstantiated by virtue of these Words, *This is my Body*, into the whole living Body of *Christ*, that is, the Matter of the Bread is converted into the Matter of his Body, and the substantial Form of the Bread, into the Substantial Form of his Body, that is to say, into his intellectual Soul, so far as it constitutes the Form of his Body.

VII. That in the Articles of Faith, a Man is not bound to rest upon the Authority of the Pope, or of any Priest or Doctor (1), but that the Holy Scriptures and evident Deductions from thence (2), are the only Foundation of our Assent.

VIII. That the rational Soul is the only Form by which a Man is a Man (3).

This last Article was considered as the Foundation of the rest, and all together were condemned by the Archbishop.

In 1314, In the Reign of *Edward II.*, some Students of *Oxford*, maintained in their Disputations certain Opinions, concerning the Trinity and Creation of the World, which being brought before the University, were condemned as Heretical.

Wickliff
publishes
his Doctrine.

These Opinions, being wholly founded on Scholastick Notions, were stifled in the birth, because the People understood nothing of such matters. But it was not the same with *Wickliff's* Doctrine, published towards the close of the XIVth Century, in the same University. The Reason is, his Doctrine was of another nature, and tended to reform the Abuses crept into the Church. Accordingly his Opinions were embraced by great Numbers. As this is the most important Ecclesiastical Affair of the XIVth Century, it will be necessary fully to show these Opinions, and the Zeal wherewith they were received by some, and condemned by others.

John Wickles, or rather *Wickliff*, was educated at *Oxford* in *Merton* College, where he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was so eminent for his Learning, Parts, and fine Genius, that *Simon Islip*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having founded *Canterbury* College (4) in *Oxford*, made him Rector. *Wickliff* behaved in his Post with universal Approbation till the Death of the Archbishop, who had a great Esteem for him. *Langham*, Successor of *Islip* (5), willing to favour the Monks, and introduce them into the College, attempted to turn out *Wickliff*, and put one *Woodhull* a Monk in his room. But he could never obtain the Consent of the Fellows of the College, who were desirous to keep their old Rector. This Affair being brought to *Rome*, the Monks of *Canterbury* solicited the Pope so earnestly in behalf of *Woodhull*, that *Wickliff* was deprived of his Rectorship. However, this was no Injury to the Doctor's Reputation. Every Body saw it was a general Affair, and that the Monks did not so much strike at his Person, as at all the Seculars that were Members of the College. And indeed, they were all turned out as well as he, to make room for the Monks. Shortly after, *Wickliff* was presented to the Living of *Lutterworth* in the Diocese of *Lincoln*, and then it was that he published, in his Sermons and Writings, certain Opinions, which appeared to be Novel, because contrary to the received Doctrine of those Days. As he did not declare his Sentiments till after the loss of his Rectorship, his Enemies have taken occasion, to accuse him of acting from a Spirit of Revenge, by reason of the Injury done him. I shall not undertake to clear him from this Charge. As there is none but God alone that sees into the Hearts of Men, it is rashness to accuse, or excuse them, with regard to the secret Motives of their Actions.

I shall only take notice, that *Wickliff's* bitterest Enemies have never taxed him with any Immoralities. These are the chief Articles maintained by *Wickliff* in his Writings and Sermons.

I. That the Eucharist, after Consecration, is not the real Body of *Christ*, but only its Emblem or Figure.

II. That the Church of *Rome* is no more the Head of the Universal Church, than any other Church; nor was there any greater Power given to *St. Peter*, than to the rest of the Apostles.

III. That the Pope of *Rome* has no more Jurisdiction in the Exercise of the Keys, than any other Priest.

IV. That in case the Church misbehaves, it is not only lawful, but meritorious to dispossess her of her Temporalities.

V. That when a Prince, or Temporal Lord, is convinced, that the Church makes an ill use of her Endowments, he is bound, under pain of Damnation, to take them away.

VI. That the Gospel is sufficient to direct a Christian in the Conduct of his Life.

VII. That all other Rules instituted by Holy Men, and practised in the Monasteries, add no more Perfection to Christianity, than whiteness to a Wall.

VIII. That neither the Pope nor any other Prelate, ought to have Prisons for the punishing Offenders against the Discipline of the Church, but that every Person ought to be left at his Liberty in the Conduct of his Life.

It must be observed that *Wickliff*, in the last Article, did not pretend, as he explained himself afterwards, to take from the Pope or the Prelates, the Power of Binding and Loosing, but only meant, that the Church had no Right to inflict Temporal Punishments on Sinners.

Whether *Wickliff* and his Followers stretched these Articles, by the Consequences which may naturally be deduced from them, or his Adversaries, from whom we have all we know of him, made any Additions, in order to render him odious, we find in the Historians, many other Opinions ascribed to him. Among these additional Opinions, there may be some not to be maintained, and there are others, which, being contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, have made some *English* Writers speak of *Wickliff* with contempt, and even call him Heretic. But it would be too long, fully to examine here all these Opinions. Let us therefore be contented with those that first appeared, which are really his, and have served for Foundation to all the rest.

These Opinions, maintained by *Wickliff* with great Vivacity, were immediately espoused by great Numbers, not only among the Students of *Oxford*, but the great Men at Court; particularly the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Percy*, Earl Marshal, declared for him. It must be observed, that this happened towards the End of the Reign of *Edward III.*, at a time when that Monarch, old and infirm, left the Administration of the Government to the Duke of *Lancaster* his Son, as we have seen in his History.

Gregory XI., being informed that these Articles were publicly maintained at *Oxford*, dispatched an Order to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*, to apprehend and examine *Wickliff*, and send the Propositions to *Rome*. But it was difficult for these two Prelates fully to execute these Orders, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl Marshal, having openly declared, they would not suffer *Wickliff* to be imprisoned. Indeed, there was yet no Act of Parliament, empowering the Bishops to imprison Hereticks, without the King's Consent. The two Prelates therefore were contented with summoning *Wickliff* before them, in *St. Paul's* Church, where there was a vast Concourse of People to hear the Examination. The Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Percy* accompanied the Doctor, assuring him, there was no danger, and that he might make his Defence with Courage, against Men, who were but mere Ignoramuses, in comparison to him. Here is a short Dialogue which passed between these two Lords, and the Bishop of *London*, upon *Wickliff's* account. The Lord *Percy* bidding the Doctor sit down, the Bishop of *London* opposed it, and commanded him to stand up, but the Earl Marshal would not let him.

Bishop of *London*. Lord *Percy*, if I could have guessed, you would have played the Master here, I would have prevented your coming.

Wickliff's
Doctrine.
Walsing.
p. 192, 201.
&c. 283.
Ibid. p.
531.
Knighton.
Col. 2642.
— 2676.

Wickliff
has many
Followers.
Walsing.

The Pope
takes Infor-
mation a-
gainst him;
but he is
supported by
the Duke of
Lancaster
and the Lord
Percy.
Fox Acts
and Mon.

(1) *Gregory*, or *Augustine*. *Spelman* Con. T. II. p. 348.

(2) — Sed tantum auctoritati Bibliæ, & necessarii Rationi. *Ibid*.

(3) Or rather, That in Man there is only one Form, namely, the rational Soul, without any other substantial Form. *Spelman*. *Ibid*.

(4) Now swallowed up in *Christ* Church.

(5) After the Death of this *Simon Islip*, *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester* was offered the Archbishoprick; but he refused it, saying, That *Canterbury* was the higher Rack, but *Winchester* the better Manger. *Tyrrel*, Vol. IV, p. 661.

The Duke of Lancaster. *Yes, he shall play the Master here for all you.*

The Lord Percy. *Wickliff, sit down; you have need of a Seat, for you have many things to say.*

Bishop. *It is unreasonable that a Clergyman, cited before his Ordinary, should sit down during his Answer. He shall stand.*

Duke of Lancaster. *My Lord Percy is in the right. And for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your Pride, and not only yours, but that of all the Prelates in England. Thou dependest upon the Credit of thy Relations, but far from being able to help thee, they shall have enough to do to support themselves.*

Bishop. *I place no Confidence either in my Relations or in any Man else, but in God alone, who will give me the Boldness to speak the Truth.*

The Duke speaking softly to the Lord Percy:

Rather than take this at the Bishop's hands, I'll drag him by the Hair of the Head out of the Church.

The Duke of Lancaster must needs have been very passionate, since it is certain the Bishop's last Words were not insolent enough, to occasion so great a transport of Anger. But it may be, the Bishop used harsher Expressions, which the Historians, Friends of the Clergy, have taken care to soften, that the Duke might appear to be in the wrong. However, the Duke's Words to the Lord Percy, being over-heard by some Stander-by, occasioned the Tumult mentioned in the Reign of Edward III, the particulars whereof it will be needless to repeat. It suffices to observe, that upon this Accident the Assembly broke up, and Wickliff's Examination was deferred to another time.

The Death of Edward III. happening shortly after, and the Duke of Lancaster being President of the new King's Council, the Bishops durst not proceed against Wickliff. During that time, the number of his Followers increased so considerably, that the University of Oxford debated, whether they should receive the Pope's Bull, commanding them to prosecute Wickliff with the utmost rigour. The Historian who relates this particular, not acquainting us with their final Resolution, the Bull was probably rejected. Hence it appears, that Wickliff's Doctrine was not embraced by some ignorant Persons only, but by Men of Letters, and Persons of Quality. Some would make us believe, that People were frightened into a feigned Approbation of his Doctrine. But it may be said, on the contrary, with much more probability, that Fear hindered many from being his followers. For a Man ran no risk in continuing to adhere to the old, whereas it was dangerous to embrace the new Doctrines.

The Pope finding, his Bull to the University of Oxford produced no great Effect, sent fresh Orders to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, to prosecute Wickliff. But as he had Intimation, that the Bishops could not proceed in the Affair without the King's Licence, he enjoyed them to represent to Richard and his Council, that Wickliff's Errors were not only dangerous to Religion, but likewise to the State. However, the King's Council, it seems, did not think so. Perhaps no body was willing to offend the Duke of Lancaster, Wickliff's open Protector.

The two Prelates however willing to obey the Pope to the utmost of their Power, summoned Wickliff a second time before them at Lambeth. He appeared, and by his manner of explaining his Opinions, seemed ready to give the Prelates some sort of Satisfaction. But, probably, they would not have been contented with so general an Explanation, if one Clifford a Gentleman had not rudely entered the Assembly, and forbid them to proceed. It is said, the two Prelates were over-awed by this absolute Order, though they knew not from whence it came; believing that Clifford durst not act thus of himself. Besides, the Populace intimidated by their menacing Words, that they would not see Wickliff ill-treated. These Considerations obliged the Bishops to dismiss the Doctor, forbidding him to amuse the People any more with disputations of so dangerous a consequence. But he had no regard to this Injunction, since, according to the Testimony of an antient Historian, he continued to preach and defend his Doctrine. By the way, this Steadiness ill agrees with the Explanation of his Opinions, which it is pretended he gave to the Bishops, and is represented as full of Equivocations and Evasions. The Truth is, this disguising his Sentiments is little agreeable to his natural Temper, which was far from being timorous. Be this as

it will, from that time he lived in quiet upon his Cure of Lutterworth, without any farther disturbance. Some time after, Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury, Successor of Simon Sudbury, beheaded by the Kentish Rebels, summoned a Provincial Synod at London, where Wickliff's Doctrine was condemned. An Historian affirms, that Wickliff was cited, and explained his Opinion in a manner very different from the literal Sense of the Words. But as the Records of the Synod mention nothing like it, the Historian has, very probably, confounded this Synod with that of Lambeth.

The Condemnation of Wickliff's Doctrine, prevented not its spreading all over the Kingdom, and with such Success, that the fore-mentioned Historian assures us, two Men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. Richard II, as was observed in his History, permitting the Bishops to prosecute and imprison Hereticks, several Lollards were cited before their respective Bishops. Some recanted, and others bravely stood the Shock. But among these last, there was not one delivered over to the secular Arm, there being yet no Law to that purpose. It was not till the next Reign, that those barbarous Executions commenced in England. So, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Bishops, Wickliff's Opinions flew over the Kingdom with a wonderful swiftness, because the Clergy were not at Liberty to employ the only means they have all along thought proper to extirpate Heresy. It seems also, the Bishops durst not personally attack Wickliff, for fear of having their Ignorance too much displayed by his superior Learning. Be that as it will, Wickliff was left in quiet at Lutterworth till his death, in 1384 (1). Probably, in process of time, his Followers made some Additions to his Doctrine, and hence it is, they have ascribed to him whatever was advanced by his Disciples.

The Loss of the Master disheartened not his Followers. They continued to preach and maintain their Opinions, with the same Courage as during his Life. The daily progress of their Doctrine became at length so considerable, that in 1386, the Parliament thought themselves obliged, to petition the King to take care that the Church and State received no detriment by the novel Opinions of the Lollards. Whereupon the King appointed Commissioners to peruse Wickliff's Books; but this Commission was very negligently executed.

In 1389, the Wickliffites or Lollards began to separate from the Church of Rome, and appoint Priests from among themselves, to perform Divine Service, after their way. Though some were from time to time prosecuted by the Bishops, these Prosecutions were not very rigorous. Their Aim seemed to be only to hinder them from pleading Prescription. Besides, a Petition presented to the King by a former Parliament, to revoke the Power granted the Bishops to imprison Hereticks, restrained the most forward.

But in 1395, the Endeavours of the Lollards, in the King's Absence, to get their Doctrine approved by the Parliament, put the Bishops upon taking other Measures. These pretended Hereticks finding themselves supported by an infinite Number of Followers, presented to the House of Commons a Remonstrance (2), containing these twelve Articles.

I. That when the Church of England, treading in the Steps of the Church of Rome, began to make an ill use of her Temporalities, Faith and Charity began to disappear.

II. That the English Priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a Power superior to Angels, is not the Priesthood settled by Christ upon his Apostles.

III. That the Celibacy of the Clergy, was the occasion of many scandalous Irregularities in the Church.

IV. That the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, renders the greatest part of Christendom guilty of Idolatry.

V. That Exorcisms, Benedictions pronounced over Water, Bread, Oil, Stones, for the Altar, Church-Walls, Priest's Vestments, the Mitre, Cross, Pilgrim's Staff, have more of Necromancy than Religion.

VI. That it was a great Crime, to join in the same Person Ecclesiastical and Civil Offices.

VII. That Prayers for the Dead, in which one Person is preferred to another, are not conformable to the Charity prescribed by the Gospel.

VIII. That Pilgrimages, and Offerings made to Images and Crosses, and especially the Pictures representing the Holy Trinity, are a sort of Idolatry.

IX. That Auricular Confession serves only to make the Priests proud, and by letting them into the Secrets

Wickliff's
Protestation
disput.

Walsing.
p. 201.

Collier.

Bull to the
Archbishop
to cite
Wickliff.
Walsing.
p. 202.
Spelman,
Conc. T. II.
p. 621.

They cite
him,

but deny the
Assent.

Knighton,
Col. 2647.

Wickliff's
Followers
increase.
Knighton.
Col. 2655.
&c.

The Wick-
liffites sepa-
rate from
the rest of
the Church.

Remonstran-
ces to the
Commons.

Spelman.
Conc. T. II.
p. 646.

(1) He died of the Palsy, December 31. 1385. Walsing. Ypodig. p. 537.

(2) By Sir Richard Story, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Lutymor, &c. Walsing. p. 357.

of the Penitent, gives opportunities for many Sins, and scandalous Intrigues.

X. That the taking away any Man's life, either in War, or Courts of Justice, is contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel, which is a dispensation of Grace and Mercy.

XI. That the Vow of single life, undertaken by Women, is the occasion of numberless disorders, and of the murder of multitudes of Children unbaptized, or even unborn.

XII. That it is necessary to banish from civil Society all useless Trades, which serve only to support pride and luxury.

All these Articles were backed with proofs too long to be inserted.

This Remonstrance, which very likely was privately approved by several Members of Parliament, so alarmed the Clergy, that they immediately deputed the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London to the King; praying him to return with all speed into England, that he might by his presence and authority check the growth of the new Doctrine, as was related in the Reign of Richard II.

Some time after, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a Synod at London, where eighteen Articles extracted from Wickliff's Book, entitled *Dialogus*, were condemned.

These are the most remarkable particulars concerning Wickliff and his Doctrine, before the deposing of Richard II. But I must not forget to add, that certain Bohemian Students, being at Oxford when Wickliff began to publish his Doctrine, they carried it into their own Country, where it spread wonderfully. It is time now to proceed to other affairs relating to the English Church, and in the first place to the Councils.

I shall begin this head with the General Council of Lyons, opened May 1. 1274. This Council was summoned chiefly to receive the Greeks into the Communion of the Church of Rome, from which they had separated a second time, upon the Latines being driven out of Constantinople. This union indeed was accomplished, but did not last long. Another reason of the Council's meeting, was to restore the affairs of the Christians in Syria. As great endeavours were pretended to be used in their favour, the Pope demanded a Subsidy of every Church. It was easy to see the Pope's interest in this demand. His Predecessors had made so frequent use of this means to procure Money, that there was no being deceived. However, not a Prelate dared to open his mouth against it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, kept silence like the rest. Richard Meppam (1) Dean of Lincoln, was the only Person that ventured to speak for the interests of England. He boldly said, the English Clergy were not able to contribute to the War, by reason of the continual exactions of the Court of Rome, which scarce left them wherewithal to subsist. This freedom cost him his Deanery, of which the Pope instantly deprived him. Hence we may judge of the liberty in this Council. I come now to the Councils held in England during the four last Reigns.

The first was convened in the Reign of Edward I. (2), by John de Peckham Archbishop of Canterbury. In this Council were ratified the Canons of the General Council of Lyons, concerning Pluralities. Then the Archbishop passed some Canons directly contrary to the Prerogative Royal, and for that reason he was obliged to repeal them afterwards.

The first decreed Excommunication against such as sued for the King's Letters, to prohibit certain Causes from being tried in the Ecclesiastical Court.

The second rendered liable to the same Penalty the Magistrates, who refused to imprison excommunicated Persons, after the forty days allowed by the Canons.

By the third, they that invaded the Church's Lands, were likewise to be excommunicated.

The fourth prohibited under the same penalty the selling of Provisions to the Archbishop of York, whenever he should come within the Archbishop of Canterbury's Jurisdiction.

This was a short and sure way to end his dispute with the Archbishop of York, about carrying the Cross. So, in case this Canon had not been annulled, the Archbishop of York would have found it difficult to be pre-

sent at the Parliament, which was generally held at London.

The fifth ordered the Copies of *Magna Charta* to be set up on Church-doors, that every one might read them.

Hence may be judged with what spirit this Prelate, who had long sojourned at Rome, was returned to England, and how far he would have extended the Church's power, if the King had not opposed his designs (3).

In 1281, the same Archbishop convened at Lambeth a provincial Synod, where, among others, the following Canons were made.

The second enjoined the Priests to acquaint the ignorant sort of the Laity, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are delivered to them, together with the Species of Bread, and that what they receive in the Chalice, is not holy, but only mere Wine, to help them to swallow the other Species with more ease. For (as the Canon goes on) the Blood of our Lord is allowed only to the Priests that celebrate divine Service in these left Churches (4).

The third Canon forbids Priests to re-baptize the Children that had been baptized by the Laity, unless there is reason to doubt, whether the Child was baptized or not.

In that case, the Canon allowed the Priest to baptize the Infant, with these additional words, *If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, &c.*

The Xth enjoins the Priests to instruct the People committed to their Charge in plain intelligible Language, without making use of scholastick terms and distinctions. Then the Canon lays down the Heads they were to expound upon, and the sense they were to give them.

In 1287, Peter Quivil Bishop of Exeter, held a Diocesan Synod, which enjoined, that care should be taken to instruct the People concerning the doctrine of Transubstantiation. They were to be told, that the adoration of the Host could not be carried too far, since they received under the Species of Bread, the same Body that hung upon the Cross for their Salvation, and under the Species of Wine, the Blood which was shed from Christ's side. It seems that we may infer from hence, that in the Church of Exeter, the Laity received the Sacrament then in both Kinds (5).

We meet but with one remarkable Council in the Reign of Edward II, held at London in 1310, where the Templars were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In 1328, in the Reign of Edward III, Meppam Archbishop of Canterbury, held a provincial Synod at London. By this Synod, Good-Friday, and the Conception of the Blessed Virgin were made Holy-days, and all work forbidden; but however, the Country People were allowed to follow their business after divine Service. By the same Synod, all Monks, Hermits, and Canons regular, were prohibited taking Confessions. A Canon made in a former Synod at Oxford, which admitted Appeals only after a definitive Sentence, was revoked.

In 1332, Meppam held another provincial Synod at Magfield, which settled all the Holy-days observed in the Province of Canterbury. Among the Festivals we find St. George's day, and St. Augustin's first Archbishop of Canterbury (6).

Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury, held at London in 1342 a provincial Synod, the most remarkable Canons whereof are these:

The IVth enjoined the Monks, who had any appropriated Livings, to relieve the Poor in proportion to the value of the Benefice. In case of failure, the Bishops were empowered to compel them to their Duty, by sequestrating the Profits.

The IXth was levelled against the mendicant Friars, who abusing the confidence of dying Persons, persuaded them to make Wills prejudicial to their Families. As the Synod durst not directly attack the Friars, who were under the Pope's protection, those who were prevailed on to dispose of their Estates so unreasonably, were barred the benefit of Christian burial.

During the Reign of Richard II, we find no remarkable Councils, but those held on occasion of Wickliff and his Followers. But as these have been mentioned elsewhere, it will be needless to repeat here what has been said.

(1) Rapin by mistake calls him Richard de Peckham. It was Richard Meppam, who is supposed to have died at the Council of Lyons.

(2) July 30. Spelman Conc. T. m. 2. p. 320.

(3) There was a Council at Lambeth, in 1280. See I. Wilkes, p. 109. Spelman Conc. Tom. 2. p. 327.

(4) --- Solicite eos intrare sub panis specie simul eis et corpus & sanguinem Domini, immo Christum integrum, vitum, & verum, qui totus est sub specie Sacramenti. Spelman Conc. T. m. 2. p. 329. Most odd! By this Canon it should seem, that the innovation of Communion in one kind, had not yet prevailed in Cathedral and Conventual Churches; and was to be inculcated only upon the illiterate, whose Ignorance was most likely to make them amenable to unprimitive Practices.

(5) In 1295, a synod was held at St. Paul's, London, July 6. M. West. p. 424. And 1296, September 14, another was held at the same place. Idem. p. 429.

(6) And St. Thomas of Canterbury's, which is placed between Innocent and the Circumcision, on December 29.

Of the
Schism.

Though *England* was no more concerned than other Christian States in the Schisms that happened in the Church, I do not think it proper wholly to pass them over in silence. This knowledge is not only absolutely necessary, for the understanding of the Ecclesiastical History of those times, but it may in some measure be said, that the best part of that History consists of what followed from these scandalous Schisms.

John XXII.
and Nicholas V.

From the beginning of the Reign of *Edward I.*, to the end of the Reign of *Richard II.*, *Christendom* was divided by two Schisms. The first lasted not long. *Clement V.*, removing the Papal Chair to *Avignon*, died there in 1314, and was succeeded by *John XXII.*, who kept his residence at the same place. This Pope's election was after an extraordinary manner. The Holy See remaining vacant about two years after the death of *Clement*, because the Cardinals could not agree, they met at length at *Lyons* in 1316, in order to chuse a Pope. But the same divisions still reigning among them, they agreed to refer the matter to the Cardinal of *Osia* (1) Bishop of *Oporto*, who, without any suspense, nominated himself, and took the name of *John XXII.* At the same time the Empire was divided by a double Election, one part of the Electors voting for *Lewis of Bavaria*, and the other, for *Frederic Duke of Austria*. *John's* refusal to acknowledge the first, occasioned a quarrel between them, which continually increased till 1328, when *Lewis* passing into *Italy* degraded Pope *John*, and caused *Peter de Corbaria* a *Cordelier*, to be elected, who assumed the name of *Nicholas V.*, and resided at *Rome*. This Anti-pope being supported by the Emperor and the General of the *Cordeliers*, kept his ground some time. But at last the Emperor being forced to quit *Italy*, and dissention arising among the *Cordeliers*, *Nicholas* having none to defend him, was taken and carried to *Avignon*, where he asked *John's* pardon with a halter about his Neck. After this submission, he was put into close confinement, where he died in a few months.

Schism of
Urban VI.
and Clement VII.

The second Schism between *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.*, was more considerable and of longer continuance. I have related the rise of it in the History of *Richard II.*, for which reason I shall only shew its effects, to the end of this Century.

To Pope *Urban VI.*, succeeded in 1389, *Boniface IX.*, who, as well as *Clement*, pretended to be desirous to put an end to the Schism; but nothing was farther from their intentions. *Clement VII.*, who died at *Avignon* in 1394, had for successor *Benedict XIII.*

All *Christendom* being tired and offended at the Schism, the Court of *France* endeavoured to persuade the two Popes to resign their Dignity, that another Pope might be canonically elected. They both consented, but broke their word. *Benedict* especially used so many evasions, that the King of *France* resolved to withdraw his Kingdom from his obedience. For that purpose, he gained the Cardinals of that Party, who promised to desert him; but *Benedict* having notice, fortified himself in his palace of *Avignon*, by introducing an *Arragonian* Garrison. He was besieged by Marshal *Boucicaut*, but shortly after, that General had orders to raise the Siege. Thus by the Intrigues of some Princes of the Court of *France*, the Schism still continued, notwithstanding the King's endeavours to close it.

Nothing more remains but to give a brief account of such Ecclesiasticks as were eminent for their Merit and Learning, in the Reigns of the three *Edwards* and *Richard II.*

Kilwarby.

Robert Kilwarby, a *Cordelier*, or *Minorite*, was Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Reign of *Edward I.*, and a Prelate of eminent Learning for the age he lived in. He wrote several Theological Tracts, which were in great repute in those days. His Merit having raised him to the dignity of a Cardinal, he resigned his Archbishoprick, and went and lived at *Rome*, where he died.

Burnell.

Peckham.

Robert Burnell, Bishop of *Bath*, was chosen for Successor to *Kilwarby*; but the Pope, by the plenitude of his Apostolick Power, gave the See of *Canterbury* to *John Peckham* an *English Franciscan*, who was Auditor of his Chamber. This Prelate had great contests with *Edward I.*, as well on occasion of the Canons of his Synod, before-mentioned, as upon other accounts. The quarrel went so far, that the King was going to banish him the Realm. He was reckoned very learned, particularly in the Civil and Canon Law. There are some Theological Tracts of his, with Commentaries upon several Books of the Scripture.

Winchelsey.

Robert Winchelsey, Successor of *Peckham*, preferred his Archbishoprick to a Cardinalate which the Pope would

have honoured him with. This Prelate is chiefly praised for his Charities. He used to relieve four thousand poor People twice a week at his House, besides his maintaining many young Scholars at both the Universities. These Charities gained him the affections of the People, who, after his death, flocked in crouds to his Tomb, and payed him the regard of a Saint. Mean while, this Archbishop, so beloved by the People, had great contests with *Edward I.*, for being deeply concerned in the Intrigues of the Lords who opposed the designs of the King. The Pope, whom *Edward* knew how to gain to his interest, cited the Archbishop to *Rome*, to justify his conduct, and laid him under a suspension. It was not till the Reign of *Edward II.*, that he was restored.

M. West.
Walling.
Act. pub.
II. p. 939
1602.

John Britton Bishop of *Hereford*, chiefly excelled in the knowledge of the common Law. He wrote a Book much esteemed, *de Juribus Anglicanis*, and died in 1275.

Britton.

Joannes Duns Scotus, commonly called, *Doctor Subtilis*, lived in the Reign of *Edward II.*, and is too well known to be enlarged upon. It suffices to observe, that he differed in many things from the opinion of *Thomas Aquinas*, and was a great Champion for the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. After being Professor in Divinity at *Oxford* and *Paris*, he died at *Cologne* in the same Office, in 1309 or 1310.

Duns
Scotus.

Walter Stapleton Bishop of *Exeter*, was eminent for his Learning, and Capacity in the administration of the publick affairs; and particularly for Loyalty to *Edward II.*, his Sovereign, for which he lost his life, as was related in the History of that Prince (2).

Stapleton.

Stratford Archbishop of *Canterbury* under *Edward III.*, was more famous as a Statesman, than as an Archbishop. I have related elsewhere his contest with *Edward III.*, who accused him of misdemeanors. But afterwards, the King commanded his accusations against him to be cancelled, as containing things neither true nor reasonable.

Thomas Bradwardin Successor of *Stratford*, was a great Philosopher and Mathematician, and withal a very learned Divine. He was commonly called the profound Doctor, according to the custom of those days, of giving such Titles, to those that were eminent for their Learning. He wrote a Book against the *Pelagians*, which gained him great reputation, intitled, *Of the Cause of God*. But what rendered him still more esteemed than his learning, was, his humility, and his zeal to instruct the People committed to his care. Before his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See, he was Confessor to *Edward III.*, and attended that great Prince in all his expeditions. Some have done him the honour to say, that the progress of *Edward's* Arms, in *France*, was in great measure owing to his prudent Counsels.

Bradwardin.

William Occam, of the Order of *St. Francis*, Disciple of *Occam*. *Duns Scotus*, is famous for being head of the *Nominalists* against the *Realists*, of whom his Master *Scotus* was chief. It would be needless to explain here, wherein consisted the difference between these two Sects of Philosophers, with which, God be thanked, the publick Schools are now seldom troubled.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of *Armagh* (3), born at *Dundalk* in *Ireland*, was a great enemy to the mendicant Friers. He attacked them vigorously in his Sermons preached at *London*, wherein he undertook to prove the nine following Propositions:

Fitz-Ralph.
Walling.
P. 173.

I. That, with respect to the place where Confessions are to be made, the Parish Churches are to be preferred before those of the Friers.

II. That Parishioners ought rather to confess to a Curate, than to a Frier.

III. That, notwithstanding *Jesus Christ* was poor whilst upon earth, yet he never affected poverty.

IV. That *Christ* did never beg, nor make profession of voluntary poverty.

V. That he never taught people to make profession of beggary.

VI. That *Christ* held the contrary, namely, that Men ought not to beg by inclination and choice, but only when forced to it by necessity.

VII. That to profess beggary, is a thing contrary to Religion and common Sense.

VIII. That to be under engagements of voluntary poverty, is not agreeable to the Rule of the Friers *Minorites*, or *Cordeliers*.

IX. That the Bull of *Alexander IV.*, which condemns the Libel of the Doctors of *Paris*, censures none of these eight Propositions.

These Articles, which attacked the mendicant Friers in the most sensible part, it being by their voluntary

poverty

(1) *Rapin* says by mistake *d' Osia*.

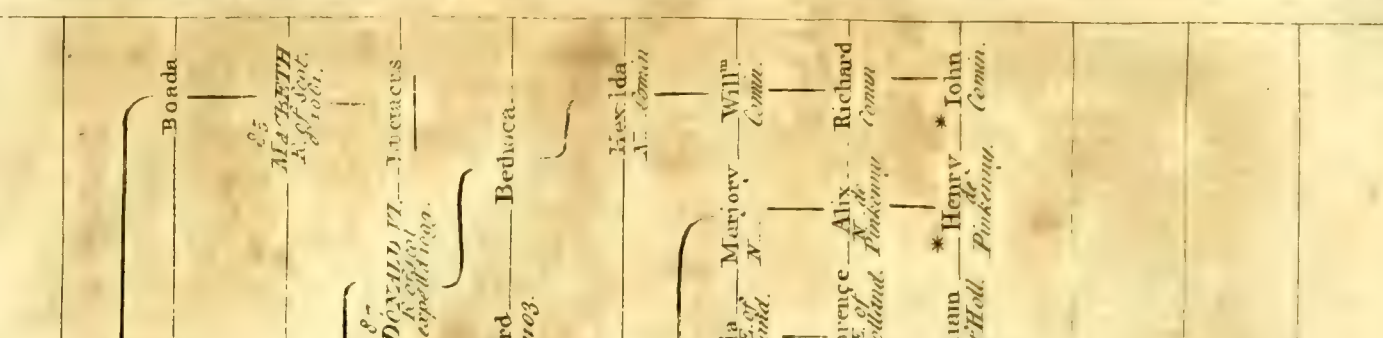
(2) With him may be joined *Walter de Merton*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Founder of *Merton College* in *Oxford*, in the Year 1267, who died in 1277.

(3) *Walsley*, p. 106.

(3) He was installed Dean of *Lichfield*, April 20. 1337, and translated to *Armagh*, 1347. He died in 1360.

II

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poverty that they had gained, and preserved their credit with the People, were carried to the Pope, who cited the Archbishop before him. He appeared, and courageously maintained all his assertions. But before this affair was decided, he died at *Abbeym 1266*. He translated the Bible into *English*, and wrote two Treatises, one in defence of the Parish Priests, against the Friars; the other, *de Audientia Confessionum*.

Treviſa.

John de Trevisa, a Cornish Man, who lived in the Reign of *Edward III.*, translated the Bible, and several other Books into *English*. He was of the same opinion as the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and maintained, that *Jesus Christ* sent Apostles, but never mendicant Friars, to preach the Gospel.

There are almost all that were eminent for their Piety, and Learning, during the last Reigns, unless we reckon among the learned and learned Men, a Company of Schoolmen, who, in my opinion, deserve not to be placed in that Class. Some of the Followers of *Cicero* and *Alexander*, as *Boetius*, held a considerable rank among the doctour. But there are too ambiguous marks to be relied on. One may judge by the small number of learned Persons, how the Sciences were degenerated, since, among all the above-mentioned, hardly is there one truly learned. In spite of the prejudices of *Wickliff's* enemies, I shall make no scruple to except that Doctor, of whom I have already said enough to excite me from adding any thing farther.

(1) The most noted Historians of the Fourteenth Century were:

Wikes.

Thomas Wikes. His History begins at the *Conquest*, and ends at the Death of *Edward I.* 1307. He was Canon Regular of *Oney* near *Oxford*, and writes as clearly and fully (especially in some Passages relating to the *Barons Wars*) as is contained in a Chronicle at his time, would allow him to do. *Dr. Gale* has published this History in his *Hist. Angl.* Vol. II.

Brompton.

The Author of the Chronicle, which goes under the Name of *JOHN BROMPTON*, Abbot of *Winton* or *Freemantle* in *Yorkshire*, lived about the time. The Chronicle begins with the coming of *Austin* in 588, and ends with the Death of *Richard I.* 1199. It is plain from the History, taking no notice of the Foundation of that Monastery, &c. that neither *Brompton*, nor any Monach of that Monastery, was Author of this Chronicle, but that it was procured by that Abbot, and by him bestowed on his monastery. The Author (whatever he be) is very silent in his Collection for the latter Times, but takes no notice of the chronological part in the whole History of the *Heptarchy*. He gives the *Saxon Laws* at large, and translates pretty handsomely. This Chronicle is published among the *Domesday Scriptures*.

Higden.

RANULPH HIGDEN, Monk of *St. Werburg's* in *Chesler*, where he died very aged in 1363, was an ancient Physician. He tells foul on *William of Malmbury* in many Places. He fills his Work, *Polychronicon*. What he collected relating to the Times of the *British* and *Saxons*, has been lately published by *Dr. Gale*, Vol. I. who commends him for preserving many Remains out of ancient Chronicles, now wholly lost or in part.

Matthew of

Westminster

Merimuth.

MATTHEW, a *Benedictine* Monk of *WESTMINSTER*, ended his History at the Year 1397, though it was afterwards continued by other Hands. He was a choice Collector of the Flowers of former Histories, from whence he is usually titled *Flower*. He entirely transcribes *Matthew Paris*. The most eminent Continuator was *Adam Merimuth*, Canon Regular of *St. Paul's*, and an eminent *Crastian*, who in his latter Days gave lessons wholly to the Reading and Writing *English History*. He begins his Work at 1302, and reaches to 1380.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XI.

The Reigns of HENRY IV, and HENRY V; Containing the Space of Twenty two Years and Ten Months.

13. HENRY IV. Sirnam'd of BULLINGBROKE.

1399.
HENRY
IV.
continues the
same Parliam-
ent called
by Richard.



HENRY Duke of Lancaster, sir-
named of *Bullingbroke* the place of
his Birth (1), having been proclaim-
ed the 30th of September, took that
very day the reins of the Govern-
ment. As the Parliament then as-
sembled was called in *Richard's*
name, and as their Authority ceased
upon his being deposed, *Henry's* first
care was to call another. To proceed according to cus-
tom, the Representatives must have been chosen anew.
But *Henry* did not think fit to run the risk, of having a
less favorable Parliament than that which had so heartily
espoused his Cause. He was contented therefore, with im-
powering the same Representatives, to make, with the
House of Lords, a new Parliament under his Authority.
I shall not venture to decide, whether this proceeding was
somewhat irregular, or authorized by any former prece-
dent. Be this as it will, after a few days interruption,
the same Parliament met again on the 9th of *October*, as
if called by the new King.

Cotton's
Abriug.
Brady.

The Earl of
March re-
tires to Wig-
more.

Mean time *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, con-
sidering it would be no less dangerous than fruitless, at such
a juncture, to assert his just right to the Crown, retired
to his Lordship of *Wigmore* (2), near the borders of
Wales. The more incontestable his Title was, the more
reason he had to dread the new King's jealousy. So,
giving way to the torrent which he could not stem, he
resolved to live in retirement, without shewing the least
ambition, or the least uneasiness at the injustice that was
done him. He had no other way to secure his repose,
and even his life, against the suspicions of a Prince whose

Interest it was to destroy him. It was but too probable, 1399.
that the new King would embrace the first occasion, to
free himself from the uneasiness which such a Rival could
create.

The Parliament being assembled, as I said, *Thomas The Arch-
Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a long Speech, bishop ba-
ranging the
tending to inspire a high opinion of the advantages the Parliament
procured to the Kingdom by the late Revolution. He enlarged in praise of
chiefly on the disorders of the late Reign, and assured the new
King.
that the new Sovereign proposed to govern after a very
different manner, and to preserve to All their Rights and
Liberties. This Prelate was banished the Realm in the
late Reign, and *Roger Walden*, who was appointed in his
room, had hitherto performed the Archiepiscopal Func-
tions. But as *Arundel* was not canonically deposed, the
Parliament in their first Session (3) ordered that he should re-
sume his Dignity, and the rather as the other had not yet
obtained the Pope's Confirmation. The Archbishop's
Speech, and some preliminary Formalities, were the only
things remarkable in the first Session of the new Parliam-
ent, which was adjourned to the 14th of *October*. This
Adjournment was necessary in order to prepare for the Co-
ronation, which was to be on the 13th.

Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 96,
97.

During this interval, the King filled several Posts, which The King
were vacant, or possessed by Persons he did not like. fills the va-
cant Posts;
Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Ralph Nevill* rewards the
Earl of
Earl of *Westmoreland*, had shewn too great a zeal for the
Northum-
King, by joining him at *Ravensthorpe*, presently after his
berland and
landing, not to have a share in his favours. *Henry* wil-
Westmore-
ling to shew his Gratitude, made the first High-Constable,
land.
and the other, Earl-Marshal (4). A few days after, he
Act Pub.
VIII. p. 89,
gave also to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*,
89, 95,
Walling.

(1) A Town in *Lincolnshire*.

(3) *October* 22. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 96.

(4) There was given him by the King, as a Badge of that Office, a golden Staff, enamelled with black at both ends; the King's Arms at the upper
end, and his own at the lower. All the Marshals before him wore a wooden Staff. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 115. He was also created Earl of
Richmond. *Walsing.* p. 361.

(2) In *Herefordshire*.

1399. situated between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with the privilege of carrying at the Coronation the Sword called *Lancaster*, on the King's left hand (1). This was the same Sword the King wore when he landed at *Ravenſpur*.

Thomas his second Son made High-Steward. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 9. Walling. After *Henry* had required these two Lords, whom he considered as most attached to his Interest and Person, he made *Thomas* of *Lancaster* his second Son, High-Steward. It was absolutely necessary to fill this Post before the Coronation, because to the High-Steward's Court all must apply who claim any service in that Ceremony, in order to be maintained in their Rights. But as the Prince was not above ten years old, the King gave him for Deputy, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King is crowned, and anointed with an extraordinary Oil. Walling. p. 360, 361. Froissart, l. 4. c. 55. On the 13th of *October*, *Edward the Confessor's* day, *Henry* was crowned with all the usual Formalities, being then thirty three years of age (2). He was anointed with a certain Oil, pretended to be brought by the blessed Virgin, to *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whilst he was in *France*. The Vial which held this precious Oil, was fallen into the hands of a Hermit, who presented it to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Grandson of *Henry III.*, with this Prophecy, *That the Kings which should be anointed with that sacred Oil, should become true Champions for the Church*. The Duke of *Lancaster* gave it afterwards to the famous Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward III.*, who was resolved to be anointed with it when crowned. After the death of that Prince, the Vial, which was of stone, having on the top a gold Eagle set with Diamonds, was laid up among the Jewels, without being minded. *Richard II.*, his Son, finding it, some time before his last Voyage into *Ireland*, designed to be crowned again, on purpose to be anointed with this divine Oil. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* opposed it, by representing, that the unction of Kings ought not to be repeated. At length, the Vial was fallen into *Henry's* hands (3), who, either out of devotion, or because it came from the Duke of *Lancaster* his Grandfather by the Mother's side, was pleased to be anointed with it at his Coronation. But if we examine the Reigns of this Prince, and several of his Successors, who were anointed with the same Oil, we shall not find, that the good Hermit's Prophecy was accomplished.

Henry refuses to crown his eldest Son, because he is the Crown of the People. I have observed, in the Reign of *Richard II.*, that when, after the deposing of that Prince, *Henry* claimed the Crown, he affected to use obscure expressions. His aim was to make the People believe, there was some foundation in the right, he pretended to derive from the first House of *Lancaster*, of which he was Heir by his Mother. But this pretext, which might then have some effect upon such as voluntarily shut their eyes, was too gross to deceive any longer. It was therefore necessary for the new King, to find some plausible Title, to justify the Nation's choice of his Person. There was none more lawful than the service he had just done the State. But he judged it dangerous to rest his Right upon such a foundation. When he was to receive the Crown, he very willingly owned the Parliament's power to confer it upon him. But when it was once placed on his head, he was afraid, from that principle it would be inferred, that they who had given the Crown, had power to take it away. He was therefore under some perplexity. It was requisite the People should be satisfied, that the Parliament could lawfully depose *Richard*, and that their Authority was superior to the King's. On the other hand, it was convenient to let them understand, that in placing *Henry* on the Throne, the same Parliament proceeded not by way of Authority, and could not dispense with owning him for King. In a word, they were to acknowledge in the Parliament an unlimited Power with respect to *Richard's* deposing, and to decline their Authority in the late Election. These two things seemed irreconcilable. But when a Man has power on his side, he does not so much trouble himself about finding good reasons, as about dazzling the Publick with appearances. *Henry*, persuaded that in this juncture, no one would have the boldness to contradict him, resolved to let his Subjects know, he did not mean to derive his Right from their bare consent. On his very Coronation day, he published a Proclamation, declaring, that he ascended the Throne, First, by right of Conquest: Secondly, by virtue of *Richard's* resignation, and designation of him for his

Successor: Lastly, as he was the next Male-Heir of the late King (4). By this means he excluded the only lawful Title he had, namely, the general consent of the People, in order to build his claim upon three manifestly weak foundations. In the first place, how could he pretend to a right of Conquest? He entered the Kingdom but with fourscore Men, who, probably, were for the most part *English*. Besides, his good success was entirely owing to the concurrence of all *England*, and consequently he could not say he had conquered the Kingdom. In the next place, it was not true that *Richard* resigned the Crown to him. It was seen in the Reign of that Prince, that *Henry* himself, as well as his Friends, did not think it proper. *Richard* was only obliged to make an absolute resignation, lest it should appear too constrained, if he did it in favour of a Prince, to whom he was actually a Prisoner. Moreover, supposing *Richard* had appointed *Henry* for his Successor, how could a King, deposed for Tyranny and Inability, be allowed a Right to chuse the Person who should succeed him, especially as the nomination was contrary to the Laws of the Land? Lastly, it was still less true, that *Henry* was *Richard's* next Heir, unless the *Salic* Law had been revived in *England*, as in *France*, and the descendants of the Daughters were debarred the Succession. It is true, in the third Title alleged by the King, there was a sort of equivocation capable of deceiving. He was Cousin-German of the late King, and consequently a nearer Relation than the Earl of *March*, who was one degree farther removed. But it did not follow, that he was the next Heir, since, with respect to the Succession, the Branch, and not the Degree of Relation, was to be regarded. Thus, after the death of *Edward III.*, *Richard* his Grandson succeeded him, though he was one degree farther removed than his Uncles. Again, supposing this rule had not been inviolably observed, *Henry* could not say, he was the nearest Relation of *Richard*. He was first Cousin; but the Duke of *York*, who was Uncle, had no less right than he. So, on which side soever *Henry's* pretended Titles were viewed, they must have appeared ill-grounded. The only Title he could have produced with any colour, was the consent of the People. But he would not use it for the reason above-mentioned.

The same day the King issued his Proclamation, he created *Henry* his eldest Son, aged thirteen Years, Duke of *Cornwall*, Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. But he added not to these Titles, as some affirm (5) that of Duke of *Aquitain*.

The Ceremony of the Coronation being ended, the Parliament met the next day, being the fourteenth of *October*. The importance of the Acts passed in this Session, obliges me to descend to particulars, absolutely necessary for the sequel of this History.

In the first place, was passed an Act of Indemnity, to screen those, who during the late troubles, had taken Arms in favour of the King, then Duke of *Lancaster*. This Act was absolutely necessary, since the Laws condemned, without distinction, those that opposed the Government established, which was precisely the case of the King's Friends, and of the King himself.

After this Act was passed, the Parliament examined whatever was done in the late Reign, to stretch the Prerogative Royal beyond the usual bounds. They applied themselves chiefly to the Proceedings of the Parliament begun at *Westminster* in 1397, and continued at *Shrewsbury* in 1398. All the Acts, as well with regard to the three Lords unjustly condemned, as to the exorbitant privileges granted to the King, were so manifestly destructive of the Nation's Liberties, that they were unanimously repealed. At the same time were revived and confirmed, the Statutes of the Parliament of 1388, annulled by that of *Shrewsbury*. It was thought likewise absolutely necessary to pass a particular Act against the Pope's Bull, ratifying the Statutes of *Shrewsbury*. This Bull, whereby *Richard II.* pretended to give more strength to Acts of Parliament, was founded on a Principle too opposite to the Rights of the People to be suffered to subsist. For the Pope's power to confirm Acts of Parliament could not be acknowledged, without ascribing to him a Right of Sovereignty over *England*. Wherefore, the Parliament declared in this Act, that the Kingdom of *England* was independent of all foreign power,

1399.

Act Pub. VIII. p. 91. Walling.

The Parliament meets. Cotton's Annals.

Act of Parliament.

The Parliament examines the proceedings of the former one. Walling.

(1) He was to hold the life of Man by that Office. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 91, 95. per servitium portandi, dibus Coronationis nostræ & Hæredum nostrorum, per se ipsum aut sufficientem & honorificum Depositum suum, illum gladium nudum, quo cincti eramus quando in partibus de *Holder-nesse* applicuimus, vocatum *Lancastre Sward*.

(2) He ledged the Night before in the Tower of London, where he made his three Sons, with several of the Sons of the Nobility, and others, to the Number of forty six, Knights of the *Barb*. Comp. Hist. p. 213.

(3) He had not *Richard II.* at *Chester*, by the Archbishop's Means. Walling. p. 361.

(4) This last Reason in the Proclamation occasioned that Pun of the Earl of *March*, that he was *Hæres malus*.

(5) *Rapin* is herein mistaken, for it appears from *Cotton's Annals*. That King *Henry* now created, that his eldest Son *Henry* should be called Prince of *Hales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, *Lancaster*, and *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, p. 392. See Walling. p. 361.

1399. particularly of the Court of *Rome*, and that the Pope had no right to interpose in the civil Government of the Realm.

The *Shrewsbury* Parliament designing to extend the Royal Authority as much as possible, had so multiplied the Cases of High-Treason (1), that none, but such as acknowledged in the Sovereign an unlimited power, could possibly avoid the penalty of it. To redress so dangerous a Grievance, which tended to render the King absolute master of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, the Parliament revived a Statute, made in the Reign of *Edward III* (2), and enacted, that nothing should be adjudged to be Treason, but what was contained therein.

Richard's
Advisers
and Favo-
rites are
called to ac-
count.
Walsing.
Cotton's
Abridg.

After the Rights and Privileges of the People were, by these Acts, restored to the same state as before the incroachments of *Richard*, the Authors and Advisers of the Usurpations were called to an account. When King *Richard* apprehended the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, he was not invested with that absolute power, so liberally conferred upon him afterwards by the *Shrewsbury* Parliament; so that he was forced to proceed according to Law, in the condemnation of these three Lords. To that end, he so ordered it, that *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, his Half-Brother *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, his Nephew, *Edward* [Plantagenet] Earl of *Albemarle*, his Cousin, Son of the Duke of *York*, *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaster* by his third Wife, and the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, were the Accusers of the three imprisoned Lords. The Earl of *Salisbury* (3) and the Lord *Morley* (4), were reported to be the chief contrivers of this Plot. After condemnation, *Richard* distributed the Estates of the three Lords among the Accusers and Evidences. Moreover, he made the Earl of *Albemarle* a Duke, and conferred the Title of Duke of *Exeter* on the Earl of *Huntington*, of Duke of *Surrey* on the Earl of *Kent*, of Duke of *Somerset* on the Earl of *Somerset*, and of Earl of *Glocester* on *Thomas Spencer*.

Walsing.

As it was publicly known, that the three Lords were unjustly oppressed by the late King, the Parliament thought it necessary to punish the Authors and Instruments of this violence. For that purpose, after reversing the sentence against the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, as directly contrary to the pardon that was granted them, it was resolved, that the Accusers should be deprived both of their new Titles, and the Estates distributed among them (5). As to their own Lands, it was left to the King, either to continue them in possession, or turn them out as he pleased. *Henry*, willing to show his clemency in the beginning of his Reign, not only left them their Estates, but likewise restored them to their Honours. Moreover, he made the Duke of *Exeter* his Brother-in-law (6) Governor of *Calais*. The Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, *Richard*'s detested Ministers, and principal Authors of the violence practised upon the Duke of *Glocester*, and the other two Lords, were released after a short imprisonment, though the People loudly called for their death. As the Friends of these Lords alledged in their excuse, that *Richard* compelled them to act, the Parliament took occasion to pass an Act, declaring, That for the future, compulsion should be no legal excuse to justify actions contrary to Law.

General
Pardon.

This affair being over, the Parliament prevailed with the King to grant a general Pardon, in which however were excepted, the Duke of *Glocester*'s Murderers. One of the Villains (7) being apprehended and convicted, was hanged at *London*, and his head sent to *Calais*, to be fixed on one of the Gates.

The Suc-
cession settled on
the House of
Lancaster.
Walsing.
Cotton's
Abridg.

Though the injustice done to the Earl of *March* was manifest, it might in some measure be coloured, with the pretence of rewarding *Henry* for the signal service he had done the State. If this reward had been limited to his Person, perhaps it would not have seemed very strange, that in so extraordinary a case the Laws should be superseded in favour of a Prince, who had so freely exposed himself for the Publick. But at such Junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the bounds of Equity. The Parliament, not content with adjudging to *Henry* the Crown taken from *Richard*, would moreover secure it to his Posterity. To that end, an Act was passed, set-

ting the Succession on the House of *Lancaster*; first on the Person of the Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldest Son and his Heirs, then on his three Brothers and their Issue.

A very important affair still remained, concerning which the King was desirous to have the advice of the Parliament before they broke up. The Commons, not satisfied with the bare deposing of *Richard*, after a very irregular manner, would have had him tried in form, and petitioned the King for that purpose (8). It was therefore to know how *Richard* was to be disposed of, that the King wanted the advice of the two Houses. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was charged with his Orders, having exacted an Oath of Secrecy from all the Members, made the first motion. It may well be thought, that *Richard* had not many Friends in the House, and if any disapproved of the Proceedings against him, they were too much awed to venture to speak in his behalf. There was one however bold enough, to say publicly, what others only thought, namely, *Thomas Merks* Bishop of *Carlisle*, who, without regarding the motives which might induce him, as well as the rest of *Richard*'s Friends, to keep silence, made a long Speech, wherein he alledged every thing that could with any plausibleness be said for the King deposed, and against the King on the Throne.

The Bishop undertook to prove three things. "First, That there was no Authority which could lawfully depose a King of *England*. Secondly, That the offences *Richard* was accused of deserved not Deposition, and besides were not proved. Thirdly, That the Crown was unjustly adjudged to the Duke of *Lancaster*."

"He enlarged very much on the first, showing the great difference between the several kinds of Government established in the World. He confessed that in some, the Prince or Head might be deposed, because the supreme authority was not solely lodged in his Person, but the People, or Nobles, had a share. Of this sort he reckoned the Republicks, the ancient Government of *Rome*, the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the Earldom of *Flanders*, and some other States. But he maintained, it was otherwise in the Governments where the supreme authority resides in the single Person of the Sovereign. In this class he ranked the Kingdom of *Israel*, among the Antients, with the three first Empires; and among the Moderns, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Muscovy*, *Turkey*, *Perfia*, and in general all the Kingdoms of *Asia* and *Africa*. With regard to these he alledged, that though the vices of a Sovereign should be not only detrimental, but even intolerable to his Subjects, he could not be lawfully deposed by any means whatever: That force could not be used, without incurring the Crime of Rebellion and Treason; and much less authority, since there was not in the State any lawful authority but what was derived from him. He produced Arguments and Precedents from the Holy Scriptures and profane Authors, which cannot be repeated without being excessively tedious."

Upon the second Article, he boldly asserted, "That the Crimes for which *Richard* was deposed, were either false or aggravated: That indeed, he might be guilty of some errors or oversights, but his faults could not be stiled Tyranny: That if his Failings afforded just cause to depose him, how many Sovereigns would daily be treated as Tyrants, and deposed by their Subjects? Every Tax, execution of Rebels, in a word, whatever was not relished by the People, would furnish a pretence to dethrone the most lawful Prince". He passed over the more slightly the proofs of this second Head, as the Parliament it self seemed to question the truth of the Crimes alledged against *Richard*, since there was no step taken to prove them in a legal manner. By the way, it is very likely that for fear of this reproach, the Commons wanted to proceed in form against the deposed King.

Upon the third Article the Bishop maintained, "That even supposing *Richard* guilty; and granting the Na-

(1) See above, p. 469. Note (6).

(2) In the 25th of *Edward III*. The Offences declared to be Treason by that Statute are these: "Compassing or imagining the Death of the King, the Queen, or of their eldest Son and Heir: Violating the King's Companion, or the King's eldest Daughter unmarried, or the Wife of the King's eldest Son and Heir: Levying War against the King in his Realm, or being an Adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid or Comfort in the Realm, or elsewhere: Counterfeiting the King's Great, or Privy-Seal, or his Money, or bringing counterfeit Money into the Kingdom: Killing the Chancellor, Treasurer, or any of the King's Justices, in their Places, and in the Execution of their Office.----- Petit Treason, is, when a Servant killeth his Master, or a Wife her Husband, or when a Man secular or religious slayeth his Prelate." Statutes at large, 25. *Edw.* 3.

(3) *John de Montacute*.

(4) *Thomas Lord Morley*.

(5) With this condition, That they should not be obliged to refund the Rents of the Lands, for the time they had possessed them. *Walsing.* p. 361.

(6) *John Holland*, who had married his Sister *Elizabeth*, second Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, by *Blanche d'Artois*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 78.

(7) *John Hall*. He was executed November 28. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 400, 401.

(8) *Hellingboud* says, the Commons Address was to this purpose; That since King *Richard* had reigned, and was lawfully deposed from his Royal Dignity, he might have judgment decreed against him, p. 512.

1399. "tion had Authority to depose him, there was not the least colour of Justice to give the Crown to the Duke of Lancaster. That if the Duke was the true Heir of Richard, as he pretended, he must wait his death before he could inherit. But it was known to all then, there was a nearer Heir, whose Father was declared Successor of Richard by Act of Parliament." As for Henry's pretended right from Edmund Crouch-back Son of Henry III, the Bishop disdained to consider it, affirming, "he was very certain, that People of sense were ashamed of a Right, built upon so slender a Foundation."

After this the Orator proceeded to examine the other two Titles contained in the King's Proclamation, namely, Conquest, and Richard's Renunciation. To the first he said, "That a Subject could never pretend to a Right of Conquest against his Sovereign, since the Victory itself was high and heinous Treason." As for the renunciation, he said, "it was not only extorted by Force, but supposing it voluntary, could be of no Validity: That in Richard's situation, it was not in his power to make a valid Act: That besides, since by the Laws of the Land the King could not alienate the Crown Jewels, much less surely could he give away the Crown itself (1)." Then he spoke of the general consent of the People, though Henry had not thought proper to insist upon it; "That the Kingdom of England having never been Elective, it was ridiculous to ascribe to the People the power of disposing of the Crown." Lastly, he replied to the objection, which might be alledged from the deposing of Edward II, "That wise Men must be guided by Law, and not by Examples and Precedents. That however the deposing of Edward II, was no more to be urged, than the poisoning of King John, or the murder of any other Prince: But even in the deposing of Edward II, care was taken to preserve the Rights of the lawful Successor."

What the Bishop had hitherto said, might pass for reasons, to question whether Richard II could be lawfully deposed. At most, it might be considered as the private opinion of the Speaker. But towards the conclusion of his Speech, he launched out strangely against Henry, and expressed a passion very injurious to the reasons he had alledged. He said, "it was to be feared the People of England would soon find themselves in the case of Aijap's Frogs; boldly adding, as long as Richard was alive, the English could not with Justice own any other Sovereign. In fine, he maintained, that the Person whom they called King, had committed much more heinous crimes, than those for which Richard was deposed: That he had, after his Banishment, entered the Kingdom, contrary to his Oath, and without being legally recalled: That, not content with disturbing the quiet of the Land, by an unjust and impious Insurrection against his Sovereign, he had moreover dispossessed him: That he had also demanded Judgment against him, without offering to prove his accusation, or permitting the Party accused to make his defence, contrary to the express Laws of the Realm." He concluded with saying, "That if the wrong done Richard was not capable of moving the Hearts of the English, at least their common and manifest danger ought to stop the course of these violent proceedings."

This Speech produced not the effect the Speaker expected. It was so unreasonable, that, supposing the Majority had been of his mind, it was impossible to recede from what had been done. But most of the Members persisted in the same Maxims they had followed when Richard was deposed. Accordingly, the Bishop reaped no other fruit from his Harangue, than to be confined in the Abbey of St. Albans, from whence however he was shortly after released without farther punishment (2).

The Bishop of Carlisle's opinion being unanimously rejected, the Parliament came, with regard to Richard, to a resolution, seemingly so extraordinary, that there is some reason to suspect, that History is defective in this place. However all the Historians agree, that it was resolved, Richard should be kept in confinement during Life, with a princely allowance: But in case any Person should attempt his deliverance, Richard should be the first Man that should suffer death. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, since his Life was only granted him, on a condition not in his

Power. Besides, such a condition cannot be annexed to the Sentence of a Criminal, but on supposition that he is already condemned.

It is not my business to determine, how far the authority of the Parliament may be extended, with respect to the King's Person. I shall only observe, that this is the second instance of the deposing of a King of England, without hearing his defence, or so much as observing the usual Formalities prescribed by the Law, in the Trial of the meanest Subject. The Parliament which deposed Edward II, was satisfied with decreeing, that he should be kept in safe Custody during Life. But this Parliament, to Richard's deposing, adds the sentence of Death: For no otherwise can the condition be considered, upon which his Life is granted. Let us farther remark, that one of the chief Articles of accusation against this Prince, was his putting to death the Duke of Gloucester his Uncle, without a previous Trial. And yet this same Parliament condemns him unheard, upon his bare Confession, when a Prisoner: not, that he is guilty of the particular crimes laid to his charge, but that he is in his own opinion unworthy to wear the Crown. They are not content with stripping him of his Royalty, but order him to be imprisoned for Life. What do I say? They really condemn him to die, since in seeming to grant him his Life, they add a condition, which probably must soon make him lose it. If in perusing the Reign of Richard II, one can't help detesting the Principles of the Shrewsbury Parliament, which tended to subject the Lives, Honours, and Fortunes of the Nation to the King's Will, what ought we to think of this? By a contrary excess, they put the Life and Honour of the King himself in the power of his Subjects, and refuse the Sovereign a privilege, which every English Subject has a just Right to demand. The examples these two Parliaments afford, are a clear evidence, that the English Constitution can never pretend to that degree of perfection, boasted by some, till the bounds to be prescribed to the Prerogative Royal, and the privileges of Parliament, are precisely determined.

Whilst the two Houses acted in common, and with equal ardour, for the interest of the Prince they had placed on the Throne, the Convocation was sitting in St. Paul's. As the King rightly judged, that, in order to support himself in the Throne, it was absolutely necessary to make the Clergy his Friends, he sent the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to assure them of his protection. The Earls being admitted into the Assembly, said, they were come from the King, not to demand Money, as was customary in the late Reign, but to acquaint the Clergy of the King's resolution to maintain their Privileges and Immunities. Adding, they had Orders to assure the Convocation, that the King was ready to concur with them, in whatever means should be judged proper to extirpate Heresy, and punish obstinate Hereticks. They concluded, with desiring the Clergy's Prayers for the welfare of the King and Kingdom. Nothing was more apt to gain the Hearts of the Ecclesiasticks, than the King's promise with regard to Heresy. The number of the Lollards, which daily increased, gave the Clergy just occasion to fear, that in the end a Reformation might be set on foot, which could not be but very detrimental to their temporal Interests. Accordingly, the assurances the King gave the Convocation, were received with great Demonstrations of Joy and Thankfulness.

Some days after, the Parliament having finished the principal affairs to the King's satisfaction, and, in appearance, with the approbation of the whole Kingdom, was dissolved according to Custom. Prorogations were not then so frequent as since (3).

During the whole Session, Henry had little attended to foreign affairs. Those at home seemed to him of much greater moment, since the business was to settle a Revolution that procured him the Crown. As soon as he found himself free from these first concerns, he thought of means to justify to the other Sovereigns, the late alterations in England. The deposing of a King being odious in it self, and seeming to affect all Princes, it was not easy to persuade them, that a Nation had sufficient reason to use so violent a remedy, to free themselves from Tyranny. Upon this account, Henry dispatched Ambassadors to all the principal Courts of Europe (4), to endeavour to give a plausible colour to Richard's deposition, and his own promotion. He was chiefly concerned to pacify the Court of France, as the only one whose resentment was dange-

(1) If a King is subject to the Law, with regard to the Alienation of the Crown Jewels, why not in other respects? *Rapin*.

(2) He was deprived of his Bishoprick, and had the titular See of Samos conferred on him by the Pope. *Walsing.* p. 364. There is a Writ for the Restitution of the Temporalities of the See of Carlisle, to William Strickland, or Strickland, his Successor, dated November 15, this Year, 1399. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 106.

(3) This Parliament granted the King for three Years the Subsidy of Wools, Skins, and Woolfells, viz. fifty Shillings for every Sack from Denizens, and four Pounds from strangers, one Tenth, and one Fifteenth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 390. In this Parliament King Henry restored the Alien Priories, that had been seized by Edward I. (See above, p. 437.) *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 101, &c.

(4) To the Pope he sent John Trevelyan Bishop of Hereford, Sir John Cheyne, and John Cheyne Esq; To the Kings in Spain, John Trener Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir William Parr. To the Emperor of Germany, the Bishop of Bangor, &c. *Walsing.* p. 362.

F 1399.
rolifart,
l. 4. c. 56.

Proposals to
the Court of
France.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 108,
123.

The Ambaf-
fadors are
coldly re-
ceived.

Disposition
of the other
Courts.

The Gascons
ready to re-
volt.
Froiffart,
l. 4. c. 56.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 110,
&c.

Froiffart,
Ibid.

They are
appeased.

The Scots
take Werk-
Caſtle.
Waiting.

Embaffies to
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 115.

A Negotia-
tion.

Henry tries
to gain the
People's
Affection.

rous (1). He was not ignorant, that *Charles VI* had formed a design to revenge the injury done his Son-in-Law, and that his distemper, into which he was relapsed upon hearing the news, had hindered him from instantly breaking the twenty eight years Truce, made with *England*. *Henry* chose, for Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl of *Worcester* (2), who had Instructions, to propose a perpetual League and Alliance between the two Crowns. Moreover, he ordered them to make overtures for a double Marriage. The first, which he had projected, was between *Henry* his eldest Son, and a Daughter of the *French King*, or one of his Uncles: The second, between his own Daughter and one of the same King's Sons, or nearest Relations. The Ambassadors met with a cold reception in *France*; but, as they had Orders not to obstruct their Negotiation, by standing on Ceremony, they patiently waited till the *French* were grown cooler.

As for the other Courts of *Europe*, *Henry* had no occasion to proceed so cautiously. The Emperor *Wenceslaus*, who was still alive, was a Prince grown stupid with drinking, and withal, like the rest of the *German* Princes, regardless of what passed in *England*. As for the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, they were rather gainers than losers by a Revolution, that advanced their Brother-in-law to the Throne. So, they readily approved, or at least seemed to approve it.

But another affair of more importance created the new King great uneasiness. *Guienne* was going to revolt. Already the *Gascons* publicly talked, of putting themselves under the Dominion of *France*. It was the City of *Bordeaux*, *Richard's* Birth-place, that stirred up the whole Province, prompted by her affection for that unhappy Prince, whose misfortune she lamented. On the other hand, the Court of *France*, watchful to improve these dispositions, had sent the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Guienne*, to inflame these discontents. The famous *Robert Knolles* Governour of that Province, who was no less commendable for his Prudence than Valour, could hardly curb the rebellious Spirit of the *Gascons*. Nay perhaps he would never have accomplished it, had he not been timely assisted by the Earl of *Worcester* (3), who being in Embassy at *Paris*, speedily posted to *Bordeaux*. The moderation and prudent conduct of these two Lords, effected what could scarce have been executed by Force, and at length they had the satisfaction of seeing the commotions appeased.

Henry had moreover upon his hands another affair, which gave him no less disturbance. As he was sensible, that amidst all the Acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be, but that the late Revolution had bred many Male-content, it was his interest to keep Peace with his Neighbours. Accordingly this was his purpose, least a foreign War employing his Forces abroad, he should be unprovided, in case of any sudden Insurrection. Besides, a War would have obliged him to demand Supplies of the Parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his Dominion was more firmly established. These considerations made him extremely uneasy, to hear that the *Scots* had broke the Truce, and taken *Werk Castle* (4). He thought best, however, to take no notice of this insult, till it was more in his power to revenge it. But lest this dissimulation should encourage the King of *Scotland*, he sent Ambassadors to demand satisfaction for this outrage. However, as the *Scots* complained likewise, on their side, of some breach on the part of the *English*, he made use of that pretence to demand a Confirmation of the Truce, by a mutual reparation of the damages the two Nations had done each other. When *Robert* broke the Truce, he imagined *France* would take his part, and that the depositing of *Richard* would raise Commotions in *England*, which he designed to improve. But finding *France* remained quiet, and *England* undisturbed, he did not think fit to push his enterprize further. So, without much Solicitation, he agreed to put his affairs with *Henry* in Negotiation.

Things being thus in a fair way abroad, *Henry* chiefly applied himself to what might contribute to support him on the Throne. Two things were absolutely necessary for that purpose. First, to preserve the affection the People had hitherto expressed for him. Secondly to guard *Richard* so strictly, that it should be impossible for him to make his escape. As to the first, he affected to make himself popular, by showing, upon all occasions, a detesta-

tion of his Predecessor's Tyrannical Government, and a greater concern for the People's interest than for his own. To that end, he ordered all the subscribed Blanks extorted by *Richard* from the Inhabitants of *London*, and the seventeen condemned Counties, to be brought into Chancery and publicly burnt. These Blank Bonds, which were called *Ragmans*, had been filled, not only with the Sums, *Richard* was pleased to exact from the Subscribers, but moreover with an engagement to observe, under certain Penalties, the Statutes of *Shrewsbury* and all the consequent Acts. In burning these Bonds, *Henry's* intent was to insinuate to the People, that he designed not to make an advantage of these extorted engagements, much less to practice the like Methods himself to fill his Coffers.

As for the deposed King, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the Tower of *London*, for fear he should move the compassion of the Citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the Castle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. Some time after, fearing still, that *Richard's* Neighbourhood to *London* would give too frequent occasion to talk of him, he caused him to be removed to *Pontfract Castle* in the North.

This year in *November*, *John the Valiant*, Duke of *Bretagne*, departed this Life in his Capital City. His first Wife was Daughter of *Edward III*, by whom he had no Issue. By his second, *Joan of Navarre*, he left two Sons, of whom *John* the eldest succeeded him, under the Guardianship of the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Oliver de Clifton* (5).

In this manner passed the three first Months of *Henry's* Reign, in a deceitful Calm, followed by violent Storms. It was necessary to enlarge a little on the first events of this Reign, because they serve for Foundation to all the rest.

The year 1400, began with a Conspiracy against the King, from which he was as it were miraculously delivered. Historians somewhat differ concerning the first Author of this Plot, commonly ascribed to the Abbot of *Westminster*. However it is more likely, the Abbot was only the Agent of the Lords Conspirators, and lent them his House for their Meetings. Perhaps he was employed to sound the inclinations of several Persons, according to the direction of Men more powerful than he. However this be, it is agreed, that in his House the Plot was formed, into which came as Heads, the [late] Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Surrey* and *Exeter*, the [late] Earls of *Glocester* and *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, and Sir *Thomas Blunt*. All these Lords had been in great favour with *Richard II*, and were the same Persons to whom the King had left their Honours and Estates, taken from them by the Parliament (6). Among these Conspirators, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was his Brother-in-law, and *Edward de Langley* Duke of *Albemarle* his First-Cousin. Notwithstanding these Relations, and the favours they had all received from the King, they resolved to assassinate him and restore *Richard* to the Throne. The affection shown them by that unfortunate Prince, the desire of revenging their late disgrace, of which they looked upon the King as the principal Author, and perhaps the fear that the pardon granted them was not sincere, concurred to inspire them with this furious resolution. They had drawn into the Plot one *Maudlin* a Domestick of *Richard's* (7), who resembled his Master so perfectly, that many were deceived. The result of their debates was, that the Duke of *Exeter* and *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, should pretend to challenge one another at a Tournament, to be held at *Oxford*, and desire the King to honour it with his presence; and, whilst he should be intent upon the Sight, an opportunity should be taken to murder him. To the end each might know what part he was to act in this Tragedy, they carefully set down all the particulars in writing. Then they transcribed six Copies under their Hands and Seals, of which each of the principal Parties took one. Pursuant to this Plot, the Duke of *Exeter* waited upon the King at *Windſor*, and invited him, as was agreed. The King not mistrusting a Brother-in-law to whom he had just given such signal Marks of his favour, promised to be at *Oxford* on the day appointed. Thus the Conspirators, pleased with this first success of their enterprize, went and prepared to put it in Execution.

(1) The Count de *St. Pol*, and other great Men of that Kingdom, sent him very abusive Letters of Defiance, as the Reader may see in *Monsirelet*, beginning of Vol I.

(2) *Walter Skirlawe*, and *Thomas Percy*.

(3) *Froiffart* says, he was immediately sent from *England*, l. 4. c. 56.

(4) They not only took it, but also razed it to the Ground. Sir *Thomas Gray*, the Governor, was then at the Parliament. *Walsing.* p. 362.

(5) This Year also, on *October 3*, died *Eleanor de Bobun*, Relict of *Thomas of Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*, and was buried in *Westminster Abbey*, where her Tomb is still to be seen. See *Sandford's Geneal. Hist.* p. 231, 232. Their only Son, *Humphrey*, died of the Plague in *Ireland*. *Walsing.* p. 362.

(6) Their new Titles of Duke, Marquis, and Earl, were taken away, with all the Lands, Castles and Manors belonging to the condemned Lords, of whom they were the Accusers.

(7) A Priest, and one of his Chaplains.

1400. Under colour of the pomp and magnificence usual upon such occasions, the Lords Conspirators came to Oxford, with a numerous Train of armed Domesticks, and many other Attendants, who pretended to come only out of curiosity. The Duke of *Albemarle* was the only Person wanting at the Rendezvous. He had a mind first to visit his Father the Duke of *York*, then at his Seat at *Langley* (1), not to communicate the Plot, but upon some other business. Whilst they were at dinner, the Duke of *York* seeing a Paper in his Son's bosom, asked him what it was. The Son confounded at this unexpected question, replied, but with a visible concern, that the Paper contained nothing of moment. But, whether the old Duke had received some dark intimations of the Plot, or his Son's confusion inspired him with the curiosity, he snatched it out of his bosom. This Paper was one of the six Copies signed by the Conspirators. His surprize was extreme, at seeing all the particulars of the Plot. He reproached his Son the more justly, as, besides the blackness of the crime, he had not scrupled to expose his own Father's life, who was bound for his Allegiance. But his reproaches being incapable of remedying the evil, he resolved to prevent it, by acquainting the King with what was come to his knowledge. To that end, he ordered his Horses to be saddled immediately, in order to go himself to *Windfor*, and carry the Paper to the King. The young Duke seeing himself infallibly ruined, if the King was informed of the Conspiracy by any but himself, resolved to be before-hand with his Father. As he was better able than the old Duke to take this journey, he rode another way, and came full speed to *Windfor*. Upon his arrival he cast himself at the King's Feet (2), and discovered the whole Plot. *Henry* was so far from imagining, that the Duke of *Exeter* and the rest of the Conspirators, had plotted against his life, that he believed at first, the Duke of *Albemarle* had invented this accusation, on purpose to ruin them. He told him, if the thing was true, he would pardon him upon his repentance; but if it was a malicious accusation, he should find no favour. The Duke of *York* arriving soon after, put him out of all doubt, by delivering him the Paper taken from his Son. After so convincing a proof, the King no longer questioning the truth, broke off his journey to *Oxford*, where he was to be the next day. However, he resolved to stay at *Windfor*, to see what course the Conspirators would take, when they saw themselves disappointed.

Mean while, the Lords were extremely uneasy at *Oxford*, because the Duke of *Albemarle* was not yet arrived. They had already sent to his House to know the reason of his delay, and were told that he was set out for *Oxford*, but by the way of *Langley*, to visit the Duke his Father. This visit giving them some suspicion, their trouble increased, upon hearing that the King designed not to come to *Oxford*, and had seen the Dukes of *York* and *Albemarle*. Then, no longer doubting that they were discovered, they resolved to accomplish by force, what they could not effect by other means. Accordingly they dressed up *Maudlin* in Royal Robes, and gave out he was *Richard*, who having escaped out of Prison, was come to implore the assistance of his good Subjects (3).

The readiness wherewith People lifted under the banner of the pretended King, plainly shewed, that all had not approved the deposing of *Richard*, though the Parliament acted in the name of the whole Nation. Wherefore, there is nothing more liable to mistake, than judging of the sentiments of the People, by those of their Representatives. The reason is, because the Representatives debating upon matters laid before them, without any instructions from those they represent, their resolves can be considered but as private opinions, though they are of force to bind the People. Upon this account it is, that the People sometimes appeal to arms from the decisions of Parliaments, when thought too prejudicial to the Nation. Of this we have many instances, but particularly in the Reign of *Henry IV.* Though *Richard* was deposed by the Parliament, it appeared, upon several occasions, that the People submitted to the sentence, purely by constraint; since, not only at the time we are speaking

of, but, upon other occasions, they were always ready to run after any counterfeit *Richard* that was presented them.

In a very short time, the Lords Conspirators saw themselves at the head of so formidable an Army, that they thought themselves able to seize the King at *Windfor*. It is said, that in two or three days, their Army consisted of forty thousand Men. With these numerous Troops they began their march to *Windfor*, which lies but thirty miles from *Oxford*, and arrived at break of day (4), in great expectation of surprizing the King. And indeed, *Henry* not imagining they could possibly be so soon in condition to execute such an enterprize, staid at *Windfor* till that very night, and was gone but a few hours before their arrival. His retreat blasting their design, they were in great perplexity. Some were for marching directly to *London*, before the King had time to secure the City. Others affirmed, their business was to go to *Pontfract*, to free *Richard* and set him at their head. This diversity of opinion made them lose in debates, the time they should have spent in action. So the King had leisure to provide for his defence, and assemble an Army of twenty thousand Men. As he did not question but the Male-contents would take the road to *London*, he went and expected them on *Hounslow-heath*, in hopes his Army would daily increase. However, he was reticved, though much inferior, to hazard a battle. This resolution inspired his Troops with courage, and made them imagine, the Male-contents were not so formidable as reported. It was likewise the cause, that many, seeing the King march unconcerned towards his enemies, came and joined him, in order to shew their diligence; which doubtless they would not have done, had he shewn, on this occasion, the least signs of fear or diffidence. At such junctures, the majority of the People, without considering right or justice, generally declare for the side that is most like to succeed.

Mean while, the Conspirators seeing the King able to withstand them, durst not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little capacity, or from a fear of being deserted by their Army, they only thought of avoiding a Battle. Instead of marching to *London* to meet the King, they took the road to *Reading*, and encamped near *Colebrook*, where the young Queen *Isabella* resided (5). Here they resolved to put an end to *Maudlin's* acting the part he had hitherto played, thinking it more proper to spread a report, that *Richard* was in *Yorkshire*, at the head of a hundred thousand Men. Their design was not only to avoid the King, but, in all appearance, to approach *Wales*, from whence they expected assistance, as *Richard* was well-beloved in that Country. Be that as it will, encamping near *Cirencester* (6), the Generals took up their quarters in the Town, whilst the Army lay without. The Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* lodged at one Inn, and the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Glocester* at another. Their little experience causing them to neglect to set Guards at the Gates, the Mayor of the Town, a Man of sense and courage, took advantage of their negligence, to do the King a signal service. He privately drew together in the Night, four hundred Townsmen, and ordering the Gates to be shut, divided his followers into two Companies, and attacked at once the two Inns where the four Generals were lodged. Though these Lords had only their Domesticks with them, they defended themselves the best part of the night. During the conflict, one of their People bethought himself of setting fire to a neighbouring House, imagining the Townsmen would run to extinguish the flames, and thereby give the Lords opportunity to escape. But this Stratagem had a quite contrary effect. The Townsmen, still more incensed by this action, redoubled their efforts, and at length broke open the Inn, defended by the Duke of *Surrey* (7), and the Earl of *Salisbury* (8). These two Lords being much wounded, were, by the Mayor's order, immediately beheaded. On the other hand, the Duke of *Exeter* (9), and the Earl of *Glocester*, perceiving they were no longer able to resist with so few attendants, found means to escape over the Houses, and get out of the Town by the help of some of the Inhabitants. They intended to march

(1) In Hertfordshire.

(2) He pretended very earnest Business with the King, and having caused the Gates to be locked, took the Keys along with him. *Comp. Hist.* p. 278.

(3) They also sent to the King of France for assistance. *Pol. Virg.* See *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8.* p. 123, &c.

(4) January 4. *Walsing.* p. 362.

(5) According to *Walsingham*, the Conspirators (headed by the Earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury*) came to *Windfor* the same Night the King was retired from thence to *London*; and being disappointed in their Design of seizing him, they paid a Visit to Queen *Isabella*, at *Sunning*, and from thence went to *Walsingham*, *Abbingdon*, and *Cirencester*, in their way to *Pontfract*, where they intended to go, and release the late King *Richard*. *Walsing.* p. 362, 363.

(6) And not *Chichester* as some have affirmed. *Ant. Pub. Tom. 8.* p. 89. *Rapin.*

(7) *John de Montacute*. This Lord was a great Favourer of the Lollards. *Walsing.* p. 363.

(8) *Walsingham* affirms, he staid all the while in *London*, to wait for the Issue of his Accomplished Enterprize, p. 363.

1400. the Army into the Town, but upon coming to the Camp, found it deserted. The report the Soldiers had heard, and the fire they had seen in the Town, making them believe the King's Army was there, they had all taken to sudden flight, seized with a panic, which made them see danger where there was really none. So the two Lords, perceiving it out of their power to execute their design, parted, the better to make their escape. But they had the misfortune to be taken (1), and shortly after lost their Heads on the Scaffold. Maudlin was also apprehended (2) as he was flying into Scotland, and condemned to be hanged. The Abbot of Westminster likewise withdrawing, was seized with so violent a fright, that he fell into a fit of the Apoplexy, and died. As for the Bishop of Carlisle, he was taken also, and sentenced to death. But though, out of regard to his Character, the King pardoned him, he was not in a capacity to enjoy the benefit, when the news was brought him. The terror of his punishment made such an impression upon him, that it occasioned his death, when mercy was influencing the King to spare his life.

The other
rascals are like-
wise taken
and executed.

The Bishop of
Carlisle dies
with Fear.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 165.

Tragical
Death of
Richard II.
Walsing.

Fabian.

In all likelihood, the ill success of this Enterprize hastened Richard's end. There is some diversity among the Historians concerning the manner of his death, though all agree, it was unnatural. Some affirm, he was starved to death. Others, pretending to be better informed, relate his death with these circumstances. After the troubles were appeased, by the death of the principal Conspirators, one Sir Piers Exton (3) came to Pontfract, with eight attendants. On the day of his arrival, Richard perceived at Dinner, that the Victuals were not tasted as usual. He asked the reason of the Taster, and upon his telling him that Piers had brought an order from the King, took up a carving Knife, and struck him on the face. Piers coming in, with his eight Attendants, at the noise, Richard found he was a lost Man, and resolving to sell his life dearly, wrung a Pole-Ax out of one of their hands, and defended himself so bravely, that he slew four of them. But at length, standing accidentally near Piers, who was got upon a Chair, the Villain discharged such a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet (4).

Walsing.

Thus died this unfortunate Prince, thirty three years old, of which he had reigned twenty two (5). A melancholy reward for the many signal Services his Father had done England! He was carried to London in a Coffin, with his face uncovered, to be seen of all Persons. His Funeral was solemnized at St. Paul's, the King himself being present. After that, he was carried to Langley Abby, and buried (6) without any ceremony. Henry V. ordered his Body to be removed to Westminster Abby, and laid among his Ancestors (7). Though it was reported all over the Kingdom, that he was murdered, no inquiry was made. This neglect confirmed the People in their belief, that the King was not innocent. And indeed, if Richard died of a natural death, it would have been necessary to undeceive the Publick. But if his life was taken away by violence, it was difficult to do it without the King's knowledge (8).

Though Richard was not beloved whilst he sat on the Throne, his misfortunes failed not to raise the compassion of the very People that were so ready to desert him. It is peculiar to misfortunes, especially to those of Princes, generally to turn hatred into pity. Of this we shall see in the course even of the present Reign several instances.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 223. The English Authors pretend, that Charles VI made great preparations to restore Richard to the Throne. But the History of France does not observe that there were any. p. 138, 144. It is true, there are in the Collection of the Publick Acts several of Henry's Orders relating to the preparations in France, to invade England; but that might be an effect of Henry's Policy, to shew thereby, the necessity of Richard's death. And indeed, the Truce of twenty eight

Truce with
France con-
firmed.

Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 142.

(1) John de Holland, Duke of Exeter, attempted more than once to escape out of England, but was always blown back by contrary Winds. He was at last taken in Flanders, and carried Prisoner first to Ghent, and afterwards to Pleshey Castle; the very Place, from whence by his Counsel and Contrivance, the Duke of Gloucester was enticed away, in order to be sent to Calais, as is related above. In this Town of Pleshey, the said Duke of Exeter was beheaded on September 22. Thomas de Spencer, Earl of Gloucester, was taken at Bristol, and beheaded there. Walsing. p. 363.

(2) He, and one William Ferby, were apprehended in their Flight to Scotland, and being brought to the Tower of London, were hanged and quartered. Ibid.

(3) Called by Rapin Sir Thomas Piers, but he is not so named, as far as can be found, by any other Writer.

(4) This is Fabian's Account. Walsingham says, He fasted himself to death for Grief, at the Murther of the Plot, and died on Feb. 14. p. 363. Stowe says, He was kept fifteen days together in Hunger, Thirst, and Cold, till he died, p. 325. Polydore Vergil says, He was not suffered to touch or taste the Victuals which lay before him. Hector Boethius will have it, That Richard fled in disguise into Scotland, where giving himself up wholly to Contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at Sterling. Perhaps this was true of some counterfeit Richard.

(5) The beautiful Picture of a King sitting, crowned in a Chair of State, at the Upper-end of the Choir in St. Peter's Westminster, is said to be his. Speed, p. 615.

(6) In the Church of the Friars-Precursors at King's Langley in Hertfordshire. Walsing. p. 363.

(7) Henry V. erected for him and his first Queen Ann, a glorious Tomb of grey Marble, on the South-side of the Chapel of the Kings, at the head of Edward III, upon which he their Portraitsures of gilt Copper, with a preposterous Epitaph in Latin.

(8) Sir Piers Exton, instead of being rewarded for this piece of Service, was quite put out of favour, and forced to fly to avoid the Punishment he deserved.

(9) He did him Homage at Newcastle, July 25. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 153.

(10) At Edinburgh, on August 23. Ibidem. p. 156.

(11) The Duke of Gloucestre with the Scots much damage in the Isles of Orkney, and took the greatest part of their Flocks, which they had sent out under the Command of Sir Roger de Grey, to surprise the English Fishmen. Walsing. p. 364.

(12) He is sometimes called Glendordy. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 163; but generally Glendour, p. 181, 201, &c.

years between the two Crowns, was confirmed in May this very year, and all the pretended Motions of France ended only in a Negotiation, to draw from England Queen Isabella, with whom Richard had not consummated his marriage. It was not without reason, that Henry endeavoured to preserve the Truce with France. He had a quarrel with the King of Scotland, which would not suffer him to carry his forces out of the Kingdom. The occasion of the rupture between these two Princes was this:

Robert Stuart King of Scotland, the third of that Name, was desirous to marry Prince David his eldest Son, to a Daughter of George Dunbar, Earl of March. The Earl thinking himself honoured by this alliance, joyfully received the Proposal, and even paid before-hand part of the Portion. However, shortly after, by Intrigues foreign to our purpose, Prince David married a Daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas. Dunbar was extremely mortified at this affront, to which the King added another cause of discontent, by refusing, or delaying to repay the Money he had received. The desire of being revenged, and making the King sensible that he deserved a better treatment, inspired the Earl with a resolution to throw himself into the Arms of the King of England, and do his enemies all possible mischief. To that end, he imparted his design to the Earl of Northumberland, Governor of the northern Counties, who, presently after, sent him a Safe-conduct from the King his Master. Upon receiving this assurance, he repaired to Henry, and had several conferences with him (9). The King of Scotland being sensible, that the Earl of March was contriving some Plot against him in England, sent Ambassadors to Henry to demand the Fugitive, and upon his refusal, proclaimed War against him.

The Cause of
the War
with Scot-
land.
Buchanan.

Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 131,
133, 149,
153.

Henry not thinking fit to expect his enemy in England, prepared to carry the War into Scotland. As soon as his Enemy was ready to march, he came to Newcastle, and sent Robert a Summons to appear in Person (10), and do Homage for the Kingdom of Scotland. In the Summons, he revived the pretensions of Edward I. to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, from the time of Lochnus Son of Brutus, first pretended King of the whole Island of Albion. Upon Robert's refusal to do any such Homage, Henry entered Scotland, and made some progress. Towards the end of September, he besieged the Castle of Edinburgh, defended by Prince David and the Earl of Douglas his Brother-in-law. But the season being too far advanced to continue the Siege, he suddenly raised it, and retired into his own Dominions. As soon as he was gone, the Scots, under the Conduct of Sir Patrick Hepburn and Sir Thomas Haliburton, made an inroad into England, and cruelly revenged the Ravages committed by the English in Scotland. But in their return, they were met by the Earl of Northumberland, who defeated and stripped them of their booty. Hepburn, one of the Scotch Generals, was slain in the action (11). This victory procured between the two Nations a six weeks Truce, which was afterwards prolonged, by reason of the posture of Henry's affairs. Hardly had he begun the War with Scotland, when he received certain advice, that the Welsh were about to revolt, and intended to raise commotions in their Country, which could not but be attended with fatal consequences. This was the reason, that notwithstanding his success against the Scots, he would not improve his advantages, for fear of exasperating them too much. Buchanan himself gives this Testimony, ascribing to his Generosity what was entirely owing to his Policy; for the motions of the Welsh had rendered a Peace with Scotland absolutely necessary.

Henry
marches into
Scotland.
Walsing.
Buchanan.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 146,
154, 155,
157.

He besieges
Edinburgh.

Raises the
Siege.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land, and
are defeated.
Ib. p. 162.

The Welsh, who, since the Reign of Edward I. were subject, or rather united to England, believed they could improve the present juncture, to recover their former State. Owen Glendour, or Glendourdy, as he is always called in the Collection of the Publick Acts (12), was the

Truce be-
tween the
two King-
doms.
Ib. p. 166,
167, 185.

Revolt of the
Welsh under
Glendour.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 159,
163.
Walsing.

1400. Person that inspired them with this design. This Man, though a private Gentleman only, had all the Qualities proper for such an undertaking; if Forces so little considerable as those of the *Welsh* could have promised him a happy success. Nevertheless, he so managed this project, that for several Years he freed his Countrymen from the servitude, wherein they thought themselves kept by the *English*. A Law-Suit he had lost at *London* with the Lord Grey of *Ruthin*, his Neighbour, was the first occasion of the disgust he conceived against the whole *English* Nation (1). The Conspiracy before spoken of, breaking out in *England* at this very time, *Glendour*, not doubting it would cause great disturbances, thought it a favorable juncture, to deliver his Country from the *English* Dominion. He privately founded the *Welshmen*, and finding them very inclinable to receive his impressions, he easily persuaded them to resolve to throw off the *English* Yoke. He would have immediately discovered his designs, if the ill success of the *English* Conspiracy had not restrained him. The moment he saw the King engaged in the War with *Scotland*, he prepared to execute his project; and so ordered it, that the *Welsh* unanimously renouncing their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*, acknowledged him for Sovereign. From thenceforward he always styled himself Prince of *Wales*, as appears in several Acts.

Act Pub.
VIII. p. 156,
367, 382.

His first exploit was against the Lord Grey his adversary, whom he took Prisoner in a Battle, and then made him marry his Daughter, without giving him his Liberty, contrary to his word.

Glendour
takes the
Earl of
March
Prisoner.
Walsing.

Emboldened with this first success he made an incursion into *Herefordshire*. *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was retired to his Lordship of *Wigmore*, finding the King was employed in *Scotland*, thought to do him a signal Service, by drawing together the Gentry of the Country, in order to stop the progress of the Rebel. But he had the misfortune to be taken Prisoner in a Battle, and though he offered a large ransom, could not obtain his liberty. *Glendour* imagined, a Prisoner of that consequence might be of use hereafter, or at least that the King would spare nothing for his deliverance; and therefore it would be more advantageous to treat with the King, than with the Prisoner himself. But he was mistaken in his conjecture. *Henry* was too well pleased, to see the Earl of *March* a Prisoner, and unable to hurt him, to contribute towards his release. *Glendour*, however, still kept his Prisoner, in expectation that, by his means, he should one day be able to give the King some disturbance, as it actually happened. The Earl was not afterwards sorry for being in the hands of the *Welsh*. *Henry's* jealousy of every thing relating to his Crown, and his severity to those that would dispute it with him, made the Captive Earl sensible, that his Life was safer in Prison than at his own House. Mean while, the King being busied in a *Scotch* War, *Glendour* had sufficient time to ravage the Country on the West of the *Severn*, and carry away a great Booty.

The Emperor
of Constantinople
arrives in
England.
Walsing.

About the end of this Year, *Manuel Palæologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, arrived in *England*, to desire assistance against *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*. The King received, and presented him honourably, but as for assistance, put him off till his affairs were better settled in his own Kingdom. The Emperor went from *England* into *France*, from whence he departed not till two Years after, upon News that *Bajazet* his Enemy was vanquished and taken Prisoner by *Tamerlane*.

1401.
Statutes in
Church-
Affairs.
Cotton's
Abridg.

On the 20th of *January* 1401, *Henry* assembled a Parliament, which passed several Acts, with relation to the Church. The first confirmed the Statutes made in the Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*, against such as solicited for papal Provisions (2), or carried to the Ecclesiastical Courts, Causes belonging to the Cognizance of the Judges of the Realm. This was the old subject of Quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. Whatever rigour was used to stop the course of these abuses, it was not possible, because it was the interest of too many to countenance the pretended Prerogatives of the Pope. But how-

ever this Parliament, considering the Pope still continued to engross the Collations of all the Church-Preferments of the Kingdom, and that the Ecclesiastical Courts were perpetually encroaching upon the Civil, resolved at last to oppose it effectually. For that purpose was revived the old Statute of *Provisors* in the Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*, commonly known by the name of *Præmunire*. As this Term often occurs in the *English* History, it will not be improper to explain it. By *Præmunire* then is meant, either the Statute itself, or the Penalty. Former Parliaments, led by the same Motive as this, had ordained punishments against the *Provisors*, that is, against such as sued for Bulls, called *Provisories* or *Gratiæ Expectative*, to the Court of *Rome*, for Benefices, that were, or should be, vacant. The same Punishments were ordained against those, that carried to the Ecclesiastical Courts what belonged to the Civil. When any Person was guilty of this sort of crime, a Writ or Order was issued against him, beginning with these Words, *Præmunire facias*, whereby he was commanded to appear in the King's Court. Hence the Statute, as well as the Penalty, were called *Præmunire* (3). This Penalty consisted in forfeiture of Lands, and Goods, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure. In process of time, several other offences of a like nature, with those that were the first cause of the Statute, were made liable to the same Penalty. So all the Statutes of *Præmunire*, are only enlargements of those made in the Reigns of *Edward III* and *Richard II*. In general, the *Præmunire*, chiefly concerns offences committed in matters Ecclesiastical, belonging to the Civil Jurisdiction.

The Clergy were always so intent upon favouring the pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, that the endeavours of the former Parliaments had been incapable to stop the course of this abuse. The Statute I have just mentioned, was but little more effectual. The attempt, last year, to dethrone the King, giving him occasion to fear the like Conspiracies for the future, he had resolved to shew great regard for the Clergy, in order to attach them to his interest. Accordingly, though he did not think proper to refuse his assent to the new Statute, he connived however at the breach of it, as much, or more, than any of his Predecessors. But this was not the only thing he did to gain the affection of the Clergy. His condescension for them in another Article, of no less importance, drew on him the blessings of the Ecclesiasticks, and caused him to be considered by the whole Body, as a Prince exceeding zealous for the Church.

Since *Wickliff* first published his opinions, about the end of the Reign of *Edward III*, this Doctrine was so spread, that the Clergy were in continual apprehensions of its prevailing. I have already related, that, in the Reign of *Richard II*, the Bishops obtained a general License to imprison Hereticks, without being obliged to have a particular Order from the Court; but that the House of Commons caused it to be revoked. From that time there was no alteration, except that the King more frequently granted such Orders. However, as the Penalty of Imprisonment was not capable to check the pretended Evil, dreaded by the Bishops, *Henry*, ever proposing to gain the affection of the Ecclesiasticks, earnestly recommended to the Parliament the care of the Church's concerns. How reluctant soever the House of Commons might be to prosecute the *Lollards*, the credit of the Court and cabals of the Clergy, obtained at length an Act for the burning of obstinate Hereticks (4). This Statute was no sooner passed, but the Ecclesiastical Court immediately condemned one *William Sawtre* (5) a *Lollard*, who being delivered over to the secular Arm, was burnt alive by virtue of the King's Writ (6) directed to the Mayor (7) of *London*. This Man was the first who suffered death in *England*, for the sake of Religion. During this Session several Acts were likewise passed (8) concerning the Disputes between the *English* and the Court of *Rome*, which I shall have occasion to speak of elsewhere (9).

A Lollard
burnt.
Act. Pub.
VIII p. 178.

(1) He was brought up at the Inns of Court in *London*, and was, it seems, King *Richard's* Esquire: But in *Henry's* time he retired to his Manor of *Glendourdy*, where he had a Dispute with *Reginald* Lord Grey, for having entered upon Part of a Common lying between *Ruthin* and *Glanaradly*. *Walsing.* p. 364.

(2) And made all those religious Persons that accepted Provisions granted to the Pope, to be exempt from Obedience, to be within the Statute of *Provisors*.

(3) Supposed to be used in the barbarous Law Latin, instead of *Præmunere*.

(4) By this Act it was ordained, "That no Person should presume to preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any Book contrary to the Catholic Faith, or Determination of the Holy Church; or of any Sect make Conventicles, or hold and exercise Schools. And if any Person, of whatsoever kind or estate, do any thing against this Statute, or is evidently suspected thereof, his Diocesan may cause him to be arrested, and under safe Custody in his Prison to be detained, till he purges himself, and abjures. And if any Person or Persons refuse to abjure, or, after legal Conviction and Abjuration, do relapse, then the Sheriff of the County, or the Mayor, or Bailiffs of the Place to which the Party belongs, shall be present in preferring Sentence, when required by their Diocesan, or his Commissaries; and after Promulgation of the Sentence, receive, and do, (or cause) them to be burnt before the People in an high Place." *Rajnal's statutes*, Anno 2. Hen. IV. This bloody Statute stood unrepealed till the Year 1677.

(5) Parish Priest of *St. Othib* in *London*.

(6) Writ de *Hæretico Comburendo*.

(7) To the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, Feb. 26. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 8. p. 178.

(8) Particularly one forbidding People's carrying Gold or Silver out of the Realm, except for their reasonable Expences, upon pain of forfeiture.

(9) This Parliament granted the King one Tenth and a Fifteenth, two Shillings of every Tun of Wine, and Eight-pence of every Pound of Merchandize. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 403.

1401. Since the Truce with France was confirmed, Charles VI, or rather the Duke of Orleans his Brother, and the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy his Uncles, who governed in his name, often demanded the young Queen Isabella Widow of Richard II. Henry deferred giving a positive Answer, not that the demand was unjust; but two reasons made him desirous of keeping that Princess. First, as he could not help dreading a War with France, he wanted to make a firm and lasting Peace with Charles VI, to which he believed the Marriage of Isabella with the Prince his Son would greatly contribute. To that end, before he returned a positive answer to the Court of France, he frequently proposed that Marriage. But neither Charles's Brother nor Uncles would ever consent to it, not being able to think of marrying the young Queen to a Prince, whose Father was generally reckoned the Murderer of her first Husband. They alledged, however, another reason for declining it, namely, That her Father not being in condition to manage his affairs, they durst not treat of his Daughter's Marriage without his consent. A second reason why Henry deferred Isabella's

Restitution was, because he knew the Money, Richard received with her, would be demanded. However, as he had no plausible pretence to detain her, he consented at last to restore her with part of her Jewels. He managed so artfully, that in the Conventions made at Lelingham, there was no mention of restoring her Treasure. That was the Subject of another Negotiation, spoken of hereafter.

Whilst this affair was transacting, Henry had in Germany another Negotiation on foot, about a Marriage between Blanch his eldest Daughter, and Lewis of Bavaria, Grandson of Robert Earl Palatin of the Rhine, who was lately advanced to the Imperial Throne, vacant by the death of Henry of Brunswick Successor of Wenceslaus. This affair was concluded in May, to the King's great satisfaction. The Princess's portion was forty thousand Pounds Sterling (1). At the same time, a Treaty of perpetual Alliance was made between the Emperor and Henry.

Since the revolt of the Welsh, Henry had made no preparations to reduce them to obedience. Mean while Glendour, taking advantage of this negligence, continued to ravage the Counties bordering upon Wales. Far from dreading the King's just indignation, he studied to provoke him by continual insults. Henry's indolence appeared strange to many People, because they were ignorant of the reason. Before he took up Arms against the Welsh, he was desirous of finishing his affairs with France, and even intended to make a strict Alliance with that Crown. As he knew the Rebels could have no assistance but from thence, he believed, if he could deprive them of that protection, they would not be able to support themselves long. Mean time, the Negotiation with France proceeding more slowly than he wished, and Glendour still continuing to infest his borders, he could no longer delay taking up arms. Before he put himself at the head of his Army (2), he published a general Pardon for the Welsh, provided they submitted within a certain time. But finding his clemency ineffectual, he marched to chastise them. Upon his approach, Glendour withdrew to the Mountains, where it was impossible to attack him. All the King could do, was to ravage the Country, and then return to London.

The King's return to his Metropolis was immediately followed by the discovery of a Plot against his Life, by the means of an Iron Instrument, with three sharp Spikes placed in his Bed. Had he chanced to lie down, he must inevitably have been run through the Body, but by good Fortune, he perceived it just as he was going into Bed. What inquiry soever was made, there was no possibility of discovering the Author of this traitorous attempt.

It was this and not the last year (3), as some affirm, that Edmund, Duke of York, the King's Uncle, died. He left two Sons, Edmund Duke of Albemarle, who took the Title of Duke of York, and Richard Earl of Cambridge. I shall have frequent occasion hereafter, to speak of the Posterity of the younger, who, by his Marriage with a Sister of the Earl of March, acquired to his Issue, Rights which caused such terrible Commotions in the Kingdom.

In the beginning of the next year, the King by his sole Authority, and without the intervention of the Par-

liament (4), laid a Tax for the Marriage of his Daughter. Though herein he had acted by virtue of an ancient Privilege of the Kings on the like occasions, the People however seemed dissatisfied. There were not wanting in the Kingdom Persons, who laid hold of every thing to find fault with his Conduct. About the middle of the Year he had reason to perceive, there was still a dangerous Ferment among his Subjects, and if the Male-Contents remained quiet, it was only in expectation of a favorable opportunity to rise. On a sudden, an unexpected rumour was spread over England, that Richard was alive, and had levied an Army in Scotland, in order to expel the Usurper. The People must needs have wished the news true, since it every where met with such credit. At the same time, on Church-Doors, and in other publick Places, Papers were posted up, containing outrageous invectives against the King. The Authors of these Papers asserted, among other things, that the crimes for which Richard was deposed, were nothing in comparison of the tyrannical proceedings of Henry, since his Accession to the Throne. The King was so provoked at this audaciousness, that he swore never to pardon the offenders. Sir Roger Clarendon, natural Son of Edward the renowned Prince of Wales, fell the first sacrifice to his Vengeance, being condemned to the ingnomious Death of a Traitor. Eight Monks guilty of the same crime, were also hanged with him. Walter Baldock Prior of Laund (5), underwent the same fate, with a Franciscan Doctor in Divinity, who was hanged in his Frier's Habit, to the great mortification of his Fraternity (6). Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the Papers of a certain Priest, a List of the names of those, that declared Richard was alive. But upon strict examination, it appeared he had made that List, on purpose to make the news the more probable, or upon groundless Conjectures. So, he suffered alone the punishment of his rashness. The King's great severity upon this occasion, contributed very much to efface the good opinion conceived of his Clemency and Humanity.

Whilst these things passed in England, Henry was negotiating in foreign Courts, three Marriages at once. The first was between Philippa his second Daughter, and Eric King of Denmark, who was yet a Minor, under the Guardianship of Queen Margaret his Mother. The second was between the Prince of Wales, and a Sister of Eric's. And the third was his own, with Joanna of Navarre, Widow of the Duke of Bretagne. Of these three Marriages, the first and last were concluded this same year, but the Prince of Wales's did not succeed.

Henry, in resolving to espouse the Duchess Dowager of Bretagne, had probably an Eye, by virtue of this Marriage, to the Guardianship of the three Princes, which the late Duke of Bretagne had left under Age. At least the Court of France, taking it for granted, appeared very much alarmed at this Alliance, which might be very prejudicial to them. This was the reason that the Duke of Burgundy, Guardian of the young Princes, took them from the Duchess their Mother, and carried them to Paris, where they were educated. By this means, the Court of France had the direction of the affairs of Bretagne, during the young Duke's Minority. If it be true, that Henry had an Eye to Bretagne, he not only was disappointed, but drew upon himself fresh Enemies. During the whole time the new Duke was in France, the Bretons scarce ever ceased infesting the Coasts of England, though there was no War proclaimed between their Sovereign and Henry. The King's Marriage was not consummated till the year following.

These Negotiations being ended, Henry prepared in good earnest to chastise the Welsh. To that end, he drew together a numerous Army, and heading them in Person, advanced towards Wales. Upon his approach, Glendour retired to the Mountains of Snowdon, where he knew there was no possibility of attacking him. Mean time, the King was preparing to ravage the Country; but the Weather became on a sudden so tempestuous, that he was forced to retire. The storms were so uncommon for the Season, that the English fancied Glendour had made a contract with the Devil, to prevent the destruction of his Country.

Whilst the King was employed in those Parts, the Scots under the Command of Hepburne, Son of him slain two years before, made an irruption into England, and advanced as far as New-Castle. The Earl of Northumber-

1402.

A Rumour of Richard's being alive. lb. p. 255, 261, 262. Writings against the King. Walsing.

He punishes the Authors.

Marriage of the King with Joanna of Navarre. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 257, 259, 265, 280, 281, 283.

The Court of France get in their Power the Person of the young Duke of Bretagne.

Expedition of the King into Wales. lb. p. 264, 271. Walsing.

The Scots invade England. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 272, 257.

(1) Forty thousand Nobles.-----XII. M. Nobilium Cunei Anglie.-----Rymer's Fed. Tom. 8. p. 179, 206.

(2) Which was in October. Ibidem. p. 225.

(3) Sandford says, it was August 1, 1402. He was buried in Langley Abbey in Hertfordshire. Sandford, p. 377. Walsing. Ypodig. p. 558.

(4) Here Mr. Rapin is mistaken. King Henry levied this Aid, not by his sole Authority, but by virtue, and in consequence, of the Act made in 25 Edw. III. which empowers the King to levy a reasonable Subsidy, to marry his eldest Daughter; and he raised it according to the Rate set down in that Act; i. e. he took of every Knight's Fee, immediately holden of the King, twenty Shillings; and the same Sum of every twenty Pounds in Land, immediately holden of the King in Socage. See the Statutes, and Rymer's Fed. Tom. 8. p. 232; and Rapin above, p. 258.

(5) In Leicestershire.

(6) He being asked what he would have done, if King Richard had been living, and in the Field; boldly replied, he would have ventured his Life for him against any Person whatever. Upon which he was hanged and drawn in his Habit. Walsing. p. 365, 557.

1402. *land, General of the North, was unprepared to repulse the Invasion. But afterwards assembling a great Body of Troops, whilst they continued their ravages, he went and expected them at Nisbet, where he attacked and defeated them, seizing all their Booty. The Scotch General lost his life in the action.*

These Troops were properly but the Vanguard of an Army, with which the Earl of Douglas was advancing to make a more considerable effort. Upon news of Hepburne's defeat, he hastened his march into England, to fight the Earl of Northumberland, who being too weak to venture a Battle, was forced to retire, and leave the borders exposed to his ravages. Mean while, he laboured without ceasing to augment his Army, and as soon as he was able to withstand him, marched in quest of him, attended by Henry Hotspur his Son, who was reckoned the bravest Man in England. The two Armies meeting at Halidown-Hill (1), a bloody battle ensued, wherein the English were entirely victorious. The Scotch General lost an eye, and fell into the hands of the Conquerors, with the Earl of Fife, Nephew of the King of Scotland, the Earls of Angus, Athol, Monteith, and a great number of other Officers of distinction. According to the English Historians, this battle was fought in July, about a month after the former. Buchanan places it among the occurrences of the year 1401, but in this he is certainly mistaken.

During the whole Summer, the Ambassadors of France and England continued at Lelingham, on account of the Truce which had been violated, particularly in Guienne. The French Historians cast the blame upon England, and the English upon France; but we are not obliged to believe either on their bare word. In cases of this nature, the Historians of both Nations generally contradict one another, with mutual reproaches of partiality. Their honour, it seems, is concerned, to maintain upon all occasions the Faith and Sincerity of their respective Sovereigns. Be this as it will, the circumstances of the two Kings had for some time past been such, that it could be to neither's advantage to renew the War. Henry believed the Welsh, and the Male-contents in England, could procure no assistance but from France alone, which he thought to prevent by means of the Truce, but was mistaken. On the other hand, King Charles's distemper, and the divisions in his Court and Council, promised the French no hopes of any great success of their Arms. So, the Truce was again confirmed, without examining too strictly, by which side it was first violated.

This affair being settled, the French Ambassadors demanded the restitution of what King Richard had received with his Queen. Henry, who foresaw this Demand, had instructed his Ambassadors what answer to make. They pretended to be surprized at this proposal, and said, they had no orders about it. However, they added, as of themselves, that they did not question, that, for the preservation of a good understanding between the two Crowns, their master would agree to deduct that Sum out of the Million and half of Crowns, still due to England, for the ransom of King John. This pretension did not a little surprize the French Plenipotentiaries, who having no instructions upon that head, deferred their answer, till they knew their Master's pleasure.

The Parliament that met in October (2), granted the King a Subsidy, and then confirmed divers Statutes, made in the Reign of Edward III, in favour of the Clergy (3). The Session ended with a Petition to the King, recommending to him the concerns of the Scotch Earl of March, who had done the State considerable services, since his putting himself under the protection of England (4).

The new Queen being arrived in England, in February 1403, the King received her at Winchester, where the Marriage was consummated (5). After which, she was solemnly crowned at London (6).

Whilst the Court was wholly taken up with entertainments and diversions, the King received intelligence, that the French were going to make a descent in the Isle of Wight, under the conduct of Waleran, Earl of St. Pol, of the House of Luxemburg. This Earl having married a half Sister of Richard II, pretended to act in his own name, to revenge the death of the King his Brother-in-law. The Court of France connived at the undertaking, and even furnished the Earl with Troops, as if it were no prejudice to the Truce. Mean time, this Bravado was

unsuccessful to the Earl of St. Pol. After plundering some Villages, he was dishonourably forced to re-embark, though the Inhabitants of the Isle had received no assistance. Henry complained to the Court of France of this Invasion, but could get no other answer, Than that it was the King of France's intention to keep the Truce. Had he not been resolved to avoid a rupture, the Earl of St. Pol's attempt would have afforded him a very just reason to renew the War. But as he was sensible, the Kingdom abounded with Male-contents, he would not give occasion to France openly to support them. On the contrary, by preserving the Truce with that Crown, he meant to deprive them of the hopes of being assisted. So, taking no farther notice of the Insult, he was contented with obtaining of the Court of France a fresh confirmation of the Truce.

They who governed for King Charles were not ignorant of Henry's resolution, which induced them to have the less regard for him. This very year the Duke of Orleans sent him a Challenge to fight, either in single Combat, or with a hundred Knights on each side. The reason of this Challenge is not mentioned by the English Historians, and the French alledge no other, than the Duke of Orleans's desire to revenge the death of Richard II. Very likely, it was only a folly of the young Duke's, to signalize himself, by sending a Challenge to a King of England; but he was not pleased with the answer. Henry intimated, that there was a great distance between a King, and any Subject whatever, and therefore he could not accept his Challenge; but they might happen to meet in a place, where being both attended with a more numerous Train than what he proposed, they might measure Swords with one another. This answer drew from the Duke of Orleans a very reproachful reply, wherein he called him Traitor, Usurper, Murderer of his King. Henry sent him a no less abusive answer, giving him the Lie in form, and charging him with using Sorcery, to throw his Father into his present distemper. Mean while, he sent to know of the French Ambassadors, who were still with his at Lelingham, whether this Challenge was approved by the King their Master; if no satisfaction, he considered it as an open rupture. But though the Ambassadors were frequently called upon to return a positive answer, it was not possible to oblige them to speak plainly. They only affirmed, their Master had not broke the Truce, nor intended to break it for the future. In fine, as the English pressed them for a Declaration, from those that governed in Charles's name during his illness, they plainly told them, whether the King continued out of order, or recovered his health, no other answer was to be expected. Henry considering this silence as a disavowing, or rather thinking proper to dissemble, for reasons already mentioned, was contented with this slight satisfaction.

During the Congress, the French Ambassadors moved again the restitution of Isabella's Portion. On the other hand, the English Plenipotentiaries demanded the residue of King John's ransom, and endeavoured to evade the demand of the French, by alledging, that their Master not receiving Isabella's Dowry, was not obliged to repay it. But they thereby furnished their Adversaries with as just a pretence, to say in their turn, that neither was their Master under any engagement to Henry, concerning King John's ransom. However, as Henry demanded the arrears of the ransom, only to be excused paying the Dowry, he had his ends, and the affair rested there.

Whilst the Ambassadors of the two Crowns were employed in these mutual Cavils, matters of much greater moment to Henry passed in England. Nothing less than his Crown was at stake. From the beginning of his Reign, to the Victory over the Scots at Halidown-Hill, no Lord was in greater favour with the King, than the Earl of Northumberland. As it was properly by the speedy junction of that Earl with Henry, at his landing in England, that his Affairs were so successful, the King had all along retained a very grateful Sense of it. The Government of the northern Counties, the Office of High-Constable, the Grant of the Isle of Man, and several other favours, were plain indications of his esteem for the Earl, who, on his part, had always appeared very zealous for his Service. The last year he had gained over the Scots two Victories, the latter of which had disabled them from giving his Master any fresh disturbance. This was a signal Service, but, besides the fore-mentioned Fa-

1403.

Henry takes no notice of it.

The Duke of Orleans challenges him. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 142.

Henry complains of it, but receives no satisfaction.

Debate about Isabella's Portion. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 315 ---- 318.

Quarrel between the King and Earl of Northumberland. Walling.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 289.

(1) In Northumberland, on May 7. (Buchan. l. 10.) About ten thousand Scots were slain.

(2) This Parliament met at Westminster on September 30; and, on November 25, granted the King the Subsidy of Wools, Wool-fells, and Skins, for three Years: three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, Twelve pence of every Pound of Merchandise, one Tenth, and one Fifteenth. Cotton's Abridg. p. 418. Walling. p. 367.

(3) Namely, That a Clerk convicted for Treason, or being a common Thief, shall not make his Purgation: That in Appropriations of Benefices, there shall be a Provision made for the Vicar, &c.

(4) The Earl petitioned, that such of his Lands in Scotland as were conquered by the English, might be restored to him. Cotton's Abridg. p. 418.

(5) On February 7.

(6) February 26.

1403.

vours, the King had rewarded him with the Grants of certain Lands (1). Nothing therefore seemed capable of breaking the correspondency between the Earl's services, and the King's favours. And yet an affair of Interest bred such a quarrel, that these happy dispositions were suddenly altered. The occasion of their difference was this.

A.C. Pub.
VIII.p.2-8.

I before observed, that the Earl of *Northumberland* had, in the battle of *Halidown*, taken several Prisoners of great Quality. The King believing these Prisoners belonged to him, did not think fit to leave them in the Earl's disposal. Perhaps his design was to raise a large ransom, or else, by their means, to procure an advantageous Peace with *Scotland*. Be that as it will, immediately after the battle, he sent an express Order to the Earl, to release none of his Prisoners. This Order was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his hands. The Earl, who expected the benefit of their ransom, forthwith repaired to Court, and prayed the King to leave the Prisoners at his disposal; but had the mortification to be denied. He exclaimed against the injustice that was done him, and spoke to the King a little too haughtily. The reproaches he let fall on this occasion, so displeased *Henry*, that he no longer looked upon him with the same eye as formerly. This coolness was carried so far, that when the Earl would have spoke with the King, he was denied admittance. This alteration could not but exasperate the Earl, who thought his Services deserved a different treatment. As he was naturally very haughty, he could not bear this contempt, without seeking occasion to be revenged. He had, as may be said, placed the King on the Throne, and thought himself powerful enough to pull him down. This was the result of several conferences with *Henry Hotspur* his Son, the Earl of *Worcester* his Brother (2), and some other Lords. Their aim was, to set the Crown on the head of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, (still a Prisoner in *Wales*,) not out of affection for that Prince, but because there was not a plausible pretence to gain the People to their Interest. Pursuant to this resolution, they dispatched secret Agents to *Glendour* and *Mortimer*, to persuade them to come into their Plot. *Glendour* promised to employ all his forces to accomplish it. As for the Earl of *March*, he very readily lent his name for the execution of a Project tending to place him on the Throne. But that all three might find their advantage in it, it was agreed, that the Earl of *March* should take possession of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Northumberland* hold all the Country lying North of the *Trent*, on condition of Homage to the Crown, and *Glendour* enjoy all the Counties West of the *Severn*. The project being thus formed, the Earl of *Northumberland* feigned, for some time, to forget the occasion of disgust given him by the King. He even came to Court, where he took occasion to represent to the King, that the Earl of *March* having lost his liberty in his service, it was but reasonable he should pay his ransom to *Glendour*. This Remonstrance was taken very ill. *Henry* was too well pleased with the Earl's being in the hands of the *Welsh*, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to contribute to his Deliverance. He replied therefore, with some signs of anger, that the Earl having marched against the Rebels, of his own accord, and with the sole view of saving his Lands from plunder, it was his business to get out of captivity as well as he could: That, for his part, he did not think himself obliged to procure his liberty, much less to pay his ransom. The Earl was not surprized at this expected refusal. His intent was only to render remarkable the King's Cruelty to the Earl of *March*, and thereby insinuate, he must needs be convinced of the justice of the Prisoner's Title to the Crown, since he dreading to see him at liberty. This denial making no alteration in the Project of the Confederates, the Earl of *Northumberland* retired into the North, where he privately secured some Troops, who were to be in Arms upon the first notice. Then he settled a Correspondence with some *Scotch* Lords, who engaged to assist him. He likewise released several *Scotch* Prisoners, that were yet in his power, upon their promising to levy Troops for his service. At the same time *Glendour* was making extraordinary preparations, which coming to the King's ears, obliged him to be upon his

The Earl of
Northum-
berland pro-
jects the de-
throning of
the King.
A.C. Pub.
VIII.p.313,
319.Leagues
with Glen-
dour and
Mortimer.
Walsing.Terms of
their League.The Earl of
Northum-
berland fol-
lows the
King to re-
deem Mor-
timer.The King
refuses.The Earl
pushes the
Execution of
his Project.

guard, though he knew not for what they were intended. 1403.

As soon as the Confederates were ready, the three *Percies* suddenly appeared in Arms in the North. Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland* falling ill, his Brother and Son marched with his Troops to join the *Welsh*, who were advanced as far as *Shropshire*. When the two Armies were joined, the Male-contents published a Manifesto, setting forth, That the King treated his Subjects with intolerable tyranny: That none but the Clergy had access to him, and the greatest Lords could not be admitted into his presence, unless introduced by some Bishop: That moreover, he converted to his own use, the Subsidies granted by the Parliament for the publick occasions. They likewise spread a report that *Richard II.* was alive, and at *Chester* with a Body of Troops, ready to join them. *The Male-contents raise up Arms. Walsing.*

Henry, who had received no intelligence of their designs, was extremely surprized at the news of this Rebellion. But as he had fortunately an Army quite ready, designed against the *Welsh*, he shewed no concern. However, as he was apprehensive, the Rebels Manifesto might poison the People, he believed he ought before all things to efface these impressions, by an answer published by way of Proclamation. He cleared himself from the two principal Articles of the Manifesto, first by denying he had ever refused to admit into his presence the very meanest of his Subjects, much less any of the Nobility; and called his whole Court to witness. As for the Subsidies granted by Parliament, he affirmed, most part of the Money was paid on account of the *Scotch* War, to the Earl of *Northumberland* himself, as he could prove by his own Receipts. *The King vindicates himself in a Proclamation. Walsing.*

After publishing his answer, he marched (3) towards the Rebels (4), who were encamped at *Shrewsbury*. When the two Armies were in fight, and ready to engage, he seemed to dread the issue. His uneasiness caused him to offer such advantageous Terms to the Male-contents, that *Henry Percy* being moved by them, desired the Earl of *Worcester* his Uncle to wait on the King, and endeavour to procure an agreement. It is said, that in the Conference with this Earl, the King made such Concessions in favour of the Male-contents, that they would have had reason to be satisfied, had not the Earl of *Worcester* falsely intimated there was nothing to be expected (5). However this be, the Negotiation proving ineffectual, the Battle began. The King had at first so great a disadvantage, that he was like to be entirely defeated. He had even his Horse killed under him, and the Prince of *Wales* his Son was wounded in the face. But he so seasonably called in his body of reserve, that by their help he recovered his ground, and inspired his Troops with fresh courage. From that moment, the face of the Battle was entirely changed, to the disadvantage of the Male-contents. The King's last charge putting their Army in disorder, they were so briskly pushed, that *Henry* obtained in the end a complete Victory (6). Young *Percy* was slain, and buried, after the battle, with the King's leave. But afterwards, altering his mind, the King ordered his Body to be taken up, quartered, and fixed on Poles in the High-ways. The Earl of *Worcester* being taken Prisoner, was beheaded, and his Head set up over *London* Bridge (7). *The Battle of Shrewsbury. Walsing.*

Mean time the Earl of *Northumberland* being recovered, was advancing with a body of Troops to reinforce the Army of the Male-contents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his Son's and Brother's misfortune, he dismissed his Troops, not daring to keep the Field with so few forces, before a victorious Army. Mean while, the King was marching towards the North, well knowing the center of Rebellion was there, by reason of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s great interest in those parts. When he came to *York*, he took all imaginable care to secure the fidelity of the northern Counties, as well by the Oath of the Inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper (8). When he thought he had taken just measures to prevent an insurrection, he summoned the Earl of *Northumberland* to appear before him. He promised him an absolute Pardon, in case he obeyed without delay, but threatened him with utter ruin, if he refused the proffered favour. The Earl, having no

The Earl of
Northum-
berland
withdraws
to the North.
Walsing.Henry comes
to York.
A.C. Pub.
VIII.p.320,
321, 333.
Walsing.

(1) The Earldom of *Deucliff*: the Vales of *Effedale*, *Tydesdale*, *Lanwaterdale*; the Lordship of *Selkerryk*; and the Forest of *Eteryk*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 289.

(2) With a choice Body of fourteen thousand Men. *Walsing.* p. 368.

(3) Being pressed on chiefly by *George de Dunbar*, Earl of *March*; who rightly observed, That Delays upon such Occasions are dangerous. *Ibid.*

(4) - - - contraria reterens repis responsis, exacerbavit mentem juvenis (*Henrici Hotspur*) & ad bellum impulit, etiam non volentem. *Ibid.*

(5) On July 22. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 320. *Walsing.* p. 396.

(6) It is said, that *Earl Douglas* (who was in the Battle, and taken Prisoner, but released for his Valour) slew three; *Boetius* says four, armed in all Points like the King. *Henry* is reported to have slain that day thirty six with his own Hand. Of the Rebels were killed about ten thousand; of the King's side about sixteen hundred. *Walsing.* p. 368.

(8) Particularly by offering the Rebels a Pardon, and strictly forbidding all Plundering and Devastation of the Country. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 320, 321.

1403.

*He pardons
the Earl of
Northum-
berland.
Walsing.*

way to free himself from his present condition, chose rather to cast himself upon the King's Mercy than live in perpetual Exile. So, without farther consideration, he repaired to York, and threw himself at the King's feet, who punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his Estate, except the *Isle of Man*, which he had given him in the beginning of his Reign. This was a very slight punishment for so great a crime. But probably, Henry not forgetting the Services done him by the Earl, thought he still owed him this acknowledgment. Besides, the Criminal was already sufficiently punished, in the death of his Son and Brother.

*France ever
ready to take
Advantage
of the Trou-
bles in Eng-
land.
A.C. Pub.
VIII. p. 327.
336, 365.
374, 382.*

Whilst the King was employed in the North, the Court of France, having been informed of the Earl of Northumberland's Rebellion, was resolved to take advantage of these troubles. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that Henry received advice of a descent, which the Duke of Orleans was to make in England, whilst John Duke of Burgundy, who lost his Father this year, was to besiege Calais. It is observable, that notwithstanding the Truce, confirmed almost every year by the two Crowns, France never failed to shew her readiness, to improve the advantages procured by the troubles in England during this Reign (1). They who were at the helm during King Charles's Illness, and particularly the Duke of Orleans, that Monarch's Brother, never thought themselves bound by any Treaties made with Henry. This might be very evidently proved. But as Henry always got clear of the troubles raised in his Kingdom, the Court of France could only discover very frequently their ill intentions, without reaping any advantage.

*1b p. 325.
The Bretons
make a De-
scent.
Walsing.*

In all appearance, Henry's late Victory over the Rebels, frustrated the projects formed against him by that Court. However, not to leave him in perfect Tranquillity, as they directed the affairs of Bretagne during the Duke's minority, they engaged the Bretons to make a descent in the western Coasts of England, where they committed great ravages (2). This Invasion, for which the Bretons could not alledge the least reason, exceedingly troubled the King. Nevertheless, as he was willing to avoid an entire rupture with Bretagne, in hopes of gaining one day the young Duke to his interests, he thought it most adviseable to hide his resentment. This was the reason he was satisfied with some slight excuses made by the Regency of Bretagne, in disclaiming the Persons concerned in the Descent, as acting without the Government's Orders. But at the same time, he privately gave leave to the Inhabitants of Plymouth and other Places in those Parts, to fit out a Fleet under the command of William Wilford. This Admiral, though without the King's Commission, set sail for Bretagne, and revenged the damages sustained by his Countrymen (3).

*The English
take their
Revenge.*

*1404.
A Subsidy
granted the
King.
Walsing.*

The Parliament, called last year (4) and afterwards prorogued, met again on January (5) 1404. The King found means to obtain a Subsidy, which must have been very extraordinary, since it was not to be recorded (6). But in vain are precautions taken to bury in oblivion such sort of Precedents, which Princes upon occasion too frequently call to remembrance.

*Act of In-
demnify.
A.C. Pub.
VIII. p. 338,
353.*

The Severities exercised upon the Authors and accomplices of the two late Rebellions, induced the Parliament to petition the King for a general Pardon. Henry very willingly complied with their request, but with such exceptions as rendered the Pardon of little effect, since he forgave only those whom he designed not to punish.

*Richard is
reported to
be living.
Walsing.*

Henry's Severity to those who were infatuated with the false Notion of Richard's being still alive, was not capable of undeceiving every Body. A rumour being once more spread that Richard was in Scotland, one Serle, who had been Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, went to see his old Master. He met with People, who shewed him a Man something like Richard, but not enough for a Domestick, who had long served him, to be deceived. Nevertheless Serle feigning to take him for Richard himself, wrote to several Persons in England, that he was actually with him. The Testimony of a Man who could not, as was thought, be mistaken, produced so great an effect, that many

suffered themselves to be seduced with this imposture. The Countess of Oxford, Mother of the late Duke of Ireland, Richard's Favorite, believed, or pretended to believe, it, and took care to spread the report. She even sent to several Persons in Richard's name, little Silver Harts, such as that Prince used to give his Favorites. Mean while the King's diligence prevented the ill effects, this Imposture might have caused. He ordered the Countess to be taken into Custody (7), with her Secretary who was in the Secret. Some time after Serle was seized on the borders of the North (8), and hanged at Berwick. As he confessed the Cheat, and that he was concerned in the Duke of Gloucester's Murder, the report died away by degrees.

*Henry pu-
nishes the
Author of
the Report.
A.C. Pub.
VIII. p. 379.
Walsing.*

This year the Bretons made a descent near Portland (9), and plundered some Houses on the Coast. But advancing farther into the Country, they met a Body of Militia ready to receive them, who drove them back to their Ships, and took several Prisoners of distinction. Hitherto there was no Declaration of War between England and Bretagne: But the two Nations however continued to infect one another, though without the consent of the Sovereigns. France, which then managed the Bretons, was very glad to sow discord between them and the English, lest Henry should strengthen himself with the Alliance of Bretagne, when the Duke was of Age. For the same reason Henry connived at these insults, for fear of depriving himself of that advantage. Besides, he seemed resolved to avoid, as much as possible, engaging in any War; being apprehensive, that the Malecontents would raise troubles in the Kingdom, in case he was obliged to send his Forces abroad.

*The Bretons
land on
Portland.
A.C. Pub.
VIII. p. 385.
Walsing.*

It was probably with the same view, that he concluded with Scotland a Truce, from the 20th of July this year to the Easter next ensuing.

*Henry em-
nues at it.*

*Truce with
Scotland.
A.C. Pub.
VIII. p. 363,
368.
1b. p. 374.*

However, he could not think that all his precautions would for ever prevent the dreaded War. Besides, that he plainly saw France only sought an occasion of Rupture, he considered the affairs of Wales were in a very ill way. Glendour not only persisted in his Rebellion, but had even seized some Places on the West of the Severn. Moreover the Truce with Scotland being to expire in the Spring, there would be a necessity of sending an Army into the North. These considerations determined him to summon a Parliament, in order to obtain an Aid to enable him to carry on these Wars.

The Parliament met October the 6th (10). It is said, the King in the Writs of Summons commanded the Sheriffs [and Mayors] to return none but such as were unlearned, and that from hence, this Assembly was called the *Illiterate or Lack-learning Parliament* (11). It is a question however, whether the King's Command was so express as is affirmed (12). The breach Richard II, had made in the Nation's Liberties by the like Method, and the punishment which followed, were yet too fresh for Henry to publicly to imitate his Example, and expose himself to the same danger, in the present juncture. It cannot be denied however, that the Court, on this occasion, had laboured to cause such Representatives to be chosen, as were not too much prepossessed in favour of the Clergy, for reasons we shall see presently. Be this as it will, the King representing to the Parliament thus composed, his great want of an extraordinary aid, the Commons went in a Body, and addressed him, remonstrating, "That without burdening his People he might supply his occasions, by seizing the Revenues of the Clergy." They set forth, "That the Clergy possessed a third part of the Lands of the Kingdom, and not doing the King any personal Service, it was but just, they should contribute out of their Revenues towards the pressing necessities of the State. That it was evident, the Riches of the Ecclesiasticks made them negligent in their Duty, and the lessening of their excessive incomes, would be a double advantage to the State and Church."

*The illiterate
Parliament.
Walsing.
Cotton's
Abridg.*

*The Commons
petition the
King to
seize the
Church's
Lands.
Walsing.*

The King so received this Address as plainly shewed it was not disagreeable to him, and in all likelihood, it was he that by his Emisaries had chalked out what this

(1) On June 14, in 1404, they entered into a League offensive and defensive with Owen Glendour. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 356, 365.

(2) And burnt Plymouth. Walsing. p. 369.

(3) He took forty Merchant Ships, burnt several more; and making a Descent, burnt and plundered the Villages and Country for near twenty Miles together. Ibid.

(4) Which met September 30, at Westminster. See above, p. 493. Note (2).

(5) January 15. Cotton's Abridg. p. 425.

(6) This Tax is said to be twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and Twenty-pence of every one that had twenty Pounds a Year in Land; and one Shilling in the Pound for Money or Goods, and so upwards, according to that rate. Com. Hist. p. 289. Or rather, it is not known what it was, for all the Records relating to it were ordered to be burnt. ----- Concessores ipsi, & authores disti tallagii, in perpetuum latere possent: veluerunt: nempe sub ea tantum conditione concedebatur, ne traheretur posterius in exemplum, nec fervarentur ejus evidentiæ in thesauraria regia, nec in scaccario, sed scriptura vel recordationes eundem, protinus post datum computum cremarentur. Walsing. p. 369, 370. ----- The Clergy granted the King this Year, in April, a Tenth; and in the last Parliament, they had granted a Tenth and a half. Idem. p. 370, 376.

(7) But she was soon after pardoned and released; as appears by her Pardon, dated Decem. 5. 1404. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 379.

(8) By Sir William Clifford, Governor of Berwick. Walsing. p. 370.

(9) At Dartmouth, and places adjacent. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 8. p. 382. The Lord De Castel, their Leader, was slain; and three Lords, with twenty Knights, taken Prisoners. Walsing. p. 370. The Women of those parts signalized themselves upon this occasion, and fought bravely. Ibid.

(10) At Coventry. Cotton's Abridg. p. 437.

(11) It is most probable, that it was so called afterwards, upon account of its designs against learned Men, or the Clergy. Spel. p. 619.

(12) Out of the Historians say, such were to be chosen as had no Skill in the Laws. Walsing. p. 371, &c.

1404.
The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
opposes it.

of raising the Money he wanted. The Archbishop of Canterbury being present, thought it his Duty to speak on an occasion, where the interest of the whole Clergy was concerned. He represented to the King, "That though the Ecclesiasticks served him not in Person, it could not be inferred, that they were unserviceable, since they sent into the Field their Vassals and Tenants whenever there was occasion: That the stripping the Clergy of their Estates, would put a stop to their Prayers Night and Day for the welfare of the State, and there was no expecting God's protection of the Kingdom, if the Prayers of the Church were so little valued." He added, with a menacing Tone, "That if these considerations were not capable of suppressing the Plots against the Clergy, it would be found difficult to deprive them of their Estates, without exposing the Kingdom to great danger; and so long as he was Archbishop of Canterbury, he would oppose this injustice to the utmost of his power." Then suddenly falling on his Knees to the King, he strongly pressed him in point of Conscience, endeavouring to make him sensible, that of all the crimes a Prince could commit, none was so heinous as the Invasion of the Clergy's Revenues. Whether Henry was moved with the Archbishop's Speech, or the strong opposition he foresaw from the Clergy, convinced him of the difficulty of accomplishing his design, he suddenly resolved to desist. He answered the Archbishop, that though he blamed not his zeal, he could not help saying, his fears were groundless; for when he mounted the Throne, he made a firm resolution to favour the Church with all his Power, and hoped by God's Grace to leave her in a better State than he found her. The Archbishop encouraged by this answer, turned to the Commons, and spoke to them in a manner not very proper to gain their Good-Will, telling them, their demand was built wholly on Irreligion and Avarice (1). The Commons made no reply to this offensive Speech, but when they came back to their House, resolved to persist in their demand, and brought in a Bill to seize the Clergy's Revenues. But there was no possibility of succeeding in their project. The Solicitations of the Archbishop and the rest of the Clergy, were so prevalent with the Lords, that they threw out the Bill. So the Commons were forced to find other means to supply the King's occasions (2).

The King
yields to his
Influences.

The Com-
mons persist
in it.

The Bill
thrown out
by the Lords.

Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 381.

Towards the latter end of this year, Innocent VII. notified to the King, his promotion to the Papal Throne.

1405.

It is not strange, that to the great number of his enemies, both at Home and Abroad, Henry was unwilling to add likewise the Clergy; who, as the Archbishop had threatened, would have had it in their Power to create him great trouble. Though all was seemingly quiet in the Kingdom, he discovered about the beginning of the year 1405, that some ill design was contriving against him; but however, could not find out the Authors.

The Earl of March had very well concealed his disgust, when Henry was placed on the Throne; but his League afterwards with Glendour, and the Earl of Northumberland, was sufficient to open the King's Eyes, though he had suffered himself to be deceived by this dissimulation. He was too jealous of his Crown, to believe the Earl was unmindful of his just Rights. For this reason, he had always refused to promote the recovery of his Liberty. Upon the same account, he kept his Children in safe Custody at Windsor, as Pledges of their Father's Allegiance. Notwithstanding all his care, means were found to convey away the Prisoners, and keep them concealed for some time. But the King caused such diligent search to be made, that they were at length found, and brought back to their confinement at Windsor. He would have severely punished this attempt, if he could have discovered the Authors, but all his endeavours were fruitless. There was only a poor Lock-Smith hanged for being concerned in it; but he would not discover by whom he was employed. The Duke of York being suspected, was taken up, and sent to the Castle of Pevensey, where he remained a Prisoner above three Months. But at last he was released, for want of sufficient Evidence against him.

Mortimer's
Children
carried
away from
Windsor.
Walling.

The Duke of
York is ap-
prehended.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 386,
387.

Prince
Henry goes
against the
Welsh.

This attempt made the King apprehensive, his Enemies would form some new Plot in favour of the Earl of March; and he imagined, before it broke out, they would secure these young Princes. As Glendour was always ready to countenance the Malecontents, Henry resolved to free himself from these Fears, by exerting his utmost to

destroy that Rebel. To that end, he gave the Command of an Army to Henry his eldest Son; who, in the beginning of the Campaign, came to an engagement with the Welsh, and put their Army to Flight. Two months after, this Victory was followed by another still more important, wherein Glendour's Son was made Prisoner. These two Defeats were not, however, capable of disheartening the Welsh. On the contrary, they made fresh efforts in defence of their Liberty. The situation of their Country, the assurances given them by France of a powerful diversion, and probably, Glendour's Knowledge of a Conspiracy forming in England, put them in hopes of better success for the future.

1405.
He gains
two Battles.
March 11.
May 14.
p. 390.
Stow.

The Welsh
persist in
their Revolt.

It was not without ground, that the Welsh relied upon the assistance of France. That Crown, or rather the Duke of Orleans, who then governed the Kingdom, made no account of the Truce, whenever he thought he could break it with advantage. Though it was confirmed in 1403, Mezerai owns, the Constable D'Albret, and the Earl of Armagnac, had taken from England above sixty Places in Guienne. This very year, the Duke of Orleans openly besieged Bourg and Blaye, though in vain, and the Duke of Burgundy was preparing to lay Siege to Calais. To facilitate this undertaking, the Earl of St. Pol attempted to seize the Castle of Merck; but the Garrison of Calais, posting to its relief forced him to retreat in disorder, though he was now master of the Inner-Court.

France daily
seeks occasion
to disturb
Henry.

Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 387.

These continual breaches of the Truce, taught Henry what he was to expect from France, in case his affairs were not prosperous in England. For this reason, he was desirous to end the Welsh War, before he shewed his resentment to the French, chusing rather to let them act privately, than give occasion for an open Rupture. With this view, he had sent against the Welsh the Prince his Son, who was crowned with the fore-mentioned success. Before he entered upon this Expedition, he assembled the Lords (3), to desire an aid of Money, being ashamed to ask the Parliament, who had lately granted him a considerable Subsidy. But the Lords flatly refused to comply with the King's request, without the Authority of the Parliament. The Clergy, whom the King likewise founded, answered with the same resolution, not being willing to establish a Precedent of that nature, left it should be drawn into Custom. Henry extremely mortified with these Denials, dismissed both the Nobles and Clergy, with signs of displeasure; which shewed, he would not miss an opportunity of making them feel the Effects of his Indignation. He furnished thereby certain Lords with an occasion and pretence to hasten the Execution of a design, which, probably, had some time been formed.

The King is
denied Money
by the Nobles
and Clergy.
Walling.

Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, being dissatisfied, and wanting to revenge Richard, by whom he was promoted to that Dignity, engaged several Lords in a Confederacy to dethrone Henry. The Earl of Northumberland entered into the Plot, though the King had already forgiven him the like fault, and by his interest in the North, drew the People of those Parts into the same Confederacy. Thomas Mowbray Earl-Marshal, the Lords Bardolf, Hastings, Falconbridge, and several other Lords and Gentlemen came into the Plot, and levied a great number of Troops, which they led to York, where the Rendezvous was. When these Forces, which made a considerable Army, were drawn together, the Leaders published a Manifesto against the King, and caused it to be fixed upon the Doors of the Churches in York, for publick view. The substance of the Articles, contained in the Manifesto, was as follows:

Conspiracy
formed by
the Arch-
bishop of
York.
Walling.

I. That Henry, at his return into England, had protested and sworn, that he was only come to recover his private Inheritance, without any design upon the Crown, and yet, had caused himself to be proclaimed King.

The Rebels
Manifesto.
Walling.
Comp. Hist.
p. 292.

II. That as an Arch-Traitor, he had imprisoned his Sovereign, and forced him to resign his Crown, and then barbarously murdered him.

III. That ever since the death of Richard, he had unjustly detained the Crown from Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjustly put to death several Persons of Quality, who were guilty of no other crime, than endeavouring to redress the abuses of the Government, and, contrary to Law, imprisoned the Bishops by his sole Authority.

V. That he had oppressed the People with needless

(1) Adding, he would sooner lose his head, than that the Church should be deprived of the least of her Rights. Wall. p. 372.

(2) The Lords and Commons granted the King two Tenths, and two Fifteenths; besides the Subsidy of Wool, Wool-tells, and Skins, viz. of Denizers, for every Sack of Wool, forty three Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-fells, the same Sum; and for every Last of Skins, five Pounds: And of Aliens, ten shillings more in every particular, for two years; three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, and one Shilling on every Pound worth of Merchandize; but they recalled the Penions and Annuities granted by the two late Kings. The Clergy granted a Tenth and a half. Wall. p. 372. Gunstons Abridg. p. 438.

(3) At London, about the beginning of February. Wall. p. 373.

1405. Taxes, and by his Threats, hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the Privileges of the Nation; and his Oath to maintain them, by hindering the free Election of Parliaments.

VII. That in a Parliament held at *Winchester*, he had given his Assent to a very pernicious Statute against the Church of *Rome*, and the Authority conferred upon St. *Peter* and his Successors; and thereby, been the Cause of the Simony, Perjury, and other disorders among the Clergy and Gentry, who sold the vacant Benefices to Persons unqualified to serve the Cure.

VIII. That notwithstanding the frequent Instances of several Lords of his Council, he had refused to ransom the Earl of *March*, and evaded his just Petition, by falsely charging that Prince with voluntarily making himself a Prisoner to the *Welsh*.

IX. That, for all these Reasons, they had taken Arms, with design to free the Nation from the Oppressions of this Tyrant, and place the lawful Heir on the Throne.

Some time before the King had Intelligence of this Rebellion, he ordered a Body of Troops to march into the North, under the Command of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland*, to make head against the *Scots*, who seemed inclined to renew the War. The Earl was near *York*, when he heard the News of the Insurrection. The Superiority of the Rebels Troops, not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of being engaged in an unequal Fight, he thought it more advisable to use Policy. To that end, he dispatched a trusty Messenger to the Archbishop of *York*, and the Earl-Marshal, to tell them from him, that, considering their great Prudence and Zeal for the publick Good, he did not question but weighty Reasons had induced them to take Arms, and desired them to acquaint him with the same. The Confederates thinking him already shaken, sent him word, they had no other Intention, than to procure the Good of the Kingdom, and intreated him to come and join with them in defence of the Publick. This answer made him judge, it would not be impossible to over-reach Persons, who thought him capable of so readily taking their Part. To keep them in this Belief, he told them by the same Messenger, he was not so blind but he could see the Injuries done to the Nation: However, he was afraid, they had been too hasty in their Proceedings: That, before all things, care should have been taken to secure the Concurrence of all the principal Lords, or at least the Majority: That as for himself, he could not communicate all his thoughts by a third Person; but, if they would agree to an Interview, would more freely open his mind. The Archbishop of *York* no longer doubting, that the Earl was privately of the same Sentiments with the Confederates, pressed the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the Interview, and, notwithstanding his unwillingness, prevailed with him at last. The Place assigned for the Conference being in an open Plain, and the Guards advancing at an equal distance on both sides, the three Lords began to confer together. The Earl of *Westmoreland* protested, he had no less at heart than themselves, the Welfare and Prosperity of the State, and approved of the Articles of the Manifesto, except a few things which he wished they would alter. Then he proposed certain means to execute their design, which appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his Sincerity. When he found he had gained their Confidence, he ordered some Wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. Mean while, he affected to shake them by the hand, and give them Marks of a hearty Correspondence. In short, to show an intire Confidence, he commanded his Guards to withdraw, who immediately obeyed. This Frankness obliged the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal, to send away theirs likewise, being unwilling to appear more distrustful than he. But hardly were their Guards out of sight, when the others returned upon the Gallop, and, before the Archbishop, and *Mowbray*, could be relieved, they were both taken and conducted to the Royal Army. The Seizure of their Leaders threw the Confederates into such a Consternation, that it was not possible for the Earl of *Northumberland*, who staid at *York*, to keep their Troops any longer together. So, every one shifting for himself, the Earl was also forced to retire to *Berwick*, of

which he was Governor. Some time after, the King being come to *Pontfract*, the Earl of *Westmoreland* brought his two Prisoners to him, who were both condemned to lose their Heads. The Archbishop suffered Death with great constancy, and was honoured by the People for a Martyr, till the King, by his Authority, put a stop to their Superstition. From *Pontfract* the King went to *York*, and severely punished the Inhabitants (1). Then advancing towards the North, in order to besiege the Castle of *Berwick*, he took in his way the Lords *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, who met with the same fate as the Archbishop and Earl-Marshal. Upon the King's Approach, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, despairing of being able to defend themselves, and dreading to fall into the hands of a justly incensed Prince, withdrew into *Scotland* at the Lord *Fleming's*, by whom they were received. Mean while, *Henry* became master of *Berwick*, and several Castles belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, after which, he returned to *London*.

Though most Historians ascribe the rise of this Conspiracy to the King's threatening the Clergy and Nobility, upon their refusal of the Aid he demanded, it appears however to have been formed before. For, whilst *Henry* was still in the North, the Marshal *de Montmorency* arrived in *Wales*, with a Fleet of a hundred and forty Sail, and twelve thousand Men. As soon as he was landed he joined *Glendour*, and they marched together, and took *Cardiff*, *Worcester*, and several other Places of the neighbourhood, where they met with a great Booty (2). *Mezerai*, who places this Event in the last year, says, the Earl of *Marche*, of the House of *Bourbon*, caused the Undertaking to miscarry by his too long delay. This shows, the Court of *France* thought their Army would land in *Wales*, just at the time the Archbishop of *York's* Plot broke out. It may be, the Preparations were begun the last year, and that might occasion *Mezerai's* mistake. It is much more probable, he should be mistaken in the Date of this Event, than the *English* Historians, who refer to this year, the taking of their Towns, and the great Booty made by their Enemies on that occasion. Besides, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, an Order from the King, dated at *Pontfract* (3), mentioning the Descent of the *French*. It is true, in this Order, their Leader is called *Hugevyle*, and not *Montmorency*. But as there were not two Descents the same year, and in the same Country, it may be presumed, that *Hugevyle* made the Descent under the Marshal's direction.

Henry had no sooner finished his Affairs in the North, but he marched towards *Wales*, to defend the Borders against the *French*. But he was so retarded by the Weather, that they had sufficient time to re-embark, leaving *Glendour* to shift for himself. However, the King could do nothing against the *Welsh*, though deprived of the Assistance of their Friends, as well because the Season was too far advanced, as because in his march, he had lost great part of his Baggage.

After so manifest a Breach of the Truce; the *French*, one would have thought, designed openly to renew the War. But that was not their Intention. As the Conspiracy in *England* had not succeeded as they wished, they did not think proper to carry the Rupture any farther. Mean while, to join Insult with Outrage, at the very time they had sent a powerful Aid to the *Welsh* Rebels; and their Forces had taken Towns, and ravaged Counties in *England*, they assured *Henry*, their Intent was always to keep the Truce, as if bare Words were more proper than directly contrary Facts, to show the Sincerity of their Intentions. This Behaviour was entirely grounded upon the vain Pretence of the Duke of *Orleans's* private quarrel with *Henry*, for the murder of *Richard II*; wherein he believed, or pretended to believe, he might use the Forces of *France*, which were at his disposal, without any Violation of the Truce between the two Crowns. So that all *Henry's* Complaints were fruitless; since he could only apply for Justice to the Duke of *Orleans* himself, the principal Author of all these Violations. The Court of *France* was so well acquainted with the Temper, Character, and Politicks of *Henry*, that they were not afraid to insult him upon all occasions, during almost the whole Course of his Reign. *Henry V*, his Son, was not so gentle, but knew how to revenge the Affronts his Father had received (4).

(1) He seized all their Liberties and Privileges. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 398.

(2) But the Lord *Berkley*, and *Henry Pay*, took fourteen, and burnt fifteen, of their Ships in *Milford-bay*, where they landed. *Walf.* p. 374.

(3) *August 7.* *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 406.

(4) This year the *Scots* invaded, or threatened to invade *England*; as appears from an Order of King *Henry*, dated at *Faxflete*, *Septemb. 8.* to the Sheriff of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, for arming all Persons from sixteen to sixty, upon the News of that Invasion. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 414.----- This year also, on *October 3.* the King made a Grant to Sir *John Stanley*, of the Isle of *Man*; the possession whereof still remains in that noble Family; honored in the 1st of *Henry VII.* with the Title of Earl of *Derby.* *Ibid.* p. 420.

1405.
Walling.

1406.
The Par-
liament
meets.
Act for
Freedom of
Elections.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Walling.
The arbi-
ment denies
the King
Money.

He keeps the
House as-
sembled till
they grant it.
Walling.

An Act ex-
cluding the
House from
the Crown.

Reflection on
that Act.

The Act is
repeated.

Towards the end of this year (1), *Philippa* the King's daughter was sent to the King of *Denmark* her Husband (2).

All being quiet in *England* after the retreat of the *French*, the King called a Parliament, which met *March* 1. 1406 (3). As his design was to demand Money, he readily gave his assent to an Act to secure the freedom of Elections (4). This Act shows, that in the Elections for the late Parliament, the King had done something tending to abridge the liberty of voting. As soon as this Act was passed, *Henry* demanded an aid of Money, but was plainly told, there was no visible occasion for it. He was extremely offended at this denial, but however, durst not openly show his resentment, for fear of exasperating them. Mean while, he devised an expedient which procured him what he wanted. This was, to keep the Parliament assembled, till they should, of their own accord, be brought to grant his demand. So, without any fresh application, he continued the Session till the end of *August*. This was very inconvenient to the Members, who had business at home, and withal, very expensive to the People, who were to bear their charges. At length, the Commons, impatient of returning to their homes, voted him a Subsidy (5), not without loud murmurs, at the constraint laid upon them.

During this Session, the Parliament passed an Act, limiting the succession of the Crown to the King's Male-Issue, exclusive of the Female. As this Act was repealed this same year, and, probably, razed out of the Parliament-Rolls, one can only guess, upon what foundation it was built. Now what might, very likely, serve the King for pretence to demand so extraordinary an Act, was this.

During the whole course of the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings, or at least since the union of the seven Kingdoms, we do not find a single instance of the Descendants of the Daughters, being called to the Succession of the Crown. From the *Norman* Conquest, to the time I am speaking of, we meet in the *English* History, with two Precedents in favour of the Women. The first is, that of King *Stephen*, Son of a Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, to which may be added, at the same time, that of *Matilda*, Daughter of *Henry* I, who disputed the Crown with *Stephen*. The second is, that of *Henry* II, Son of *Matilda*, who was acknowledged for King without opposition. These two precedents, seemed to establish the right of the Females beyond all dispute. And yet they were not unquestionable. It might be alledged, that *Stephen* ascended the Throne purely by the Cabals of some of the Nobility, and that *Henry* II, received his Crown only by virtue of a Treaty, extorted from his Predecessor by force of Arms. It might moreover be objected, that, as there was no express Law, two examples since the beginning of the Monarchy, could not have the force of a Law, chiefly by reason of the circumstances they were attended with. Thus the Right of the Daughters and their Issue, might at least be liable to dispute.

When *Henry* IV mounted the Throne, he pretended to be the next Heir of *Richard* II, showing thereby, he made no account of the Earl of *March's* Right, descended only from a Daughter. And indeed, supposing the Invalidity of the Women's right, it could not be denied, that he was nearer than the Earl of *March*, who was set up against him. But this pretended invalidity was a point that was not decided. Mean while, the People were generally of opinion, that the Daughters had a right to the Succession, since, without its being necessary to alledge examples or precedents in their favour, it was sufficient there was no Law to exclude them. Upon this foundation the late Rebellion was raised, as appeared by the Manifesto of the Rebels. It is therefore very likely, that, to remove this pretence from the Male-contents, *Henry* would have decided the point by an Act, which, in excluding the Daughters and their Issue, seemed to insinuate, that the reigning King ascended the Throne pursuant to the Custom and Laws of the Realm. But this Act, which perhaps was extorted the same way as the Subsidy, lasted but till the end of the year. The next Parliament, which met in *December* (6), made such strong

Remonstrances to the King, that he consented to the Re- 1406.
peal. This Parliament, not satisfied with leaving the
Right of the Daughters in its former doubtful State, passed
a new Act, whereby the Females, and their Posterity
were established in their natural Rights. The Succession
was settled upon the King's eldest Son, and his Heirs,
without exception, then upon his Brothers, and their Issue,
without excluding the Women. This Act was signed by
the King, the House of Lords, and the Speaker, in the
name of all the Commons, the 22d of *December* 1406,
as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 462.
464.

The precaution taken by the King to secure his Right, by the first of these Acts, was extremely prejudicial to his posterity. He thereby gave occasion for the second, which strengthened the Title of the Earl of *March*, and consequently of the House of *York*, which became Heir to that Prince.

Whilst the Parliament, which passed the first of these Acts, continued the Session, till the King was pleased to dismiss them, *Henry* carried on in *Scotland* a secret Negotiation, to get into his hands, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf*, who had taken refuge there. He could not be easy on account of the former, whose valour, abilities, and revengeful temper, were no less known to him, than his great interest in the North. As it was to be feared, that being so near those parts, he would contrive some dangerous Plot, *Henry* believed he ought to spare no pains to make himself easy, by securing his Person. To that end, he sent an offer to certain *Scotch* Lords, whose Relations and Friends were Prisoners in *England*, to release them without ransom, provided they would deliver up the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf*. This offer was gladly received. But as there was no concealing this design from the Lord *Flemming*, who had entertained these two Lords at his House, he acquainted them with it, and they retired into *Wales*, under the protection of *Glendour*. Some time after, the *Scotch* Lords, vexed at their disappointment, killed the Lord *Flemming*, who was the cause that their Friends still remained in captivity. Afterwards, his Son, revenging his death upon some of the murderers, this quarrel, joined to several other occasions of discord, which reigned among the great Men, under the Government of a very weak Prince, raised many Commotions in *Scotland*.

Robert III, of the House of *Stuart*, who sat then on the Throne of *Scotland*, was a Prince more free from vices, than endowed with good qualities. His easy nature, or incapacity, had given opportunity to *Robert* his Brother, Duke of *Albany*, to seize, by degrees, the Government of the Kingdom, whilst he left the King his Brother little more than the external badges of Royalty. His ambition not being satisfied with a borrowed authority, he formed a design to seize the Crown, or at least took measures to secure it to himself after *Robert's* decease. To compass his ends, it was necessary to prevent the obstacles, he would infallibly meet with in the execution of his designs, from the Princes *David* and *James* his Nephews, the King's Sons. An opportunity very quickly offered to make away with the eldest. The young Prince committing some outrage, for which he was complained of to the King, the Duke of *Albany* procured an order from his Brother, to keep *David* confined, till the heat of his passion was somewhat abated. He executed this order with such rigour, that closely confining the Prince, he caused him to be starved to death. How careful forever he might be to conceal this barbarous action, *Robert* was informed of it, but being too weak, and his Brother too potent, durst not attempt to be revenged. The only remedy he could apply to his grief, was to put *James* his second, now become his eldest Son, out of the reach of the snares of his treacherous Brother. For that purpose, he resolved to educate him at the Court of *France*, in order to send him out of *Scotland*, where he was in such imminent danger, and accordingly put him on board a Vessel to go by Sea. The young Prince sailing near the Coast of *Norfolk*, and finding himself sea-sick, went on shore for refreshment. But he was no sooner landed, than seized by some Mariners, and brought to the King, who was so cruel as to confine

The Earl
retires into
Wales.

Affairs of
Scotland
Buchan.
Walling.

Prince
James con-
fined in the
Tower of
London.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 484.
Walling.

(1) It was not till *July* or *August*, 1406, as appears from *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 443, 447. *Walf.* p. 375.

(2) According to *Pontinus*, the Nuptials of *Eric* with *Philippa*, were not celebrated till the 2^d of *October* 1406. *Rapin.*

(3) At *Westminster*. This Parliament gave the Merchants of *England* a remarkable Commission; namely, That they should guard the Seas from *May* 1, till *Michaelmas* 1406, and, in consideration thereof, have three Shillings from every Tun of *Wine*, imported or exported; Twelve-pence in the Pound; and the fourth part of the Subsidy of *Wools*, *Leather*, and *Wool-tells*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 438, 449.

(4) By which it was enacted, That at the next County holden after the delivery of the Writ of Parliament, all there present, as well Suitors summoned for the same Cause, as others, shall attend to the Election of the Knights for the Parliament, and in the full County they shall proceed to the Election, freely and indifferently, notwithstanding any Request or Commandment to the contrary. And after they are chosen, their Names shall be written in an Indenture, under the Seals of all them that did choose them, and tacked to the Writ of Parliament; which Indenture shall be holden for the Sheriff's Return of the said Writ. See the Statutes.

(5) The Commons granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth, and continued the Duties on *Wool*, &c. as in the last Parliament. The Clergy imposed a new Subsidy on stipendiary Priests, Mendicant Friars, and Chantry Priests; viz. three Shillings and Four-pence a head. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 451. *compl. Hist.* p. 294.

(6) It was not a new Parliament, but the same as assembled this Year on *March* 1; and which met again *October* 15, to which they had been adjourned, and broke up *Decemb.* 22. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 451, 455.

1406.

him in the *Tower*. In vain did the *Scotch* Prince deliver him a Letter from the King his Father, recommending his Son to him, in case any accident should oblige him to land in his Dominions. *Henry* only answered with a poor jest, telling him, there was no occasion to go to *Paris* to learn *French*, he should be taught it at *London*. The King of *Scotland* died three days after receiving this bad News, and the Duke of *Albany* took upon him the Regency, during the Imprisonment of the young Prince, to whom the Crown was devolved.

The French
try in vain
to aid the
Welsh.
Walling.

This year the *French* came upon the Coast of *Wales* with thirty eight Ships, in order to assist *Glendour*. But a violent Storm, destroying most of their Fleet, hindered the execution of their design.

1407.
Symptoms of
a new Con-
spiracy.
Walling.

Very likely, the Court of *France* had received some Intelligence of a Conspiracy forming in *England* against the King, and in order to countenance it, would have had an Army ready in *Wales*. But the dispersion of the Fleet probably blasted their ill-concerted project. There were some indications of it in the beginning of the year 1407, by certain Persons daring to post up in several places in *London*, that *Richard* was living, and preparing to enter the Kingdom with a powerful Army. What inquiries soever the King made, the Authors could never be discovered. Only a poor Wretch, employed in posting up the Papers, was hanged, without being able or willing to tell who set him to work.

Plague at
London.
Walling.

This year a terrible Plague raged at *London*, which swept away above thirty thousand Inhabitants. The King not daring to stay at *London* whilst the Plague made such Ravages, retired to the Castle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. After spending there part of the Summer, he had a mind to remove to another of his Seats in *Norfolk* (1), and resolving to go by Sea, went on board a Vessel, which was followed by four more with his Baggage and Attendants. Whilst he was sailing in sight of Land, without any precaution, and believing there was no danger, he saw himself on a sudden attacked by some *French* Pyrates (2), who took four of his Ships; that, where he was himself, very narrowly escaping. It was not doubted that some Treachery lurked under this accident, but it was impossible to be proved.

Stow's Ann.
Hall.

The King is
like to be
taken by
Pirates.

The famous *Robert Knolles*, who had abundantly signalled himself in the Wars with *France* in the Reign of *Edward III.* died this year in a very advanced age. Though of mean Birth, he had raised himself by his merit to the highest Posts, and gained a reputation equal to that of the most illustrious Warriours. In the beginning of this Reign, he was Seneschal of *Guienne*, but afterwards being weary of a Life of too much Hurry and Action, retired to his Estate in *Kent*. There he ended his days, after acquiring a still more solid Glory by many acts of Piety, Charity, Munificence, some of which subsist to this day (3).

Death of
Robert
Knolles.
Walling.

Designs of
the French
upon Gui-
enne and
Calais.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 412.
456, 456.

Henry being sensible how ill-affected his Subjects were to him, stood so in awe of them, that ever since his Accession to the Crown, he had not dared to send any Troops into *Guienne* for fear of weakening himself at home. Mean while the *French* taking advantage of his negligence, became masters from time to time of several Places in that Province, by bribing the Governours. They herein followed the maxim introduced during the War between *Edward III.* and *Philip de Valois*, that *Buying and Selling* was no breach of a Truce. This year the Duke of *Orleans* endeavoured, notwithstanding the Truce, to take *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but could not succeed. On the other hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* had again formed the design of besieging *Calais*, but for want of due measures, durst not pursue it. He complained, the Duke of *Orleans* had privately obstructed it. This occasion of complaint, with several others, breeding in him a mortal hatred to that Prince, he caused him to be assassinated this year in *November*. He was so hardy as to avow his being Author of the Murder, and so powerful as to procure a pardon, though the deceased was the King's own Brother.

Walling.

The Duke of
Burgundy
murders the
Duke of
Orleans.
Walling.
Mezerai.

Though War was not proclaimed between *England* and *Bretagne*, the continual outrages on both Sides, could not fail at length to produce an open Rupture. The Duke of *Bretagne* was Son of a Father who had an *English* Heart. But the young Duke had imbibed at the Court of *France* other Inclinations and Maxims. However, the death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the troubles in *France*, con-

Truce with
Bretagne.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 469
490.

vincing the *Bretons*, they might be abandoned, in case of a Rupture with *England*, they thought proper to accept of a Truce offered by *Henry*. The Truce was only to be for a Year, the *Bretons* imagining, they should see by that time how matters would go in *France*, where disorder began to reign (4).

Henry was not ignorant of the *Bretons* design, but thought it his interest to dissemble. Ever since his coming to the Crown, he had constantly followed this Rule, that it was better to connive at some things in his Neighbours, than be exposed to the insults of his Subjects. He could not help reflecting on the irregular means he had used to ascend the Throne. This consideration keeping him in continual dread, he chose rather to hazard his reputation a little, than furnish his Domestick Enemies, by engaging in Foreign Wars, with an opportunity to execute their ill designs. It was not without reason that he lived in perpetual apprehensions. He had still in the Earl of *Northumberland* an Enemy, who, humbled as he was, continued to be very formidable. Since that Earl and the Lord *Bardolf* were retired into *Wales*, they had never ceased contriving means with *Glendour* to dethrone the King. The *Welsh* who were in open War with *Henry*, concealed not their preparations. They strengthened their Army with great numbers of *French* and *Flemish* Adventurers, drawn thither by the prospect of the booty promised them in *England*. On the other hand, the Earl of *Northumberland* privately secured the assistance of the People of the North, with whom he had all along great interest, in spite of his past disgraces. When matters were ripe, the Earl and *Bardolf* returned to *Scotland*, from whence they entered *England* by the northern Counties, at the head of some *Scotch* Troops, levied by the Connivance of the Duke of *Albany*, Regent of the Kingdom. As soon as they appeared in the North, those that were gained beforehand, speedily joined them, and their Army became, in few days, very considerable.

As the King did not expect this insurrection, the Earl had time to re-take the Castles he had lost in the first Rebellion. This success encouraged him to enter *Yorkshire*. He hoped, when once he was master of that County, nothing would hinder him from joining the *Welsh*, who only waited his Orders to put themselves in motion. Upon his entering *Yorkshire*, he published a Manifesto, containing the Motives of his taking up Arms. This Manifesto was much the same with those published in the former Rebellions. Mean while, as the King lost a great deal of time in preparations, Sir *Thomas Rokeby*, Sheriff of *York*, thought it his duty to levy some Troops in readiness against the King's coming, and at the same time to obstruct the progress of the Rebels. The Earl of *Northumberland* judging it of the last importance, to disperse the Sheriff's Forces before they increased, marched towards him, in expectation that his approach would put him to flight. But he found he had to deal with an Enemy that was not so easily frightened. *Rokeby*, though far inferior to the Earl, stood his ground, and fought with that Bravery and Good-Fortune, that the Rebels were entirely routed (5). The Earl of *Northumberland* was slain on the spot, and the Lord *Bardolf* taken Prisoner, but so mortally wounded, that he died in few days. Their heads being sent to the King, were ordered to be set on a Pole on *London* Bridge. Thus died the Earl of *Northumberland*, who, from being the King's great Friend, became his bitterest Enemy. It was he that contributed most to place *Henry* on the Throne, by his readiness to join him at *Raven-spur*; an Example followed by all the rest of the Kingdom. But afterwards he made several attempts to wrest the Crown from him. So, it might be a Question, whether he had done more for, than against, him, if in an affair of this nature a single Rebellion did not outweigh numberless Services.

Henry being on his March, when he received the news of the defeat, and death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, proceeded to *York*. He made some stay in that City, to try the Rebels, of whom some were executed (6); others redeemed their Lives with large Sums of Money.

Before the King departed from *London*, he had ordered a Fleet to be equipped against the *French* Rovers, who for some time had infested the Coast of *England*, and done much damage to the Merchants. *Edmund Holland*

(1) Others say to *Pleshy*. He took Ship at *Queenborough* in the Isle of *Shepey*, to cross over to *Lee* in *Essex*. Hall, fol. 26.

(2) Who lay at the *Tbames* Mouth. They carried away Sir *Thomas Ramsfene*, the Vice Chamberlain, with all the King's Furniture and Apparel that was in those four Ships. Ibid. Stow's Ann. p. 334.

(3) He died about August 5, at his Manor of *Scene-Thorp* in *Norfolk*, and was buried with his Lady in the Bay of the Church of the *White Friars* in *London*, which he had newly built. He likewise built the stately Stone-Bridge at *Southey*; and founded a College for secular Canons at *Pontfract*. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. 2. p. 412. Wall. p. 376.

(4) This year a Parliament was holden at *Glocester*, on October 20, and removed in *November* to *Wymminster*. It granted the King one Tenth and a half, and the like Subsidy for Staple, and other Merchandize, for two years, as in the last Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 464, 465. Wall. p. 377.

(5) Near *Horfelwood*, on Feb. 19. Wall. p. 377. For this good service, King *Henry* granted Sir *Thomas Rokeby* the Manor of *Spifford*, with its Appurtenances, for life. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 3. p. 530.

(6) The Abbot of *Hales* being taken fighting on the Earl's side, was hanged. Wall. p. 377.

1407.

1408.

A French
tempt of the
Earl of
North-
umberland
to seize the
King.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 527.
Walling.

He leaves
scot's Chron-
icle.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 538.

He appears
in Armes
the North.

He makes a
Progress.

Publishes a
Manifesto.

The Sheriff
of York
raises Troops
ib. p. 529.
Walling.

The Earl
attacks him.

Is defeated
and slain.
Walling.

The King
proceeds
Rams-
fene.
W. long.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 545

The Earl of
Kent at-
tacks the
French Py-
rates, and
is slain.
Walling.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 542.

1403. Earl of Kent, who commanded the Fleet, was long in quest of these Rovers to no purpose. At length, hearing they were retired on the Coast of *Bretagne*, to the little Isle of *Brehac*, which was expressly excepted in the Truce with the *Bretons*, he went and attacked them in the Town of the same Name, where they had shut themselves up. In the first assault, he received a Wound, of which he died in five days. This prevented not his Troops from continuing the Siege, and taking the Town, where they put all to the Sword.

The frequent Ratifications of the Truce, not hindering the *French* from making continual attempts upon *England*, *Henry* was forced at last to be content to conclude a new separate Truce for *Picardy* and *Guienne*, from the 30th of September 1403 (1), to the 1st of May 1410 (2). *Poitou* was expressly included, because the *French* denied that Province to be held of *Guienne*.

The Schism, which commenced in 1378, by the double Election of *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* still continued, to the great scandal of *Christendom*. *Urban* dying in 1390, the Cardinals of his Party chose in his room *Boniface IX.* who at first seemed very much inclined to put an end to the Schism. Whereupon the Court of *France*, laboured heartily to inspire *Clement* with the same resolution. But as he proved inflexible, the University of *Paris* was ordered to meet, where it was decided, that, to put an end to the Schism, one of these three ways was absolutely necessary. The first was, That the two Popes should resign. The second, That they should agree upon Umpires to decide their difference. The third, That the determination should be referred to a General Council. This resolution being communicated to *Clement*, troubled him so, that he died quickly after in 1394. When the King of *France* had notice of his death, he wrote to the Cardinals, desiring them not to proceed to a new Election. But as they suspected the contents of his Letter, they chose, before they opened it, the Cardinal of *Luna*, an *Arragonian*, who took the Name of *Benedict XIII.* Before the Election, they all took a solemn Oath, that whoever was chosen, should renounce the *Papacy*, in case it was deemed necessary for the good of *Christendom*. But *Benedict* being elected, dispensed with the Oath he had taken, when Cardinal. On the other hand, *Boniface IX.* dying 1404, his Cardinals chose *Innocent VII.* and he likewise dying the next year, they elected *Angelo Corario a Venetian*, who assumed the name of *Gregory XII.*

It would be tedious to relate all the Evasions used by *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XII.* to decline the resignation sworn by each. They were both willing to be thought well-affected, and yet continually started fresh Obstacles to the agreement desired by all *Christendom*. In short, the *Christian* Princes, tired with the delays of the two Popes, found means to gain the Cardinals of both sides, who, in their own name, summoned a General Council at *Pisa*, for the 25th of March 1409.

The Council being assembled, the two Popes were cited, and as they did not think fit to appear, were declared perjured Hereticks, and deprived of their Dignity. At the same time, the Cardinals were impowered to elect a new Pope. They chose *Peter de Candia*, who styled himself *Alexander V.* Before the meeting of the Council, *Henry* writ to *Gregory*, to admonish him to comply with the method of Resignation. But his Letter being fruitless, when he heard of *Alexander's* Election, he issued a Proclamation, enjoining all his Subjects to acknowledge the new Pope. It was believed, the scandalous Schism, which had now lasted thirty years, was at length closed, but by *Benedict's* obstinacy, it was some years farther prolonged.

How scandalous soever this Schism might be, it did not create in the Clergy of *England* so great uneasiness, as *Wickliff's* Doctrine. Though, during this Reign, the *Lollards* were used with great severity, their Number continually increased. There were even at *Oxford*, Doctors, that publicly defended the novel Opinions, as well in their Disputations, as Writings. The Bishops being extremely alarmed at it, obtained of the King an Order to the University to meet in Convocation, and examine the Books of *Wickliff*. As the Majority were still attached to the old Doctrine, his Books were condemned, and the University published a Decree, forbidding all her Members, upon pain of Degradation, to preach, or teach, the Doctrine therein contained.

This year the Truce with *Bretagne*, was prolonged to the 1st of July 1411.

Henry could not be secure of any Tranquillity, so long as *France* was undisturbed. From thence proceeded the rise of all the motions, as well of his own Subjects, as of the *Welsh* and *Scots*. The War, which was kindled in that Kingdom between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, was very beneficial to *England*. In the first Place, *Castile* and *Scotland* were more ready to conclude a Truce with *Henry*. In the next place, the *Welsh*, receiving no further assistance from thence, found at length, their pretended Prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promised, and began by degrees to desert him. Lastly, *Henry* reaped moreover this private Advantage, that he became more absolute at home, since he had nothing to fear from his Enemies abroad. Though he had caused *Richard* to be deposed, for usurping an arbitrary Power contrary to the Laws, yet he himself plainly showed by certain proceedings, he would have been glad to govern with an absolute authority. This chiefly appeared in the Elections of Members of Parliament. By the directions of the Court, certain Artifices were practised, to render the Freedom of voting of no use, since the Sheriffs took the liberty to return such Representatives as had not a Majority of Votes. This is a thing of so fatal a consequence, that it may be affirmed, the liberty of the *English* will no longer subsist, than whilst the Privilege of freely electing their Representatives in Parliament stands inviolated. If once the Sovereign comes to chuse what Representatives he pleases, the bounds of the Royal Authority will be in the end so enlarged, that nothing but the mere Shadow of Liberty will remain. Of this, we have seen a remarkable instance in the Reign of *Richard II.* But it may farther be added, that all the Kings of *England*, who have enjoyed a more absolute power than the rest, acquired it by this way, I mean, by procuring their Creatures to be elected. When a Parliament consists of such Members, it is no longer the King that is charged with Incroachments upon the People's Liberty, but it is the Nation itself, that voluntarily runs into Slavery. And if, afterwards, they resolve to throw off their chains, they can only succeed by violent means; and this, by the way, is the Spring of most of the Civil Wars, so often kindled in *England*.

The Parliament which met in January (3) 1410, considering the consequences of the King's proceedings to over-rule the Elections, believed the redress of that abuse, was the most pressing affair. Accordingly, in the beginning of the Session, they presented a Bill to the King, by which, the Sheriffs, who should be guilty of making false returns, were to be fined a hundred Pounds Sterling, for every offence. The King would have been glad to evade this Act, but as he could not do it, without laying himself too open, and besides intended to demand a Subsidy, he gave it the Royal Assent.

Upon passing this Act, the King demanded an Aid of Money of the Commons, who took occasion from thence to renew their former Instances, with regard to the Clergy. *Wickliff's* Doctrine had gained so much ground, that the Majority of the House of Commons leaned that way. Thus biassed, the Commons presented to the King two Petitions, one against the Clergy, the other in behalf of the *Lollards*. In the first, they set forth, "That the Clergy made an ill use of their Riches, and consumed their Incomes, in a very different manner from the Donors intent: That their Revenues were excessive, and consequently it was necessary to lessen them: That so many Estates might easily be seized, as would serve to provide for a hundred and fifty Earls (4), at the rate of three thousand Marks a year each; fifteen hundred Barons, at a hundred Marks each; six thousand two hundred Knights, at forty Marks; and a hundred Hospitals, at a hundred Marks: That by this means the Kingdom's safety would be better provided for, the Poor better maintained, and the Clergy more attached to their Duty."

In the second Petition the Commons prayed, that the Statute passed against the *Lollards* in the second (5) year of this Reign, might either be repealed, or at least qualified with some Restrictions.

If the Parliament, that first moved the lessening of the Clergy's Revenues, was styled the *Unlearned*, it may well be supposed, this met with no better Treatment. The Name of *Lollard* and *Heretical* was plentifully bestowed, and the Clergy considered the Petition, as tending to undermine all Religion. This was industriously insinuated to the King, with all the aggravations, which Parties concerned are capable of displaying on such an occasion. It

(1) There had been a Truce concluded, from January 15, till April 15. 1403, which was prolonged till September 30. See Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. 8. p. 507, 515, 520.

(2) From the 15th of June, till that time three years. *Ibid.* p. 541, 543---560.

(3) January 27. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 470.

(4) *Rapin* says, in the seventh. See above, p. 491.

(4) *Walsingham* says, only fifteen Earls, p. 379.

1410. is hard to know, whether the King himself was of this Mind; but however, he declared, he had the Interest of the Church no less at heart, than the Clergy themselves. After the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, there was never a Lord in the Kingdom, that could give him any Uneasiness; and though the People were dissatisfied, *Henry* was very sensible, that of themselves, they would never be induced to rebel, unless encouraged thereto. So, it was his Interest to please the Clergy, who alone were able to stir up the People, if they had so plausible a Pretence as the loss of their Revenues. For this reason, he answered the Commons very sharply, that he neither could, nor would consent to their Petitions, and expressly forbid them to meddle any more with the Church's Concerns. As for the *Lollards*, he replied, that far from permitting the Statute against them to be repealed, he wished it more rigorous, for the utter Extirpation of Heresy out of the Land.

The King rejects the two Petitions. *Walsing.*

Another Petition against the Clergy rejected. *Walsing.*

The King orders a Lollard to be burnt. *Walsing. p. 378. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 627.*

The Commons are offended, and refuse the King's Demand. *Walsing.*

He obtains a Subsidy by a kind of Force.

The Duke of Burgundy forms a Design to besiege Calais. *Walsing.*

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 627, 629, 631.

Truce of France prolonged.

The English ravage Scotland. *ib. p. 639.*

1411. Truce prolonged. *Act. Pub. VIII. p. 647, 655, 657, 663, 680, 687, 694, 702, 710, 722.*

The Commons missing their Aim, were contented with moving, that at least Clerks convicted should not be delivered to the Bishops Prisons (1), alledging for reason, that daily Experience shewed, Clerks by that means always escaped the Punishment they deserved. What the Commons demanded was no less reasonable now, than in the Reign of *Henry II*, when that Prince, and all the Peers of the Realm maintained that Point so stoutly against *Becket*, and *Pope Alexander III*. But *Henry* fearing to be exposed to the like Troubles as *Henry II* was liable to, refused also to give his Assent to this Bill. On the contrary, he affected to shew an extraordinary Zeal for the Interests of the Church, and to take such Steps as he thought most agreeable to the Clergy. Though it cannot be doubted, that *Wickliff's* Doctrine was the real Cause of the Motions made by the House of Commons, the King was pleased to let them see, how far he was from giving them any Countenance, by signing a Warrant for burning one *Thomas Badby*. The Prince of *Wales* had a mind to be present at the Execution, and, as the poor Wretch gave sensible Signs of the Torture he endured, ordered the Fire to be removed, and promised him a Pension for Life, provided he would recant. But *Badby* recovering his Spirits, refused to comply with the Offer, and suffered Death with heroick Courage.

The Commons considered this Execution as an Insult, and great Aggravation of the Refusal they had lately endured. Accordingly, when the King demanded a Power to levy every Year a certain Subsidy (2), though the Parliament should not sit, the Demand was boldly rejected. The Commons would have even refused a Supply for his necessary Occasions, if, to force them to it, the same method, that had formerly succeeded, had not been employed: That is, he prolonged the Sessions till he obtained his desire (3). It plainly appeared, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was dead; that the Troubles in *Wales* were almost at an end; and that *France* was no longer formidable; otherwise he would never have ventured to treat the Commons so haughtily.

Notwithstanding the ill Posture of Affairs in *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy* resumed his Design of besieging *Calais*, but with his former Success. All his Preparations at *St. Omer* for the carrying on the Siege, being burnt to Ashes, either by Accident, or by means of an Incendiary, sent on purpose by the Governor of *Calais*, this Project, like the foregoing, vanished into Air. The French Historians make no mention of this Attempt. However it seems, by the King's Precaution, in sending the Prince of *Wales* to *Calais* at that very time, he had received some private Intelligence thereof. Be this as it will, the Truce with *France*, for *Guienne* and *Picardy*, was again prolonged for some Months.

This Year *Robert de Humphreville*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, enter'd the Gulf of *Edinburgh*, and daily landing his Men, now in one place, then in another, carried away a great Booty (4).

The whole Year 1411, was spent in several Negotiations, which ended at length in prolonging the Truce with *France* for five Years, with *Castile*, till February 1413, and with *Bretagne* for ten Years.

These Negotiations require no farther Explication, since we have already seen the Occasion of them. But the Negotiation this Year with the Duke of *Burgundy*, merits a more particular notice. To that end, it will be necessary to explain, as briefly as possible, the present Situation of Affairs in *France*, on which depends a good

Part of the Occurrences of this, and the two following Reigns. 1411.

We have seen how *John Duke of Burgundy* assassinated the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of King *Charles VI*, and avowing the Fact, had Credit enough to procure a Pardon. He, afterwards, went into his Dominions in *Flanders*, with design to restore to the Bishoprick of *Liege*, his Duchess's Brother, expelled by his People. Whilst he was preparing for this War, the Duchess of *Orleans*, in Company with her three Sons, of whom *Charles* the eldest was but fifteen Years old, came, and casting herself at the Feet of the King her Brother-in-law, demanded Justice for the Death of her Husband. Though the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtained a Pardon, his Adversaries taking advantage of his Absence, had Interest enough to have it revoked, and to cause him to be pronounced Enemy of the State. He was then marching to the Relief of *Maestricht*, where the Men of *Liege* held their Bishop besieged. At his Approach, they raised the Siege; but, being afterwards informed, the Duke had only sixteen thousand Men, resolved to attack him. Though their Army was three times as strong as the Duke's, they were routed with the loss of thirty thousand Men. The Duke's Victory so alarmed his Enemies in *France*, that not thinking themselves safe at *Paris*, where the Duke had many Adherents, they retired to *Tours*, and took the King along with them. The victorious Duke, preferring his Affairs in *France*, to the War against the Men of *Liege*, who were sufficiently humbled, put himself immediately at the head of four thousand Horse, and came to *Paris*, where he was received in Triumph. At his Arrival he so managed, that the *Parisians* sent Deputies to the King, praying him to return to their City. *Charles*, who was then in one of his Intervals, thought it not advisable in the present Juncture, to protect the Enemies of the Duke of *Burgundy*. He repaired to *Paris* as desired, and immediately appointed considerable Persons to mediate an Agreement between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. The Duchess of *Orleans* died with Grief, to see her Husband's Murderer triumphant; and the young Duke of *Orleans*, then but in his sixteenth Year, found himself obliged to be reconciled to his mortal Enemy. From thenceforward, the Duke of *Burgundy* seized the Government, the King, who frequently relapsed, being too weak to hold the Reins himself.

Mean while, *Henry*, who had always an eye to a Peace with *France*, formed a Design to marry the Prince of *Wales*, with one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he saw so firmly established. But whilst he was carefully thinking how to accomplish his Project, such Alterations happened in *France*, as made him sensible, this Alliance was not so certain a means, as he had imagined, to attain his Ends. The Dukes of *Berry*, *Orleans*, *Alençon*, *Bretagne*, and the Earls of *Clermont* and *Armagnac*, meeting at *Gien* in August 1410, entered into a League against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and shortly after approached *Paris*. The Duke, having the King in his Power, opposed them with equal Forces; which convinced them, that the Execution of their Designs depended on a Battle, the Success whereof could not but be doubtful. In all appearance, *France* itself would be ruined by a Battle, which would have been destructive to the Kingdom, on which side soever Victory inclined, had not means been found to make an Agreement between these Princes. It was agreed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should depart from *Paris*, the confederate Princes should not enter there, and none of the Heads of the two Parties ever come to Court, unless sent for by Letters under the Great-Seal.

The Duke of *Burgundy* punctually observing this Agreement, retired into the Low-Countries; but the Duke of *Orleans*, and the rest of his Party, were not so scrupulous. After disbanding their Troops, they levied others, and approached *Paris*, in expectation of enriching themselves with the Plunder of the Metropolis, which remained firm to the *Burgundian* Party. The Duke finding himself thus deceived, made an Alliance with the King of *England*, who believing it his Interest to support him, sent him a considerable Body of Troops (5). With this Assistance, the Duke marching into *France*, and passing through the Enemies Quarters, who were blocking up *Paris*, entered the City, amidst the Acclamations of the

Assassination of the Duke of Orleans. *France. Mezerai. P. Daniel.*

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 695, 699. *Walsing.*

Henry aids the Duke of Burgundy. *Walsing.*

(1) *Ropin* says here, by mistake, that Clerks should not be tried in the Ecclesiastical Courts.—*Walsingham's* Words are,—*Ut clerici convicti de cetera non tradantur ergastulis Episcoporum, sed carceribus regis, & temporalium dominorum*, p. 379.

(2) A Tenth on the Clergy, and a Fifteenth on the Laity. *Walsing.* p. 379.

(3) Till the middle of May: And then the Commons granted him a Fifteenth; and continued the Duties on Wool, Leather, and Wool-fells, and Tonnage and Poundage; but with this condition, that express mention should be made, it was done of their own good wills: Out of these Duties, they gave the King twenty thousand Marks, to dispose of at his pleasure. *Walsing.* p. 379. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 474.

(4) He brought away to much Corn, &c. that he brought down the Prices of things, and thence was called *Mend-Market*.

(5) Under the Command of *John Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*; *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, &c. *Walsing.* p. 380.

1411. People on the 30th of October 1411. From this time began the two powerful Factions of Orleans and Burgundy, the first of which received afterwards the Name of the Armagnacs, from the Earl of Armagnac, who became their Head.

Parliament
in England.
Act. 1.
c. 1.

Glendour is
excepted.
A. C. Pub.
VIII. p. 711.
His Affairs
got decay.

Act. Pub.
Tom. IX.
p. 283, 330.

1412.
Continuation
of the Trou-
bles in
France.

Henry thinks
of taking
advantage of
them.

The Factions
of Orleans
and Burgundy
for Aid.
Ib. p. 716,
718, 726.
Walling.

The Duke of
Burgundy
tries to break
the Measures
of his
Enemies.
Act. Pub.
VIII. p. 721,
737.

Treaty be-
tween Henry
and the
Orleans
Factions.
p. 738.
Walling.

Whilst France was in Trouble and Confusion, the Parliament of England meeting about the end of this Year (1), petitioned the King for a general Pardon for his Subjects. Henry readily complied with their Request, excepting only Glendour and his Adherents (2). This shews Glendour was still living, though most Historians say, he died in 1409. It is true, after the Earl of Northumberland's Death, his Affairs were gone to decay. The Welsh, seeing he was unable to perform his Promises, had deserted him by degrees. He was even apprehensive, they would make some attempt upon his Life, or deliver him up to the King. His fears inducing him to conceal himself, he passed the residue of his Days in some unknown Place. So, it is no wonder the time of his Death is unknown. However, that he lived till the Year 1417, is certain.

The Affairs of France were embroiled more and more, by the mutual Hatred of the two Factions, who made no scruple of sacrificing the Good of the Publick to their Animosity. Hitherto Henry had justly dreaded some Mischief from that quarter. If the Dissensions of the Princes of the Blood had not hindered those that were at the Helm, during the King's Illness, from effectually supporting the Male-contents in England, he would very probably have been greatly distressed. But when he saw the Animosity of the two Factions carried to the highest degree, his Fears entirely vanished. He even began to think of means, to reap some Benefit from the Troubles in France, as the French had frequently attempted to take advantage of the Insurrections in England. Herein, the Observation of the Truce was no more regarded on one side than the other.

Henry soon found as favourable an Opportunity, offered by the French themselves, as he could desire. The Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alençon, the Earl of Armagnac and the Lord d'Albret, Heads of one of the Factions, seeing themselves unable to withstand the Duke of Burgundy, who had the King and all the Royal Family in his Power, came to a Resolution, to strengthen themselves with the Assistance of the King of England. But as they were not ignorant, that the Duke of Burgundy had prevented them, by making an Alliance with Henry, they thought it necessary to break that Union, by offering such Terms, as were capable of taking off Henry from his Engagements with their Enemy. To that end they met at Bourges, where they agreed upon the Conditions to be offered him, and then sent Deputies to treat with him.

Hitherto, the Duke of Burgundy had evaded Henry's Proposal, of marrying the Prince of Wales with one of his Daughters. Probably, he had entertained other Views. But, upon Information of what was contriving in England, he thought proper to press, in his turn, the conclusion of the Marriage. Henry pretended to hear with Pleasure the Proposition, but it was only to procure better Terms from the Orleans Faction, with whom he designed to make an Alliance. And indeed, the Deputies of the Princes hearing of this Negotiation, insisted no farther upon any Article, but concluded the Treaty, just as Henry desired, on the 18th of May 1412.

By this Treaty the Confederate Princes were bound, I. To give up to the King of England about fifteen hundred Towns, Castles, and Bayliwicks, which they held in Guienne, or in Poitou.

II. To conquer for him what remained of these two Provinces in the hands of the French, and restore to him Guienne, with all its Dependencies, in the same State and Extent, as enjoyed by his Predecessors.

III. The King allowed, that the Duke of Berry should hold Poitiers for Life, on condition he did him Homage, and delivered up Poitiers, Niort, and Lusignan: As for the rest of the fortified Towns in that Province, he should place such Governors in them, as would bind themselves by Oath to resign them after his Death to the King of England. The Duke of Orleans was to have the Duchy of Angoulême, upon the same Terms, and the Earl of Armagnac certain Castlewards in Guienne.

IV. The King was bound on his part, to lend the Princes an Aid of a thousand Men at Arms, and three thousand Archers, who were to go to Blois, where they

should be received by the Princes, and paid before-hand according to the stipulated pay.

The Treaty being ratified, Henry gave the Command of this Aid to Thomas his second Son, created, a few days after, Duke of Clarence. He sent with him in this Expedition the Duke of York, and Thomas Beaufort High-Admiral of England. These Troops departed in July, and it appears by several Pieces in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the King was preparing to go in Person to Guienne, to take Possession of what had been promised him.

But whilst these Forces had been busily raising in England, the face of Affairs was altered in France. The Duke of Burgundy improving his Advantages over his Enemies, closely besieged them in Bourges, and had brought the King with him. Though the Besieged made a vigorous Defence, in hopes of the Supplies that were coming from England, they would have found it perhaps very difficult to hold out, if the Duke of Burgundy had not thought proper to offer them Peace. He was afraid of the Arrival of the English Troops, and the Confederates had reason to apprehend, they would not come timely enough. These different Fears rendering both Sides more tractable, the Peace offered by the Duke of Burgundy was accepted without hesitation, and at the same time proclaimed.

Mean time, the Duke of Clarence landing in Normandy, advanced towards Blois with all possible diligence, without committing Hostilities by the way. But when he was informed, that the Confederates had accepted a Peace (3), he considered France as an Enemy's Country, and made great Ravages in his march. It was the Duke of Orleans's business, head of the Faction, who had drawn him into France, to content him. But as he had no Money to pay what was already due to the English (4), he was forced to give him the Earl of Angoulême his Brother in Hostage. On the other hand, the Duke of Clarence finding himself in the Heart of an Enemy's Country, with a few Troops, and not without apprehension, that the two Parties would join against him, did not think fit to stand upon Terms. He only stipulated for leave to lead his Troops into Guienne, where they served to recover some Places, by the help of the Earl of Armagnac, and the Lord d'Albret, who were not pleased with the Peace.

This Affair being ended, Henry enjoyed a profound Tranquillity. He had nothing more to fear from France, which, by intestine Divisions, was become unable to hurt him. The Welsh fought only to make their Peace, and the Regent of Scotland, content to see the King his Nephew in the hands of the English, minded only his private Concerns. In fine, the Male-contents in England, being no longer supported by foreign Princes, remained quiet. Henry made use of this Calm to efface the ill Impressions, his Severity and Proceedings with respect to the Parliament, had made in the Minds of his Subjects. He affected Popularity, and endeavoured by all sorts of means to shew, he thought of nothing less than stretching the Prerogative Royal. His Endeavours were crowned with such Success, that, notwithstanding his Severity to his Enemies, and Refusals to the House of Commons, he was deemed a generous, mild, and moderate Prince. What was before considered, as an effect of his cruel and revengeful Temper, was now readily ascribed to pure Necessity, and the Circumstances of his Affairs. It was, doubtless, the latter Behaviour of this Prince, which led Historians to give him such Commendations, as his former Actions no way deserve. This Example shews, how easy it is for a Sovereign to efface the disadvantageous Impressions entertained of him by his Subjects, provided he is so wise and fortunate, as to persuade the World, he sincerely intends to reform his Conduct.

Whilst Henry was endeavouring to recover his Reputation, which had suffered a little since his Accession to the Throne, the Prince of Wales was entirely destroying his own, by his daily Excesses. Though he had naturally a great and generous Heart, he suffered himself to be corrupted by Persons, who, to serve their own Ends, flattered his vicious Passions, and diverted him from the Paths of Virtue. His Court was the receptacle of Libertines, Debauchees, Buffoons, Parasites, and the like. Nothing was talked of, but the riotous and extravagant Pranks of the Prince, or his Companions. Such a Conduct in a Prince, who was one day to sit on the Throne, was very amazing to the confederate, who could not help dreading the Consequences. However, amidst these Apprehensions,

(1) On November 3. The Lords and Commons continued for one Year longer the Duties on Wool, Wool-fells, and Leather; and also the Subsidy on Tunnage and Poundage; so as it was always confessed to proceed from their own Good Will, and not of Duty. They also granted, that every Person having more than one Pound a Year in Land, above all Charges, should pay six Shillings and Eight-pence. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 478, 479.

(2) This Pardon is dated December 22. at Westminster. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. VIII. p. 711.

(3) This Peace was concluded at Bourges, July 15, and from thence called the Peace of Bourges.

(4) Which was three hundred and twenty thousand Crowns of Gold. *P. Daniel Hist. France.* Tom. V. p. 525.

1412. a Ray of Hope was seen to shine; in a very unexpected mark of Moderation given by the Prince. One of his Favorites (1) being arraigned for Felony before the Chief Justice (2); he resolved to be present at the Trial, with design to over-awe the Judge. But his Presence not preventing the Criminal's Condemnation, he was so transported with Passion, that he struck the Judge on the Face. The Chief Justice thus affronted; considering the Consequences of such an Action, without regarding the Quality of the Offender, commanded him to be arrested on the spot, and committed to Prison (3). Then was seen what would never have been expected, the Prince, quiet as a Lamb, submitting without murmuring, to the Judge's Orders, and suffering himself to be led to Prison without Resistance, like a private Person.

The Judge's Courage, and the Prince's Moderation, were equally pleasing to the King. Nevertheless, Henry, who was excessively jealous of his Crown, could not help giving Ear to some People's Intimations, that his Son had ill Designs against him. This Belief troubling him extremely, he would, perhaps, have proceeded to Extremities, in order to prevent the imagined danger, had not the Prince taken timely care to remove his Suspicions. As soon as he was informed of the King his Father's Thoughts of him, he desired a private Audience, and obtaining it, cast himself at his Feet, and said, "Sir, I am told you "have entertained a Suspicion of me, injurious to my "Honour, and to the Reverence and Veneration I have "for your Person. It is true, I freely confess, I have "been guilty of some intemperate Sallies, which deserve "your Indignation. But I never had the least thought "of any Attempt upon your Person or Government. "They that dare charge me with so monstrous a Crime, "seek only to disturb your Quiet and mine. To clear "my self of this Imputation, I have taken the Liberty "to come and throw my self at your Feet, humbly in- "treating you, to cause all my Actions to be as rigorously "examined, as those of your meanest Subjects. I am "ready to undergo this strict Scrutiny, knowing you will "be fully convinced of my Innocence." The King seeing with what Frankness the Prince offered to vindicate himself, grew perfectly easy, and restored him to Favour.

1413. In the beginning of the Year 1413, Henry was seized with a Distemper, which, in three Months, laid him in his Grave. Mezerai says, it was the Leprosy. Others affirm, it was a sort of Apoplexy, which had frequent Returns, and threw him into Fits that took away his Senses. However this be, his Distemper, which seized him at several times, lasted near three Months, and then brought him to his end (4). A certain Person having formerly told him, he should die at Jerusalem, he remembered the Prediction, and verily believed, God would make him his Instrument to rescue that City out of the hands of the Infidels. Thus persuaded, he fancied his Death was not so near, and thought it his Duty to dedicate the Remainder of his Days to that glorious Expedition. Accordingly he took the Cross, and calling a great Council, communicated his Design, and ordered all thing to be speedily prepared for his Voyage. But presently after, the Returns of his Distemper being more frequent than usual, he found, instead of undertaking such an Expedition, he ought to employ all his thoughts in Preparations for Death. His continual Fear of losing his Crown, by reason of the many Attempts to wrest it from him, increased with his Years. Every time he went to Bed, he ordered it to be laid on his Pillow, lest it should be seized before he was dead. One day being fallen into so strong a Fit, that he was thought to resign his last Breath, the Prince of Wales took up the Crown and carried it away. Soon after, the King recovering his Senses, and missing the Crown, asked what was become of it. Being told the Prince had taken it, he sent for him, and asked him, whether he would rob him of his Royalty even before his Death. The Prince replied, *He never had any such Thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the Crown as his lawful Heir, and the only Person that had a Right to pretend to it. Nevertheless, he thanked God he saw him again recovered, and heartily wished he might long live to wear it himself.* At

the same time he went for the Crown, and laid it in its Place.

Henry's last Fit seized him in St. Edward's Chapel, as he was worshipping at that Saint's Shrine. He was carried to the Abbot of Westminster's Lodgings, which were nearer than his own. Some time after, recovering his Speech, and finding himself in a strange Place, he asked where he was: He was told, at the Abbot of Westminster's, in a Chamber called Jerusalem. These Words putting him in mind of the fore-mentioned Prediction, he thought only of dying. Before he expired, he sent for the Prince his eldest Son, and gave him many excellent Instructions, among which he could not forbear shewing some doubts concerning his Right to the Crown. He told him also, he was afraid his Brother, the Duke of Clarence, would disturb him in the possession of the Throne. It is not known, whether these Fears were occasioned by his second Son's restless Temper, or by some Engagement with him, when he conceived a Suspicion of his eldest. Be this as it will, the Prince answered, that being his lawful Heir, he would endeavour to keep the Crown by the same Methods he had himself preserved it during his Life. As for the Duke of Clarence, if he behaved as he ought, he should always find him a kind Brother; but if he pretended to do otherwise, he knew how to make him return to his Duty. The King said nothing more, except that he recommended him to the Protection of Heaven. A few Moments after, he resigned his last Breath, on the 20th of March 1413, in the forty-sixth Year of his Age, having reigned thirteen Years, five Months, and one and twenty Days (5).

Most of the Historians have endeavoured to give, in my opinion, a very unsuitable Idea of this Prince. They speak with Praise of his Mildness, Clemency, Generosity, Valour, and many other Virtues, which appear more in their Writings than in his Actions. If he had some Reputation, whilst a private Person, he does not seem to have increased or maintained it, after his Accession to the Throne. His distinguishing Character was an extreme Jealousy of a Crown, acquired by Ways not universally approved, and preserved by shedding a Torrent of noble Blood. The Death of Richard II will be an indelible Stain to his Memory, tho' his Usurpation of the Throne could be justified. In short, he performed nothing remarkable to afford matter for Panegyrick. His Expeditions into Scotland and Wales have nothing to distinguish him with Honour. If he happily freed himself from all the Conspiracies against him, he was chiefly indebted to the Mayor of Cirencester, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, and the Earl of Westmoreland. The Battle of Shrewsbury, wherein he vanquished young Percy, is the only notable Action in his whole Reign. His continual Fear of Insurrections, caused him to neglect several Opportunities of humbling France, and recovering the Provinces lost by his Predecessors. He even suffered many Insults from the French, Scots, Welsh and Bretons, without shewing much Resentment. In fine, he employed all his thoughts in preserving his Crown, and avoiding all Occasions by which it might be endangered. This prudent Policy ought to be the chief, if not the sole subject of his Encomium, as it was the sole Motive of his Actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had caused Richard II to be deposed, for usurping an absolute Power, he did not seem, by his Conduct, to have so great an Aversion for that Crime, as he pretended when it was his Interest to expose it. It is true, towards the end of his Life, he seemed to have formed a Design, to follow Maxims more conformable to the Nation's Liberties. But God was not pleased to allow him time to shew the Effects of this Resolution (6).

When I consider the excessive Commendations bestowed on this Prince, I cannot help suspecting, that the Glory of being the first Burner of Hereticks, and of protecting the Clergy against the Attempts of the House of Commons, were the main Springs of all these Encomiums. It is well known, the Ecclesiasticks are as zealous in praising their Benefactors, as in blackening their Opposers.

During this Reign, the famous Robert Knolles, William Wickham (7) Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Whittington

(1) Sir T. Elm says, it was one of his Servants. Stow's Ann. p. 342.

(2) William Gascoigne. See, ibid.

(3) To the King's Bench. Ibid.

(4) He had called a Parliament, to meet at Westminster, on Feb. 2. but being ill, nothing could be done. Wall. p. 382.

(5) His Body was conveyed, by Water, to Faversham; and from thence, by Land, to Canterbury, and there solemnly interred. His Tomb is of Ashlaster, Parcel gilt, and seems to have been erected by Queen Joan of Navarre, his second Wife, whose Effigies lies upon his Right-hand, and is placed between two Pillars on the North-side the Chapel of St. Thomas Becket, opposite to the Monument of Edward the Black Prince. See, ibid. p. 275.

(6) There is no mention of any Works either of Magnificence or Charity done by this King, except his contributing towards the Foundation of Framingham College in Northamptonshire, which was begun in 1412, by Edward Plantagenet Duke of York. Stow's Ann. p. 359.

(7) So called from Wickham in Hampshire, where he was born, in 1324. His Father's Name was John Perrot. After he had been bred at Winchester and Oxford, he returned to his Patron Nicholas Wadham, who had been at the Charge of his Education. He afterwards became known to Edward III, and having a Genius for Architecture, was made Surveyor of the King's Buildings. His Direction for rebuilding Windsor Castle gave great Satisfaction, and occasioned his Promotion at Court, where he passed through the Offices of Secretary of State, Privy Seal, &c. He was preferred to the See of Winchester in 1367, and soon after made Lord Chancellor of England. It is said, being presented to the King as a Man of

1413. tington Mayor (1) of London, were eminent for works of Charity and useful Foundations.
- Stow. Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Gower, two famous Poets that flourished in this Reign, are generally reckoned the first Reformers of the English Tongue (2).
- Henry IV's 1414. Henry had by Mary Bohun (3), Daughter of the Earl of Hereford, four Sons and two Daughters, namely, Henry

his Successor, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, created Duke of Gloucester by Henry V, his Brother. Blanch, the eldest of the Daughters, was married to Lewis Barbatus Elector Palatine, and Philippa his second, was Wife of Eric King of Denmark and Norway.

14. HENRY V. Surnam'd of MONMOUTH.

HENRY V.
1413.
March 20.

HENRY IV not having the Happiness to be beloved by the English, his Death was not much regarded. The Clergy alone lamented his Loss, because in his Reign they had met with great Favour and Protection. But the rest of the People easily forgot a Prince, who, after his Accession to the Crown, had performed nothing memorable, and shed more of his Subjects Blood than of the Enemies of the State. The very Peace enjoyed by the English during his whole Reign, was not grateful to them. War would have been thought more beneficial, since a fairer Opportunity to recover what was lost in France had never offered. So, in expectation that the Prince his Son would revive the Glory of the English Name, which seemed buried in Oblivion, since the Reign of Edward III, they joyfully beheld him succeeding a Father, from whom nothing very advantageous to the Kingdom could be expected, though his Reign had been longer. In the present Juncture, England wanted an active and warlike King, who knew how to take advantage of the Commotions in France. On the other hand, War was become necessary, to dispel the ill Humours spread over the Kingdom in the late Reign.

Education of
Henry V.

Henry of Monmouth, so called from the Place of his Birth (4) was exactly of the Temper desired by the English. He was naturally of an elevated and enterprising Genius. For this reason the King his Father had always kept him at a distance from Affairs; this elevated Spirit being too apt to breed Suspicion in so mistrustful a Prince. He had been a Student in Queen's-College in Oxford, under the Tuition of the Bishop of Winchester his Uncle (5), Chancellor of that University. Here, in his tender Years, the Principles of Honour and Virtue were so carefully imprinted in his Mind, that they could never after be effac-

ed. In his very Childhood, he shewed a strong Inclination for War, which increasing with his Years, the King his Father thought proper to indulge it. At eighteen Years of Age, he commanded an Army against the Welsh, and defeated them in two Battles. But his Victories did him an unspeakable Prejudice. The King his Father, excessively jealous of his Authority, and dreading the Consequences of so noble a beginning, considered his Son's Reputation, as likely one day to prove destructive of his Quiet. Disturbed at this Thought, he removed him from all Warlike, as he had done from all Civil Offices, for fear it should be out of his Power to check his Flight, when once he should take Wing. Reduced to a State of Idleness, the Prince naturally active, sought Employment. Unhappily, by the Instigation of some about him, and perhaps by the Direction of the King his Father, he ran into dishonourable Courses, and abandoned himself to Excesses, unbecoming his Birth, and injurious to his Reputation (6). Notwithstanding all this, his good Disposition failed not to shew itself upon certain Occasions. His Moderation, in suffering himself to be led to Prison, by order of the Judge he had affronted, was a clear Evidence, that the Seeds of Virtue were not entirely destroyed in his mind by Sensuality. Accordingly, the King his Father, who was not ignorant of his Talents, was afraid of him, though a young Prince, drowned as it were in Pleasures, did not seem likely to give him Disturbance: The English themselves were not prejudiced against him. Indeed his wild Sallies might give occasion to fear, they should one day be unhappy under his Government. But, upon certain occasions, they observed in him Tokens of Generosity, Virtue, and greatness of Soul, which inspired them with hopes of a happy Change in his Person.

His warlike
Inclinations.

Henry IV's
Jealousy of
his Son.

Cause of the
Prince's
wild Courses.

The People
retain a good
Opinion of
him.

New-Col-
lege founded.

no Learning, and not fit for a Bishoprick; he told the King, That what he wanted in Learning himself, he would supply with being the Founder of Learning. Accordingly he began the Building of New-College in Oxford, and laid the first Stone himself, March 1, 1379. It was finished in seven Years. In 1387, on the 26th of March, he likewise laid in Person the first Stone of his College at Winchester, which he designed as a Nursery for that at Oxford. Upon this Foundation he settled an Estate for a Warden, ten Fellows, two Schoolmasters, and seventy Scholars. He died in the fourth Year of Henry IV, aged eighty Years, and lies buried in St. Swithun's Church in Winchester, in a stately Monument of his own erecting in his Lifetime.

(1) Among other things, he built Newgate in 1420, above half of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in West-Smithfield, and the Library in Grey Friars, now called Christ's Hospital. King Henry IV instituted the Duchy Court, in Honour of the House of Lancaster, to the end the Lands belonging to the Duchy might, in all following Times, be distinguished from the Lands of the Crown. In the Year 1411, the Guild-hall in London began to be rebuilt, as it now stands. Stow's Survey, B. III. p. 40.

(2) Geoffrey Chaucer was a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He was in great Favour with King Edward III, and his Successor Richard II, by whom he was employed in some important Negotiations, both at home and abroad. In 1374, King Edward III allowed him a Pitcher of Wine a Day, out of his Cellars. And in 1393, Richard II made him a Grant of a Hoghead of Wine every Year; besides a Pension of twenty Pounds a Year out of the Exchequer; both which were continued by Henry IV. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 35. Tom. VIII. p. 39, 51, 94, &c. He lived mostly about Woodstock and New-Ebm in Oxfordshire, where he had a considerable Estate; and dying in 1400, was buried in Westminster Abbey. His Son was Thomas Chaucer, Speaker of the House of Commons, in the second Year of Henry V. Alice, the Daughter of this Thomas, married, first, Sir John Philips; secondly, Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; and thirdly, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; and by these two last Matches, as well as her Father's Descent, the Family of Chaucer became allied to the greatest Houses in England. His Friend and Companion John Gower, who joined with him in refining the English Language, was of the Family of the Gowers of Sittenham in Yorkshire. He lies buried in St. Mary Overrey's Church in Southwark, part of which he rebuilt. Stow's Ann. p. 326. and Survey, B. IV. p. 8.

(3) Which died in 1394. She was the second Daughter, and one of the Co-heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Walsingham, p. 350. King Henry had no Children by Joanna of Navarre his second Wife.



Henry IV, by the Indenture of his third Year, contracted, That a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard was to make by Tale forty five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of half or quarter Nobles: And a Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling, to make by Tale seventy five Groats (i. e. Groats) amounting to twenty five Shillings; or a hundred and fifty half Groats, going for Two-pence a piece; or three hundred Sterlings, going for Pence a-piece; or six hundred half Sterlings, or Half-pence, called here Mailes. His Groats and half Groats have his Head crowned within a Rose, which the lesser Pieces have none. HENRIC DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. Reverse, POSUI. DEUM. ADIVTORE. MEUM. VILLA. CALISIE. (See Fig. 1.) The Half penny, HENRICUS. REX. ANGL. Reverse, VILLA. CALISIE. (See Fig. 2.) In the fourth Year of his Reign, it was enacted, That foreign Money be sent out of the Kingdom, or re-coined; that a Third of the Bullion be coined in Half-pence and Farthings; and that Galley Half-pence be not payable as formerly, in great deceit of the People. Of these Farthings, the Author of Num. Brit. Historia, says, he has once inscribed, H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPI. Reverse, CIVITAS. LONDON.

(4) He was born there in 1388. Sandford, p. 777.

(5) Henry Beaumont, second Son of John of Gaunt, by Catherine Swinford, consecrated June 23. 1406. Ibid. p. 261.

(6) He is said, among other Pranks, to disguise himself, and lie in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Rents, and in the Person of a Highwayman, to set upon and rob them. In such Rencounters he sometimes happened to be soundly beat, but always rewarded such of his Father's Officers, as made the stoutest Resistance. Stow's Ann. p. 342.

Immediately

1413.
Henry V
proclaimed
King.
Hall.

Stow.

T. Livius.

He is
crowned.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 3.
Walsing.

He dismisses
his old Com-
panions.
Hall.

He chooses a
Council.
T. Livius.
Hall.

He gives
Proofs of his
Piety.

He removes
Richard's
Body to
Westmin-
ster.
Walsing.
Dugdale's
Mon. Vol. I.
p. 973.

His kind
Parliament.
Walsing.
Cotton's
Abridg.

The Clergy
debate how
to root out
Heresy.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 61
66.
Walsing.
Bale.

Immediately after the Death of the King his Father, the Prince was proclaimed, by the name of *Henry the Fifth*. Instead of disputing the Crown, those who had been most averse to the Advancement of the House of *Lancaster*, were the first to pay him their duty. The Earl of *March* himself, relying on his Generosity, came and voluntarily put himself into his hands, to give him a convincing Proof of his sincere Intention to leave him in peaceable possession of the Throne. In fine, such Confidence did the *English* place in him, that, contrary to Custom, they offered to take the Oath of Allegiance, even before he was crowned. But he declined, in a modest and obliging manner, the receiving that Testimony of their Esteem. He told them, it was not reasonable, they should swear to be faithful to him, before he himself had taken a solemn Oath to govern them with Equity and according to Law. This Moderation, which charmed all the World, totally effaced the disadvantageous Impressions given by his former Conduct, to those by whom he was not well known.

The Ceremony of his Coronation being performed on the 9th of *April* (1), he granted that very day a general Pardon for all Crimes, except Murders and Rapes. His first Proceedings plainly shewed the Uprightness of his Intentions, and his Resolution worthily to fill the Throne to which he was raised. Before he applied himself to the Affairs of the State, he called before him the Companions of his former Riots, and, exhorting them to leave off their lewd Life, dismissed them with liberal Presents; but withal, strictly charged them, upon pain of incurring his Displeasure, not to presume to come near the Court. The Astonishment of these Men, who expected quite other things, was as great as the Admiration of the Witnesses to a Reformation, which afforded so pleasing a Prospect.

After this first proof of his Wisdom, the King continued, without ceasing, to give many others, which could admit of no doubt. In the first place, he chose for his Council, Persons of the greatest Gravity, Abilities, and Repute among his Subjects. Then he removed some of the Judges, and advanced such in their room, as to the Knowledge of the Law, joined a perfect Integrity. He did the same with regard to inferior Magistrates, and took particular Care to fill the vacant Benefices, with Persons of sound Principles and known Merit.

Nothing remained to confirm the good Opinion already conceived of him, but to display his martial Virtues, and give proofs of his Piety. As to the first, he shewed, during the whole Course of his Reign, that he was second to none of his Predecessors, as the Reader will have reason to be convinced hereafter. As for his Piety, he soon became famous by two signal Instances. Indeed the first might be very ambiguous; but it was considered then, as the most certain Sign, and best proof of the sincere Intentions of a Prince, to promote the Glory of God: I mean his condescension for the Clergy, in promising to persecute the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards*. The other mark of his Piety, was his Care to repair, as far as lay in his Power, the Injury done to *Richard II*. He ordered the Body of that Prince to be removed from the Abbey of *Langley* (2), where it was indecently buried, to *Westminster* Abbey, and laid by *Ann of Luxemburgh* his Queen. After performing this Duty, he founded three Religious Houses near *Shene* (3), where *Richard's* Soul was to be prayed for Night and Day.

The Parliament that was called some time before (4), met on the 15th of *May*, well inclined to the new King. Several Statutes were enacted, tending to the Preservation of the publick Peace, and of the People's Rights and Privileges (5). *Henry* freely gave his Assent to all these Statutes, and particularly to an Act to prevent Frauds, in the Elections of Members of Parliament. The Conduct of *Richard II*, and some Attempts of the late King, rendered this Act absolutely necessary (6).

Whilst the Parliament was employed in the publick Affairs, the Convocation of the Clergy was sitting, under the Direction of *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, being extremely incensed against the *Lollards*, had obtained of the late King an Order, to send Commissioners to *Oxford*, to take Informations concerning the Doctrine of the *Wickliffites*. The Business of these Commissioners was to discover the chief Abettors of

this Heresy, and how it came to be spread in the Kingdom, and particularly in the Dioceses of *London*, *Heresford*, and *Rocheſter*. At their return, they presented their Informations to the Archbishop, who laid them before the Convocation. After several Debates, it was resolved, there was no possibility of extirpating the *Lollard* Heresy, unless care was taken to inflict exemplary Punishments on the principal Favourers thereof: That among these, Sir *John Oldcastle* Baron of *Cobham*, was to be deemed the most considerable and dangerous: That therefore, as a Terror to the whole Sect, their principal Protector should be first attacked, and a Process formed against him for Heresy. But as *Oldcastle* was the King's Domestick, and in his Favour, it was thought, that Method might give Offence, unless the King was acquainted with it beforehand, and his leave desired to prosecute the Heretick. The Archbishop undertaking this Affair, waited on the King with complaints against *Oldcastle*. He tried to persuade him, that Fire and Faggot were the only means of extirpating Heresy, and that it was absolutely necessary for the Interest of Religion, to proceed against *Oldcastle*, according to the utmost rigour of the Law. The King having calmly heard him, replied, he could never approve of Force in reclaiming Hereticks, and the rather as Experience had but too frequently shewn, that rigorous Methods were as effectual against Truth, as against Error: That he would talk himself with *Oldcastle*, and try to restore him to the right way, and if he could not succeed, would then give leave for a Process against him. Meanwhile, to give the Clergy some Satisfaction, he issued a Proclamation, forbidding the *Lollards* to hold any Meetings, and charging his Subjects not to be present at their Preachings (7). A few days after, he was pleased to talk with *Oldcastle*, and finding him immoveable, no longer opposed the Clergy's Request.

The Archbishop having obtained the King's leave, sent a Summons to *Oldcastle*, who refusing to own the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, slighted the Citation. He would not even suffer it to be served upon him; so it was fixed upon the great Gates of the Cathedral in *Rocheſter*. *Henry* provoked at so haughty a Proceeding, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the Tower. On the 28th of *September*, the Prisoner was brought before the Archbishop, assisted by two other Bishops and several Ecclesiasticks. As they could get no Answers from him, but what were directly repugnant to the established Opinions of those Days, they pronounced him Heretick, and delivered him over to the secular Power. His Death would have immediately followed his Condemnation, if by the help of his Friends, or Carelessness of his Guards, he had not found means to escape out of Prison. He went and concealed himself in *Wales*, where his Persecutors left him not undisturbed, as will hereafter be seen. These are all the remarkable particulars, with regard to Domestick Affairs, that happened from the 20th of *March* 1413, to the end of *December*, the same Year.

I am now going to enter upon the Relation of the War, renewed by *Henry V*, against *France*: A War which had lasted ever since the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, though often interrupted by Truces in the late Reigns. In order to give a just Idea of this Prince's Motives to carry his Arms into *France*, it will be necessary to represent the then State of that Kingdom: Otherwise, it would be very difficult to understand the Sequel.

Charles VI, afflicted with a Distemper, which rendered him, most part of his time, incapable of governing, had three Sons, *Lewis*, *John*, and *Charles*. The eldest, who bore the Title of Dauphin and Duke of *Guienne*, was a Prince of an indifferent Character. At sixteen Years of Age, he had taken to a debauched Life; and moreover, was strongly possessed with Principles, that led him to arbitrary Power, and carried him into many Excesses. His Favorites indulged him in this Course of Life, and could not bear that he should be told of a Reformation, by which they would have been so great Losers. On the contrary, to prevent the Execution of a certain Project, formed for the better governing the Kingdom, and approved by an Assembly of the chief Men, they inspired their young Master with a Desire to hold the Reins of the Government himself, during his Father's Distemper. They intimated to him, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had seized it without any Right, and that none could claim

(1) *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, performed the Office of High-Steward; and *Henry Fitz-Hugh*, that of High-Constable, upon this solemn Occasion. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 2.

(2) From the Church of the *Friers-Precachers* at King's *Langley*. *Camden in Hertfordsh.*

(3) One of *Carthusians*, called the House of *Jesus* of *Bethlehem*; another of *Celestine* Monks, who observed the Rule of St. *Benedict*; and the third of *Bridgeton* Nuns. These two last Monasteries had one Church in common; the Nuns above under the Roof, the Brothers below on the Ground; both Monasteries were separately inclosed. *Dugdale's Monast.* Vol. I. p. 973.

(4) By one of these Statutes it was enacted, That no Under-Sheriff, Sheriff's Clerk, Receiver, or Bailiff, should be Attorney in the King's Courts, during the time that he is in Office with any such Sheriffs. See *Statutes*, 1 *Henry V*.

(6) This Parliament granted the King, for four Years, the like Subsidy of Staple-ware, Tonnage and Poundage, as had been granted to King *Henry IV*. See above, p. 496. Note (2). *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 535.

(7) Under pain of Imprisonment, and forfeiture of Goods. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 46.

1413. it to the prejudice of the King's eldest Son, since he exceeded the Age fixed by the Ordinance of *Charles V.* for the King's Majority. Upon this foundation, they advised him to endeavour to supplant the Duke of *Burgundy*, by seizing the *Bastile*, in order to hinder the *Parisians* from assisting him. This Project was executed shortly after, by means of the Governor of that Fortrefs, whom the Dauphin had gained to his Interest. But he had not long Reason to rejoice at the Success of his Enterprize. Upon the first Rumour of it in *Paris*, the Citizens, privately encouraged by the Duke of *Burgundy*, took Arms, to the number of ten or twelve thousand Men. One part invested the *Bastile*, the other, under the Conduct of a Surgeon, one *John de Troye*, came before the Dauphin's Palace, who, not expecting this Insurrection, found no other Remedy but to appear at the Window, to try to appease them; but nothing was able to stop them. After breaking open the Doors of the Palace, they rushed into the Apartments, and carried away above twenty Persons, whom they accused of corrupting the Prince, and threw them into Prison. On the other hand, the Governor of the *Bastile*, being seized with Fear, delivered up the Fortrefs to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, in spite of the Dauphin's Efforts, continued master of the Government. It was during these Troubles, which happened in *March* 1413, that *Henry IV.* died in *England*, and *Henry V.* his Son, ascended the Throne.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 51, &c.

Whilst the new King was employed in settling his Affairs at home, the Troubles were renewed in *France*. At the end of *April*, the Seditious took it in their heads to wear white Hoods, as a Badge of Distinction. *John de Troye*, at the head of an armed Mob, brought one to the Dauphin, who durst not refuse it. The King himself happening to be in the Street, as he was going to the Church of *Notre-Dame*, was obliged by the Seditious to take a White-Hood. But their Insolence did not stop here. Two days after, their Leader came to the Palace of *St. Pol*, where the King lodged: There, in presence of the whole Court, he undertook to justify the Imprisonment of the Dauphin's Officers; and added, there were still at Court many more, that equally deserved to be punished. At the same time, without regarding the Intreaties of the Dauphin, or the King himself, he seized a great Number of Lords and Ladies, and carried them to Prison. *Lewis of Bavaria* himself, the Queen's Brother, was not spared. The King not being able to withstand the Torrent, was forced to consent, that some of the Prisoners should be prosecuted, and to go to *Paris* in a White-Hood, to inroll certain Edicts, demanded by the Seditious.

The Dauphin finding himself thus checked by the Faction, or rather by the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father-in-law, their private Director, could not bear to remain in a situation so contrary to his Temper, without endeavouring to free himself. The Heads of the *Orleans* Faction, who had been forced to sign a Treaty, which removed them from *Paris* and the Court, were the only Persons from whom he could expect any Aid. He contrived therefore a secret Negotiation with them, and, the better to hide his Design, went and conferred with them in Person, under colour of procuring an Agreement between the two Parties, concerning some Breaches of the Peace of *Bourges*. After making a Combination, he so managed, that a Peace was confirmed; and by the new Treaty, signed at *Pontoise*, the *Orleans* Party were allowed to come and pay their Respects to the King at *Paris*.

The Duke of
Burgundy
appears
again to
Henry.
June.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 27.

Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* judging, by the Dauphin's former Attempt, what he was to expect from him, had resolved to secure Assistance, in case of Need. To that end, in *June* he had sent, as Earl of *Flanders*, an Embassy to *England*, whereof *Ralph*, Provost of *St. Donas* of *Bruges* was chief, under pretence of renewing the Treaty of Commerce between the *English* and *Flemings*; but in reality, to propose an Alliance with *Henry* (1). This appears by the King's Commission, at the same time to the Bishop of *St. David's*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, to conclude a personal Alliance between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*. It is hardly to be doubted, that the Duke had then formed a Design to make a League with the King of *England*. We shall, hereafter, see much plainer Proofs of this matter. This Design was not however so speedily executed. Probably, the Duke had no other Intent, than to secure the Assistance of the *English*, in case he should be pressed as he was in

June.
Ibid. p. 34.

the Reign of *Henry IV.* Otherwise, he did not think it necessary to hasten the conclusion of this Affair.

Whatever his Design was, *Henry* thought he should not neglect so favorable an Opportunity, to foment Troubles in *France*, of which he might make an Advantage. For that purpose, he sent, shortly after, Ambassadors (2) to *Paris*. Their publick Instructions were, to press the Court of *France* to observe, better than hitherto, the twenty-eight Years Truce. Secondly, to confirm the same, or make a new, Truce. Lastly, they had Power to adjust all the Differences between *England* and *France*. Very likely, one of the King's Motives, in sending this Embassy, was to be perfectly informed of the Posture of Affairs in that Kingdom. But his chief Aim was to conclude with the Duke of *Burgundy* the Alliance proposed by that Prince. This evidently appears by a fourth Commission, empowering them to sign an Alliance between him and the Duke, and between their respective Dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that the Provost of *St. Donas* laid the Foundation of this Negotiation in his first Journey to *London*. This was transacted in *July* 1413.

The next Month produced a great Change in the Affairs of *France*, much to *Henry's* Advantage. The *Orleans* Party, at the head of which were the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Nephew, the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, were approached *Paris*, pursuant to the Liberty given them. At the same time, the Dauphin, by his Intrigues, had gained great Numbers of the Citizens, who promised to assist him. Whereupon he ordered his Friends to take Arms, and marched about the Streets of *Paris*, at the head of thirty thousand Men. The Confection of the opposite Party was so great, that they quitted the *Louvre*, the *Town-House*, and the *Bastile*, of which they were in possession, without offering to make the least Resistance. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving it was not in his Power to resist the Torrent, and dreading, moreover, the Arrival of the *Orleans* Party, who were not far off, chose to retire into *Flanders*.

The Duke of
Burgundy
retires.

No sooner was he gone, but the *Orleans* Faction became uppermost at Court, without the Dauphin's reaping any Advantage. The King, being then in one of his Intervals, assumed the Government, and entertained so strong an Affection for the Duke of *Orleans* his Nephew, that he suffered himself to be wholly guided by his Counsels. The young Duke improving this Advantage, caused divers Edicts to be published against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Authors of the former Sedition to be prosecuted, several of whom were put to Death.

Edicts
against him.

Shortly after, the Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, meeting at *Lellingham* in *Picardy*, to negotiate a Peace, agreed (3), that the Truce should be inviolably kept till the 1st of *June* next ensuing (4). During the Negotiation, the *English* Ambassadors intimated, that the King their Master expected, *France* should restore whatever was taken from *England*, since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. This was in effect the Cause of the War, which had subsisted, ever since the Violation of that Treaty, and this Demand contained nothing extraordinary. However, the Court of *France* having flattered themselves, that after the Death of *Edward III.* the Kings of *England* would think no more of prosecuting their Pretensions, were extremely alarmed at this Declaration. The Posture of their Affairs made them justly apprehensive of the renewal of the War. So, without loss of time, were dispatched to *London*, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Constable d'*Albrét*, and *Col*, one of the King's Secretaries, under pretence of endeavouring to make Peace, but in reality to discover *Henry's* Intentions. These Ambassadors arrived at *London* in *October*, and could only obtain a Prolongation of the Truce, for what time they pleased (5).

Truce
between the
two Crowns.

Septemb.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 56.

First De-
mands of
Henry.

Embassy
from France.
p. 60, 70,
88-102.

Whilst they were in *England*, the Court of *France* continued their Proceedings against the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Adherents, many of whom suffered by the hand of the Executioner. *Lewis d'Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who had with him a Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, affianced to his eldest Son, reproachfully sent her back to her Father. Shortly after, he gave one of his Daughters in marriage to *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu*, the King's third Son, who was not yet full thirteen Years old. Nothing could prove more fatal to *France* than this Marriage. The young Prince, espousing the Interest and

He gives his
Daughter to
Charles
the King.

(1) *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, General of the Forces sent into *France* by the late King, returned to *England*, this Year, about *Easter*. *Walsingham*, p. 382.

(2) *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. David's*; *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*; *William de Winton*, Lord of *Calais*; *Henry*, Lord of *St. Pol*; *Ralph Grenebusch*, Doctor of Laws; and *Richard Holme*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 34*. Their Commissions and Instructions bear date *July* 14.

(3) On *September* 26. See *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 60*.

(4) In this Truce the *Sicils* were included. *Ibid.*

(5) Only for one Year, beginning at *February* 2. 1414. *Ibid. p. 94*.

1413. Passion of the King his Father-in-law, became sworn Enemy to the Duke of Burgundy. At the same time, he incurred the hatred of that Duke; who, though in Exile, had still a powerful Party in the Kingdom. This mutual Animosity, which continually increased, was the occasion of many Calamities to France.

The Duke of Burgundy offers his Assistance to the Dauphin, who accepts of it.

He approaches Paris.

An Edict against him

He retires.

1414.

The Lollards are accused of conspiring against the King.

Walsingham.

The King is told twenty thousand of them were met together.

He believes it.

Mean while, the Dauphin receiving no Benefit from the late Revolution at Court, could not behold, without extreme concern, the Duke of Orleans at the head of Affairs, whilst himself was without Credit, and like a Prisoner in the *Louvre*, where he was narrowly watched. This Constraint being insupportable to a Prince of his Character, he readily listened to the Duke of Burgundy's Offer of Assistance, to place him in the Post to which he was entitled by his Birth. They entered therefore into a sort of League to expel the Duke of Orleans from Court. The Duke of Burgundy having thus secured the Dauphin, approached Paris at the head of an Army, pretending his design was to free the Dauphin his Son-in-law from Captivity. He imagined, Paris would declare in his favour, but so good order was taken, that nothing stirred. During these Transactions, the King, who for some time had been in one of his usual Fits, recovering his Senses, published against the Duke of Burgundy a thundering Edict, styling him Traitor and Enemy of the State. This Edict, joined to the small hopes that Paris would declare for him, caused the Duke to return into Flanders. Let us leave for a moment the Affairs of France; to which we shall soon have occasion to return, since they are the chief Subject of this Reign, in order to see what passed in England in the beginning of the Year 1414 (1).

Mention was made in the late Reign of the two Attempts of the Commons, to strip the Clergy of a good part of their Revenues, though without Success. The Clergy could not doubt that these Attempts were the fruit of the Doctrine of the Lollards. Probably, this was one of the principal Causes of their hatred to these pretended Hereticks. For the same reason, in the late Convocation, they had resolved to use the most violent Means, to extirpate a Heresy, to them so detestable. Oldcastle, a Man of a good Family, and extraordinary Merit (2), was destined to be the first Victim for a Terror to the whole Sect. But by good fortune he had escaped out of the hands of his Enemies. It was with great concern, that the Archbishop heard the King say, he did not approve of rigorous Methods. He even plainly enough shewed it to be his real Opinion, since, after Oldcastle's escape, he took no care to have him pursued and apprehended. It was evident, so long as the King was in these moderate Sentiments, the Clergy would hardly be able to have their desire upon the Hereticks. So, it was their Interest, that the King should have others, more agreeable to the barbarous Zeal, wherewith Ecclesiasticks are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that end, than to make him believe, the Lollards had a design upon his Person, and were forming Conspiracies to over-turn the State. Accordingly, to this the Clergy applied themselves without loss of time. The late Proclamation against their assembling, quickly furnished them with a fair opportunity. The Lollards continued their Meetings, notwithstanding the Proclamation, though with all possible Secrecy. As they durst not assemble in Houses, for fear of being discovered, they commonly chose some unfrequented Place in the Country, to worship God after their manner. Some of them resolving to assemble, without one of the Gates of London, in a Place called St. Giles's Fields, which was then covered with Bushes, were, as it often happens on such occasions, betrayed by false Brethren. This discovery afforded their Enemies the opportunity they were eagerly seeking. The King was then at Elibam, about seven Miles from London, where he designed to keep his Christmases. He little expected a Conspiracy against his Person, when suddenly, towards Night, he was told, that Oldcastle was in St. Giles's, with twenty thousand Lollards. It was further said, that their design was to kill the King, the Princes his Brothers, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who were not their Friends. Certainly it was very unlikely, that twenty thousand Men should be able to assemble at the very Gates of London, without being observed. It was still more improbable, that Oldcastle, an experienced Warrior, should chuse St. Giles's Fields, overgrown as they were with Bushes and Shrubs, for the Rendezvous of

his Troops. Nevertheless, the News was confirmed by so many Circumstances, that the King could not help crediting the Report. He immediately drew together as many armed Men as was possible, and ordered the Gates of London to be shut, lest the Populace should go and assist the Rebels (3). As he was naturally very bold, he resolved to attack them before they had taken all their Measures. He arrived upon the Place about mid-night, and finding about fourscore, or a hundred Persons, fell upon them. There were about twenty killed, and sixty taken. Unhappily, they had brought Arms with them for their Defence, in case they were attacked by their Persecutors. It was this, probably, that helped to convince the King of their ill Design. This alone, however, would not have been capable of persuading him, they had really conspired against him, if among those that were taken, there had not been some that, gained by Promises, or awed by Threats, confessed whatever their Enemies desired. They said, their Intent was to kill the King, and the Princes his Brothers, with most of the Lord Spiritual and Temporal, in the Expectation that the Consequence, which after such a Massacre would ensue in the Kingdom, would prove favorable to their Religion. Some added, that, after the murder of the King and Prince, they intended to make Oldcastle Regent of the Kingdom, and that the Conspiracy was formed by the direction of that Lord. In truth, it is hardly conceivable, how a Prince so just as a *Henry*, could suffer himself to be imposed upon by so gross a Fiction. Indeed, had he found twenty thousand Men in Arms in St. Giles's, as he was made to believe, it would have been very suspicious. But that fourscore or a hundred Men, among whom there was not a single Person of Rank, should have formed such a Project, is extremely improbable. Besides, he himself knew Sir John Oldcastle to be a Man of Sense, and yet nothing was more wild than the Project fathered upon him; a Project which it was supposed, he was to execute with a handful of Men, without being present himself, and without its being known where he was, or that there was any other Leader in his room. But however, the King thought him guilty, and, in that belief, set a thousand Marks upon his Head, with a Promise of perpetual Exemption from Taxes, to any Town that should secure him (4). It is very likely however, that in time the King perceived the falshood of this Imputation; and what makes me think so, is this: In the first place, how strict Inquiry soever was made over all the Kingdom, to discover the Accomplices of this pretended Conspiracy, not a single Person could be found, besides those taken at St. Giles's. And yet it is manifest, that, to execute such a Design to any purpose, fourscore or a hundred Persons of no great Distinction, were not sufficient. In the next Place, even of those that were taken at St. Giles's, but very few were immediately executed (5), whilst the Prejudice against them was yet in its full strength. The King pardoned all the rest. Thirdly, we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, not only a general Pardon for all the Lollards, but likewise several private Pardons granted to some that were condemned, though they had constantly denied the Fact. It would not be very strange, that the King should have pardoned Criminals that confessed themselves guilty; but it is unusual with Sovereigns to forgive such a Crime, in obstinate Offenders, who render themselves unworthy of a Pardon, by denying what their Sentence supposes them convicted of. I add further, that Clemency was not Henry's favorite Virtue, on the contrary, he leaned very much to the side of Severity, as will appear by several Instances in his Reign. Is it likely therefore, that he should pardon Persons convicted of intending to murder him, with all the Royal Family, and great Men of the Kingdom, at the very time they obstinately persisted in denying the Fact, for which they were condemned, had he really believed them guilty? Lastly, the Principles of the Lollards were very far from allowing such Barbarities. It is therefore more than probable, that this Accusation was forged, to render the Lollards odious to the King, in order to obtain his License for their Persecution, and that the King himself was convinced of its falshood, after his first Prejudice was removed. It must however be confessed, that in all these Pardons, he always supposed the Crime to be proved. But in order to a Pardon, it was necessary to take the Crime for granted.

In February 1414, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, went to give an Account to God, for all the inno-

Act. Pub. IX. p. 129, Walsingham.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 129, 170, 190.

Dated of Archbishop Arundel.

(1) This Year the greatest part of *Norwich* was burnt. *Walsingham*, p. 382. — January 3. 1414, a Truce for ten Years concluded between England and Bretagne. *Rymers Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 80 — 85.

(2) He was made Sheriff of *Hertfordshire* in 3 Henry IV, and had Summons to Parliament among the Barons of the Realm, in 11, 12, 14, of that King's Reign. He was sent beyond Sea with the Earl of Arundel to aid the Duke of Burgundy against the French. He married the Niece and heir of Henry Lord Cobham, and for that reason took the Title of Lord Cobham. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 67.

(3) *Walsingham* observes, That if the King had not made use of this Precaution, no less than fifty thousand Persons of all sorts, would have been ready to come to the Assistance of the Lollards, p. 386.

(4) And besides, any Person, by whose Means or Advice he could be seized or arrested, was to have five hundred Marks. *Rymers Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 90.

(5) Sir Roger Aston, with twenty eight more, were hanged, and burnt in St. Giles's Fields. *Fox Mart. Hall*, fol. 55. Sir John Oldcastle escaped out of the Tower, as is related above, and fled into Wales, where he lived above four Years. *Bale*, fol. 48.

1414.
Cheveley
succeeded.
Wainage.

Henry de-
mands the
recompense
of the
Treaty of
Bretigny.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 12,
103, 149.

Offer of one
of Charles's
Daughters
to Henry.

Henry's
fourth
Daughter.
Ib. p. 91,
140, 106,
106, 182.

Truce pro-
longed.
January.

Henry sends
Ambassadors
to France.
P. 103.

Another
Embassy.
Ib. p. 132.

Henry's
Demands.
p. 203,
208.

Elmham.
Walling.

cent Blood he had caused to be shed (1). He was succeeded by Henry Chicheley Bishop of St. David's. But the Lollards got nothing by this Change, he being no less their Enemy than his Predecessor.

I left the Archbishop of Bourges and the Constable d'Albret at London, where they quickly discovered the King's Intentions. The Commissioners who treated with them, demanded in Henry's name, whatever had been taken from England since the Treaty of Bretigny. The French replied, They had no Instructions upon that head. They proposed however, as of themselves, a proper means, in their Opinion, to procure a Peace between the two Kings. This was a Marriage between the King of England, and Catherine the youngest of Charles IV's Daughters. This Princess had four Sisters, of whom one was a Nun, and the other three married. So it was she alone that could be offered to Henry. This Proposal was not wholly rejected. Though Henry should insist upon the Restitution he demanded, as being the speediest and most effectual way to a lasting Peace, what the French Ambassadors offered, not being inconsistent with the Restitution, he thought he might accept it, without any Prejudice to himself. But as the Ambassadors had not sufficient Powers to treat upon this Affair, it was only agreed, that the Truce should be prolonged to the second of February 1415.

Presently after the departure of the French Ambassadors, Henry sent five into France (2), to continue the Negotiation begun at London, concerning the Restitution and Marriage (3). The Ambassadors were empowered to promise, in the King's name, that he would not ingage in any other Marriage-Treaty till the 15th of May. Nay, they might prolong that Term, if it was thought proper.

The Court of France not thinking the Powers of these Ambassadors sufficient, Charles wrote to Henry, that if he would send Ambassadors with fuller Powers, he would readily hear them. Upon this Letter, Henry dispatched five more, all eminent for their Birth and High-Posts; namely, the Bishop of Norwich, the Earls of Dorset, Warwick, Salisbury, and the Lord Grey (4).

These Ambassadors entered immediately into Conference with King Charles's Commissioners, the chief of whom was the Duke of Berry his Uncle. They demanded at first the whole Kingdom of France for their Master, by virtue of his Right, as Heir of Edward III. But after a short Pause, they added, that being very sensible their Demand might cause some Disgust, they would make another, with a Protestation however that it should not be prejudicial to the Rights of their Sovereign. Then they limited their Demands to the following Articles:

I. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, in full Sovereignty.

II. The Right of Sovereignty over the Earldom of Flanders, and Duchy of Bretagne.

III. Whatever France held in Guienne.

IV. All in general that was given up to Edward III, by the Treaty of Bretigny.

V. The whole Country possessed by France between the Somme and Gravelin.

VI. Lastly, That all those Countries should be resigned to the King of England in full Sovereignty, to hold them as Neighbour, and not as Vassal of the Crown of France.

Before an Answer was returned to these Demands, the Duke of Berry earnestly pressed the Ambassadors to begin with the Negotiation of the Marriage, affirming it to be the proper means to settle a solid and lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms. He even offered a very considerable Dowry for the Princess Catherine, but the English would consider the Marriage only as a Consequence, and not as the Foundation of the Peace. For this reason, they insisted upon settling first the Terms of the Peace, before any mention of the Marriage. In fine, after many Disputes on both sides, the English Ambassadors confined themselves to the three following Articles, to which they required a positive Answer, before any other Affairs should be taken in hand.

I. They demanded whatever was given up to Eng-

land by the great Peace, that is, by the Treaty of Bretigny. 1414.

II. One half of Provence, with the Earldoms of Beaumont and Nogent.

III. The six hundred thousand Crowns, which remained unpaid of King John's Ransom.

As for the Marriage, they said plainly, the King their Master would never espouse the Princess Catherine, unless he was secure of a firm and lasting Peace with King Charles. That besides, as the Offers hitherto made, were very inconsiderable, they had no Power to treat upon that Affair. That therefore it would not only be fruitless to talk of the Marriage, but moreover they durst not meddle with that Article, before the rest were settled. They added however, that in hopes more reasonable Offers would be made, they were willing to speak their Thoughts; that no less could be offered with the Princess, than two Millions of Gold-Crowns.

Some days after, the Duke of Berry delivered them a Writing, containing the Offers of France, in order to a Peace, with the Answers to their Demands; namely,

I. That the King of France offered Agenois, Basadois, Auch in part, Perigord, Escarre, Oleron, Bigorre, Saintonge beyond the Charente, Quercy, (Montauban excepted, with all the Country between the Tarn and the Aveyron,) Angoumois and Rouergue.

II. That the King could not dispose of Provence, since he was not the Possessor, nor had contributed to the putting it in the hands of the present Possessors.

III. That, since for the sake of Peace, he was willing to resign so many fine and rich Provinces, which he lawfully possessed, the King of England ought to desist from any farther Demands.

IV. As for the Marriage, though the Dowry of a Daughter of France was fixed to much less, than was already offered, he would for the sake of Peace, give six hundred thousand Crowns.

These Demands and Answers were the subject of several Conferences, which lasted many days, but of which it would be tedious to relate the particulars. It will suffice to observe that the Ambassadors of England reduced at length all their Demands to the Treaty of Bretigny, and a million of Crowns for the Princess's Portion (5). But as the French still thought this Sum exorbitant, the English intimated, it might be lessened, on the condition, that if two Sons should come of this Marriage, the youngest should have Montreuil and Ponthieu in full Sovereignty. But the French returned no Answer to this, and the Conferences ended March 13th, 1414.

Whilst this Affair was negotiating at Paris, the Duke of Burgundy's Enemies continued to stir up King Charles against him, so that considering him as an Enemy to his Person and Government, he resolved to make War upon him. To that end, being determined to command his Army in Person, he went and took the Oriflamme at St. Dennis (6), after which he became master of Soissons and Compiègne, seized by the Duke. Burgundy was then unable to withstand him, because the Flemings refused to serve him against France, which gave the Duke of Bourbon Opportunity of taking Bapaume also. It was not intended to stop there, but happily for him, the King was seized with a fresh Fit of Lunacy. This Accident gave the Duke time to put a strong Garrison into Arras.

King Charles being unable to act, the Dauphin his Son took possession of the Regency, as having an indisputable Right. Whether that Prince had some reason to be displeased with the Duke of Burgundy, or did not regard him, since he had no farther need of him, he carried the King his Father before Arras, which he meant to besiege, but was too late. The Place had been so well provided, that it was not easy to take it. The Difficulties of the Siege, the Solicitations of the Counts of Hainault the Duke of Burgundy's Sister, and perhaps the Dauphin's private Interests, caused a Peace to be granted to the Duke about the end of September, though upon hard Terms. By the Peace the King granted the Duke a Pardon, but excepted five hundred of his Adherents. It was also a-

(1) He was the third Son of Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. He died February 20, and lies buried in Canterbury Cathedral. *Walsingham*, p. 386. *Gifford's Henry V.* p. 37.

(2) Thomas Bishop of Durham, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Henry Lord Scrop, Hugh Mortimer, Esq; and Henry Ware, Professor of the Civil and Canon Law. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 102, 103.

(3) And about this same time, viz. January 28, one Year's Truce, beginning at February 2, 1414, was concluded between England and Castile. *Ibid.* p. 105, 110.

(4) Richard Courtney, Thomas Beaufort, Richard Beauchamp, Richard Nevill, Richard Lord Grey, and Sir John Pelham, and Robert Waterton. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 132.

(5) Each of these Crowns was to amount to half an English Noble; about nine Shillings of our present Money. The French offered eight hundred thousand. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 214.

(6) A Standard called from being made of a Silk Stuff, of a Gold and Flame Colour. It was kept in the Abbey of St. Dennis, and was used to be put by the Abbot into the Hands of the Defender of that Monastery. The Earls of Pontefract and Vexin had the Honour of carrying it, as Protectors of this Monastery. Lewis VI was the first, who, as Earl of Vexin, caused the Oriflamme to be carried in his Armies, which was continued by his Successors, till the English made themselves Masters of Paris under Charles VII, who after freeing himself of them, brought in the Use of the White Coronet, which since that time has been the chief Banner of France. *Du Cange*.

1414. greed, that all his Friends should remove from Court, and himself not come there, unless sent for, with the consent of the Council, and by Letters under the Great Seal. Finally, that the King's Banners should be placed on the Walls of Arras.

Several Negotiations of the Duke of Burgundy with Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 136, 137.
During the Preparations in France for the War I am going to speak of, the Duke of Burgundy being greatly embarrassed, by reason of the Obstinacy of the Flemings, sent into England the Provost of St. Donas to renew the Treaty begun with Henry. This Envoy had Power not only to conclude an Alliance between the King and Duke, but also to treat about the King's Marriage with the Princess Catherine. In all appearance, the Duke desired the King's Assistance to put him in possession of the Government of France, and then undertook to accomplish the projected Marriage to his Benefactor's Satisfaction. This discovers what were then that Prince's Designs. So that Mezerai justly said, the Arms of the English were drawn into France by the Betrayers of their Country. The Peace of Arras put a stop for some time to this Negotiation.

Henry tries to take Advantage of the Troubles in France.
Mean while, Henry still continued his Resolution to improve the Advantages, promised by the Situation of the Affairs of France. He perceived he should, at most, have to deal but with half the Forces of the Kingdom, and the other half would even make a diversion in his favour. Besides, he saw a near Prospect of concluding very shortly with the Duke of Burgundy an advantageous Alliance. And therefore, without further delay, he had called a Parliament at Leicester for the 30th of April, to have their Approbation of his Design, and obtain the necessary Aids to accomplish so great an Undertaking. It must be observed, that the Writs were issued in March, whilst the Provost of St. Donas was at London.

He calls a Parliament at Leicester. Cotton's Abridg. Walling. Elmham.
The Parliament being met, the Clergy, ever incensed against the Lollards, moved by their Emisaries to revive, and even increase, the Statutes against Hereticks. But for once their Animosity had like to have injured them. The Project formed by the Commons in the late Reign against the Ecclesiasticks, had twice miscarried by the excessive Desire of Wickliff's Followers to promote that Affair. The Clergy taking advantage of this Animosity, intimated to the late King, that such a Motion could not but proceed from Hereticks, with whom the House of Commons abounded, and that it was with the downfall of the Clergy, that the destruction of the Catholick Religion was to begin. For this reason, Henry IV strongly opposed it, and with that haughtiness as gave great Offence to the Commons. Wherefore, though the Members that were no Friends to Wickliff's Doctrine, joined in the Project, yet they could not hinder the too great Zeal of the Lollards from invincibly obstructing the Execution. But notwithstanding its former ill Success, the Projectors had not entirely given it over. They had only resolved, to take another course, to avoid the Inconvenience, which had twice rendered it unsuccessful. To that end, when a Motion was made in the House of Commons, for new Statutes against the Lollards, those who before opposed it, readily gave their Consent (1). The Clergy appeared exceedingly well pleased. The Pulpits every where resounded the Praises of the present Parliament. It was not a lack-learning Parliament, like that of 1404, but it was the wisest, and most zealous for Religion, that was ever assembled, since the beginning of the Monarchy. The truth is, nothing could be more conformable to the Clergy's Desires, than the Act passed on this occasion. It was enacted, that all the Magistrates of the Kingdom, from the Lord Chancellor, down to the meanest Officer, should take an Oath to employ their Power to extirpate Hereticks, and assist the Bishops, in the execution of so good a Design (2). This Act was no sooner passed, but a violent Persecution was raised against the Lollards. Several were burnt alive. Some left the Kingdom, and others abjured their Religion, to escape the Torments prepared for them.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands.
But shortly after, the Scene was changed, with respect to the Clergy. They did not dream that the very Persons, who lately appeared so zealous for Religion, should think of destroying it: For that was the Idea they gave, of the Project of depriving the Ecclesiasticks of the Riches they enjoyed. And yet, the same Commons, who in so

authentick a Way had just secured themselves from all Suspicion of Heresy, willing to comply with the King's demand of a Subsidy, presented to him an Address, praying him to seize the Clergy's Revenues. This Address was founded upon the same Considerations, as that presented to the late King for the same purpose. It was maintained, that the Revenues of the Church would be much better employed in providing for such a Number of Nobles, Colleges, and Hospitals (3). This was a stunning Blow to the Clergy, and the more, because after the late Act now in actual Execution, there was not the least colour to represent the Commons as Heretical or Favourers of Heresy.

The King himself, who was going to begin a great War, believed, or feigned to believe, there was a necessity to do what the Commons desired. As his Revenues would of course be greatly increased, that Consideration did not a little induce him to hearken to so advantageous a Motion.

The Clergy perceiving their Ruin inevitable, unless some Remedy was found against the gathering Storm, met to consult about means to avert, or at least to weaken it as much as possible. After divers Debates upon so important a matter, they came to these two Resolutions. The first was, to resign part of their Riches to the King, in order to save the rest. The second, to divert the King's thoughts from domestick Affairs, by engaging him in a foreign War, which might wholly engross him. The frequent Embassies from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, making them conclude, the King was meditating some Enterprize against France, they resolved to excite him to the utmost of their Power to carry War into that Kingdom. Pursuant to these Projects, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who undertook to be Spokesman, told him, "That the Motion of the House of Commons, which seemed advantageous to the Crown, was not so in reality: That, in case their Project was executed, the Church's Revenues would be put to Uses, unprofitable to the King in particular, and which in time might be extremely prejudicial to the Sovereign: That by augmenting the Number and Riches of the Nobility, as was intended, at the same time would be increased a Power which, ever since the Foundation of the Monarchy, had all along opposed the Sovereigns, and even brought some to destruction: That the founding of Hospitals would serve only to encourage People in Idleness, when they should see so many Houses ready to receive them, without being obliged to work: But that the Clergy, more sincerely well-affected to the King than the Commons, were very willing to give him, upon this occasion, a sensible Proof of their Zeal and Attachment for his Person, by delivering up the Alien Priories, which being in number one hundred and ten, were possessed of Lands that would considerably increase the Revenue of the Crown: That the Estates of these Houses would be all his own, whereas, if the Project of the Commons took effect, he would reap no advantage." Whether the King suffered himself to be persuaded by these Arguments, or thought it always advisable to take what the Clergy voluntarily offered, he accepted of the Proposal. Whereupon the Lands of these Priories were given him by Act of Parliament, without the Clergy's opposing it (4).

Mean while, the Clergy being apprehensive, that sooner or later, the King would have what the Commons offered him, seriously thought of executing the other part of their Project. For that purpose, the Archbishop took upon him to endeavour to persuade the King to make War upon France. The King's Character, his late Motions with regard to the Affairs of France, and the universal Desire of the whole Kingdom, put him in hopes, that his Design would be crowned with Success. Having therefore prepared a proper Speech, he took occasion to speak it in Parliament, before the King himself.

He began with insinuating Encomiums of the King's Virtues, saying, he was worthy to wear not the Crown of England only, but that of the whole World. Then addressing himself to the King, he represented to him, "That it was not for his Glory, to leave the King of France in the peaceable Enjoyment of Normandy, Au-

(1) And so, among other things, it was enacted, That whoever read the Scriptures in English, should forfeit Land, Chattels, Goods, and Life, and be condemned as Hereticks to God, Enemies to the Crown, and Traitors to the Kingdom; that they should not have the Benefit of any Sanctuary, and that if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after a Pardon, they should first be hanged for Treason against the King, and then burned for Heresy against God. *Edic. fol. 46. T. Elmham, p. 33. Jarvis For. p. 7.*

(2) And that all Persons convicted of Heresy, and left to the secular Power, should forfeit all their Lands and Goods to the King.

(3) They remonstrated, That the Temporalties of the religious and spiritual Persons in England, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand Marks yearly, and would suffice to maintain fifteen Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred English, and twenty thousand Pounds be brought yearly into the King's Treasure; and, that besides the foresaid Sum, divers religious Houses possessed as many Temporalties as would maintain fifteen thousand Priests, and Clerks, allowing to each seven Mark a Year. *Hall's Chron. fol. 35. Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 22.*

(4) Though this Act is not in the Statute Book, it is mentioned among the Patent Roll, That the Commons considered that the Head Abbys beyond Sea, possessing the Lands and Revenues of these Alien Priories, great Sums of Money were carried out of the Nation; and they desired, that when the War was begun with France, all the Subjects of England holding Lands in that Kingdom should be dispossessed, they therefore made this Act to dilate these foreign Monasteries of the Priories alien, and vest them in the King. One of Paisfield in Essex, and another of Wells in Norfolk, belonging to St. Stephen's in Normandy, were given to John Wodehouse, Esq; to hold by the Present of a Rose to the King, on Midsummer Day. *Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. 5.*

1414. " *Normandy, Maine, and part of Guienne*, all these Pro-
 " vinces having been wrested from the Kings of England by
 " pure Violence, and on frivolous Pretences. That it was
 " not only to these Countries that he had an indisputable
 " Right, but he might also very justly lay Claim to the
 " whole Kingdom of *France*, as Heir and Successor of
 " *Edward III.* Then he largely urged the Reasons
 " which have been related in the Reign of *Edward*. He
 " talked of the *Salic Law* as a Chimera, which was built
 " upon no good foundation, and which, being repugnant
 " to the Law of Nature, could not be admitted, though
 " it was as real as imaginary. He asserted, that *Pepin*
 " *the Short*, who dispossessed the Family of *Meroveus*,
 " claimed the Crown, as Heir to *Blithilda*, Daughter of
 " *Clothaire I.*, and that *Hugh Capet*, founded his Title upon
 " his being descended from a Daughter of *Lewis le De-*
 " *bonnaire*. He added, that these Claims, which would
 " have been ridiculous, if the *Salic Law* had been in force
 " ever since *Pharamond*, were clear Evidences of its be-
 " ing then unknown. That besides, such a Law would
 " be contrary to the Law of God himself, who disposed
 " in a very different manner of the Inheritance of *Zelo-*
 " *phebad*, in favour of his Daughters. That the famous
 " *French* Civilians had confessed, that the *Salic Law* was
 " a contradiction, both to the Law of God and Na-
 " ture (1). In fine, that the glorious Success with which
 " God had crowned the Arms of *Edward III.*, plainly
 " shewed, that God approved not this pretended Law.
 " That if afterwards he permitted that Monarch, and
 " the Prince of *Wales* his Son, to end their days before
 " they could repair their Losses in *France*, nothing can
 " be inferred from thence against the Justice of their
 " Rights. That by his Judgments, he was pleased to
 " punish the Sins of the *English* Nation, but never in-
 " tended to deprive the Heirs and Successors of *Edward*,
 " of their just Rights to the Crown of *France*. That
 " the Interruption of the Prosecution of these Rights,
 " occasioned by the Slothfulness of *Richard II.*, and
 " the Troubles of the late Reign, could not be con-
 " sidered as an entire desisting. That *England* enjoying
 " at present a happy Tranquillity, under the Govern-
 " ment of a Prince endowed with so many excellent
 " Qualities, the relinquishing of these just Pretensions,
 " would be renouncing all the Rules of Prudence and
 " Politicks. That moreover, the Posture of Affairs in
 " *France* presented an opportunity, which would in vain
 " be sought hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the King to
 " exercise the Talents Heaven had blessed him with, and
 " not remain in an ignoble repose, but prepare, without
 " dreading the difficulties, for so just and glorious a Con-
 " quest, which would render him the most powerful Prince
 " in *Europe*. He closed his Speech with saying, that if
 " the King would be pleased to take in hand so noble an
 " Enterprize, the Clergy would give him a larger Subsidy
 " than was ever granted to any of his Ancestors, and he
 " did not question but the Laity would be of the same
 " mind."

The War
against
France re-
solved, and
a Subsidy
granted the
King.

Continuation
of the Nego-
ciations be-
tween France
and England.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 130,
132, 133,
134, 136.

Most Historians pretend, this Speech made such a sudden and wonderful Impression, that *Henry* immediately resolved to prosecute his Title to the Crown of *France*. But the forementioned Negotiations upon this subject, plainly shew, this Resolution was already taken, and that the Business at present was, only to obtain the Parliament's Approbation. To this the Archbishop's Speech perhaps greatly conduced. At least, it is certain, the Commons, before they broke up, approved the design, and granted the King a Subsidy of three hundred thousand Marks (2) to begin the Execution thereof. Nay, it is likely, the Archbishop, on this occasion, acted in concert with the King, either to found the Inclination of the Commons, or to excite them to a War. Be this as it will, this Resolution perfectly corresponding with the Clergy's Project, it is no wonder, the Archbishop so strongly urged the Necessity of a War. And indeed, this Affair was no sooner resolved in Parliament, but the Bill intended against the Clergy fell of its self, People's Minds being otherwise employed (3).

All the rest of this Year was spent in continual Embassies to London or Paris. The *French* would fain have had *Henry's* Marriage with the Princess *Catherine*, to be an equivalent for the greatest part of the Demands of *England*. This was the Project they had formed, imagining,

(1) The Archbishop, or he that made this Speech, was ignorant, doubtless, that without the *Salic Law*, *Edward III.* could have no manner of Claim to the Crown of *France*. Upon which see the Reign of *Edward III.* Rapin.

(2) The Commons, with Assent of the Bishops and Lords, granted the King two whole Tenths, and two Fifteenths, to be levied on the Laity. R. P. 2 Hen. V. M. 11.

(3) In the Parliament, *Henry Percy*, Grandson of the late Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been left by his Grandfather as an Hostage in *Scotland*, being now of Age, petitioned the Parliament, that he might be restored to the Honour and Estates of his Father and Grandfather; which was granted accordingly. R. P. 2 Hen. V. M. 17. *Dagdale's Baron*. Vol. I. p. 280. ----- At the same time, the King confirmed to his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, the Ford in and Honour of *Richmond*. R. L. M. 14. and created his Brother *Humfrey*, Earl of *Gloucester*. T. Livius. p. 7. *Elmham*, p. 33.

(4) *Henry* lent him back word, he would repay him with Balls of greater Force, whose Stroked the strongest Gates of *Paris* should not be Rackets suffi-

cient to rebound. *Caxton's Chron.*

(5) On November 16. See *Rymers's Ford*. Tom. IX. p. 179

Henry might be decoyed by the hopes of the Marriage. *Henry*, on his part, did not reject the Proposal, provided the Marriage was considered only as a Consequence of the Peace, or at least, such Conditions were annexed to it, as should procure him the Restitution of the Provinces lost since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. He feigned to suffer himself to be amused to a certain degree. He sent Power upon Power to his Ambassadors, to prolong the time of his Engagement. But when the Match was proposed, the same Ambassadors refused to treat, till the Terms of the Peace were agreed upon. This was the subject of all the Negotiations. Mean while, it is certain, both Sides had no other view than to gain time. *Henry* was too wise, not to perceive that *France* would never comply with his Demands, before she had received some considerable loss. On the other hand, as there had not been a good while, any great Alteration in *England*, besides the Accession of a new King to the Crown, the Court of *France* could not believe, the *English* were able to support the threatened War. So their sole View was to amuse *Henry*, till time should cause some Revolution in the Affairs of either Kingdom. *Henry* proceeded gradually, without being diverted, as there was nothing in his Kingdom capable of giving him any Disturbance. *France*, on the contrary, was full of Dissensions. Those at the helm, were more careful to support themselves against the opposite Party, than to prevent the King of *England's* Designs. Nay, it was almost impossible for them to take just measures at such a juncture. The Dauphin, who had the management of Affairs, was a Prince more hot than able. But though his Capacity had been greater, what could he have done, engaged as he was between two Factions, which divided the Kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his Interest? Besides, neither the Dauphin, nor the *Orleans* Faction, could imagine, that, after an Intermission for two whole Reigns, the King of *England* would seriously think of asserting his Right to the Crown of *France*. We find in the *English* History, that after *Henry* had sent the first time to demand the Crown of *France*, the Dauphin, in derision of his Youth, sent him for a Present a Tun of Tennis-Balls, intimating no doubt, that he thought him fitter for Play, than for War (4); but he was soon of another Opinion. Such was the Disposition of the Court of *France*, whilst *Henry* was wholly employed in Preparations to accomplish his designs.

The Resolution taken by the Parliament of *Leicester*, opened the Eyes of those who governed *France*. They were sensible at length, that *Henry* was in earnest, and perceived, not without Confusion, that he had made use, to over-reach them, of the same means practised by themselves to amuse him. The Negotiations concerning the Marriage, and the frequent Prolongation of his voluntary Engagement, were only a decoy, to hinder *France* from preparing for her Defence. This plainly enough appeared in the Parliament's Resolution. Then it was that *Charles's*, or the Dauphin's Council, thought it time to think seriously of giving *Henry* some Satisfaction. To that end, Secretary *Col* was dispatched with fresh Offers, but which were very short of his Pretensions. Before the Parliament of *Leicester*, *Henry* had, as one may say, demanded the whole Kingdom of *France*, but slightly, and to serve as Foundation for his other Demands. But when he found himself supported by his Parliament, he talked at a much higher rate, and seemed unwilling to be satisfied with what he had demanded at first. However, to amuse *France*, he still pretended to desire the Affair might be determined by a Negotiation. To that end, he readily consented, the Marriage should be treated of, and the Term of his Engagement prolonged to the 15th of August, empowering his Ambassadors, to extend it as much farther as they should judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his Preparations for War.

Mean while, the Negotiation with the Duke of *Burgundy* still continued, whilst that Prince was most pressed by his Enemies. In the Month of June, *Henry* sent to him *Philip Morgan*, a Person of great Abilities, whom he always employed in the most important Negotiations. *Morgan's* publick Instructions were only to renew the Truce with the *Flemings*. But the Choice of this Ambassador, and the Mission of *Copin de la Vieuville* into *England*, from the Duke (5), with the Circumstances of the time, are plain Evidences, those goings and comings,

Henry continues his Negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy. p. 179.

Ibid. 140, 141.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 130.

The Disadvantages *France* lay under.

The Dauphin's scornful Present to *Henry*. *Caxton*.

France begins to take other Measures.

1414.

were not to prolong only a Truce of Commerce, where there was no great difficulty. Besides, the discovery hereafter, will shew, what the Duke of *Burgundy* was then meditating. The gaining of that Prince to his Interest was very material to *Henry*. A fairer Opportunity could not offer, since it was at a time when the Court of *France* shewed no regard for him. But he demurred, it seems, upon making so extraordinary a Step, and was unwilling to have recourse to *Henry*, without an absolute Necessity. In all these Negotiations were spent the Year 1414.

1415.

A. S. Pub.
IX. p. 183,
187, 196,
197, 205,
219, 220.

The Truce
prolonged a-
gain,
p. 225.

Henry tells
the Lords he
is resolved to
go into France
p. 221.

In the beginning of the next Year, *Henry* consented to a Prolongation of the Truce, to the first of *May*. Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the great Preparations in *England*, sent again the Archbishop of *Bourges*, with eleven more Ambassadors. Probably the Archbishop made some new Offer to *Henry*, but which was not considerable enough to content him. All he could obtain was, a farther prolongation of the Truce, to the 8th of *June*.

Whilst these Ambassadors were at *London*, the King assembled (1) the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, at least as many as were within distance. When they were met, he acquainted them, by the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle, and Lord Chancellor, with his Resolution, of going in Person, and carrying War into *France*, in order to recover the Inheritance of his Ancestors. This Declaration seemed needless, since the great Men had been sufficiently informed of his design. But probably, his Intent was, to oblige the *French* Ambassadors to discover at once what they had to propose, he imagining they still kept back part of their Instructions. The present Posture of Affairs in *France* made him hope, they would offer to put Things upon the foot of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. If so, he would doubtless have been satisfied with so considerable an Advantage, tho' he had, for some time, laid claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*. The Archbishop of *Bourges*, no longer questioning the King's designs, told him, he wanted to go to *France* for fresh Instructions; upon which *Henry* consented the Truce should be again prolonged to the 15th of *July*. The same Prelate being returned to *England*, a few days before the Expiration of the Truce, added something more to the former Offers; but it was to no purpose. Nothing was capable of satisfying *Henry*, but the Treaty of *Bretigny*. The Archbishop demanded his Answer in writing, and the King ordered it to be given him immediately. Some add, that the Archbishop seeing all Ceremony was at an end, upbraided the King, that, not content with a Crown unjustly wrested from *Richard II.*, by his Father, he would invade that of *France* to; but he should find it more difficult than he imagined.

The Truce
prolonged a-
gain,
p. 262, 282.

Ibid.

The Arch-
bishop of
Bourges's
bold words
to the King.
Monstrelet.
Des Urins.
Walsing.

Every thing being ready for the Departure, *Henry* ordered all his Troops to repair immediately to *Southampton*, where they were to embark, and went thither himself to give orders, as the Troops and Transports arrived. Whilst he was thus employed, he gave fresh Powers to *Philip Morgan*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*. This shews, that the Duke, who was still at the Court of *France*, held private Intelligence with *Henry*, and had, probably, conducted very much to engage him in this Undertaking. Their Treaty however was not concluded till two Years after.

Henry was preparing to depart about the end of *July*, or beginning of *August* (2). Most part of his Troops were now embarked, when he had notice of a Conspiracy against his Person, formed by those, whom he thought to have had least Reason to suspect. If we believe the *English* Historians, the Court of *France* dreading the Success of the War, had employed a vast Sum of Money to bribe Men to kill the King. They mount this Sum to a Million of *Livres*, which is no wonder, considering the Quality of the Persons concerned in the Plot; namely, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother of the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scrope* Lord Treasurer, who commonly lay in the same Room with the King, and *Thomas Grey* a Knight of *Northumberland*, and Privy-Counsellor (3). It is not very certain however, that they had a design upon the

Henry em-
barks his
Troops, and
continues his
Negotiation
with the
Duke of
Burgundy.
A. S. Pub.
IX. p. 304.
Walsing.

A Plot a-
gainst the
King disco-
vered.
A. S. Pub.
IX. p. 300.
T. Livius.
Walsing.
Elmh.

Walsing.

King's Life; at least the Earl of *Cambridge's* Connection, extant in the *Collection of the publick Acts*, contains no thing like it. It only appears, that they had conspired to let the Earl of *March* at their head, and conduct him where they hoped to raise an Army, by making use of the Name of *Richard II.*, as if he were still alive. That, if they could not deceive the People by a Means so frequently practised, their Intent was to publish a Manifesto in the name of the Earl of *March*, inviting the People to restore that Prince to his Rights, usurped by the House of *LANCASTER*. As they could not make use of the Earl of *March's* Name, without having him in their Power, or at least in their Party, they could not help informing him of the Plot. The Earl was greatly embarrassed, when the Secret was told him. A Crown, which he believed to be his lawful Right, was worth the Pains of running some risk to obtain it. But on the other hand, he was satisfied, the Conspirators acted not from a Motive of Justice or Affection for his Person. Besides, the Uncertainty of the Issue could not but discourage him. Mean while, he was pressed very earnestly to enter into the Conspiracy. In short, not being able to resolve immediately, he desired time to consider of so important an Affair; and it was with great Difficulty, that he obtained the rest of that Day. During this Interval, he made such Reflections, as induced him to acquaint the King with the whole. *Henry*, surprized at the News, immediately ordered the Conspirators to be seized, who, confessing their Guilt, were condemned and executed. The Earl of *Cambridge* and Sir *Thomas Grey* were beheaded; but the Lord *Scrope* suffered the usual Punishment of Traitors. This was as it were the first Spark of that Flame, which consumed, in process of time, the two Houses of *LANCASTER* and *YORK*. As the Earl of *Cambridge* had married a Sister of the Earl of *March*, very likely, he had engaged in the Plot, with a view to procure the Crown for *Richard* his Son, presumptive Heir of that Earl, who had no Children.

This Affair detaining *Henry* at *Southampton* longer than he imagined, he could not sail till the 18th, or 19th, of *August*. His Fleet consisted of fifteen hundred Transport-Ships, on which were embarked six thousand Men at Arms, and twenty thousand Archers (4) making in all, an Army of about fifty thousand Men. He was attended by the Earls of *Dorset*, *Kent*, *Cornwall*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, with many other Nobles. On the 21st of *August*, he landed his Troops (5) at *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, and without loss of time, marched to *Harfleur*, about nine Miles distant. That Place was strong and well-stored. A little before, four hundred Men at Arms were sent thither, besides a great number of neighbouring Nobles, who voluntarily came there. The Garrison made a vigorous Defence, but however, in a short time were forced to capitulate, and promise to surrender the Place, unless relieved within three days. The Term being expired, and no Relief come, *Henry* took possession of the Town (6), and expelling the Inhabitants, planted an *English Colony* in their room, as *Edward III.* had formerly done at *Calais* (7).

This Place being of the utmost Importance, *Henry* would not depart, till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good state of Defence. In the mean while, he sent a written Challenge to the Dauphin, offering to decide all their Differences by a single Combat between their two Persons. These differences, according to the King's Notion, concerned no less than the whole Kingdom of *France*. If he directed himself to the Dauphin, it was because of his Father's Distemper, which rendered him incapable of accepting such a Challenge. But as it was not in the Dauphin's Power, to hazard, in a single Combat, the Crown of *France*, which did not belong to him. *Henry* offered, in case he was Conqueror, to let King *Charles* enjoy it during his Life. Moreover, he protested, this Proposal came wholly from himself, without any Suggestion from his Council, or Family; and therefore, he pretended, it could not be prejudicial to his Rights, or those of his Successors. This Challenge was dated at his Town of *Harfleur*, *September 16. 1415*. It does not

Henry
p. 304.
Walsing.
Monstrelet.

Lands at
Havre de
Grace.
T. Livius.
Elmh.

Takes Har-
fleur, and
peoples it
with Eng-
lish.

A. S. Pub.
IX. p. 313.

(1) On April 16. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. IX. p. 222.

(2) Besides the Ships which he built in his own Ports, he hired of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* many Transport-Vessels. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. IX. p. 215, 216. And, on May 28, he issued out Orders to the Bishops, to put all the Clergy within their Dioceses, in a Condition of array, suitable to their Estates and Incomes. *Ibid.* p. 253. *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, was left Regent, and Lord Lieutenant of *England*. *Ibid.* p. 223, 305.

(3) Though *Thomas Grey* is called here, and by some of our Historians, Earl of *Northumberland*, yet he could not be so, seeing *Henry P. 33*, Son of *Hotspur*, was restored to that Honour in the 2d of *Henry V.*, as appears by the Parliament Rolls, 2 *Hen. V. M.* 17. See above, p. 510. Note (3). *Dugdale's*, p. 64; and *Walsingham* titles him a Northern Knight, p. 389. He was one of those that attended the King in his Expedition into *France*, with twenty four Men at Arms, and forty eight Archers. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. IX. p. 259. He is called there only *Thomas Grey*, Chevalier.

(4) Twenty-four thousand, says *Monstrelet*, c. 142.

(5) According to *Walsingham*, he landed in *Normandy*, *August 14.* p. 390. But according to *T. Livius*, he embarked *August 11.* p. 3. The 13th, says *Elmh.* p. 36.

(6) The Siege lasted five Weeks. *Wals.* p. 320.

(7) He put forth a Proclamation throughout *England*, that all Persons who would come over and settle at *Harfleur*, should have Houses secured to them and their Heirs, upon which great Numbers transplanted themselves and Families thither. The King made his Uncle, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Dorset*, Governor; with whom he joined Sir *John Fastolf*. *Hall*, fol. 45.

1415. appear, that the Dauphin sent any Answer. The truth is, the offer was too disadvantageous to him, since he would have ventured a Crown, of which his Father was in actual possession, and which he was of course to inherit; whereas Henry would have hazarded only bare Pretensions.

III State of the English Army.
Walsingham.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
The Conquest of *Harfleur* might have rendered Henry satisfied with the Success of his first Campaign, begun a little too late, if, on the other hand, the ill State of his Army had not exceedingly troubled him. The Flux, which was got amongst his Troops, had made, and still did make, such Ravage, that not above the fourth Part of his Army were able to bear Arms. This Distemper had not seized the common Soldiers only, but even the most considerable Persons were not free from it. The Bishop of *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* (1), were already dead of it. The Duke of *Clarence* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Arundel* (2), and several other Officers of Distinction, were so dangerously ill, that they were obliged to return to *England*, in hopes of a Cure.

IV The French Army.
Walsingham.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
At the same time, Henry learned from all Parts, that the French were assembling their Forces with great diligence, to give him Battle. Till the taking of *Harfleur*, the King of *France* seems not to have believed, the King of *England* seriously intended to wage War, since they had made no Preparations for their Defence. But after the loss of so important a Place, King *Charles's* Council easily perceived, it was necessary to assemble all the Forces of the Kingdom, to stop the Progress of an Enemy, who began to be very formidable. The great Armament *France* was preparing, the ill State of the *English* Army, and the Approach of Winter, obliged Henry to think of retreating. He might, it seems, have re-embarked at *Harfleur*; but, whether he thought it would look too much like a Flight, or foresaw not all the Obstacles he afterwards encountered, or for some other unknown Reason, he resolved to retire by Land to *Calais*.

Henry re-embarks at Calais.
Walsingham.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
The March he undertook was difficult, at a Season when the Rains began to spoil the Roads. But it became much more so by unexpected Accidents. The French having foreseen, or heard of his Design, speedily broke down the Bridges, and Causeways in his Rout, and destroyed, or removed into the fortified Towns, the Provisions and Forage that he might have found in the Country. On the other hand, the Constable d'Albret, with a Body of Troops drawn together, whilst the rest were preparing, continually harassed the *English*, and constrained them to march very close, and to be always upon their Guard. All these Difficulties hindered their advancing so speedily as was necessary, to free themselves from their ill Situation.

Henry does not re-embark at Calais.
Walsingham.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
Amidst all these obstacles to his March, Henry proceeded along the *Somme*, in expectation of passing that River at the Ford of *Blanchetaque*, as *Edward III* had done the day before the Battle of *Crèffy*. But when he came there, he found that Pass rendered impracticable by sharp Stakes fixed in the River, and defended moreover by a Body of Troops (3), posted on the opposite Bank. He was extremely concerned to find his Project could not be executed. It was necessary however, either to pass the *Somme*, or resolve to return to *Harfleur*, through the same Difficulties he had already been exposed to, and even without knowing, when he came there, how to subsist his Army. In this Extremity, he determined to march higher up the River, even to its Source, though it was much out of his way. As he advanced, he every where found the Bridges broken down, and the Fords guarded by Troops, intrenched on the other Side.

The Army suffers much in the March.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
As in so ill a Situation, there was no other Remedy but Patience, Henry took all possible Care to infill it into his Troops, by taking his share of the Wants and Hardships they laboured under. It is easy to perceive, these Hardships were not proper to stop the Course of their Distemper, and that on the contrary, great numbers fell sick in their March. At last, to complete his Misfortune, Henry heard, that the King of *France* was come to *Rouen*, and had sent to the Constable fourteen thousand Men at Arms, with all the Princes and great Lords

of the Kingdom, except the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. The Dauphin was desirous of commanding the Army, but the King would not give him leave. The Constable, who had also drawn together many other Troops, receiving so strong a Reinforcement, called a Council of War, where it was unanimously resolved to give the *English* Battle. But as the French Generals thought themselves sure of Victory, considering the Superiority of their Forces, they judged it proper, instead of continuing to guard the *Somme*, to let the *English* Army pass, and to post themselves on the Road to *Calais*. This Resolution being taken, they went and expected their Enemies in the Earldom of *St. Pol*, in order to draw them over the *Somme*, into a Place where they should not be able to turn back.

It is certain, that by passing the River, Henry ran into manifest Danger, since there was no Mean between conquering and perishing. It is true, he might have returned to *Harfleur*, but I cannot tell whether that was less hazardous, considering the Difficulties he must have encountered, and which he had not, without infinite Trouble, surmounted. Wherefore it is a question, in my opinion, hard to be decided, whether a Battle was more dangerous than a Retreat. Be this as it will, it is to be presumed, he chose what to him seemed least disadvantageous, in continuing his March along the *Somme* (4), with a Resolution to face the danger that waited on the other Side. As the Passages were no longer defended, he found one between *St. Quintin* and *Peronne*, where he caused his Army to pass (5). But though this Obstacle, which had hitherto seemed the greatest, was removed, the *English* Army found themselves in no better Condition. That of their Enemies, six times more numerous, expected them upon their Passage; whom there was a necessity of vanquishing, in order to open a way to *Calais*. The French Historians affirm, that Henry seeing himself in this sad situation, offered to restore *Harfleur*, and repair all the Damages he had caused in *France* since his Landing, if he might be suffered to proceed unmolested; but that his offer was rejected. On the contrary, the Constable and Princes that were in the French Army, sent three Heralds to offer him Battle, leaving him to chuse the Time and Place. Henry replied, "As he had long been upon his March to *Calais*, they might have fought him when they pleased, and if they intended it, there was no occasion to appoint the Time, or Place; for he was resolved to pursue his March, and they should always find him ready to receive them."

The French Army being posted on his Rout, it was not possible to pass without fighting. He resolved therefore to prepare for a Battle. On the 22d of October, the French Generals sent him word by a Herald, that on Friday following (6), they would give him Battle. Henry, who had already taken his Resolution, accepted the Challenge, and presented the Herald with a Robe worth two hundred Crowns (7). During the three days before the Battle, Henry never ceased to inspire his Troops with Courage, by the promise of Rewards and Honours, and by all other means most conducive to that end. He represented to them the Glory of their Ancestors, who obtained the famous Victories of *Crèffy* and *Poitiers*, and demonstrated to them the Necessity of conquering, in order to free themselves from their present, and avoid still greater Miseries. His Exhortations wrought so wonderful an Effect, that the Officers and Soldiers, far from dreading the great Number of their Enemies, were extremely eager to engage. The day before the Battle, Henry having sent *David Gam*, a *Welsh* Captain, to view the strength of the Enemy, this brave Officer gallantly reported, *there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Prisoners, and enough to run away*. This Assurance pleased the King, as being a Sign, that his Troops were firmly resolved to do their Duty. Mean while, the French presuming on their Numbers, and confident of Victory, were making rejoicings in their Camp. *Mezerai* owns, that they were four times Superior to the *English* (8). *Monstrelet* says, six times (9). This Diversity may partly proceed from *Mezerai's* reckoning all the Soldiers, sick and well, of the *English* Army, and

(1) *Michael de la P. de.*

(2) *John Fitz-John*; and also *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, *John Mowbray*, Earl-Marshal, &c. *Wals.* p. 391.

(3) Six thousand French.

(4) As they were marching by a Town called *Corbis*, and were engaged in a narrow Pass, the Country People, and some Soldiers, fiercely attacked them. A Battalion, commanded by *Hugh Stafford*, Lord *Bourchier*, endeavouring to disperse them, was put to very great Straights, many being killed, and the Standard lost; but it was recovered by a *Staffordshire* Gentleman, surnamed *Bromley*. *Hollinghead*, Vol. III. p. 551. *T. Livius*, p. 13. *Elmham*, p. 3.

(5) On the 10th of October. *Monstrelet*, c. 146.

(6) A rich Robe, and two hundred Crowns. *Des Ursins*, p. 314. *T. Livius* says, one hundred, p. 14. *Elmham*, p. 55.

(7) *P. Daniel* says, they were three times stronger. *Tom. V.* p. 471.

(8) He and *Paradin* make the Number of the Horse in the French Army to be a hundred and fifty thousand. *Walsingham* says, their whole Army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand Men, p. 391. And, according to *Mezerai*, of a hundred and fifty thousand; the third part whereof was Horse, and ten thousand of them Nobles and Gentlemen. See *Goodwin's Henry V.* p. 82. In a Letter from Sir *W. Bardolf*, Deputy Governor of *Calais*, to *John Duke of Bedford*, it is said, That the Duke of *Lorraine* had gathered about fifty thousand Men together, and that all the French Forces, put together, would amount to above a hundred thousand Men. *Rymers's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 315.

1415.
Harding.
Walling.

from *Monstrelet's* meaning only such as were able to fight. The *English* Historians make the Difference between the two Armies much greater, affirming, the *French* amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, and the *English* but to nine thousand. Be this as it will, it is certain the Superiority of the *French* was very great. But what Inequality soever there was between the two Armies, as to Number, there was another, which was no less considerable, with regard to the different State they were in. The *English*, sick, for the most part, of a Flux, with which they had been troubled, ever since their Departure from *Harfleur*, were moreover harrassed with a tedious march of a Month, in very bad Weather, and through an Enemy's Country. They had all along been in want of Provisions, and would doubtless have been all starved, if the exact Discipline the King caused to be observed, had not engaged the Country-People to supply them with Victuals, for the sake of selling them at an extravagant Rate. The *French*, on the contrary, were fresh and healthy, abounding with Provisions, and labouring under no Inconvenience. If we may believe the *English* Historians, so confident of Success were the *French* Leaders, that they sent to the King to know what he would give for his Ransom. *Henry* despising this Bravado, replied, according to the same Authors, that a few Hours would shew whose care it would be to provide a Ransom.

Confidence of
the French.
T. Livius.
Pol. Virg.

The two
Armies are
drawn up
in order of
Battle.
Blunder of
the Constable.
J. le Fevre.
Walling.
Elmhurst.

On the 25th of *October*, the day appointed for the Battle, the two Armies were drawn up as soon as it was Light. The Constable *D'Albret* committed on this occasion an unpardonable Fault, in chusing for the Field of Battle a narrow Ground, flanked on one side by a Rivulet, and on the other by a large Wood. He thereby lost all the Advantage, which the Superiority of Number, and especially in Horse, could give him. It is most certain, this General ought to have posted himself in a large and open Place, where he might have had it in his power to surround the *English*, who were but a handful of Men, in comparison of his Army. But by drawing up on so narrow a Ground, he was forced to make a Front no larger than that of the Enemies, and thereby deprived himself of a very manifest Advantage. Neither can it be said, that the Choice of the Field of Battle was not entirely in his Breast. As the *English* were marching for *Calais*, it was his Business to expect them on a spacious Plain, capable of containing his whole Army, and where they might have all fought at once. His Blindness therefore is astonishing, and can be ascribed only to his Presumption. He seems to have intended to stop up that narrow Passage, that the *English* might not proceed, without considering such a Precaution can be only advantageous to the Weakest. I have dwelt a little upon this Error, as it was, probably, the principal Cause of the unfortunate Success of the *French* in this Action. The Constable, blinded by the Number of his Troops, drew them up, as I said, on this narrow Ground, but so close, that it was easy to foresee, Confusion would ensue during the Battle. He divided his Army into three Bodies, the first of which he commanded himself, with the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richemont*, the famous Marshal *Boucicaut* Grand Master of the Cross-Bow-Men, the Lord *Dampier* Admiral of *France*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and several other Officers of the greatest Distinction. All these Princes and Lords thought themselves happy in being in the first Line, persuaded as they were, that the other two would have nothing to do. The Duke of *Alençon* commanded the second Body, with the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Nevers*, *Salines*, *Rauffi*, and *Grand-Pré*. At the head of the third Line, were the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauquenbergh*, and the Lord de *Lauri*.

T. Livius.
Elmhurst.
Hall.

Precaution
taken by the
King before
the Battle.
Des Ouns.
Walling.

Whilst the *French* were drawing up, *Henry* detached a Body of four hundred Lances, to go and post themselves out of Sight of the Enemy, behind the Wood, on the left of the Field of Battle. He lodged, moreover,

two hundred Archers in a low Meadow, fenced with Bushes on the right. In drawing up his Army, he could make but two Lines, by reason of the small Number of his Troops. *Edward* Duke of *York* commanded the first, assisted by the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope* (1). The King put himself at the head of the Second (2), with a Gold Crown (3) on his Helmet for a Crest, and near him was the Standard of *England* (4). In this Posture he expected the *French* would advance to attack him (5). Mean time, riding along the Front of his Battalions, he exhorted the Troops, not to fear a multitude of raw and undisciplined Soldiers. He represented to them, that Victories depended not on Numbers but on bravery, and above all, on the Assistance of God, in whom he admonished them to place their whole Trust. In fine, perceiving the *French* did not move, he sent for some of his principal Officers, and said to them with a cheerful Countenance, "Since our Enemies have intercepted our way, let us proceed, and break through 'them in the Name of the Holy Trinity.'" Upon these words he gave the Signal of Battle (6). Immediately the Soldiers of the foremost Ranks, removing the Stakes, which had been set on the Front, to resist the Fury of the Cavalry (7), the whole Army, with a mighty Shout, moved forward. After advancing a little, they made a halt, expecting their Enemies, but finding they did not stir, continued their March in good Order. When they came within Bow-Shot, the foremost Ranks fixed the Stakes, interweaving, and bending them a little towards their Enemy. At the same time, a Body of chosen Archers advancing some Paces, began, very near, to let fly upon the Enemy a shower of Arrows a Yard long, which being shot by Men of dexterity and strength, did the greater execution among the *French*, as they stood extremely close, and had scarce room to move. The *French* Cavalry advancing at length to repulse the Archers, these last nimbly retreated behind the Stakes with a wonderful Discipline, in which the King had exercised them himself for some days. Mean while, the two hundred Bow-men, concealed in the Meadow, rising up on a sudden, plied the Horse with their Arrows, who were put in the greater Disorder, as the Horses sunk up to their Knees in the Ground softened with the Rains. The *English* seeing this Confusion, threw away their Bows, and fell upon their Enemies Sword in hand. The *English*, it is said, were, for the most part, forced to fight naked from the Waste downwards, by reason of their Distemper. However, as the first Line of the *French* consisted of all the best Troops in their Army, this Charge, though very vigorous, was repulsed with some Loss on the side of the *English*. But, that was not capable of disheartening Men, determined to conquer or die. After breathing a while, they charged again with such Resolution, that it was not possible for their Enemies to stand the Shock. This second Attack was the more difficult to be repulsed, as at the same time the *French* felt themselves set upon in the Flank by the *English* Horse, ambushed behind the Wood. Then it was, that the utmost Disorder ensued among the Troops, so vigorously pressed by their Enemies, who slew without mercy whoever came in their way. The first Line of the *French* at length taking to Flight, (after seeing the Constable killed, with a great number of other Officers, and most of the Princes and Generals made Prisoners,) the *English* found themselves stopped by the second Line, which came to repair the Disorder.

1415.
T. Livius.
Elmhurst.
Hall.

T. Livius.
Walling.

The French
begin the
Charge.
J. le Fevre.
Elmhurst.
Hall.

Walling.

Monstrelet.

The first Line
of the French
routed.
Le Fevre.
T. Livius.

Walling.

(1) *Rapin*, by mistake, says *Stanhope*; as does likewise *Goodwin*, in his *Life of Henry V.* p. 84. There was no such Title then. The Person here meant was, Sir *John Cornwall*, Knight, who married *Elizabeth*, Sister of King *Henry IV.* and Widow of *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*: And in the 13th of *Henry VI.* July 17, was created a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Fanhope*. See *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 212.

(2) Attended by his Brother *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*; *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl-Marshal; *Richard* de *Yere*, Earl of *Oxford*; and *Richard* de *Beaufort*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*. The Rear consisting of Archers, and such as were armed with Spears, Halberds, and Bills, was led by *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, created the next Year Duke of *Exeter*. *Goodwin's Henry V.* p. 84.

(3) Framed after the Imperial Fashion. *Le Fevre*, p. 89.

(4) He had four Standards; one of the *Trinity*, another of *St. George*, the third of *St. Edward*, and in the fourth were displayed the Arms of *England*. *Ibid.*

(5) *P. Daniel* says, That, before the Battle began, King *Henry* sent to the *French* Generals a second Offer of an Accommodation. The Terms they insisted upon, were, That *Henry* should renounce all Pretensions to the Crown of *France*, and restore *Harfleur*. *Henry* replied, He would do it, provided *Guerre*, with its Appurtenances, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, were restored to him; and the Princess *Catherine* was given him in Marriage, with a Portion of eight hundred thousand Crowns. *Tom. V.* p. 542.

(6) He ordered Sir *Thomas Erpingham* to give the Signal, which he did by throwing up his Truncheon into the Air. *Le Fevre*, p. 92.

(7) The King considering the Enemy was more powerful in Horse, and that his Foot, the Strength of his Army, would be exposed to the Danger of being broken by the fury of the first Charge, commanded the Archers, (a Battalion of whom was placed in the Van, commanded by the Duke of *York*, to fix into the Ground Piles or Stakes, pointed at both Ends, and six or seven Foot long; with these set in the Front, and on the Flank, there being Interstices left between the Horse and Foot, these last were secured by them as within a little Fortification. A Company of Pioneers was appointed for removing the Piles, as the Soldiers advanced or retreated. *Le Fevre*, p. 92. *Elmhurst*, p. 65. *Hall*, fol. 43.

1415.

by his Conduct and Valour to repair the Disgrace received by his Countrymen. He had detached eighteen stout Gentlemen (1), with orders to keep close to the King of *England*, and not leave him till slain or taken Prisoner. *Henry*, for his part, marching with a Pierece's heightened by the Success of his first Troops, charged the second Line, with a Valour equal to that of the most renowned Heroes in History. He fought on foot at the head of his Men, rushing among the Thickest of the Enemies, as forgetting that upon his Fate depended that of his Army.

Henry's
first
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
second
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
third
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
fourth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
fifth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
sixth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
seventh
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
eighth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
ninth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Henry's
tenth
charge
at
the
Head
of
his
Troops
Le
Fevre
T. Livius

Mean time the eighteen Cavaliers, who had undertaken to kill him, charged up so close to him, that one of them so struck him with a Battle-Ax on the Head, that he was stunned for a while, though the Goodness of his Helmet resisted the Violence of the Blow. At the same time, the rest were striving to approach him. Probably, he would hardly have escaped these desperate Men, had not the Valiant *David Gam*, the *Welsh* Captain, with two other Officers of the same Nation, saved him at the expence of their Lives. The King, who was a little recovered, seeing them extended at his Feet, and still breathing, knighted them all three, being unable in their present Condition, to reward their Loyalty any other way. At the same time the eighteen *Frenchmen*, who still made prodigious Efforts to execute their Design, were all killed upon the spot.

The Heat of the Battle increasing, *Henry*, still more animated by his past Danger, gave signal proofs of his Valour, and drew upon him the bravest of the Enemies. The Duke of *Gloucester*, his Brother, who fought by his Side, being knocked down, he long covered him with his own Body, to prevent his being killed. By this bold Action he was so exposed, that at length he received so great a blow on the Head, that he fell on his Knees. But his Guard, immediately advancing, repulsed the Enemy, and gave him time to rise. The King's Danger, and the Wonders he performed, inspired his Troops with a sort of Fury. On a sudden, as it were by Consent, the *English* Soldiers encouraging one another, rushed upon their Enemies, and by this violent and unexpected Attack, put them in such Disorder, that their Leaders could never repair it. *Henry* improving this Advantage, pressed them vigorously, to hinder them from recovering out of their Surprise; knowing this was the Moment by which the Victory was to be decided. Their Disorder increasing, by reason of their great Numbers, and want of room, they began at length to fight only in retreat, in such a manner, as shewed they would quickly take to Flight.

The Duke of *Alençon*, enraged to see the Battle lost by the Defeat of the second Line, and despairing that the third would be able to restore the Fight, generously resolved to die honourably, rather than turn his Back, and survive his Country's Disgrace. So, regardless of a Life he was determined to lose, with a small Number of brave and resolute Persons, he furiously made way with his Sword through the *English* Troops, and every where fought the King of *England*, in expectation of revenging, by one single Blow, the Loss, *France* had that day sustained. It was not difficult to find *Henry*, who thought of nothing less than concealing himself. The Moment the Duke saw him, he ran at him, and crying out that he was the Duke of *Alençon*, discharged so violent a Blow on his Head, that he cleaved off one half of the Gold Crown on his Helmet. *Henry* not being able to parry this Blow, was not slow to revenge. In return, he struck the Duke to the Ground, and with repeated Blows slew two of his brave Attendants. In an Instant, the Duke was surrounded by a Crowd of Enemies, who put an end to his Life, notwithstanding the King's Endeavours to save him. The Death of the Duke of *Alençon*, entirely discouraging his Troops, they openly took to Flight.

The third Line of the *French*, being still fresh and in good order, might have renewed the Battle. But their Hearts failing at the Sight of the present and past Slaughter (2), it was not in the Power of the Leaders to make them advance. So, finding themselves reduced to a Ne-

cessity of retreating without fighting, they left the flying Troops of the second Line, exposed to the Fury of their Enemies, who closely pursued them. Then it was that the *English*, having nothing to do, but to kill, and take Prisoners, exercised Pity or Cruelty, according as every one was naturally inclined. As it was impossible for the *French* in their present disorder, to rally, and as their Numbers were an Obstacle to their Flight, they voluntarily offered themselves to Death or Captivity, as their victorious Enemies pleased. Mean while, the Troops, that retired without fighting, still appeared at some distance, and seemed resolved to stand against Enemies harrassed with so long a Battle. But the King perceiving they were still more numerous than his Army, commanded them by a Herald to leave the Field, or he would give them no Quarter. This Menace succeeded according to expectation. Whether these Troops were not fully resolved of their Course, or were apprehensive of falling into the hands of an implacable Enemy, in case they should prove unsuccessful, they retired, and left *Henry* master of the Field of Battle.

Finding himself thus secure of the Victory, *Henry* thought, he had nothing more to do, when suddenly word was brought him, that the Enemies were in his Rear, and had already plundered his Camp. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he hastily ran to the Top of a Hillock, between the Army and the Camp, to review these new Enemies. He really saw great disorder among his Baggage, and saw the Troops left to guard the Camp dispersed about the Field, and endeavouring to save themselves by Flight. Imagining, by this Sight, that the Enemies had rallied to renew the Fight, he proclaimed, that the Prisoners should be slain, except the most eminent. This Order being immediately executed, he speedily rallied his Troops, and marched directly to the Enemies, who took care not to expect him. They were only a Company of Run-aways, headed by *Robert de Bournoville* (3), who retiring betimes out of the Battle, and knowing the *English* Camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it, whilst the two Armies were engaged. The Duke of *Burgundy* afterwards would have severely punished the Captain of these Plunderers, who was his Subject, for being the occasion of so great a Disaster, but the Earl of *Charolois* his Son found means to save his Life. It is said, the Earl was presented with a Sword, set with Diamonds, found among the King's Baggage. It is pity so glorious a Victory was sullied by this rash Massacre. It may however be excused, by the impossibility of the *English* being able to guard their Prisoners (4), and by the King's just Fears, that these same Prisoners would turn against him, during the Fight, which he saw himself upon the point of renewing.

Nothing more opposing the King's victorious Arms (5), his first care, was to return God Thanks for so signal and unexpected a Victory, and publicly to acknowledge, it was entirely owing to him. After the discharge of this just Duty, he sent for a *French* Herald, who was in the Army (6), and required him to declare to whom the Victory was to be ascribed. The Herald answered, the Victory was undoubtedly his. Then the King asked him the Name of a Castle in sight, near the Field of Battle, and being told it was called *Azincourt*, he said, Let this Battle be hereafter called the Battle of *Azincourt*. As the Fight began not till ten in the Morning, and lasted till almost five in the Afternoon, *Henry* not thinking proper to continue his March, for fear of fatiguing his Army too much, returned to *Masconcelles*, where he had encamped the foregoing Night.

In this memorable Battle, so fatal to *France*, the *French* lost the Constable *D'Albret*, the Duke of *Alençon* Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers*, Brothers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Marle*, *Rouffi*, *Fauquenbergh*, and many more Officers of Note, besides ten thousand private Soldiers (7). An *English* Historian says, that among the slain were one Archbishop (8), three Dukes, six Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and seven thousand Esquires or Gentlemen. Among the Prisoners, who would have been very numerous, without the Massacre

(1) *Fluchel* for them were, *Brunclet de Maignetlem*, and *Gavie de Bournoville*. *Le Fevre*, p. 91.

(2) Or rather, when they observed that the *English* Halted, by King *Henry's* Order, wheel'd off to charge them in the Rear. *Polyd. Virg.*

(3) With *Robert de Bournoville*, and *Robert d'Appeneant*. *Monstrelet*, *Walsing.* *Ypodig.* p. 584.

(4) According to *J. de L'Esper*, they amounted to fourteen thousand; and consequently did equal, or rather exceed in Number all King *Henry's* Forces.

(5) The Marshal *d'Alençon*, at the Head of six hundred Men at Arms; and the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Forces almost equal to those of the *English*, were some very near the Field of Battle, when they received the News of the *French* Defeat. If the latter had led on his fresh Troops against the wearied *English*, he might probably have recovered the Victory; but he retired immediately into *Bretagne*, where he remained neuter ever since. *Monstrelet*, p. 221. *P. de Band. Hist. Bre.* c. 27.

(6) *Henry*, the French King's Herald, who, with four more, was sent to ask leave to bury the Dead. *M. de la.*

(7) *Monstrelet* our Reader may see an Account of all the remarkable Persons, slain, or taken Prisoners in this Battle, in *Jean le Fevre*; who, as he says, was in the *English* Army, c. 64. p. 97, 98; and, out of him, in *Goodwin's* Life of *Henry V.* p. 91, 92. *Le Fevre* says, there were ten thousand slain, of whom seven or eight thousand were Noble; and above a hundred of them Princes, who had *Barnet* carried before them into the Field.

(8) *Monstrelet*, as before, who behaved with extraordinary Courage. *Monstrelet*.

1415.

Walsing.
T. Livius
Elmham

The Occasion
of the King's
killing all the
Prisoners.
Des Urtilins,
p. 312.
T. Livius.
Walsing.

Paradin.
R. de Fespia

Henry's
turns God
Thanks for
his Victory.
Le Fevre.
Monstrelet.

Calls it the
Battle of
Azincourt.

Elmham.

The Loss of
the French;
J. le Fevre.
Hali.
Walsing.

Elmham.
Goodwin.

1415. after the Battle, the most eminent were, the Duke of *Orléans* (1) and *Barbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richmont*, *Etouteville*, and Marshal *Boucicaut* (2). On the side of the *English*, there were slain only the Duke of *York*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, and, if we believe certain *English* Historians, not above four Knights, one 'Squire, and twenty eight common Soldiers. Some however with more probability affirm, the *English* lost four hundred Men (3). *Mazurais* mounts the number to sixteen hundred, and lowers the Loss of the *French* to six thousand. It is very common, on these occasions, to see the like Diversity in the Historians of two opposite Sides.

On the morrow, the King pursued his March towards *Calais*. In passing over the Field of Battle he took occasion to commend the Valour of his Troops; but withal exhorted those near him, not to be vainly proud of a Victory, gained purely by the miraculous Assistance of the Lord of Hosts. During his March, he was extremely civil to the *French* Princes his Prisoners. He told them, "he had not obtained the Victory by the Superiority of his Merit, but because God was pleased to make him his Instrument to punish the Sins of the *French* Nation: That the Advantages he might expect from his Victory, were so far from making him averse to a Peace, that he was even more inclined to it than the day before the Battle."

Some days after the Duke of *Burgundy* sent him a Cartel of Defiance, and told him by a Herald, that he intended to revenge the Death of his Brothers. Probably, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers* were killed in the Massacre of the Prisoners after the Battle. *Henry* willing to keep fair with that Prince, whom he still hoped to gain to his Interest, answered with great Moderation. He told the Herald, in delivering the *Gauntlet*, received from his hand, that the *French* themselves could witness he was not guilty of the death of the Duke's Brothers, but his own Subjects were answerable for their Blood (4). This he said, because *Bourneville*, who occasioned the Slaughter of the Prisoners, was a *Burgundian*.

About the middle of *November* (5), *Henry* embarked for *England*, taking with him the principal Prisoners. He met in his Passage with a violent Storm, which put him in extreme danger, and even sunk some of his Ships. At last, after great Fatigue, he arrived on the 16th of *November*. He was received in *England* with the usual Acclamations on such occasions. The People were never tired with praising a Prince, that had rendered the *English* Name so formidable and glorious (6). His first Care was to appoint a day of publick Thanksgiving for the happy Success of his Arms. Then he caused the Bodies of the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, who lost their Lives in the Battle, to be honorably interred (7). The Duke of *York* leaving no Issue, *Richard* his Nephew, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, was his Heir.

The Wound *France* had received, was not so great, on account of the Advantages reaped by the King of *England* from his Victory, which gained him not a single Foot of Land, as for being the Occasion of the Civil War's rekindling with more Fury than ever. The Duke of *Burgundy* resolving to improve the present Juncture, claimed the Administration of Affairs, from which he had been long excluded, and particularly, by the Peace of *Arras*. He alleged, that when the Kingdom was threatened with utter Ruin, a Prince of the Blood, first Peer, and doubly Peer of the Realm, was indispensably bound to aid the King with his Councils, and could not be debarred the Court, without Injustice and Danger. But as he well knew his Reasons would be ineffectual, unless supported by force, he approached *Paris* with an Army, and seized some Posts about the City. The Dauphin, not being able to bear the Thoughts of admitting to Court the Duke of *Burgundy*, though his Father-in-law, sent for the Earl of *Armagnac*, and gave him the Constable's Sword. This Earl, sworn Enemy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not spare the Duke's Adherents, commonly called the *Burgundians*. He ordered some to be hanged, and great Numbers to be imprisoned, and thereby so heightened the Animosity of the two Factions, that from thenceforward nothing was capable of uniting them against the common Enemy. The Dauphin seconded the Constable's Revenge,

and never thought of restoring the ruinous Affairs of the Kingdom, the Government whereof was in his hands. Shortly after, namely, on the 24th of *December*, the Prince was poisoned.

By the Death of *Dauphin*, the new Constable remained sole Master of the King's Person, and of the Government of the Kingdom, till the return of *John* Duke of *Berry*, to whom the Title of Dauphin was devolved, and who was then in *Hainault* with the Earl his Father-in-law. The young Prince resolving to espouse neither Side, sent Orders to both Factions to lay down their Arms. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who was losing his Time before *Lagny*, obeyed, out of deference, as he pretended, to the Dauphin's Orders, and retired into his Dominions. But the Constable was not so tractable. As he had the King's Person in his Power, he did not think the Dauphin had any Right to command him, till actually possessed of the Regency, which he was bent to oppose, unless he would declare against the *Burgundians*. It was this that hindered the Dauphin's return to Court.

All this while, it was next to impossible for *France*, to take just measures for her Defence against the Attack, threatened from *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was privately treating with *Henry*. The Earl of *Hainault* was likewise courting that Monarch, to put the Dauphin, his Son-in-law, in possession of the Regency. On the other hand, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, then head of the *Orléans* Faction, was projecting to deprive the Dauphin of his Birth-right, by procuring the Crown for *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu* his Son-in-law. To compass his Ends, he thought he could take no certainer Method, than to secure the Assistance of *England*. Thus all *France*, as it were with one Consent, though with different Views, earnestly sought the Alliance of the *English*, against whom the whole Nation should have firmly united, if private Interest had not prevailed above the Good of the Publick. In this manner passed the Year 1415, which the Battle of *Azin-court* has rendered memorable for ever.

The Conformation *France* was under, and the Discord between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Constable, seemed to promise *Henry* fresh Laurels, if he had continued the War. Nevertheless, that Prince, whose Wisdom equalled his Valour, very prudently steered a quite different Course. He judged, that by fomenting the Troubles of *France*, and inspiring the two Factions with Jealousy, he should procure more certain and lasting Advantages, than by means of his Arms. The truth is, by pushing the *French* too vigorously, he ran the risk of uniting them all against him. In which case, his Advantages, probably, would have been inconsiderable. But by granting them some Respite, he gave them opportunity to destroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's Expectation, he laid aside his Military Affairs for near eighteen Months, and betook himself entirely to Negotiation, which afforded him the Prospect of less doubtful Advantages. He continued not however in a state of Idleness. The Particulars of what passed in 1416, and part of the Year followings will shew, how attentive he was to the Execution of his Projects.

Henry's chief Aim was to gain the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had now shewn an Inclination to make an Alliance with him. The succeeding in this design, he perceived, would be more advantageous, than another *Azin-court* Victory. To this therefore all his Endeavours tended, as to his principal Affair. To attain his Ends, it was necessary, that the Affairs of *France* should remain in their present Situation. It was requisite, the Constable, and the other Heads of that Faction, should still have it in their Power to persecute the Duke of *Burgundy*. This alone was capable of throwing that Prince into a desperate Resolution, which he beheld not without dread, and which the sole desire of Revenge could induce him to take. If by the Continuance of the War *France* had lost Towns and Battles, the Constable, who held the Reins of the Government, would, doubtless, have forfeited all his Credit. By that means, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have infallibly obtained the Regency again, and no longer stood in need of the *English*. This is the true reason of *Henry's* consenting to all the Proposals for concluding a Truce, or for renewing the Negotiations of Peace. Mean while, his, and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Envoys, passed from *London* to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* to *London*, ever un-

(1) He was found under a heap of dead Bodies, by the Archers, who came to ride the Field; they perceiving some signs of Life in him, carried him to the King, who took care of him, and treated him like a noble Enemy. *P. Band. Hist. de Bret.* p. 451. *Le Fevre*, p. 95.

(2) Sixteen hundred of the Prisoners were Men of Quality. *Le Fevre*, ibid.

(3) *P. de France* says, they lost but four, or five hundred Men, p. 451. But *M. Huet* affirms, there were seventeen hundred killed, c. 147.

(4) His Word, says, "That the *French* alone were guilty of their Blood." *Words* of the Duke of *Brabant*, and Earl of *Nevers*. See *Gardien*, p. 95.

(5) *November* 10. *Paris*.

(6) He made his Entry into *London*, *November* 23. *Walsing.* p. 393. The Mayor and Aldermen, and two hundred of the Citizens, waited on him the next Day, with a Present of a Command Pound in Gold, in two Gold Basons, worth five hundred Pounds. *Stowe's Ann.* p. 351. *Gardien*, p. 96.

(7) *Edmund*, Duke of *York*, Son of *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward III.* was buried in his Collegiate Church at *Ely*, in *Northamptonshire*. *Ann. Monast.* p. 106. Earl of *Suffolk*, Son of him that died of the *Flux* before *Burgundy*, was interred at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*.

dered a Treaty of Commerce, in which fresh Difficulties were continually started, the better to hide their principal Design (1).

It was not without reason, that this Negotiation was kept secret by both Sides. The Duke, whom nothing but Necessity would have forced to an Alliance with the King, was afraid, the discovery of this Project would alienate the Affections of the *French*, and especially of the *Parisians*. Henry had reason to fear, on his part, that if the Court of *France* came to know of this Negotiation, they would find means to break his Measures. However, his desisting entirely from War, since the Battle of *Azincourt*, might well cause his designs to be suspected. But the Arrival of the Emperor *Sigismund* freed him from this trouble, as it gave him occasion to pretend, he discontinued the War, at the Instance of that Prince.

In the beginning of the Year, *Sigismund* came to *Paris* (2). He gave out himself, that the sole End of his Journey was, to mediate Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *England* (3). This Design was noble and charitable, and worthy a Christian Monarch, supposing it to have been entirely disinterested. But several Circumstances gave occasion to believe, he undertook this Voyage to favour *Henry* rather than *France*, and in hopes of some Advantage for himself. At his arrival in *France*, he proposed a four Years Truce between the two Kings, but the Court rejected this Proposal. The *French* Historians charge the Constable with refusing this Truce, for his own private Interest, but without shewing wherein the War could be for his Advantage. I suppose, he was then projecting the Siege of *Harfleur* which he began the next *June*. It may be, he perceived, the Emperor was not an impartial Mediator. However this be, *Sigismund* finding he could not prevail at *Paris*, came into *England* (4) in the Month of *March* (5). The *English* Historians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the Duke of *Gloucester*, and some other Lords, who stepping into the Water with their drawn Swords, boarded the Boat. Surprised at this Reception, he asked the Reason: The Duke told him, if he was come to challenge any Authority in *England*, they had Orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a Mediator of Peace, he should meet with all the respect due to the Imperial Dignity. This was to warn him not to take the Liberty of exercising Authority in *England*, as he had done in *France* during his stay (6).

The arrival of *Sigismund* at *London*, was preceded by that of *William* of *Bevaria*, Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was come upon the same Errand. These two Princes quickly saw, they should find it difficult to procure a Peace. Henry added to his former demands, the Town of *Harfleur*, with part of the adjacent Territory, for the maintenance of the Garrison. On the other hand, *France* persisting in her first Offers, would not hear of Peace, unless *Henry* restored *Harfleur*. So the two Mediators perceiving a Peace almost impossible, were satisfied with obtaining the two Kings consent to a Truce for three Years, during which *Harfleur* should remain in Trust in their hands, for certain Securities, promised by the *French* Prisoners in *England*. But just as the Treaty was going to be signed, the Prisoners fell from their word. The Constable, who was resolved to besiege *Harfleur*, had agreed to this Negotiation only to amuse *Henry*, and hinder him from discovering his Design.

Shortly after, under some pretence, he carried King *Charles* to *Roan*. His Aim was, to be ready against the arrival of some *Genoese* Ships, which were to join the *French* Fleet, in order to invest *Harfleur* by Sea. He managed matters so privately, that *Henry*, not having the least Suspicion of his design, neglected to reinforce the Garrison. During the *French* Court's stay at *Roan*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Governor of *Harfleur*, made an Incursion even to the Gates of that City, and carried away a great Booty. In his return, he was pursued and overtaken by the Constable, who gained some Advantage over him.

On the morrow, the Constable still pressing the *English*, who were hastily retreating, forced them to halt, and stand upon their defence. In this second Skirmish, the Earl of *Dorset*, though inferior in number of Troops (7), had his Revenge, and compelled his Enemy to retire with precipitation to *Roan*.

This ill Success prevented not the Constable from continuing his Preparations for the Siege of *Harfleur*. Immediately after the arrival of the *Genoese* Ships, he ordered his Troops, whom he had purposely dispersed, to re-join, at a certain Place, where he came and headed them in Person (8). Then he marched directly to *Harfleur*, where he was not expected; so unable were the *French* thought by the *English* to make any Attempt. Whilst the Constable besieged the Town by Land, the Viscount of *Narbonne* blocked it up by Sea, so that nothing could go in or out. *Henry* was extremely mortified to be thus overreached by the Constable. He was sensible then, that the Negotiation was intended only to amuse him, and therefore was the more provoked to use his utmost Endeavours to break his Enemies measures. He had a mind, in his turn, to use Stratagem, and circumvent the Constable. To that end, he feigned a strong Inclination to Peace, and desired an Interview with his Cousin, for so he then called the King of *France*, whereas before he styled him his Adversary. He was in hopes, that if an Interview was granted, a Truce would ensue, which would give him time to relieve *Harfleur*; but his Proposal was rejected. After this, he commissioned *Morgan* directly to demand a Truce. But the Court of *France* took care, not to give him such an Advantage in the present Juncture. In fine, perceiving the Constable was not to be amused, he commanded a Fleet (9) to be equipped, resolving to go himself and relieve the Place. He depended upon the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Dorset*, the Governor, knowing he would do his utmost to give him time to prepare for his Relief. In this he was not mistaken, for though the Siege was begun about the middle of *June*, it was not much advanced at the end of *July*. So, *Henry* having had leisure to prepare his Fleet, was ready to embark. But the Emperor dissuaded him from venturing his Person in an Expedition of this nature, where, notwithstanding all his Prudence, he might receive some disgrace, by the Accidents of the Sea. The King yielding to the Emperor's Instances, gave the Command to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who sailed about the end of *July* (10). It soon met with the Enemy's Fleet lying before *Harfleur*. The Viscount de *Narbonne* preparing for his Defence, withstood for some time the Efforts of the *English*, but at length was forced to yield the Victory, after seeing five *Genoese* Carracks taken, and several of his own Ships sunk. Nothing more preventing the Duke of *Bedford* from throwing the Succours into the Town, the Constable raised the Siege and retired.

Whilst these things passed, the Duke of *Burgundy* continued, under diverse Pretences, his secret Negotiations with *Henry*. One while, it was to renew the Truce between *England* and *Flanders*, another while, for Affairs concerning the Church, depending before the Council of *Constance*. In *May* (11), the Truce I just mentioned, which was to expire the 15th of *June*, was renewed for a Year, and yet the Duke of *Burgundy* sent four Ambassadors more to *England*. In the beginning of *August*, the King appointed Commissioners to treat with them concerning some Ecclesiastical Affairs. This publick Commission served for pretence to the private Conferences. But by another of the same date, these Commissioners were empowered to agree with the Ambassadors upon an Interview between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation must have been now very forward, since, two days after, the King dispatched Orders to several Officers, to be ready to attend him beyond Sea, where he was to have an Interview with some of his Enemies. This plainly shews, the Duke's frequent Em-

The Constable besieged Harfleur. T. Livin. Act. Pub. IX. p. 335.

Henry tries in vain to amuse France. Act. Pub. IX. p. 365, 366.

He resolves to go and relieve Harfleur. T. Livin. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 362, 370.

He is dissuaded from it by the Emperor.

Sends the Duke of Bedford; who beats the French Fleet. Montrelet. L. Livin. Walling.

Negotiation between the King and Duke of Burgundy continues. Act. Pub. IX. p. 332, 352, 354, 357, 364, 374.

Aug. 5. were empowered to agree with the Ambassadors upon an Interview between the King and the Duke of Burgundy. Aug. 7. P. 375.

They agree upon an Interview. Act. Pub. IX. p. 375.

(1) In the mean time a Parliament met at *Westminster*, on *March* 16, which ordered the two Tent's, and the two Fifteenth's, granted in the last Parliament, to be sooner paid than the time appointed. In this Parliament, the clipping, washing, and filing of the current Money of the Land was made Treason. *Ret. Parl.* 3 *Hon. V. n. 1*, 10. c. 7. There was a Parliament summoned, the last Year, to meet about the 20th of *October*, and afterwards prorogued to the beginning of *November*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 542, 543.

(2) Attended with a thousand Horse. *T. Livin.* p. 23. *Elmham.* p. 74.

(3) That the Christian Princes might unite against the *Turks*, the common Enemy. *Montrelet.* *Hill.* fol. 53.

(4) At *Calais*, his Imperial Majesty was treated by *Richard de Beauchamp*, Governor of the Town, with so much Civility and Gallantry, that he was charmed with it: And afterwards told King *Henry*, That no Christian Prince had a Knight equal to him for Wisdom, Good-breeding, and Courage; and that if all Christies were lost, it might be found in the Earl of *Warwick*; who, from thence, was afterwards called *The Father of Country*. *Dugdale's Warwick.* p. 327.

(5) The 2th of *May*. *Walling.* p. 394. *April* 29, says *Goodwin*, p. 103.

(6) Commissioners also from *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, came to *London*, about the end of *January*, to renew the Alliances concluded between the Archbishops his Predecessors, and King *Henry's* Ancestors. Accordingly a Treaty was signed by the Ambassadors of those two Princes on *May* 1. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. IX. p. 343, 346.

(7) There were but fifteen hundred *English*, to fifteen thousand of the *French*. *Walling.* p. 394.

(8) Some of the *French* Ships came and blocked up the *English* Fleet at *Portsmouth* and *Southampton*, and made an Attempt on the Isle of *Wight*, but were repelled. *Goodwin.* p. 106, 107.

(9) Of four hundred Sail, having on board the Earl Marshal, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, and *Devonshire*, with twenty thousand Men. *Hindley*, fol. 211. *Goodwin*, p. 107.

(10) Sailed *August* 13. *T. Livin.* p. 25. *Elmham.* p. 79.

(11) *May* 20. *Rymer.* p. 352.

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bassies were not wholly designed for treating about Trade; or Church Affairs. That Prince had now long demurred upon concluding his Treaty with *Henry*. As he was of the Blood-Royal of *France*, and first Peer of the Realm, he was sensible, an Alliance of that nature was directly contrary to his Honour and Duty. Besides, such a Step could not but be prejudicial to him in *France*, among his own Party. For these Reasons, he had hitherto been satisfied with keeping the Negotiation on foot, in order to conclude it, only in case of Necessity. The Earl of *Armagnac's* Revenge, at length threw the Duke upon this Action, which, doubtless, he would have longer delayed, or, it may be, never done, had he not been as it were forced to it by the Persecutions of his Enemies.

The Dauphin, and Duke of Burgundy concert Measures.

I have already said, that the Constable d' *Armagnac*, had, under divers Pretences, prevented *John* the Dauphin, then in *Hainault*, from returning to Court. The young Prince, impatient of being thus controlled by that proud Minister, longed to be at the Head of Affairs, and to observe a Neutrality between the two Factions, which would gain him the Esteem and Regard of both Parties. But this was not possible, since he had no Forces at his disposal, but the Earl of *Hainault's* his Father-in-law, which were not sufficient to enable him to execute such a Project against the Constable's Will. Mean time, the Duke of *Burgundy*, perceiving there was no likelihood of his acquiring the Government, so long as the Constable had the King's Person in his power, thought it advisable, to strengthen himself with the new Dauphin's Assistance. For that purpose, he had conferred, in the beginning of the Year, at *Valenciennes*, with him and the Earl of *Hainault*; and it was agreed, that the Dauphin should once more try by fair means to be admitted to Court, in order to take the Place due to his Birth: That in case he succeeded, he should carry the Duke with him: But if he could not prevail, they should take other measures to dispossess the Constable, and free the King. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Dauphin and the Earl of *Hainault*, repaired to *Compiègne*, from whence the Earl proceeded alone to *Paris*, to mediate the return of his Son-in-law. Upon the first mention of recalling the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Constable interrupting him, said plainly, the Dauphin should never be admitted to the King his Father's Court, unless he openly declared himself an Enemy of the *Burgundian* Faction. The Earl of *Hainault* seeing this Obstinacy, could not forbear uttering some Threats, which discovered to the Constable, and his Party, that the Dauphin intended to rely on the Assistance of the Duke. This was the Reason, that, in order to prevent the Mischief this Union might do them, they resolved to dispatch him out of the way. A few days after, the Dauphin was poisoned at *Compiègne*, the 16th of *April* 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it in the Abridgement of *Mezerai*. The King of *Sicily* was suspected of this deed, to make way for Prince *Charles* his Son-in-law. If he was guilty, his Death, which happened presently after, hindered him from reaping any Advantage.

The Dauphin is poisoned.

Charles his Brother succeeds him.

By the Death of *John* the Dauphin, *Charles* his Brother, Earl of *Ponthieu*, became Dauphin, and Heir-apparent to the Crown. This young Prince immediately espoused the Party of the *Armagnacs*, for so the *Orleans* Faction was now called. By that means, the Duke of *Burgundy* was more out of hopes than ever, and the Earl of *Armagnac* maintained himself in the Government; where nothing was done without his Orders. His hatred to the Duke of *Burgundy*, caused him to lose no opportunity of persecuting the *Burgundians*, who were very numerous at *Paris*. His severe and tyrannical Behaviour, joined to an extreme Greediness, induced at length the *Parisians* of the *Burgundian* Party, to lay a Plot to introduce their Head into the City. The Conspiracy being discovered, the Constable took occasion, so to exercise his Rage upon the whole Party, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himself any longer obliged to regard the Court. Immediately, to let the World see his Resentment, he concluded with the King of *England*, a Truce for all their respective Dominions, not excepting his Possessions in *France*. But his Revenge did not stop here. His Ambassadors, as I said before, agreed, that the King and he should meet at *Calais*, and the Duke acknowledge *Henry* for the true King of *France*, and do him Liege-Homage. This Interview was fixed to the beginning of *October*.

The Duke of Burgundy does Homage to Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 383.

Treaty between Sigismund and Henry. Ib. p. 377. Walling. T. Livius. Elmham.

Mean while, the Emperor *Sigismund* having no farther Business in *England*, departed about the middle of *August*. In his way to *Canterbury*, he signed a Treaty of

perpetual Alliance with *Henry*, and, at the same time, a League against *France*. He promised to assist the King in the Recovery of the Kingdom of *France*, and *Henry* engaged to aid him in constraining King *Charles*, and some other Princes, to do him Homage, for certain Territories not specified in the Treaty. Probably, this concerned the Kingdom of *Arles*, and the *Dauphiné*, to which the Emperors had some stale Pretensions. By the way, this Treaty discovers one of the Motives of *Sigismund's* Journey to *France* and *England*. Very likely, by procuring a Peace between the two Kings, he hoped to obtain for himself some one of those Countries, to which he laid Claim. Be this as it will, it may be conjectured, that he expected some private Advantage from the Peace. Great Princes are seldom seen to spend whole Years out of their Dominions, with the sole View to mediate a Peace, in which they have no manner of concern. *Sigismund* was, of all others, the farthest from this Character. I do not know, whether, before his Journey to *England*, he had contracted a Friendship with *Henry*; but after his departure, it appears by several Records, that there was between them a strict Correspondence and mutual Confidence, very uncommon among Princes (1).

The Emperor being arrived at *Calais*, staid there for *Henry*, who could not come till about the end of *September* (2). Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the report of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Interview with *Henry* at *Calais*, and wanting to know what should pass at the Conference, sent thither the Archbishop of *Rheims*, with some other Ambassadors. The Pretence was, to treat of a Peace with the King, but, in all appearance, the chief Aim of this Embassy, was to discover what should pass at the Interview. *Henry* was not sorry, the Ambassadors of *France* would be witnesses of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Arrival at *Calais*, and therefore readily dispatched their Safe-Conducts, and presently after their coming (3), appointed Commissioners to treat with them. But he took such Precautions, that the *French* could never discover the real Motive of his Journey to *Calais*, at least, with any certainty. It did not appear he had any other design, than to confirm the late Truce between the King and the Duke, which was already published at *London*. It is true, that, afterwards, the Duke's Proceedings made him suspected of being in Friendship with the *English*, but this was only a bare Suspicion. The *French* Historians speak of it very uncertainly, and we had properly nothing fixed, till the Publick Records, printed in *England*, discovered the Secret. There we find what follows upon this Subject.

The 1st of *October*, the King dispatched a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and eight hundred Attendants, and sent him the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother in Hostage. Next day, he appointed Commissioners, to receive, in his Name, the Oaths of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip* Earl of *Charolais* his Son, pursuant to the Articles agreed upon; which were in form of Preliminaries. The Articles ran, word for word, thus.

“ The King having acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* with his just Claim to the Crown of *France*, and his Adversary's Refusal to give him Satisfaction, told him, “ That by the help of God and St. George, he was resolved to obtain it by force of Arms. Upon this Declaration, the Duke perceiving the Justice of the King's Title, and considering the great Victories Heaven had blessed him with, promises to send him his Letters Patent, containing what follows: “ That though heretofore, for want of Information; “ he had espoused the contrary Party, believing it just; “ now that he is better informed, he promises firmly to “ adhere to the King of *England*, and his Heirs and Successors, as to those who are, and ever will be the true “ and lawful Kings of *France*, as much as if they were “ in actual possession of the Crown. “ Though for the present the King has not desired the “ Duke's Homage, yet, as the Duke owns it to be due, “ he promises, that as soon as the King of *England* shall “ be possessed of a considerable part of the Realm of “ *France*, to pay him Liege-Homage, and swear Fealty “ to him, as every Vassal of the Crown of *France* ought “ to do to the King of *France* his Sovereign. “ Item, the Duke of *Burgundy* promises to endeavour, “ by all known and unknown Ways, to place the King “ of *England* on the Throne of *France*. “ Item, Whilst the King shall be employed in pursuing his Rights, the Duke of *Burgundy* will make War

Articles of Agreement between the King and Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 394.

(1) He was, whilst in *England*, solemnly installed Knight of the Garter, together with the Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*. The said Emperor esteemed his being Knight of the Garter so great an Honour, that he always wore the Collar, when he sat in any Assembly. *Wadding. l. 394. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 9. p. 335, 336.*

(2) He embarked at *St. davis*, *September* 4, about Noon, attended with forty Ships, and arrived at *Calais* the next Day, about the same time. *Ibid. p. 384.*

(3) On *October* 1. The King's Commissioners were, *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Henry Ware* Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Sir *Ralph Ralegh*, and *Philip Morgan*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 9. p. 387, 389.*

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"with all his Forces upon the King's Enemies in *France*, namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their Dominions and Adherents, refusing Obedience to the King of *England*.

"*Item*, In all the Alliances and Letters Patent, made or to be made, between the King and Duke, wherein the Duke should except, or have excepted the King's Adversary, or the Son of his Adversary, it is not his Intention, to do any thing contrary to what he promises by these Presents, which he is to give the King, but will punctually perform it.

"That if through dissimulation, the Duke excepted the King's Adversary, or the Dauphin his Son, for a greater Good, and for the better accomplishing the intended Project, his Will and Meaning is, that all such Exceptions are void, and of no Effect.

"And that all may know, this proceeds from his own free Consent, he will promise and swear by his Faith and Honour, to observe it without Fraud or Deceit. He will write all the Articles with his own hand, sign them, and set his usual Seal to them."

Ib. p. 395.

All these Articles were drawn up in form of Letters Patent, written and subscribed by the Duke of *Burgundy's* own hand, and sealed with his Privy-Seal.

Mezzerai, in his Abridgement of the History of *France*, says, That the Desire of Rule so transported the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he went and conferred with the King of *England* at *Calais*, and renewed the Truces for his Dominions only, whereby he tied himself in some measure from assisting the King of *France*. What would that Historian have said, had he known all? It is further to be remarked, that the Earl of *Charolais*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, entered into the same Engagements with the Duke his Father. After this, there is no questioning the ill designs of these two Princes, against *France* their native Country. They chose rather to see it under a foreign Dominion, than governed by their Enemies.

Truce with
France,
p. 397, &c.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Walshing.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 405;
416.

Before *Henry* left *Calais*, he concluded a Truce with *France*, till the 2d of *February*; and then he returned into *England* about the middle of *October*, in order to hold a Parliament, called for the 19th of the same Month. During this Session, the Parliament granted a Subsidy (1) for carrying on the War. But this Aid was so little proportioned to his Wants and Projects, that he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Winchester* his Uncle, for a hundred thousand Marks, and part of his Jewels to the City of *London*, for ten thousand Pounds Sterling. This is a clear Evidence, how many difficulties he would have met with, in the Conquest of *France* with his own Forces, if the intestine Troubles of that Kingdom had not paved the way for him. Mean while, notwithstanding his pressing Necessities, he assigned the Earl of *Dorset*, who defended *Harfleur*, a Pension of a thousand Pounds, upon creating him Duke of *Exeter* (2).

Henry re-
solves to re-
new the
War.

Henry having bound the Duke of *Burgundy*, by their late private Treaty, thought it time to renew the War. He knew not only, that one half of *France* would not oppose him, but moreover the *Burgundian* Party would make a diversion in his favour, which could not but procure him great Advantages. In this Resolution, he made all the necessary Preparations to accomplish his Enterprize. Mean while, as the Supply granted him by Parliament was not sufficient for his purpose, and as the Money came slowly into the Exchequer, he was quickly in great Want. To remedy this Inconvenience, he made use of the following Means. After he had settled the Pay of each Soldier, Horse and Foot, and of each Officer, according to every one's Rank and Character, he made private Contracts with several Lords and Gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to find him a certain Number of Horsemen or Footmen, for such a yearly Sum to be paid quarterly. The first Quarteridge was advanced, but when the second came to be paid, the King had no Money. To supply the present Occasion, he pawned to them the rest of the Jewels, with Letters under the Great Seal, empowering them to sell them, if the Money was not paid within such a time. The Term allowed, was twelve or eighteen Months, according as the Creditors were more or less tractable. By this means he gained time for the Payment of his Troops, which was a great Convenience, as he could reimburse his Creditors according as the Money came into the Treasury, without being obliged to pay all at once. People were so well satisfied of his Sincerity, that they made no scruple to serve him, or lend him Money, upon such Securities, as would have been little worth under a Prince of less Probity.

His way of
raising the
Army.
Des Ursins.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 433;
459, 460,
461.

The State of
the Court of
France.

The Preparations carrying on in *England*, very justly

(1) The Commons granted him two whole Tenths and two Fifteenths, to be levied on the Laity; and the Clergy gave two Tenths to be raised from their own Body. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 550. *Walsh.* p. 395.
(2) For Life only. *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorset*, was created Duke of *Exeter* in this Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 550. *Dugdale's Baron.* Ib. p. 429. Vol. II. p. 125.

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alarmed the Court of *France*, who were little able to make the like. The Duke of *Burgundy's* late Truce, publicly made with *Henry*, was a demonstration there was no Assistance to be expected, either from the Duke or his Adherents. Nay the Court was apprehensive, the Duke had gone farther, at the Conference held with the Enemy of the Kingdom: At least, he was very much suspected of having ill Designs. So, the Constable who sat at the helm was not a little embarrassed. He enjoyed a great Authority; but it was not without uneasiness. Besides, since the Death of *John* the Dauphin, he was forced to have a regard for the new Dauphin, lest the young Prince should think of governing without his Assistance. To all these Difficulties was added, the War, the *English* were preparing to carry into *France*. As the Kingdom was in an ill situation, and the Enemy like to make a great Progress, he considered, he should be answerable for all the ill Successes. In this state of Perplexity, he thought he should try to put a Stop to the King of *England's* Arms, by an extraordinary Negotiation, which should give that Prince room to believe, the Court of *France* would be forced to make Peace, though never so unwilling. He was aware, that if he should himself treat of a Peace, it would be lost Labour, because it was generally believed to be for his Interest, that Affairs should remain embroiled, in order to preserve his Authority. It was therefore unlikely, that the King of *England* should suffer himself to be amused by any Proposal from him. For this reason, he thought proper to make use of the Prisoners in *England*, and particularly of the Duke of *Bourbon*. We find in the *Collection* of the Publick Acts, several Safe-Conducts dated about this time, for the Duke of *Bourbon's* Domesticicks going to and coming from *France*, under divers Pretences. It may therefore be presumed, that the Plot was then formed, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* did nothing in the Affair, of which I am going to relate the Particulars, but in concert with the Court of *France*.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 423,
425.

This Plot was so artfully framed, that if the King had not been in a continual Mistrust, he would doubtless have been deceived. But his firm Resolution, not to interrupt the Execution of his Designs, for any Offers that should be short of his Demands, caused him to escape the Snare. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, and some other Prisoners, feigning to despair of the Affairs of *France*, intimated to *Henry*, that they were willing to treat with him, for themselves in particular. This was told him, not positively, but as what they might possibly be brought to. But the King, fearing that, under this Pretence, they designed to retard his Voyage, gave no great Attention to the Overture.

Some time after, these same Princes, who had hitherto endeavoured to make the Proposal come from the King, finding they could not succeed, began first. At an Audience which they demanded, they expressed their Inclination, and prayed him to acquaint them with his Pretensions; adding, they did not question, but they should return him a satisfactory Answer, without any Prejudice to their Honour. The King, who would not be amused, roundly told them, he had no other Proposal to make, except only, that they should acknowledge him for King of *France* and their lawful Sovereign. The Duke of *Orleans* exclaimed against this Proposal, and plainly told him, they had no Answer to return to such a Demand. Matters went no farther for this time.

Negotiations
between
Henry and
the French
Prisoners;
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 427,
&c.

But a few Weeks after, the Duke of *Bourbon* resumed the Affair. He told the King, that since they had the Honour to talk with him, several of the Prisoners had sent Persons into *France*, to make inquiry concerning his Title to that Kingdom, and had received better Information than ever before. He added, for his part, he was fully convinced of the Justice of his Rights. Then he said, he was told, that, notwithstanding his just Claim to the whole Kingdom, he had offered to resign it, if certain Provinces were delivered to him; and, in his opinion, that Offer ought not to be refused: That the other Prisoners were of his mind, and had resolved to do all that lay in their Power to procure him what he desired. That therefore, he begged leave to go into *France*, and declare to King *Charles*, in the Name of all the Prisoners, that, as faithful Subjects, they could not but advise him, to close with this Expedient for Peace, and pray him to accept so reasonable an Offer. In short, the Duke added, that if the Court of *France* consented to the Offer, *Henry* might this very Year take possession of the Provinces, which should be resigned. But if, on the contrary, it was rejected, the Princes would account themselves acquitted from the Oath they had taken to their King. The Duke engaged, for his own part, to put

Particularly
the Duke of
Bourbon.
Ibid.

p. 434.

Particular
Engagement
of the Duke
of *Bourbon*.
Ib. p. 429.

1416.

all his fortified Towns in the hands of such Persons, as would be sure to deliver them up when he pleased. He promised to return into *England*, by the time which should be appointed him, and own *Henry* for King of *France*, and pay him Homage as his lawful Sovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would so evidently demonstrate the Justice of *Henry's* Right to the Crown of *France*, that all the World should be satisfied, he could not dispense with doing him Homage, without acting contrary to his Honour. In fine, he entreated the King to be silent till his Return, by reason of the Danger he should be exposed to, if the thing was divulged, during his Stay in *France*.

Henry could not tell what to think of such a Proposal. He knew *France* was not governed either by the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Duke of *Bourbon*; and that it was not the Earl of *Armagnac's* Interest to make a Peace upon these Terms. But, at the same time, the hopes of recovering the Provinces of *France*, lost since the Treaty of *Bretigny*, without being obliged to renew the War, were very agreeable. On the other hand, the Alternative proposed by the Duke, could not but be advantageous to him. All he had to do, was to be upon his Guard, and not be persuaded, on this pretence, to interrupt the Execution of his Projects. Wherefore, resolving not to suspend his Expedition one single day, upon any account whatever, he believed there was no Danger in granting the Duke of *Bourbon* the Leave he desired. But first, he had one of the Duke's Sons given him in Hostage, with Security for the Sum of two hundred thousand

He has leave
to go to
France.
ib. p. 429.

Tom. IX.
p. 427, 430.

The Project
comes to
nothing.

Ast. Pub.
IX. p. 456.

1417.
Wretched
Condition of
France.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Ast. Pub.
IX. p. 451,
454, 469.

Crowns. These Particulars are in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there a Letter, written with the King's own Hand, to Sir *John Tiptoft*, his Ambassador to the Emperor, ordering him to acquaint *Sigismund* with the Secret, ask his Opinion upon it, and assure him that the Negotiation shall not retard his Expedition into *France*. At the same time, he enjoys him not to make the least Discovery to any other Person, on pain of his heavy Displeasure. Probably, his firm Resolution not to be amused by any Proposal, was the reason, this Stratagem was carried no farther. The Duke of *Bourbon* returned into *England*; but performed not his other Engagements. It was, doubtless, *Henry's* Indignation against the Prisoners, for endeavouring to deceive him, that caused him to order them to be confined in *Pontefract* Castle; whereas before, they were upon their Parole. Though there are no positive Proofs, that this Plot was contrived by the Constable, it is visible however, by several Conjectures, which all together amount to a sort of Demonstration. It would be too long to give the particulars here. But if the *French* Prisoners are supposed to have acted sincerely, without the Direction of the Constable, it must be inferred, that *France* was then in a very deplorable State. King *Charles*, frequently seized with a Frenzy, was incapable of taking care of his Affairs. The Duke of *Burgundy*, first Peer of the Realm, and Head of a powerful Party, had made a secret Alliance with the Enemy of the State. The Princes of the Blood were about to acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*. In fine, the Kingdom was governed by a young Prince of fourteen Years, and by the Earl of *Armagnac*, a violent Man, who fought only to be revenged of his Enemies, and openly sacrificed the publick Good to his Ambition.

Though the Constable had already been the Cause of much Mischief to *France*, by persecuting the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forcing him, as it were, to throw himself into the Arms of the King of *England*, he did not think it sufficient to secure his Quiet. *Isabella* of *Bavaria*, Wife of *Charles VI.*, appeared so displeased to be ruled by a Subject, that he could not help fearing, she would in the end find means to deprive him of his Authority. This was not impossible. The King being of an easy Temper, it would not have been difficult to gain him, in one of his Intervals. Neither was it impracticable, to persuade the Dauphin to rid himself of a troublesome Governor, in order to rule as he pleased, without fear of being controlled. Thus the Constable's Destiny hanging by so weak a Thread, whilst he had such an Enemy at Court, he believed, that, to secure himself, it was absolutely necessary to remove her. The Queen gave him a sufficient Handle by her Behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the Rules of Decency. The Constable taking this Advantage, inspi-

The Constable
causes the
Queen to be
sent away
to Tours.

(1) He sailed from *Portsmouth*, July 27, or 28, and landed at *Beauvais*, in *Normandy*, August 1. *Goodwin*, p. 155. During his Journey to *Soulampren*, which was appointed to be the Rendezvous, he issued out a Proclamation, That no Person should be suffered to wear Coats of Arms, who had not a Right to them. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. IX. p. 427. ---- Before he embarked, he sent *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, to scour the Seas: who meeting with nine *Genoise* Ships in the *French* Service, sunk three of them, and took three, in one of which there was as much Money as was to have paid the *French* Fleet for half a Year. *Hall's Head*, Vol. III. p. 348. *T. Livius*, p. 31. *Elmhurst*, p. 93.

(2) Particularly *Dauvergne*, which King *Henry* gave, on September 26, to *Thomas de Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, with other Castles and Lands: *Rymer's Fæd.* T. IX. p. 495.

(3) *Edward Courtenay*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, *Thomas Clauser*, *John Waterton*, and *John Kempe*. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. IX. p. 497.

red the King and Dauphin, with such strong Suspicions of her, that she was sent away to *Tours*, where she remained as a Prisoner, not knowing on whom to rely, to free herself out of Captivity. This fatal Policy of the Constable was a fresh Source of Calamities to *France*. The injured Mother could never forgive her Son the Affront she had received, and, unfortunately for the Kingdom, it was but too much in her Power to glut her Revenge.

1417.

The Queen
hates the
Dauphin
mortally.

The Duke of
Burgundy
takes up
Arms.

He ap-
proaches
Paris.

Henry lands
at Tonque-
T. Livius,
Elmhurst.

Ast. Pub.
IX. p. 479,
---490.
Walling.
Des Ursins.
T. Livius.

Perplexity
of the Court
of France.

Ast. Pub.
IX. p. 494.
Henry con-
sents to a
Conference.
p. 496.

He continues
his Con-
quests.
p. 501, 502.
T. Livius.
Elmhurst.

Isabella joins
with the
Duke of
Burgundy.

Isabella joins
with the
Duke of
Burgundy.

She flies
herself Re-

The Constable's violent Conduct, the Death of the two Dauphins laid to his Charge, the Queen's Banishment, with numberless other Occasions, furnished the Duke of *Burgundy* with a pretence to make a Diversion, in favour of the King of *England*. He published a Manifesto against the Constable, aggravating his Faults and Oppressions, with all the Rementment of an injured Enemy. Then he wrote to the King, that, as first Peer of *France*, it was incumbent upon him, to endeavour to prevent the utter Ruin of the Kingdom, which was infallibly going to Destruction, unless timely relieved. By the same reasons, he tried to stir up the Cities of the Kingdom, and win them to his Interest. In fine, perceiving that some of the Towns had already declared for him, he approached *Paris* at the head of an Army, when the King of *England* was ready to sail for *France*. His Aim was, to lay the Dauphin and Constable under a Necessity, either of quitting *Paris*, in order to oppose the King of *England*, or of suffering the *English* to act without Opposition, if they intended to save *Paris*. They thought fit to take this last Course, chusing rather, that Part of the Kingdom should fall into the hands of the *English*, than to see themselves dispossessed of the Government, by their private Enemies.

Henry willing to improve so favorable a Juncture, failed about the end of July (1), and landed at *Tonque* in *Normandy*. His Army consisted but of twenty five thousand five hundred effective Men, too inconsiderable a Number for the Conquest of *France*, had he not been secure of meeting little Opposition. Upon his Arrival, he besieged the Castle of *Tonque*, and became master of it the 9th of August. Then, after the Conquest of some other small Places (2), he laid Siege to *Caen*, which surrendered the 9th of September.

The Court of *France* was then in great perplexity. The Duke of *Burgundy*, at the Gates of *Paris*, hindered their regulating the Affairs of the Kingdom. They should have had two Armies in the Field, one to oppose the *Burgundians*, and another to defend *Normandy* against the *English*. But they had scarce Troops enough to defend *Paris*, where the King, Dauphin, and Constable, were shut up. Their only Refuge was to renew the Negotiations with *Henry*. To that end they demanded a Conference between Ambassadors of the two Crowns, to consult about means to conclude a Peace. *Henry* agreed to the Proposal, but without discontinuing the War, being unwilling to lose so precious an Opportunity. The Court of *France* chusing the Archbishop of *Rheims* for first Plenipotentiary, he appointed, on his part, the Earl of *Warwick* and some others (3), who were to meet with the *French*, at *Bernonville*, in *Normandy*. This Congress, for what reason I know not, was deferred to the end of November. Mean while, *Henry* became master of *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau de l'Aigle*, *Alençon*, and some other Places.

Whilst the King was continuing his Conquests, the Duke of *Burgundy* did him great Service, not only by the Diversion he made about *Paris*, but chiefly by increasing the Troubles in *France*, so as never more to be appeased. Queen *Isabella*, banished to *Tours*, had been hitherto an Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*, but the desire of being revenged on the Dauphin and Constable, made her overlook all the Causes of Disgust at the Duke. As she had no other Refuge, she dispatched trusty Messengers to tell him, she was ready to join with him against their common Enemies. The Duke immediately accepted the Offer, and privately concerted measures with her, to free her from Confinement. Then, he suddenly departed from *Corbeil*, where he was encamped, with only a small Body of chosen Horsemen. He made such speed, that before his Design could be known, he was at the Abbey of *Marmoutier* near *Tours*, where he found the Queen, who was come thither under colour of Devotion. As she was not suspected of attempting to escape, he easily carried her away, and conducted her to *Troye* in *Champagne*. When she saw herself in safety, she

assumed

1417.

assumed the Title of Regent, pretending, the King her Husband was Captive in the hands of the Dauphin and Earl of Armagnac.

Henry takes
several
Places.

In the mean time, Henry made several Conquests in Normandy, without any opposition. The Constable chose rather to see the State perish, than to resign his Authority, and the Duke of Burgundy favoured Henry to the utmost of his Power.

Congress of
Bernonville.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 517.

The Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns, was held at Bernonville, on the 28th of November. As Henry suspected, the Court of France sought only to make him lose time, he resolved to deprive them of that Expectation. Immediately upon the opening of the Conference, his Ambassadors set forth his Pretensions, assuring withal, there would be no Abatement. The Substance of his Offers was, That he would marry the Princess Catherine: That King Charles should enjoy the Crown for his Life, but after his Death, it should come to the King of England: That during Charles's Life, Henry should be Regent of France, by reason of the King's Infirmary. Moreover he demanded such Securities, as should render the Performance of these Articles unquestionable. But as the French Ambassadors were not sufficiently empowered to treat upon these Articles, and it was not Henry's Interest vainly to prolong this Negotiation, the Congress immediately broke up. He was justly apprehensive, the Court of France would have made use of this occasion, to raise a Jealousy in his Allies, and particularly in the Duke of Burgundy. Mean while Henry, intent upon the Siege of Falaise, took the Town on the 20th of December, but the Castle held out till February.

The Congress
breaks
up.

Walling.
Falaise
taken.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 532,

Some time before the Congress of Bernonville, the Duke of Bretagne came and made a Truce with Henry for a Year (1), and another in the Name of the Queen of Sicily, as Guardian of Lewis her Son, for Anjou and Maine. Thus by degrees, Henry greatly weakened France, by depriving her of the Assistance she might have received from her Vassals.

Truce with
Bretagne,
&c.

Id. p. 446,
503, 506,
511, 512,
613.

T. Livius.
Elmh. Bile.
Fox.
Cotton's
Abridg.
Walling.

Oldcastle
burnt alive.

Whilst the King was employed in France, Oldcastle, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, was seized (2) and brought to London, to the great Satisfaction of the Clergy, who were extremely incensed against him. They were determined to sacrifice him, for a Terror to all the rest of the Lollards. Notwithstanding his Birth and Merit, he was sentenced to be hung up by the middle with a Chain, and burnt alive. By the way, his being burnt, is a clear Evidence, that he was condemned for Heresy, rather than for conspiring against the King. Be this as it will, his Sentence was executed amidst the Curses and Imprecations of the Priests and Monks, who even laboured to prevent the People from praying for him. Thus died Sir John Oldcastle Baron of Cobham, with a wonderful Constancy, perfectly answerable to the Firmness, wherewith he had all along maintained the Doctrine of Wickliff, which he professed. He was the first Nobleman, that suffered on the account of Religion (3). After the Execution, the Parliament enacted fresh Statutes, in order to the utter Extirpation of the Lollards; the Clergy never ceasing to require their Blood, with all the eagerness imaginable.

The Queen
Dowager is
accused of
Conspiracy
against the
King.

Walling.
Speed.
Stow.

Cotton's
Abridg.
p. 557.

Pretended
Invasion of
the Scots re-
futed.

Speed.
Walling.
T. Livius.
Elmh.

In some Histories, it is said, this Year, Queen Joanna of Navarre, Widow of Henry IV, and Mother-in-law of the reigning King, was accused of conspiring, with her Confessor, against the King. Some add, she was condemned to a ten years Imprisonment, and that her Confessor was killed by the Chaplain of the Tower, in a Dispute upon that occasion. This is all that can be said concerning this Accusation, of which Historians speak very confusedly.

As for the Scotch Invasion, placed by some in this Year, and, as they say, repulsed by the Duke of Bedford, with a hundred thousand Men, I dare venture to affirm, it is all a Mistake (4), since it is not mentioned, either in the publick Records, or in the Histories of Scotland. All we find with relation to the Scots, is, that they threatened to invade England in the Year 1415, about the time of the King's first Expedition into France (5).

1418.

Henry takes
several
Places in
Normandy.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 541,
542, 543,
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1418. was settled, but some persons about the Dauphin persuaded him not to sign. This was attended with fatal consequences. Thus the dissension which prevailed between the two Factions, caused each to have two enemies to oppose, the contrary party on one hand, and the *English* on the other. But *Henry* was far from looking upon both parties with the same eye. He was sworn enemy of the *Armagnacs*, whilst he was only a feigned enemy of the *Burgundians*.

Truce in Guienne between Henry and the Gascon Rebels. July 27. Aët. Pub. IX. p. 602. *Henry* had now begun to reap some advantage from the late revolution in the court of *France*. The new Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord *D'Albret*, and the other *Gascon* Lords of the same party, who were waging in *Guienne* fierce war with the *English*, thought proper to conclude a truce with him, which freed him from a troublesome diversion. These Lords considering, that, since the death of the Constable, the government of *France* was in the Duke of *Burgundy's* hands, believed it repugnant to their interest, to continue a war, of which their enemy would reap all the benefit. By this truce, instead of being obliged to send succours into *Guienne*, *Henry* drew from thence some troops, with which he reinforced his army in *Normandy*.

The taking of Cherbourg. p. 618. *Cherbourg* having at length capitulated (1), after a three month's siege, *France* had nothing left in *Normandy* but *Roan*, the loss whereof would deprive her of all hopes of recovering that Province. And therefore, without delay, *Henry* laid siege to that city, about the latter end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*. *Mezerai* says, the siege began in *June*, which is a mistake. However that be, it was very remarkable for the vigorous defence of the Besieged (2), who held out five months, and endured the greatest miseries, before they capitulated. They applied to the Duke of *Burgundy* for succours, but it was to no purpose (3). *France*, in changing governor, had not acquired new strength. Besides, the Duke of *Burgundy*, following the Earl of *Armagnac's* maxims, was more careful to disappoint the practices of his enemies, than oppose the progress of the King of *England*. He put however the Pope's Legates upon trying, whether, by a negotiation, he could interrupt the siege of *Roan*. This method not succeeding, he assembled all the forces in his power, and designed a design to give the *English* battle. He even carried the King as far as *Beauvais*, but all this ended in nothing. Perhaps he did not much care to obstruct the King of *England's* progress. It is uncertain, whether, after his being at the head of the government, he preserved the same sentiments for that monarch, as when banished from court. It may at least be affirmed, he had not the same interest to promote his affairs. He could not however but shew some regard for a Prince, who had in his possession a writing capable of ruining him, with all the *French*, of what party soever. For this reason, since the revolution at the court of *France*, his conduct had been very ambiguous. He had resolved, it seems, to do neither good nor hurt to the King of *England*, till he should be determined by the events.

Several Attempts to save that Place. T. Livius. Elmham. The Duke of *Burgundy* not relieving the Besieged, they applied to the Dauphin, who was as little able to raise the siege by force. The way of negotiation seemed to him more proper to produce that effect. It is hard to know for certain, whether he really intended to make a peace and an alliance with *Henry*, as he expressed a desire, or designed only to amuse him. Be this as it will, he sent him word, that he desired to treat with him upon three articles. First, concerning the means of restoring a peace to *France*. Secondly, about the marriage already projected. Lastly, about an alliance between them two, against the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Henry* rejected not these proposals. Perhaps he did not much rely on the Duke of *Burgundy*, or else he had a mind to raise the jealousy of the court of *France*, in order to procure more advantageous offers than had yet been proposed. He appointed for his ambassadors, at the congress desired by the Dauphin, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, *Philip Morgan*, and some others. Their instructions, dated at the camp before *Roan*, October the 26th, were in substance as follow:

The Dauphin offers to make an alliance with Henry. Des Urins. Montrelet. T. Livius. Aët. Pub. IX. p. 626. 628. I. That they should use their utmost endeavours to induce the Dauphin's ambassadors to declare all their proposals, and absolutely reject all offers of the countries he was already possess'd of. II. If the *French* should offer at length to put all things upon the foot of the treaty of *Bretigny*, they were to demand, how the King should be assured of the performance, since the Dauphin was not authoriz'd for that purpose.

III. He judged, they would for that reason insist only on a truce, in which case, he ordered his ambassadors to require, what dominions should be given him for making the same.

IV. He expressly forbid them to treat of an alliance with the Dauphin, till the peace or truce was settled. He did not leave them however at liberty to conclude either; but ordered notice to be sent him, when matters should be upon the point of conclusion, in case they proceeded so far.

V. As to the alliance with the Dauphin, he said, that Prince's aim was, probably, to obtain his assistance against the Duke of *Burgundy*. If so, he forbid them to agree upon an inconsiderable aid; but commanded them to offer forces sufficient to restore the kingdom of *France* to a state of tranquillity.

VI. But withal, he expected, in consideration of these forces, that the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Boulogne*, and *Flanders*, should be given him. But if this was refused, the ambassadors were to lower their demands to the Earldom of *Flanders* only, provided the Dauphin would assist in conquering it. He offered, on his part, to give up to the Dauphin whatever should be conquered elsewhere upon the Duke of *Burgundy*.

It is easy to see by these instructions, that the King did not believe the congress would end in a peace; nor even intended to conclude with the Dauphin, who had not power to resign to the King, what had been taken from his predecessors, since the treaty of *Bretigny*. It may therefore be presumed, his sole aim was to stir up the jealousy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being master of the King's person, was alone able to make a solid peace. This appears moreover by the King's writing, the very day he signed these instructions, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that if the negotiation for a peace was renewed, he would do his utmost to render it successful. Upon this letter, *Charles* sent him word, he had nominated the Bishops of *Arras* and *Beauvais*, the first president of *Morvilliers*, and some others, for his plenipotentiaries. Thus *Henry* was in hopes, by treating with the two parties at once, he should raise such a jealousy in both, that from thence would result a happy conclusion to his affairs.

The congress between the King's and the Dauphin's ambassadors, was held at *Alençon*, the 10th of *November*. The *English*, pursuant to their instructions, absolutely refused to treat about the alliance, before the terms of the peace were agreed upon. At length, after evading all the captious proposals made by the *French*, they obliged them to come to their last offers; namely, the Towns and Provinces contained in the treaty of *Bretigny*, on condition of homage to the crown of *France*. But the *English* rejected these offers, unless the sovereignty of the Provinces was added, according to the tenor of the treaty of *Bretigny*. They demanded moreover, *Normandy*; raised difficulties about the Dauphin's inability to perform these conditions; and required, in what manner he intended to accomplish them, supposing their master should be satisfied therewith. The *French* answered, it was needless to talk of the manner of performance, since the offers themselves did not please. Whereupon they broke up the conference.

Hardly was this congress ended, before another was held at *Pont de l'Arche*, between the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings; or rather the ambassadors of the two crowns met to confer together, in presence of the Pope's Legates. But in the first meeting, King *Charles's* ambassadors insisted, that the conference should be managed in *French*, to which the *English* refused to agree. In short, at the instance of the Legates, who were very urgent, *Henry* was willing there should be two Protocols, one in *French*, and another in *Latin*, of which the last only should be accounted authentick. But the *French* rejecting this expedient, the conference about the peace was not so much as opened. Probably, the Duke of *Burgundy* did not seriously intend to enter into negotiation. He was still unresolved of his course, or rather, was then framing a design, which we shall see come to light the next year.

This conference however alarmed the Dauphin, who, doubtless, was ignorant of what passed. He was afraid of being prevented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, well knowing, if a peace was made between the two Kings, it must tend to his prejudice. In this belief, he sent to *Henry*, intreating him to appoint the place where the negotiation, begun at *Alençon*, might be renewed. *Henry* readily consented to his request, as he could desire nothing more advantageous, than the mutual jealousy of the two

(1) On August 22. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 618.

(2) Their Number was very considerable; for of the Inhabitants alone, there were no less than fifteen, or seventeen thousand Persons well-armed, besides four thousand well-disciplined Soldiers put in by the Duke of *Burgundy*. Their Captain-General was *Guy de Bourlenger*. *Montrelet*. *Le Fevre*.

(3) During the Siege, viz. Aug. 3. he renewed the Truce with King *Henry*. Goodwin.

1419.

factions. It was agreed therefore, that the ambassadors should meet again at *Louviers*, the beginning of *February*.

The taking
of Roan.
Id. p. 634.
T. Livius.
Elmham.

During all these negotiations, *Henry* had not discontinued one moment the siege of *Roan*, though his army suffered much by the sharpness of the season. But the besieged were in no better condition. Reduced to eat Horse-flesh, and all kinds of Animals, and even this sort of food failing them, they could hold out no longer. Wherefore, seeing no remedy, they capitulated on the 13th of *January*, to surrender on the 19th, in case they were not relieved by that time. *Henry* continued to them all their privileges, for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. By the surrender of *Roan*, all *Normandy*, a few Castles excepted, fell again under the dominion of the Kings of *England*, two hundred and fifteen years after it was taken from them by *Philip Augustus*, in the reign of *John Lack-land*. After the taking of *Roan*, *Henry* sent part of his army into *Picardy*, under the command of the Duke of *Exeter*, who became master of *Dieppe* and *Montreuil* (1).

February.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 674.
-----682.
T. Livius.
Elmham.
The Duke of
Burgundy
takes new
measures.

Affairs were then at a *Crisis*, which could not fail of producing some great change. As the Duke of *Burgundy* had fought the King of *England's* alliance, only to dispossess the Dauphin and Earl of *Armagnac*, he no longer stood in need of his protection, since he was master of *Paris*, and the King's person. On the contrary, his station should have induced him to wish, that *Henry* might not grow too powerful in *France*, and consequently it was his interest to oppose the progress of the *English* arms. But on the other hand, he had in the Dauphin a sworn enemy, against whom it was chiefly necessary to be secured. Besides that Prince's natural right to govern the kingdom during his Father's infirmity, he was moreover at the head of a powerful party. Besides, it was not impossible, either by the King's death, or some other way, he might recover the advantage he had lost. In that case, the Duke would rather have had *Henry* master of all *France*, than see the Dauphin triumphant. Mean while, whatever turn affairs should take, he plainly perceived, it would not be possible to preserve his authority, though *Henry* succeeded in his designs. And indeed it was not likely, that *Henry* would trust him with the government, when he was once in possession. Thus standing as it were between two Precipices, he remained some time undetermined, without knowing what to resolve. Probably it was this that prevented his more effectual endeavours to relieve *Roan*. He durst not break with the King of *England*, for fear he should want his farther assistance against the Dauphin. After continuing some time in this state of perplexity, he determined at length to do all that lay in his power to be reconciled with his enemy, in order to break safely with the King of *England*. This course seemed to him both advantageous and honourable. By a hearty reconciliation with the Dauphin, he might hope to have some lasting share in the government, and hold the second rank. Besides, *France* being his native country, he could not openly forsake her interests, without rendering himself odious to all true *Frenchmen*. If he had privately relinquished her, it was not without remorse. He had been led to it by the sole thirst of revenge. The execution of the design he had formed, was not however without difficulties. The Dauphin had conceived an inveterate hatred of him, which was continually fomented by the friends and adherents of the late Duke of *Orleans*, who were always about him, and carefully watching all opportunities to revenge the death of that Prince. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the Duke of *Burgundy* became more and more confirmed in his resolution, not seeing any other way to save himself, and the kingdom. He undertook therefore to accomplish this reconciliation by all sorts of means, even to the forcing the Dauphin to it, by the fear of seeing *France* otherwise lost. In fine, if the Dauphin's hatred and obstinacy should render it impracticable, he was determined to take the desperate course of rendering *Henry* master of *France*.

He resolves to
be reconciled
to the
Dauphin.
T. Livius.

Conference of
Louviers.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 686.
701, 703.

Truce with
the Dauphin.
p. 692.

At the same time that the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his last resolution, the conference between the ambassadors of *Henry* and the Dauphin was held at *Louviers*. The same difficulties which occurred at the congress of *Alençon*, rendered this fruitless. It was only agreed, that the King and the Dauphin should meet and confer together. But this interview, the time whereof was twice prolonged, did not take effect, because the Dauphin took other measures. However, to continue the Duke of *Burgundy's* jealousy, *Henry* granted the Dauphin a truce,

from the 12th of *February* till *Easter*, for all the country between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, *Normandy* excepted.

Pursuant to the Duke of *Burgundy's* project, he sent and sued for the Dauphin's friendship, offering, on his part, to deserve and cultivate it to the utmost of his power; intimating withal, that it would be proper to have a conference together, as well mutually to confirm their reconciliation, as to concert measures for the welfare of the kingdom. But the Dauphin scornfully rejected this proposal. He was too apprehensive of sharing the authority with the Queen his mother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather of seeing himself subject to them. The sole command of the Province, that owned him for Regent, seemed to him preferable to the advantage proposed, from a reconciliation, which could not be made without leaving the Queen his mother, and the Duke, a share in the administration. So, the Duke of *Burgundy* saw himself reduced to a necessity, of seriously endeavouring to make a Peace with *England*, in case the Dauphin persisted in his obstinacy. The Congress at *Louviers* having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and of not being afterwards strong enough to resist the King of *England* and the Dauphin, if they should join in a league against him. He resolved therefore, in order to free himself from this fear, to unravel affairs some way or other. To that end, he sent *Henry* word, that King *Charles* was inclined to a Peace, and, to succeed the more easily, he proposed an interview, where the two Kings, assisted by their councils, might settle the terms, and conclude the intended marriage. *Henry* readily closed with the proposal, and even granted a three months truce; that during the interval, the time, place and manner of the conference might be agreed on.

The Dauphin
refuses to be
reconciled
with the
Duke of
Burgundy.

The Duke
proposes a
Peace to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 696,
709, 717,
744, 734,
735.
Elmham.

All *France* was justly alarmed at this resolution. It was easily perceived, that the peace and marriage could not be made in such a juncture, without the kingdom's being delivered to the King of *England*. Matters standing thus, some Lords, who had the welfare and interest of their country at heart, used all possible endeavours to procure a peace, or at least a truce between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Dauphin would have consented to a three years truce, but the Duke would have it only for two months. His aim was to conclude a peace with *England*, if by that time he could not agree with the Dauphin. The pains taken to persuade them to so necessary an union proving fruitless, the project of the interview between the two Kings was at length accomplished, after several prolongations, till the 30th of *May*. It was agreed, it should be near *Meulant*, in a field chosen for that purpose, where a magnificent pavilion was ordered to be erected. As King *Charles's* infirmity hindered him from being present in person, it was agreed, that his Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* should act as his Procurators, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* should be there. Mean time, to avoid the heats which might arise from the discussion of affairs, commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the particulars. *Henry* was pleased to give the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester* the honour of being heads of this commission. The court of *France* being at *Pontoise*, *Henry* came to *Mante*, in order to be near the place of conference. From these two towns it was that the two courts repaired every day to the place appointed. The first day (2) the Queen of *France* brought the Princess *Catherine* her daughter, with whom *Henry* was charmed. The effect of this first sight being very visible, the Queen believed she should inflame the desires of that Prince, by not letting her daughter appear any more. *Henry* soon perceived her design. He found the Princess was to serve for a decoy to ensnare him. But, to frustrate the Queen's expectation, he told the Duke of *Burgundy*, it might be depended upon, he would never quit his arms, till he had the King and the Princess his daughter in his power, and had expelled him the kingdom, in case he opposed it. At any other juncture, the Duke, who was as high-spirited as the King, would doubtless have returned him a sharp answer. But not to exasperate too much a Prince, of whom he might soon stand in need, he was content with saying, he did not question but he would have reason to be tired of the war.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 735,
746, 749,
751, 756.

P. 759.

Le Fevre.

The conference of *Meulant* (3) ran upon three articles, required by *Henry*, as previous to the peace and marriage.

Henry's
D. m. 1.
Act. Pub.
IX. p. 702.

I. That he should be put in possession of whatever was granted to *Edward III* by the treaty of *Bratigny*.

(1) The most eminent Persons in the *English* Army that died during this Siege, were, *Henry Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, *Edmund Beaufort*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Blount*, the Prior of *Kilmarin* in *Ireland*, and the Lord de *Castillon* of *Guernsey*. *Goodwin*, p. 215. After the Reduction of this City, King *Henry* established there his Exchequer, Coinage, and Chamber of Accounts of the Revenues of *Normandy*. He also built a Tower behind the Castle, and began a Palace on the River *Seine*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 745.* *State's Ann. p. 347.* *T. Livius. p. 69.* About the beginning of this Year, viz. Jan. 13. the Clergy granted the King half a Tenth. *Rel. Fin. 7 Hen. V. M. 6.* *Goodwin, p. 215.*

(2) Which was May 29. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 759.*

(3) Resumed on June 1. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 702.*

1419. II. That moreover all *Normandy* should be delivered to him.

III. The full and independent sovereignty, of whatever should be resigned to him by the present treaty.

As *Henry* would not recede from these articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly saw, if he directly opposed them, he should occasion the breaking up of the conference, which it was his interest to continue, as the only way left to bring the Dauphin to a reconciliation. So, without disputing, or granting the King's pretensions, he delivered to the King the counter-demands of *France*. They were so drawn as to be liable to great objections, which he might either urge or relinquish, according as he saw what course the Dauphin would take. In a word, the Duke of *Burgundy's* aim, was to give the Dauphin a little more time, before any thing was concluded with the King of *England*. These were the demands of *France*, with the King's answers annexed.

Demands of France.
Ib. p. 763.

I. That the King of *England* renounce the crown of *France*.

The King consents to it, provided this Clause be added, [except what is granted to him by the present treaty.]

II. That he quit claim to *Touraine, Anjou, Maine*, and the sovereignty of *Bretagne*.

The King is not pleased with this article.

Probably, because of the sovereignty of *Bretagne*, which he claimed as Duke of *Normandy*.

III. The King of *England* shall swear, that neither he, nor his successors, shall receive at any time hereafter, upon any account whatever, the cession of the crown of *France*, from any person, who hath, or pretends to have a right.

The King agrees to this, provided his adversary will also swear the same, &c.

IV. The King of *England* shall cause the renunciations, promises, and engagements to be recorded, as the King of *France* and his council shall think most advisable.

The King likes not this article.

V. Instead of *Ponthieu* and *Montreuil*, the King of *France* shall have liberty to give an equivalent in some other part of his kingdom, as he shall judge proper.

The King disapproves of this article.

VI. As there are still in *Normandy* several places unconquered by the King of *England*, which however are to be given up by the treaty, he shall resign upon that account, all his other conquests elsewhere. Every one shall be restored to the possession of his estate, in what place soever it lies. There shall be an alliance concluded between the two Kings.

The King approves of this, on condition the Scots and the Rebels be not included in the alliance.

VII. The King of *England* shall repay the six hundred thousand crowns given to *Richard II.* in part of the eight hundred thousand promised with *Queen Isabella*, and moreover four hundred thousand for that Princess's Jewels detained in *England*.

The King is willing that this article be allowed out of the arrears due for King John's ransom. However, he is surprized at the demand of four hundred thousand crowns for Queen Isabella's Jewels, when they were not worth a quarter of that sum.

The Duke of Burgundy's Designs.

It is easy to perceive by the nature of these demands, that the difficulties were not considerable enough to hinder the conclusion of a peace, if both parties had been equally willing. But, on the other hand, they were sufficient to keep the treaty depending, as long as the court of *France* pleased (1). In the Duke of *Burgundy's* situation, he insisted upon the articles disapproved by the King, no farther than was necessary for his purpose. He was very glad to let the King believe, the Peace was going to be concluded; as indeed it would have been, had the Dauphin persisted in his obstinacy. *Henry* so little questioned it, that on the 5th of *July*, that is, about a month after the opening of the congress, he gave full power to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to go to *Paris*, and conclude the Peace in his name, with King *Charles*.

The Dauphin and Burgundy are reconciled.
Montrelet.
T. Livius.
Elmham.

But whilst *Henry* was pleasing himself with this expectation, endeavours were using, on the other side, to break

all his measures. As he had made use of negotiations, now with the Dauphin, then with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to stir up the jealousy of both, and attain his ends, he was himself over-reached in his own way. The congress of *Meulant*, where the Duke of *Burgundy's* chief aim was to frighten the Dauphin, produced the desired effect. The young Prince, alarmed at seeing so near a conclusion, a peace so very disadvantageous to *France* and himself, believed, he ought not to refuse any longer, to be reconciled with the Duke of *Burgundy*; since their reconciliation was the only means to prevent so great a misfortune. Wherefore, after several private conferences between some trusty friends of the two Princes, a reconciliation, so earnestly desired by all true *Frenchmen*, was at length brought about. On the 11th of *July*, they met about three miles from *Meulant*, in the road to *Paris*, and embraced one another. After that, they signed a treaty, mutually promising, to love one another like Brothers, and jointly to oppose the damnable enterprise of the English, the ancient enemies of the kingdom.

This step being made, the Duke of *Burgundy* took new measures. As he no longer desired the conclusion of the peace, he strenuously insisted, in the conferences which were still continued at *Meulant*, upon the demands of *France*. But for fear *Henry* should desist from his objections, he added some fresh articles. In explaining the third demand of *France*, he clogged it with so many conditions, that in all future cases whatever, neither *Henry*, nor his successors, Kings of *England*, could ever claim or acquire any part of that kingdom. But *Henry*, who was very willing to quit his pretensions to *France*, as descended from *Edward III.* thought it very unreasonable to be obliged to extend this renunciation, for himself and successors, to all cases that might happen, and could not possibly be foreseen. He complained moreover, that the Duke of *Burgundy* required things which could not be granted, without offending God, and breaking his oaths. I do not know what this was. In fine, to render the conclusion of the Peace impracticable, the Duke attacked the King's demands, against which he had taken care to alledge nothing, before his reconciliation with the Dauphin. He affirmed, that, in general, they were extravagant, obscure, ambiguous, and unreasonable, without mentioning particulars. At the same time, he expected *Henry* should accept the offers of *France*, absolutely and simply, without any explanation. For fear, however, of being taken at his word, he refused to consent that the articles already agreed, should be committed to writing.

Hitherto *Henry* had imagined, for what reason I know not, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* reconciliation with the Dauphin, would be no obstacle to the peace. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 18th of *July*, that is, seven days after their interview, *Henry* empowered the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to conclude his marriage with the Princess *Catherine*. It might be thought he knew nothing yet of what passed on the 11th, between the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*, if it did not appear by a Letter in the same collection, that some of his courtiers had received intelligence of it on the 14th. He was so prejudiced on this occasion, that on the 19th he empowered commissioners to prolong the truce. But the Duke of *Burgundy's* new demands, or rather his cavils at the treaty, broke off the conferences, and all went and prepared for the war.

July the 28th, *Henry* ordered a detachment, headed by the Duke of *Clarence*, to storm *Pontoise*. This enterprise was attended with the expected success. *L'Isle Adam*, the governor, little thinking of being attacked, was surprized and forced to fly with part of the garrison (2). As the court of *France* resided in this town, during the congress of *Meulant*, and were gone but a few days, the English Soldiers found it still full of the baggage of the courtiers. The booty is said to amount to above two millions of crowns.

The taking of *Pontoise* opened the King a way to the very gates of *Paris*. But, however, the posture of his affairs was not changed for the better, since the union of the two Factions by which *France* was divided. Whilst they were destroying one another, an army of twenty-five thousand Men was sufficient for the conquest of *Normandy*. No enemy had appeared to force him to raise his sieges. Moreover, he had been all along, publicly or privately, favoured by one of the Factions. But after their reconciliation, he could hardly expect, with his own forces alone, to accomplish his enterprise. He aimed at no less than the conquest of the whole kingdom, or at least of what *England* had lost since the

1419.

Aff. Pub.
IX. p. 776.

The Duke of Burgundy breaks off the Conference of Meulant.
P. 786.

P. 799.

Ib. p. 774.

P. 779.

P. 782.

Henry takes Pontoise.
Des Ursins.
Montrelet.
T. Livius.
Elmham.

A great Booty.

The Posture of Henry's Affairs.

(1) The Conferences at *Meulant* ended June 30. *Gordwin*, p. 229.

(2) But they were met, and the greatest part of them cut off by *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingden*. *Gordwin*, p. 230.

1419. treaty of *Bretigny*. And yet, after a six years war, and in so favourable junctures, he was master but of one single Province. He knew also, that in *England*, his obstinate continuation of so hazardous a war, was not universally approved; and that it was openly said, the conquest of *France* would be the ruin of *England*. But this was not the only thing that gave him uneasiness. He had just received a letter from *Bayonne*, of the 22d of *July*, informing him, that a powerful fleet (1) was equipping in *Castile* for the Dauphin's assistance. Shortly after, he received another from the Mayor of the same town, acquainting him, that *Arragon* had declared for the Dauphin; that the *Castilians* and *Arragonians* were now entered *Bearn*, were ravaging the country about *Bayonne*, and seemed to have a design to besiege the town. The letter added further, that the *Castilian* fleet was ordered to sail for *Scotland*, and transport from thence a body of troops into *France*, to serve under the Dauphin. On the other hand, he could not doubt but the *Flemings*, who had refused to serve the Duke of *Burgundy* against *France*, would be ready to obey him, in defence of that kingdom. Notwithstanding these sudden accumulated difficulties, he persisted in his first resolution. He had even the assurance, to offer King *Charles*, as a sort of favour, that he would be contented with what he had demanded at *Meulant*, on condition *Pontoise*, which he had just taken, were confirmed to him. It is however undeniable, he should have been greatly embarrassed. When he undertook the war, he depended upon the dissensions of the *French*. And to these dissensions was owing the ease wherewith he had hitherto conquered. Mean while, he saw himself obliged to undertake, with an inconsiderable army, the conquest of a kingdom, of which he yet possessed but a small part. However, his good fortune, or rather the Dauphin's animosity against the Duke of *Burgundy*, happily freed him from this embarrassment.

The Dauphin causes the Duke of Burgundy to be assassinated. P. Emyle. l. 10. T. Livius. Elmham.

In the interview between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*, they agreed to meet again on the bridge of *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, the 18th of *August*, to consider how to prosecute the war against the *English*. The Duke was extremely unwilling to go to the place appointed. He seemed to have a surmise of what was to happen. However, as a too great mistrust might have broke his measures, and rendered what had been done ineffectual, he resolved to perform his engagement. Not to enter into the particulars, mentioned in all the *French* histories, I shall only say, the Dauphin caused the Duke to be assassinated, on the very bridge chosen for their conference. I say, the Dauphin, whatever pains some historians have taken to clear him. The deed was done before his eyes, and at his feet, and he still kept the murderers in his service, who were the chief officers of his household. This would be a sufficient proof of his guilt, though there were no historians faithful enough freely to own it.

The Face of Affairs changed.

This accident suddenly changed the face of affairs. Probably the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the time of his death, was well-affected to *France*. But *Philip* his Son and successor, suffering himself to be transported with the desire of revenging his Father's death, did not scruple to ruin the kingdom, in order to gratify his passion. The speediest and most effectual means to attain his ends, was to make a league with the King of *England*, and Queen *Isabella*, mortal enemy of the Dauphin her Son. Accordingly, all the rest of the year was spent in secret negotiations, which ended at last in putting the kingdom into the hands of the *English*. Mean while, the new Duke of *Burgundy* held the post enjoyed by the Duke his Father. That is, being master of the King's person, he was considered as regent, by those who were not in obedience to the Dauphin.

The Parisians apply to Henry. Ib. p. 747, 810.

They obtain a short truce. p. 815. Elmham.

Since the taking of *Pontoise*, the court of *France* was removed, by reason of the continual inroads of the *English* to the very gates of *Paris*. Mean while, the *Parisians* saw themselves in manifest danger. The Duke of *Burgundy* being wholly engrossed by revenge, provided not for the defence of *Paris*. Whereupon, the inhabitants, justly alarmed at so dangerous a neighbourhood, thought it their duty to try to prevent their ruin, by an agreement with *Henry*. There were several negotiations, which ended in a separate truce for *Paris*, from the 20th, to the 25th, of *November* (2). This was but small comfort to the *Parisians*: but as the treaty between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* was go-

ing to be concluded, they had no occasion for a longer truce, since they were to be included in the treaty. Besides, *Henry* did not mean to deprive himself of the advantage, which the neighbourhood of *Pontoise* gave him upon the *Parisians*, in case the treaty he was negotiating with the Duke of *Burgundy*, should be broken by some unforeseen accident. After the Duke of *Burgundy's* death, couriers and envoys continually passed between the King and the new Duke. *Henry* refused not to make the same alliance with him, as with the deceased. But having been deceived by the Father, he would not run the hazard of being deceived by the Son. So, before he joined with him against the Dauphin, he resolved to secure a peace with King *Charles* (3).

At the congress of *Meulant*, *Henry* had limited his pretensions to the articles of the treaty of *Bretigny*, with the addition of *Normandy*. But though, after the breaking up of the conferences, he had made a shew of keeping to these terms without relaxation, it is to be supposed, if the Duke of *Burgundy's* murder had not, very seasonably, happened, he would have considerably lowered his demands. At least, the posture of affairs would have left him no room, to expect to compel *France* ever to grant him so great advantages. After the death of that Duke, the scene was changed in his favour. So, finding he was earnestly courted by Queen *Isabella*, and the new Duke of *Burgundy*, he did not question but it was in his power, to impose upon *France* what terms he pleased. He forgot therefore his offers at *Meulant*, and resumed his former pretensions to the crown of *France*, with the condition that *Charles IV.* should be King during life. These are the articles he proposed as a foundation for peace.

Henry claims the Crown of France.

I. That he should espouse the Princess *Catherine*, without any charge to her relations, or the Kingdom.

II. That he would not disturb King *Charles* in the enjoyment of the crown, or possession of the revenues of the Kingdom, during his life. That his Queen *Isabella* should likewise enjoy, during her life, the rights annexed to her dignity.

Preliminary Articles of the Peace. Act. Pub. IX. p. 816.

III. That after the death of King *Charles*, the crown of *France* should descend to the King of *England* and his heirs for ever.

IV. That by reason of King *Charles's* infirmity, which rendered him incapable to reign, the King of *England* should take upon him the administration of affairs, as regent, during the life of the King his Father-in-law.

V. That the Princes, Nobles, Corporations, Burgeffes, &c. should take an oath to the King of *England* as Regent, and bind themselves by the same oath to own him for Sovereign after the death of King *Charles*.

VI. That for security of the performance of these articles, the King of *France* should give the King of *England* his Letters Patents under his Great Seal. That he should cause the like letters of approbation to be given him by the Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Nobles, &c. in clear and plain terms, as should be agreed by the parties.

VII. That the King of *England* would give and cause to be given the like letters.

Henry's pretensions being thus settled in these few fundamental articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* signed Letters Patents (4), whereby he approved of these articles as good, beneficial, reasonable, and tending to the welfare of *France* and all *Christendom*. This done, a general truce was published from the 24th of *December* to the 1st of *March* next. As soon as the affair concerning the peace was ended, the plenipotentiaries of the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* signed a private treaty of alliance, containing these six articles:

Approved by the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 822, Sept. 25.

I. That one of the King's Brothers should marry a Sister (5) of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

II. That the King and Duke should love and assist one another like Brothers.

III. That they should jointly endeavour to punish the Dauphin, and his accomplices in the late Duke of *Burgundy's* murder.

IV. That if the Dauphin, or any of the murderers, were taken prisoners, they should not be released without the Duke of *Burgundy's* consent.

V. That the King of *England* should cause to be assigned to the Duke, and his Dutcheis, Daughter of King *Charles*, Lands adjoining to his Demetins in *France*, of

Treaty between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy. Ib. p. 825. Montrelet.

(1) Of forty Sail. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 783.

(2) From November 20, till December 4. This Truce was confirmed by the King at *Roan*, December 2, and prolonged to the 12th of that month. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 815.

(3) During the Transactions in *France*, a Parliament was held this Year on October 16, at *Westminster*, which granted the King one Fifteenth and a half, and one Tenth and a half. Rot. Parl. 7 Hen. V. N. 1, 8. Cotton's Abridg. p. 553.

(4) At *Arras*, December 2. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 818.

(5) *Rapin*, by mistake, says Daughters.

1419. the yearly value of twenty thousand Livres, to be held in fee of the crown. That letters under the Great Seal should be granted for that purpose, which the King of England should confirm, when in possession of the Regency (1).

VI. That if any person hereafter, under colour of his marriage with a daughter of France, should claim the like assignment of Lands, the Duke should assist the King to the utmost of his power to prevent it.

1420. This treaty was ratified by the two Princes in the beginning of January (2) 1420.

Though the peace was not yet signed, it was looked upon as concluded, since the terms were agreed. Henry was so secure of it, that January the 24th, that is, four months before the signing of the treaty, he promised by his Letters Patents, to maintain the Parisians in their privileges when King of France.

Mean while, as it was necessary to draw the articles agreed in the most exact form, and to avoid all obscure and ambiguous expressions, it required some time; this occasioned the truce to be frequently prolonged. During that time, Henry had ambassadors at Troye, to draw up the treaty of peace jointly with the Duke of Burgundy. For the greater precaution, it was first digested like preliminary articles, that every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched, or explained. This done, Charles confirmed all the articles by his Letters Patents, dated April the 9th. It is remarkable, that by the XXI, Henry was to swear, that upon no occasion whatever, during the Life of King Charles, he would take upon him the title of King of France. And yet we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, one of his ordinances, dated April 18, for coining new money in Normandy, with an H on one side, and these words round it: *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*; and on the other, *Henricus Francorum Rex* (3).

Articles preliminary approved by King Charles. p. 377.

Henry takes the title of King of France on a new Coin. p. 383.

After the preliminaries were approved, an interview between the two Kings was agreed, for swearing and signing the treaty. This interview was to be somewhere near Troye: But afterwards Henry consented it should be in Troye itself. As King Charles was not fit to appear in publick, the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy were empowered to swear the peace in his name. Henry being come to Troye (4), May the 20th, found there the King of France, the Queen and the Princess Catherine, to whom he presented a ring of great value. On the morrow, the treaty was signed and sworn with the usual formalities, and the same Day Henry was affianced to the Princess, but the marriage was not consummated till the 2d of June. The substance of this famous treaty was as follows:

Henry comes to Troye, signs the Treaty, and betrays Catherine. p. 397. Walsing. T. Livius. Elmham.

TREATY of TROYE.

Treaty of Troye. p. 396.

" I. THE King of England being now Son of the King of France, by his marriage with the Princess Catherine, shall honour the King and Queen of France, as his Father and Mother, &c.

" II. He shall not disturb the King of France during his life, in the quiet possession of the royal dignity, and revenues of the crown. In like manner, Queen Isabella, whilst she lives, shall enjoy the royal dignity, with the rents, revenues, honours and prerogatives belonging to the Queen of France.

" III. Queen Catherine shall have for her dowry in England, forty thousand crowns a year, as the Queens of that nation usually had.

" IV. This dowry shall be so settled upon her, that she may enjoy it from the day of the King her Husband's death.

" V. If she survive the King her Husband, there shall be paid to her out of France a yearly revenue of twenty thousand Livres, to be raised upon the Lands belonging formerly to Queen Blanch, wife of Philip.

" VI. After the death of King Charles, the crown of France, with all its rights and dominions, shall remain to the King of England and his heirs.

" VII. As the King of France is frequently rendered by his infirmity incapable to reign, the King of England shall from this day be Regent of the kingdom, and govern it according to Justice and Equity, with the advice of the Princes, Peers, Barons, and Nobles of the kingdom.

" VIII. The Parliament of Paris shall be maintained in their jurisdiction over the places subject to the King.

" IX. The King of England shall preserve the privileges, rights, liberties, immunities and customs of the Peers, Nobles, Communities, and of all the King's subjects in general.

" X. Justice shall be administered according to the laws, customs and usages of the realm.

" XI. All the offices, as well civil as military, shall be filled with persons duly qualified, according to the laws of the realm.

" XII. The King of England shall endeavour to the utmost of his power, to reduce to the obedience of the King, all the provinces, cities, and towns, which have withdrawn their allegiance, and joined the party, commonly called the Dauphin's or Armagnac's.

" XIII. All the Princes, Peers, Barons, Nobles, States, as well spiritual as temporal, Cities, Communities, Burghers, &c. shall swear, 1. Punctually to observe what shall be enjoined by the two Kings and the present Queen. 2. To obey the King of England as Regent. 3. To recognize him after the death of King Charles for their lawful Sovereign, and to obey none but him. 4. Not to assist, with their counsel or consent, any plot against his person, and to discover to him all such conspiracies as shall come to their knowledge.

" XIV. All the conquests which shall be made hereafter, in the kingdom of France, Normandy excepted, shall be to the use of the present King. Item, All the Lands and Lordships, which shall be conquered, shall be restored to their true proprietors, being in obedience to the King, and having sworn to observe the present treaty.

" XV. All the Ecclesiasticks of Normandy, subject to the King of England, and paying obedience to King Charles, or that are of the Burgundian party, upon swearing the present treaty, shall enjoy their benefices, as well in Normandy, as elsewhere.

" XVI. All the Norman Ecclesiasticks holding benefices in France, shall be continued in them upon the same terms.

" XVII. The Universities and Colleges, as well in Normandy, as in France, shall be preserved in their rights and privileges, on the fore-mentioned conditions, saving to the crown of France its prerogatives.

" XVIII. When the King of England shall come to the crown of France, Normandy and all his other conquests shall be united to the crown.

" XIX. If the King of England has already disposed in Normandy of any lands, revenues, or possessions, belonging to any of the Burgundian party, they shall have an equivalent in France, out of the lands of the Rebels. And if they receive not this equivalent, before the said King is in possession of the crown of France, he promises to give it when he ascends the throne. But what he has not disposed of, shall be restored to the proprietors, according to article XIV.

" XX. All the publick acts shall run in King Charles's name. However, as some unforeseen cases may occur, where the King of England may be obliged to dispatch orders, then it shall be lawful for him to join his name, as Regent, with the present King's.

" XXI. The King of England shall forbear, on all occasions, during the Life of King Charles, to assume the title of King of France.

" XXII. In the publick Acts, the King of France, speaking of the King of England, shall use this form, *Our most dear Son, Henry King of England, Heir of France* (5).

" XXIII. The King of England shall lay no taxes on the French, but such as are reasonable, and for the good of the publick, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom.

" XXIV. When he himself, or any of his heirs, shall come to the crown of France, the two kingdoms of France and England shall be for ever united, under one Prince. There shall not be a King in each kingdom; but one and the same King shall be Sovereign of both the realms, without however subjecting one to the other: But the laws and liberties of each kingdom shall be preserved distinct and inviolable.

" XXV. Henceforward, friendship and a good understanding shall be established between France and Eng-

(1) ---Quamprimum ad Coronam & Dignitatem Regalem Franciæ pervenerit.---Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 9. p. 842.

(2) By the Duke of Burgundy, Jan. 5. and by King Henry, Jan. 12. Ibid.

(3) There are some of these Pieces still in being, in the Hands of the Curious. Rapin.

(4) In his Journey thither, he wore a Crown on his Helmet, and bore for his Device a Fox's Tail embroidered. Godwin, p. 263.

(5) Noster præcharissimus Filius Henricus, Rex Angliæ, Haeres Franciæ.

1420. "And, and the two kingdoms shall assist one another with all their power.
 "XXVI. All the allies of the two crowns, who in eight months shall define it, may be included in the present treaty, reserving to the two crowns, and their subjects, rights, actions, remedies in respect of those allies (1).
 "XXVII. The officers and domesticks of the present King shall be *French*, or born in countries where the *French* tongue is spoken (2), and shall be wife and well qualified persons. The King his Son, with the advice of the Duke of *Burgundy*, shall make an honorable provision for the maintenance of the King's persons, suitably to his royal state and dignity.
 "XXVIII. He shall keep his residence in some considerable place within his own dominions, and not be confined to an obscure retreat.
 "XXIX. Considering the crimes committed by *Charles*, who styles himself *Dauphin de Viennois*, it is agreed, that no peace shall be made with him, without the unanimous consent of the two Kings, and the Duke of *Burgundy*.
 "XXX. For the security of the performance of these articles, Letters under the Great Seal shall be given the King of *England* by the King of *France*. Item, The Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Princes of the Blood, Peers, Nobles, Towns, Cities, Communities, subject to the King, and all in general of whom the King of *England* shall require it, shall give the like letters of approbation.
 "XXXI. The King of *England* shall likewise give the same for himself, for the Princes his Brothers, the rest of the Princes of the Blood, and others, as the King of *France* shall require.

Given at *Troye*, May the 21st, in the Year of our Lord 1420, and of King *Charles* the 40th.

Sens taken, Act. Pub. IX. p. 100. and Mon. tation. Welling. T. Livius. Elmham.

The marriage being consummated (3) *June* the 2d, the two courts set out together next morning for *Sens*, which was now invested. This place holding out but ten or twelve days, the army marched to *Montereau*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* was murdered, and took the town in a short time. The Duke of *Burgundy* found there the body of his Father, very indecently buried in his doublet, and ordered it to be removed to *Dijon*.

Melun besieged, Act. Pub. X. p. 4. W. Jones. T. Livius. and others.

About the middle of *July*, the army laid siege to *Melun*, which was defended by the Lord *De Barbuzan*, the governor, four months. The King of *England*, with his army, was lodged on the side of the town towards *Gatinois*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, with his troops, on the side next *La Brie*. This siege became famous by the stout defence of the Besieged (4), who repulsed several assaults, and whom famine compelled at last to capitulate, about the middle of *November*. A *French* historian says, the capitulation was not observed, by which the garrison were to have their lives without ransom, except such as were concerned in the murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*; but instead of being suffered to depart, they were thrown into prison at *Paris*, and starved to death. To judge of the truth of this fact, it is necessary to see the articles of surrender, and to know, whether those that were carried to *Paris*, were not such as were expressly excepted. It is the more likely they were really of this number, because the same author says, the King, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, demanded four and twenty hostages by name, and that these hostages were conveyed to *Paris*, with as many more as could be seized. This seems to argue, that the garrison were released, and none but private persons seized, who might be suspected, as well as the hostages, of being concerned in the Duke of *Burgundy's* death. Be this as it will, as *Henry* ought not to be excused in case of breach of faith, so neither ought a too hasty credit to be given to a single historian, who appears, in other respects, exceeding partial against *Henry*, and even refrains not from abusive language. After the surrender of *Melun*, the two courts returned to *Paris*, where the two Kings made their entry together, on the first Sunday in *Advent*, and the Queens, the next day.

The two Courts made their Entry into Paris.

The States of France confirmed the Peace. T. Livius.

In the beginning of *December*, the States General met at *Paris*. King *Charles* going to the assembly on the 6th, told them, that of his own free will, he had made

a peace with the King of *England*, was persuaded it would be beneficial to *France*, and desired them to confirm it by their authority. The King's declaration in his present condition, was not a sufficient reason to induce the States to ratify a peace, which, according to their principles, violated the most sacred rights of the kingdom, in order to set the crown on the head of a foreign Prince. But in the state they themselves were in, it was scarce in their power to examine the consequences, or freely to speak their minds. So it was unanimously resolved, that the peace of *Troye* should be observed, and held as a public law, and that all the *French* should be obliged to take the oaths mentioned in the treaty. This is not a proper place to examine *Henry's* pretensions to the crown of *France*. They were the same as were formerly urged by *Edward III.*, and of which I have amply spoken in the history of his reign. But however, it may be said, that when the *French* swore to this peace, they thought it very unjust, and consequently there could be but little reliance on oaths, which they considered as involuntary. Accordingly, they plainly showed afterwards, they valued them not. And yet *Henry*, with all his policy, depended upon these extorted promises, as if the *French* then living, had been more scrupulous, than those who had sworn to the peace of *Bretigny*.

On the 23d of the same month, King *Charles's* council being summoned for the purpose, the Duke of *Burgundy* appeared in a mourning habit, and demanded Justice against the murderers of the Duke his Father. *Mezerai* says, the Dauphin was solemnly called to the *Marble-Table* (5), and not appearing, was attainted and convicted of causing the Duke of *Burgundy* to be killed; pronounced unworthy of all inheritance, particularly of the succession to the crown (6); and banished the realm for ever. It is hard to believe, such a historian would advance such a fact, without good authority. And yet this sentence, which is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, mentions neither the succession to the crown, nor the banishment of the Dauphin. The sentence is general, against all the murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, without naming the Dauphin, or his accomplices, at least in the *Preamble*. It is true, that in the preamble, there is mention of the treaty between the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*, and that afterwards it is said, the Duke of *Burgundy* was killed by him; which words, by him, manifestly relate to the Dauphin, named a few lines before. It appears however, that the sentence was so worded, that the Dauphin was included only in the general notion of the murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy* (7), and that it does not seem to point particularly at him. Consequently, it was not natural to speak of the succession to the crown. Probably therefore, *Mezerai* had more regard to the intent of the decree, than to the words themselves.

The Dauphin finding all sorts of means were used to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his sword, from whatever had been hitherto, or should be for the future, transacted against him, in the name of the King his Father, and continued still to assume the title of Regent. As such, he removed the Parliament and University of *Paris*, to *Poitiers*, where some of the members of these two bodies repaired. Thus were seen at the same time in *France*, two Kings, two Queens, two Regents, all the officers of the crown double, seven or eight Marshals of *France* on each side, two Parliaments, and two Universities of *Paris* (8).

Though *Henry* was declared Regent, and Heir of *France*, it was however only by the *Burgundian* party, who having the King in their power, thought they had a right to dispose of the affairs of the kingdom. The Dauphin had still a strong party, who, far from submitting to the peace of *Troye*, maintained, that though the King had been free, and in perfect health, he could not dispose of the crown as he had done, much less, being disempowered, and a captive. The provinces distant from *Paris*, not being awed by the *English* arms, adhered for the most part to the Dauphin. Even the country about the Metropolis was divided. In the same Province, there were some places for the *English*, and others for the lawful heir of the King. So, notwithstanding the peace, the war was not yet ended, since the two Kings were under a necessity of driving the Dauphin out of all the towns

1420

Sentence upon the Murderers of the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 33. Monstrelet. T. Livius. Elmham.

The Dauphin appeals to God and his Sword. Parad. n.

1421. France divided between two Factions.

(1) *Henry* probably inserted this obscure Reservation, with regard to *Scotland*. *Rapin*.
 (2) This was, not to exclude the inhabitant of the Provinces belonging to the King of *England*, as *Normans*, &c. *Rapin*.
 (3) It was solemnized in St. *Jehan's* Church in *Troye*, by the Archbishop of *Sens*. *J. Des Ursins*, p. 379.
 (4) This Siege lasted fourteen Weeks and four Days. *Wadding*, p. 483.
 (5) A Court of Justice in *France*, established at *Paris* and some other Places, consisting of a President and seven Counsellors: From it there lies no Appeal. *Le Grand d'Auvergne*, *Tratado de la Justicia*, Tom. I. p. 39, 40.
 (6) "Quia Dauphin per variam successionem rebus, et ad succedendum patri declaratur inhabilis." *T. Livius*, p. 91.
 (7) In this sentence, the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy* are declared guilty of High-Treason, and consequently to have forfeited Body and Goods, and to be excluded from all Succession, direct or collateral, and from all Dignities, Honours, and Privileges whatsoever. *Kymer's Feds*, Tom. X. p. 33.
 (8) During King *Henry's* absence in *France*, a Parliament was called by his Brother *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, Regent of the Kingdom, which met *December* 20. *Goussier*, p. 297, 298.

1411.

and Provinces, he possessed. This was no easy task, though the union of the *English* forces with the *Burgundian* party, gave them a great superiority.

Proden
granted
the Crown
Rural

Guienne, part of which was subject to *Henry*, was more over a very considerable advantage, as it served to keep in awe the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. Till the death of *Armagnac* the constable, this Province had rather been a charge, than a benefit to the *English*. There was a constant occasion for a standing army, to defend it against the continual attempts of the party, which had declared for *France*, about the end of the reign of *Edward III*. The houses of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, who were at the head of this party, had created the King of *England* great trouble, particularly after the Earl of *Armagnac* came to have the management of the publick affairs. But after the death of that Earl, the heads of the party thought fit, as I said, to make a truce with *Henry*, in order not to favour the Duke of *Burgundy* by their diversion. After the treaty of *Troye*, they sued for peace, as believing they could no longer resist. *Henry* hoping to reap great advantages by the quiet possession of *Guienne*, readily received them into favour, and ordered letters of pardon to be given them (1), upon their renouncing, by a publick instrument, the appeal of their ancestors, to the court of the Peers of *France*, in the time of *Edward III*. Some say, that by the peace of *Troye*, *Guienne* was to be united to the crown of *France*, after the death of *Charles VI*. But, besides that in the treaty of *Troye*, there is no mention of *Guienne*, it plainly appears, by what has been related, that *Henry* had no such intention. It is rather evident, that he grounded on the treaty of *Bretigny*, his preserving, as King of *England*, the sovereignty of *Guienne*, independent on the crown of *France*.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 3.

Ib. p. 41, 45.

Choisy
Hist. of
Charles VI.

Henry re-
turns to
Eng. and
Walling.
T. Livius.
Elmham.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 49.

The Queen
crowned.
p. 63.

A Parlia-
ment called.
The King
goes to
York.
Walling.

A Procla-
mation a-
gainst the
Pope's Col-
lations.

The Duke of
Clarence is
slain.
Monstrelet.
Walling.
Elmham.

Boethius.
Buchanan.

Henry having settled his affairs in *France*, in so glorious a manner for himself and his nation, resolved to return into *England*, where three things required his presence. First, his Queen's coronation. Secondly, the confirmation of the peace of *Troye* by the Parliament, and the demand of a supply of money, to enable him vigorously to carry on the war against the Dauphin. Lastly, the necessity of taking some measures against the *Scots*, who had sent succours to his enemy, under the command of the Earl of *Buchan*, the Regent's Son. Upon leaving *France*, *Henry* gave the command of his troops to the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother (2). Then he set sail with his Queen, and safely arrived in *England* about the end of *February*. A few days after, the Queen was crowned (3), and a Parliament summoned to meet at *Leicester* the 2d of *May*.

Whilst the People were busy in chusing their representatives, the King took a progress into several counties, and stayed some weeks at *York*. His aim was, under colour of showing the Queen the country; to procure by his presence, elections of members that should be favourable to him. He was sensible of the nation's discontent, at being obliged to bear the expences of the conquest of *France*. Some say, it was during this progress, that the King issued a proclamation, prohibiting the admission of Ecclesiasticks into benefices, by the Pope's provisions, contrary to the rights of the Patrons. But it is more likely, this proclamation was not issued till after the Parliament of *Leicester*, pursuant to an act made for that purpose. Be this as it will, it was a mortal blow to the court of *Rome*, to whom the clause of *Non-obstante*, so frequently used by the Popes, became fruitless, at least with regard to the collation of benefices.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, *Henry* received the sad news, that the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was slain, *April* the 3d, in a battle in *Anjou*. The Duke had led ten thousand Men into that Province, to reduce it to the obedience of the King. Whilst he was employed in this expedition, he heard, that the Earl of *Buchan*, with seven thousand *Scots*, had entered the Province, and was encamped at *Baugé*. At the same time, he had false intelligence, that the vanguard of the *Scotch* army was so far from the main body, that it would be easy to put them to rout, provided they were speedily attacked. Upon this information, he hastily headed his horse, leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* orders to follow him, with the rest of the army. When he came to *Baugé*,

he found indeed some *Scotch* troops intrenched in the Church-yard. He charged them immediately, and dismounted in order to lead his troops. But he was so long in forcing the *Scots* from this post, that the Earl of *Buchan* had time to come to their relief. Then the Duke remounting his horse, furiously attacked the newcomers, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces. He gave, on this occasion, proof of an uncommon valour; but at length, being over-powered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the face by a *Scotch* Knight (4), and killed by the Earl of *Buchan* himself. His death caused an entire defeat of *Walling* the *English* horse, whereof fifteen hundred were slain (5), and many taken prisoners (6). Among the slain were, the Earl of *Kent*, the Lords *Gray* and *Ry*, and several other officers of distinction. The Earl of *Salisbury*, not being able to advance in time to assist the Duke of *Clarence*, had however the comfort to recover from the enemy, the body of that Prince, which he sent to the King his Brother (7).

The advantage gained by the *Scots*, rendered the King's presence necessary in *France*. But he had still in *England* affairs, which were no less urgent. The Parliament meeting the 2d of *May*, readily confirmed the peace of *Troye* so glorious to *England*. A subsidy was also granted (8) for prosecuting the war against the Dauphin; but at the same time was presented to him a petition, wherein he was told, it was but too true, that the conquest of *France* proved the ruin of *England*. To obtain this subsidy, the King had laid before the Parliament, a state of the revenues and expences of the crown. By this account, a fragment whereof is inserted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, it appears, that the King's revenue amounted but to fifty five thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds Sterling; and that the ordinary expences ran away with fifty two thousand two hundred and thirty-five pounds; so there remained but three thousand five hundred and eight pounds, to provide for a dozen extraordinary articles, mentioned in the account. The Parliament's petition could not but be very displeasing to the King. One half of *France* was still unconquered, and the Provinces subject to the King were so drained, that there was no prospect of drawing from thence, the necessary supplies for continuing the war. Wherefore, the burden was still to fall upon *England*. But the Parliament grew weary of furnishing money, at a time, when it was more necessary than ever, by reason of the diversion the kingdom was threatened with from the *Scots*.

I have deferred till now, to speak of the affairs of *Scotland*, because since the accession of *Henry V* to the crown of *England*, nothing had passed in *Scotland*, remarkable enough to break the thread of the History. But at present, it will be necessary briefly to mention them, for the understanding of the sequel. It was seen in the late reign, that in 1406, *James Stuart*, then Prince of *Scotland*, was detained in *England*, and shortly after became King of *Scotland*, by the death of his Father. This new dignity was so far from turning to his advantage, that it rather served to cause him to be more strictly guarded. The Duke of *Albany* his uncle, who had assumed the regency, liked it too well, to endeavour effectually to procure his liberty. Not a year passed, but he sent ambassadors into *England* (9), under colour of soliciting the freedom of the King his nephew; but his real intention was far from what he seemed to desire. The chief motive of these frequent embassies, was to negotiate the exchange of the Earl of *Fife* his Son, for young *Percy*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl had been prisoner in *England*, ever since the battle of *Halidon*: *Percy* was seized in *Scotland* by way of reprisal for the King. This exchange was effected, and yet the embassies were no less frequent. It was ever on pretence of treating about the young King's release, but in reality to influence the King of *England*, to detain him in prison. *Buchanan* affirms, it was on condition the Regent would engage not to disturb *Henry*, by divisions in favour of *France*. Otherwise, the *Scots* would never have so peaceably seen *France* attacked by the *English*. Mean while, as to induce the *Scots* to remain quiet contrary to their interest, it was necessary to give

1421.

Act. Pub.
IX. p. 3, 8,
46, 71, 79,
113, 126,
14, 417,
418, 491.
p. 913.

(1) Which were signed at *Rat*, Jan. 16. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 10. p. 41---46.
(2) And appointed *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, his Deputy in *Normandy*. Ibid. p. 20.
(3) Febr. 14. Monstrelet. Goodwin, p. 300. Wallingham says, it was the 9th, and Elmham the 22d. p. 299.
(4) Sir *John Stewart*. Buchanan. l. 10.
(5) The chief of them were, (besides the Duke of *Clarence*) *John* Lord *Ross*, and his Brother; Sir *John* *Gray* of *Hatton*, Earl of *Gloucester*; and Sir *Gilbert* *Unfereville*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 10. p. 95. Wall. p. 405.
(6) Among whom were *John* *Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*; *John* *Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset*; and *Thomas* *Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury* and *Perth*; the Lords *Fitz-Walter*, and Sir *William* *Bewick*. Wall. p. 405.
(7) He was buried in the Cathedral-Church of *Canterbury*. Ibid.
(8) A Fifteenth from the Laity, and a Tenth from the Clergy; and the Bishop of *Worcester* lent the King twenty thousand Pounds, by way of advance. Wall. p. 404. Fabian.
(9) There were some sent soon after King *Henry's* Coronation, Dec. 16 1412. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 9. p. 6.

1421. them some seeming satisfaction, the Regent publicly and earnestly demanded the liberty of the King's nephew. But Henry knew he should not oblige him in granting his demand. On the contrary, the difficulties he raised in this affair, were a sure means to prevent diversions from the Scots.

AA. Pub. IX. p. 299, 302, 303, 307, 310. In 1415, whilst Henry was preparing to pass into France, he received advice from the Northern Frontiers, that the Scots were resolved to besiege Berwick, with sixty thousand Men; whereupon the Duke of Bedford had orders to levy an army. But it does not appear, either that the Scots did then besiege Berwick, or the Duke of Bedford marched against them. The English historians say, the King, upon the above-mentioned advice, called a council, to deliberate, whether it was proper to relinquish the intended project against France, and heartily apply to the conquest of Scotland, and that it was resolved the first design should be pursued (1). This may be, but, very probably, the King was then agreed with the Duke of Albany; and the rumour of the invasion, and the meeting of the council in England, was only to make the people of Scotland believe, the Regent acted with sincerity. And indeed, we do not find in the history of Scotland any signs of so considerable an armament, in the year 1415, or of a resolution to besiege Berwick. Besides, that very year a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, whilst all Henry's forces were employed in France. In short, Buchanan affirms, it cannot be said, that during the whole reign of Henry V, there was any war between England and Scotland; all the hostilities being nothing else but mere robberies. He alleges as a reason, that the Duke of Albany took care not to disoblige the King of England, for fear the King of Scotland should be released. Henry was however afraid, it would not always be in the Regent's power to keep the Scots quiet, who were so much concerned to prevent the ruin of France. It was doubtless from this consideration, that in 1416, he gave King James leave to pass some time in his own kingdom, having taken security for his return. He hoped this journey would create between the Uncle and Nephew such dissensions, as would divert the Scots from all thoughts of assisting France.

The affairs of Scotland continued in this posture till 1419, when the Dauphin sent thither the Duke of Vendôme to desire assistance. The States being met upon this occasion, the Regent could not hinder the decreeing a levy of seven thousand Men, which were sent into France under the command of the Earl of Buchan. The victory that General gained over the Duke of Clarence at Baugé, procured him the sword of Constable of France.

Henry could not without concern see the Scots declare so openly for the Dauphin. He perceived, either that the Duke of Albany had not the same credit as formerly, or had altered his maxims. Wherefore, to break the measures of the Dauphin's adherents in Scotland, he believed it necessary to gain the King of Scotland to his interest, and make him his instrument. This was partly his design in returning to England. Upon his arrival, he intimated to that Prince, that it was his own fault if he was not at liberty, on condition he would use his authority to recall his Subjects, who were in the service of France, and join with him against the Dauphin. James passionately longing to be free, after a fifteen years captivity, very readily complied with Henry's desires. A private agreement therefore was made between these two Princes, the articles whereof are unknown, except one, which was, that James should go into France, and stay with Henry, until the end of the war. Henry's aim was to interpose the King of Scotland's authority, to oblige the seven thousand Scots in the Dauphin's service to return home. Accordingly, James attended him into France for that purpose. But when he commanded the Earl of Buchan to return into Scotland, the Earl replied, he did not think himself bound to obey him, so long as he was in the power of others. For that reason, Henry from thenceforward treated as rebels, all the Scots that fell into his hands.

Henry having finished the affairs which called him into England, left his Queen there, great with Child; and appointing the Duke of Bedford, his Brother, Regent in his absence, returned into France, where his presence

was necessary. He sailed the 10th of June with a new-raised army (2), amounting, as some say, to four thousand Men at arms, and twenty-four thousand Archers. When he arrived at Calais, he sent several detachments to take some castles, the Dauphin still held in Picardy. At the same time, he ordered a considerable body to march to the Duke of Exeter's relief, who was almost blocked up in Paris. Then marching himself with the rest of the army, he came to Bois de Vincennes, from whence he went and joined his Father-in-law at Paris.

A few days after, he heard the Dauphin was before Chartres, and began to batter the town. As he desired nothing so earnestly as to decide the quarrel by a battle, he immediately assembled his troops, and marched directly to Chartres. But his forces were so superior, that the Dauphin did not think fit to expect him. Henry pursued him with all possible speed, but finding he could not overtake him, attacked Dreux, which surrendered upon terms (3). It is said, that during this siege, a Hermit came and boldly reproached him with the calamities brought on France by his ambition, and threatened him with the judgments of God. Some add, that Henry's death, which happened the next year, showed the Hermit to be inspired. But such consequences are not always just.

After the siege of Dreux, the army being seized with the flux, Henry sent his troops into Summer-quarters, and refreshed himself at Paris. He re-assembled them in October, in order to besiege Meaux, though the season was not very proper for such an undertaking. Mezerai, and some others, are mistaken in saying, this siege was laid before the King went to England. It is certain, it was not begun till four months after his return (4). The same historian says further, this place held out three months, but he should have said seven, since the siege began the 6th of October 1421, and ended not till the 2d of May 1422. It is true, as the town was divided into two parts; namely, the town and the Market-place (5), the first was taken by storm during the winter; but the Market-place held out till May (6).

Whilst the King was employed in the siege of Meaux, he received the agreeable news of his Queen's being safely delivered at Windsor, of a Prince (7), who was named Henry. The Duke of Bedford, and the Bishop of Winchester stood godfathers, and Jaqueline countess of Hainault, godmother. This Princess, who had united under her dominion, Hainault, Holland, Zeland, and Frise-land, was married first to John Duke of Touraine, second Son of the King of France. This Prince dying in 1416, she espoused John Duke of Brabant, Cousin-German to the Duke of Burgundy. She soon grew weary of her second husband, and under colour of their being too nearly related, formed a design to have the marriage annulled. For that purpose, she procured some Knights to carry her away, and convey her into England, in order to act more freely. This pretended rape, was no secret to the King, since we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a safe conduct for this Princess. Besides, at her arrival in England, the King assigned her a monthly pension of a hundred pounds Sterling. His intent was, to marry her to the Duke of Gloucester, and by that means, put his Brother in possession of four of the noblest Provinces of the Low-Countries. The Duke of Burgundy was extremely offended, at the King's disregard for the Duke of Brabant his cousin, in giving Jaqueline a refuge in his dominions. This affront, in his opinion, reflected upon himself. Besides, it was his interest, that Jaqueline's marriage with the Duke of Brabant, should not be annulled. Mean while, Henry preferring the Duke of Gloucester's interest, to the Duke of Burgundy's, did not seem much to mind the occasion of complaint given that Prince.

Henry was exceeding desirous of advancing his two Brothers, who were both Princes of great merit, and with whom he was well pleased. In 1419, there was a secret negotiation between him and Joan Queen of Naples, who being pressed by her enemies, promised to adopt the Duke of Bedford, and declare him her sole heir. This project failing, upon Queen Joan's affairs taking a new turn, Henry would have obtained for the Duke of Bedford, the only daughter of Frederic Burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards, a daughter of the Duke of

(1) Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord President of the North, made a long Harangue, to persuade the King to disabie the Scots, before he earned the war into France. But John Duke of Exeter, the King's Uncle, replied to the Earl, and was seconded by the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester; upon which the war with France was resolved. *Duchinart. Chich. p. 14, &c.*

(2) For the payment of which, he borrowed Money of the most considerable Persons in England. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 10. p. 96, &c.*

(3) August 20. *Monstrelet, fol. 313.*

(4) *Mezerai des Ursins*, in his History of Charles VI, led Mezerai into this Error. *Rapin.*

(5) Where the Castle stood, on the Top of a Rock.

(6) During the King's Absence, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of the Kingdom, summoned a Parliament, which met at Westminster, Decemb. 1, and granted to the King a Fifteenth. *Wals. p. 406. Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. 5. M. 1.* The Convocation, which met at York, on September 22, had granted him a Tenth. *Rot. Fin. 9. Hen. 5. M. 11.*

(7) He was born December 6. *Walsing. p. 406.*

1421.
Walsing.
Monstrelet.
Le Fevre.
Elmhams.

The Dauphin besieges Chartres, but retires upon Henry's coming.

Henry takes Dreux. Monstrelet. Elmhams.

He returns to Paris. He besieges Meaux.

Monstrelet. A. Pub. X. p. 232.

Birth of Prince Henry. Walsing. T. Livius. Countess of Hainault stands God-mother.

1422.

Her Adventures.

A. Pub. X. p. 67, 134.

The King projects Marriages for his Brothers. Ib. p. 701, 705.

1422. *Lorrain.* At the same time, he treated of a Marriage between the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Blanch of Navarre*, Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who had pretensions to that Kingdom. In fine, an opportunity offering to procure for this Prince, *Jacqueline* Countess of *Hainault*, he readily embraced it, as this Marriage could not but be advantageous to *England*. But, as her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* was first to be annulled, this Affair could not be accomplished before the King's Death.

The taking of Meaux. It was not till the beginning of *May* (1) 1422, that the Besieged of the Market-Place of *Meaux*, desired to capitulate, but they could obtain no other Capitulation, than to be Prisoners of War. The King even excepted all the *English*, *Irish*, and *Scots*, who were in the Place, and all that were concerned in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and moreover, all those who had any Towns or Castles in their Power, till they were surrendered. In fine, he reserved four Officers of the Garrison, namely, *Lewis du Guast*, *Dennis de Vaurus*, the Bastard of *Vaurus*, and another, to be proceeded against according to the Justice of the Laws. They were all four executed. *Du Guast* was beheaded, and the other three suffered a more ignominious Death. The Bastard of *Vaurus* was hanged on a certain Tree, from him called the *Tree of Vaurus*, because he had hanged on it many *Burgundians*, in revenge for the Death of the Earl of *Armagnac*. This was a severe Capitulation, which gave the Besieged Cause to repent of their Obstinacy, when probably, they had no prospect of being relieved (2).

Queen Catherine returns to France. About the time of the surrender of *Meaux* (3), *Queen Catherine* arrived from *England*, attended by the Duke of *Bedford*, who had left the Regency to the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother. The two Courts joining at *Bois de Vincennes*, went from thence soon after, to keep the *Whitsun* Holidays at *Paris*. *Henry* lodged in the *Louvre*, and *Charles* in the Palace of *St. Pol*, where he had but a small Court, whilst the Regent-King's was numerous and splendid. On *Whitsunday* they dined together in publick, the two Kings and the two Queens, with Crowns on their Heads. Those of the *French*, who had any Regard left for their Country, could not without Grief behold the King of *England*, though paying an outward Deference to the King his Father-in-law, ruling *France* with an absolute Power. Their Discontent was still increased by a Tax (4), imposed by *Henry*, for coining a new sort of Money. The *Parisians* loudly murmured, but to no purpose. Their Condition was very different, from what it was a few Years before, when their Adherence to one of the Parties decided the Fate of both.

The Dauphin takes la Charité, and besieges Cologne. Whilst *Henry* was preparing to renew the Campaign, interrupted by the Queen's Arrival, News came, that the Dauphin had taken *la Charité*, which opened him a Passage over the *Loire*. Shortly after, Advice was brought, that he was besieging *Cologne* upon the same River, and the Besieged had capitulated to surrender, unless relieved by the Duke of *Burgundy* before the 18th of *August*. The Duke finding his Honour engaged to relieve that Place, desired the King to send him a Re-inforcement; to which the King answered, he would come himself, and accordingly began immediately to march at the Head of his Army. But, whilst he was pleasing himself with the hopes of a Victory, that would render him Master of all *France*, he was seized with a Flux (5), which obliged him to stay at *Senlis*. However, for fear his Illness should hinder *Cologne* from being relieved, he ordered the Duke of *Bedford*, with the best Part of his Troops (6), to join the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Dauphin hearing of their Junction, and being too weak to give them Battle, retired, and the two Dukes, having nothing more to do there, marched towards *Troye*. Mean time, *Henry*, hoping his Distemper would wear off, after resting a little at *Senlis*, had taken Litter, in order to go and head the Army. But his Illness still increasing, he resolved at length to return to *Vincennes*.

The Duke of Bedford, hearing of the State the King was in, departed immediately from Troye, to come to him. He found him at the Point of Death, but expecting his approaching Dissolution with great Firmness. Before he resigned his last Breath, he sent for the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, with seven or eight *English* Lords, to give them his last Instructions. He told them, "His Reign had been short, but glorious; though his Pretensions to *France* had caused a great effusion of Blood, it could not be laid to his Charge, since nothing but Force could have induced the *French* to a reasonable Peace. For his part, he beheld the approach of Death without Concern; but could not help lamenting the Fate of the Prince his Son, who, by reason of his Age, was incapable of finishing a Work so happily begun: Wherefore he conjured them, for God's Sake, to remain in strict Union, for the Service of the Infant Prince, who was going to be their King; to take care of his Education, and to give the Queen all the Consolation that lay in their Power, and for which she had so great Occasion. He added, his last Advice to them was, to cultivate diligently the Duke of *Burgundy's* Friendship, and to take care not to release the Prisoners of *Azincourt*, till his Son was of Age to hold the Reins of the Government himself. In case they thought proper to conclude a Peace, it should not be, without securing the Sovereignty of *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*. He concluded with saying, it was his desire, the Duke of *Bedford* should take upon him the Administration of the Affairs of *France*, and the Duke of *Glocester* be Protector of *England*, during his Son's Minority.

Having spoken these Words, he asked the Physicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which, one of them said, kneeling, with Tears in his Eyes, that without a Miracle, he could not live above two Hours. This terrible Sentence giving him no manner of Concern, he sent for his Confessor, and having made his Confession, ordered his Chaplains to read the seven penitential Psalms. When they came to these Words of the 51st, *Build thou the Walls of Jerusalem*, he interrupted them, and declared, "upon the Truth of a dying Prince, that, after having settled a firm Peace in *France*, he really intended to wage War upon the Infidels, for the recovery of *Jerusalem* out of their Hands." The Moment they had finished their Devotion, this great Prince expired on the 31st of *August*, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, after a triumphant Reign of nine Years, five Months, and eleven Days. His Body was brought into *England*, and buried at *Westminster* among his Ancestors, with a Funeral Pomp suitable to the Grandeur he enjoyed whilst alive, and to the Esteem conceived of him by his Subjects. His Queen, to honour, in a particular manner, the Memory of so illustrious a Spouse, caused to be laid on his Tomb, a Statue of Silver gilt, as large as the Life, and extremely like him (7).

If, to know this Monarch's Character, we follow, without Examination, the Praises bestowed on him by the Authors of his Nation, we must imagine him the most accomplished Prince that ever appeared in the World before him. Not an *English* Historian ascribes to him the least Defect, but all unanimously speak of him as a perfect Hero. On the other hand, the *French* have endeavoured to shade his Portraiture with certain Strokes, that fully the Lustre. It will be necessary therefore, in order to form a just Idea of him, to consider his Actions with their Circumstances, independently of the Admiration of the one, and the Envy of the other.

In the first Place, with respect to the Government of his own Kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due Praise; for, avoiding to tread in the Steps of *Richard II*, and even of his own Father, he constantly forbore to inroach on the Liberties and Privileges of the People. His readiness at all times to give the Royal Assent to such Acts, as the Parliament judged necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom, was a clear Evidence of his regard for

(1) *May* 2. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 212.

(2) In this Siege were killed *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and the Lord *Clifford*. The last was brought over and buried in the Church of the Canons of *Bolton* in *Craven*, *Yorkshire*. *Goodwin*, p. 325.

(3) In *April*. *Walsingham*, p. 406.

(4) Called in *Rymer's Fœd.* Marks of Silver. But what the Number of them was, or on what they were laid on, is not mentioned. See Tom. X. p. 38, 85.

(5) *J. des Ursins*, and other *French* Historians, say, that he died of a Flux accompanied with the Piles. *Monfretet* says, it was a *St. Antony's Fire*. According to *Walsingham*, through the Hardships and Fatigue he underwent, he contracted an acute Fever, attended with a Dysentery. But *Pier Esprit*, who was his Chamberlain at the time of his Death, affirms he died of a Pleurisy. See *Goodwin*, p. 337.

(6) And with *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, &c. *Walsingham*, p. 406.

(7) He was interred at the Feet of *Edward the Confessor*, in a little Chapel, since enlarged and beautified with several Statues, and fenced with two Iron Grates, by *Henry VII*. On his Tomb of grey Marble, erected by his Queen, was placed a Royal Image of Silver gilt; but about the latter end of *Henry VIII*, the Head (being of massy Silver) was broken off, and conveyed away with the Plates of Silver that covered his Trunk, which now only remains of heart of Oak; and his Epitaph defaced, which was but these two silly Verses.

Dux Normannorum, verus Conquestor eorum,
Heres Francorum decessit, et Hæstor eorum.

The present Head is supplied from an original Picture at *Windsor*.

1422. the Good and Happiness of his People. Nevertheless, in this very Thing he was guilty of Excess, since, contrary to his own Inclination, and the dictates of his Reason, he consented to the Persecution of the *Lollards*, out of pure Condescension to the Clergy. Indeed, it was almost impossible, that, being endued with an excellent Judgment, he should not perceive the groundlessness of the Accusations against them, in the beginning of his Reign. And yet, rather than publicly retract, he still feigned to believe it true, at the very time when he pardoned some condemned Persons, who persisted in a denial of the pretended Crime.

But it is not chiefly for what he acted in *England*, that Historians have been so lavish of their Praises; his warlike Exploits are the principal Subject of his Panegyrick. And yet, to speak without Aggravation, he was, perhaps, in no respect less remarkable, notwithstanding the glorious Successes that attended his Arms. The Conquest of *France*, considered in itself, has something grand and marvellous. But the Description of the Affairs of that Kingdom, renders it, doubtless, not so wonderful, as it appears, when abstracted from all its Circumstances. *Lewis VIII*, Father of *St. Lewis*, conquered *England* in a like Juncture, and yet no one ever thought solely to ascribe the Conquest to his Wisdom or Valour. *Henry* projected his Enterprize, at a time when the Civil Dissensions of the *French*, rendered them unable to defend themselves. The Towns he took, were defended only by the Besieged themselves, without any Army ever appearing to relieve them. However, some of these Places stopped him several Months, and were surrendered only by Famine.

The Battle of *Azincourt* is then the great, and almost sole warlike Exploit, which can justly afford Matter for Panegyrick. In this famous Action, he gave Proofs of an uncommon Conduct, Resolution, and Bravery. But this very Battle, the Success whereof was so glorious, gives likewise occasion to tax him with Imprudence. It may be said, that, if he was victorious, it was, because he had reduced himself to an absolute Necessity, of vanquishing or dying; to which a General never exposes himself, whatever the Event may be, without causing his Conduct to be severely censured. His undertaking to retire to *Calais*, without foreseeing the difficulties of the March, and without being secure of a Passage over the *Somme*; his Wilfulness in resolving to pass that River, in order to force his way through an Army, so superior in Number to his own, seem excusable, only by the Success of the Battle of *Azincourt*, which was a sort of Miracle. Had he been vanquished, as he should naturally have been, he would have been infallibly charged with Indiscretion or Rashness. The Necessity he was reduced to, during his March, if we may believe the *French* Historians, of offering to restore *Harfleur*, and repair the Damages he had caused to *France*, shews, how much he himself was convinced of his Error. This Battle therefore was more glorious for him, on account of his personal Valour, than with regard to his military Capacity. It must be confessed, never did Prince expose himself more in a Battle, and give more signal Proofs of true Valour, than did *Henry* in that Action.

As for his other Conquests in *France*, I do not know, whether his greatest Admirers have reason to wish he had met with more opposition. What might have happened in that case, is beyond human Knowledge. It cannot however be denied, that the Victory of *Azincourt* prepossesses us in his favour. But what may be extolled in him, without danger of being deceived, is the Excellency of his Genius, and the Solidity of his Judgment. He knew how to manage the great Undertaking he had formed, with wonderful Address, wisely improving the several Revolutions in *France*, and making them all turn to his Advantage. Few Princes would have stopped like him, after so glorious a Victory as that of *Azincourt*, and preferred a repose, which, though seemingly less glorious than the Continuation of the War, was in reality to him more advantageous. This Policy, in my Opinion, is one of the brightest Passages of his Life, and best shews the soundness of his Judgment. His Negotiations with the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Burgundy* at the same time, and his Instructions to his Ambassadors, are plain Indications of his Abilities, and how difficult it was to deceive him.

It is not very strange, that the prosperous Success of his Undertakings, should gain him extraordinary Praises from the Nation, especially, as it cannot be denied, that this Success was no less owing to his prudent Conduct, than to favorable Junctures. In general, he forced the *French* to own him for Regent and Heir of their Kingdom. And this is one of those Actions, which seldom

fail of being praised beyond Measure. Accordingly, Historians have not been satisfied with comparing him to *David*, *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, but have ranked him above these great Men. But however, without going so far for Comparisons, which, after all, seem not very just, methinks he might, with more reason, be put in Parallel with *Edward III*, his Great Grandfather. However, I should hardly scruple to give the Preference to *Edward*. *Edward* had to deal with all *France* united against him, and the difficulties he encountered in his Conquests, were incomparably greater, and required an abler Head to surmount them, than those which opposed the Progress of *Henry V*.

What I have been saying of this Prince, properly relates only to his principal Action, namely, his War with *France*. I shall now describe his other Qualifications; which, though not so glaring, are no less worthy of Admiration, than the glorious Successes, which have almost wholly engrossed the attention of the Publick. It is certain, he had all the Endowments of Body and Mind requisite to form a great Man. His Stature was tall and majestic, though a little too slender, and long-necked. His Hair was Black, and his Eyes, of the same Colour, were exceeding lively. He was strong and robust, very expert in all bodily Exercises, chaste, temperate, at least after he came to the Crown, inured to Hardships, and patient of Hunger and Thirst, Heat and Cold. In all this he was a standing Example to his Troops, of Moderation and Constancy. He was a great lover of Justice, following it himself, and causing it to be punctually observed. Religious without Disguise, persevering in Piety, and constant in his private, as well as public Devotions; a great Protector of the Church and Clergy; he won by these Qualities, the Esteem and Affection of the Ecclesiastics, who did not a little contribute to heighten the Lustre of his Glory. He was prudent in Council, bold in undertaking, and resolute in executing. As for his Valour, he gave continual Proofs of it through the whole Course of his Life. There is another thing likewise, for which he ought to be praised. He caused military Discipline to re-flourish, which was almost entirely neglected in *England*, since the Reign of *Edward III*. Never did the *English* Nation shine with such Lustre, as under this renowned Prince. To this may be added, he was so fortunate, as to end his Days in the midst of his Prosperity, and not see, with *Edward III*, the Fruits of all his Labours destroyed.

Having related what is said by the *English*, to this Prince's Advantage, the faithfulness of an Historian requires, that some Failings, cast upon him by the *French*, and aggravated perhaps by Malice and Envy, are not passed over in Silence. In the first Place, they tax him with Cruelty, and making War in a barbarous Manner. They ground this Charge, not only upon the Slaughter of the Prisoners at the Battle of *Azincourt*, but also upon his putting to death several Officers, after the taking of *Caen*, *Melun*, and *Meaux*. But as to the Prisoners of *Azincourt*, there is no doubt, but the Maxims of War, and the Necessity of providing for his own Safety, will justify his Orders upon that account, supposing they were not too hasty. As for his treatment of the Burghers and Garrisons of the conquered Places, I confess, it is not impossible, but he might be something swayed by Revenge, by reason of the Time these brave Men made him lose; but this can only be said by Conjecture. That he used Severity towards some is certain, but his Motives are unknown. To discuss such Facts, more Circumstances are required, than are come to our Knowledge. However, with regard to those of *Meaux*, they are known to have incurred the Guilt of several Murders, for which, doubtless, they deserved to be punished. It was neither unjust nor barbarous, to hang the *Bastard of Vaurus*, on the same Tree, whereon he himself had hanged all the Duke of *Burgundy's* Adherents, that fell into his Hands. For the other three, executed at the same time, I know not the Reason; but it is to be presumed, they were not capriciously chosen from all the rest of the Garrison, to be Instances of the Severity of the Conquerors. As for the *English* and *Irish*, who were in the Service of his Enemies, their being excepted in the Capitulation, needs no Apology. It were to be wished, for *Henry's* Reputation, that he could be as easily justified, in refusing to give quarter to the *Scots*, on pretence, they would not obey their King, who was actually his Prisoner.

The *French* accuse moreover this Prince of excessive Pride, even to the causing, as they assure us, the Marshal de *Pisle-Adam* to be committed to the *Bastille*, for daring to look in his Face when speaking to him (1). It is true, if he had no other Reason, this was a high Strain of Haughtiness

(1) King *Henry*, who had little Esteem for him, did not treat him with such Favour as he showed to the other Officers, as appeared upon occasion of the Marshal's coming to him one Day for Instructions: His Majesty received him in a very poor Coat, led to him in Robbery, &c. *P. de Fenin*. *Adam*.

1422. Haughtiness and Rigour. But can it be denied, that a Look, a bare Gesture, may be sometimes very offensive? And who knows but the Marshal, as he spoke, used some aggravating Circumstance, or rash Expression, which rendered him worthy of Chastisement, and which has been industriously concealed, to make the King's Action appear the more odious?

Avarice is another Failing, wherewith he is confidently reproached. It is pretended, that after he was declared Regent and Heir of France, he was never bountiful, either to any of the Burgundian Party, who had served him, or to those of the Dauphin's, who voluntarily submitted to him. I shall not undertake to clear him from this Charge, as it does not appear that he was very liberal to the English themselves, who served him, whether by reason of his great Expence, or, because he was otherwise inclined. Though he had many good Officers, and excellent Generals, we do not find, that he rewarded them according to their Merit and Services. We must however, except the Earl of Dorset, to whom he assigned a Pension of a thousand Pounds a Year, when he created him Earl of Exeter; Fastolf, to whom he gave a considerable Estate near Harfleur; the Captal of Buch, of the House of Foix, who had the Lordship of Longueville; and the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he gave the Earldom of Perche. But after all, very possibly, Henry's want of liberality was the Effect of his Prudence. I have observed, that the Revenue of the Crown amounted but to Fifty-six thousand Pounds, and that he was forced to pawn his Jewels, to supply what the Sums, granted him by Parliament, wanted to defray the Charges of the War. Was it proper to appear liberal in such Circumstances? Upon many occasions, it were to be wished, Sovereigns would moderate their Bounties, which are, but too often, at the Expence of the poor People.

Lastly, An unbounded Ambition is a Failing, which the French think may justly be laid to his Charge. To know whether this Accusation be well-grounded, it should be examined, whether he was in the right to renew, or rather to continue, a War against France, occasioned by

her Breach of the Treaty of Breigny, and begun by herself. But this Enquiry would be needless, after what has been said upon this Subject in the Reign of Edward III, to which recourse may be had. However it cannot be denied, that Henry was very ambitious. His first Project was only to restore the Peace of Breigny. But when he saw a possibility of mounting the Throne of France, his Ambition carried him beyond the Bounds prescribed by himself in the beginning of the War. I have taken notice of his Intent, to make one of his Brothers King of Naples, and the other of Sicily, and of his using, certainly, no very honorable means to procure the Duke of Gloucester four Provinces of the Low-Countries. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, he had a design to purchase the Duchy of Luxemburg of the Emperor Sigismund, and to treat with him concerning his pretended Claim to Dauphiné. In fine, it farther appears, he would have paid the Ransom of a Lord of the House of Blois (1), Prisoner to the Marquis of Baden, probably, to assert one Day the Pretensions of that House to the Duchy of Bretagne.

1422.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 143,
144, 145.

By Catherine of France his Queen, Henry left but one Son of his own Name, about eight or nine Months old. The Queen his Widow, forgetting she had been Wife of so great a Prince, and was descended from the most illustrious House of Europe, married some time after, Owen Tudor, a Welsh Gentleman, not without giving great Offence both to the English and French. It is pretended, this Gentleman was descended from the antient Kings of Wales, but I do not know whether this Descent be well proved (2). Owen Tudor had by the Queen three Sons, namely, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen (3). The eldest married Margaret, only Daughter of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset, Grandson of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and Catherine Reet his third Wife. He was Father of Henry VII, whom we shall see hereafter mount the Throne, and leave it to his Posterity.

Charles VI, King of France, survived Henry but two Months. The Death of these two Monarchs is going to open a Scene very different from what we have seen (4).

Adam, is this the Garb of a Marshal of France? To which he replied with an Air of Confidence, That he had it made to wear in the Boat which brought him down the Seine. The Answer was displeasing from the manner of delivering it, and King Henry was provoked to say, You are too rude in your Behaviour, Sir; how dare you look on a King in that bold manner? Sir, replied the Marshal, It is the Fashion of my Country, where, if one Man speak to another, though the greatest on Earth, with a downcast Look, we think him conscious of some Baseness or Guilt. Your Customs, said the King, are very different from ours. The next Year, the Marshal was displaced from his Office, and committed close Prisoner by the King's Order, for some Miscarriages. Monstrelet. P. de Fenin. Goodwin, p. 280.

(1) The Lord Olivier de Blois, Count of Poitiers. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 145.

(2) It is likewise said, he was the Son of a Brewer: But the meanness of his Extraction was made up by the Delicacy of his Person, being reckoned the handsomest Man of his Time.

(3) And a Daughter that died an Infant.

(4) King Henry, among other Works of Magnificence and Charity, rebuilt the Royal Palace of Shene, now called Richmond; and the Castle of Kenelworth. He also founded the Fraternity of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London, besides other Monasteries mentioned above. Walsing. p. 387. Stow's Ann. p. 362. It was also this King that first instituted Garter King at Arms, and made several Regulations about the honorable Order of the Garter, which the curious Reader may see in Ashmole's Institut. &c. of the Garter, p. 252, &c. He also appointed a new Herald, by the Title of Agencourt King at Arms. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IX. p. 702.



In the Ninth of Henry V, a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make by Tale fifty Nobles, or a hundred half Nobles, or two hundred quarter Nobles, amounting to sixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence in Tale. And a Pound Weight of the same old Standard, was to make by Tale, ninety Groshes or Groats, or a hundred and eighty half Groats, or three hundred and sixty Sterlings, or seven hundred and twenty Mailes, or fourteen hundred and forty Farthings, amounting to thirty Shillings. Bartholomew Goldbeater was Master and Worker. This King's Roie-Noble is inscribed, HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRANC. DNS. HIB. the King standing in a Ship, holding in his Right-hand a Sword, in the Left a Shield, with the Arms of France and England, the Flower-de-lis being strictly three; he being the first that bore them so. Reverse, IHC. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIUM. ILLORV. IBAT. a Cross Fleury, with four Fleurs-de-lis, and as many Lions passant; each under a Crown above, and three Pellets below; within the Center of the Cross, in a Rose the Letter H, the whole within a large Rose. Evelyn's Description of his Roie-Noble, belongs to his Son's Angel. There was also Gold Money stamped at Paris, and in Normandy, by Henry V, called Saluts, bearing the Angel's Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, (the one holding the Arms of England, the other of France) with the King's Title; and, on the Reverse, CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRISTVS SIGNAT. CHRISTVS IMPERAT. which we find very little altered, upon some of the earliest Pistols of Lewis XIV. The Legend indeed belongs to France, and Du Fresnoy reckons the Salut amongst the proper Coins of that Country. The King's Gold Coins were so debased, that it was necessary to order, that they should be recoined at the Tower gratis. His Silver Money was mostly (as the Statute directed) coined at Paris, tho' some of his Pieces have CIVITAS LONDON, in the inner Circle of the Reverse. His Silver Coins are supposed to be distinguished (chiefly) from those of Henry IV, by two little Circles, or Eyelet Holes, deeply impressed below the Face, on each side the Neck, which are answered by two more, in the middle of two Triangles of Globules in the Quarters of the Cross, on the Reverse. See the Fig. There was also white Money coined by this King in France, after the Victory of Azincourt; his Style being then REX ANGLIÆ ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ. These Blanks, says Sir Edward Coke, were valued at Eight-pence, and because of their Baseness, were deemed Gally-half-pence, Sushyn and Dorkyn, and prohibited by Act of Parliament. Coke's Inst. l. 3. c. 30. p. 92.



THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XII.

The Reign of HENRY VI; With a Dissertation on the MAID of ORLEANS.

15. HENRY VI. *Sirnam'd of WINDSOR.*

HENRY VI.
1422.
It is said that in England to maintain young Henry's Right to France.



HENRY V, when within view of his end, seemed to have been taken out of the World by a particular direction of divine Providence, which is sometimes pleased to stop the best concerted Undertakings, when just going to be accomplished. The Peace of *Troye* not being yet firmly settled, and the Prince who was to mount the Throne, but an

Infant of nine Months, every thing seemed to concur to take from the *English* the hopes, of seeing the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* united under a King of their Nation. But on the other hand, the noble Qualities of the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Glocester*, Brothers of the deceased King, encouraged the most timorous. How great soever the Loss might be, it was not thought irreparable, since the Valour, Experience, and Wisdom of these two Princes, enabled them to support the new King's Minority. Instead therefore of being disheartened at so terrible a Blow, they shewed, by proclaiming young *Henry* King of *England*, and Heir of *France*, that they were determined to maintain what the King his Father had so gloriously established.

The Duke of *Glocester* had governed the Kingdom by the Title of Guardian, ever since the Duke of *Bedford* his elder Brother attended the Queen into *France*. But this Dignity being inconsistent with a King actually present in his Kingdom, ceased the Moment young *Henry* was proclaimed (1). It is true, the late King had ordered upon his Death-Bed, that during his Son's Minority, the Duke of *Glocester* should be Regent, or Protector in *England*. But this was not a sufficient Warrant to exercise that important Office. The Parliament's Confirmation was also requisite. For that, and some no less urgent Reasons, the Council speedily summoned a Parliament for the 9th of *November*. Till the two Houses should settle the Form of Government, during the King's Minority,

the Council, whereof the Duke of *Glocester* was President, 1422, issued all necessary Orders for whatever would not admit of delay.

A few Days after, the Council was informed of some Motions (2) in *Wales*, and the neighbouring Counties, which might be attended with ill Consequences. Very likely, as the Earl of *March* had great Interest in those parts, some of his most zealous Adherents designed to raise Commotions, in order to try, at such a Juncture, to revive the Earl's Claim to the Crown. It may at least be presumed, these Motions seemed to be of great Moment, since, besides the Orders of the Council to the Sheriffs, Commissioners were appointed to put them in execution.

During the time between the calling of the Parliament, died King *Charles VI* at *Paris*, the 21st of *October*, having survived *Henry V*, his Son-in-law, but fifty five Days. His Death entirely changed the Face of Affairs. It was not doubted that the Dauphin would take the Title of King of *France*, and exert his utmost to procure the Possession of a Crown, which he deemed fallen to him by the Death of the King his Father. Whilst *Charles VI* was alive, many of his Subjects thought it their duty to obey him, without inquiring, whether what he did was conformable to the Laws, and beneficial to the State, because, their Oath to him was not conditional. But after his Death, they believed it no less incumbent upon them, to acknowledge the Dauphin his Son, for Sovereign, notwithstanding the Peace of *Troye*, which deprived him of his Right. Indeed, that Peace bore but too visible Marks of Seduction and Violence, to be considered by true *Frenchmen*, as a fundamental and inviolable Law, though many that believed it very unjust, had been forced to approve it. So the Dauphin, who, in the latter Years of the King his Father, might, in some measure, be counted a Rebel, was upon better Terms, when he could assume the Title of Sovereign.

Henry VI. proclaimed Heir of France.

A Parliament was summoned. Cotton's Abridg.

(1) A Guardian is appointed to govern in the King's Absence only; and a Regent, or Protector, during an *Interregnum*, or the Non-age of the King. *Rapin.*
(2) They were informed of some Quarrels, Dissensions, and Debates (as it is said in *Rymer's Fœd.*) that had happened in *Shropshire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Gloucestershire*, and the Marches of *Wales*. Tom. X. p. 254.

1422. These Considerations obliged the Duke of Bedford, who continued in France, seriously to reflect on the possible ill Consequences of this Change, and to seek means to prevent them. Charles VI had no sooner closed his Eyes, but the Duke ordered Henry to be proclaimed King of France, and, pursuant to the Will of the late King his Brother, took himself the Title of Regent. Then he broke the Great Seal, and caused a new one to be made, with the Arms of France and England, and the Effigies of the young King holding a Sceptre in each hand.

The French Lords beseech Aduance to Henry. Hall. The Succession to the Crown of France being settled by the Peace of Troye, the Regent thought he might, upon that Foundation, and without a new Consent of the States, put the King his Nephew in possession of the Kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himself with assembling at Paris all the great Men of the English Party, he made a Speech, exhorting them to recognize young Henry for their Sovereign. He insisted on the Peace of Troye, and their Oath to maintain it, and endeavoured to convince them, it was for their own, as well as the Kingdom's Interest, inviolably to observe it. This done, all that were present swore Allegiance to Henry, and did Homage to him, in the Person of the Regent, for the Lands they held of the Crown. The same thing was afterwards required of those that were absent, and of the Towns in subjection to the English.

A Deputati- on to Henry. Monstrelet. This Ceremony being ended, the Regent, the Council of France, and City of Paris sent Deputies to London, of whom the Bishop of Terouenne was the Chief, to congratulate the young King upon his Accession to the Crowns of the two Kingdoms. At the same time, the Deputies had Orders to go by the Low-Countries, and exhort the Duke of Burgundy to remain firm to the Alliance. It was feared, the Death of Henry V, and of Charles VI, might cause him to alter his Measures.

The Dauphin takes the Title of King of France, and is crowned at Poitiers. Monstrelet. Hall. Whilst the Duke of Bedford was taking all necessary Precautions to settle the Affairs of the King his Nephew, the Dauphin was no less intent upon his. He was at Espaly, a House belonging to the Bishop of Puy, when he heard of his Father's Death. He shed many Tears at the News, whether Nature roused herself upon the occasion, or he had really ever preserved an Affection for a Father, who was not to be blamed for the Mischiefs he had done him. The first Day he appeared in Mourning, but on the morrow put on Scarlet, and was proclaimed King of France, with all the Solemnity the Circumstances of his Court, and the place he was in, would permit. After that, he came to Poitiers, where he had removed the Parliament of Paris. He was crowned here, in the beginning of November, because the City of Rheims, where the Coronation of the Kings of France is usually performed, was in the hands of the English.

Necessity of joining together the Histories of France and England. Thus Henry VI and Charles VII assumed, both at the same time, the Title of King of France, and disputed with each other the possession of the Throne thirty Years. This renders the History of the present Reign so interwoven with That of France, that they cannot possibly be separated. The English were bent to preserve for their young King, the Crown of France, acquired by his Father's Labours, and of which they believed his Ancestors to have been unjustly deprived. On the other hand, Charles meant likewise to take possession of the same Crown, which it was designed to wrest from him, and which, in his Opinion, he held not so much from the King his Father, seduced by ill Counsels, as from a long Train of Ancestors, who had enjoyed it before him. This important Quarrel produced numberless Events, which to be well understood, require an exact Knowledge of the State of the Affairs of both Kings, in the beginning of their Reigns. It is no less requisite to know the Persons that managed the Affairs, as well Civil as Military, of the two Kingdoms. In short, to perceive wherein consisted the Advantages and Disadvantages of each King, during this tedious War, it will be absolutely necessary to have a general Idea of the then State of France, with regard to the Assistance each might have, as well from the Princes and Vassals of the Crown, as from Foreigners. This Review seems to me indispensable, in order to avoid the Obscurity, which would incessantly occur, in a mixt Recital of so many various Events.

Situation of the Affairs of both Kings. First then, for the Persons of the two Kings, Charles was one and twenty Years old (1), and Henry but an Infant of nine Months. However, in this very thing the Advantage was on Henry's Side, whose Affairs were managed by two Uncles of great Abilities, and by the wisest Council then in Europe. On the contrary, Charles, who never passed for an extraordinary Genius, was, by reason of his Age, more difficult to be ruled; his Passions frequently hindering him from following the best Advice. To the time he assumed the Title of King, he had dis-

tinguished himself neither by his Valour nor Conduct. More prone to Pleasures than War, he appeared very unfit to restore the Affairs of the French Monarchy, which was upon the Brink of Destruction. The Duke of Burgundy's Murder, committed in his presence, and doubtless by his Orders, had raised disadvantageous Prejudices against him. He had not been more scrupulous, with regard to the Duke of Bretagne his Brother-in-law. This Prince, whom the Earls of Pontievre, by a notorious Treachery, had carried away by Force, and long detained in Prison, came to know, after his Deliverance, that the Plot was contrived against him with the Dauphin's Privity and Consent. And therefore, it might be said, it was not Charles's Fault, that the Duke of Bretagne had not undergone the same Fate with the Duke of Burgundy. These things made a deep Wound in his Reputation, which was not otherwise supported by any bright Virtue or Action. All that could be said to his Advantage, was, that he had not meanly stooped to his Enemies. But it did not require a great Genius, to refuse running into manifest Destruction.

As to the Forces of the two Kings, it is easy to see, that Henry had greatly the Advantage of his Rival, since, with what he possessed in France, he had moreover all England on his Side. France was then so divided between them, that each had whole Provinces under his Obedience, and in others, each had fortified Towns and Adherents. In the Provinces thus divided, there was scarce a walled Town, but what had a Garrison for one or other. And this rendered them, above thirty Years, the Seat of the War.

Charles was possessed of all Languedoc, from whence he had lately expelled the Earl of Foix, whilst Henry V was employed in the Siege of Melun, and had appointed for Governor the Earl of Clermont, eldest Son of the Duke of Bourbon. From that time, the Earl of Foix had in vain attempted to recover that Province.

The Dauphiné, was likewise entirely subject to Charles, who possessed also Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Saintonge, the City of Rochel and Poitou. Besides these Provinces, he considered as Countries dependent of him, Provence, Maine, and Anjou, for reasons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in possession of Normandy and Guienne, the richest Provinces of the Kingdom. Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the Isle of France belonged to him, excepting a few Places, which still held out for King Charles. In a word, he was Master of Paris, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which alone was equivalent to a great and rich Province. He could moreover rely on the two Burgundies, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, his Vassal and Ally.

From what has been said, it is easy to perceive, that the War might be carried on in all the Provinces of France, Bretagne excepted, which hitherto had stood Neuter. But there were some Places more exposed than others to the Fury of the Sword, as Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the Isle of France. The reason is, because the English, before all things, would clear these Provinces of King Charles's Garrisons, in order to attack him afterwards beyond the Loire, without being forced to leave anything behind them. For the same reason, it was Charles's Interest to prosecute the War in the same Provinces, to prevent his Enemies from carrying their Conquests into the Southern Provinces, which were his last Refuge.

After seeing the Disposition of the Provinces, it will be necessary to examine that of the French Princes, immediate Vassals of the Crown. And first of the Duke of Bretagne.

Ever since the beginning of the War, John V, Duke of Bretagne, had stood Neuter, without concerning himself in a Quarrel, which could not fail of drawing the War into his Country, if he had been so ill-advised, as to declare for either of the Kings. But after the Peace of Troye was signed and sworn, he believed it no longer possible to continue in a State of Neutrality. Charles VI, and Henry V, being united by the Peace, and there being but one King of France, he could not help acknowledging him, unless he would openly join with the Dauphin. But such a Proceeding would have been very imprudent, since the Dauphin was so low, that there was little appearance of his ever recovering. Upon these accounts, as soon as the Duke saw the two Kings united, he sent Henry V word, he was ready to sign the Peace of Troye, and do Homage for his Duchy to King Charles. This Negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before Henry's Death. Probably, the Duke of Bretagne prolonged it, on purpose to see how the War against the Dauphin would go. Be this as it will, Henry dying before this Affair was finished, the Duke of Bre-

(1) P. Daniel says, he was but in the twentieth Year of his Age. Vol. VI. p. 1.

1422. *tagne* saw himself in the same State, as before the Peace of *Troye*, that is, at liberty to chuse his Side, or stand Neuter, according as he should be determined by the Events. There was however one strong reason for his not siding with the Dauphin, and that was, the discovery of the Dauphin's being deeply concerned in the Conspiracy of the *Pontevrians*. Nevertheless, preferring the Peace of his Subjects, to the pleasure of Revenge, he had not thought proper to declare for *England*.

The State of the Earl of Richemont.
Arthur, Earl of *Richemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was taken Prisoner at *Azincourt* in 1415, and carried into *England*, where he remained till 1420. Mean while, the Duke his Brother being seized by the *Pontevrians*, he desired King *Henry's* leave, to go and endeavour to free him. Leave was granted him upon certain Conditions, namely, That on *Michaelmas-day* 1422, *Arthur* should return to *London*, and appear before the King, or his Successor, the Lord Chancellor, or the Mayor of *London*.

That during the Term of his Enlargement, he should make no Alliance with the Dauphin, or any other Person whatever, against the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Burgundy*; neither should he attempt any thing contrary to the Peace of *Troye*.

That *Alan de Rohan*, the Duke of *Bretagne's* Lieutenant, the States and Barons of the Country, should promise the same Thing, during the Earl's Absence from *England*.

For Security of these Conditions, the Earl of *Montfort* was to be delivered to the King, whom he promised to restore, upon the Earl of *Richemont's* return to *London*.

The Earl ratified and swore all these Articles, and then departed for *Bretagne*. The Death of *Henry V* happening a Month before the Expiration of his Leave, instead of returning into *England*, according to his Oath, he still remained at the Duke his Brother's Court, who was freed from his Imprisonment. Thus, at the time of *Charles VI's* death, he was really Prisoner of the *English*, though he was not actually in their Power; and moreover, liable to the reproach of Breach of Faith. Some have thought to justify him, by saying, he only stood bound to the Person of *Henry V*, and therefore, upon that Monarch's decease, believed himself freed from his Oath. But this pretended Limitation of his Engagement, is destroyed by the fore-mentioned Articles.

Besides the Duke of *Bretagne's* Disposition with respect to the two rival Kings, he was moreover prompted to side with the *English*, by the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother, who had a great Influence over him. *Arthur* not only thereby designed to free himself from his Engagement, but had also other Views, which shall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be said, that though the Duke of *Bretagne* stood Neuter, or was desirous of still passing for such, he was however upon the Point of declaring for *England*.

As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, there is no occasion to repeat here his Reasons to remain firm to the Alliance of the *English*. It will suffice to say, that he did not think the death of the Duke his Father sufficiently revenged, whilst *Charles* enjoyed any part of *France*.

Lewis III, Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Sicily*, who was possessed in *France*, of *Provence*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, was entirely in the Interest of King *Charles* his Brother-in-law. But he had been some time employed at *Naples*, in securing the Inheritance of *Joan II*, Queen of that Country, who had adopted him for her Son. In his Absence, *Violante* of *Aragon*, his Mother, had the Administration of Affairs, and remained firmly attached to King *Charles* her Son-in-law.

The House of *Foix* made then a very great Figure in the Kingdom (1). *Matthew* of *Castillon*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*, dying without Issue in 1399, *Elizabeth* his Sister, Wife of *Archembald de Graille*, Capital of *Buch* in *Guienne*, took possession of his Dominions. *Charles VI* attempted to deprive the Capital and his Wife of this noble Inheritance, but they found means to keep possession. *Archembald* died in 1413, leaving five Sons, all of distinguished Merit. *John*, the eldest, was Earl of *Foix* and *Bigorre*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*. *Gaston*, who bore the Title of Capital of *Buch*, adhered to *Henry V*, who made him Knight of the Garter, and Earl of *Longueville*. From him sprung the House of *Candale*. *Archembald*, Lord of *Noailles*, the third Son, was killed on *Montreau Bridge*, with the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Mas-*

thew the fourth Brother, married the Heiress of *Cominge*. 1422. We shall see hereafter, that a Quarrel between him and his Wife, caused the Country of *Cominge*, to fall into the Hands of *Charles VII*. *Peter* the youngest, was at first a *Franciscan* Friar, then Bishop of *Lezear*, and at last Cardinal, and Legate à Latere in *France*, under the Pontificate of *Martin V*. He founded the College of *Foix* at *Toulouse*.

Hence it appears, that the House of *Foix* was very considerable, as well for Extent of Dominion in the southern Parts of *France*, as for the Merit of the four Brothers, whereof it consisted. The Neighbourhood of *Guienne* obliged the Earls of *Foix*, to pay great regard to the Kings of *England*, who were Masters of that Dukedom. *Foix*, *Bearn*, and *Bigorre*, could with ease be invaded by so powerful Neighbours, and with difficulty be assisted by the Kings of *France*. Besides, the Capital of *Buch*, and the Earl of *Cominge*, were Vassals of the King of *England*. An antient Quarrel between the House of *Foix*, and the Earls of *Armagnac*, was a farther Inducement to that House, to continue under the Protection of the *English*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, sworn Enemy of the *Armagnacs*. These Considerations led *Henry V*, when he entered upon the Regency of *France*, to give the Government of *Languedoc* (2) to the Earl of *Foix*. He made an Agreement with the Earl, to find a considerable Number of Troops (3), to keep that Province in Obedience to *Charles VI*. He was, as has been shewn, expelled by the Dauphin, and the Earl of *Clermont* put in his room. Immediately after the death of *Henry V*, the Earl of *Foix* renewed the Agreement with his Successor, who made him Governor again. But it was not in his power to dispossess the Earl of *Clermont*. Afterwards, the Earl of *Foix*, seeing *England* did not observe the Agreement, sided with King *Charles*. But in the beginning of the present Reign, he and his two Brothers openly declared for the *English*.

On the other hand, the Houses of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, very powerful in *Guienne*, declared for *Charles VII*, tho', a little before, they had complied with the Times, and made their Peace with *Henry V*.

The House of *Orleans* consisted of two Princes, *Charles* of the Duke of *Orleans*, and *John* Earl of *Angoulême* his Brother, both Prisoners in *England*. The first had been there ever since the Battle of *Azincourt* in 1415. The second was given in Hostage to the Duke of *Clarence* in 1412, for Security of the payment of the *English* Troops, sent by King *Henry IV*, to assist the Princes in League against the Duke of *Burgundy*. These two Princes being Prisoners, were, as to their Persons, neither serviceable nor hurtful to either of the two Parties, but their strong Towns were at the disposal of King *Charles*. Some affirm, that the Duke of *Orleans* made a Treaty with *Henry V*, whereby, in consideration of a great Pension paid yearly for his Expence, he obtained of that Monarch, a Neutrality for his City of *Orleans*, and all his other Places. But this pretended Treaty is only a Chimera, since the Foundation on which it is built, namely, the Pension, had never any Existence. The ninth and tenth Volumes of the *Publick Acts of England*, are full of Papers concerning the Duke of *Orleans*; and yet, among so great a Number, there is not one that gives the least Intimation of this Pension, much less of the pretended Treaty. Besides, it is not very likely, that *Henry V*, should, in the Time of his Prosperity, grant such a Neutrality, for Places situated in the Heart of a Kingdom, he was undertaking to conquer.

John Duke of *Alençon*, about thirteen or fourteen Years old, Son of the Duke of *Alençon*, slain in the Battle of *Azincourt*, began to give Tokens of an uncommon Valour and Conduct, which caused him to be looked upon as a Prince of great hopes. He was firmly attached to King *Charles's* Side, as well as *Peter* his Bastard-Brother, who passed for one of the stoutest Warriors in the Kingdom.

Charles d'Artois, Earl of *Eu*, was Prisoner in *England*, ever since the Battle of *Azincourt*. As he was not released till 1434, he made no Figure in *France*, the first Years of this Reign.

John Duke of *Bourbon*, Head of the illustrious House of *Bourbon*, which was divided into several Branches (4), was Prisoner in *England* since the Year 1415. So, though he was a Prince of great Merit, he had no Share in the Transactions of *France*. But the Earl of *Clermont*, his

(1) The Earls of *Foix* (part of *Gascogne*) were in so high Esteem in the Court of *France*, that they took Place of the Earl of *Vendôme*, though a Prince of the Blood, and lived in a State equal to most Kings in *Christendom*. *Francis Phœbus*, by marrying the Heiress of *Navarre*, added that Kingdom to *Foix* in 1479. And by *Antony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendôme*, marrying *Jean*, Heiress of this House, became King of *Navarre*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Lezard*, whose Son *Henry II*, King of *Navarre*, &c. succeeded to the Crown of *France* in 1589, being Grandfather to *Lewis XIV*, late King of *France*.

(2) And *Uzer*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 187.

(3) A thousand Men at Arms, and a thousand Archers. For the Maintenance of which, he was allowed by *Charles VI*, seven hundred and fifty Crowns of Gold a Month. *Ibid.* p. 192.

(4) Those of *Clermont*, *Bourbon*, and *Auvergne*, de la *March*, and *Vendôme*.

1422. eldest Son, firmly adhered to King *Charles*, with all his Father's Towns.

Of the Earl of Vendôme. *Lewis* Earl of *Vendôme*, of the House of *Bourbon*, was likewise Prisoner in *England*, since the Battle of *Azin-court*. It is true, he agreed with *Henry V* for his Ransom, whereof he had even paid Part; but as he could not raise the rest, was not yet released. The *French* Authors say, that in 1423, he miraculously escaped out of Captivity, and in Memory thereof, instituted an annual Procession at *Vendôme*. I know not the manner of his Escape; but find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *May* 1423, he was taken out of the Tower of *London*, by the King's Order, and delivered to Sir *John Cornwall*, who took him Prisoner at the Battle of *Azin-court*; that in *July* of the same Year, he obtained Leave to go into *France*, to provide the rest of his Ransom, that, upon Payment of the whole, he might have his Liberty. In all likelihood, he fully satisfied the King, for it does not appear, that he was re-demanded. So, I do not see what Miracle there could be in his Escape, unless it was his misuse of his Pass-port, in which Case the Miracle would not be very great. But however, he might institute a Procession at *Vendôme*, in memory of his eighteen Years Captivity.

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X. p. 289.

p. 297.

The Earl of Buchan.

Other Generals.

State of Charles's Court.

Mary Queen of France.

The Queen of Sicily.

Tannequi du Châtel.

Louvet.

Having spoken of the Princes of the Royal Family of *France*, it will be proper to mention the other Lords and Generals, in the Service of King *Charles*.

The Earl of *Buchan* (1) a Scotchman, Son of the Regent of *Scotland*, and First-Cousin to King *James I*, was Constable of *France*; a Dignity conferred on him by the Dauphin, after the Battle of *Baugé*.

Among the other Generals, the most considerable were, the Marshals de la *Fayette*, and de *Severac*, *Andrew de Laval* Lord of *Lobeac*, *John d'Harcourt* Earl of *Aumale*, *John de la Haye* Lord of *Cologne*, *Culant*, afterwards High-Admiral, *Aymeri* Viscount of *Narbonne*, *Pothon de Xantrailles*, *Stephen de la Hire*, surnamed *Vignoles*, *Graville*, and some others of an inferior Rank, or less Note. To these I add, the Bastard of *Orleans*, natural Brother of the Duke of that Name, though as yet, he did but begin to appear, because he rendered himself very famous in the History of this Reign.

After the Generals, it will be farther necessary to say something of the most eminent Persons, belonging to the Court of the new King. I have already spoken of the Person and Qualities of King *Charles*. *Mary of Anjou*, his Queen, was a Princess of exceeding great Beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary Merit. And yet, he loved her not as he ought, and as she deserved, being continually drawn aside by other Amours, which possessed in his Heart the Place, she ought to have held. How mortifying forever the King's Coldness might be, she bore it with great Constancy, without the least Murmur, or Reproach; still hoping to gain his Affection by her Patience, Moderation, and dutiful Behaviour. If this Conduct was not capable of inspiring the King, with a Tenderness for so accomplished a Spouse, it commanded at least all his Esteem, and forced him to shew it, by consulting her generally, in his most important Affairs.

Violante of Arragon Queen of *Sicily*, and Mother of the Queen, was commonly at *Charles's* Court, where her Merit and Capacity gave her great Credit.

Tannequi du Châtel was the King's chief Favorite. It was he that first struck the late Duke of *Burgundy*, on *Montereau* Bridge. It was not doubted, that, as he was the first in executing, so he had been the principal in advising, that detestable Treachery. However, all the *French* Writers represent him as a very honest Man. I do not know, how that Character can be reconciled with such an Action, which, let what will be said, was but too premeditated.

Louvet, President of *Provence*, was the next in the King's Favor. He had the Management of the Finances. As he was very covetous and ambitious, he generally preferred his own, to his Master's Interests. He is said to be one of the Advisers of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murder. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* considered this Minister, as well as *d'Avaugour*, another of *Charles's* Courtiers, as the chief Authors of the *Pontevrian* Conspiracy, because they had prevailed with the Dauphin to approve it.

La Trimouille, of a very ancient Family, was in great Favor with the King, though not in so great as *Du Châtel* and *Louvet*. He was very ambitious, and notwithstanding his high Birth, regularly made his Court to the Favorites, in order to increase his Credit.

De Giac, and the *Camus de Beau-lieu*, Creatures of *Louvet*, were considerable at Court, by reason of their Patron's Interest.

These were the most noted Persons of *Charles's* Court, which usually was not very numerous. Most of the Princes of the Blood were Prisoners in *England*, and the other great Men found it more advantageous to follow the Army; the King's Circumstances not affording them any great Prospect at Court.

I shall now consider the chief Managers of the publick Affairs of the *English*, both at Court and in the Army.

John Duke of Bedford, Regent of *France*, under the young King his Nephew, was the most accomplished Prince then in *Europe*. Wise, judicious, of great Valour, Solidity, and Penetration, Master of his Passions, and of a Genius, superior to all employed by him, he seemed born for a Throne, though Providence had ranked him among Subjects. To all these Qualities he added a majestic State-lines, which became his Birth, and high Rank in *France*, and in *England*. But this he never carried beyond what was necessary to command a due Respect and Regard, for his Person and Authority. To sum up his Character in a Word, he was perfectly like the late King his Brother, and in all his Actions took him for Pattern. He had with him in *France*, the Earls of *Warwick* (2), *Salisbury* (3), *Arundel* (4), the Dukes of *Somerjet* (5), *Falstoff* (6), *Talbot* (7), and many others, all eminent for their Valour and Experience in the Art of War. The *French* Authors who have writ the Life of *Charles VII*, seldom speak of these Generals, without an honorable Epithet. For my part, I shall only mention these illustrious Persons. Their Names became so famous in the History of those Days, that all the Encomiums I can bestow on them, would be no Addition to their Glory and Reputation.

The Duke of *Burgundy* had, at the same time, three Generals, whom I shall rank among the *English*, because they were in the Service of the same Prince. Their Actions well deserve an honourable Mention.

The first was *John de Luxemburg*, Earl of *Ligny*, Son of *Valeran de Luxemburg*, Constable of *France*. This General signalized himself, during the whole War.

Lisle-Adam, Marshal of *France*, was a bold and enterprising Warrior, and withal, capable of managing the most difficult Undertaking. It was he, that in 1419, made the Duke of *Burgundy* Master of *Paris*. After that, incurring, by his too great Haughtiness, the Displeasure of *Henry V*, he was committed to the *Bastile*; from whence the Duke of *Bedford* had lately freed him, at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Request.

Toulangeon, commonly called Marshal of *Burgundy*, was in high Esteem with the Duke his Master, on account of his Valour and Parts.

I must now pass into *England*, and briefly mention some of the Princes, and great Men, who were chiefly concerned in the Direction of the young King's Affairs.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, younger Brother of the Duke of *Bedford*, was a Prince equally qualified for the Field and the Cabinet. His noble Endowments, improved by an extensive Knowledge of the Sciences, would have put him upon a Level with the Duke his Brother, had he been more Master of his Passions, or less ambitious and haughty. I shall have frequent occasion hereafter, to make known more fully the Character of this Prince.

The Princes of the House of *Lancaster*, legitimated by the Name of *Beaufort*, held the next Rank to the Duke of *Gloucester*. *Thomas Beaufort* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, were Sons of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Catherine Roet*, his third Wife. *John* Earl of *Somerjet*, their elder Brother, was dead, and had left four Sons, of whom, *Henry* the eldest, bore the Title of Earl of *Somerjet*. Of the other three, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Edmund*, the last only was at Court, the other two being Prisoners in *France* (8).

Richard

(1) *John Stuart*.

(4) *John Fitz Alan*.

(6) Sir *John Falstoff*, for so he is called in *Rymer's Fæd.* and not *Falstaff*. In *T. X.* p. 408. he is named *Falstoff*.

(7) Sir *John Talbot*; who had this notable Motto on his Sword-Blade, *Sum Talboti. Provincere inimicos meos.* *Speed*, p. 653.

(8) There is no Pedigree wherein *Rapin* differs more from our Genealogists than in this of *Beaufort*. Neither does it appear from whence he had his Account. For *Dugdale*, *Sandford*, &c. make it thus: *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Catherine Roet*, had one Daughter called *Jean*, Countess of *Wiltshire*; and three Sons: 1. *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerjet*, who died 11 *Henry IV.* 1410, and lies buried at *Canterbury*. 2. *Henry*, Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*. 3. *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Dorset*. (See Note (1) p. 537.) The said *John*, by *Margaret Holland*, had four Sons: 1. *Henry* Earl of *Somerjet*, who died without Heirs, 7 *Henry V.* 2. *John*, taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Baugé*, and long kept in Captivity. He was, after his release, advanced in 21 of *Henry VI.* to the Dignity of Duke of *Somerjet*. By *Margaret Beauchamp* he had an only Daughter named *Margaret*, (Wife of *Edmund Tudor*, by whom she had *Henry VII.*) He died 22 *Henry VI.* 1444. 3. *Edmund*, who had the Grant of his Brother's Dukedom in 26 *Henry VI.* having before succeeded his Uncle,

(2) *Richard Beauchamp*.

(5) *Henry Beaufort*.

(3) *Thomas Montacute*.

1422.
Duke of
York.

Richard Duke of York, Son of Richard Earl of Cambridge beheaded at Southampton in 1415, and Grandson of Edmund de Langley Duke of York, fifth Son of Edward III, was the only Male-Issue of this Family. He was very young at the time I am speaking of, but I shall have frequent occasion to mention him in the course of this Reign.

Other Lord.

Humphrey Earl of Stafford, was Son of Ann of Gloucester, Daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Gloucester, whom Richard II, his Nephew, caused to be strangled at Calais.

Henry (1) Earl of Essex, Half-Brother of the Earl of Stafford, had married Isabella, Sister of the young Duke of York.

Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmoreland, was allied to the Royal Family, by his Marriage with Joan Beaufort, Sister of the Duke of Exeter, and Bishop of Winchester.

Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire, had for Wife a Sister of the Duke of Somerset.

Henry Talbot, had married a Sister of the Earl of Essex.

Henry Holland Earl of Huntington, descended from a Half-Sister of Richard II, was Prisoner in France, since the Battle of Baugé, wherein the Duke of Clarence was slain.

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and John Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, were married to Princesses of the House of March (2).

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two contending Kings, but to see how some foreign Princes stood affected towards them.

Henry the
first of
France.
Edward
the first
of England.

It is very strange, that during this long War of thirty-eight Years, no Prince in Europe would be concerned in it. Immediately after the Peace of Troye, Henry V sent Ambassadors into several Parts, to make Alliances, in order to render himself so superior to the Dauphin, as to put it out of his Power to make any Resistance. But we do not find that he succeeded in this Design. If he made Alliances with some Princes, they were so worded, as did not oblige them to be Parties in this War; so that he reaped but little Advantage from thence.

The Emperor.

The Emperor Sigismund might, by Virtue of his League with Henry V, have assisted his Son. But he was himself embroiled in Troubles on the account of Religion in Bohemia, which wholly employed him. The rest of the German Princes were unconcerned at what passed in France. They were not sorry to see the English and French unable, by their Dissension, to disturb their Neighbours.

Italy.

All Italy stood Neuter. The Duke of Milan alone was inclined to King Charles, but hitherto had sent him no Supplies.

Spain.

Castile, Arragon, and Portugal were in Peace, or in Truce, with the two rival Kings, and assisted Neither. Their Policy was to let them beat one another, and afterwards join with the Conqueror.

Duke of
Lorraine.

The Duke of Lorraine was inclined to King Charles, on account of the Alliance between their Families. But he durst not assist him, for fear of drawing the War into his Country.

Among all the neighbouring Princes of France, Amadeus, first Duke of Savoy, and Lewis de Chalon Prince of Orange, were those, on whom the Eyes of both Parties were chiefly fixed, by reason of the Diversions they could make in Provence and Dauphine. Mean while, these two Princes observed yet a Neutrality, pleased with being courted by both Sides. It was, however, easy to perceive, they leaned to the English, on account of the Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Orange being his Nephew, and the Duke of Savoy his Vassal.

The Duke
of Burgundy.

As for the Neighbours of England, there were only the Princes of the Low-Countries and the Scots, that could be so concerned in the Quarrel, as greatly to advantage, or prejudice the two Kings. The Duke of Burgundy possessed Flanders and Artois. John of Burgundy, his first Cousin, held Brabant, and the Earldom of Limbourg. Moreover, by his Marriage with Jaqueline of Bavaria, Daughter of the late Earl of Hainault, he had acquired the Sovereignty of Hainault, Holland, Zealand and Friseland. The first of these two Princes was firmly united with the English, and the other took care not to declare

against them, for fear of depriving his Subjects of their advantageous Commerce with England.

As for the Scots, the War in France ought not to have Scotland been indifferent to them. It is certain, their Interest required their utmost endeavours, to stop the Progress of the English in that Kingdom. Besides their ancient Alliance; whereby they were obliged to assist the French, it was easy for them to perceive, it could not but be very dangerous to their State, to suffer the King of England to grow so very powerful. But, the private Interests of the Regent had hindered them from taking the Course, most agreeable to the Good of their Country, till at length, they sent seven thousand Men to the Dauphin. From that time, growing more and more sensible of their Error, in permitting the English to become Masters of France, they had resolved to send thither a more powerful Supply. But the Duke of Albany dying in the mean time, and Mordac his eldest Son, a Prince of a mean Genius, succeeding him in the Regency, intestine Troubles arose, which prevented the Scots from executing their Resolution. So, till the Death of Henry V, they had acted nothing in that respect, and King James was returned into England Prisoner as before.

Here I shall end this Digression, which will not appear needless, when we come to see the Relation it bears to the Events mentioned hereafter. And now having given a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two Kings, it is time to resume the Thread of our History.

The Parliament met on the 9th of November, according to the Summons. The Duke of Gloucester, by a Patent under the Great Seal, was commissioned to hold it in the King's Name, according to the usual Practice, when the Sovereign is not in condition to be present in Person. The Parliament's first care was to settle the Government, during the King's Minority. They nominated the Members of the Council; filled the Offices of the Crown; and gave the Great Seal to the Bishop of Durham (3), and not to the Bishop of Winchester, as some affirm. To pursue the Plan that was formed, it was necessary to appoint a Protector, who should take upon him the Administration of the publick Affairs, during the Minority. Henry V had ordered, on his Death-bed, that this high Dignity should be conferred on the Duke of Gloucester his Brother. But his Will could not be obeyed, without great Injury to the Duke of Bedford, the eldest Brother, the second Person in the Kingdom, and presumptive Heir of the Crown as long as Henry was Childless. This Prince would thereby have been below the Duke of Gloucester, his younger Brother. It is true, he was Regent of France; but very possibly, he might return into England, during so long a Minority. Wherefore, it was necessary to find some Expedient, to perform the deceased King's Will, without derogating from the elder Brother's Rights. After a serious Examination of the Affairs, the Parliament nominated the Duke of Bedford, Protector of England, Defender of the Church, and first Councillor to the King. But a Clause was added, that he should exercise this Office, only whilst in the Kingdom, without having, in his Absence, any concern in the Government. At the same time, the Protectorship was likewise conferred on the Duke of Gloucester (4), with Power, to act only in the Absence of the Duke of Bedford his Brother, who, upon his return into England, was to be acknowledged for sole Protector. The Protector's Salary was settled at eight thousand Marks a Year (5).

It has been seen, that the Duke of Gloucester was not so moderate, as the Duke of Bedford his Brother. He was impatient of any opposition to his Will. For this reason, the Privy-Council were always upon their Guard, to hinder his assuming a greater Authority, than his Station entituled him to. As they held not their Places of him, but of the Parliament, they were the less afraid of displeasing him, knowing it was not in his Power to remove them. Therefore, in the Council itself, there was a sort of Confederacy against him, managed by the Bishop of Winchester his Uncle. The Bishop's opposition to the Protector, ended at length in a Quarrel, the sad Effects whereof, we shall have occasion to mention in the Sequel of this Reign.

After having settled what related to the Protectorship, the Parliament appointed Governors, to take Care of the

Uncle, the Duke of Exeter in his Title of Earl of Dorset. He was killed at St. Albans, 33 Henry VI. 4. Thomas, whose Name is only mentioned; and four Daughters. The said Edmund had four Sons: 1. Henry, (from whose natural Son by Joan Beaufort, are sprung the present Dukes of Beaufort) beheaded 3 Edward IV. 2. Edmund Duke of Somerset, beheaded 1471. 3. John Duke of Somerset, slain at Tewkesbury, 11 Edward IV. 4. Thomas, who died without Issue Male; and seven Daughters.

(1) Henry Beaufort. He was not created Earl of Essex till June 10. 1460, the 1st of Edward IV. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 129.
(2) The former was indeed Son of Elizabeth, Daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; but he married Eleanor, Daughter of Ralph Nevill Earl of Warwick; and the latter married Maud, Daughter of Robert Lisle. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 281, 323.

(3) Thomas Langley. At the same time William Roper was appointed Treasurer of England, and John Stafford Keeper of the Privy Seal. Cotton's Annals. p. 107.

(4) Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, was also constituted Lord-Chamberlain, and High-Constable of England. Ibid. p. 564.

(5) The Parliament granted the King the Subsidy of Staple-Ware, viz. three and thirty Shillings and Four-pence, on every Sack of Wool exported, and the Tonnage and Pannage, for two Years. Ibid.

1422. King's person and education. These were *Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, both Great-Uncles of the King. I know not the qualities of the Duke of *Exeter*, not having met with his character in any historian (1).

Character of
the Bishop
of Win-
chester.

As for the Bishop of *Winchester*, he was a Prince more proper for the World and a Court, than the Church. However, he is placed by some in the class of the Learned of those days. After he was made Bishop of *Winchester*, in 1405, his principal business was to heap up riches; wherein he had so happily succeeded, that he was commonly reckoned the wealthiest of all the *English* Nobles. *Henry V.*, his nephew, had some regard for him, but was apprehensive of his intriguing temper. Hence he opposed the Pope's making him a Cardinal, for fear that dignity would give him occasion to exercise his talents too much. The truth is, he was a Man of sense, and well-skilled in all the means humane prudence suggests to the Ambitious, to accomplish their ends. His birth, parts, riches, and office of governor to the King, gave him great credit in the council, and of course in all the rest of the kingdom. In a word, he knew so well to manage his affairs, that he had a better interest than the Duke of *Glocester* his Nephew, though Protector, and ruined him entirely. The occasion of their quarrel is not fully known. Some say, the Bishop, angry that the Duke of *Glocester* was preferred before him in the government of the kingdom, which he would rather have had, than that of the King, never ceased plotting to supplant him. Others on the contrary affirm, the Duke of *Glocester* hated him, only because he always found him ready to oppose his assuming too great an authority, as Protector, which might in the end, prove fatal to their common Master.

Jealousy be-
tween the
Duke of
Glocester
and Bishop
of Win-
chester.

Few warlike
Exploits
during the
reign of the
year 1422.

Whilst the courts of the two new Kings were equally employed in affairs, which would not admit of delay, the war was but faintly prosecuted in *France*. Besides, the season permitted not, (after the death of *Charles VI.* on the 21st of *October*;) great armies to keep the field. So, from that time, to the end of the year 1422, the troops of the two Kings took some repose, in order to prepare to renew the war. There is nothing therefore remarkable in this interval, but the taking of *St. Valery*, a place of great importance, surrendered to the *English*, pursuant to a capitulation made some months before, and of *Buffi* in the Earldom of *Guise*, by the Earl of *Ligny*, the Duke of *Burgundy's* General. On the other hand, *James de Harcourt* became master of *La Rue* in *Picardy*, and *La Hire* of *Vitry* in *Champagne*.

1423.

The Duke of *Bedford's* design, according to the late King his Brother's project, was to reduce all the towns *Charles* still held in the Isle of *France*, and the adjoining Provinces, that he might afterwards attack him beyond the *Loire*. It was the more necessary to proceed in this manner, because, so long as *Charles* had places about *Paris*, the *English* durst not remove from the Metropolis, without leaving a strong garrison, and much weakening their armies. At the time the Regent was preparing to execute this design, he received the ill news that *Graville*, one of King *Charles's* captains, had taken *Meulan* by storm, the 4th of *January*. This loss troubled him extremely, as well because it retarded the execution of his projects, as by reason of the neighbourhood of *Meulan*, which was but six leagues from *Paris*. Besides, the taking of a place so very near him, was a sort of affront he could hardly digest. And therefore, he determined to open the campaign with this siege.

Meulan
taken by
Storm by the
French.
Montfretet.
Hall.

They take
la Ferté-
Milon.

Shortly after, King *Charles's* troops took likewise *La Ferté-Milon*, a small town between *Meaux* and *Soissons*. But the castle making a brave resistance, the Marshal de *L'Isle Adam* had time to relieve it, and drive the *French* out of the town.

The Regent
besieges
Meulan;

In the beginning of *February*, the Regent himself besieged *Meulan* (2). As it was King *Charles's* interest to keep the war in the Isle of *France*, and the neighbouring Provinces, he ordered the Earl of *Aumale* to join *Stuart*, who commanded the *Scotch* troops, and march with him to the relief of that place. The *French* give *Stuart* the title of *Constable* of *Scotland*; but it does not appear, he was styled so by the historians of his nation. I imagine,

P. Daniel.
T. 6.

the mistake of the *French* sprung from their ignorance of the *English* and *Scotch* tongues, where the title of *Constable* may be given to every Leader, or Commander in chief, of a body of troops, without his being, for all that, *Constable* of the kingdom. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Buchan*, being then in *Scotland*, *Stuart* commanded the auxiliary troops of that kingdom. The two Generals were actually joined; but a contest arising about the command, they parted again without action. *Graville* hearing of it, capitulated the 2d of *March*. The capitulation ran, that such of the Besieged as had any castles in their power, should deliver them to the Regent. Pursuant to this agreement, the Regent took possession of *Marcouffi*, *Montlheri*, and several other places (3).

Though these towns are of little consequence at this day, they were then of great importance, chiefly on account of their lying near *Paris*, and keeping the *English* at a distance from the *Loire*, which was very advantageous to King *Charles*. For this reason he so managed, that his adherents fortified themselves in those parts, in all the towns and castles capable of making any resistance in order to continue the war there. And this also was the reason, that induced the Regent to form the project, of clearing the Isle of *France* of all these garrisons. However, he would not have opened the campaign so early, had he not been forced to it by the loss of *Meulan*. He was meditating a much more important design, which he executed immediately after the retaking of that place.

I have observed, that the Duke of *Bretagne* made some advances towards swearing the peace of *Troye*, but that the death of *Henry V.* broke off the negotiation. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving of what consequence it was to the King his Nephew, to gain this Prince to his interest, had spent the whole winter in negotiating an alliance with him, by the Duke of *Burgundy's* mediation. This negotiation succeeding to his wish, he came to *Amiens*, where he met the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, with the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother. According to the plan before formed, they signed a treaty of league and alliance against King *Charles*. To render their union more firm, they moreover concluded two marriages, namely, between the Duke of *Bedford* and *Ann*, fifth Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and between the Earl of *Richemont* and *Margaret*, eldest Sister of the same Duke, and Widow of *Lewis* the Dauphin, who died in 1415. As the Earl of *Richemont* had been the means of engaging the Duke of *Bretagne* in this alliance, it was very reasonable the mediator should find his advantage therein. The young Earl, having an extraordinary opinion of his own merit, his vanity was agreeably flattered by this marriage. Indeed, it was no small honour for him, to espouse a Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Widow to a Dauphin of *France*. But to obtain the Princess's consent, he was forced to agree, that, according to the custom of *England*, she should keep the title of Dauphiness, because she absolutely refused to take the inferior one of Countess of *Richemont*. The treaty between these Princes was concluded *April* the 8th.

Soon after, the Duke of *Bedford* went to *Troye*, where he consummated his marriage. An historian says, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, in case he died without Male-Issue, promised him the Earldom of *Artois*, but there was no occasion to perform this engagement. In conducting his Bride to *Paris*, the Regent stayed some time in *Champagne*, to form the siege of *Pont-Sur-Seine*, a small town of that country, which was carried by storm. After that, he came to *Paris*, and lodged in the *Hotel des Tournelles*, which he had ordered to be repaired, and magnificently furnished.

In the beginning of the year, the Earl of *Salisbury* had been invested with the government of *Champagne* and *La Brie*, and had received orders from the Regent, to clear these two Provinces of King *Charles's* garrisons. This General, having taken the field in *April*, besieged, or rather blockaded, *Montaigu* an exceeding strong Castle, seated upon a cape, belonging to the Province of *Burgundy*, but running into *Champagne*. There were but sixscore Men in the Castle, and yet, by reason of its si-

1423.

with cap-
tulated.

Interview of
the Dukes of
Bedford,
Burgundy,
Bretagne,
and Earl of
Richemont,
at Amiens.
April.
Act. Pub.
X. p. 280.

They sign
a League a-
gainst King
Charles.
Marriages.
Montfretet.

The Regent
consummates
his marriage.
Montfretet.

The Earl of
Salisbury
besieges
Montaigu.
April.
Montfretet.

(1) *Rapin* seems to have mistaken this *Thomas Beaufort* for his Nephew of the same Name, of whom indeed there is no mention but of his Name. This *Thomas Beaufort*, third Son of *John* of *Gant* by *Katharine Swynford*, was in the 5th of *Henry IV* made Admiral of *England*, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He was created 13 *Hen. IV.* Earl of *Dorset*; and 4 *Hen. V.* Duke of *Exeter*, for Life. He was Earl of *Lincoln* in *Normandy*, and behaved with much Valour and Conduct in the *French* Wars, and particularly at the famous Battle of *Azincourt*, where he commanded the Rear-guard. He bravely defended *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, (of which he was Governor) and in a pitched Battle, encountered and put to flight the Earl of *Armagnac*. He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Sir Thomas Nevill*, and had a Son by her, who died young. So that leaving no Child, he departed this Life at *Greenwich* in 1424, and was buried at *St. Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, leaving his Nephew *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, his Heir, who was twenty-three years old. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 263.

(2) Being accompanied with *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Michael de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Scalers*, the Lord *Foyninges*, *Sir John Fastolf*, Master of the Household, &c. *Hall.* vol. 84.----After the taking of the Town, *Sir Henry Mortimer*, and *Sir Richard Vernon* were appointed Governors of it. *Ibid.*

(3) And the Lord of *Graville* also declared for the *English*. *P. Daniel*, Vol. VI. p. 8.

1423.

He leaves the siege to the Earl of Suffolk.

Tannegui attempts to relieve Montaigu.

Salisbury besieges Crevant.

Charles prepares to relieve it.

Crevant is taken.

Orsay taken by the English. Montrelet.

The French besiege Crevant. Hall.

Hall.

The Battle of Crevant, where the French are overthrown. P. Daniel.

Montrelet and other places taken by the English.

tuation, it was almost impregnable. The Earl of Salisbury having formed the blockade, left the Earl of Suffolk (1) with some troops, and marched himself to other conquests. In June, he became master of Vertus, Sezanne, Epernay, and some other places.

Mean while, King Charles, to whom the keeping of some towns in those parts was of great consequence, ordered Tannegui du Châtel to relieve Montaigu. The Earl of Salisbury, who had left but few troops before that castle, fearing some misfortune, posted immediately to their assistance. He made such speed, that Tannegui du Châtel, who was now far advanced, finding himself too inferior to the English, was forced to retire into Burgundy, where the French had lately surprized Maçon and Crevant, at the two extremities of that Province. Salisbury followed, but not being able to overtake him, resolved to besiege Crevant, a strong place upon the Yonne, three leagues above Auxerre.

Charles had no sooner received this news, but he ordered Stuart, who was lately reinforced from Scotland, to draw some troops out of the neighbouring garrisons, and join du Châtel, in order to attempt the relief of Crevant. All these forces together made a body of ten thousand Men, whereof, by order of the King, the Marshal de Severac went and took the command. But as it required some time, before they could be joined in one body, Salisbury had sufficient leisure to take the place. After that, not knowing yet the designs of the French, he joined Suffolk before Montaigu.

Whilst these things passed in Burgundy, the Duke of Bedford caused Orsay to be besieged, a small place between Paris and Montberri. The garrison holding out six weeks, and surrendering only at extremity, he resolved to make them an example, for a terror to the other small towns. All the officers and soldiers were carried away prisoners to Paris, and ordered to be put to death. But, happily for them, the dukes of Bedford meeting them as they were going to punishment, stopped the execution, and obtained their pardon.

Mean time, the French army, drawn together in Auxerrois, marched to Crevant, which they had not been able to relieve, and besieged it. The army was commanded by the Marshal de Severac, who had under him du Châtel, Stuart, Ventadour, and some other officers of note. The dukes dowager of Burgundy, then at Dijon, sent immediately to the Marshal Toulangeon, and all the Burgundian Nobles, to try to relieve Crevant. At the same time, she desired the Earl of Salisbury to join her Generals, in order to raise the siege. Salisbury was very sensible, how necessary it was to comply with the dukes's request, and therefore leaving part of his troops before Montaigu, the garrison whereof was reduced to twenty Men, repaired to Auxerre, and joined the Burgundians. Next day, they marched together to Crevant. They had in all, but six thousand Men (2), however, they were some of the best soldiers then in Europe. The Besiegers, hearing of their march, raised the siege in order to meet them, and posted themselves at some distance from Crevant, upon a Hill, where it was very difficult to force them. The resolution of the French Generals, surprized the English and Burgundians, who seeing no possibility of attacking them in that post, altered their rout, and, as if they had some other design, passed the Yonne at Colegn-le-Vineux, with intent to repass it at some other place, and proceed to Crevant. The French finding, that by this march, their station on the Hill was become useless, descended, and posted themselves by the River-side, in order to defend the passage. The two armies remained above three hours facing one another, with the river between them. At length, a body of English gaining a certain bridge, withstood the efforts of the French army with uncommon resolution, and gave the rest of the troops time to come to their support. This action, which was one of the boldest, was performed with that bravery, order, and conduct, that it was not possible for the French to beat them from the bridge. As soon as all the English and Burgundians were over, they so vigorously attacked their enemies, that they put them to rout. The Marshal de Severac was blamed for retiring too soon, and leaving Stuart engaged with his Scotch troops. There was slain on the spot, above five hundred (3), most of them Scots. As many more were made prisoners, among whom were Stuart, and Xaintrailles, with forty officers of note.

The loss sustained by the French on this occasion, rendering them incapable to keep the field before a victorious army, the Earl of Salisbury returned to the blockade

of Montaigu. A few days after his arrival, the place capitulated, and the fortifications were demolished. Then, being apprehensive of no opposition from the French, he divided his army with the Earl of Suffolk, who took Maçon, whilst the Earl of Salisbury finished the conquests of Champagne. After that, Salisbury entered the Isle of France, and took Coucy, and some other castles.

In the mean time, the Regent had laid siege to Crottoy, a town in Picardy, situated on the Somme, over-against St. Valery. Ralph Boteler had the management of this siege, which employed him till October. At last, James d'Harcourt, governor of the town, agreed to surrender it the 1st of March next, if not relieved by that time. This sort of capitulation was very common in those days. On the day fixed for the relief, or surrender of the place, the Besiegers drew up under the walls, expecting their enemies. This was called *Tenir Journée*. If no army appeared that day to give them battle, the place was surrendered according to the capitulation. Though the governor of Crottoy had given ample time to prepare for his relief, Charles was not in condition to attempt it, and the town was surrendered to the Duke of Bedford.

The battle of Crevant was the more prejudicial to Charles's affairs, as he lost many officers of distinction, some whereof were slain, and the rest prisoners in the hands of the English or Burgundians. Among the prisoners, Xaintrailles was the person for whom the King was most concerned, knowing him to be one of the bravest officers in the kingdom, and most capable of doing him service. Though he had not much money, he sent him however wherewithal to pay his ransom. Xaintrailles very thankfully received this favour, and to give the King sensible marks of his gratitude, presently after his release, found means to surprize Ham and Guise. At the same time, La Hire or Vignoles, did the like by Compeigne.

The loss of these places gave the Regent no small uneasiness, as it obliged him to keep his forces near Paris, in spite of the projects he had formed. As he could not execute his designs till the French were expelled the northern Provinces, he ordered the three towns taken by surprize, to be besieged all at once. If I should stay to relate the circumstances of all the sieges on both sides, during this war, it would insensibly lead me into numberless relations, for which few people would be concerned. The best way will be to keep to generals, and only mention the beginnings and events of the sieges.

The Regent's design being, as I said, to retake these three places, the Earl of Ligny invested Ham, and the Marshal de l'Isle-Adam made an attempt upon Compeigne. But l'Isle-Adam falling into an ambush laid for him by La Hire, lost three hundred of his Men. Nevertheless he obliged his enemy to keep within the walls. After Ligny had taken Ham, he invested Guise. Xaintrailles, who commanded in that place, perceiving, that with his few troops he should make but a faint resistance, went away in quest of relief. But instead of succeeding in his design, he fell himself into the hands of the Burgundians, and Guise surrendered immediately. After that Ligny joined l'Isle-Adam before Compeigne, and La Hire was forced at last to capitulate. So, all the advantage Charles gained by taking the three places, was making the Regent lose time, which however was no small matter, considering the situation of his affairs.

After the Duke of Bretagne had taken part with the English, Charles saw nothing in France able to support him, and therefore resolved to apply to foreign Princes, for assistance. He could hope for aid, only from Philip Maria Visconti Duke of Milan, and the Scots. Philip was Uncle to the Duke of Orleans, and consequently a friend of the House of Valois. His affairs being then in a good situation, he sent King Charles a thousand Men at arms, and five hundred Lances, at the time when the loss of the battle of Crevant had made him despair of keeping the field. These troops being arrived on the borders of France, Grolée governor of Lyons, and Cuzant, lately made admiral, went to receive them. As they were entering Baujolois, the governor of la Fuffiere sent the Generals word, that he was in negotiation with Toulangeon, Marshal of Burgundy, to surrender the town, and as the Marshal knew nothing of their march, it would be easy to surprize him when he came to take possession. This stratagem was executed with such secrecy, that Toulangeon entering la Fuffiere with seven hundred Men, was made prisoner with all his followers. The Duke his master exchanged him afterwards for Stuart taken at Crevant.

(1) Michael de la Pole.

(2) Hall says, there were, of Englishmen and Burgundians, about fifteen thousand Men. And among them, the Lords H. Langley, Beaumont, M. de la Roche, Sir John Russell, Sir John Pauley, Sir Thomas Fleming, Sir John, and Sir Reginald Grey, &c. vol. 2.

(3) Several French, eighteen hundred Knights and Squires, besides common Soldiers; and three thousand Scots. Of the English, were slain, Sir John Grey, Sir William Hume, Sir Gilbert Harby, and Richard de Bladock. Hall, ibid.

1423.
Battle of
Gravelle,
where the
English were
defeated.
Hall.

This little advantage was not capable of comforting King Charles for all his losses. But shortly after, he had a fresh occasion of joy, in the news, that a body of English troops were defeated in *Maine* with great loss. *John de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, knowing the French had no army in the field, departed from *Normandy* with a body of troops drawn out of several garrisons, and throwing himself into *Anjou*, burnt the Suburbs of *Angers*. After that, he retired with a booty of twelve thousand head of cattle, taken in his incursion. Whilst he was employed in this expedition, the Earl of *Aumale*, governor of *Anjou*, assembled some troops to stop his progress. The young Duke of *Alençon*, *Loheac*, *Coulouge*, the Bastard of *Alençon*, and several others, joining him with what troops they could draw together (1), he overtook the English at *Gravelle* in *Maine*. *Pole* perceiving it was impossible to drive away his booty without fighting, drew up his troops, and intrenching himself with his carriages in the front, received the French with great resolution. But whilst his Men were courageously fighting, a detachment of the enemy attacking them in the rear, it was not possible for them to defend themselves on two sides. After a very obstinate resistance, they were at length defeated with the loss of fourteen hundred Men (2), and all their booty. *Pole* himself was taken prisoner (3). Charles's flatterers would have made him believe, he was revenged for the business of *Crevant*. But there was a wide difference between these two actions, with respect to the consequence. The battle of *Gravelle* did not affect the affairs of the English, whereas that of *Crevant* had almost ruined Charles.

Charles has
aid from
Scotland.
Buchanan.

This success however served to raise his hopes, especially when it was seconded with the news of the arrival of five thousand Men, brought him from *Scotland* by the Earl of *Buchan*. This Lord had returned into his own country, to take care of the interests of his new Master, to whom he was entirely devoted. The great Men of *Scotland* were very much inclined the same way. The new Regent being a Prince of no great genius and credit, it was not difficult for the Earl his Brother to do King Charles service. By his care and solicitations he procured an aid of five thousand Men, commanded by *Archibald* Earl of *Douglafs* his father-in-law (4). *Douglafs* was a Lord of great repute in his own country, on account of his quality, riches and alliances, but still more considerable for his merit and experience in military affairs. At *Rochel* he landed his troops, which could never more seasonably arrive. Charles pleased, as may be imagined, to see these supplies, loaded the principal Scotch officers with honours, caresses, and favours. He had already conferred on the Earl of *Buchan* the highest military post, to which he could make no addition. *Douglafs* was created Duke of *Touraine*. *Stuart* was made Baron d'*Aubigni*, and afterwards Earl of *Evreux*, with licence to quarter his arms with those of *France*. To give the Scots a farther mark of his esteem and confidence, Charles chose out of them a company of guards, which in process of time was increased to a regiment. In short, he forgot nothing, that could help to gain the affection of the Scots, in order to engage them to send him greater supplies, or make a powerful diversion in *England*.

Birth of
Prince
Lewis.

Thus the affairs of Charles began to flourish, by the succours of the Scots and the Duke of *Milan*, which enabled him to withstand his enemies. His joy at the arrival of these troops, was preceded by the satisfaction of having a Son born on the 4th of *July* the same year. He gave the young Prince the name of *Lewis* with the title of Dauphin.

The Earl of
Richemont
quarrels
with the
Duke of
Bedford.

Besides these happy successes, which gave new life to King Charles, an event was preparing in his favour, that was no less proper to restore his affairs: I mean [the Earl of *Richemont*'s change, who drew after it that of the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Richemont* having consummated his marriage at *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* came with the Dauphiness his Sister, went and paid a visit to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*. During his stay, he frequently intimated to the Duke, that he was extremely desirous of commanding the English army, to which he

offered to join a considerable body of the Duke his Brother's troops. But the Regent did not think proper, to set at the head of his army a young foreign Prince, who had never commanded in chief, nor even served since the battle of *Azincourt*. The Earl of *Richemont*, who was extremely haughty and self-conceited, could not brook this refusal. He considered it as a great affront, and from that time resolved to be revenged. We shall see hereafter how he executed his resolution.

Shortly after, Charles and the Duke of *Burgundy* made a truce for *Lyonnois* and *Burgundy*. This truce was absolutely necessary for these two Provinces, as well as for the Duke of *Savoy*, by whose means it was procured. His subjects and the inhabitants of *Burgundy* and *Lyonnois* not being able to live without trading together, the war was very detrimental to these two Provinces.

Whilst France was the Seat of war, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, by the good order established in the government. In the month of *May* (5), *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, was made governor of *Ireland*, with a very extensive authority. Policy required that, during the King's minority, this Prince should be removed from the kingdom, on account of his right to the crown. Not that he had given occasion by his conduct for any suspicion. But it was not impossible, that even without his consent, he might prove the cause of commotions, which the wisdom of the council was willing to prevent. He did not depart till *February* or *March* the next year.

The Parliament, which met on the 20th of *October*, granted the King a subsidy (6) for the support of the war in *France*, where King Charles still kept his ground, notwithstanding the great disproportion between his and his rival's forces (7).

I have observed, that the Scots were extremely caressed by King Charles, and that the nation began to follow maxims entirely different, from what they had done during the Duke of *Albany*'s regency. The Duke of *Glocester* and the council of *England*, perceiving this alteration, which might prove very prejudicial to the King's affairs, thought it necessary to counterme King Charles's designs, by means of the King of *Scotland*, prisoner in *England* ever since 1408. To that end, they resolved to set him at liberty, upon such terms as should attach him to the interests of *England*. This was indeed the only way to stop the career of the Scotch Nobles, who were almost all inclined to an open rupture with the English. Whilst the council was thinking how to proceed without a too plain discovery of their design, an accident in *Scotland* saved them the trouble of making the first advances.

Murdac Stuart, Regent of *Scotland* since the death of the Duke of *Albany* his Father, had three Sons, all very ill-tempered, and who created him a great deal of trouble, because he was neither able nor steady enough to keep them within the bounds of their duty. The youngest asking one day for a certain Hawk, and being denied, wrung the Bird's neck, though he knew it to be greatly valued by his father. This action convincing the Regent, how difficult it would be for him to govern the nation committed to his care, since his own children had so little respect for him, he assembled the States, and proposed a negotiation with *England* concerning their King's liberty. A motion so agreeable to the wishes both of Nobles and People, was received with joy and applause. And, not to afford him time to repent, ambassadors were immediately named, and empowered to negotiate the affair. As the council of *England* stood affected, these ambassadors met with a very civil reception, and commissioners (8) were presently appointed to treat with them. The commissioners instructions were, that they should consent to King James's liberty, upon the following terms: That the captive Prince should pay the King the sum of forty, or at least of thirty-six thousand marks, for his expences in *England* during his captivity: That a truce should be made, during which neither of the two Kings should assist the other's enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the Scotch ambassadors, that it would be very proper to marry their King to a Princess of the Royal Fa-

(1) Six thousand Men. Hall, fol. 87.

(2) With Sir John Bassett, John Clifton, Henry Mortimer, and six hundred other Persons. Hall, ibid.

(3) Buchanan calls him his Son-in-law, l. 10.

(4) May 9. Rymer's Fed. Tom. X. p. 285.

(5) Of Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandise exported or imported, and three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, for three Years; that is, the same Duties on the Staple-ware, and Tonnage and Poundage, as before. Cotton's bridge, p. 568. In this Parliament it was enacted, That because Money was daily carried out of *England* to several parts of *France*, no Gold nor Silver should for the future, be carried out of the Realm, unless for the Charges of the War, and the Payment of the King's Soldiers, upon pain of forfeiting the Sum of Money so carried out; and the Intermeddler to have the fourth part. See Statute-Book. It was also enacted, That any Person, committed to Prison for High or Petty-Treason, shall break Prison, and escape, it shall be deemed Petty-Treason, and his Good shall be forfeited to the Lord of the Manor, where they are found. Upon this Statute, Sir John Mortimer was accused, for attempting to break out of the Tower, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, at *Tyburn*. Stow's Ann. p. 364, 365. Cotton's bridge, p. 568.

(6) And about this time a Reinforcement of ten thousand Men was raised in *England*, and sent over to *France* to the Duke of *Bedford*. Hall, fol. 87.

(7) Thomas Bishop of *Durham*, Philip Bishop of *Worcester*, Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, Ralph Nevill Earl of *Wigmoreland*, Richard Nevill Baron of the East-Marches, Sir Ralph Cromwell, and Sir Thomas Chaworth, John Wodeham Archdeacon of the East-Riding, and Robert Waterton. Rymer's Fed. Tom. X. p. 294.

1423. mily of *England*. But the council wished, that if possible this motion should come from the *Scots*.

First Conference.
September.
p. 299.

The first conference upon this affair was held at *York* in the beginning of *September*, and on the 10th of the same month the plenipotentiaries agreed, that *James* should have his liberty, and return into his kingdom. That he should pay, at several times, the sum of forty thousand Marks, and give hostages for security of payment. In the second conference, held at *London* on the 4th of *December*, every thing relating to the payment of the money, and the quality of the hostages, was settled. Then it was agreed, that the King of *Scotland* should marry *Joanna*, Sister of the Duke of (1) *Somerset*, and Niece of the Duke of *Exeter* and Bishop of *Winchester*. On account of this marriage, which was solemnized in the beginning of *February* next year, *Henry*, or the council in his name, abated ten thousand of the forty thousand Marks the King of *Scotland* was to pay (2).

A Match is agreed upon between James and Joanna of Somerset.
p. 302, 322.

1424. Truce between Scotland and England.
p. 323.

Matters being thus settled, the ambassadors of both nations signed (3) a seven years truce, to commence *May* the 1st, 1424; during which, each of the two Kings was obliged to hinder his subjects from doing any damage to the other. So, by this treaty, *James* bound himself indirectly, to recall his troops out of *France*, before *May* the 1st. Nevertheless, whether he neglected to send orders for their return, or, as is most likely, his Generals found some pretence to evade them, these troops, as will be seen presently, were still there in *August*. All these negotiations being thus ended, *James* was conducted to the borders, and set at liberty the beginning of *March*.

Mistakes of some English Historians concerning the Homage of Hollingh.
p. 387.

An *English* historian affirms, that before *James* quitted *England*, he swore fealty, and did homage to young *Henry* in *Windsor* castle, for the whole kingdom of *Scotland*. It were to be wished, that in advancing a fact of such importance, and so very improbable, this historian, who relates the very words of the oath and homage (4), had discovered the fountain from whence it was drawn. It cannot be denied, that, since *John Baliol*, all the Kings of *Scotland* had constantly refused this homage. For we must not reckon among the Kings *Edward Baliol*, who, to ascend the throne of *Scotland*, had made himself Slave of *Edward III.* But not to take things so high, it will suffice to remark, that *Robert III.*, Father of *James*, refused to do homage to *Henry IV.*; and that since, there had been no treaty of peace between the two nations, but truces only, which had settled nothing upon this head: so *James* was upon the same terms with the King his Father. If therefore he did homage to *Henry VI.*, it must have been by virtue of a new agreement. And yet, it does not appear in the instructions of the *English* commissioners, that they had any orders upon that point. The conventions of the Plenipotentiaries, appointed to treat concerning the liberty of King *James*, make no mention of this homage, though they are very large upon things of much less importance. Neither has the treaty of truce any thing like it. In short, in above thirty several acts, extant in *Rymer's Collection*, concerning the affairs negotiated in the years 1423 and 1424, between the *English* and *Scots*, there is not one syllable alluding to any such thing. Upon all these accounts, it is to be presumed, in my opinion, that what is advanced by this historian, and by several others after him, concerning the pretended homage at *Windsor*, is the pure effect of their prejudice. They verily believed, as many do still, that this homage was due from the King of *Scotland*; and accordingly they imagined, the captive King would not be suffered to depart, without being obliged to pay it. But, besides the reasons which the King of *Scotland* had to refuse this homage, the silence of the records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, seems to me a clear demonstration. The reader may look back to what has been said upon this subject, in the reign of *Edward I.*, where the rights of the *English* and *Scots* were sufficiently explained.

Beaumont taken by the French.
Monstrelet.

Whilst the King of *Scotland's* liberty was negotiating in *England*, the war was continued in *France*, with various success. In the beginning of the year, the *French*

took, by scalade, *Beaumont* upon *Oyse*, a small town in the Isle of *France*, six leagues from *Pontoise*. 1424.

On the other hand, *Perrinet Graffet*, a *Burgundian* adventurer, surprized *La Charité*, a place of great importance, which might open the *English* a passage over the *Loire*, and enable them to carry their arms beyond that river.

The taking of places by surprize was then so frequent, that it is strange, the daily instances should not render the governors more vigilant. The Duke of *Bedford* was extremely concerned to see, that as he promoted the execution of his projects, by taking the enemy's towns about *Paris*, others were surprized, which retarded his designs. His scheme was, as I observed, to clear the northern Provinces, and yet he could not accomplish it. There was no end of it, and therefore it was necessary, in order to pursue his project, to take *Beaumont* from the *French*. For that purpose, he opened the campaign in *March*, with an army of ten thousand Men. After he had recovered this place, he made himself master likewise in the Isle of *France*, of several Castles, by which the *Parisians* were very much incommoded.

Whilst he was employed in these slight expeditions, the *French* news was brought, that *Giraut*, a captain of King *Charles's* party, had surprized *Ivry*, on the frontiers of *Normandy*. He posted immediately into those parts, and, not to give the *French* time to provide for its defence, laid siege to the town, the beginning of *July*. *Giraut* ceiving he could not long defend it, in his present condition, capitulated to surrender on the 15th of *August*, if not relieved by that time. King *Charles* being soon informed of this capitulation, resolved to relieve *Ivry* at any rate, and to employ in that service the *Italian* and *Scotch* troops lately arrived. To these, he joined about eleven thousand Men, drawn out of several provinces and garrisons; foreseeing, that without a great superiority of forces, it would be very difficult to succeed in his design. All these troops together, made an army of twenty thousand Men (5), which was formed in *Maine*. *Charles* had never had one so numerous. It was the Earl of *Buchan's* place, as constable of *France*, to command in chief. But he was pleased to resign that honour to the Earl of *Douglas*, his Father-in-law, to whom the King sent for that purpose a patent, constituting him his Lieutenant-General of the whole kingdom, otherwise, the constable could not have been under his command.

All the *French* Nobles of *Charles's* party repaired to the army, in order to share in the glory, which was expected from this expedition. The *French* beginning to march, passed on the 12th of *August*, by the walls of *Verneuil*, a town in *Perch*, possessed by the *English*. The next day, they came in fight of the *English* army, which was advantageously intrenched before *Ivry*. *Douglas* had no sooner viewed the enemy's camp, but he judged it impossible to be attacked. So, altering his design on a sudden, he immediately returned, and resolved to lay siege to *Verneuil*. He reckoned, he should have time so to fortify his camp, as to expect the *English* with advantage; or, in case they would not venture to attack him, the taking of *Verneuil*, would make the King ample amends for the loss of *Ivry*. Upon his appearing before *Verneuil*, the garrison preposterously imagined, he was come from defeating the *English* before *Ivry*; taking it for granted, that with so great a superiority, he would never return thus without action. In this belief, which the *French* took care not to destroy (6), they surrendered upon the first summons, and *Douglas* garrisoned the place with *French*.

Upon news of the march of the *French*, the Earl of *Salisbury* hastened to join the Regent, with a thousand Men at arms, and two thousand Archers, who arrived at the camp on the 14th. So, the *English* army was about fifteen thousand strong.

On the 15th of *August*, *Ivry* opened her gates to the Besiegers, pursuant to the capitulation; and next day, the Regent marched to *Verneuil*, where the *French* still remained. When he came within a league of their

(1) *John Beaufort*, Son of *John Marquis of Dorset*, Son of *John of Gaunt* by *Katharine Swinford*, was not created Duke of *Somerset*, and Earl of *Kendal*, till the 21st of *Henry VI.* *Dugdale*. See Note (1) p. 537. *Joanna* is called in *Rymer's Fœd.* Sister of the Earl of *Somerset*. Tom. X. p. 323.

(2) He engaged to pay forty thousand Pounds in all; viz. ten thousand Marks within six Months after his return into *Scotland*, and ten thousand Marks every Year afterwards, till the whole was paid. And he delivered twenty eight Hostages, and the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*, as a Security. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 307, 322, 326, 327, 333.

(3) *March* 28. *Ibid.* p. 332.

(4) "I *James Stuart*, Kyng of *Scotles*, shal be true and faithfull unto you, Lorde *Henry*, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *Englande* and *France*, the noble and superiour Lorde of the Kyngdome of *Scotlande*, and unto you I make my Fidelitie for the same Kyngdome of *Scotlande*, whiche I holde and claime to holde of you; and I shal beare you my Faith and Fidelitie of Life and Lymme, and worldly Honour against al Men; and faithfully I shal knowlege, and shal do to you Service due of the Kyngdome of *Scotlande* aforesaid, to God help me and these holy Evangelistes. *Hollingh.* p. 587. *Hall*, fol. 86. *Snow's Ann.* p. 364.

(5) *P. Daniel* says, it consisted of about fourteen thousand Men, half of whom were *Scots*. Tom. VI. p. 14. According to *Hall*, there were in it fifteen thousand *French* and *Bretons*, and five thousand *Scots*, which is more probable, and more agreeable to *Rymer's* Account, Fol. 88.

(6) The *French* told the Garrison, That they had discomfited and slain all the *English* Army, and the Regent, with a small Number, had saved himself by the Swiftnes of his Horse. Whereupon the Inhabitants of *Verneuil* giving (as *Hall* expresses it) too light credit to these *French* Fables, opened their Gates to them, *Hall*, fol. 88.

1424. Camp, he sent a Herald to offer them Battle. At the same time, he bid him tell *Douglas*, he was come to take a Bit with him; to which the other replied, he should find the Cloth laid. Naturally, it was the Duke of Bedford's Business to advance, since he was in quest of his Enemies: But knowing the impetuous Humour of the French, he did not question, that being superior in number, they would come and attack him, and therefore resolved to expect them. For that purpose, he chose an advantageous Post for his Camp, and for the Field of Battle, a Ground flanked by a Hill, on which he placed two thousand Archers. He ordered his foremost Ranks to take such Piles, as the late King his Brother had so successfully used in the Battle of Azincourt, for the better resisting the Efforts of the French Horse, among whom were all the Nobles. In this posture, he waited the Enemies Resolutions, hoping they would be so imprudent as to attack him in this Post; and he was not deceived in his Expectation.

and resolves
to wait their
coming.
Hall.

Dissensions in
the French
Council of
War.

The Earl of *Douglas* having viewed himself the English Camp, called a Council of War. He represented, that the Duke of Bedford, instead of advancing, designed to fight with advantage, on a Ground chosen by himself; and therefore, it was by no means proper to attack him in that Place. That the danger the King's Affairs would be in, was of so great a Consequence, that he thought a Battle was not to be hazarded. That however, if it was judged necessary to fight, the best way would be to chuse an advantageous Post, and there expect the Enemy, in order not to engage, till after such Precautions were taken, as would in some measure warrant Success. This advice coming from a Foreigner, was thought too cautious by some of the Council. Amidst the Debates, a Party was formed against the General, headed by *Aymery*, Viscount of *Narbonne*. This Lord represented, that, if with such a Superiority, a Battle was avoided, the reputation of the King's Arms would be irreparably lost. That by this Cowardise the Troops would be so terrified, that there would be no possibility to lead them against Enemies, who were avoided, when they ought to have been attacked. That the King's Affairs were not to be restored without some great Action; and, as there could not be a fairer Opportunity to vanquish the Enemy, to neglect it, would be to betray the Interest of the King and Kingdom. Notwithstanding these Reasons, the Constable and oldest Captains were of the General's Opinion. But the contrary party were resolved to carry their Point. *Narbonne*, their Head, going out of the Council, ordered his Banner to be displayed, and began to march towards the Enemies. They who were of his Mind did the same, and were joined by all the Volunteers of the Army. *Douglas* was enraged at this Disobedience. But neither his, nor the Constable's Authority, was capable of making them return. Had he been in his own Country, he would have left these rash men to perish. But as he was in a foreign Kingdom, he was afraid of being taxed with Cowardise, or with having voluntarily suffered Part of his Troops to be lost. Besides, the number of the Disobedient continually increasing, he saw himself forced, though with extreme Indignation, to march with the rest of the Army. When they saw themselves followed, they readily left the General the Conduct of the Army, congratulating one another upon having conquered his Obstinacy. Mean while, notwithstanding the Earl of *Douglas*'s care, his Troops, fearing Victory would escape them, were in such Disorder and Confusion, that, when they came in fight of the English, they were almost quite out of Breath. However, they immediately attacked them, without regarding those that advised to rest a little before they engaged. The *Italians*, being exposed to the Arrows of the two thousand Archers on the Hill, were the first that took to Flight. The French and Scots behaved better, but had to deal with Soldiers inured to War, who were not easily frightened. In short, the Leaders feeling the attack unsuccessful, and themselves liable to everlasting Disgrace, and some even justly fearing an exemplary Punishment, chose an honorable Death before a shameful Retreat. The Earl of *Douglas*, the Earl of *Buchan*, *Narbonne*, *Ventadour*, *Graville*, *Rambouillet* being slain, and many others of the most considerable wounded, there was scarce a General left to lead the Soldiers to the Charge. So the whole Army was utterly routed, and hotly pursued. Then it was, that the

Narbonne
forces *Douglas*
leads to
march up to
the Enemy.
Hall.
P. Daniel.

Battle of
Verneuil.
Aug. 16.

Hall.

greatest Slaughter was made, as it usually happens on such Occasions. The *Italians* returning, upon a false Information that their Friends had the Advantage, met the victorious English, who slew many more of them. These foreign Troops would have been all cut in pieces, had not the Night cooled the Ardor of the Conquerors. The French and Scots lost above five thousand Men (1), who lay dead on the spot, besides a great number of Wounded and Prisoners. Among the last were the Marshal de la Fayette and Gaudemar. The young Duke of *Alençon*, who had behaved most gallantly, was found among the Dead, with some remains of Life, and by the extraordinary Care of the Regent, cured of his Wounds. But, as will be seen hereafter, the Recovery of his Liberty cost him dear. The English lost sixteen or seventeen hundred of their bravest Soldiers. The 17th of August, the next day after the Battle, the Regent invested *Verneuil*, where *Rambure* commanded. This Governor could have long defended himself, had he been well stored with Provisions. But that Want, and perhaps the Consternation of the Garrison, obliged him to surrender the third day. There was found in *Verneuil*, all the Baggage of the French, Scotch, and Italian Generals, with the Money designed for the Payment of the Army. As they entered the Town, the English met the Corps of the Viscount of *Narbonne*, going to be buried; and, because he was one of the Duke of Burgundy's Murderers, took his Body and hung it on a Gibbet (2).

Duke of
Alençon
found dead
among the
English.

Verneuil
invested by
the English.

Narbonne's
Body hung
on a Gibbet.

After the Battle of *Verneuil*, the Regent left the Command of the Army to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and posted to *Paris*, where some Mutineers had raised a Sedition, in a belief, that he could not fail of being defeated by the French. This Commotion was appeased by the Death of some of the Ring-Leaders: However it convinced the Regent, that he must not trust to the Affection of the *Parisians*, unless it was in his Power to keep them always in Awe.

A Commotion
at Paris
appeased by
the Regent's
Hall.

The Earl of *Salisbury* finding himself able to make some considerable Attempt, entered *Maine* (3), and besieged *Mans*, the Capital of the Province, and one of the strongest Cities in France. The Governor made a long and brave Defence; but at length, despairing of Relief, he capitulated. After the taking of *Mans* (4), the English General invested *La Ferté Bernard*, another Place in the same Province, which could hardly be carried by Storm, by reason of its Situation. Whilst Part of his Troops kept this Place blocked up, he over-ran the rest of the Province, and took *St. Susanne* (5), with some other Places. He finished this glorious Campaign, and the Conquest of *Maine*, with taking *La Ferté Bernard* (6), after a four Months Blockade.

Salisbury
conquers
Maine.
Hall.
Montrelet.

The Defeats of *Crevant* and *Verneuil*, had thrown King *Charles's* Troops, and all his Towns, into great Consternation. Had not Winter been so near, probably, the English would have pushed their Conquests farther. But this delay, which the Season gave King *Charles*, would have only retarded his ruin a few Months, if a favorable and unexpected Event had not given him time to breathe. I mean the Quarrel between the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Brabant*, wherein the Duke of Burgundy was also engaged. It may be truly said, that this Affair caused the English to lose the fatal Moment, which, probably, was to determine the ruin of the House of *Valois*, and render them masters of all France. This will plainly appear in the Sequel. But it will be necessary first, to give a brief Account of the Rise of this Quarrel, which proved so fatal to England.

A favorable
Event for
Charles.

William of *Bavaria*, late Earl of *Hainault*, had by *Margaret* his Countess, Daughter of *Philip le Hardy*, Duke of Burgundy, an only Daughter called *Jaquelina*, who had been married to *John* second Son of *Charles VI.* *John* being Dauphin by the Death of his elder Brother *Lewis*, died at *Compiègne* in 1416, and *Jaquelina* remained a Widow at her Father's House. The Earl her Father dying shortly after, she became Heiress of his Dominions, containing *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friesland*. So noble an Inheritance could not fail to attract the Addresses of many Princes. But the Countess her Mother being desirous to procure this rich Match for a Prince of her own Family, cast her Eyes on *John* Duke of *Brabant*, her Nephew, and persuaded her Daughter to marry him. This Marriage proved unfortunate. The new-married Couple soon quarrelled, for Reasons foreign

The Affair
of *Hainault*.

(1) By the Report of *Montjoy*, French King at Arms, and the English Heralds then present, there were slain, of French and Scots, nine thousand seven hundred, and of the English, two thousand one hundred. Two hundred Gentlemen, besides many common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners. This Battle, which happened on the 16th of August, is said by Hall to have been fought on the 27th of that Month. Hall, fol. 90.

(2) Sir *Philip Hall* was made Governor of *Verneuil*. Ibid.

(3) At the head of twelve thousand Men. He was attended by the Lord *Scaler*, Sir *John Montgomery*, Sir *John Fastolf*, &c. Hall, fol. 91.

(4) *Michael de la Pol*, Earl of *Suffolk*, was made Governor of this Town, and Sir *John Fastolf* his Deputy. Ibid.

(5) Of which Sir *John Popleham* was made Governor. Ibid.

(6) The Regent gave it to *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Heirs. Hall, fol. 22.

1424. to our History (1). Their Quarrel grew to that height, that *Jaqueline* at last caused herself to be run away with, by some *English* Knights, who carried her to *London*. I have observed in the foregoing Reign, that this voluntary Rape was not unknown to King *Henry V.* Very probably, this Monarch had then thoughts of marrying *Jaqueline* to the Duke of *Glocester*.

Upon this Princess's Arrival in *England*, she began to think of annulling her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*. To that end, she applied to the Anti-pope *Benedict XIII.* who, though deposed by the Council of *Pisa*, persisted in keeping his Title and Dignity. The pretended Pope, overjoyed at being addressed to, nulled *Jaqueline's* Marriage, with permission to marry again. But whether *Henry V.* was afraid of disobliging the Duke of *Burgundy*, Cousin-German of the Duke of *Brabant*, or thought it too irregular to use the Dispensation of a Pope, whom he himself acknowledged not for such, he hastened not the Conclusion of the projected Marriage.

Henry dying in the mean while, the Duke of *Glocester* believed, he ought not to delay any longer so advantageous a Marriage. He espoused *Jaqueline*, either in the very Year 1422, or at least in the beginning of 1423 (2); for there is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Petition dated *March 7, 1423*, and presented to him under the Title of Earl of *Hainault* (3). However this be, the Duke had no sooner consummated his Marriage, but he thought of means to take possession of his Duchess's Dominions, now in the hands of the Duke of *Brabant*. Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* foreseeing, *Jaqueline's* third Marriage might create a War between the two Princes her Husbands, had a Conference upon that subject with the Duke of *Bedford* at *Amiens*, and afterwards another at *Paris* in *December 1423*. They agreed, that the Decision of this Affair should be left to the Pope, as the proper Judge of such Cases. The Duke of *Brabant* approved of the Expedient, because he knew, there was no sufficient Reason to induce the Court of *Rome* to annul the Marriage. But the Duke of *Glocester* rejected it, protesting however, he was ready to consent to a reasonable Agreement. Mean time, he made Preparations to support his Pretensions, whilst the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother was triumphantly prosecuting the War in *France*. At last, in *October 1424*, he came to *Calais* with his Duchefs, and brought with him a Body of five thousand Men. He staid there till about the middle of *November*.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was intirely in the Duke of *Brabant's* Interest, his good Understanding with the *English* was not altered. He still hoped, the Duke of *Glocester* would desist from his Pretensions; and the more, as he saw the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, using his Endeavours to persuade him. The arrival of the *English* Troops at *Calais* alarmed him not, being yet ignorant, they were designed against the Duke of *Brabant*. Nay, very likely, they were sent from *England* to strengthen the Regent. And therefore, whilst the Duke of *Glocester* staid at *Calais*, *Philip* was at *Paris*, partaking of the Diversions and Entertainments made by the Regent, on account of his glorious Campaign. At his return to *Dijon*, he celebrated his second Nuptials with *Bona of Artois*, Widow of *Philip* Earl of *Nevers*, his Uncle. She was Sister of the Earl of *Eu*, Prisoner in *England*, and Half-Sister of the Earl of *Chermont*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

Whilst this Marriage was solemnizing at *Dijon*, the Duke of *Glocester* departed from *Calais*, and, with *Jaqueline* his Wife, marched towards *Hainault*. He passed through part of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, without suffering his Troops to commit any disorder, and came before *Bouchain*, which opened her Gates to him. Shortly after, all the other Towns of *Hainault* submitted and swore Fealty to him and the Duchess. Whereupon, the Duke of *Burgundy* ordered *Ligny* and *P'Isle-Adam*, to draw an Army together with all possible Speed, and join the Earl of *St. Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, who was making Preparations at *Brussels*, for the Assistance of the Duke his Brother. But, before we proceed in this Affair, it will be necessary to close the Account of

the Occurrences of the Year 1424, with what passed in 1424-*England*.

Sir *John Mortimer*, Uncle of *Edmund* Earl of *March*, *Cotton's* having been some time Prisoner in the *Tower*, was charged *Ab. 26. H. 6. 26. w.* with attempting to make his Escape, in order to stir up an Insurrection in *Wales*. It was pretended, his design was to proclaim the Earl of *March* his Nephew, and upon his refusal, to proclaim himself. Whether his Crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a Person, who, in case he had escaped, might have done mischief, he was condemned and executed (4).

The Earl of *March* his Nephew did not long survive *Death of the him.* He died in *Ireland*, about the latter end of the Year, without any Issue. By his death, the Title of Earl of *March*, and his Right to the Crown of *England*, from *The Duke of York's* which he was excluded by the Election of *Henry IV.* descended to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Nephew, Son of *Ann* his Sister, and the Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton* in 1415. All the *English* Historians unanimously affirm, that this Prince, then under Age, bore not yet the Title of Duke of *York*, which, according to them, was not conferred upon him till the Parliament of *Leicester* in 1426. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he is styled Duke of *York*, in an Act dated *February 26, 1425*, that is, thirteen Months before the Parliament of *Leicester*, where he was only made Knight (5).

In the beginning of the Year 1425, the Affairs of King *Charles* were in a deplorable Condition. The Battles of *1425. Sad. 1425. 26. w.* *Crevant* and *Verneul* had deprived him of his Troops, and best Generals. He had neither Money nor Credit. His Revenues being all mortgaged, he saw himself unable to bring an Army into the Field. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the two most powerful Vassals of the Crown, were in strict Union with the *English*. The King of *Sicily*, his Brother-in-law, had just lost *Maine*, and could hardly preserve the rest of his Dominions. The King of *Scotland*, antient Ally of *France*, had made a Truce with the *English*, which tied up his Hands, and hindered him from sending any Succours. Reduced to this wretched state, he saw himself as it were forced beyond the *Loire*, without hopes of keeping any longer his Towns about *Paris*. To this was added, the just Apprehension of quickly seeing the Enemy's Armies in *Berry*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*. The *English* called him only the Earl of *Ponthieu*, or in derision, the King of *Bourges*.

Certainly, if the Duke of *Glocester* had shewn the same Zeal for the King his Nephew's Interests, as he did for his own, and sent the Duke of *Bedford* the Troops and Money, he employed against the Duke of *Brabant*, it may be reasonably presumed, *France* would have been undone. Never would *Charles* have had it in his Power to wrest that Conquest out of the hands of the *English*. This was the critical Minute, which that Nation should not have neglected. They were near the End of a War, which had lasted ten Years, and probably, was going to end according to their Wish, in securing the Crown of *France* to the Kings of *England*. The Duke of *Bedford* saw it plainly. He never ceased to sollicit his Brother to improve so favourable a Juncture, and defer the Execution of his designs till a more convenient Season, when he might even employ all the Forces of *France* and *England*. But his Remonstrances were not capable of diverting the ambitious Duke, from an Enterprize which promised him the possession of four of the finest Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. He was a younger Brother, and the Succession of the Throne of *England*, supposing the King his Nephew died without Issue, was to come to his Brother before him. For this reason, he thought he should not neglect this opportunity, which would raise him above the rank of a Subject, and was not likely to offer again. But at the same time, he caused the Duke his Brother to lose that, of completing the Conquest of *France*. The great number of Garrisons requisite in the Kingdom, where was neither Town nor Castle, but what was fortified, drained the *English* Caffle. So, the Regent not receiving any Supplies, because of the unhappy diversion of *Hainault*, was no more able than King *Charles*, to bring an Army into the Field. This is the true Reason

(1) The Duke of *Brabant* was an infirm and weak Prince; whereas *Jaqueline* had a Courage and Genius uncommon to her Sex. *P. Daniel Hist. Franc. Tom. VI. p. 185.*

(2) *Hall* places it in the first Year of *Henry VI.* and says, it was not only wondered at by the common People, but also detested by the Nobility, and abhorred by the Clergy, vol. 84.

(3) *H. 6. 26. w. 26. w. 26. w.*

(4) *Rapin*, deceived by the false Name, calls Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother of the Earl of *March*. The Genealogy stands thus. *Edmund Mortimer*, third Earl of *March*, married *Isabella*, Daughter of *John*, Duke of *Gloucester*, third Son of *Edward III.* and by her had, 1. *Roger*; 2. *Edmund*, who married *Gloucester's* Daughter; 3. *John*, Prisoner in the *Tower*, and put to death; *Henry VI.* The said *Roger* dying in *Ireland*, 22. *Richard* H. 6. 11. 1. *Edmund*, first Duke of *York*, by *Henry IV.* and kept Prisoner in the *Castle of Hereford*, till he died childless in 3. *Henry VI.* 1424. 2. *Roger*, who died young. 3. *Ann*, Wife of *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, second Son of *Edmund*, Duke of *York*, with son of *Edward III.* he was beheaded at *Southampton*, 1415, leaving a Son, *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Her to his Uncle *Edmund*, Earl of *March*. Hence it is plain, Sir *John Mortimer* was not Brother, or Uncle to *Edmund* Earl of *March*, that died this Year 1424 in *Ireland*. — The Tradition, mentioned here by *Rapin*, happened the Year in *France*, during the Parliament that was then sitting. See *Cotton's* *Ab. 26. H. 6. 26. w.* p. 365.

(5) This Year, on July 16. *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Windsor*, was made High-Chancellor. *Rym. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

1425. why, during the Year 1425, the War was, at it were, discontinued in *France*, and no considerable Conquest made on either Side.

Continued in the next Page.
I left the Duke of *Glocester* Master of *Hainault*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* preparing to dispossess him. In *Burgundy's* Orders to his Generals for levying an Army, he set forth, that having agreed with the Duke of *Bedford*, upon an Expedient to end the Quarrel, it was accepted by the Duke of *Brabant*, but rejected by the Duke of *Glocester*. The *English* Prince hearing what the Duke of *Burgundy* had advanced, sent him a Letter, dated from *Mons*, January the 12th, 1424-5, taxing him with saying an Un-truth. The Duke of *Burgundy*, provoked at this Affront, returned him a very abusive Answer. He told him he lied, and offered to make good his Assertion, in single Combat, and to take the Duke of *Bedford* for Judge (1). The Duke of *Glocester* accepted the Challenge, and appointed St. *George's* day for the Combat. Several other bitter Letters passed between them, but of no consequence to what I have farther to say.

Braine taken by the Brabanders.
Whilst these two Princes were thus reviling each other, the Earl of St. *Pol*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, besieged the little Town of *Braine* in *Hainault*, defended by two hundred *English*. After a faint Resistance, the *Garrison* capitulating, the *Brabanders* violated the Articles, put the *English* to the Sword, and set Fire to the Town (2).

Truce between the Dukes of Glocester and Brabant.
Mean while, as the single Combat of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glocester* was of course to decide the principal Quarrel between *Glocester* and *Brabant*, it was thought proper to make a Truce, in expectation of the Success of the Combat. Upon signing the Truce, the Duke of *Glocester* returned into *England*. He would have carried his Dutches along with him, but the People of *Mons* were so urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their Request. He made the Magistrates, however, solemnly swear to defend her, at the Peril of their Lives, against all Persons whatever (3).

Charles takes Advantage of the Hainault Disunion.
Whilst the War of *Hainault* suspended that of *France*, *Charles* took measures to improve this happy diversion. In a great Council, held to consider the State of his Affairs, it was unanimously agreed, there was but one way to free him from his present Circumstances. And that was, to offer the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* a *Carte Blanche*, in order to win them from the *English*. The first had openly broke with the Duke of *Glocester*: The other might be gained by the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother, who had great Influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the Duke of *Bedford*. This was a Juncture which was not to be neglected. On the other hand, *Bona* of *Artois*, lately married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being *French*, and Half-Sister to the Earl of *Clermont*, the King's zealous Adherent, it was likely she would readily endeavour to gain the Duke her Spouse.

He gains the Earl of Richemont, and by his means the Duke of Bretagne.
The Resolution being then taken to try these two means, *Charles* sent to the Earl of *Richemont* private Emisaries, who told him, what a great Esteem the King had for him; intimating, that he had often said, he should deem himself invincible, if he could have him at the head of his Army. This was attacking the Prince in the most sensible Part. As he had a high Conceit of his own Merit, it was no small Pleasure to him, to see King *Charles* offer him a Post, scornfully refused him by the Duke of *Bedford*. However, knowing the Persons that talked to him thus, were sent only to sound him, he contented himself with returning a civil Answer to their Compliments, and artfully insinuating, he had a great Inclination to serve their Master.

Conditions for the Marriage of the Duke of Burgundy.
The first Step being taken, *Charles* sent to him the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* his Mother-in-law, with *Tannegui du Chatel*, and empowered them to offer him the Constable's Sword. This Post had been vacant ever since the Death of the Earl of *Buchan*, slain in the Battle of *Verneuill*. The Queen of *Sicily* and *du Chatel* found the Earl entirely disposed to the change. He was exasperated against the Duke of *Bedford*, and being extremely proud and vindictive, was pleased to think, he should have an opportunity of revenging his Contempt. So, without much Solicitation, he accepted the King's Offer, with great Demonstrations of Thankfulness, and promised to engage the Duke his Brother in his Interests. However, he required two Conditions without which, he protested, he could not accept the Honour designed him by the King, or promise any thing, with regard to the Duke his Brother. The first was, that *Louvet* and *d'Avan-gour*, the principal Authors of the *Pontevrian* Conspiracy, should be removed from Court. The second, that the

Duke of *Burgundy* should consent to the proposed Affair. His reason was, because he had engaged himself by Oath with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the Treaty of *Amiens*. He had not the same Scruple with respect to the Duke of *Bedford*, though he was no less engaged with him, than with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But *Passion* frequently causes the same thing to appear with two different Faces, according to the Persons with whom we are concerned. The Queen and *du Chatel* readily assured him, the King would comply with his Demands. Whereupon he came to *Tours*, where *Charles* took care to flatter his Vanity with all possible Civilities and Caresses. But however, the Earl stood firm to his previous Demands, and told the King plainly, he could lift in his Service, only upon the Terms proposed. The King gave him hopes of the first, without however fixing the time; and as to the second, was pleased, that he should talk with the Duke of *Burgundy*, to obtain his Consent. He took likewise this opportunity to send to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Bishops of *Puy* and *Chartres*, with orders to sound him, whether there was any way to disengage him from the King of *England*.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely incensed against the Duke of *Glocester*, he appeared not so inclinable to an Agreement, as *Charles* and his Council expected. The Murder of the Duke his Father being still fresh in his Mind, he shewed at first great Aversion to a Reconciliation. Nevertheless, pressed by the King's Envoys, who endeavoured to excuse their Master by casting the Blame on his evil Counsellors, he replied, the King therefore should dismiss those pernicious Counsellors, and then it would be time to talk of an Accommodation. This was a sufficient Intimation, that he was not inexorable, especially as he readily consented, that the Earl of *Richemont* should accept of the Constable's Sword.

Charles, it seems, had reason to congratulate himself upon his good Fortune. It was in his own Power to gain the Duke of *Bretagne*; and moreover, he had hopes that the Duke of *Burgundy* was not Proof against a reasonable Satisfaction. However, the Terms imposed upon him threw him into great Perplexity. To procure these Advantages, he must part with his two principal Ministers, Favorites and Confidants, namely, *Tannegui du Chatel*, who slew the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Louvet*, President of *Provence*, whom the Duke of *Bretagne* considered as Author of the *Pontevrian* Conspiracy. *Du Chatel* saved him part of his Trouble to make this Sacrifice. He came and cast himself at his feet, intreating him, in Reward of his Services, to give him leave to retire, since his Presence at Court could not, for the future, but be detrimental to so good a Master. It was with extreme Reluctance that the King granted his Request. It was a long time before he could come to a Resolution. Mean while, pressed by the continual Instances of a faithful Servant, who desired his leave, only to give him a fresh Proof of his Zeal, he suffered him at length to retire. There are few Favorites, who thus prefer their Master's Good to their own. *Louvet*, who was not so disinterested, did not think himself obliged to follow this Example. He would have kept himself in his Post, at the Expence of all the Advantages the King could expect from an Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*.

Mean while, the Earl of *Richemont* not doubting in the least, that the King would perform his Promise in relation to *Louvet*, came to him at *Tours*, where he received the Constable's Sword (4) the 7th of *March*, 1425. He had promised to win the Duke of *Bretagne* from *England*, but, as he still saw *Louvet* and *d'Avan-gour* about the King, was not in haste to perform his Engagement. *Charles* was willing enough to make him a Sacrifice of the last. But *Louvet* had a surer footing at Court. Besides his being beloved by the King, one of his Daughters, Wife of the Lord de *Joyeuse*, shared *Charles's* Heart with *Agnes Sorrel*, who began to appear at Court as a Favorite. Wherefore, to gain the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Charles* saw himself forced to dismiss a beloved Minister, and disoblige a Mistress. This gave him no small Concern. On the other hand, *Louvet* used his utmost Endeavours to ruin the Constable in his Master's Favour. He represented to him, with what Haughtiness he had imposed Terms on his Sovereign, as if he had been his Equal, and caused it to be considered as a Favour, that he was pleased to accept of the Constable's Sword. In short, he so managed the King, that *Charles*, who was very obstinate, resolved not to part with his Minister, let what would be the Consequence.

The Constable finding himself disappointed, resolved to ruin *Louvet*, in spite of the King himself. For that purpose, knowing this Minister was not beloved by the great

(1) He offered to take the Emperor for Judge, and if that would not do, then the Duke of *Bedford*. *Mansfield*, fol. 20.

(2) There was a small Siege of a Body of French Troops, commanded by *Namurville*; which the Duke of *Bedford* sent to relieve. *Mansfield*, P. Du-

(3) *Charles* was then at *Brabant* with her. *Hall*, fol. 93.

(4) P. Du-

1425. Men at Court, he so caballed with them, that a Plot was formed to remove him from the King. When he was secure of the Success of his Project, he withdrew from Court without taking leave, and sent the King word, he would never return so long as *Louvet* was there. *Charles* little regarding his Retreat, still persisted in the Resolution to keep his Minister. But when he saw, that by degrees the great Men retired to their Governments, on divers Pretences, that they refused to receive his Orders, and that he had but two or three Towns left, which he could call his own, he found he must resolve to part with *Louvet*, or his Kingdom. He was even apprehensive, that the Constable would deliver the Duke of *Bretagne's* Places to the *English*. So, he was forced, tho' with extreme Indignation, to dismiss his Minister, who had still Credit enough to cause his Creature *de Giac* to be received in his Room.

Upon this Removal, the Constable was willing to return to Court, but *Charles* was so provoked with him, that he could not bear to see him. However, the State of his Affairs obliged him at length to admit him again. The Constable, content with having accomplished his Designs, performed his Promise concerning the Duke his Brother, and brought him to *Saumur*, where he did Homage to the King (1).

Whilst the Earl of *Richemont* was raising disturbances in the Court of King *Charles*, *Henry* enjoyed not greater Tranquillity. I have observed, that the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, his Uncle, were not Friends. On which Side soever the Fault lay, they lost no opportunity of plaguing one another. The *Hainault* Expedition furnished the Bishop with one, which he knew how to improve. When that undertaking was proposed in Council, he strenuously opposed it, and manifestly shewed, how prejudicial it might be to the King's Affairs. But though, on this occasion, he was in the right, the Duke of *Glocester* had Interest enough to have it approved. He departed with a Mind imbibed against his Uncle, and with a resolution to be revenged, the first opportunity.

The Historians inform us not, how the Government was settled during the Duke of *Glocester's* Absence, which lasted about a Year (2). Very likely, the Bishop of *Winchester* had the greatest Share in it, and made use of this Advantage to create his Enemy many Vexations. Some even say, all his Proceedings tended to deprive him of the Protectorship, in order to obtain it for himself.

The Duke being returned into *England*, about October 1425, this Quarrel was kindled afresh, with great Animosity on both Sides. One day as he intended to go to the *Tower*, Sir *Richard Woodville* the Governor refused him Admittance, by the Bishop of *Winchester's* Advice. The Protector, who was exceeding high-spirited, flew into a great Passion with the Bishop, and proceeded even to Threats. In a word, the Quarrel was carried so far, that they both began to arm their Friends, either to attack or defend. The Duke of *Coimbra*, Prince of *Portugal*, then in *England* (3), and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An Historian says, the Bishop of *Winchester* was forced to fly for refuge to the *Tower*, and that eight or ten of his People were killed by the Duke's. But this is unlikely, since, in their mutual Complaints, laid before the ensuing Parliament, there is no mention of any such thing.

The Prelate having no Warriors on his Side, did not find his account in deciding the Quarrel by Arms. The Intrigues of the Cabinet were more within his Province. And therefore, to prevent the Mischief that might befall him, if things remained in this state, he writ to the Duke of *Bedford*, desiring him to come into *England*. He told him in his Letter, unless he made all possible Haste, the Kingdom was in danger of being exposed to fatal Com-

motions, by his Brother's violent Temper. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving the Importance of this Quarrel, set out immediately, leaving in *France*, *Richard de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, to command in his room, and arrived in *England* December the 20th.

As soon as the Duke set foot in the Kingdom, he assumed the Title of Protector, and was received as such, pursuant to the Act of Parliament in 1422. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, not only that Petitions were presented to him as Protector, but the Parliament assigned him the Salary of eight thousand Marks, annexed to that Dignity, and which the Duke of *Glocester* till then had enjoyed.

A few days after his Arrival, the Duke of *Bedford* spoke in the Council, of the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Earl of *Richemont*, representing the Prejudice it brought to the King's Affairs. Upon his Remonstrances, and by his Advice, it was unanimously resolved, to declare War against the Duke of *Bretagne*; which was accordingly done on the 15th of *January*, by Proclamation. Moreover, to find that Prince Employment in his own Country, and hinder him from assisting King *Charles*, a resolution was taken to support the *Pontevians* his Enemies, and try, by their means, to raise a Civil War in *Bretagne*. To that end, Safe-Conducts were dispatched to the two Brothers of *Pontevre*: But however, nothing came of it. Probably, their Interest was not great in that Country.

This affair being ended, the Duke of *Bedford* wholly applied himself, to procure a sincere Reconciliation between the Duke his Brother and the Bishop of *Winchester*. The way to succeed, was to favor neither. Had he taken his Brother's Part, as the Ties of Blood seemed to require, he would not have been fit to perform the Office of a Mediator. Moreover, besides the Character of Brother and Nephew, he had another to maintain, in order to answer his Duty, and the Expectations of the Publick; I mean that of Protector, chiefly concerned in the Good of the State, independently of the Duties of Nature. So, not to take upon himself alone so nice an Affair, he assembled some of the prime Nobility at *St. Albans*, in hopes of finding, with their Assistance, some expedient, to content these two Princes. But their Animosity was so great, that it was not possible to succeed by this means. After many fruitless Endeavours, the Decision of the Affair was forced to be referred to a Parliament summoned at *Leicester* for March (4). When the Parliament met, the Duke of *Glocester* exhibited six Articles against the Bishop.

I. He accused him of causing him to be denied Entrance into the *Tower*, and thereby rendering the Dignity of Protector contemptible.

II. That he would have removed the King from his Palace at *Eltham*, to *Windsoer*, with design to become Master of his Person.

III. That not being satisfied, with causing him to be denied Admittance into the *Tower*, as was said in the first Article, he had placed armed Men on *London* Bridge, and in *Southwark*, on purpose to murder him.

IV. That he had concealed a Villain in the late King's room, when Prince of *Wales*, in order to murder him.

V. That he had advised the same Prince, to seize the Crown, before the King his Father's Death.

VI. That in his Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*, it evidently appeared, that his Design was to raise a Civil War in the Kingdom.

The Bishop gave a particular Answer to these Accusations, by explaining such of his Actions as might have been ill construed, or by denying the Facts laid to his Charge (5).

The

(1) And at the same time, viz. Oct. 7. concluded a Treaty with him, where by he engaged to assist him in driving the *English* out of *France*, upon the following Conditions: 1. That *Charles* should be reconciled to the Princes of the Blood, particularly to the Duke of *Burgundy*. 2. That he sh'd not protect the Earl of *Pontevre*. 3. That the Duke of *Burgundy* should have the Administration of the Finances in the *Languedoc*, that is, the Country between the *Loire* and *Lauguedoc*. Du Tillet, p. 349, 353. P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 29.

(2) Before his going over, a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, which met on April 30, and granted the King the Subsidy of Wools, namely, sixty three Shillings and four-pence on every Sack, from strangers; and from Denizens, thirty three Shillings and four-pence; as also three Shillings of every Tun of Wine, and twelve-pence in the Pound on all sorts of Merchandize imported or exported. Cotton's Abridg. p. 278. Stow's Ann. p. 366. Hall, ibid. 92.—The young King did in great Triumph to the Parliament through the City of *London* upon a large Courser. Hall, ibid. —Several Persons having made a Trade of carrying from time to time a great number of Sheep and Fleeces out of the Realm into *Flanders*, and other Countries beyond Sea, it was enacted in this Parliament, That no Person whatsoever should be suffered to carry any Sheep out of *England*, upon pain of forfeiting the same, or the Value thereof, to the King. See *Statute*.—It being feared, that some Quarrel should arise between the Attendants of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, during the session of this Parliament, strict Orders were given, that no Person should come to it with Swords, or other warlike Weapons. This Order was literally observed, yet the Lords came with Batts, or great Clubs, from whence this Parliament was called the *Parliament of Batts*. Comp. Hist. p. 352.

(3) He was Son of *Philip*, eldest Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*. During his Stay in *England*, he was made Knight of the Garter. Hall, ibid. 92. Rymer's Fed. Tom. II. p. 428.

(4) It met there the 18th Day of *February*, and continued the Subsidy of Wools, and Tunnage and Poundage for two Years. Cotton's Abridg. p. 282, 583.

(5) To the first Article, the Bishop answered, That, after the Duke of *Glocester's* going to *Hainault*, seditious and odious Bills (or Papers) and Language, being cast and used in the City of *London*, tending of Insurrection and Rebellion against the King's Peace, and destruction as well of the several Parts of the Land, as of Strangers, who thereupon in great Numbers fled out of the Land; it was thought advisable, to assign *Richard* *Plowden*, Esq; Deputy-Governor of the *Tower*, a certain Number of defensible Persons, for the more sure keeping of the said *Tower*: And he was frequently charged by the Council, that during the time of his said Charge, he should not suffer any Man to be in the *Tower* stronger than himself, without special Charge or Commandment of the King, by the Advice of his Council. 2. To the second he answered, That he never purposed to lay Hand on the King, or remove him, without the Advice of the Council: For, the doing of it would have been no Advantage to him, but rather great Peril and Charge. 3. To the third he said, That what armed Men he employed, it was only in his own Defence: For he was often warned,

1426. The Parliament appointing Commissioners to examine the Accusation and Answers, declared, upon their Report, that the Charge was groundless, and acquitted the Bishop. Then they obliged the two Princes to be reconciled. Whereupon they shook hands, and seemingly parted good Friends, but however were no less Enemies to each other.

Expedients to satisfy both Parties. Act. Pub. X. F. 353. Mean while, as the Times and Circumstances of Affairs would not allow the Duke of Gloucester to be entirely sacrificed to his Enemy, the Protector took care to procure him also some Satisfaction. In the first Place, he took the Great Seal from the Bishop of Winchester, and gave it to the Bishop of London. Moreover, as it was impossible for the two Adversaries, to be together in the Council, without great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, he prevailed with the Bishop to go with him into France, under colour of performing a Vow. But to repair the Injury his Absence might do him, he had leave to sollicite a Cardinal's Cap, which was sent him shortly after.

Mowbray rejected, and the Duke of York, with forty others knighted, p. 356. This Affair being thus happily ended, the Protector restored John Mowbray, Earl Marshal, to the Title of Duke of Norfolk, which his Father Thomas was deprived of by Richard II. At the same time (1), he made forty Knights, among whom was the young Duke of York. Hence, doubtless, it is, that this Prince is said to receive in this Parliament the Title of Duke of York, though it is certain he bore it before, as has been observed.

The Constable Richemont takes Pontorson, and besieges Beuvron. Argenté. Whilst the Duke of Bedford was thus employed in England, the Constable Richemont levied an Army in Bretagne. He was extremely impatient to shew, that he was not unworthy of his Post. By his Care and Credit, this Army amounted to twenty thousand Men. With these numerous Forces, which the Earl of Warwick was not in condition to withstand, he entered Normandy, and took Pontorson about the end of February. Then he laid Siege to St. James de Beuvron, where the English had a strong Garrison. This Siege proved more tedious and difficult than he expected. He had been promised a Convoy of Money, which came not. De Giac, who had the Management of the Treasury, was in no haste to send it, being glad to make him receive some Mortification. He was afraid, if the Constable gained reputation at this Siege, he would grow more haughty and daring, and pretend to rule the Court as he pleased. Mean while, the Army diminished every day by Desertions. These Disappointments exceedingly troubled the Constable, in a dread, that his Reputation would be blasted in his first notable Action. In short, he received false Intelligence, that the English were assembling all their Forces to raise the Siege. His fear of a Disgrace made him resolve to storm the Town, though the Breach was not yet sufficiently wide or prepared. Mean while, to secure himself against the dreaded Relief, he detached two thousand Men, with Orders to post themselves on the Road to Avranches, and oppose the first Efforts of the Enemies, if they came during the Assault. Then he caused the Breach to be vigorously attacked. But the Garrison, which was very numerous, made so brave a Resistance, as gave the Besiegers but small hopes of being masters of it. Whilst both Sides were fighting with equal Ardor, the Detachment hearing no News of the Enemies, and imagining it dishonourable to expect them in vain, whilst the rest were engaged, hastily returned to assist at the Assault. Their coming threw the Besiegers into a Panick. They fancied, the Detachment being repulsed by the Enemies, were flying for Refuge to the Camp, and in this belief relinquished the Assault. The Constable did all he could to undeceive them, but the Disorder was already so great, that it was not possible to make them renew the Fight. Mean time, the Besieged seeing the Confusion that prevailed in the Camp, sallied out, and suddenly falling upon Troops already terrified, easily put them to Flight. The Constable himself was forced to follow them, and leave his Baggage and Artillery in the Power of his Enemies, extremely concerned to see all his Projects confounded, by this unfortunate Accident. However, as he had not lost many Men, he found himself still able, after drawing his Army together, to march into Anjou, and take la Flèche and Galerand belonging to the English.

He receives a great Mortification. Hall. The taking of these two Places was not however capable of comforting him for his misfortune before St. James's. He openly accused de Giac of being the Cause; and regarded the King's Repentment, resolved to be revenged. The moment he returned to Court, after the Campaign, which the Desertion of his Troops obliged him to end sooner than he would, he caused de Giac to be seized in his Bed, and by a Sentence, as violent as irregular and rash, ordered him to be strangled, and then thrown into the Loire. After that, he boldly declared, he would serve in the same manner, any Person whatever, that should endeavour to ingross the King's Favour. The Camus of Beaulieu not being terrified with these Threats, and accepting de Giac's Place, which was offered him, was, by the Constable's means, assassinated in the King's own Palace, and even before his Eyes. His Pride could not bear any Person at Court, that was not his Creature. By the way, this monstrous Arrogance ill agrees with the excessive Commendations bestowed on this Prince.

He causes de Giac to be strangled. P. Daniel. Charles was so provoked at these haughty Proceedings, that he would not see the Constable. Nay, he could not hear him mentioned without horror. But his Displeasure was little regarded by a Man, who had for him both the Nobles and People. In the King's Extremity, every one thought he did him a Favour to serve him. Upon the least discontent, he was threatened to be left, for the English, who received with open Arms those that submitted to their King. Besides, the Earl of Warwick had now invested Montargis about a Month, and the King had no other way to relieve that Place, but by the help of the Bretons. So, notwithstanding the Constable's outrageous Affronts, he gave leave, at the Instance of La Trimouille, that this proud Prince should pay his Respects to him. But his Affairs were not more advanced by it.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was in England, the Earl of Warwick, who commanded in France, did all that lay in his power, to keep the Affairs of the English in a good state. He found himself at first too weak to oppose the Constable's entrance into Normandy; but upon News that the Bretons had disbanded themselves, because there was no Money to pay them, he thought himself able to make some Attempt. With a Body of five thousand Men he entered Maine, and retook several Castles, which the Bretons had seized. The surprizing of Places was then so frequent, that sometimes the same Town changed master twice or thrice in one Year. But there would be no end, if the Circumstances of every Particular were related. The Earl of Warwick seeing, the Constable's Defeat before St. James's, the Desertion of his Troops, and the Broils in Charles's Court, had long disabled the French from having an Army in the Field, formed a Design to become master of Montargis. This Place was necessary for the Execution of the Regent's Project, to carry the War beyond the Loire. Indeed, the English General could not expect, with his few Troops, to take Montargis, by a Siege in form; but was in hopes, the Place, being closely blocked up, would be forced to surrender, before it could be relieved. The River Loire parting into three Branches near this Town, there was a necessity to separate the Troops into three different Quarters, the principal of which the Earl of Warwick commanded. The second was intrusted with the Earl of Suffolk, and the third with John de la Pole his Brother. These Quarters were joined by Bridges of Communication, and in this Posture the English patiently waited, till Hunger should constrain the Besieged to capitulate.

The Blockade had now lasted three Months, and King Charles had taken no care about relieving the Place. At length, the Besieged acquainting him that they could no longer resist, without Assistance, he cast his Eyes on the Constable for that Undertaking. But Richemont, who had now no Army, refused the Commission, being unwilling with new-levied Troops to expose himself to a Disgrace, like that of St. James. Upon his Refusal, the Management of this Expedition was committed to the Bastard of Orleans (2), who was returned from Avignon, where he had retired with Louvet his Father-in-law. This young Lord, then but twenty two Years of Age, had already made eight Campaigns, and on several occasions given signal Proofs of his Conduct and Courage. He must needs have been young, to take such an Enterprize upon him, with only sixteen hundred Men, against the Earl of Warwick (3), whose Reputation was equal to that of the greatest Generals.

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that my Lord of Gloucester intended him bodily harm. 4. To the fourth he returns but an indifferent Answer, saying only in general, That he was ever true to all that were his Sovereign Lords, and never purposed Treason or Untruth against any of them, especially King Henry V: By whom, he adds, he was set in a place of high great Trust as that of Chancellor. 5. To the fifth he says, That it is a mere Calumny. 6. As to the words in his Letter, when was ——— By my trouble if you tarry, we shall put this Land in Adventure, with a Field, such a Brother you have here: He answers, That he did not tarry in an, he would assemble People against the King's Place; but his meaning was, that there were like to be Insurrections in London, upon occasion of such Orders made by the Mayor and Aldermen, against the excessive Wages of Masons, Carpenters, and other Workmen; and the Duke of Gloucester did not use much Diligence, as he ought to have done, in apprehending those Troubles. Therefore the Duke of Bedford's coming was the more necessary. See full account of this whole Matter in Hall's Chron. fol. 94—99.

(1) On May 4. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 3. 7.

(2) He was Son of Lewis of France, Duke of Orleans, assassinated by Order of the Duke of Burgundy, as is related above, p. 499. See P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 35.

(3) Who had three thousand Men with him. Montfret, fol. 32. P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 34. Hall says, six thousand. fol. 102.

1426.

The Besieged having notice that Succours were preparing, let go their Sloices to favour them. The *Loir* was so swollen thereby, that the Bridges of Communication between the *English* Quarters were over-flowed. The Bastard of *Orleans* arriving in the mean time, thought, as there could not be a more favorable opportunity, he ought immediately to attack the Enemies, before the Waters were fallen. He gave half his Troops to *La Hire* to attack *Pole's* Quarter, and with the other half fell upon the Earl of *Suffolk*. It was a strange sort of Battle, the Soldiers on both sides standing up to their Middle in Water. At last, after a long Resistance, the two Quarters attacked, were forced, with the loss of fifteen hundred Men on the side of the *English*; many of which were drowned in endeavouring to pass into the other Quarter, by reason the Bridges were under Water. *Warwick* finding it impossible to assist his Men, chose to retreat in good order. This Action acquired the Bastard of *Orleans* a great Reputation, being from that time considered as a Person, that would one day become a famous General.

Montrelet.

Continuation
of the Affairs
of Hainault.
Montrelet.
Hall.

Since the end of the last Year, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glocester* had been preparing for their single Combat, which probably, as it was not fought at the time appointed, namely, *St. George's Day*, was deferred by Consent. Though these two Princes seemed to have nothing more to manage, and the Decision of the Affairs of *Hainault* was likely to depend on the Success of their Combat, the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himself obliged to confound his personal Quarrel with the Duke of *Brabant's* Affairs, or to neglect the Advantages procured him by the Truce, to put that Prince in possession of his Wife's Dominions. He no sooner saw the Duke of *Glocester* out of *Hainault*, but he began by secret Emisaries, to cabal among the chief Men of the Country, for the delivery of *Jaquelina*, who continued at *Mons*. The Countess her Mother, ever a Friend to the House of *Burgundy*, came into the Plot, though she took care to conceal it from her Daughter. When matters were ripe, the Towns of *Hainault* suddenly declared for the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *St. Pol* his Brother appeared before *Mons* with an Army. Then the Magistrates of the City, pretending a fright, and intimating, they could not alone bear the brunt of the War, entered into Treaty with him. As every thing had been privately settled, they promised to deliver *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, till the Pope should decide the Difference in question. All this was transacted unknown to *Jaquelina*, who heard nothing of the matter till it was too late to help it. She writ to the Duke of *Glocester*, complaining of being basely betrayed, but her Complaints were in vain. On the 13th of *June* 1426, she was forced to go from *Mons*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, who guarded her as far as *Gant*, where she was to reside. After that, all *Hainault* unanimously received the Duke of *Brabant* for Sovereign.

Montrelet.

Jaquelina
given up to
the Duke of
Burgundy.
Hall.

Montrelet.

Jaquelina was enraged to see herself a Prisoner. But perceiving, Resistance would but render her Condition more grievous, she feigned to be pleased, that her Affair was left to the Pope's Determination. This Dissimulation procured her a mild and honorable Treatment, which she knew how to improve. In *September*, she found means to escape in Man's Clothes, and retire into *Holland*. She was well received by some of her Subjects, whilst others chose rather to adhere to the Duke of *Burgundy*; knowing how difficult it would be to support her against so potent an Enemy. The Duke, vexed that his Prey had escaped him, carried the War into *Holland*, to hinder her from fortifying herself in that Country. This War, which is foreign to our History, lasted the Year 1427, and part of 1428. I shall hereafter relate the Success, and in the mean time must return to what passed in *France*.

See make, Le
Ficaps, and
gets to
Holland.
Montrelet.
Hall.

1427.

Warwick and
his Parties
in France.

The Earl of *Warwick's* loss before *Montargis*, and the Necessity of garrisoning so many Towns, prevented his keeping the Field. Besides, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered him to spare his Troops against an important Expedition, which it was not yet proper to discover. All this while, *Charles* was in no better Condition. The Advantage lately gained by his Troops, had not augmented his Forces. Thus both Sides were forced to remain unactive, or at least to content themselves with Attempts to surprize some Places.

The Duke of
Bedford
sent him a
Body of
Troops.
P. Daniel.

In the beginning of this Year, the Earl of *Foix*, who had at length taken part with King *Charles*, sent him a Body of Troops, under the Command of Count *d'Orval*, of the House of *Albret*. This General approaching *Mans*, where the Earl of *Suffolk* was with a few Soldiers, held Intelligence with some of the Burghers, who promised to deliver the City. Accordingly, he was admitted, and the Earl of *Suffolk* forced to retire into the Castle, where

he had but three days Provisions. In this Extremity, he sent to *Talbot*, who was at *Alençon*, desiring him to endeavour to relieve him. *Talbot* lost not a moment. By the next Night, he was with some Troops at the foot of the Castle, towards the Country, and entered at a Postern-Gate, whilst *d'Orval* thought himself safe in the City, not imagining the Besieged could be so soon relieved. At break of day, *Suffolk* and *Talbot* sallied out of the Castle, and taking the *French* unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the City. Thus the Place was almost as soon recovered as lost, by the extraordinary Diligence of *Talbot*, one of the bravest and most experienced Leaders of the Age.

1427.

After this Expedition, the two Generals marched to *La- val*, a little Town in *Maine*, and carried it with ease. Then joining the Earl of *Warwick*, who was marching to those Parts, they besieged *Pontorson*, taken by the Constable *Richemont* last Year. As this Siege was very long, I shall leave the Generals there, in order to relate what passed elsewhere.

Suffolk and
Talbot take
Laval.

The Duke of *Bedford* was arrived from *England* the beginning of this Year (1), according to the *English* Writers, or some Months sooner, if we believe the *French*, with a Re-inforcement that rendered him formidable. The Bishop of *Winchester* came with him, who had received at *Calais*, a Cardinal's Cap, given with great Ceremony. It appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he was generally stiled the Cardinal of *England*, doubtless, because he was of the Royal Family. And yet the *English* Authors seem to have been ignorant of this Circumstance, since they always call him only the Cardinal of *Winchester*. I shall give him the same Title for the future, in conformity to other Historians, who mention him only by that Name. Shortly after, the Bishop was made the Pope's Legate in *England*, and thereby had opportunity to increase his Riches and Credit, to the great Prejudice of the Duke of *Glocester* his Enemy.

The Duke of
Bedford
returns to
France.
The Bishop of
Winchester
made a Car-
dinal.
Hall.
Stow.
A. C. Pub.
X. p. 413.
414, 417.
423, 432.
G.

The Siege of *Pontorson* still continued, without King *Charles's* being able to relieve that Town. He had then much more important Affairs upon his hands, and which more nearly concerned him. The Constable *Richemont* was retired to *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, extremely displeased at the King's Coldness. Since his receiving the Constable's Sword, he had done nothing to answer the great Expectations he had raised of his Valour and Abilities. On the contrary, instead of advancing the King's Affairs, he had rendered the Royal Authority so contemptible, by his Pride and Oppressions, and violent Doings, that *Charles* was, as I may say, less a King than before. The Princes and great Men at Court, after his Example, took upon them to give Law to their Sovereign. Since the Death of *Beaulieu*, *la Trimouille* was the sole Favorite, and had such an Ascendant over the King, that nothing was done but by his Direction. The Constable thought at first, to have been a great gainer by this Change, because the new Favorite had always professed a Friendship for him, but was quickly convinced of the contrary. His Behaviour to the former Ministers, making this apprehensive of the same Treatment, he used his utmost Endeavours to inflame the King's Aversion for him. The whole Court quickly perceived it with extreme Concern. The great Men could expect no Preferments, unless the King's Affairs were in a good situation, and were persuaded, the Constable alone was capable of restoring them. For this and several other Reasons, *la Trimouille* grew exceeding odious. This Hatred was carried so far, that at last a Confederacy was formed against him, of which the Earls of *Clermont* and *De la Marche* his Cousin, were the Heads. They began with an Attempt upon his Life, after *Richemont's* Example. Having notice that the King was gone to *Loches*, and had left *la Trimouille* at *Bourges*, they assembled some Troops, and marched thither to seize the Favorite. But they found he was already gone after the King. However, not to lose their labour entirely, they resolved to carry away *La Borde* and *De Prie*, two of his Creatures, who were retired into the great Tower. *De Prie* was killed in defending himself, but *La Borde* held out, till the King himself came to rescue him. This Affair turned to a Civil War, which, after lasting some Months, was at length ended by the Duke of *Alençon's* Mediation. This young Prince, who was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Verneuil*, was lately released by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Intercession, who, though an Enemy of King *Charles*, sought all occasions to gain the Friendship of the *French* Princes. But it cost the Duke of *Alençon* two hundred thousand Crowns, a very considerable Sum at all times, but especially at the time we are speaking of. To procure this Money, he was forced to part with his Jewels, and sell the Duke of *Bretagne* the Town of *Fougeres*, at a very low rate. In return for his late Ser-

Richemont
withdraws
from Court.
P. Daniel.
Hall.

La Tri-
mouille the
only Favorite.

A League
against him.
P. Daniel.

A Civil
War upon
his account,
ended by the
Duke of
Alençon.

(1) He departed from *England* about *February* 2, and landed at *Calais* *February* 5. *Stow's Ann.* fol. 363. *Compl. Hist.* p. 555.

1427. vice to the King, *Charles* made him a Present of fourscore thousand Crowns, tho' himself was in great want. Mean while, *la Trimouille* still kept his Post at Court.

The Duke of Bedford against the Duke of Burgundy.
Du Tillet.
Argenteu.

Whilst *Charles* was employed in quelling his Domestic Enemies, the Duke of *Bedford* was intent upon executing a Design, formed before he left *England*; and that was, to reduce the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Obedience of King *Henry*. Ever since *June*, he had caused *Pontorson* to be besieged (1), a strong Town on the Borders of *Bretagne*, which might have been a great Obstacle to his Entrance into that Dukedom, had it continued in the hands of the *French*. This Siege, which had been very long, being ended (2), the Duke of *Bedford* repaired to the Army, with a Reinforcement, which increased it to twenty thousand Men. With this powerful Body, to which he knew his Enemies had nothing like it to oppose, he prepared to enter *Bretagne*, threatening the Country with utter Destruction. Whether the Duke of *Bretagne* was surprized, or was glad to have an excuse to abandon King *Charles*, whom he had joined only out of condescension to the Constable his Brother, he wisely prevented the impending Danger. He was very sensible, *Charles* was not able to protect him. Besides, he was displeased with him on the Constable's account. For these Reasons, he sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bedford*, to sue for Peace upon what Terms he pleased.

H. oblige him to abandon King Charles.
Du Tillet.
Hall.

Though it was in the Regent's Power to be revenged of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he thought it his duty, to prefer the Interests of the King his Nephew, to his own satisfaction. Indeed, it was much more advantageous for the King, to make of the Duke of *Bretagne* a willing Friend; by treating him civilly, than a private Enemy, by using him rigorously. So, he required nothing more of him, than to swear to the Peace of *Troye*, and cause all his States to do the same, pursuant to his Engagements with *Henry V* (3); and to promise with an Oath to do Homage to young *Henry* when required. This Moderation made great Impression on the Duke of *Bretagne*, who, ever after, proved a Friend to the *English*, even in the decline of their Affairs. On the other hand, though the Regent perceived, he could expect no great Assistance from the Duke of *Bretagne*, by reason of the Influence the Constable his Brother had over him, yet he thought the gaining that Prince from *Charles's* Party was no small Advantage to the *English*.

Continuation and end of the affair of Hainault.
Monsirelet.

I left the Duke of *Burgundy* at War with *Jaquelina* in *Holland*, under the specious Pretence of supporting the Honour and Interest of the Duke of *Brabant* his Cousin; though, as the Sequel will discover, in reality, it was only for his own private Views. This War, as may be imagined, did not turn much to *Jaquelina's* Advantage. There was too great a Disproportion between the two Parties. The Duke of *Glocester* was not able of himself to give his Duchefs the Assistance she wanted. To that end, he must have employed the Publick Revenues of *England*, or procured an extraordinary Subsidy of the Parliament. But that was not easily to be obtained, at a time, when the War in *France* was expensive to the Nation. However, in the Parliament held this Year, the Duke had Interest enough to procure a small Aid. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Parliament petitioned the King, to assign the Duke of *Glocester*, the Sum of five thousand Marks out of the Subsidy granted him, to enable him to assist his Duchefs. To this Sum, the King advanced five thousand Marks, upon the Salary annexed to the Protectorship. With this Aid the Duke sent a Reinforcement of some *English* Troops, under the Command of *Silvotier* (4). But these Troops being defeated by the Duke of *Burgundy*, presently after their landing, *Jaquelina* found herself reduced to a very sad Condition. In short, by the Duke of *Bedford's* Intercession, she obtained a Truce, during which the Duke of *Glocester* was brought to consent, that his Affair with the Duke of *Brabant* should be decided by the Pope. It must be observed, that the Duke of *Bedford* had now annulled the single Combat, between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glocester*. Some time after, the Pope published his Sentence, annulling *Jaquelina's* Marriage with the Duke

of *Glocester*, and confirming her first Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* (5), who survived but a few Months this Determination, and was succeeded by the Earl of *St. Pol* his Brother. By the death of the Duke her Husband, *Jaquelina* ought to have had peaceable possession of her Dominions. But the Duke of *Burgundy* discovered on this occasion, that the Duke of *Brabant's* Interest was not the Motive of his Proceedings. He so ordered it, that *Jaquelina's* Subjects refused to receive her, and made himself Mediator between them. The Lion in the Fable was literally practised in this Agreement. The Duke obliged *Jaquelina* to commit to him the Government of his Dominions, appoint him her Heir, and promise never to marry again (6).

1427.

The Duke of Burgundy Jaquelina's Interest.
Monsirelet.

All the Historians generally fix these Occurrences to the Year 1427. And yet it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that this Affair was not ended May the 18th, 1428. At least the Duke of *Glocester* and *Jaquelina* had not yet submitted to the Pope's Sentence; for there, *Henry VI*, speaking of this Princess, calls her *Jaquette*, Duchefs of *Glocester* and *Holland*, his well-beloved Aunt. Probably, the Duke of *Brabant's* Death had put them in hopes, that their Marriage might be confirmed, or a Dispensation obtained to marry again. Accordingly, it was on this account doubtless, that the Duke of *Burgundy* exacted from *Jaquelina* the forementioned Conditions, in order to deprive the Duke of *Glocester*, of all hopes of ever setting foot again in the *Low-Countries*. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Glocester*, pressed by his Brother and the Council, who saw how prejudicial to the King's Affairs his Obstinacy was, desisted from his Pretensions. He relinquished *Jaquelina*, and shortly after married *Eleanor Cobham* (7), whom he had long kept as his Mistress. Thus ended the Quarrel, which had proved so fatal to *England* (8).

A. A. Pub. N. p. 398.

Duke of Glocester quits Jaquelina, and marries Eleanor Cobham.
Monsirelet.
Hall.

Though the *English* were no longer concerned in *Jaquelina's* Affairs, it will not however be improper briefly to relate the Success; and withal, shew the Growth of the House of *Burgundy's* Greatness. This Princess, notwithstanding her involuntary Engagement, married afterwards *Borssel*, a Zealander, which obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to make War upon them. *Borssel* being made Prisoner, *Jaquelina* was forced, in order to free him, to agree, that her Children, by her late Marriage, should be incapable of inheriting her Dominions, and to deliver all her Towns to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She still lived ten Years, and after her Death, the Duke of *Burgundy* was acknowledged for Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Friseland*. Before *Jaquelina's* Death, he had taken possession of the Earldoms of *Zutphen* and *Namur*, of which he had purchased the Reversion, after the Decease of the Earl of *Namur*, which happened in 1428. In 1430, he inherited the Duchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limbourg*, and the Marquisate of *Anvers*, by the Death of *Philip* Duke of *Brabant* his Cousin, who left no Issue. All these Dominions, joined to *Flanders*, *Artois*, the two *Burgundies*, and the Towns on the *Somme* held of the King of *England*, put him upon a level with the crowned Heads. Let us return now to the War in *France*.

Continuation of Jaquelina's Affairs.
Monsirelet.

The *English* had still a great Superiority over King *Charles*. Though the Business of *Hainault* had something disorder'd their Affairs, they were, however, notwithstanding that Diversion, in so flourishing a Condition, as seemed to promise certain Success. The Duke of *Bretagne* no longer gave them any Uneasiness. The Earl of *Richemont* his Brother was at variance with King *Charles*, without any probability of a Reconciliation. The Duke of *Burgundy*, freed from the *Holland* War, could for the future powerfully assist his Allies. In fine, besides their numberless Garrisons in the Kingdom, the Regent had on foot a Body of twenty thousand Men, and moreover expected a strong Reinforcement with the Earl of *Salisbury* from *England*.

1428.

Superiority of the English in France.

On the other hand, King *Charles* was without Allies, and without Refuge. It is true, in order to obtain Succours from *Scotland*, he was negotiating a Marriage between the Dauphin his Son, and *Margaret* Daughter of King *James*, though they were yet both in their Infancy.

The ill State of King Charles.
Buchanan.

(1) During this Siege, the Lord *Scalers*, with Sir *J. br Horpeley*, Sir *William Brearton*, and three thousand Men at Arms, went to get a Relief of Provisions and Ammunition; but in their Return towards *Pontorson*, they were encountered by a Body of six thousand of the Enemies, whom they bravely engaged, and defeated, above eleven hundred of the *French* being slain and taken. Hall, fol. 101.

(2) The Lord *Ross*, and Sir *John Talbot*, were made Generals of the Town. Ibid.

(3) The Duke of *Bretagne* embraced and swore to these Conditions, on the 3rd of September. Du Tillet, p. 363.

(4) So the Commander of those Troops is called by *Monsirelet*, viz. *Le seigneur de silvotier*. Vol. II. fol. 27. b. But *Stow* says, it was the Lord *Fitzwater*, p. 367. This Reinforcement consisted of about five hundred Men. Monsirelet, ibid. fol. 93.

(5) He also agreed, That if the Duke of *Brabant* died, it should not be lawful for the Duke of *Glocester* to marry her. Monsirelet, fol. 31. Hall, fol. 93.

(6) Without his Consent. Monsirelet, fol. 36.

(7) Daughter to *Reinold*, Lord *Cobham* of *Salisbury*. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 109. Hall, fol. 93.

(8) In the mean while a Parliament being summoned in *England*, met at *Windsor*, October 13. which granted the King Tunnage and Poundage for two Years; and of every Parish within the Realm, six shillings and Eight-pence for every twenty Nokes in value, and six shillings and Eight-pence for every Nook that had immediately by a Knight's Fee, or according to the Rate. *Canon's History*, p. 387, 388. In this Parliament it was enacted, That Knights of the Shire, who, in case of an usual Election, were, by the 11th of *Henry IV*, to lose their Wages; and Sheriffs, who, making a false Return, were, by the same Statute, to pay a hundred Pounds; should be admitted to have their Answer and Trial to Inquests and Offices before any Justices of Assize. Statute Book.

1428. But this was a distant Prospect. Besides, the King of Scotland had no way shewn an Inclination to break the Truce with the English. So, Charles seeing no appearance of supporting himself, seemed to have entirely given over all care of preventing the Designs of his Enemies. He lived in a surprizing Indolence, without losing any of his usual Diversions.

Assembly of the Estates of France at Paris. Montfret, fol. 37.
The Consideration of the Posture of the Affairs of the two Nations, made the Duke of Bedford conclude, the War would soon end, and two or three Campaigns infallibly drive Charles out of the Kingdom. He resolved therefore to exert his utmost, during so favorable an Opportunity. But as he had many Troops, it was necessary first to provide for their Subsistence. For that purpose, he held an Assembly of the chief Men at Paris, to whom he proposed revoking all the Grants made to the Church for forty Years past. But he met with so strong opposition from the Clergy, that, not to alienate the Affection of so powerful a Body, he was obliged to desist, and to make use of other Means for the Maintenance of his Army.

The Earl of Warwick made Governor to the King. Act. Pub. X. p. 399.
Before he began the Execution of his Projects, he lost the Assistance of the brave Earl of Warwick, who returned into England, being appointed Governor to the King. He was designed for this Place, immediately after the Death of the Duke of Exeter in 1426. But as he was necessary in France, his Patent was not drawn up till the 1st of June this Year. Probably, it was thought proper to stay till the Earl of Salisbury, who was to lead a strong Reinforcement to the Duke of Bedford, was ready to depart.

The Earl of Salisbury arrives with five thousand Men. Ibid. p. 392. Montfret. The Regent's Design.
The Earl of Salisbury arrived in France in July, with five thousand Men (1), raised at his own Charge, pursuant to an Agreement with the Council (2). Upon his Arrival at Paris, the Regent gave him the Command of an Army of sixteen thousand Men. This was more than sufficient to be master of the Field, King Charles not being able to set on foot any such Body of Troops. The Regent's Design was, to drive Charles beyond the Loire, knowing, that when once that Prince was at a distance, all his Towns, on this side the River, would surrender of Course for want of Succours. To this end, it was necessary to take from him the Places, which preserved the Communication with the Northern Provinces, in order to deprive him of all hopes of returning.

Salisbury marches towards the Loire. Montfret.
It was with this view, that the Earl of Salisbury, assisted by the Earl of Suffolk, Talbot, Fastolf, and several other famous Leaders, marched towards the Loire, the beginning of August. Orleans was the most important Place in those Parts. It belonged to the Duke of Orleans, who was Prisoner in England, ever since the Battle of Azincourt. The pretended Treaty, as I observed, between Henry V. and the Duke of Orleans, concerning the Neutrality of this City, is a mere Chimera. It was invented to render the Siege of Orleans odious, and make it believed, that Heaven interposed in favour of France, to punish the pretended perfidiousness of the English. Be this as it will, the Earl of Salisbury holding a great Council of War, it was resolved to besiege Orleans. It appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that this Resolution was taken without the Duke of Bedford's Knowledge, and contrary to his Opinion. To succeed in this Undertaking, the neighbouring Places, which might annoy the Besiegers, were first to be secured. Accordingly, the Months of August and September were spent in that Work. During that Space, the English took Jenville, Mehun, Baugence, Gergeau, Glery, Sully, and some other small Towns, and at last appeared before Orleans the 12th of October.

The Siege of Orleans resisted. Act. Pub. X. p. 408.
The French easily perceived, by all the English General's Proceedings, that he intended to besiege Orleans. Accordingly, whilst he was elsewhere employed, they had sent thither both Men and Ammunition (3). Gaucour, a Creature of the Duke of Orleans, commanded there, though he was still a Prisoner of the English, and released upon his Parole, only to have means to provide his Ransom. He had even been recalled ever since June. The Bastard of Orleans, d'Orval, La Hire, Xaintrailles, Tbouars, Bouffac, Chabannes, La Fayette, Graville, and several other Officers of note, had thrown themselves into the City, to acquire Reputation in the Service of their Sovereign.

The French Army res. Act. Pub. X. p. 409. Montfret.
The English General perceived, by all the English General's Proceedings, that he intended to besiege Orleans. Accordingly, whilst he was elsewhere employed, they had sent thither both Men and Ammunition (3). Gaucour, a Creature of the Duke of Orleans, commanded there, though he was still a Prisoner of the English, and released upon his Parole, only to have means to provide his Ransom. He had even been recalled ever since June. The Bastard of Orleans, d'Orval, La Hire, Xaintrailles, Tbouars, Bouffac, Chabannes, La Fayette, Graville, and several other Officers of note, had thrown themselves into the City, to acquire Reputation in the Service of their Sovereign.

The English Army not being sufficiently numerous to invest the City on all Sides, the Besiegers received Succours in the very beginning of the Siege. But the Earl of Salisbury, who considered this Enterprize as a decisive Action for the King his Master, and his own Reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the Besieged of that Advantage. He run up round the City sixty Forts or Redoubts, called then *Bastilles*. How great soever this Work might be, nothing could divert him from it, since the Success of the Siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have pushed his Attacks, if the Enemies could continually introduce fresh Supplies. Besides, the Season, now far advanced, suggested to him, that he would be forced to pass the Winter in the Camp, and, during that time, be liable to many Insults.

Among the sixty Forts, there were six much stronger than the rest, upon the six principal Avenues of the City. The French could before with ease introduce Convoys into the Place, and had made frequent use of that Advantage. But after these Forts were built, it was with extreme difficulty, that they could, now and then, give some Assistance to the Besieged. Upon these six great Redoubts the General erected Batteries, which thundered against the Walls. But as the Artillery was not then in its present Perfection, it must not be imagined, the Canons did the same Execution as now.

It would be tedious to relate all the Particulars of this Siege, the Attacks, Sallies, and daily Skirmishes, either to introduce or repulse Convoys. It may easily be judged, that one of the strongest Places of France, defended by a numerous Garrison, under the Conduct of the bravest and most experienced General Officers then in France; and assaulted by Englishmen, deemed the most undaunted Warriors in the World, furnished the Besiegers and Besieged with frequent Occasions to exercise their Valour.

Charles readily perceived, the taking of Orleans would deprive him of the Advantage, of continuing the War in the northern Provinces of the Kingdom: But, as he had neither Men nor Money, could not raise the Siege. However, he approached it, and came to Chinon, where he convened the chief Men, and obtained an Aid of Money. Whilst he was in this Place, the Constable Richemont sent him an offer of his Service. But in whatever Distress he might be, and however great his Want was of a speedy Assistance, he could not resolve to forgive him.

Mean while, the Siege was vigorously prosecuted. The Bulwark of the *Tournelles* (4) being much shaken by the Besiegers Cannon, and the Besieged thinking it proper to set it on Fire, the English extinguished the Flames, and lodged themselves in that Post. At the same time they became masters of the Tower on the Bridge, from whence the whole City could be viewed. The taking of this Tower proved fatal to the Earl of Salisbury. One day, as he was looking out of a Window, a Cannon-shot from the City hit him, as it passed, on the Right-Side of his Head, carried away his Cheek, and struck out one of his Eyes. He died a few days after at Mehun, where he had been removed (5). This Loss, though very great to the English, interrupted not the Siege. The Earl of Suffolk taking the Command of the Army, continued the Attacks as vigorously as before, assisted by Talbot, one of the bravest and most experienced Captains of his Age.

There was nothing every day but continual Assaults, Sallies, Skirmishes, wherein the Besieged behaved with equal Bravery and Conduct. Notwithstanding the Precautions used by the English, to prevent Succours from being thrown into the City, Troops and Convoys were, from time to time, introduced, tho' always by dint of Sword. Thus the Garrison, which at first consisted only of twelve hundred Men, was become three thousand strong by the end of December. On the other hand, the Army of the Besiegers was encreased to three and twenty thousand by the Supplies perpetually sent by the Regent, so that the Siege daily grew more important and difficult.

The English had now been four Months before Orleans, 1429. and the Success of their Enterprize was yet doubtful. The Regent, who began to be uneasy at the length of the Siege, was confirmed more and more in his Opinion, that it was a rash Undertaking. However to neglect nothing in his Power, he sent from Paris a Convoy of Salt-Fish (6), the Lent Season of the Year 1429 being come. He left the Conduct of it to Fastolf, one of the bravest

1428.
The Besiegers raise Forts about the City to prevent Succours.
Hall.

Charles comes to Chinon.
Montfret.

The English become Masters of the Bulwark,
and of the Tower on the Bridge.

The Earl of Salisbury slain.
Montfret.
Hall.

The Garrison and Army both increased during the Siege.

The Battle of Herrings.
Montfret.
Hall.

(1) He raised about six thousand; whereof he sent over three thousand in May, and came over himself with the rest about Midsummer. Montfret, fol. 37.

(2) He was to have always with him six hundred Men at Arms, six Knights-Bannerets, thirty-four Knights-Bachelors, and seventeen hundred Archers. And then a Wage; he was to have, himself, six-pence, eight Farthings Sterling a Day: For each Knight-Banneret, Four-pence Sterling: For each Knight-Bachelor, Two-pence: For every Man at Arms, Twelve-pence a Day: And for each Archer, Six-pence. Rymer: Fed. Tom. X. p. 392.

(3) They pulled down all the most considerable Buildings in the Suburbs, and, among the rest, twelve Churches, and several Monasteries; that the French might not make use of them in carrying on the Siege. Montfret, fol. 38.

(4) The Place where the Parliament sits to hear criminal Causes.

(5) Gaucour Montante, Earl of Salisbury, died November 3. without Issue-Male, leaving only one Daughter, named Alice, who was married to Richard Duke of the Earl of Westmoreland, who, upon Montacute's Death, was styled Earl of Salisbury. He was buried at Bisham in Berkshire. His Widow was married afterwards to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Dogdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 652, 653.

(6) Together with Artillery, Ammunition, &c. the whole in between four and five hundred Carts and Carriages. Montfret, fol. 40.

1429. and most able Generals the *English* then had (1), and gave him a Guard of seventeen hundred Men (2). *Charles* having notice of the Day the Convoy was to set out from *Paris*, resolved to way-lay it. He commissioned the Earl of *Clermont* for that purpose, who at the Head of three thousand Men, attacked the Convoy on the Road to *Orleans*. *February* the 12th, at seven in the Morning, *Faustolff* having heard of the Approach of the *French*, had made an Intrenchment with his Carriages, behind which he had secured himself against their first Charge. It was indeed very vigorous, but the *English* sustained it with such resolution, that, instead of being routed by the first Shock, they put their Enemies into extreme Disorder, by the great Slaughter of their Men. When *Faustolff* saw their Confusion, he ordered the Carriages to be removed, and falling upon the *French* Troops, already disheartened, entirely defeated them with great Slaughter. Sixscore Lords or Officers of note fell that day, besides a great Number of common Soldiers (3). The Bastard of *Orleans*, who had sallied out to assist the Earl of *Clermont* in defeating the Convoy, preserving a Presence of Mind in this Rout, found means to re-enter the City with four hundred Men. This Action was called *The Battle of Herrings*.

Offer of sur-
rendering
Orleans to
the Duke of
Burgundy.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

It is rejected.
Monstrelet.

King *Charles* was extremely dejected upon News of this Defeat. He saw himself upon the point of losing *Orleans*, and was sensible of the Consequences of the Loss. The Thoughts of seeing the *English* ravage the Province beyond the *Loire*, and thereby disable him from continuing the War, could not but trouble him exceedingly. This Misfortune would infallibly follow, upon their being Masters of *Orleans*. In this Distress, he devised an Expedient, proper, as he thought, to rob them of this Advantage; reckoning, they would be so blind as not to see through his Artifice. This was, to send to the commanding Officers a Power to deliver the Place to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to be kept in Trust till the end of the War. *Xaintrailles* and others, who were appointed to treat of this Affair, going to *Paris*, made the Duke of *Bedford* the Offer, who laughed at the Stratagem. He plainly told them, it was a great Mistake to think, he would beat the Bush, for another to run away with the Game. Some say, the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended with this Reply, and even withdrew his Troops from the Siege. But this is a mere Invention. The Duke of *Burgundy* had no reason to complain, that the Regent refused to deliver a Place of that Importance to him, to please his Enemies. Besides, we shall see presently, the Regent was all along very well satisfied with the Duke of *Burgundy*, as well during the Siege as after.

Monstrelet.
fol. 45, 46.

Charles
thinks of re-
turning into
Dauphiné.

A strange
Accident
changes the
Face of
Affairs.

Charles not succeeding in his Project, and seeing no other way to save *Orleans*, began now to think of retiring into *Dauphiné*, when a very extraordinary Accident gave a sudden Turn to the Affairs of the two contending Nations. We are going to see the strangest and most unexpected Revolution, ever mentioned in History. The *French* from vanquished, are going to be on a sudden victorious; and the *English*, hitherto deemed invincible, are going to be every where defeated, and at last driven out of the Kingdom. And what is more surprizing in this Revolution, is the Instrument by which it was caused. But before I enter upon Particulars, I must warn the Reader, that in what I am going to relate concerning this strange Event, I follow the *French* Authors, without however warranting the Truth of their Assertions.

An Account
of the Maid
of Orleans.
Monstrelet.
P. Daniel.
Hall.

About the end of *February*, 1429, a Country Girl, called *Joan of Arc*, a Village in *Domremy* (4) in *Lorraine*, came to *Robert de Baudricourt*, Governor of *Vaucouleurs*, and told him, she had received express Orders from God to raise the Siege of *Orleans*, and crown King *Charles* at *Rheims*. *Baudricourt* at first considered the Girl as a Visionary, but afterwards finding she talked very sensibly in the rest of her Discourses, he thought fit to send her to the King, who was still at *Chinon*. *Charles* being informed that *Joan of Arc* was coming, declared, that *Maria d'Avignon* a Nun, had formerly told him, *Heaven would arm one of her Sex in Defence of France*. Adding, that perhaps this Girl was the Person designed by Heaven. This was sufficient to satisfy the Court beforehand, that *Joan of Arc's* Calling was miraculous. The supernatural Mission perfectly squared with the Sentiments of the Queen, of *Agnes Sorrel* the King's Mistress, and of the principal Courtiers, who used all possible Endeavours to dissuade the King from his purpose to retire into *Dauphiné*.

So, nothing was more proper to divert him from this Retreat, than the hopes of a Change in his Fortune. However this be, in these Dispositions was *Joan of Arc* expected. The first time she appeared at Court, she addressed herself directly to the King, discovering him among all his Courtiers, though she had never seen him, and he had taken care to have nothing about him, to distinguish him. However, he seemed at first to make no great Account of this Girl. But as she earnestly pressed him to credit her Words, which were the same she had spoken to *Baudricourt*, he resolved to have her examined. The Divines, her Examiners, declared, upon what ground I know not, that her Mission was divine. Then she was sent to the Parliament at *Poitiers*, who were of the same Opinion. Lastly, to confirm this Belief, the King declared, she had told him Secrets, which no Mortal knew but himself.

Every one being now prepossessed, that *Joan of Arc*, commonly called *la Pucelle*, [or the Maid] was sent from God to save *France*, she was looked upon with Eyes of Admiration. All her Actions, Words, and Gestures were construed to her Advantage. There was discovered in her, a fine Genius, solid Judgment, Greatness of Soul, and a Knowledge very unusual in one of her Sex and Condition.

This was the common Effect of Prejudice. Thus far there is nothing that should seem very strange. It is easy to conceive, that this might be a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the *French*, and perhaps the King himself, dismayed at so many Losses, and beholding the Kingdom just going to fall under the Dominion of Foreigners. But that this Invention, if it be one, should succeed according to the Design of the Authors, is what may indeed be just cause of Admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political Reflections.

Mean while, the Siege of *Orleans* being vigorously prosecuted, *Charles* resolved to try to throw a Convoy into the City. *Joan* desiring to be of the Party, and to have Arms and a Man's Habit, easily obtained her Request (5). To render her self more remarkable, she would have a certain Sword sent for, from the Tomb of a Knight buried in the Church of *St. Catherine de Fierbois*. The Convoy designed for *Orleans* departed *April* the 25th. Several *French* Writers affirm, that *Joan* commanded the Guard, and conducted the Convoy into the City, but *Monstrelet*, a cotemporary Author, says the contrary. The Convoy being arrived on the 29th in the Morning, near the *Burgundian* Gate, the Bastard of *Orleans* made a Sally to favour their Passage. A fierce and bloody Battle ensued, wherein, after a long resistance, the *English* were defeated, and forced to let the Convoy go in (6). *Joan* made her Entry into *Orleans*, amidst the Generals, and Acclamations of the People, who ascribed to her the good Success of that Day.

Joan marches
with a Con-
voy to
Orleans.
Monstrelet.
P. Daniel.

Monstrelet.

Joan enters
Orleans in
Triumph.

On the 4th of *May*, *Joan* at the head of a Detachment of the Garrison, attacked, Sword in hand, the Fort of *St. Loup*, one of the six largest before-mentioned. After a Conflict of four Hours, the Fort was carried, and of the twelve hundred *English* who defended it (7), four hundred were killed on the spot. Two days after, she assaulted likewise the Fort of *St. John*; but as it was almost abandoned by the *English*, she met with little Resistance. Presently after, without giving her Troops any Respite, she led them against the Fort, called *London*, the most considerable of the Six, built upon the Ruins of the Church of the *Augustines*. Notwithstanding the gallant Resistance of the *English*, this was also taken, with great Loss on their Side. *Joan's* Troops thought of resting themselves, after so hard Duty, but immediately she marched them to the Fort of the *Tournelles*. But as she could not attack it that Evening, for want of day-light, she kept it invested all Night. On the morrow, at break of Day, the Assault began, and lasted fourteen Hours without Intermission. The *French* were repulsed four several times, and as often renewed the Charge; *Joan* animating them by her Words and Actions, though wounded with an Arrow between the Neck and Shoulders. At length, about eight at Night, the Fort was carried like the rest, and six hundred *English* cut in pieces. In all these Actions, *Joan* shewed a Valour and Resolution very uncommon in Persons of her Sex (8).

She takes four
of the Be-
siegers Forts.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

It may easily be guessed, how great was the Consternation of the *English*, after the ill Success of that Day, The Loss of four of their largest Forts not permitting

The English
raise the
siege.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

(1) Together with Sir Thomas Rampton, and Sir Philip Hall. Hall, fol. 105.

(2) And about a thousand People besides. Monstrelet, fol. 40.

(3) Between five and six hundred. Ibid. fol. 41.

(4) She was born in 1407, in the Parish of *Greux* upon the *Meuse*, in *Domremy*. Vit. MSS.

(5) After she had been about two Months with the King at *Chinon*. Monstrelet, fol. 41.

(6) In the dead time of the Night, and in a great Storm of Rain and Thunder. Hall, fol. 107.

(7) Among the rest were slain *William Gladijdale*, the Captain, and the Lords *Molyns*, and *Paynings*. Hall, fol. 107. *Stow's Ann.* p. 370.

(8) But *Monstrelet* observes, that though *Joan* was at the Head of these several noble Knights and Captains, who had so bravely defended *Orleans*, fol. 43. not above a hundred. Ibid.

In these Attacks, the *English* lost near eight thousand Men, and the *French*

1429. them to continue the Siege, they raised it the 12th of May, after having been before the Place seven whole Months.

AG. Pub. X. p. 414. Here is a Fragment of the Duke of Bedford's Letter to the King his Nephew, after the raising of the Siege of Orleans, which shows how much the English, and the Duke of Bedford himself, were discouraged by this unexpected Event.

"And alle thing there prospered for you, till the tyme
"of the Siege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth
"by what Advis. At the whiche Tyme, after the Ad-
"venture fallen to the Person of my Cousin of Salysbury,
"whom God affoile, there felle, by the Hand of God as
"it seemeth, a greet strook upon your Peuple that was
"assembled there in grete Nombre, caused in grete Par-
"tie, as y trowe, of lakke of sadde Beleve, and of un-
"levefulle doubtte, that thei hadde of a Disciple and
"Lyme of the Feende, called the *Pucelle*, that used fals
"Enchauntements and Sorcerie. The whiche Strooke
"and Discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the
"Nombre of youre Peuple there, but as well withdrewe
"the Courage of the Remenant in merveillous wyse, and
"courageid your Adverse Partie and Ennemy to assemble
"hem forthwith in grete Nombre &c. (1).

The great
Alteration of
the French
and English

The English
Disorder.
Montfretet.

Earl of
Suffolk made
Prisoner.
Montfretet.
Hall.

Charles re-
turned to the
conquest at
Rheims.

The Constable
Richemont
travels from
Troy to
Hall.

The raising of the Siege of Orleans ushered in the Decline of the English Affairs. From that time, the French and English seemed to have mutually changed Tempers and Characters. The English were seized with a Spirit of Fear and Amazement, whilst the French were filled with a Courage, almost entirely lost since the Battles of Azincourt and Verneuil. Though, after the raising of the Siege, the French exceeded not six thousand, they fearlessly and briskly pursued the English, who, though they were still superior in Number, retreated in a strange Disorder. Their Consternation was such, that they knew not what they did. Instead of keeping together, to withstand their Enemies, they amused themselves with throwing numerous Garrisons into the Places, conquered before the Siege, about the Loire. By that means they so weakened themselves, that they were no longer able to expect their Enemies who were closely pursuing them. As they dreaded a Battle, as much as they were wont to desire it, they retired at a distance, and gave the French time to retake these Places one after another. The Earl of Suffolk was made Prisoner in Gergeau, where he had imprudently shut himself up, with four hundred Men only (2), which must have proceeded from his Consternation at the Defeat of his Troops. Of all the Places in those Parts, Baugenci held out the longest, but could not help undergoing the same Fate with the rest. In short, Disorder and Confusion had so possessed the English, that Charles by Joan's Advice, resolved to be crowned at Rheims. Mean time this City was still in the hands of the English. Besides, there was a Necessity of traversing above one hundred and twenty Miles of the Enemies Country, and of taking several Places, which at any other time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange Effect of the Terror struck into the English by a Woman, and of the Confidence instilled into their Enemies by the same!

The Constable Richemont, seeing the Prosperity of the King's Affairs, began to abate of his haughtiness. Hitherto he imagined himself necessary, but the late Events made him sensible he might be entirely forgotten, and lose his Share of the Glory the King was, probably, going to acquire. In this Belief, he assembled all his Friends, and forming a Body of twelve hundred Horse, and twelve thousand Foot, he marched to join the King who was then before Baugenci. The Duke of Bretagne, doubtless connived at this Levy in his Country, the late Revolution causing him to alter his measures. Whilst the Constable was upon his march, La Trimouille, who desired not his Company at Court, artfully persuaded the King, he was coming with a numerous Army, to have his Person in his Power. This first Impression so affected the King, that he was going to raise the Siege of Baugenci, and give the Constable Battle, but upon better Information, was pleased to receive him with his Succours. It was however upon

very mortifying Terms to a Prince of his Character. It was required of him, that he should not pretend to govern the King, nor be present at the Coronation, where La Trimouille was unwilling to be out-shone.

Baugenci being taken, the King had Intelligence, that the English were assembling in Beauce. Whereupon Charles holding a Council of War, it was unanimously resolved to give them Battle. Indeed, there was no probability of going to Rheims, with the Enemies in the Rear. Charles's Army was then ten thousand strong (3), including the Bretons, brought by the Constable. But of the twenty two thousand English, lately before Orleans, there was left but six thousand with Talbot, who had taken the Command of the Army, after Suffolk was Prisoner. By an effect of the great Amazement of the English, since the Affair of Orleans, they suffered themselves to be surprised near Patay, by the French, who appeared in sight before they had heard any thing of them. They had scarce time to draw up, which was done in such Confusion, that they made but a very faint Resistance. Talbot alone maintained the Fight, by his Valour and Conduct, but at last, the General being taken Prisoner, the English Army was routed with the Loss of two thousand five hundred Men (4). Fastolf run away with the flying Troops, seized by one of those sudden Terrors, which, for the time, deprive a Man of the use of his Reason, and may happen to the most Courageous (5).

If the raising of the Siege of Orleans was a great Check to the Affairs of the English, the Defeat of Patay was a no less grievous and fatal Blow to them. The Regent saw himself forced to keep within the Walls of Paris, being unable to appear in the Field, to oppose the Progress of his Enemies. Mean while, Charles improved these Advantages. Lewis III, Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicily, his Brother-in-law, being returned from Naples, where he had made a long stay, brought him immediately after the Battle of Patay, a Supply of several brave Officers, who had attended him into Italy, and were come back with him into France.

King Charles's Adherents increasing, as his Affairs became more prosperous, he reviewed his Troops at Gien, and found them augmented to fifteen thousand Men. He gave a Part to the Constable, to make a Diversion in Normandy, or rather, under that honorable Pretence, to remove him, that he might not assist at the Coronation, according to Agreement. The Earl of Perdreac had another Part, to carry the War into Guienne. These two Detachments were but five thousand Men. With the remaining ten thousand, Charles took the Road to Rheims, knowing there was no Army in the Field to oppose him. In passing through Burgundy, he summoned Auxerre, which promised to follow the Example of the principal Towns of Champagne. Troye and Chalon surrendered upon the first Summons. A few days after, the Inhabitants of Rheims drove the English Garrison out of the City, and sent Deputies to the King, to present to him the Keys of their Gates. Thus every thing succeeding to his wish, Charles entered Rheims (6) in Triumph, and was crowned presently after (7). The Ceremony being ended, Joan would have retired, affirming, she had nothing more to do, after executing what God had commanded. But the King pressed her so earnestly, that at last he prevailed with her to stay.

It is now time to see what was transacting in England, during the late fatal Revolution in France. The Quarrel still subsisted between the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester, who was returned to London. As the Prelate's new Dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the Duke of Gloucester took occasion from this Dignity, to give him a sensible Mortification. St. George's Day, Patron of the most noble Order of the Garter, being at hand, the Cardinal was to officiate, as Bishop of Winchester. But the Duke of Gloucester, and his Friends, opposed it, affirming, he could not hold the Bishoprick of Winchester, with the Dignity of Cardinal (8), without the King's express Licence. The Affair being brought before the Council, it was resolved, that for this time the Cardinal should not officiate as Bishop of Winchester; and two Lords were sent to give him notice thereof. Next day,

(1) This Fragment, which is without date, is placed wrong in the *Collections of the Publick Acts*, among the Records of the Year 1428. *Rapin*.

(2) As at this time, it is not known when the Duke of Bedford was taken, it is not known when the Duke of Bedford was taken. *Montfretet*, fol. 44. Two hundred, says *Hall*, and among them Sir Alexander de la Pole, the Earl of Suffolk's Brother, fol. 108.

(3) Here must be some mistake either in the Author or the Printer, since *Rapin* says above, the Bretons alone were thirteen thousand two hundred. Probably the Bretons were not numbered, as is said above. *P. Daniel* says, they did not exceed twelve hundred. *Tom. VI. p. 69. Hall*, fol. 108. *Stow* and *Hall* say, the French Army consisted of twenty three thousand Men, fol. 108. p. 370.

(4) *Montfretet* says, there were about eleven hundred English killed, and between a hundred and sixscore taken Prisoners; the chief of whom were the Lords, Sirs, *Talbot*, *Hawes*, *and* Sir *Thomas Romsey*, &c. fol. 45. According to *Hall*, about twelve hundred were slain, and forty taken Prisoners, fol. 108.

(5) The English could not imagine about the Place and Manner of fighting, whether it should be on foot or on Horseback; which was the chief Cause of their Defeat. Besides they had neglected to provide themselves with sharp Sticks, which used to be their main Defence against the Enemies Cavalry. *Montfretet*, fol. 45. Sir *John Fastolf* had the Garter, of which he was a Knight, taken from him by the Regent, for running away, but it was restored to him again. *Hall*, fol. 108.

(6) July 6. *Montfretet*, fol. 47.

(7) July 8. *Ibid.* *P. Daniel* says, it was the 12th. *Tom. VI. p. 71.*

(8) —Quia erat res invidiosa Cardinalatum, & immutari solent in Angli Episcopatum Wyntoniensem. — *Rymor's Fæd.* *Tom. X. p. 414.*

1429. he came himself to the Board, and demanded upon what Foundation he was deprived of his Right. He was told, it was for fear of prejudicing the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Council persisted in their Resolution. Hence the Cardinal perceived, his Adversary's Interest to be still much greater than his.

The Cardinal is made General of a Crusade. Act. Pub. X. p. 422, 423.
He petitions to publish the Crusade. Act. Pub. X. p. 419, 423.
 p. 420.
 Shortly after, the Prelate received the Pope's Bull, appointing him his Legate in Germany, and General of the Crusade against the Bohemian Hereticks. The Pope's View was to draw a Powerful Aid from England, against the Hussites (1). Nay, it is not unlikely, that as he greatly favoured King Charles, his Design was to weaken England, by draining the Kingdom of Men and Money, under colour of the Crusade. However, the Cardinal receiving the Bull the beginning of June this Year, though it was dated March the 18th, 1427-8, presented to the King and Council a Petition, desiring leave to publish the Crusade. He prayed likewise, that he might have Power to levy in England, five hundred Lances, and five thousand Archers, and to appoint the Generals and Officers of this Army. His Petition being examined in Council, it was resolved to grant it in Part, under the following Restrictions:

That no Person shall be obliged to contribute Money for the Crusade, but every one give what he pleased. That the Sums thus voluntarily furnished, should be put into such Hands as the Council should nominate. That the Gold or Silver should not be conveyed beyond Sea, but expended in the Kingdom (2).

That the Cardinal should be empowered to levy only two hundred and fifty Lances, and two thousand five hundred Archers: That even this should be granted, only on condition, that the Pope, out of regard to the King and Kingdom, should not impose any Tax on the Laity or Clergy.

That no Soldiers serving in France, should be lifted or received among the Troops of the Crusade.

That the Cardinal should give the Council sufficient Security for the return of these Troops.

That he should effectually use his Interest, to induce the King of Scotland to leave England in quiet, and observe the Truce.

That in publishing the Crusade, it should expressly be said, that it was with the King's Assent and Licence.

That the Officers should be nominated by the Cardinal, but commissioned by the King.

That it should be the same with regard to the Constable, or Commander in chief of the Army.

That if the Crusade did not take place, the Money furnished by private Persons should not be employed without the King's Approbation.

New Levies for France.
 By these Restrictions may be seen, how careful the Council was, to hinder the Pope's exercising in the Kingdom, an Authority but too much abused by his Predecessors.

The Cardinal is to serve in France till December. Act. Pub. X. p. 422. Montfret. Hall.
 Mean while, the News of the Battle of Patay flying into England, caused a great Consternation, and made it easily judged, that the Regent wanted a sudden and powerful Aid. And therefore, without losing a Moment, the Council ordered new Levies, the Command whereof was designed for Sir John Ratcliffe. But, as in the present Posture of Affairs in France, it would have been very imprudent to send Troops into Bohemia, the Council resolved to make some alteration in what was granted to the Cardinal of Winchester. Upon this urgent occasion, a new Agreement was made (3) with him, whereby he engaged to serve in France, under the Duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the Troops of the Crusade, provided they were not employed in any Siege.

A few Days after (4), arrived from France, Garter King at Arms (5), with Instructions from the Regent, to inform the Council of the State of Affairs in that Kingdom. The Substance of his Instructions was as follows:

I. That it was necessary to hasten the departure of Ratcliffe's and the Cardinal's Troops, and inform the Regent of the precise time of their Imbarcation.

II. The Dauphin, (for so the Regent called King Charles,) was master of Troye, Chibon, and several other Places, some of which had voluntarily surrendered. That he was to enter that very Day, July the 16th, the City of Rheims, where he would be crowned; and afterwards intended to exert his utmost, to take Paris, but should find it more difficult than he imagined.

III. That the Duke of Burgundy (6) had fully discharged his Duty, and the City of Paris, had it not been for him, would have been lost before now. That he was departed, that very day, for Artois, to hasten his Troops, and join them with the English Army.

IV. That the Regent was to set out within two days for Normandy and Picardy, where he would draw the Garrisons together, and expect the Troops that were to come from England.

V. Lastly, The Council of France most humbly besought the King, to come and be crowned at Paris.

Upon this last Article, it was resolved, that the young King, now but eight Years old, should go into France, and be crowned, but should first be crowned in England (7).

In pursuance of this Resolution, the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 6th of November. Six days after, the Parliament, then assembled, ordered the Dignity of Protector and Defender of the Church to be suppressed, but that the Duke of Gloucester should keep that of first Counsellor to the King. This was a very great as well as unexpected Mortification to that Prince. Indeed, as the King's Coronation increased not his Capacity, the Kingdom seemed still to require a Protector. But it was pretended, the Protectorship was inconsistent with the Dignity of a crowned Head. We shall see hereafter, this Rule was not always observed. The Duke however, handsomely submitted to the Ordinance, as far as it concerned him, the Rights of his Brother the Duke of Bedford remaining entire.

Whilst the Preparations were making in England for Charles the Coronation, Charles had continued his Conquests with great rapidity. However, his Coronation had detained him eleven days at Rheims. If the Regent had then been provided with an Army, he might easily have inclosed him in that Corner of France, where he had but few Places, surrounded with the Enemies Garrisons. But the Duke was then in Picardy, with few Troops, expecting those that were to come from England. Charles therefore improved the Advantage, procured by that Prince's Dittance. The Inhabitants of the English Towns being, for the most part, well inclined to him, nothing hindered them from shewing him Marks of their Affection, since the Duke of Bedford had been forced to weaken the Garrisons extremely, to compose an Army. This was the Cause, that, in a very short Space, Charles became master of Soissons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Crepi, and some other Places, even before they were attacked; the English Garrisons not being strong enough to prevent the Burghers from following their Inclination.

Mean time the Duke of Bedford, having at last received the expected Supplies, began to march (8), in order to stop the Progress of his Enemy (9). At Crepi's

(1) There will be a large Account of these People in the History of the Council of Basel, in the State of the Church, at the end of the Reign of Henry VII.

(2) That is, be laid out upon Merchandizes, which were to be delivered to those that engaged in the Crusade, and by them exported. Rymer's Fed. Tom. X. p. 420.

(3) At Reims, on July 1. Ibid. p. 424.

(4) There are three Kings at Arms in England; namely, Garter, Clarenceux, and Norw. Garter is the principal, instituted by Henry V, as is related above, p. 531. Note (4). His Business is to attend Knights of the Garter at their Solemnity, and to marshal the Funerals of the greater Nobility. Clarenceux was created by Edward IV, who, upon attaining the Dukedom of Clarence by the Death of his Brother, made the Herald belonging to the Duke of Clarence, a King at Arms, and called him Clarenceux. His proper Office is to marshal the Funerals of the lesser Nobility, or Gentry, on the South-side of the Trent. Norw's Office is the same on the North-side of Trent, as appears by his Name, The Northern King. The Business of the Herald is likewise to denounce War, to proclaim Peace, or to be employed in the King's martial Messages. They are Judges also of Gentlemen's Arms, marshal all the Solemnities at the Coronation of Princes, &c. The Herald derives the Word Herald from Here an Army, and Heut a Champion, as much as to say, The Champion of the Army. Besides the three Kings, there are six other properly called Heralds, as they were created to attend Dukes, &c. viz. York, Lancaster, Somerset, Richmond, Chester, and Gloucest. There are four more called Marshal or Purveyants at Arms, who commonly succeed in the Places of Heralds; namely, Blue-Mantle, Rouge-Croix, Rouge-Dragon, and Peter-Culdis.

(6) Rapin, by mistake, says Bratague.

(7) Between these Transactions and the King's Coronation, a Parliament met at Westminster, on September 22, which granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth; and continued the Subsidy of Wools, and Tonnage and Poundage as before. Cotton's Annals, p. 591, 592, &c. In this Parliament it was enacted, That every City, Burrough, and Town in the Kingdom, should have, at their own Charge, a common Balance, and Weights sealed, according to the standard of the Exchequer, in the keeping of the Mayor or Constable; at which Balance, all the Inhabitants of the same City or Town were to weigh without paying anything; but Strangers were to pay. It was also enacted, That whereas Knights or the Shires had of late been chosen by outrageous and excessive Numbers of People, and of small Substance; for the future, the said Knights shall be elected in every County, by People dwelling and resident in the same Counties, whereof every one shall have Land or Tenement, to the Value of forty Shillings by the Year at the least, above all Charges; and that they which shall be chosen, shall be dwelling and resident within the same Counties. Statute 8 Hen. VI. cap. 5. 7. In the Parliament to Henry VI. Anno 1432. it was declared, That the said forty Shillings per Annum must be Freehold.

(8) With about ten thousand Men. Mevius, fol. 47.

(9) And sent Charles a Challenge, from Amiens, dated August 7. Idem, fol. 48. Hall, fol. 109.

1429. *The two Armies are very near one another,* Charles heard the Duke was advancing to give him Battle. A few days after, the two Armies were very near one another on a large Plain, where nothing hindered their engaging. The number of the Troops on both Sides was much the same, but as the King had more Horse, the Regent was unwilling to attack him. Besides, the Posture of his Affairs required that he should not fight without advantage; and therefore, he ordered his Camp to be strongly intrenched. He hoped, the impetuous Humour of the French, would cause them to commit the same Fault as at Verneuil, and on many other Occasions; and they would endeavour to force his Intrenchments, in which case, he promised himself certain Victory. But for once, he was deceived in his Expectation. Charles, grown wise by so many former Instances, was content with facing him (1), and trying to draw him out of his Lines, without venturing an attack, the Success whereof appeared very doubtful. At last, finding the English kept their Station, he left his, in order to pursue his Conquests, knowing that most of the Towns were ready to receive him. The Regent followed him close; but as he would run no hazard, without an apparent Advantage, he had the Mortification to see him enter Senlis, Beauvais, Compiègne, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, Lagny, Bray, Gournay, Melun, Sens. All these Places opened their Gates to the King, being no longer awed by the Garrisons, the Regent had been forced to draw out.

Montfret.
Hall.
Stow.

and part
without
fighting.

Several
Towns
surrendered to
Charles.
Montfret.
Hall.

The Regent
marches to
the Relief of
Normandy.
Hall.

Charles
makes an
Attempt upon
Paris.
Montfret.
Hall.

The Maid
is wounded.

Lagni and
St. Dennis
taken by the
English.

Disposition of
the Duke of
Burgundy
since the Turn
of Affairs.
Montfret.

On the other hand, the Constable Richemont, who was in Normandy, having found means to augment his Troops to the number of eight thousand, had taken Evreux, and threatened the whole Province. The Duke of Bedford, fearing he would make greater Progress, hastened thither; not being able to bear the thoughts of losing a Country, from whence flowed in a great measure his Subsistence.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was employed in Normandy, Charles, Master of the Field in the Isle of France, approached Paris, and encamped at Montmartre. He immediately published a general Pardon for the Parisians, imagining, that, terrified at his Conquests, they would take Arms, and drive the English out of the City. But the Regent had so ordered matters there, that not a Man stirred. At last, finding he could expect nothing from the Citizens, he attacked the Suburbs of St. Honorius; but his Troops were repulsed with great Loss. Joan, who had greatly exposed herself in this Assault, was wounded and thrown into the Ditch. She was thought to be dead, but being drawn out in the Night, recovered of her Wounds.

The Season not permitting the two Armies to keep the Field any longer, Charles retired, and passed the Winter at Bourges. The Regent likewise, after driving the Constable out of Normandy, returned to Paris. During the Winter, he carried by Scalade St. Dennis and Lagni, which very much annoyed the Parisians.

Before we close the Occurrences of this Year, it must not be forgotten to shew, how the Duke of Burgundy stood affected, since the Revolution in the English Affairs. However prosperous Charles might be, he was sensible it was not sufficient, unless he could gain so potent an Enemy as the Duke of Burgundy. The truth is, if that Prince had thought fit to assist the English with all his Forces, he would have, doubtless, prevented this Revolution. Nay, if after the raising of the Siege of Orleans, he had been willing to aid them in proportion to his Power, he would still have turned the Scale on their Side. But he had been, for some time, taking other Measures. His Policy suggested to him, that by too powerfully assisting the English, he should procure himself troublesome Masters, as he had already experienced in the Business of Hainault. And therefore, since he was to have a Sovereign, he chose much rather, to see a Prince of his Blood on the Throne of France, than a Foreigner. But he carefully concealed his Sentiments, lest both Parties should take the advantage of them against him. It was manifest, that in openly shewing his Inclination to abandon the English, he would have done himself great Prejudice. King Charles would become less eager to agree with him, and it may be, the Duke of Bedford would have endeavoured to prevent him, by making a separate Peace with the French, exclusive of him. This was, at least, what the Duke of Burgundy had reason to fear, considering the Posture of the Affairs of the English, since the Battle of Patay. He resolved therefore to continue

to assist the English (2), but so as to give Charles some hopes, his Relentment was abated. He rightly judged, that in taking this course he should procure better Terms, or at worst, might remain in his present Situation, till what he desired, was offered. Charles having had some Intimation of the Duke of Burgundy's Disposition, dispatched secret Agents to treat with him; but the Duke thought it not yet time to discover himself. He was apprehensive, that if the Duke of Bedford should know it, he would, without him, agree with King Charles; whereas his Intent was, to make his own Peace, at the Expence of the English. The Sequel manifestly shewed this to be his Design. Most certain it is, he was now determined, though he did not think fit to begin the Negotiation so early. A remarkable Instance this, of the Instability of seemingly the strongest Alliances. Sad Effect of Infincerity too common among Men, and from which, Princes in particular are not free. As, notwithstanding their Treaties, they cannot trust one another, they live in continual Fear of being deceived by their Allies. And therefore, taking for granted they may be abandoned, they endeavour to prevent, and, without scruple, break their Engagements, upon the Prospect of any considerable Advantage. Let a Man run over all Histories, as well Ancient as Modern, and he will scarce find any one considerable Alliance, but what was violated by some notorious Deceit.

It would be difficult to describe the Concern, Trouble, Complaints and Murmurings in England, upon the turn of Affairs in France. Some blamed the Generals for not discharging their Duty. Others, perceiving no natural Cause of so surprizing a Change, affirmed, it must have happened by the Malice of the Devil, who had made use of Joan for his Instrument, and boldly asserted she was a Witch. In short, some threw all the Blame on the Council, and the Duke of Gloucester. They justly taxed them, with unseasonably prosecuting the Affair of Hainault, when, if all the Forces of England had been united against France, they would have infallibly finished the Conquest of that Kingdom. In a word, nothing but Complaints were heard from all Parts, every one seeking in the faults of the Ministry, for a Cause of this fatal Revolution. Among all the Reflections cast on the Government, the Council took particular notice of their reasoning, who said, "it was a very great Error to keep the French Princes, and particularly the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, so long Prisoners in England. That none could be ignorant, what great Advantages were reaped by the late King, from the Dissensions of the French. That consequently, the Prisoners should have been sent home, where, probably, they would have renewed their old Quarrels: Whereas detaining them captive, had procured France a Tranquillity, destructive to England. That at least, if the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon had been in France with King Charles, the English would have had more considerable Aids from the Duke of Burgundy, than what he had hitherto furnished. In short, it was not yet too late to release these two Princes, and as England was drained by the Continuance of so tedious a War, their Ransoms might serve to put things upon a better foot." These Reasons seemed very plausible. But, on the other hand, the late King's Orders concerning the Prisoners, were to the Duke of Gloucester and the Council, a Law which they durst not pretend to violate (3).

There were however, as to the Duke of Bourbon in particular, Reasons, which might have induced the Council to overlook the late King's Orders. In 1421, that Prince made a Treaty with Henry V, promising to swear to the Peace of Troye, to pay such a Sum for his Ransom, and deliver two of his Sons, and his fortified Towns, in Hostage, till his Engagements were fully performed. Henry V, dying before the Treaty was executed, it was renewed with some Alteration in 1428, and young Henry had received, as King of France, the Duke's Homage. There was nothing wanting but the Ratification, which was deferred, only for fear the People would not approve of this Proceeding. In short, this Year 1430, all Difficulties were surmounted, and the Treaty was ratified. But some Obstacles occurred in the Execution, which hindered the Duke from being set at Liberty. He died at last in England, in 1433 (4), after an eighteen Years Captivity.

(1) For two Days. Montfret fol. 49. Hall, fol. 109.

(2) The Duke of Bedford had then with him near eight hundred Men belonging to the Duke of Burgundy. Montfret, fol. 48.

(3) In the beginning of this Year, namely, on January 12, a Parliament met at Westminster, which continued Tonnage and Poundage for two Years, and ordered, over and above the said Tonnage, a Subsidy of like value of all Merchant-Strangers. They also gave one Tenth and one Fifteenth, and a third of both; and moreover granted, that every Lay-person, holding by a whole Knight's Fee, should pay to the King twenty Shillings, and so according to the Value, under or over; and the Clergy should pay the same, for Lands purchased since the 20th of Edward I. And that all other Persons having any Hereditaments, to the value of twenty Pounds over all Reprises, not holden as above, should pay unto the King twenty Shillings. Cotton's Abridg. p. 597, 598. In this Parliament it was enacted, That every Wey of Cheefe should contain thirty Cloves, and every Clove seven Pounds. Statut. 9 Hen. VI. c. 8.

(4) He died January 5. 1434. See Rymer's Fed. Tom. X. p. 602.

1430. Another Reason, inducing the Council to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon*, was, the Hopes, his Ransom would help to defray the Charges of the King's Journey, who was ready to depart for *France*. This means failing, there was a necessity of having recourse to Borrowings, which plainly discovered the low Condition of the Treasury (1); and with what difficulty sufficient Funds, for carrying on the War, were found.

Henry goes to France, p. 452, 453, 456. Henry departed at length, on the 24th of *April*, attended by great Numbers of the Nobility, and particularly the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who was appointed Chief Counsellor of the King with a large Salary (2). This honorable Pretence was used, to keep him out of the Realm, left in the King's Absence, and under the Duke of *Gloucester's* Regency, who was made Guardian, their Diffensions might breed Disturbances. Henry being arrived at *Calais*, made but a short Stay there. He proceeded immediately to *Roan*, where he spent almost all the rest of the Year, whilst Preparations were making at *Paris* for his Coronation, which could not be finished till *December*. About the middle of the Month, he came to the Metropolis, where he was crowned (3) on the 17th, with all the Solemnity, the Circumstances of the time would permit.

The Duke of Bedford secures the Duke of Burgundy to England. Montrelet. Hall. Whilst the King was at *Roan*, the Duke of *Bedford* used all his endeavours to restore his Affairs. He had foreseen the Duke of *Burgundy's* Designs, and, as he was sensible of the Consequences, neglected nothing to prevent them. It cost him *Champagne* and *la Brie*, or at least, the Places he still had in those Provinces, which he was forced to deliver to him, to secure him in the Alliance of *England*. But withal, he was enabled, by this means, to stop the Progress of *Charles*, who had carried on his Conquests with a wonderful Rapidity.

The Duke of Burgundy's third Marriage. Montrelet. Hall. The Regent makes some Conquests. Another Inducement to keep, for some time, the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Interest of the *English*, was, his third Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal* (4), near Relation to the King of *England* (5), and who had not the same Affinity with King *Charles*, as *Bona* of *Artois*, his former Wife. So, the Duke of *Bedford*, receiving an Aid from the Duke of *Burgundy* (6), took the Field, and became Master, in the Isle of *France*, of several Places; which though of little Consequence in themselves, were of great Importance, as they were incommodious to *Paris* (7).

The Duke of Burgundy besieges Compiègne. The Maid goes thither. Montrelet. The Duke of Burgundy himself entered *France*, at the head of a powerful Army. He retook first *Torcy* and *Suifons*, and then besieged *Compiègne*. Flavy commanded in that Place, with a numerous Garrison, and six Months Provisions. Upon the first News of this Siege, the Maid of *Orleans*, and *Xaintrailles*, threw themselves into the Town, not without the Governor's secret Indignation, who easily saw, they were come to rob him of the Honour of the Defence.

She makes a Sally, and is taken Prisoner. Montrelet. Hall. P. Daniel. On the 25th of *May*, *Joan* made a Sally, and fought with great Conduct and Resolution. At length being forced to retreat, she put herself in the *Rear*, and now and then made a stand, to stop the Enemies, by whom she was pressed. In this manner, she secured all her Men; but, when she would have entered the Town, found the Gate shut, and the Draw-Bridge up. It is said, this was done by the Governor's Order, who was glad to destroy her, pretending he did not know she was still without. But this Circumstance is not well proved (8). However it be, *Joan* finding no way to escape her Pursuers, surrendered herself Prisoner to the Bastard of *Vendôme*, who immediately delivered her to the Earl of *Ligny* (9), the Duke of *Burgundy's* General. The Duke of *Bedford* over-joyed, that this Prey was in the Hands of his Allies, demanded her so earnestly of the Earl of *Ligny*, that the General could not deny him. He required, however, a Reward suitable to the Importance of such a Prisoner. Some time after, the Town was relieved by the Earl of *Vendôme* (10), who introduced Troops and Ammunition, when it was almost reduced to Extremity. Whereupon, the Earl of *Ligny*, Commander in Chief, feeling no more likelihood of succeeding, raised the Siege, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had staid all the while at *Noyon*, retired into *Artois*.

The Siege is raised. Hall. (1) Orders were also issued out, for all that were worth forty Pounds *per Annum*, to come and take upon them the Order of Knighthood. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. X. p. 449.

(2) Four thousand Pounds a Year. *Ibid.* p. 456.

(3) By the Cardinal of *Winchester*.

(4) In honour of this Marriage, he instituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, of which see an account above, p. 427. Note (7); and in *Montrelet*, vol. 54, 55.

(5) She was Daughter of *John I.* King of *Portugal*, by *Philippa*, eldest Daughter of *John of Gaunt*.

(6) Fifteen hundred Men, for which he was to receive fifty thousand Salutes of Gold. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. X. p. 454, 455.

(7) About this time Sir *Thomas Kierul* defeated a Body of *French* near *Clément*. *Montrelet*, vol. 54.

(8) *Montrelet* says, she was pulled off her Horse by an Archer, vol. 58.

(9) *John de Luxembourg*.

(10) *Hall* says, the Duke of *Burgundy* withdrew his Troops, to go and take possession of *Brabant*, fallen to him by the Death of the Duke; whereupon the *English*, deprived of this Assistance, were forced to raise the Siege, vol. 115.

(11) She was tried by the Bishop of *Beauvais*, in whose Diocese she was taken. *Montrelet*, fol. 70.

(12) She and her whole Family were ennobled in 1429: And she had a Coat of Arms given her, which was Azure, two Fleurs de Lys, Or, with a Sword Argent, erect, and going through a Crown. *Ibid.* P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 83. There are still in *France* several Descendants from her Family, which took the Surname of *Du Lis*. *Ibid.*

I pass over in Silence numberless Attempts on both Sides, 1430. and divers Skirmishes, which contributed but little to the Decision of the general Affair. It will however be proper to observe, that *Joan's* pretended Inspiration, had made so deep an Impression in the Minds of the *French*, that *Marshal Bouffac* and *Xaintrailles*, suffered themselves to be deceived by an Artifice, which, doubtless, would not have produced its Effect, had it not been supported by this Prepossession. A Shepherd living near *Roan*, came and told the Marshal, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private way, by which, he would lead him into the very City of *Roan*. *Bouffac*, imparting the secret to *Xaintrailles*, they were both of opinion, the opportunity should not be neglected. So, persuaded as they were, that they had God himself for their Guide, they marched with a Body of chosen Troops after the Shepherd, who led them into an Ambush, where *Talbot* expected them. Their Troops were cut in pieces, and *Xaintrailles* remained a Prisoner, in the hands of the *English*.

These are the most remarkable Events in *France*, during the Year 1430, with regard to the War. We must now see what passed in *England*.

During the Cardinal of *Winchester's* Absence, the Duke of *Gloucester* created him Troubles, which gave him no small Uneasiness. The Duke told the Council, that the Cardinal intended to leave the King, and return to his Place in the Council, with design to raise Troubles in the Kingdom; that his Intention was the more criminal, as he meant to make use of the Pope's Authority, to free himself from the Obligation to assist the King in *France*; which was visibly subjecting the Orders and Regulations of the Council, to a foreign Power. Upon these Complaints, the Council issued out a Proclamation, prohibiting all the King's Subjects, of what rank soever, on pain of Imprisonment, to attend the Cardinal, if he left the King without Leave.

On the 8th of *November*, a Truce of one Year was concluded at *London* with the King of *Castile*, to commence *May* the 1st, 1431.

About the middle of *December*, the Ambassadors of *England* signed, at *Edinburgh*, a five years Truce with *Scotland*, to begin the same Day, with that made with *Castile*.

Joan having been in the Hands of the *English*, ever since the Siege of *Compiègne*, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered her to be carried to *Roan*, where he intended to sacrifice her, to the Vengeance he believed due to the *English* Nation. There was, doubtless, great Policy in this Resolution. All *France* was possessed with the Notion, that she was sent from God; and the *English* Soldiers imagined, that in fighting against her, they had to deal with the Devil. Wherever she appeared, they deemed the *French* Troops invincible. At least, the Terror that had seized their Souls, and the strange Alteration thereby wrought in them, cannot be ascribed to any other Cause: It was therefore of the utmost Importance to undeceive them. The taking of *Joan*, had already begun to produce this Effect. It was very naturally inferred, that had she acted by God's Command, there was no probability of her falling into such a Misfortune. But, to confirm this first Impression, it was not improper to insinuate to the terrified *English*, that she had done nothing, but by way of Witchcraft and Sorcery. It may be, the Duke of *Bedford* was himself of that Opinion, as may be concluded from his Expressions, in the fore-mentioned Letter to the King. However this be, (for I do not pretend, either to blame or justify the Prince, that it was done out of Policy or Vengeance) he so managed, that the King, by the Advice of his Council of *France*, ordered *Joan* to be tried for a Witch. Pursuant to this Order, she was delivered over to Ecclesiastical Judges (11), who, after a long Examination, condemned her as a Heretick, to do Penance upon Bread and Water, all the Days of her Life. Some time after, under colour of a Relapse into her former Errors, she was tried again by the same Judges, who delivered her over to the secular Arm to be burnt alive. This Sentence was executed in the old Market-Place at *Roan*, the 30th of *May*, 1431 (12).

1431. The Duke of Bedford resolves to have the Maid tried for her Life. Montrelet.

She is condemned to Imprisonment, and afterwards to be burnt. Montrelet.

1431.
The extreme
the two
Kings.

Thus far the *French* and *English* agree. It cannot be denied, that *Joan* performed great Exploits, and inspired the *French* with Courage, and the *English* with Terror. But the *French* ascribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate Power of God, and the *English* to the Artifices of the Devil. What then shall we believe? Perhaps Neither are in the right, and indeed there is a third Opinion, which wants not plausible Reasons. As the Examination of these three Opinions would be a too great interruption of the Thread of the History, I shall not stay to discuss them here. They who desire to be more fully informed concerning this Matter, may read a Dissertation, inserted at the end of this Reign, where I shall endeavour to give this Affair all the Light it is capable of.

Notwithstanding his Advantages, King *Charles* saw himself little able to continue the War. Most of the Places he had taken were ruined, and consequently incapable of giving him much Assistance. Besides, as they had voluntarily surrendered, he was unwilling to press them, for fear they should return to the *English*. They might have done it with the same ease, since it was not in his power to place there, Garrisons strong enough to keep them in Awe. On the other hand, the *English*, humbled by so many Losses, were not better able to keep Armies in the Field. So, during the rest of this Year, the War was continued only by Parties, and surprizing of Places, most of which were but weakly guarded.

The French
surprise
Chartres.
Montrelet.
Hall.

In this manner, the *French* became Masters of *Chartres*, by means of a Cart loaden with Wine, which they caused to be overturned just under the Port-cullis. On the other hand, the *English* took *Montargis*, by holding Intelligence with a young Woman, who persuaded a Barber, her Lover, to introduce them into the Town.

The Fair of
Caen, upon a
Fair-Day.
I. Chantier.

Loré, a *French* Captain, made an Inroad to the very Gates of *Caen*, upon a Fair-Day, and carried away two thousand Persons, with a very great Booty. After that, he retired to *Silley*, a small Town in *Maine*, where he was besieged by the Earl of *Arundel*. But the Duke of *Alençon*, suddenly coming to his relief, obliged the *English* to retire.

Other Ex-
ploits of the
two Parties.
Montrelet.

This Year, *Xaintrailles* and *Gaucour*, who were ravaging *Normandy*, were defeated and made Prisoners. A Party of *English* took also *Villeneuve lez-sens* from the *French*. This is all that passed worth noting in *France*, between the two Parties. But a more important Affair happened in *Lorraine*, wherein King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* were concerned, and which therefore it will not be amiss briefly to mention.

War of
L. from
Montrelet.
Hall.

Lewis, Cardinal of *Bar*, and Marquis of *Pont-a-Mousson*, being the last Male of the House of *Bar*, the Children of *Violante* his Sister, Queen of *Aragon*, were to be his Heirs. Among these Children, *Violante* of *Aragon* had married *Lewis* II, King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Anjou*, and by him had three Sons, *Lewis*, *René*, and *Charles*. Of these Princes, the Cardinal Duke of *Bar* chose *René* for his Heir, and married him to *Isabella*, third Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, who had no Issue-Male. It is said, *Isabella*'s two elder Sisters had renounced the Succession of the Duke their Father. *René* being Duke of *Bar*, by the Death of the Cardinal his Uncle, would likewise have taken possession of *Lorraine*, upon the decease of the Duke his Father-in-law; but *Anthony* Earl of *Vaudemont*, Son of *Frederic*, younger Brother of Duke *Charles*, disputed the Succession with him. This occasioned a War between these two Princes, wherein King *Charles* supported *René* his Brother-in-law, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Vaudemont*. On the 2d of *July*, this Year, the two Competitors fought at *Bulegnville* a bloody Battle, where *René* was vanquished, taken Prisoner, and carried to *Dijon*. There were twelve hundred *French* slain in this Action. This Loss, no doubt, helped to hinder King *Charles* from continuing his Progress.

An Attempt
to take the
See from the
Bishop of
Winchester.

The Affair concerning the See of *Winchester*, of which the Duke of *Glocester* would have deprived the Cardinal, was rather suspended, than determined in 1429, by an Order of Council to the Prelate, to forbear, for that time, officiating as Bishop on *St. George's* Day. The Duke, willing to take Advantage of the Cardinal's Absence, who was with the King at *Paris*, caused, about the end of this Year, the Affair to be again brought upon the Board. On the 6th of *November*, the King's Attorney General appearing before the Council, required, that the Cardinal should be deprived of his See; affirming, that by the Laws of the Land, the same Person could not be Cardi-

Act. Pub.
X. p. 497.

nal and Bishop in *England*. He supported his Assertion with the Examples of *Simon Langham*, and *Robert Kilwarby*, formerly Archbishops of *Canterbury*, who, upon their being made Cardinals, resigned the Archbishoprick. When he had done speaking, the Duke of *Glocester*, addressing himself to the Bishop of *Worcester*, required him to say, upon his Oath of Allegiance to the King, whether it was not true, that the Cardinal had obtained of the Pope, an exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for himself, for the City, and for the whole Diocese, of *Winchester*. His Aim was to shew, how inconvenient it was, to suffer a Cardinal to hold a Bishoprick in *England*. The Bishop of *Worcester* replied, after some Intreaty, that the Bishop of *Lichfield* being at *Rome*, had sued for, and obtained this Exemption for the Cardinal, who had reimbursed all the Charges; and that he had this from that Prelate's own Mouth. This Affair having been long debated, by reason of the two Parties in the Council, it was at length resolved, that, before any Decision, the Cardinal should be heard, and the Judges consulted. Thus it was not yet possible for the Duke of *Glocester* to compass his Ends.

Whilst *Henry* was in *France*, Pope *Eugenius* II, Successor of *Martin* V, sent thither the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, to try to persuade the two Kings to a Peace. This Legate prevailed with them at last, to send their Ambassadors to *Auxerre*, but this Congress was fruitless. They did not so much as enter into a Conference, because, if we may believe the *French* Authors, the Ambassadors of *England* refused to acknowledge King *Charles's* for Ambassadors of *France*. The 31st of *March*, the next Year, was however appointed for their Meeting; but it was in vain, since there was no place appointed for holding the Congress. The Court of *England* had named, for Plenipotentiaries, the Bishop of *Rechester*, and some others (1).

Conference
about a
Peace.
Montrelet.

Henry returned into *England* the beginning of the Year 1432 (2), being full ten Years of Age. As his Journey into *France* produced no great Effects, his return made no Alteration in his Affairs. They were still managed by the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, and by the Duke of *Glocester* in *England*. The Government of two Kingdoms was no light Burden for these Princes, at a time when the King's Affairs were manifestly going to decay. The Duke of *Bedford* was obliged to be always on his Guard, to resist Enemies, now grown very formidable. But this was nothing, in comparison of the Trouble, occasioned by his perpetual distrust of his own Friends, or those who pretended to be well-affected to him. The Duke of *Burgundy's* ambiguous Proceedings, justly made him uneasy. The Duke of *Bretagne* was no surer Friend. In short, since the decline of the Affairs of the *English*, the Towns which seemed to side with them, were faithful, only in proportion to the Strength of their Garrisons. The Regent, by sad Experience, had been convinced of this Truth. *Paris* herself, the Metropolis, on which, as I may say, all depended, was not so well disposed, as that her Fidelity could be relied on; or at least her Attachment to the Interest of *England* wholly depended on the Duke of *Burgundy's*. Add to this, the inconsiderable Aids of Men and Money, received by the Duke of *Bedford* from *England*, at a time when they were most wanted. To complete his Misfortune, the Regent found himself almost alone, burthened with the Weight of the publick Affairs, as well Military as Civil; those who had assisted him in the beginning of his Regency, being for the most part either dead, or Prisoners in the Hands of the Enemy. In this Perplexity, he resolved to propose to King *Charles*, the Exchange of *Talbot* for *Xaintrailles*, and his Offer was accepted. As he durst not leave *Paris*, and the War was carrying on in several Parts of the Kingdom, he could not be without such a General as *Talbot*; though to procure him, he was forced to give his Equal to the Enemy (3).

Act. Pub.
X. p. 500,
514, 530.
1432.

Henry
returns to
England.

Ill State of
the Duke of
Bedford in
France.

Exchange of
Talbot for
Xaintrailles.
Act. Pub.
X. p. 500,
514, 530.

If the Affairs of the *English* were upon an ill foot in *France*, they were upon no better Terms in *England*. Subsidies were granted by the Parliament with great reluctance, for continuing so destructive a War, which began to be tiresome, since it prospered not as formerly. On the other hand, the Quarrel between the Duke of *Glocester* and the Cardinal still continued, with greater Bitterness than ever, and began to turn to the Duke's disadvantage. In the last Year's Parliament (4), the Cardinal had found means to gain the Commons to his Interest, and give his Adversary a grievous Mortification. The House, willing to shew him Marks of their Favour,

Continuation
of the Quar-
rel between
the Duke of
Glocester
and the
Cardinal.

The Cardi-
nal gains
Ground upon
his Enemy.
Act. Pub.
X. p. 536.

(1) See *John* English, Sec. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 530.

(2) And came to London, Feb. 21. *Fabrian.*

(3) *John* Lord *Talbot* was not released till the beginning of the Year 1433. See Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 536.

(4) By the 10th Year's Parliament, *Rapin* must mean the last Parliament; namely, that held in 1432, or rather that in 1429; for it does not appear before that year in 1431.

presented a Petition to the King (1), praying him, in consideration of the Cardinal's great Services to the State, to give him a full Pardon for whatever he had done, contrary to the Laws, particularly with regard to the Statute of *Præmunire*. This was a mighty Advantage for the Cardinal, since the Commons Petition being granted, he was screened from all Prosecution. However, the Duke of *Glocester* did not desist. He pretended, that, notwithstanding the Pardon, he had sufficient Evidence to prove the Cardinal guilty of High-Treason, a Crime which could not be supposed to be included in the Letters of Pardon. The Cardinal, who was then in *Flanders* upon the King's Affairs, speedily repaired to *London*, without asking leave, and thereby gave his Enemy a Pretence to seize his Baggage (2). The next day after his Arrival, he went to the House of Lords, and said, he was come to clear himself of the Crimes, pretended to be laid to his Charge, and vindicate his Innocence, against whoever should offer to be his Accuser. The Duke of *Glocester* not thinking proper to support what he had advanced, the Prelate was answered, that as none appeared to accuse him, he was acknowledged for a loyal Subject. He thanked the House for this Declaration, and desired it might be drawn up in Form, which was granted. Then he complained, that at his arrival at *Sandwich*, his Baggage was seized, and petitioned the Restitution. He maintained, that the Seizure was made without Cause, and offered to lend the King six thousand Pounds, for six Years; on condition, that if, in that time, the Seizure appeared to be lawful, the Money lent should be forfeited to the King's Use. He offered moreover to lend him the like Sum, and to defer the Demand of the thirteen thousand Marks, due to him on another account, provided the payment of the whole should be assigned out of the next Subsidy granted to the King. His Aim was, to shew his regard for the King's and the People's Wants. His Offers were accepted, and the Seizure reformed. Thus the Duke of *Glocester*, instead of hurting his Enemy, had the Mortification, to see him receive the Applauses of both Houses. Mean while, this Discord produced very ill Effects. As the Duke of *Glocester* had Friends and Adherents in the Council, the opposition generally between the two Parties, could not but be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs. Whilst the Duke and the Cardinal thought only of their own private Concerns, the War in *France* was neglected, though it was more necessary than ever, to support it with the greatest Efforts.

If *England* had known how to improve her Advantages, she had a very favorable opportunity to repair some of her Losses. King *Charles* languished in the Arms of *Agnes Sorrel* his Mistress, and left to the Care of his Ministers and Generals, his most important Affairs. Nothing affected him but his Pleasures. It was with extreme reluctance, that he bestowed a few Moments upon the War, and the Affairs of State. So impatient was he to return to his Pleasures, interrupted by these troublesome Cares, that he only sought to intrust with others, whatever might embarrass him. *La Trimouille*, his Favorite, was generally accused of soothing him in this Supineness. But it was perceived by Persons of Penetration, that the King began to grow weary of him, and was uneasy under a Yoke he had imposed upon himself. The Constable, though absent, was soon informed of it. His Spies at Court were too watchful, for so important a thing to be long concealed from him. As he was of a proud and violent Spirit, he could not bear, without Indignation, to be surpassed by *La Trimouille*; and had formed a Design to serve him, as he had done *Louvet*, *De Giac*, and *Beaulieu*. When he knew, the King no longer looked upon *La Trimouille* with the same Eye as before, he immediately resolved to set Hand to the Work. But as in ruining *La Trimouille*, he did not find himself so far in the King's Favor, that he could hope for his Place, he projected to introduce *Charles of Anjou*, the Queen's Brother, into this Post. Strange Project, haughtily to attempt to take from a Prince one Favorite, and give him another against his Will, or at least without consulting him! As soon as the Constable had made all his Cabals at Court, and matters were ripe for Execution, *La Trimouille* was seized in his Bed, in the King's own House, who was then at *Chinon*

and carried to Prison at *Montreuil*. *Charles* was enraged at the News, and would immediately have taken Vengeance, but when he saw all the Princes of the Blood, and the great Men at Court, declare against *La Trimouille*, he durst not venture to proceed. He remembered, with dread, the Confederacy formed against him, when he would have screened *Louvet*, and was afraid of the like. Besides, his disgust for the Favorite, who was only so in Name, being added to that political Reason, he abandoned him without much Concern. *Charles of Anjou* came to comfort him, and succeeded so well, that, according to the Constable's Project, he became the Favorite; and *La Trimouille* was forgot.

It is easy to judge, that a Prince of *Charles's* Character, who had an Aversion for War, would not have been very formidable to the Duke of *Bedford*, if the Supplies from *England* had been sufficient, to enable him to make some considerable Attempt. But he had not for some time been able to bring an Army into the Field, without disgarnishing his Towns, and exposing them either to be surprized, or tempted to follow the Example of those, that had voluntarily surrendered to King *Charles*.

About the end of last Year, *Foucault* had conquered *Lagni* upon him, a Place often taken and retaken, and which the Neighbourhood of *Paris* rendered extremely important. A little after, the Regent unsuccessfully attempted to retake it. In the beginning of this Year, the Marshal de *Pisic-Adam*, and the Earl of *Arundel* (3) attacked it in vain, being forced, by a vigorous Sally from the Town, to abandon their Enterprize. At last in the Beginning of *August*, the Duke of *Bedford* besieged it himself with an Army of six thousand Men. But, on the 10th of the same Month, the Bastard of *Orleans*, in spite of the Duke's Precautions and Vigilance, introduced a Convoy (4), and then passed the *Marne*. The Duke, fearing by this March, that he held some Intelligence in *Paris*, suddenly raised the Siege, to prevent his Designs. Thus *Lagni* was besieged three times in vain, within the Space of seven or eight Months.

On the other hand, a small Body of *French*, drawn out of the Garrisons near the *Loire*, surprized *Montargis*. But as the Castle made a vigorous Defence, the *French* not being able either to force it, or keep the Town, were obliged to retire. In *Normandy* twelve hundred *English* invested *la Hire* in *Louviers*, and after a three Months Blockade, constrained the Place to capitulate.

These were Events of little Importance. But, on the 13th of *November*, there happened one of much greater Consequence, namely, the Death of *Ann* of *Burgundy*, Duchess of *Bedford* (5). This Loss was not peculiar to the Duke her Spouse, but common to all the *English*, since it broke the Bond of Union between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*, and by the Coldness which succeeded, proved very fatal to *England*.

The Council of *Basil* had been assembled since the last Year, but *England* had sent no Ambassadors. About the end of this Year, the Pope and Council, who were disputing concerning Pre-eminence, sending, each a-part, Legates to the King, the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Earl of *Huntington* (6), and several others, were appointed to go to the Council.

In the Beginning of the Year 1433, there was a dangerous Insurrection in *Normandy*, which would have been no less fatal to the *English*, than the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, if by their Diligence they had not timely prevented Part of the Mischief, which might have ensued. Sixty thousand Peasants of that Province having taken Arms, divided themselves into two Bodies, one whereof consisting of forty thousand Men, marched into *Vexin*, and the other towards *Caen*. Had *Charles's* Army been near enough to support them, he would doubtless have conquered all *Normandy*. The Rebels soon became Masters of *Caen*, *Harfleur*, *Dieppe*, and *Lillebonne*. Probably they would have made a much greater Progress, if the Earl of *Arundel* (7) had not, with the utmost Expedition, marched against those that were assembled in *Vexin*. As these Men had no eminent Leader, they suffered themselves to be surprized in the Night, and easily yielded him a Victory, more advantageous to his Master than glorious for him. Those of *Caen*, though not so numerous, would have given him more Trouble, because the Marshal of

(1) During the Session of the Parliament which met this Year on May 12, at *Westminster*; and continued the Subsidy of Wools, and Tunnage and Poundage for one Year: It also granted half a Tenth, and held a Fifteenth; but related the Six-pence in the Pound let upon foreign Merchants. *Customs Bridge*, p. 601, 602. In this Parliament, on July 17, the renowned Sir *John Cornwall* was created Baron of *Fourknott*. *Ibid.* p. 604. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. X.* p. 524.

(2) The Duke of *Glocester* only seized, at *Sandwich*, some of the King's Jewels, which were mortgaged to the Cardinal, and which he intended to carry over; whereupon the Cardinal came back in great haste and fury, for the Recovery of them. But an Order was made, that before they were restored to him, he should pay the King six thousand Pounds more for them, and lend him ten thousand Marks; which was accordingly done. *Customs Bridge*, p. 603. *Rymer's Fed. Tom. X.* p. 517, 518, 519. See an account of all these Jewels, p. 593, &c.

(3) *John Fitz Adam*.

(4) But not without a great Slaughter on both Sides. *Montreuil*, fol. 82.

(5) He buried her at the *Colonne* in *Paris*, within the Chapel of *Orleans*, where a noble Tomb of black Marble, with her Effigy, and a Princess, placed thereon, is still to be seen. Her Epitaph says, she died *November* the 14th, 1432. *Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II.* p. 201. *Scrip. de's Geneal.* p. 313.

(6) *John H. Ward*.

(7) And the Lord *Willoughby*, with six thousand Archers. *Hall*, fol. 124.

1433. *Riches* was at their Head. But terrified at the News of the Defeat of their Companions, they retired file after file to their Homes. The Marshal seeing himself thus deserted, took with him some of the most courageous, and threw himself into *Durpee*. Mean while, *Arundel*, taking Advantage of their Confusion, found means to recover *Caen* and *Lillebonne*. But *Dieppe* and *Harfleur*, places of very great Importance, remained in the hands of the French.

The Duke of Burgundy This same Year, another Event helped to disconcert the Affairs of the English. The Duke of Bedford being a Widow, married in March, *Jaqueline* of *Luxembourg* (1), Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxembourg* (2), Earl of *St. Pol*.

The Duke of Burgundy The Duke of Burgundy was extremely offended, that this Marriage was made without his Knowledge. He thought the Duke of Bedford should have shewn him more respect, since, besides the Consideration of the many Ties by which they were united, he married the Daughter of one of his Vassals. The Duke of Bedford, who was very prudent and circumspect, had doubtless his reasons for hastening his Marriage, without imparting it to the Duke of Burgundy. However, as it greatly concerned him not to anger that Prince, he paid him some Compliments by the Cardinal of Winchester, who even procured an Interview at *St. Omer*, where the two Princes met in April. But an unhappy Dispute about Precedency hindered their Reconciliation, and caused them to part extremely incensed with each other. These two Princes had frequently met without any Contest upon that account. But the Duke of Burgundy was obliged to start some Dispute now, for a Cloak to the Steps he intended to make. He owed Henry for King of France, and the Duke of Bedford for Regent, and Uncle of the reigning King, how therefore could he pretend to take place of him?

The Duke of Burgundy During this Year, nothing of Moment passed, with regard to the War. Charles seemed to have wholly relinquished all Care of his Affairs, the better to relish the Pleasures of Love and Ease. The Duke of Bedford was weak, and as he received no farther Supplies from England, thought more of keeping what he had, than of making new Conquests. Mean while, though the Duke of Burgundy purposed to make a separate Peace with Charles, he believed it would be the more advantageous, if he could do it with full hands. To that end, he became Master of *St. Valery*, which *Gaucour* had taken by Surprise. The Town of *Ham*, defended by the Bastard of Orleans and *Xaintrailles*, with *Laon* and *Provins*, were also taken by him. On the other hand, the Earl of *Arundel*, besieging *Silley-Guillaume* in *Maine*, the Constable *Richemont* obliged him to raise the Siege, but the French were scarce gone when the Earl returned and took the Town (3).

The Duke of Orleans Mean time, the Council of England were more intent, how to procure a Peace, than to recover what the King had lost in France. The Duke of Orleans, still a Prisoner at London, had made the first Overtures, and offered to use his utmost Endeavours, to finish an Affair, on which depended his Freedom. To compass his ends, he had proposed to bring to *Calais*, or any other place the Council should name, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Anjou* her Son, the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earls of *Richemont* and *St. Giles* his Brothers, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Foix*, *Perdriac*, *Clermont*, and the Archbishop of *Rheims*, to treat with the Ambassadors of England. He desired likewise Permission to be at the Congress, to promote, to the utmost of his Power, the Conclusion of a Peace. As his Aim was, to engage the Court of England to enter into Negotiation, he demonstrated, that the English would reap great Advantages, whether this Treaty broke off, or succeeded. These are the two Articles he proposed to the Council concerning himself.

H. Cap. 1b. p. 556. I. In case a Peace was concluded between Henry and the Dauphin, (for so he called King Charles) he promised to do Homage to Henry whenever required, and never to own any other King of France, than him, or his lawful Successors.

II. He promised the same thing for all his Vassals, for the Duke of *Alençon*, for the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Perdriac*, *Angoulême*, and the Dukes of *Milan* and *Savoy*.

In another Article, he supposed the Dauphin would be contented with an honorable and considerable Appennage, which was the very thing the English aimed at in this Negotiation.

But, as a Peace might happen not to be concluded, in that case, the Duke engaged to acknowledge Henry for sole and true King of France. He promised moreover to deliver to him *Blois*, *Orleans*, and all his demean Towns, with *Rochelle*, *Mont St. Michel*, *Limoges*, *Bourges*, *Chinon*, *Poitiers*, *Tournay*, *Beziers*, *Saintes*, and *Loches*, or what other Places he pleased instead of these, except *Rochelle* and *Mont St. Michel*, which were not to be changed.

That if the King should grant him any Demefns in England, he would own him, as King of England, for his Liege-Lord, and as such, swear Fealty to him.

That he would do his utmost, to put the King in possession of the Countries and Cities of France, which did not yet acknowledge him, and would serve him at his own Expence.

That in case the Treaty did not succeed, he promised to return a Prisoner to England, till all the Articles were performed on his part, on condition he should afterwards be released without Ransom (4).

These Articles, which had been before concerted between the King's Commissioners and the Duke, being approved by the Council, the Duke signed and sealed them, and swore to observe them. Then Passports were prepared (5) for the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the rest mentioned in the first Article, that they might repair to *Calais* in October. The Council appointed also Plenipotentiaries, to treat with the French.

When the Engagements here entered into by the Duke of Orleans are considered, they are a clear Evidence of his joining with the Court of France, to impose upon the Court of England. This plainly appears, in the hopes he gave that Charles would be satisfied with a bare Appennage: A thing most certainly far enough from that Prince's Thoughts, and which was insinuated, only to cause the English the more readily to fall into the Snare. Moreover, in promising to bring to *Calais* the Queen of *Sicily*, and the other French Princes and Lords, he would have intimated, that it was their Intention to conclude a Peace upon that foot; which was however, as afterwards appeared, directly contrary to their Design. In the next Place, the Duke's servile Expressions to the King of England, calling him, in the Articles, his King and Sovereign Lord, manifestly shews, he flattered him only to deceive him. In short, he promised things that were beyond his Power: For Instance, to deliver Places which belonged not to him. But this was precisely wherein consisted the Fraud, because his Aim was to intimate, that he was impowered, tho' the Court of France did not think proper to discover themselves openly. These are not bare Conjectures. The Sequel of this Negotiation will plainly shew, the Duke did not act with Sincerity. This however is the same Duke of Orleans, whom the French would represent as a Saint, and upon whose account Joan pretended to have several Revelations.

It is very easy to perceive, the Duke of Orleans acted in concert with the Court of France, when it is considered, that Charles was now reconciled with the Duke of Burgundy, who only wanted a pretence to break with England. The Constable *Richemont* had finished a separate Treaty, in a Conference with the Duke at *Nevers*. He repaired to that City, under colour of adjusting a Difference between the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of *Clermont*. Here all the Articles of the separate Peace were settled with the Duke. All he wanted, was to furnish an occasion to take this Step; and to this the Project of a Conference for a general Peace was made subservient. It was well known, the English would not agree to the Terms that should be proposed to them, and their Refusal was to be the Duke of Burgundy's Pretence to make a separate Peace. This was the real Motive of the Duke of Orleans's large Offers to the King of England, in case a Peace was not concluded. The Design was, to engage Henry's Council in this Negotiation, by putting them in hopes, that, whether the Conference ended in a Peace, or came to nothing, England would still be a great Gainer. The Duke of Bedford and the Council of England, who knew nothing of what had passed between King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, fell into the Snare. As soon as they had consented to the proposed Negotiation, the Duke of Burgundy pretending to be still strictly united with the English, so ordered it, that instead of *Calais*, the City of *Arras* was appointed for the Place of Congress, where all the Parties concerned were to send their Ambassadors. We shall see presently what passed in this Assembly.

(1) She was but about seventeen Years old. *Monfieur*, fol. 87. *Hall*, fol. 121. She and the Duke her Spouse came to London about Midsummer, where they remained till the latter end of August, when they went to Paris. *Hall*, *ibid.* *Stowe*, p. 373.

(2) *Rapin*, by mistake, calls him *James*. See *Monfieur*, fol. 87.

(3) The Year, on July 8, a Parliament met at Westminster, which granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth to be levied on the Laity. As also three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, imported or exported; Two Pence in the Pound of all Merchandizes sold, for two Years; and a Subsidy of fifty-three Shillings and Four-pence of every Sack of Wool for three Years. This Parliament was adjourned from August 13, till October 13, by reason of the Plague. *Common's History*, p. 606, 609.

(4) On October, unless King Henry, or his Heir, should think proper to give him leave to depart from England. See *Rapin's Hist.* T. m. X. p. 559.

(5) On August 10. *Ibid.* p. 501, 502.

1434. Mean while, the War in France degenerated into real plundering and robbing. Both Kings being too weak to keep great Armies on foot, only small Bodies and Parties acted on either side. The most remarkable Occurrences of this Year were these. The French having surpris'd Rue in Picardy (1), the Earl of Arundel posited thither (2) to retake the Town. Whilst he was upon the March, he heard, the French were fortifying Herberoy near Beauvais, and thought he should drive them from thence, before their Works were finished. Accordingly he appeared before that Place, but upon notice that Vignoles and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred Men, rais'd the Siege, to go and meet them. A bloody Battle ensued, where the Earl of Arundel was mortally wounded, and made Prisoner. He died within a few days, to the great Grief of the Duke of Bedford (3).

Death of the Earl of Arundel. May 13. Monmouth. Hall.

About the same time the Earl of Clermont, now Duke of Bourbon by his Father's Death, became master of Creil and Brie Compté Robert, which were sold him by the Governors. A Scotch Officer found likewise means to take Vincennes, but could not keep it.

Talbot arrives in France, and retakes several Places. Monmouth. Hall. Stow.

Mean time, Talbot being arrived from England with three or four thousand Men (4), to whom he joined some other Troops, drawn out of the Garrisons, was in such manner Master of the Field, that all the French vanis'd before him. So, without much Opposition, he retook Beaumont upon Oyse, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, and Clermont in Beauvaisis. He even began the Siege of Beauvais, but the bad Weather oblig'd him to desist. During these little Exploits, King Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphiny.

Charles's absence in the Country of the War. Stow.

The Frost, which was very severe about the end of this Year, and the beginning of the next, hindered not the two Parties from continuing the War all the Winter, by Sieges, and Surprizing of divers Places. The French had a great Advantage, in that most of the English Towns thought of returning to the Obedience of King Charles, since the Affairs of the English were gone to decay. But it was not from these Progreſſes, so inconsiderable in themselves, that Charles expected the Conclusion of the War. It must have been long, before he could have taken one by one all the Places possessed by the English in France. The Congress which was to be at Arras, promised him much more advantageous Successes, since he was sure of making a Peace with the Duke of Burgundy.

1435. Congress at Arras. Monmouth. Hall.

The News being spread over Europe, that a Peace between France and England, was going to be negotiated at Arras, there was scarce a Sovereign Prince, but what was desirous to send his Ambassadors. Pope Eugenius II and the Council of Basil, who were still at Variance, sent theirs also, but separately. From the Pope came the Cardinal Santa Cruz, and from the Council the Cardinals of Cyprus and Arles. King Charles sent seventeen Plenipotentiaries, at the head of whom was the Constable Richemont. Henry appointed twenty seven for France and England, of whom the Duke of Burgundy was the first (5); with Power to eight of them, viz. four English and four French (among whom were to be the Duke of Burgundy and the Archbishop of York) to sign the Peace. Afterwards the same Power was given to the Cardinal of Winchester. Hitherto the Duke of Bedford and the Council of England were perswaded of the Duke of Burgundy's Sincerity. This appears, in his being trusted with the Secret of the Embassy, since nothing could be treated, or concluded, without him. It must be confessed, this Prince acted a base part in this Congress. However, shortly after, private Intelligence was received in England, that he had desired the Pope to absolve him from his Oath to Henry V. Whereupon the King writ to the Pope to know the Truth. Eugenius answered, no French Prince had ever applied to him for any such thing; that he had never granted any such Dispensation, and for the future, would behave in that respect, so as the King should have reason to be satisfied. We shall see in the Sequel, how he performed his Promise.

p. 616.

p. 620.

Charles's Proposals for Peace. Du Tillet. Hall.

The Congress of Arras was opened on the 6th of August. It began with King Charles's Proposals. His Ambassadors offered, in his Name, to the King of England, Normandy and Guienne, provided he would quit the Title of King of France, and do Homage for those two Provinces: That is to say, he offered as a Favour the two Provinces which the King of England was entirely possessed of; a Favor, which he was to purchase with the Resignation of

the Title of King of France, and a great Part of the Kingdom still in his hands. Though there were no other Proof of Charles's being certain of gaining the Duke of Burgundy from the English, this alone would be sufficient. For on what other Foundation could Charles, who, for three Years past, was unable to bring an Army into the Field, make such a Proposal? But, as was observed, his Intent was, not to conclude a Peace with the English, but only to afford the Duke of Burgundy a colour to proceed as he had resolv'd. The Ambassadors of England, surpris'd at an Offer so remote from what the Duke of Orleans had made them expect, suddenly broke off the Conference, and withdrew (6) extremely dissatisfied, without vouchsafing an Answer. Here it is that several French Authors display their Eloquence, to shew to what Height the English had carried their Pride and Intolerance, since they rejected so reasonable Offers. A remarkable Instance of the usual Prejudice of Historians in favour of their own Nation.

1435.

The Retreat of the English surpris'd neither the Duke of Burgundy, nor the French Ambassadors. They must have foreseen, that such Offers would be refused. Nay, it may be affirmed on the contrary, that in making so unreasonable a Proposal, considering the posture of Affairs, their sole Aim was to induce the English Ambassadors to withdraw. This abrupt Departure however, was highly exaggerated, and represented as a clear Evidence, they never intended to make Peace. It was this likewise, that gave the Duke of Burgundy a Pretence, to conclude a separate Treaty with King Charles. He pretended, he was not oblig'd to follow their Humour, or render the War everlasting for their sake. Upon this Foundation, the Pope's Legate absolved him from all his Oaths, as well to the late, as the present King of England. After that, as all the Articles were before settled, his separate Peace was soon concluded (7). Never had King of France made so dishonourable a Peace. Charles was bound by this Treaty, to disown the Murder of Duke John, to deliver up the Murderers, or if they were not in his Power, to banish them the Realm: He promised to found certain Chapels, where the Soul of the Deceased was to be prayed for, Day and Night. He agreed, that the Duke of Burgundy should nominate the Priests that were to officiate, and a Cross should be erected on Montreuil Bridge, for a standing Monument of the Reparation of the Murder. He was oblig'd moreover, to pay fifty thousand Crowns of Gold for Duke John's Equipage, which was pillaged, and resign to the Duke of Burgundy certain Towns, to satisfy him for the Charges of the War. Lastly, he freed him from all Homage during Life. The Duke consented on his Part, that the King might redeem the Towns of St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, situated on the Somme, for four hundred thousand Crowns. By this Article it appears, the Duke was not very scrupulous, since he sold to France Places held only by the Bounty of the King of England, pursuant to his Engagement with the Duke of Bedford. It may be proper farther to remark, that the Service done by the Duke of Burgundy to France, in making a separate Peace, greatly outweighed, in the Opinion of the French Historians, all his Proceedings against her. This has made them very cautious in their Expressions, before the Treaty of Arras, for fear their Language should not agree with what they had to say afterwards. But after this happy Peace, they have extolled to the Skies, his Goodness, Wisdom, and Probity. This was however the Man, who for the sake of Revenge, had ruined France; and found no other way to repair the Fault, but by a notorious Treachery to England. What would the French have said, if he had always continued firm to the English? I am sorry to be oblig'd to speak thus of a Prince, to whom was given the Surname of Good. But it serves to shew, how the Surnames and Encomiums bestowed on Princes, happen sometimes to disagree with their real Character.

I say nothing of the Dispensation granted to the Duke of Burgundy. Every one may make what Reflections he pleases. I shall only add, that in November was published in England, Pope Eugenius's forementioned Letter, attested by the King. Probably, it was designed for an indirect Information of the Court of Rome's Sincerity.

Act. Pub. N. p. 620.

As soon as the English had lost the Assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, their Affairs began so visibly to de-

The Treaty of Arras changes the Affairs of the English in the worst manner. Monmouth. Hall.

(1) In the beginning of May. Monmouth, fol. 100.

(2) With eight hundred Men. Idem, fol. 101.

(3) John Arundel, Earl of Arundel, died in May (the 12th, says Dagdale Baron. Vol. I. p. 322.) and was buried in the Cordeliers Church at Beauvais. Monmouth, fol. 102.

(4) Eight hundred Men at Arms. Monmouth, fol. 98. Hall, fol. 120.

(5) The most considerable of the English Plenipotentiaries were, William Bishop of Norwich, Thomas Bishop of St. David's, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Walter Lord Hungerford, Master of the Ordnance, John de la Haye, Keeper of the Privy Seal, John Rastell, Seneschal of Guienne, Sir John P. P. R. R. D. D. of Laws, &c. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 611, 612.

(6) September 6. Monmouth, fol. 103.

(7) On September 21. Monmouth, fol. 116. Du Tillet, p. 325.

1435. cline, that it portended their sudden Ruin. As they had not Troops sufficient to defend all the Places, they were obliged to rely on the Loyalty of the Inhabitants, who very often proved false. On the other hand, the Towns upon the *Somme*, resigned to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being now against them, they were under a necessity to provide for that Quarter, for fear they might be used to invade the neighbouring Provinces. So, their whole Attention was confined to the Preservation of *Normandy* and *Paris*, it being impossible to take care of all, amidst the continual Defection of the Towns trusted to the Inhabitants. *Houdan*, *St. Denis*, *Pontoise*, *Melun*, *Pont St. Maxence*, *Meulant*, voluntarily surrendered to the *French*, during the Congress of *Arras*, or a little before. The Duke of *Bedford* retaking *St. Denis* (1), razed the Walls. Then he ordered *Meulant* to be invested, but the Bastard of *Orleans* raised the Siege. The Lord of *Chatillon*, Governor of *Epernay* for the *English*, going out of the Town, found the Gates shut against him at his Return; and the Inhabitants called in the *French*.

Death of Queen Isabella of Bavaria. Monstrelet. *Isabella*, Queen Dowager of *France*, seeing the prosperity of the King her Son, whom she mortally hated, and the desperate Condition of the *English*, died at *Paris* with Grief and Vexation, twelve days after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Arras* (2). She was universally hated by the *French*, who considered her as the principal Cause of the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *English* did not much esteem her; at least, they shewed but little regard for her, since she was become unserviceable to them.

Death of the Duke of Bedford. Hall. Sandford. Her Decease was of little Consequence to either Party. But the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, on the fourteenth of the same Month, at *Roan*, was of infinitely greater Importance. Very probably, his Indignation to be thus imposed upon by King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, helped to throw him into the Sickness, of which he died, four days before the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Arras*, the fatal News whereof, he expected every moment. He foresaw, with a mortal Concern, the Affairs of the King his Nephew were going to be irretrievably reduced to a very wretched Condition. During the whole Course of his Administration, he behaved with that Wisdom and Prudence, as justly ranked him with the greatest Men of his Time. His Valour, and other martial Virtues, shone with no less Lustre on all Occasions, where he commanded in Person. Had he been well assisted by *England*, he would have, probably, ended the War to his own Glory, and the young King's Advantage; since he wanted no Qualification proper to accomplish the greatest Undertakings. But unfortunately for him, he was abandoned, when he stood most in need of Assistance. The only thing he could be taxed with, was his suffering himself to be surprised, in the Affair of the Congress of *Arras*. But where is the Man, that can always be upon his guard against Treachery? Nothing better shews the Esteem, due to this illustrious Prince, than the Regard *Lewis XI*, Son of *Charles VII*, expressed for him, when he could have no Inducement to flatter him. *Lewis* being one day in the Church of *Roan*, and looking upon the Duke of *Bedford's* Tomb (3), a certain Lord of his Retinue, advised him to demolish that standing Monument of the Dishonour of the *French*; *No*, replied the King, *Let the Ashes of a Prince rest in Peace, who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us tremble. I rather wish, a more stately Monument were erected to his Honour.*

The Duke of York appointed Regent of France. Act. Pub. X. p. 674. Hall. Stow. Immediately after the Duke of *Bedford's* Death, the Duke of *York* (4) was appointed Regent of *France*. But *Edmund Beaufort* (5), who aspired to that Dignity, so

managed it by his Intrigues, that his Rival's Patent was long deferred. Probably, he was in hopes to obtain a change in his favour. This Delay proved extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, as will be seen in the Relation of the next Year's Occurrences (6).

All *England* was exceedingly moved at the News of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Defection. The most opprobrious Names were there liberally given him. Mean while, the Duke willing to shew still some regard for *Henry*, sent two Heralds to make his Excuse, for concluding a separate Peace, on pretence, his Subjects were grievously oppressed by the continuance of the War. This is the common pretence for a Peace, though generally when a War is undertaken, the Interests of the poor People are little regarded. The Duke offered at the same time his Mediation to *Henry*, if he desired to conclude a Peace with King *Charles*. This offer was looked upon as a fresh Insult. The truth is, what could be expected from the Mediation of a Prince, who had so openly sacrificed the Interest of *England* to his own Advantage? Accordingly, no Answer was vouchsafed to his Letters, which, besides, were writ in a Style very different from what he was wont to use (7). His Heralds were received with Indignity. The Law of Nations had like to have been violated on their account, and all the *Flemings* and *Burgundians* then in *England*, torn in pieces by the Populace; so incensed were they against their Prince. But such Behaviour was to him very serviceable. He wanted a Pretence to join his Forces with the *French*, and did not fail to find one in the Insults upon his Heralds and Subjects. For in *May*, this very Year, he sent the Constable *Richemont* five hundred Lances, under the Command of the Earl of *Lalain*, and thereby, openly declared himself an Enemy to the King of *England*.

The Constable joining this Aid to six or seven thousand Men, drawn together from other Places, approached *Paris*, where remained but fifteen hundred *English*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Woodville* (8). Besides that this Garrison was very weak, for the Defence of so large a City, the Constable held Intelligence with the Inhabitants, who being almost all Friends of the Duke of *Burgundy*, sided with *England*, only out of regard to that Prince. Whilst he adhered to the King of *England*, *Paris* wanted no other Guard, but her own Citizens; but upon his declaring for King *Charles*, they all changed with him. So, it was no wonder, if fifteen hundred *English* could not keep them in Awe. The Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, the Absence of the new Regent, and the little care taken, to send Succours from *England*, disabling the *English* to keep an Army in the Field, the Constable met with no Opposition in his March. He took several small Places near *Paris*, and slew five hundred (9) of a Detachment, sent by the Governor to throw themselves into *St. Denis*. After that, he encamped at the very Gates of *Paris*, with his little Army. Whilst he was in this Camp, there were continual Parleys between the Burghers and Besiegers, without the Governor's being able to help it. At length, *April* the thirteenth the whole City rose in Arms, whilst the Marshal de *l'Isle Adam* scaled the Walls (10). The Garrison advancing to repulse the Assault, found themselves pelted with a Shower of Stones from the Windows, whilst all the City resounded with *Long live the King, and the Duke of Burgundy*. The Governor, perceiving there was no resisting so many Enemies, chose to retire into the *Bastille*, with all his People. Immediately all the Streets were chained, for fear he should think of returning. Mean time, *l'Isle Adam* entered the City with ease, and opened the Gates to the Constable. Thus

(1) Wherein he was assisted by *John Lord Talbot*, the Lords *Willoughby* and *Scales*, the Marshal de *l'Isle Adam*, &c. and five thousand Men. *Hall*, fol. 127.

(2) She died September 30, and was buried in the Church of *St. Denis*. *Monstrelet*, fol. 117. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 126.

(3) He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church in *Roan*, under a plain Tomb of black Marble, with an Epitaph upon a Copper Plate, or Tablet of Brass, affixed to a Pillar at the Foot of his Tomb: Above the Epitaph stood his Escutcheon of Arms (of Silver, now torn away) within the Garter, betwixt two *Ostrich Feathers*; and underneath a Root is represented, which the Priests call, *La Racine de Bedford*. *Sandf. Geneal.* p. 314. *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 202.

(4) *Richard Plantagenet*. His Patent was deferred till July 16. 1437. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 674. 675.

(5) The Person that opposed the Duke of *York* about the Regency, was not *Henry Duke of Somerset*, as *Rapin* says here by mistake; for there was no such Title then, it being first conferred upon *John Beaufort* in 1443, 21 *Henry VI*. See above, p. 540, Note (1). But the Person here meant, was, *Edmund*, third Son of *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset*. This *Edmund* bore the Titles of Earl of *Mortagne* in *Normandy*, and Lord of *Chirkland* in the *Marches of Wales*. He was created, August 28. 1442, Earl of *Dorset*; and June 24. 1443, Marquis of the same. And at last, March 31. 1448, upon his Brother *John's* Death, he succeeded him in the Dukedom of *Somerset*. See above, p. 535, Note (8); and *Sandford's Geneal.* p. 331.

(6) This Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, on October 10, which granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, (deducting out of it four thousand Pounds for the Relief of decayed Towns and Villages,) also Tunnage and Poundage for two Years; and a Subsidy of thirty three Shillings and Four pence of Merchants-Denizens, and of forty six Shillings and Eight-pence of Aliens for every Sack of Wool. They also granted, That every Person having any Freehold in Lands, Annuities, Fees, Offices, or Hereditaments, above five Pounds yearly, should pay for every Pound Six-pence, upon his Oath. There was also a Parliament in the beginning of the Year 1436, which met at *Westminster*, January 21, and granted a Tenth and a Fifteenth, and the like Subsidy of Wools for three Years, as was granted in the former Parliament. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 613—620. In this last Parliament it was enacted, That no Sheriff or Bailiff should impanel any Persons upon Juries, but such as inhabit within his Bailiwick, and have Estate to their own use, or to the whole use other Persons have Estate of Fee-simple, Fee-tail, or Freehold, in Lands and Tenements, of the yearly Value of twenty Pounds, or more. But this not to extend to Cities or Boroughs. *Statute.*

(7) They were directed, To the high and mighty Prince, *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, his beloved Cousin: Neither naming him King of *France*, nor his Sovereign Lord, as he always used to do. *Monstrelet*, fol. 118. *Hall*, fol. 128.

(8) *Monstrelet*, (fol. 125.) *Hall*, (fol. 130.) *Dugdale (Baron.* Vol. II. p. 85.) *Stow*, (p. 376.) and *Speed*, (p. 658.) all agree in saying, it was the Lord *Robert Willoughby*. *R. Wodeville* was Captain of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. X. p. 623.

(9) But three hundred: The whole Detachment was no more than six hundred. Fourscore were taken Prisoners. They were commanded by *Thomas Lord Beaumont*. *Monstrelet*, fol. 124. *Hall*, fol. 130.

(10) And shewed the Citizens a Charter, wherein *Charles* granted them a Pardon, and confirmed all their ancient Liberties and Privileges. *Hall*, fol. 130.

1436. *Paris* was taken for King *Charles* by the same *Piſte Adam*, who had ſurprized it in like manner, ſeventeen Years before, for the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Baſile*, which might have held a long Siege, had it been well ſtored with Proviſions, was ſo deſtitute, that it could hold out but three Days. It was very well, the Governor could obtain an honorable Capitulation.

England
works of a
Peace.

As the Affairs of the *Engliſh* ſenſibly declined, the Council of *England* were extremely deſirous of a Peace. The War in *France* no longer concerned the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, as in the Reign of *Henry V.* and till the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, but only what part the King of *England* could poſſibly keep; and the little that could be expected to be preſerved by a vigorous War, coſt *England* immenſe Sums. This was a very plauſible Reaſon, to perſuade the Publick, it was neceſſary, ſeriously to think of a Peace. I ſay, a plauſible Reaſon, becauſe it was not the real Motive of the Council's Proceedings. The Cardinal of *Wincheſter* had for ſome time gained ground upon the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Rival. The Council, by degrees, was filled with his Creatures, who, no more than himſelf, found their own private Advantage in the Continuation of the War; which, ſince it was unſucceſſful, rendered them odious to the People. Coin was grown exceeding ſcarce in *England*, and yet the Council was forced to be continually deviſing means to raiſe Money, which could not be done without cauſing great Murmurs. On the other hand, the Cardinal hoped to ruin his Enemy with more eaſe, during a Peace, becauſe the War, and the unexpected Accidents thence ariſing, rendered the Perſon and Counſels of the Duke of *Gloceſter* abſolutely neceſſary. In ſhort, as the Duke was ever of Opinion, that vigorous Endeavours ſhould be uſed to recover what was loſt in *France*, this was an Argument for the oppoſite Party to inſiſt, with the ſame earneſtneſs, upon the neceſſity of concluding a Peace. This Opinion prevailing in the Council, the Duke of *York*, whoſe Commiſſion to be Regent of *France* was at length ſigned, had Inſtructions, and full Power to treat with King *Charles*, if he ſaw any appearance of Succeſs. Moreover, on ſuppoſition of a Negotiation, the Council impowered the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, jointly, to treat of the King's Marriage with one of his Adverſary's Daughters.

Inſtructions
to the Duke
of York.
Act. Pub.
X. p. 642,
643.

He drives
the French
out of Nor-
mandy.
Monſtrelet.

The Duke of
Burgundy
prepares to
beſiege Calais.
Monſtrelet.
Hall.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 646.
The Duke of
Gloceſter
goes to his
Relief.

Henry diſpo-
ſes of Bou-
logne and
Flanders.
p. 649, 652.

Shortly after, the Duke of *York* departed for *France*, and in *Normandy* landed a good Body of Troops (1), with which he retook many ſmall Places or Caſtles ſeized by the *French*, ſince the death of the Duke of *Bedford*. *Fescamp* was among the Places recovered by the Regent, but preſently after retaken by *Scalade*.

Though the Duke of *York* was maſter of the Field in *Normandy*, and about *Paris*, he was concerned for *Picardy*. He heard from all Parts, that the Duke of *Burgundy* was drawing all his Forces together, and making great Preparations for a Siege. As theſe Preparations could be deſigned only againſt *Calais* (2), he ſent notice to the Council of *England*, that they might provide in time againſt the threatened Siege. Indeed, a powerful Fleet, a great Train of Artillery, and an Army of fifty thouſand Men, aſſembled by the Duke of *Burgundy*, were clear Evidences of his extreme Deſire to ſucceed in his Enterprize, and of his Reſolution not to be diſappointed. This News flying to *England*, the whole Nation was alarmed, and grew more incenſed againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Council trembling for *Calais*, the firſt Conqueſt of the *Engliſh* in *France*, reſolved to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to ſave it. To that end, they ordered fifteen thouſand Men to be raiſed, and petitioned the Duke of *Gloceſter* to take upon him the Care of relieving that Place. Fifteen thouſand Men were little enough for ſuch an Undertaking. But, beſides that, it was reckoned, the Regent would join the Duke of *Gloceſter* with all his Forces, the Enemy's Army was known to conſiſt almoſt entirely of the Militia of *Flanders*, who were not much valued.

Whiſt the Troops were levying with the utmoſt diligence, the King, by Advice of his Council, reſolved to expreſs his reſentment againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, in granting, by Letters under his Great Seal, the Earldom of *Boulogne* to the Lord *Beaumont*, and *Flanders* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. But it was eaſier to give them in Parchment, than wreſt them out of the Hands of the Poſſeſſor.

Every thing being ready for the departure of the Army, deſigned for the relief of *Calais*, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſet Sail, and landed in *Normandy* the beginning of *October* (3). The Duke of *Burgundy* had now been before *Calais* fix Weeks, with his numerous Army. He carried on the Siege vigorously, and the Beſieged made as brave a Defence. Mean time, the Duke, who hoped to acquire immortal Fame, by taking one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*, was yet very far from his Aim. Nay, he began to perceive, the Attempt was beyond his Power. His Fleet (4), by the unſkillfulneſs of the Pilots, or ſome other Accident, coming too near the Town at low Water, run on ground, and was reduced to Aſhes before his Eyes, by the Beſieged. This was a very mortifying Accident, but a worſe beſel him quickly after. A Rumour being ſpread in the Army, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was approaching to relieve the Town, the *Flemings*, diſcouraged by the Fatigues of the Siege, and terrified at the approach of the *Engliſh*, ſuddenly unpitched their Tents, and began to retire. In vain did the Duke endeavour to remove their Fears. The Scouts of the *Engliſh* Army beginning to appear, it was ſtill leſs practicable for the Duke to ſtop his frightened Troops, who fought only to avoid a Battle. So, the Duke ſeeing he could not prevail, was forced to follow them in their Retreat, which was made in great diſorder, though timely enough to prevent the *Engliſh* from taking any Advantage. He had the farther mortification to receive a Deſance from the Duke of *Gloceſter*, offering him Battle, and not to have it in his power to accept it, though his Army was much ſuperior to that of his Enemy. But this was not yet all. Hardly was he returned into his own Country, when the Towns of *Flanders* revolted againſt him. He was even in danger of loſing his Life at *Bruges*, in a ſeditious Tumult of the Citizens. He was himſelf wounded, after ſeeing, with Grief, *Piſte Adam* torn in pieces by the mutinous Populace. Mean time, the Duke of *Gloceſter* improving this Juncture, over-ran *Artois*, *Flanders*, and *Hainault*, and carried away twelve hundred Waggon-Loads of Booty. From thence-forward the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſo much trouble at Home, that he was but little ſerviceable to King *Charles*.

In June this Year, *Lewis* the Dauphin, Son of King *Charles*, married *Margaret* of *Scotland*, Daughter of *James I.* about twelve Years of Age.

The beginning of the Year 1437, was remarkable for the Death of *Joan* of *Navarre* (5), and *Catherine* of *France* (6), both Queen Dowagers of *England*, one Widow of *Henry IV.* the other of *Henry V.* The laſt had married *Owen Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman, deſcended, as it is ſaid, from the antient Kings of *Wales*. I do not know whether, in thoſe Days, this Deſcent was much regarded, or was endeavoured to be traced, till after the Crown was devolved to the Family of the *Tudors*, by the Advancement of *Henry VII.* to the Throne. However that be, when Queen *Catherine* eſpouſed *Owen Tudor*, the Marriage appeared ſo unfuitable, that all *England* was offended at it; and the more, as it was made unknown to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was then Protector. But that Prince's Veneration for the Memory of the King his Brother, prevented him from giving the Queen his Siſter-in-law any Trouble. When ſhe was dead, the Council had not the ſame regard for her ſecond Husband. They thought it their Duty to puniſh him for his raſhneſs, in daring to eſpouſe the King's Mother, without the Conſent of thoſe who governed the Kingdom, and ordered him to be ſent to the Tower. Some time after, *Tudor* made his eſcape, but was taken, and put under cloſer Confinement. Some ſay, he found means to eſcape a ſecond time, but being retaken, loſt his Head. Others affirm, he was not beheaded till 1460, upon being taken in Battle, fighting for the Houſe of *Lancaster*. I don't know, whether it be certain, that *Tudor* was put to Death, but it may be affirmed, that thoſe who ſay it was in 1460, were guilty of an Error, by taking *Owen Tudor*, his third Son (7), for *Owen Tudor* the Father.

Tudor had by Queen *Catherine* three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*. The eldeſt was created Earl of *Richmond* (8) by *Henry VI.* his Half-Brother, who gave him to Wife, *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Duke* of *Somerſet*. From this Marriage ſprung *Henry Earl* of *Richmond*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the Throne

1436.
The Duke of
Burgundy's
Army retires.
Monſtrelet.

The Duke of
Burgundy's
Army retires.
Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet.
Hall.

Inſurrection
in Flanders.
Monſtrelet.

1437.
Deaths of the
two Queen
Dowagers of
England.
Catherine
Tudor.
Sandford.
Stowe.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 685.
Tudor is
ſent to the
Tower after
the Queen's
Death.
ib. p. 686,
700,
Hall.

Tudor's Marriage
by Queen
Catherine.
Sandford.
Hall.

(1) Eight thouſand Men. Hall, fol. 131.

(2) The Garriſon whereof had made Incuſſions into ſeveral Parts of *Flanders*, particularly about *Boulogne* and *Gravelines*. Monſtrelet, fol. 127.

(3) Hall ſays, it was July 27. which is moſt probable, fol. 133. For the Siege was begun in June. See Monſtrelet, fol. 129, &c. The Duke of *Gloceſter* did not come till after the Siege was raiſed. Ibid. fol. 134.

(4) It was only Hulks loaded with great ſquare Stones, joined together with Lead, &c. to be thrown into the Harbour, in order to render it unfit for uſe, and hinder the *Engliſh* Shipping from coming near to relieve the Town. Monſtrelet, fol. 132.

(5) *Joan* of *Navarre*, Relict of King *Henry IV.* died at *Harroving* in *Eſſex*, July 10. 1437, and was interred by her Husband in *Canterbury Cathedral*, where her Effigies is ſtill to be ſeen. Sandf. Geneal. p. 270. Hall, fol. 134.

(6) Queen *Catherine* died January 3. 1437, in the Monastery of *Bernardſey* in *Soutwark*; and on the 18th of February next following, her Body was brought to *St. Catherine's* by the Tower, from thence to *St. Paul's*, and ſo to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where it was interred; but her Corps being taken up in the Reign of *Henry VII.* when he laid the Foundation of his new Chapel there, ſhe was never ſince buried; but remaineth ſtill above Ground, in a Coffin of Boards, near the Sepulchre of *Henry V.* her firſt Husband. Sandf. Geneal. p. 282. Stowe's Ann. p. 370.

(7) It could not be his third Son, for he was a Monk of *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. Sandf. Geneal. p. 292.

(8) *Edmund* of *Hudon* was created Earl of *Richmond*, 31 *Henry VI.* November 23, at *Reading*. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 230.

1437. of England, by the Name of Henry VII. all the Male-Heirs of the House of Lancaster being extinct. Jasper the second Son was made Earl of Pembroke (1). Owen the youngest, lost his Head on the Scaffold in 1460.

Second Marriage of the Duke of Bedford.
Aët. Pub. X. p. 628.
Montrelet. Aët. Pub. X. p. 633.
p. 677.

Jaqueline of Luxemburg, Widow of the Duke of Bedford, followed the Example of Queen Catherine. After the Death of the Prince her Husband, she married Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a Knight, and much her inferior. This Match was almost as unsuitable as Queen Catherine's. Besides, it was made not only without the King's License, but also contrary to *Jaqueline's* express Oath, not to marry without his Permission. So, both the Bride and Bridegroom would have been liable to the rigour of the Law, had not the King been pleased to forgive them (2).

Death of James I. of Scotland.
Buchanan. Montrelet. Aët. Pub. X. p. 679.

On the 10th of February, James I. of Scotland, was murdered in his Bed, by Assassins suborned by the Earl of Arbol (3) his Uncle. James II, his Son, seven Years old, succeeded him, under the Guardianship of *Joan of Somerset* his Mother, who was herself wounded, by endeavouring to save the King her Husband. It is time now to return to what passed in France.

The Affairs of the English.
France begins to have a new Face.

After the Arrival of the Duke of York from England, the Affairs of the English began to be upon a better foot. King Charles, ever a Slave to his Pleasures, had no considerable Body of Troops in the Field; and the Revolt of the Flemings, hindered the Duke of Burgundy from sending him any Assistance. It is true, the Towns that had voluntarily surrendered to him, had strengthened his Party considerably, but withal, his Army was much weakened, on account of the Garrisons he was obliged to keep there. As matters then stood in France, both Kings had almost equal Reason to fear the Disloyalty of their Adherents; who, for the most part, were attached rather to the Fortune of him they served, than to his Person, or the Justice of his Cause. Thus, the Preservation of the Towns they were possessed of, entirely depended upon the Strength of the Garrisons.

The Siege of Montreuil.
The first Months of this Year, the Cold was so excessive, that it seemed to leave the Generals on both Sides no desire to form any Enterprize, till it should be abated. Mean while, Talbot, who found nothing impossible, reaped a considerable Advantage from the Security of the French, caused by the Sharpness of the Season. On *Sunday* at Night, he scaled *Pontoise*, by help of the Ditches being frozen (4), and carried it, whilst the Garrison and Townsmen were wholly intent upon their Diversions. The taking of this important Place was a great Blow to King Charles. Especially, it very much annoyed the Parisians, who were exposed to the continual Incurfions of the new English Garrison, to the very Gates of Paris.

Montrelet.

The French made themselves some amends for this Loss, by the Acquisition of *Dreux* and *Chevreuse*, sold them by the Governors.

The Duke of Burgundy refuses King Charles.

The Superiority the English had recovered in France, made the Duke of Burgundy apprehensive of some fatal Revolution. He was sensible that, without his Aid, King Charles could never end the War; and as he had openly declared against the English, it was his Interest that they should be entirely expelled the Kingdom. Mean time, it grieved him to act alone for the Benefit of a Prince, whose Indolence kept him from all the Enterprizes, where he ought to have been the chief Actor. The Duke designing therefore to rouse him out of this Lethargy, represented to him, that his Honour and Interest called upon him to assemble all his Forces, put himself at their Head, and approach Paris, in order to drive his Enemies out of the Heart of the Kingdom. At the same time, he offered to make a powerful Diversion in Picardy, to favour his Undertakings.

Charles sends his Son to the Duke of Burgundy.
Montrelet.

Never was Prince less inclined to War than Charles VII, and yet never did King of France make greater Conquests than he, since he may be said to conquer his whole Kingdom. But it was chiefly by means of his Generals, who, for the most part, were Men of eminent Merit. The Duke of Burgundy's Remonstrances and Offers having raised him from his Sloth, he drew all his Forces together to approach Paris, where he was much wanted. By the Way, he attacked *Montereau-Faut-Yonne* (5), whilst the Duke of Burgundy besieged *Crotoy*, a strong Place in Picardy.

It was about the end of August (6), when the Duke of Burgundy invested *Crotoy* with a strong Army (7), whilst four French Ships blocked up the Price by Sea. The Duke of York being recalled, by the Intrigues of the Earl of Somerset his Enemy, was about to depart, and only waited for the Arrival of the Earl of Warwick, who was to succeed him in the Regency. For this cause, not being able to take upon him to relieve *Crotoy* in Person, he commissioned the brave Talbot for that purpose (8), whose Name alone was sufficient to strike Terror into the Enemies of the English. Talbot, at the head of five thousand Men, boldly advanced towards *Crotoy*, in order to relieve it, though the River *Somme* parted him from the Duke of Burgundy's Camp round the Town, which was on the other Side. When the Duke was informed of his March, he left part of his Troops at the Siege, and with the rest posted himself on the River-side, to oppose his Passage. The Hatred conceived by the English against this Prince, was so violent, that they thought nothing impracticable, when an Opportunity offered to be revenged. Talbot, improving this Disposition, rushed first into the River, Sword in hand, and by his Intrepidity inspired his Troops with such Courage, that they instantly followed him. The more bold, or rather rash this Action was, the more it astonished the Burgundians, who, imagining they had to deal with Devils rather than Men, took to Flight, without expecting their Enemies. Their Terror infecting those, that were left at the Siege, the whole Army ran away; and it was not in the Duke of Burgundy's Power to rally them. At the same time, the Duke of York appeared with seven Men of War in Sight of four French Ships, and chased them to brisble, that it was with great Difficulty they escaped to St. Valery. Talbot entered the Town in Triumph, and after levelling the Trenches of the Besiegers, marched back to Normandy. In his Return, he conquered five or six small Places in Picardy, and retaking once more *Tancarville* in Normandy, entered *Roan* covered with Glory.

The Siege of Montreuil.
The Success of the Siege of *Montereau* was not so favorable to the English; nevertheless it was not inglorious. Thomas Gerard Governor of that poor Place, long defended it, in spite of the vigorous Efforts of the Besiegers, though he had but four hundred Men. Hitherto King Charles was not very eminent for his Valour, but at this Siege he performed such Exploits, as began to breed a higher Idea of his Courage. After a pretty long Siege, he carried the Town by Storm, having been himself one of the first to mount the Breach, and fight hand to hand with those that defended it. Doubtless he had been told, that it was necessary to procure the Esteem of his Subjects, by some extraordinary Action. The Intrepidity he shewed on this occasion, turned greatly to his Advantage. From thenceforward, his Friends as well as Enemies, had very different Thoughts of him from what they had before. Mean while, the Garrison retiring into the Castle, a second Siege was to be formed. Charles satisfied with the Glory acquired in the first, and perhaps discouraged with the Fatigues he had endured, left the Management of this to the Dauphin his Son. Gerard, who was no less brave than experienced, held out fifteen Days longer, and then was forced to capitulate. When he came before the Dauphin, he very politely told him, that against any other but him, he should have been able to make a longer Defence. This Compliment was well received by the young Prince, who was pleased to see himself set in some measure above the King his Father. But Charles, who was told of it, seemed extremely mortified. It is said, he began from thenceforward to entertain a Jealousy of the Prince his Son, which proved very fatal to him afterwards.

The Duke of Orleans Prisoner in England.
Whilst the War continued in France, the Duke of Orleans, Prisoner in England, was thinking of means to obtain his Liberty. Nothing but a Peace between the two Kings could possibly procure it. And therefore, no one was more concerned than he, to endeavour to set on foot a fresh Negotiation. For that purpose, he desired leave to go and talk in Person with the Duke of Bretagne at Calais, who was then thought to be the only Prince that could be employed as Mediator. The Council, who were all inclined to Peace, would have readily granted his Desire, but it was judged necessary to see first how Charles was disposed. Besides, the Duke of Gloucester was

(1) Jasper of Hatfield was created at the same time Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards, 1 Henry VII, Duke of Bedford. *London: B. 1. p. 141.*

(2) He gave a thousand Pounds Fine for that and the Livery of her Dowry. *Cat's Abridg. p. 619.* He was created Earl of Richmond, 20 Henry VI, 1422, 29. *English Baron. Vol. II. p. 230.*

(3) And by causing his People to be clothed in White; by which means they were not discovered, the Ground being then covered with Snow. *Hall's Chronicle. by John Lord Clarendon. fol. 138.*

(4) With about 2000 thousand six hundred Men; whereas the Garrison consisted at most but of four hundred Men: However, they made shift to hold out six Weeks. *Montrelet. fol. 141.*

(5) About 1437, 20. *Montrelet. fol. 144.*

(6) About 1437, 20. *Hall. fol. 136.*

(7) Together with the Lord Fauconberg, Sir Thomas Knyvet, Sir John Montgomery, Thomas Chaworth, David Hulle, &c. *Montrelet. fol. 145.* *Hall. fol. 139.*

1437. of opinion, that a Peace was not to be thought of, till it could be made with advantage.

The Cardinal gains ground upon the Duke of Gloucester. Mean while, as the King advanced in Age, the credit of the Duke his Uncle sensibly lessened, and That of the Cardinal of *Winchester* daily increased. The Cardinal had a great advantage upon his Adversary, in that his Riches enabled him frequently to lend the King Money. The Kingdom was so exhausted, that Aids of that kind were considered as the greatest Service to the State. He artfully improved the King's disposition towards him, to prevent any fresh Attacks from the Duke of *Gloucester*. By Letters under the Great Seal, the King granted him a general pardon for all offences whatever, from the beginning of the World to the 26th of June 1437 (1). By this means he disarmed his Enemy of all pretence to attack him.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 670.

1438. A terrible Famine, which raged at the same time in *France* and *England*, and was followed by a Plague, prevented the Generals, on both sides, from forming any great projects. Attempts there were however, some of which were unsuccessful, and others inconsiderable. I shall therefore take notice of the most remarkable only. *Surienne*, Governor of *Montargis* for the *English*, finding himself surrounded with the Enemy's Towns, and receiving no assistance from *England*, surrendered that Place to the *French*, for ten thousand Salutes of Gold (2). In the present posture of the affairs of the *English*, *Montargis* was of little importance, since they could not possibly carry the War from that quarter. Shortly after, *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne* (3), Brother of the Earl of *Somerfet*, leading some Troops from *England* (4), and joining *Talbot*, they made some inconsiderable Conquests in *Normandy*.

Hall.

The disgrace received by the Duke of *Burgundy* before *Calais*, grieving him extremely, he wanted to repair it by taking that Place. But, as it was difficult to accomplish this design by a Siege in form, he took another method. He had been told, that by digging through a certain Bank, the Town would be infallibly overflowed; and that lying within distance, with a good Body of Troops, it would be easy to enter the Place, amidst the Confectionation of the Garrison and Inhabitants. The project was put in execution; but the Sea being lower than the Town, all the Water ran out. The Duke being disappointed, resolved to attempt the Siege of *Guines*; but the Earl of *Huntington* (5), who came very seasonably from *England* with a supply of Troops, constrained him to retire. The troubles in *Flanders*, which were soon after rekindled, found him so much employment for some years, that he had no leisure to form any new designs against the *English*.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 686.
He misses his aim.

The Dauphin's Marriage raised such a Jealousy in the *English*, that, after several insults on both sides, *England* and *Scotland* came at length to an open Rupture. Mean while, the Minority of *James* II, and the favorable disposition of the Queen-Mother to the *English* her Country-men, procured a nine years Truce, from the 1st of May this year.

Truce renewed with Scotland.
Act. Pub.
X. p. 679, 684, 685.

John and *Thomas* *Beaufort*, Brothers of the Earl of *Somerfet*, having been long Prisoners in *France* (6), it had been often attempted, to exchange them for others of the *French*, but there was always some obstacle in the way. By the agreement in 1430, with the Duke of *Bourbon*, that Prince had engaged, to procure their release without Ransom; but as that agreement was never executed, they still remained Prisoners. I do not know what became of *Thomas*, who bore the Title of Earl of *Perth*, it may be he died during his Captivity. But this year, *John* was exchanged for the Earl of *Eu* of the House of *Artois*, who had been Prisoner in *England*, ever since the Battle of *Azincourt*. He afterwards became Duke of *Somerfet*, upon the death of *Henry* his elder Brother. There was also a fourth Brother named *Edmund* who succeeded them, and of whom, I shall have much to say in the sequel of this Reign (7).

The Duke of Somerfet's Brother exchanged for the Earl of Eu.
Monstrelet.

Act. Pub.
X. p. 664, 680, 697.

1439. The Famine and Plague ceasing in *England* and *France*, both Sides took Arms again. In *March* 1439, the Constable *Richemont* putting himself at the head of a numerous Army (8), laid Siege to *Meaux*, one of the strongest

1439. The Constable Richemont besieges Meaux, and takes it by Storm.
Monstrelet.

Places in *France*, which had formerly held out seven months against *Henry* V. The Bastard of *Han* (9), an Officer of distinguished Valour, who was Governor, made so brave a defence, as astonished the Constable. However, after a three Weeks Siege, the City was taken by storm; but the Work was but half completed, since the Garrison (10) retired into the *Market*, (so that part of the City is called which is separated from the other by the *Marne*.) The *English* breaking down the Bridge of Communication, the Constable was forced to begin, on the other Side of the River, a second Siege much more difficult than the first. The same thing happened to *Henry* V, when he invested this Place. Mean time, the Constable having taken the Governor Prisoner in the assault (11), cut off his Head, because he was a *Frenchman*. This is what King *Charles's* Generals had not yet ventured to practice, by reason of the great number of Prisoners in the hands of the *English*. But as soon as they found themselves strongest, they overlooked that consideration, being no longer apprehensive of Reprials.

1439.

He continues the Siege of the Market.

The Siege of the *Market* of *Meaux* growing daily more difficult, the Constable drew round his Camp Lines with redoubts to prevent all relief, and the King came himself to the Army, to animate the Troops by his presence. Mean while, *Talbot*, who did not doubt, that the besieged would make a long resistance, was now prepared to relieve them. How difficult soever this undertaking appeared, he failed not to attempt it. The obstacles which he foresaw, served only to animate him the more. With a good Body of chosen Troops, he boldly advanced towards the Besiegers Lines, and assaulting and taking one of the Redoubts, which obstructed his Passage, entered the Place with a Convoy. On the morrow, he sallied out, whilst the Besiegers were still dismayed at the Action of the foregoing day, and went to prepare for a fresh Effort. But the Constable enraged at receiving such a disgrace from a handful of Men, pressed the Place so vigorously, that the Garrison were forced to capitulate, before the Succours could be ready.

Talbot throws in Succours; Monstrelet.

but the Place is taken.

The Siege of *Avranche*, undertaken by the Constable after that of *Meaux*, did not prove so successful. After being three Weeks before that Place, *Talbot*, with the Troops prepared for the relief of *Meaux*, attacked and forced the Lines of the Besiegers, and supplied the Town with Provisions.

He raises the Siege of Avranche; Hall.

After this Exploit, *Talbot* finding the *French* were dismayed, and their Troops so weakened, that they could not withstand him, appeared before *Harfleur*. As his Army was not strong enough to form a Siege, he chose to block up the Town. To that end, he so intrenched himself in an advantageous Post, that an Army of fifty thousand Men was not capable of forcing him. Mean time, the Earl of *Eu*, lately arrived from *England*, where he had been long a Prisoner, approached to attack the Intrenchments of the *English*; but perceiving it impracticable, chose to retire, after a faint attempt, wherein *Gaucour* was made Prisoner. At length, after a four months Blockade, *Talbot* became master of this important Place, the first Conquest of *Henry* V. After that, he cleared *Normandy* of the Garrisons, which the *French* still kept in several Castles: So that nothing remained to them in that Province, but the Town of *Dieppe* only.

and besieges Harfleur; Monstrelet; Stow.

Hall; Stow.

The Duke of *Burgundy* was concerned, that the affairs of the *English* began to be restored, and dreaded the consequences. King *Charles* waged War very carelessly, and could hardly be prevailed with to head his Army. Besides, *France* was so ruined, that he could draw but few Succours from the Provinces he possessed. On the other hand, the War in *Flanders*, which wholly employed the Duke of *Burgundy*, afforded no hopes of any great assistance from thence. If the *English* had then exerted themselves, probably, they would have recovered a great deal of ground. But, out of blindness, or inability, they made but faint efforts, contenting themselves with sending from time to time inconsiderable Supplies, which could not enable them to recover what they had lost. Thus on both Sides, it was easily seen, that the War would be eternal, if it was to last till one of the two Kings had lost, one after another, the Places he possessed. This

Disposition of the Duke of Burgundy.

(1) He also discharged him from the payment of Tenths, and all other Sums granted by the Clergy; and gave him a yearly Pension of forty Pounds. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 681.*

(2) A piece of Money worth about twenty five Pence *Tournais*. See the Coin Note at the end of *Henry* V.

(3) See above, p. 558. Note (5).

(4) Four hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears. *Hall*, fol. 156. He says, they were led by *Henry*, Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne*. So says also *Sauvford*, p. 298.

(5) With *John* *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 685.*

(6) Ever since the battle of *Baugé*, where *Clarence* was killed.

(7) The Reader may correct the mistakes in this Paragraph, by Note (8), p. 535, where he will find *John* was not Brother of, but himself, Earl of *Somerfet*, and had been so ever since the death of *Henry*, his elder Brother, 6 *Henry* V. *Edmund* was not fourth but third Son.

(8) Four thousand Men at Arms. *Monstrelet*, fol. 162.

(9) *Monstrelet* calls him, *le Bastard de Han*, fol. 162.

(10) It consisted of about five hundred Men; the commanding Officers were, Sir *William* *Chamberlain*, Sir *John* *Rappley*, &c. *Ibid.*

(11) It was *de Trian*, who was thus served, at the taking of the Town, and not of the *Market*. See *Monstrelet*, *ibid.*

1439.

consideration so affected the Duke of Burgundy, that he resolved, either to procure a Peace, if possible, between the two Kings, or secure himself by a Neutrality. Such a design was to be managed with great prudence and caution, for fear both Parties should agree to his prejudice, or the English grow more reserved, if they knew his Intention.

They began
to talk of
Peace.
Montrelet.
Du Tillet.
Ad. Pub.
X. p. 683,
See. 707,
708.

Whilst the Duke of Burgundy was possessed with these thoughts, the Pope exhorted the two Kings, by the Cardinal of Santa Cruz, to put a stop to the effusion of Christian Blood shed in their Quarrel. At the same time, he writ to the Duke of Bretagne, desiring him to be Mediator of Peace. The Duke sending to both Kings, found them equally inclined to enter into Treaty, and the Duke of Burgundy received the proposal with Joy. The Duke of Orleans took this opportunity, to offer his Mediation to the King of England, jointly with the Duke of Bretagne; and to that end, renewed his instances for leave to confer with the Duke at Calais. This was granted him, though the Duke of Gloucester opposed it with all his power, because he plainly saw, that Prince could not be an impartial Mediator. But for some time past, the Duke of Gloucester had lost his interest in the Council, where it was even affected, upon all occasions, to proceed contrary to his opinion. Besides, the Counsellors were so desirous of Peace, that they forgot, or were willing to forget, that the false step taken in sending Ambassadors to Arras, was entirely owing to the vain hopes given the Duke of Orleans. So, the captive Prince was looked upon as a disinterested Mediator, though it was easy to perceive, he was entirely biased in favour of King Charles. The Duke of Burgundy saw, with pleasure, the preparations for a Conference, which would either end in a Peace between the two Kings, or afford him a pretence, to conclude a separate Truce with England. The two Courts being thus disposed, Commissioners were appointed on both sides (1), to settle the preliminary Articles of the Congress. These Commissioners being met, judged, that in order to succeed in a negotiation of Peace, a Truce was absolutely necessary. Whereupon Henry impowered his to consent to it, but some obstacles occurred, which hindered the conclusion. What has been said concerning a Peace, was transacted in the foregoing year 1438. But I thought fit to defer speaking of it till now, that I might not interrupt the recital of what relates to this affair.

The Place of
Congress ap-
pointed.
p. 718.
The Duke of
Bretagne and
Orleans
Mediators.
Ib. p. 720,
728, 730,
731,
750, 703,
767.
Montrelet.
Hall.

In the month of January, 1439, Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy, and the Cardinal of Winchester, conferred together between Calais and Graveling. The result of their Conference was, that the two Kings should appoint a proper Place to treat of a Peace, with the mediation of the Dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and should send their Plenipotentiaries thither. Pursuant to this agreement, the very Place where the Dukes and Cardinal were, was chosen, and Ambassadors were nominated on both sides (2). They were all chosen out of the Princes and greatest Lords of the two Kingdoms. But, before we proceed to the success of this Congress, it will not be amiss to see how the Council of England stood disposed, with regard to a Peace. Now this evidently appears in the Ambassadors instructions, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Hence we shall be able to judge, which of the two Parties is to be blamed for breaking off the Conference, and rectify several mistakes of the Historians.

Instructions
given to the
English Am-
bassadors.
Ad. Pub.
X. p. 724.

I. In the first place, the Ambassadors were ordered to demand, that the King's adversary should leave him in peaceable possession of the whole Realm of France. They were to support this demand with several reasons mentioned in the instructions, but too long to be inserted here. Besides, the Reader knows very well, on what the pretensions of the Kings of England were founded.

II. If the French should expostulate against this demand, and think it unreasonable, the Ambassadors, after a previous Protestation, were to offer Charles the Provinces beyond the Loire, which were of the King's Demefn, but on condition of Homage.

III. If the Adversaries refused this offer, the Cardinal of Winchester, as a Clergyman, was to enlarge on the considerations proper to persuade the two Nations to Peace. These considerations being many and long, I shall only relate the substance of the three principal. The first was, that the War undertaken for the Title of King of France, claimed by each of the two Kings, had destroyed more Men than were, at that present, in both

Kingdoms. The second was, that the two Princes ought seriously to consider, that God made not the People for the Sovereign, but the Sovereign for the People; that is, to govern them with Justice and Peace, to the end the Subjects may be the better able to serve him. The third was, that France had not always been governed by one single Monarch, but, before and after Charlemain, there were often two, sometimes three, nay, four Kings at the same time.

IV. This last consideration was in order to proceed, in the fourth place, to another offer, which the Ambassadors had power to propose; namely, that Henry would resign to Charles all the Provinces beyond the Loire in full Sovereignty. He expressly reserved however Guienne, Poitou, and whatever was possessed by his Ancestors in France, before the Crown of England devolved to them.

V. If this was rejected, the Ambassadors had Power, to offer from the King their Master, that he would be satisfied with what his Ancestors enjoyed in France by right of Inheritance, provided Calais, Guines, and the adjacent Marches were added; the whole in full Sovereignty, without any dependance upon the Crown of France, or any Person whatever but God alone.

VI. If the French insisted, that Normandy should be restored to Charles, in the state it was in before the Conquest thereof by Henry V, that is, notwithstanding the Grants of several Lordships to private Persons, as well by the late as the present King, rather than break off the Conference this Article might be allowed.

VII. If Charles were brought to be satisfied with this offer, provided Henry would quit the Title of King of France, in that case, the Instructions furnished the Plenipotentiaries with many reasons and arguments to be alledged against that condition. But in short, they had Orders to leave this matter to the Cardinal of Winchester, to whom the King had made known his Pleasure.

It is manifest the Council had resolved to submit to this, if the Peace could not otherwise be made. For if Henry had absolutely refused to quit the Title of King of France, there was no secret to be kept, and the Instructions would have contained an express Order to reject the Proposal.

The VIIIth Article was concerning the King's Marriage with one of Charles's Daughters.

IX. If the French rejected all these offers, and made any Proposals on their part, the Ambassadors, without accepting or refusing them, were to reply, that they had no instructions to treat of a Peace upon those Grounds, but would signify them to their Master.

X. Mean while, they were to propose, by the Dukes of Burgundy or the Duke of Orleans, a fifty years Truce, with a free Communication between the two Nations. They had likewise power to reduce the Truce to forty, thirty, or twenty years; and rather than fail, they might limit it from three years to eight, provided it was without Communication.

XI. In case the Truce was accepted, they were to represent, that for the better observance thereof, it would be proper to make an Exchange of some Places. To that end, they were ordered to offer Meaux, Creil, St. Germain in Laye, which were in the hands of the English when these Instructions were drawn, for Dieppe, le Mont St. Michel, and Harfleur, which Talbot had not yet taken.

XII. Lastly, the King willing to facilitate the Exchange of these Places, agreed to release the Duke of Orleans, for a Ransom of a hundred thousand Marks, and to abate fifty thousand, on account of the proposed Exchange.

These Instructions were drawn May the 21st, 1439. If we had likewise those of Charles's Plenipotentiaries, perhaps we should find, the two Kings were not at so great a distance from one another, as it seemed in the Conference. But as, on these occasions, the chief care of the managers is to be upon their guard, for fear their secret Instructions should be discovered, it often happens, that the Negotiation is broke off, before there is occasion to show all their Concessions; so apprehensive are they of giving their Adversaries any advantage. This was really the case in the present Treaty. The English did not think proper, to go beyond the second Article of their Instructions, namely, that Charles should have the Provinces beyond the Loire, on condition of Homage to Henry. They expected, the French would give them room by their offers to make some further advances. For the same reason, the French kept to the Proposals made at the Congress of Arras, to wit, that their Master remaining sole King of France,

Montrelet.
Hall.

(1) The English Commissioners were, the Abbot of Fescamp, Thomas Lord Scales, Sir John Popbam, Sir Andrew Ogart, Sir Richard Hartington, Ralph Ruffley, and John Raynoll. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 683. And there were appointed afterwards, John Archbishop of York, Nicholas Bylesher, Stephen Wilton, and William Speuer, Doctors of Law; Robert Whitingham, Treasurer of Calais; and John Raynwell. Ib. p. 713.

(2) The English Ambassadors were, John Archbishop of York, John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, the Bishops of Lisieux, Norwich, and St. David's; Humphrey Earl of Buckingham, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton, and Perche; John de Vere Earl of Oxford, Henry Lord Beauchamp, the Abbot of Evesham, Walter Lord Langford, Nicholas Billesdon Dean of Sarum, Sir John Stourton, Sir John Sutton, Sir John Popbam, Robert Whitingham, Thomas Lelyngton, William Erard, Stephen Walton, William Speuer, and John Rimell. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 728.

1439. would resign *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*, on condition of Homage. They laid great stress upon this offer, and on *Charles's* condescension, in being pleased to stand to what he had offered at the Congress of *Arras*, though he had since made great Conquests, and was become master of *Paris*.

The Conference breaks up.
Hall.

It was almost impossible, for a Peace to be concluded on the Terms proposed on both Sides. Each Prince offered to resign only what was out of his power, and by virtue of this pretended Cession, expected the other should divest himself of what he actually possessed. This was properly, to desire to gain with the dash of a Pen, what they could not hope to obtain, without many successful Sieges and Battles. So, after the Ambassadors of the two Kings had long tried to discover, how far their Adversaries Instructions allowed them to advance, they parted without coming to any conclusion. Each was desirous to wait, till room was given to make more reasonable Proposals.

The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* were the only gainers by this Congress. The first desired, at any rate, to ease his Subjects in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, who were great sufferers by the Interruption of their Commerce with *England*. To this end, he employed his Dukes, who being a near relation of *Henry*, was not suspected by the *English*. Under colour of doing the Office of a Mediatrix between the two Kings, she had frequent Conferences with the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and negotiated a trading Truce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. This appears in several Papers of the Collection of the Publick Acts. And indeed, this Truce was concluded presently after (1).

Act. Pub.
X. p. 713,
730, 736,
750, 761.

1440.
The Temper
of Henry
and his
Court.

But the Duke of *Orleans* reaped the most benefit from the late Congress, since it procured him his Liberty, after a twenty-five years Captivity. It has been frequently observed, that there were two Parties in the Court of *England*, namely, the Duke of *Glocester's* and the Cardinal of *Winchester's*; and that the latter gradually prevailed, since the King began to take notice of his affairs. This Prince, now nineteen years old, had a very mean genius, and but little like his Father's. He easily suffered himself to be governed by those about him. Instead of having the Presumption very common to young Princes, he was ever distrustful of himself, and chose rather to follow the Counsels of others, than his own. With this weakness, he had Principles of Honour, Virtue and Religion, which indeed made him wish, he could always act justly, but often served for foundation and pretence to his Counsellors, to draw him into many Injustices. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances. Of this his Ministers knew how to take advantage, assured as they were of his incapacity to discern their self-interested Counsels. During his youth, he had contracted a habit of blindly following the suggestions of the Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle, who governed in his Name. But when he was of a more advanced Age, the Cardinal of *Winchester* and his Party insinuated to him, that his Uncle intended to keep him always in Guardianship, and had designs destructive of his quiet. These discourses frequently repeated, produced at length the effect the Duke's Enemies expected. By degrees, the King had such an aversion for his Uncle, that he would no longer regard him. It was made a sort of rule to mortify him upon all occasions. His moving any thing in Council was sufficient to have it strongly opposed, and the King generally countenanced the contrary Party to the Duke, out of fear of giving him room to execute the pretended design of keeping him in Subjection. Such for some time had been the disposition of the King and Court.

The Duke of
Glocester is
against re-
leasing the
Duke of Or-
leans.

The Duke of *Glocester* had always opposed the Duke of *Orleans's* release. The late King his Brother's Will, was to him an inviolable Law. Besides, he was persuaded, the giving *Orleans* his Liberty, would only increase the number of the Enemies of *England*. But his opposition was of no great weight; it rather served to induce his Enemies to favour the Duke of *Orleans*, had there been no other reason. We have seen what this Prince offered before the Congress of *Arras*. The Duke of *Bedford*, and the Council, had accepted his offers, which seemed very advantageous, because their aim had not yet been discovered. After the Treaty of *Arras*, he perceived it was no proper time to sollicite his Liberty. But when he saw that they begun to talk of a Peace, he renewed his Instances, and offered to become joint Mediator with the

Duke of *Bretagne*. He found in the Council the same favour as before, and in spite of the Duke of *Glocester's* opposition, it was resolved to accept of his Mediation, and to treat with him afterwards concerning his Liberty. He had leave therefore to repair to the Congress, where he appeared very zealous to procure a Peace between the two Kings, and, by help of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, found means to be reconciled with the Duke her Husband. The Cardinal being returned into *England*, spoke very much to his advantage, and represented to the Council, that since it was not his fault, that the Peace was not concluded, it was unreasonable he should suffer by the Rupture. His Friends urged, on this occasion, the two reasons already made use of, to colour the favour that was intended him. The first was, that the Diffension between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* might rekindle, and turn very much to the advantage of the *English*. The second, that the captive Prince might pay a large Ransom, which would help to carry on the War. In a word, they intimated, that before his release, he would be obliged to take the Oath to the King, and thereby hindered from assisting King *Charles*. So, in spite of whatever the Duke of *Glocester* could say, it was resolved to treat with him for his Liberty.

This resolution being taken, the Duke of *Glocester* thought himself bound, both in duty, and for his own security, to make a formal Protestation, to shew the Publick, that he had opposed it to the utmost of his power. The Protestation contained the reasons, why he believed the Council's resolution might be very prejudicial to the King and State. Though it be somewhat long, it will be necessary to insert the substance, because it may be of service in clearing several Facts. Besides, it shows the disposition of the Members of the Council, who, to mortify the Duke, scrupled not to sacrifice the King's interest to their Passion. This knowledge is the more requisite, as it will be seen in the sequel, that, to the fatal enmity between the Duke and the Cardinal, is to be ascribed the unfortunate success of the War in *France*. The Sum of the Duke's Protestation was as follows:

" My first reason for opposing the Duke of *Orleans's* release, is taken from the known incapacity of King *Charles*, and the Dauphin his Son. Therefore, con-

" sidering the great subtlety, and cautelous disposition of the Duke of *Orleans*, with his extensive knowledge, it is to be presumed, the States of *France* will entrust him with the Administration of the affairs of the Kingdom. Now, nothing can happen more prejudicial to *England*, since that Prince is perfectly acquainted with the strong and weak side of the Kingdom, during a twenty-five years residence.

" II. The diffension between King *Charles* and the Dauphin his Son being no secret, it ought to be feared, as it is but too probable, that the Duke of *Orleans*, when in *France*, will be a proper Mediator, to procure their Reconciliation.

" III. *Normandy* being the Province which contributes most towards carrying on the War, it is to be feared, the *Normans*, seeing the Succours, so often promised both by word of mouth and Letter, not sent, and, on the other hand, the Duke of *Orleans* released, will imagine they are designed to be abandoned, as well as the rest of the Conquests. As to its being said, that twenty thousand Marks may be taken out of the Duke of *Orleans's* Ransom, for the defence of that Province, I leave it be considered, whether that Sum is sufficient for that purpose.

" IV. The King and Council are very sensible, the Duke of *Orleans* acknowledges King *Charles* for his Sovereign. Let it be considered then, whether having taken two opposite Oaths, the one to a Prince whom he looks upon as a Foreigner, the other to him whom he believes to be his lawful King, he will choose to keep the first rather than the last. This is the more improbable, as he will always consider the first as extorted, whilst he was actually a Prisoner, and moreover cannot stand to this Engagement, without forfeiting his Possessions in *France*.

" V. It would be proper to see what Security may be taken, in case he breaks his Oath, under colour of obeying the absolute Command of his Sovereign.

" VI. The Earl of *Huntington*, who commands in *Guienne*, will probably be obliged to quit his Govern-

(1) This year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, on November 12, which granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth, and a half of a Fifteenth, to be levied on the Lait; and the Subsidy of thirty three Shillings and Four pence from Denizens, and forty six Shillings and Eight pence from Aliens, for every Sack of Wool; as also Tunnage and Poundage, for which Aliens were to pay seven Shillings and Eight pence. The Commons also granted, That all Aliens within the Realm, who were not Denizens should pay to the King Sixteen pence, if they were Householdiers; and if not, then but Sixpence. *Chron. Abridg.* p. 621, 622. In this Parliament it was enacted, That no Person should be made a Justice of Peace, in any County, who had not Lands and Tenements, to the value of twenty Pounds; but this not to extend to Cities, Towns, or Burroughs. The ground assigned for this Statute, is, that some Persons had been of late appointed Justices, who, in account of their small Behaviour, could not govern or rule the People; and others, by reason of their necessity, committed great Extortions and Oppressions. It was also enacted, That no Captain should abate of his Soldiers Wages, upon pain of twenty Pounds for every Spear, and ten Pounds for a Bow, to be paid to the King. *Statutes 13 Henry VI. c. 11, 18.*

1449.

"ment, because the King performs not what was promised him by Agreement. That Province being thus abandoned, and the Duke of Orleans in Alliance with the Houses of Albret and Armagnac, it should at least be considered, how that ancient Inheritance of the King will be defended, in case the Duke of Orleans joins Forces with those two Houses.

"VII. The King has no Ally in all Europe, but only the King of Portugal. Now if he will make Alliances with other Princes, how shall they be brought to hearken to his Proposals, when they shall come to know, that he had no other way to preserve his Father's Conquests, but by setting at Liberty one of his mortal Enemies?

"VIII. The late Reconciliation between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy at Calais, ought to create a dread, of their joining Forces to drive the English out of France, (as they certainly may do, unless God interposes,) instead of expecting any Advantage by their Dissention. If any stress is laid upon the Oath to be taken by the Duke of Orleans, before he leaves England, let a Man examine by the Civil Laws, how far the Oath of a Prisoner is to be depended upon.

"IX. If any of the Princes or Lords, who serve the King in France, chance to fall into the Enemies hands, as it may easily happen, four or five might be exchanged for the Duke of Orleans alone. But in case that Prince is released, the English Princes and Lords cannot fight for the King, without being liable to utter ruin.

"X. If, as it is likely, the release of the Duke of Orleans occasions the loss of Normandy, and the rest of the King's Dominions in France, what will the King's Counsellors be able to say for themselves? What Murmurings will there be among the People, when it shall be considered, that these Conquests, purchased with the Lives of the late King, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Bedford, and an infinite Number of Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, shall have been all lost by this fatal Counsel?

"XI. Lastly, every one knows, the late King, wisely weighing the danger which would arise from the Enlargement of the Duke of Orleans, forbid upon his Death-bed, to release that Prince till a Peace was concluded.

"And, as possibly, after my death, I may be accused of consenting to this resolution, I humbly intreat the King, that this my Protestation may be recorded, and an authentick Copy given me under the Great Seal, to serve for my Justification."

The Council persists in their Resolution. Act. Pub. X. p. 756, &c.

Articles sent to the Duke of Orleans. Ib. p. 756, &c.

It is set at Montrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 812--829.

The Duke of Gloucester's request was granted, but his Protestation did not hinder the Execution of the Council's Resolution. The 2d of July the Agreement for the Duke of Orleans's release was signed by the King and the Duke, in two Originals, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

The Terms required of the Duke were much easier, than those offered by himself before the Congress of Arras. He was not bound to acknowledge Henry for King of France, or to swear to him, much less to give him any Towns in Hostage, as he had formerly offered. Only his Word and Oath were taken for the payment of his Ransom, set at a hundred and twenty thousand Crowns. It is true, by this Agreement he engaged to give Obligations from the Dauphin, the Duke of Bretagne, and some others, for the Sum of sixty thousand Crowns, which he was not to pay till after his Liberty. Moreover, he promised to procure the King's Letters Patents from King Charles, authorising the Agreement, and promising not to hinder the Execution, and to account the Duke of Orleans base and infamous, if he violated the Articles. Finally, the Duke protesting, that as for the half of his Ransom, which he was to pay before he left England, it was impossible for him to perform his Engagement, without going to France, leave was granted him for a year.

The Council consisted then of Persons who blindly followed their Passion, without regarding the Interests of the King and State. Of this we shall quickly see very evident Proofs. The only thing that gave them any uneasiness, was, that the enlargement of the Duke of Orleans, seemed directly contrary to the late King's Will. For,

that Monarch had expressly enjoined by his last Will and Testament, that the Duke of Orleans should be kept Prisoner, till the King his Son was of Age, unless his Liberty should be a means to procure a Peace; but they found an Expedient to screen themselves from the murmurs of the People. The King declared by a publick Act, that in releasing the Duke of Orleans, he meant not to contradict his Father's Will; but only to attain to a speedier Conclusion of a Peace. To show more plainly, this was the King's Intention, the Duke was bound by fresh Articles, to use his utmost Endeavours, to procure a Peace between the two Kings; and in case he succeeded, his Ransom was to be forgiven, and what he should have paid, to be restored. But if, on the contrary, his Endeavours proved fruitless, he was to return into England, and remain a Prisoner as before, but the Money advanced towards his Ransom, to be repaid. It is evident, these new Articles were only to throw dust in the People's Eyes, since they were directly contrary to the others, and a Condition was added, not in the Duke's Power. In the next place, this appears still plainer, in that, the Peace not being concluded, the Duke did not return into England, nor was ever called upon. But he punctually performed the first Agreement.

All the French Authors have done the Duke of Burgundy the Honour to say, that he lent the Duke of Orleans Money to pay his Ransom; but we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that all he did in favour of his newly reconciled Enemy, amounted to no more than this. He consented, that his Duchess should promise in her own Name, to send the King the Obligation for thirty thousand Crowns, which the Dauphin was to give, or, in case of refusal, to become responsible. But as the Dauphin made no scruple to give his Obligation, the Duchess of Burgundy's Promise became of no use. It is true, the Duke of Burgundy magnificently received the Duke of Orleans at Graveling where they confirmed their Reconciliation. I have dwelt the longer upon the Duke of Orleans's release, because it discovers the disposition of the Court and Council, on which depend all the future Events of this Reign. Let us return now to the general Affairs.

The Duke of Bretagne pretended all along to observe a Neutrality, though the Succours brought by the Constable his Brother, from time to time, to King Charles, could neither be levied in his Country, nor led from thence without his leave or connivance. If the English had been in better Circumstances, they would doubtless have shewn their Repentment; but in the present situation of their Affairs, they thought it no small Advantage, that the Duke of Bretagne did not openly declare for their Enemies. Mean while, as the English and the Bretons annoyed one another at Sea, contrary to the Interest of both Nations, the King and the Duke thought fit to conclude a Treaty, mutually promising, not to suffer any naval Armaments to be made in their Ports, to the detriment of each other's Subjects.

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Regent of France, dying in the beginning of the Summer, the Duke of York was sent thither again in that quality (1), though he had been recalled, to give place to the Earl of Warwick (2).

If the English had been strong enough in France to improve the present opportunity, never had a fairer offered to repair their past Losses. The Dauphin, and all the Princes of the Blood, except the Duke of Burgundy, and the Earl of Eu, were joined in a League against the King. This League tended to no less than to dethrone him, and set the Crown on the head of the Prince his Son. But happily for him, the Confederates had engaged La Trimouille in their Party, and thereby entirely lost the Constable. As he mortally hated that Lord, his hatred extended to the whole Party, and induced him to bring the King a powerful Aid, which enabled him to give Law to the Princes. This Civil War was called *La Praguerie*, but for what reason I know not (3). The League was so ill managed on the part of the Confederates, that the King at length compelled them to implore his Mercy. Mean time, the English, who carried on the War very faintly, made some Incursions about Paris. But the Bastard of Orleans, who after siding first with the Dauphin, was returned to the King, stopped their Progress, which was not very considerable, by reason of their weakness.

(1) His Patent bears date, July 2. this year. Rymer's Fied. Tom. 10. p. 786.

(2) He died at Roan in Normandy, April 30. 1439, possessed of a vast Estate; the yearly value (as appears from the account of his Bailiffs in 12 Henry VI.) amounting to eight thousand three hundred and six Marks, eleven Shillings and Eleven-pence Half-penny! At a time when Barley was but four Shillings and Two-pence a Quarter; Oats two Shillings and three Half-pence; Capons Three pence a piece, and Hens three Half-pence, as appears from the accounts of his Household Officers. He was buried first in the Collegiate Church of our Lady, at Warwick, by his noble Ancestors; and afterwards removed into a magnificent Chapel, built by his Executors, according to the direction of his last Will: Wherein his Portraiture of Copper gilt, hooped over with Copper-Staves, is still to be seen. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. 1. p. 246; and Warwickshire, Vol. 1. p. 410. Strass's Ann. p. 378.

(3) Commes says, it was called *Praguerie*, or *Briguerie*; so that the name was probably derived from the word *Brigue*, signifying *Faction*. P. Daniel, Tom. 6. p. 106.

1440. After Charles had put an end to this dangerous War, he approached Paris, and in his way became Master of *La Charité*, by bribing the Governor.

Mean while, the Dukes of Burgundy never ceased her Endeavours to renew the Conferences for a Peace. At length, after labouring the whole Year to accomplish this Project, she prevailed with the two Kings, to appoint Plenipotentiaries to meet at St. Omer. The Duke of Orleans was chosen to be one of the Mediators.

1441. This new Congress had no better Success than the former. The Ambassadors were now all at St. Omer; but the Earl of Vendôme, Head of the French Embassy, refused to treat with those of England, on pretence of their inferior Quality. They were however Peers of the Realm, namely, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Lord Fanhope (1). In the Reign of Henry V, the French did not stand upon such Punctilio's. They readily conferred with bare Doctors in Law, provided they were duly empowered. It is true, the Ambassadors for this Congress were not of so high a Character as the former. But as there was no likelihood, the French would be more moderate in their Demands, the Council did not think proper to put the King, or the Princes, or any of the most considerable Lords, to a needless Expence. However, Charles took occasion from thence, to revoke the Powers given to his Ambassadors. Thus the Congress broke off without being ever opened. The French blamed the English, pretending the Court of England had designedly chosen Persons of no Birth or Note, that they might not be treated with. The Truth is, both Parties generally aimed only at amusing each other by these Conferences. They both guessed what their Adversaries were to demand, and, as they were resolved not to grant it, could expect no great Benefit from these Negotiations. They consented to them however, as well to justify themselves, to the Publick, as to try to amuse each other with the hopes of a Peace.

Whilst the Ambassadors were repairing to St. Omer, Charles was assembling an Army to make a powerful Effort, and take advantage of the Indolence of the English. As soon as he was ready, he ordered Admiral de Coigny to invest *Creil upon Oyse*, with a Detachment of the Army. The Constable joining him, with the rest of his Troops, the Siege was regularly formed, and the King came about the end of April, to receive the Town by Capitulation (2).

This was only a Preparative to a more considerable Undertaking, namely, the Siege of *Pontoise*, which Charles formed, the beginning of July (3), with an Army of twelve thousand Men. He had with him the Dauphin his Son, and all the Generals and Officers of Note in France. This Siege was at first carried on very vigorously, but the Besiegers showed no less Bravery. Talbot, whom the most difficult Enterprizes could not discourage, being commissioned by the Duke of York to introduce a Convoy into the Town, attacked one of the Enemy's Quarters (4), and forming it, sent in his Convoy. This seasonable relief inspired the Garrison with fresh Courage, who made so brave a Defence, that the Siege proceeded but slowly. Though the Besiegers were exceeding watchful, having to deal with so experienced a Warrior as Talbot, they could not hinder him from throwing Succours into the Town, three several times. However, Charles obstinately resolved to continue the Siege, undertaken at the Instance of the Parisians, who defrayed all the Charges. But at length, the Duke of York, receiving from England a Reinforcement (5), which increased his Army to twelve thousand Men, approached the Town (6), and sent a Herald to the King to offer him Battle. Charles answered, he should see what was to be done, and meant not to regulate his Time, by that of his Enemies. He saw the English Army on the other Side the *Oyse*, which they could pass only by a Bridge, guarded by a Detachment of a thousand Men. So, without any Apprehension of a sudden Attack, he leisurely continued the Siege. Mean while, the Duke of York, resolving at any rate to relieve the Place, found means to pass, in the Night, five or six hundred Men, in Boats of boiled Skins. This Detachment

suddenly falling upon the Guard of the Bridge, and cutting them in pieces, opened a Passage for the Duke, who immediately came on the other Side with his whole Army. Charles was so astonished at this unexpected Action, that he suddenly raised the Siege, and retired under the Canon of *Poissi*. The Duke of York followed him, and offered him Battle in vain. At last, after braving him for some time, and plundering before his Face, the Abby of *Poissi* (7), he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that Post.

The hasty Retreat of King Charles, before an Enemy much weaker than himself, was extremely injurious to his Reputation. All the French loudly murmured, but the Parisians more than all the rest. The King's best Friends were all dismayed, and openly shewed their fear, that so general a Discontent would prove fatal to him. In short, those nearest his Person, intimating to him, how he had exposed his Reputation, by so inglorious an Action, he resolved to retrieve his Credit, let what would be the Consequence. So, when least expected, he returned before *Pontoise* (8), and carried it by Storm (9). He so glorified himself in the Assault, that all the ill Impressions caused, by his former Conduct, to his Disadvantage, were effaced. He was seen on the Breach, Sword in Hand, fighting with an undaunted Courage, and exposing his Person like a common Soldier. By this vigorous Action, he plainly discovered, if he delighted not in War, it was not so much for want of Courage, as from a too great Attachment to his Pleasures. Some time after, the Town of *Evreux* was taken from the English, by the help of a Fisherman, who found means to introduce the French.

Whilst these Things passed in France, a very strange Spectacle attracted the Eyes and Attention of the People of England. I have frequently observed, that the Duke of Gloucester's Credit sensibly declined, or rather, was entirely sunk. Of this was seen a notable Proof in the Course of the present Year. This Prince was unblameable in his Conduct, with regard to the King. Whatever Spies were placed about him by his Enemies, they could discover nothing that might serve for a Pretence to the least Charge against his Person. But at length, by narrowly observing what passed in his Family, they learnt, that his Dukes had frequent Conferences with [one Sir Roger Bolinbroke] a Priest, who was reckoned a Necromancer, and a certain Woman (10), who was counted a Witch. This was sufficient to form a Charge of High-Treason against her. She was accused of making, with these two Persons, the King's Image in Wax; and that, placing it before a gentle Fire, she intended, the King's Strength should waste insensibly, as the Wax melted, and his Life be at an End, when the Image was all dissolved. By this Accusation, it was intended to show, the Dukes's design was to destroy the King, that the Crown might fall to the Duke her Husband. At the same time, Suspicions were infused into the Duke himself. When the Parties accused were examined, the Priest denied all; but the Dukes confessed (11), she had desired the Woman to make her a Love-Potion for her Spouse, who sometimes went astray. Though this Confession did not make her guilty of the Crime she was accused of, the Duke's Enemies had taken such measures, that the Priest was condemned to be hanged, and the Woman to be burnt. As for the Dukes, though she would have been the most guilty, had the Thing been well proved; out of a pretended regard to the Duke, she was only condemned to do publick Penance (12) in St. Paul's Church, and to be imprisoned for Life (13). This was a terrible Mortification to the first Prince of the Blood, who had been Protector of the Realm, and always shown an ardent Zeal for the King's Interest and Honour. But his Enemies were so powerful, that he was forced to be silent, for fear of giving them occasion to fall directly upon his Person.

Charles had scarce taken any Repose, after the Siege of *Pontoise*, before he saw himself extremely embarrassed. All the Princes of his House were in a fresh League against him, with the Duke of Orleans at their Head. This Prince was highly offended at the King's cold Reception, after a

(1) With Sir Thomas Kyriell, Deputy-Governor of Calais; Sir Robert Root, Stephen Wilton, and William Sprewer, Doctors of Law; and Robert Wyllyngham, Treasurer of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 10. p. 827.

(2) Sir William Comberlain was Governor of this Town. Monstrelet, fol. 182.

(3) About the middle of May, says Monstrelet. ibid.

(4) He had about four thousand Men with him. Idem. fol. 183.

(5) In which were, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; Henry Lord Bourcier, Earl of Eu; Sir James of Ormond, the Lord Clinton, Sir Richard No dottle, &c. Idem. p. 378.

(6) About the middle of July. Monstrelet, fol. 184.

(7) Twelve Days after his Departure from thence. Monstrelet, fol. 185.

(8) Above five hundred of the English were slain, and four hundred taken Prisoners; whereas not above forty of the French were killed. Idem. fol. 186.

(9) Margery Curdemain of Eye, who was burnt in Smithfield, on Octob. 27. Thomas Southwell, and Sir John Hume Priests, were accused likewise of being concerned with the Dukes. Bolinbroke was hanged and quartered. Hall, fol. 146.

(10) She was examined by Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury, John Kemp Archbishop of York, Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, William Apostol Bishop of Salisbury, and others, in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. Stow's Ann. p. 381.

(11) On three several Days. Idem. p. 382.

(12) Her Judges were the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, with some other Lords. She was kept Prisoner in Chester Castle, under the Custody of Sir Thomas Stanley. Stow's Ann. p. 382. And afterwards removed to Kewlucroft. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 45.

1441. twenty five Years Captivity suffered for the Interest of France, and even during which he had done him very signal Services. Probably, this League would have entirely ruined the King's Affairs, if, by a fortunate Advice, he had not gained the Head by considerable Favours. The Duke of Orleans's Defection breaking all the Confederates Measures, they were forced to throw themselves upon the King's Mercy. Thus ended the League, and thus end generally all Leagues of Subjects against their Sovereigns, when the Sovereigns find means to content the Leaders.

Tartas besieged by the English. Montfretet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The Rebellion of the Princes was not the only thing that made King Charles uneasy. His Honour as well as Interest called upon him to relieve Tartas, a Town of Guienne besieged by the English. This Place belonged to the House of Albret, which had long been serviceable to France by their Diversions in Guienne. It therefore greatly concerned the King to succour this House, which was in danger of losing their most considerable Place. Otherwise it was to be feared, all the Lords of Guienne of his Party, would leave him and turn to the King of England. Mean time, the League of the Princes having hindered him, from thinking sooner of relieving Tartas, he began not his March to Guienne till November. The Town still defended itself, and it was even January before the Garrison capitulated, upon a Condition which afforded the King more than sufficient time to prepare for their Relief. The Capitulation ran, that the Town should be delivered to the Lords Cognac and Saint Par, for the English, if on the 24th of June next, there appeared not a French Army strong enough to give Battle. But if it was relieved on the Day prefixed, it should be restored to the Lord d' Albret.

The Town capitulates & surrenders, if not relieved in six Months.

1442. Charles advances towards Guienne. Montfretet.

Charles having all the leisure necessary to prepare, spent the Winter in Poitiers, where he assembled a considerable Army, consisting of four hundred Lances, eight thousand Cross-Bow-Men, and as many Archers. All the Lords of the Kingdom repairing to him, he counted one hundred and sixty Banners in his Army (1). Mean time England made no effort to defend Guienne, or give the Enemy a Diversion elsewhere. The Council, since it was no longer influenced by the Duke of Gloucester, seemed to be grown inconsiderate and thoughtless.

Death of La Hire. Montfretet. P. Daniel.

With the Forces assembled by Charles in Poitiers, he humbled some tyrannical Lords of that Country, and from thence came to Limoges, where he made some Stay. After that, he passed some time at Montauban. There he lost the brave La Hire or Vignoles, one of his best Generals. The Relief of Tartas was not the sole Motive of his Journey. There was another, which touched him more nearly, and that was, to become Master of the Earldom of Cominge, which he had claimed by virtue of a Settlement in his favour. As this Affair has some relation to those of England, it will be necessary to show the Ground of his Pretensions.

Charles's Claim to the Earldom of Cominge. P. Daniel.

Margaret, Heiress of Cominge, had two Daughters by her first Husband John III, Earl of Armagnac, who died in 1391; and the two Daughters died likewise soon after. The Countess was married afterwards to John d' Armagnac Earl of Fezensaquet. But by an Outrage unheard of in France, she divorced her second Husband, who died with Grief in 1404. Then she espoused Matthew de Grailley Brother of John Earl of Foix, and by him had a Daughter, but of so weak a Constitution, that Matthew her Father was afraid, the Death of the Mother and Daughter would deprive him of the Earldom of Cominge, of which he was in possession. For this reason, he pressed his Countess, who was much older than himself, to make a Will, and settle it upon him after their Daughter. But the Countess refused it. Margaret's Obstinacy occasioned such a Quarrel between her and her Husband, that he resolved to dispossess her, with the help of the Earl of Armagnac, who was very ready to join in the Project, on condition of going shares with him. Whereupon the Earl of Armagnac attacked, vanquished, took the Countess Prisoner, and with her Husband's Consent confined her in a Castle, where she remained twenty two Years. This rigorous Usage served only to exasperate the old Countess the more. At last in 1435 she found means in her Confinement to make a Will, where she nominated her Daughter Jane for her Heir, and after her settled the Earldom upon King Charles VII. Jane dying some time after, Charles heard of this Settlement, and as the Countess was still living, formed a Design to free her from Imprisonment, and cause her to confirm her Will. After he had made some stay at Montauban, he came to Toulouse, and ordered the Earls of Armag-

The Earls of Armagnac and Cominge cited before the Parliament of Toulouse.

nac and Cominge to be summoned before the Parliament of that City. The two Earls made their Appearance, not daring to resist a Prince so well armed, who was able to compel them. Besides, since the Earl of Armagnac's Ancestors had voluntarily owned the Kings of France for their Sovereigns, there was no room to decline the Jurisdiction of their Parliaments. He was forced therefore to bring the old captive Countess, now fourscore Years of Age, to Toulouse, where the Parliament decreed the Settlement upon the King to be good and valid. Pursuant to this Decree, the King took possession of the Earldom of Cominge. But for the sake of Gaston Earl of Foix, who had succeeded his Father John in 1437, he was pleased to consent, that Matthew his Uncle should enjoy his Part of the Earldom during Life. The Earl of Armagnac was treated more rigorously. The King not only dispossessed him of the Part he had usurped, but stripped him of the Privilege of the Regale (2) in his Territories, and forbid him to stile himself, John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac, as he, and his Ancestors before him, had done.

Cominge adjudged to the King.

The Earl of Armagnac did not think he deserved such Usage, after all the Services his House had done the Kings of France. If, to espouse their Interests, his Ancestors had cast off the Dominion of the Kings of England, he would not have been liable to appear before the Parliament of Toulouse, nor have lost the Privileges, which the Kings of England, Dukes of Guienne, had never disputed with his Predecessors. So, he was extremely concerned to see the Zeal of his Ancestors for the Interest of France, become the occasion of his Oppression. He burned with Desire to free himself from this Yoke and be revenged: But as he was sensible, his Forces alone were not capable to procure him that Satisfaction, he resolved to cast himself into the Arms of the King of England. Shortly after, he sent to desire his Protection, with an Offer of one of his Daughters in Marriage. The Proposal being considered in the Council, it was judged, that in the present Posture of the King's Affairs in France, the Alliance proposed by the Earl of Armagnac could not but be very advantageous. So, without Loss of time, Ambassadors (3) were dispatched to the Earl of Armagnac, to settle the Marriage-Articles, and affianse one of his Daughters, in the King's Name.

The Earl of Armagnac is highly offended.

He offers his Daughter to Henry. Act. Pub. XI. p. 6.

His Offer is accepted. P. 7. Hall.

Mean while, Charles appearing before Tartas, on the 24th of June, and no Enemy offering to give him Battle, the Place was restored to the Lord d' Albret, according to the Capitulation. The Preparations of the French were not unknown in England, and yet no measures were taken for the Defence of Guienne, which was going to be invaded. Charles taking advantage of this Negligence, became Master of St. Sever (4). Then he laid Siege to Acs, one of the strongest Places in those parts, which held out seven Weeks (5). La Reole was carried by Storm, and Marmande fell likewise into the hands of the French. During the Winter following, which was exceeding sharp, Acs and St. Sever opened their Gates to the English, but the Earl of Foix retook St. Sever. Charles passed the whole Winter at Toulouse.

Charles receives Tartas, and takes several Places in Guienne. Montfretet. Hall.

Whilst these things were transacting at one end of the Kingdom, the English were thinking of making a Diversion at the other. They should have thought of it sooner, in order to hinder Charles's March into Guienne. By that means, they would have infallibly preserved the Places lately lost. But however, Orders being given to raise five thousand Men in England, the Command was conferred on Talbot, whom the King had now created Earl of Shrewsbury (6). Talbot landing in Normandy, soon made the Bastard of Orleans quit the Field, who had likewise a new Title, being made Earl of Dunois. He presently besieged the Castle of Conches, and to make a Diversion, the French General invested Galardon. Talbot having taken the Castle in a few Days, the Earl of Dunois did not think fit to expect his Enemy, who was marching directly to give him Battle. Then, the Earl of Shrewsbury advanced towards Dieppe, a Place of great Importance, which the French still held in Normandy. He made such haste, that Estouteville, who was marching with the utmost Diligence, to throw in a Supply of Troops, could not arrive in time. When he was before the Place, he formed the Siege, tho' with an Army little proportionable to such an Undertaking, and especially in November. Indeed, he did not expect to be Master of the Town during the Winter, and without more Forces. But his Design was to take the Fort of Charles-Mesnil, situated on Mount Polet, which defended

Talbot made Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Bastard of Orleans Earl of Dunois. Hall.

Exploits of the Earl of Shrewsbury in Normandy. Hall.

He blockades Dieppe. J. Chartier. Montfretet. Hall.

(1). Montfretet says, he set out with about fourscore thousand Horse, and a great quantity of Provisions: But carried only sixteen thousand Horse before Taras, for fear he should be straitened for want of Provisions. fol. 191.

(2). The Right which the Kings of France have of disposing of Benefices, during the Vacancy of an Episcopal See.

(3). See Ruan's Rem. Thomas Bekington, the King's Secretary, and Edmond Hull, Esq; Rymer's Fed. Tom. II. p. 7.

(4). As the taking of which, above eight hundred English were slain. Montfretet, fol. 192. Sir Thomas Rampton was taken Prisoner. Ibid. Hall, fol. 142.

(5). Five Weeks, says Montfretet. Ibid.

(6). His Patent of Creation bears date March 20. 1442. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 323.

1442.
and goes to
England for
a Reinforce-
ment.

the Passage to *Dieppe*. After that he hoped to press it so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus taken his Measures, he attacked and carried the Fort, which he ordered to be made larger and stronger. Then mounting his Batteries, left the Management of the Siege, or rather Blockade, to his Bastard Son, and returned into England (1), to sollicite a Supply (2).

The Duke of
Glocester
accuses the
Cardinal of
Winchester.
Hall.

As Matters then stood at Court, it was no very proper Season for the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to obtain the Succours he desired, at least so soon as was necessary. The Duke of *Glocester* perceiving the King's Affairs daily declined, brought at this very time before the Council, an Accusation of High-Treason, against the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Probably, his Enmity to that Prelate made him think, he was the sole Occasion of all the Misfortunes, befallen the *English*. It may be, he only designed to clear himself to the Publick, by accusing his Enemy. And indeed, so well acquainted, as he doubtless was, with the Members of the Council, he could not flatter himself, with the least hopes of succeeding in an Affair of that Nature. However this be, the Charge consisted of fourteen Articles, the Substance whereof, was as follows :

Articles of
Accusation.
Hall.
fol. 143.

I. That the Bishop of *Winchester* had taken upon him the Dignity of Cardinal, contrary to the late King's Orders, and in derogation to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*.

II. That, by the Statute of *Provisors*, having forfeited the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, he had procured the Pope's Bull to secure it, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and particularly to the Statute of *Præmunire*.

III. That jointly with *John Kemp* Archbishop of *York*, he had assumed the Government of the King's Person, without being authorized.

IV. That he had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

This Article was groundd upon the Cardinal's lending the King Money upon Pawn (3).

V. That being Chancellor of the Kingdom, he had sealed an Order for the Release of the King of *Scotland*, and another to forgive that Prince part of his Ransom, on condition of marrying his Niece.

VI. That he had defrauded the King of his Revenues, by applying to his own Use, the Customs of Wools at the Port of *Southampton*.

Probably, the Cardinal stopped by that Means the Money, he had lent the King.

VII. That he had the Confidence to summon People before him, in derogation of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Authority Royal.

He did this probably, as Legate : But he could not do it according to Law, without the King's Licence.

VIII. That he had procured from *Rome*, an Exemption for his Diocese, from paying Tenths to the King ; and thereby, given a pernicious Example to the rest of the Bishops.

IX. That he had been instrumental in reconciling the Duke of *Burgundy*, to King *Charles* and the Duke of *Orleans*, to the great prejudice of *England*.

X. That being the King's Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to treat of a Peace, he had sent the Archbishop of *York* to the King, to persuade him to quit the Title of King of *France*, to the Dishonour of the King, and his illustrious Ancestors.

XI. That the Duke of *Orleans's* Release, had been procured by his, and the Duke of *York's* Intrigues, contrary to the expresse Order of the late King.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had himself purchased Crown-Lands, instead of preventing such Alienations, according to the Duty of his Office.

XIII. That by commissioning such Officers only in the Army, as were his Creatures, he had been the Cause of all the Losses sustained in *France*.

XIV. That he had sold Captains Commissions, and thereby, introduced into the King's Service, such as were incapable of doing their Duty.

These Accusations were read in Council. But the Council, for some time, had consisted only of the Car-

dinal's Creatures, and the Duke of *Glocester's* Enemies. So, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the Prerogative Royal, the Pardon granted to the Cardinal, in 1437, was urged. The Duke of *Glocester*, perceiving there was no possibility of causing his Enemy to be condemned, dropped the Prosecution, and the King gave the Cardinal a fresh Pardon.

Certainly the Duke of *Glocester* was in a sad Situation. Besides his Vexation, to see those who were at the Helm, steering a Course, directly contrary to that marked out by the glorious *Henry V.*, his Brother, he perceived there was a settled Design to mortify him on all Occasions. The King his Nephew, who was so much obliged to him, suffered himself to be misled by the Artifices of his Enemies ; not having penetration enough to discern those, who had only their own Interest in View. He was made to consider his Uncle as a secret Enemy, that would rejoice at his Destruction, because he was his next Heir. What is more, they inspired him with strong Suspicions of him, by representing him as a Counsellor, whose Interest it was to ingage him in wrong Courses, in order to render him contemptible and odious to his Subjects, and thereby, pave his own way to the Crown. It is no wonder, a young Prince of so mean a Genius as *Henry*, should be blinded by such Insinuations. He had none about his Person to undeceive him, and for some time, had seen only his Uncle's Enemies. The Cardinal was ever watchful not to suffer any Person at Court, or in the Council, but what was devoted to him ; and this he made his chief Business. He it was, that had introduced to Court, the Earl of *Suffolk* (4), for whom, the King had conceived so strong an Affection, that he saw nothing but with his Eyes, and did nothing but by his Advice. As the new Favorite wholly owed his fortune to the Cardinal, he missed no opportunity to insinuate to his Master, that of all his Subjects, the Cardinal was most safely to be trusted. By this means, he daily sunk the Duke of *Glocester's* Credit, whose Counsels were always directly contrary to those of his Enemy. *John Kemp* Archbishop of *York* and Cardinal (5), was also a Counsellor entirely devoted to the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and his Instrument to confirm the King in his Suspicions of the Duke of *Glocester*. Thus these three Ministers, being strictly united together, so ordered it, that the King daily gave his Uncle some fresh Mortification. On the other hand, the haughty and impatient Temper of the Duke of *Glocester*, not suffering him to bear In dignities, without complaining and threatening the Authors, he promoted his own downfall, by the continual Faults his impatience caused him to commit.

In September this Year, the Dukes of *York* was delivered of a Prince, whom we shall see hereafter mount the Throne by the Name of *Edward IV* (6).

John V., Duke of *Bretagne*, dying the 28th of August, *Francis* his eldest Son, succeeded him in the Sovereignty of that Duchy (7).

The Year 1443, began with a private Negotiation between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke finding the Affairs of the two Kings to be in such a way, as not likely to be decided, either by War or Peace, thought it adviseable to secure himself, by a separate Truce with *England*. He was not pleased with King *Charles* upon several Accounts, too tedious to be related. On the contrary, he had reason to fear, *Charles* was reconciled to him only out of Policy ; and in case his Affairs should once be restored, might resume his old Enmity against him. For this cause chiefly, he judged it against his Interest, to assist him any longer to finish a War, the prosperous Issue whereof might render him too powerful. These Considerations induced him to give his Dukes full Power, to conclude with the King of *England* a general Truce, for all their respective Dominions. The former concerned only the Trade between *England*, and the *Low-Countries* ; but this, signed the 23d of April, included *Burgundy*, and all the Duke's Territories in general. It was to last till one of the Parties should put an end to it ; in which Case, the other was to have three Months notice.

The Blockade of *Dieppe* was still continued, in expectation of Supplies from *England*, to press the Town more vigorously. *Charles* perceiving, it would be in great

1442.
Nov. 1466.
At Paris.

The Duke of
Glocester
lives ground
daily.

The English
dislike
King's
cousin.

Birth of
Edward,
Son of the
Duke of
York.

1443.
Truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
Burgundy.
Mentelot.
Act. Pub.
XI, p. 24.

Charles
sends the
Dauphin to
relieve
Dieppe.

(1) To *Rouen*, says *Hall*, fol. 141 ; and *Stow*, p. 382.

(2) At the same time *Robert Lord Willoughby*, and *Edmund Beaufort*, created about this time Earl of *Dorset*, entered the Country about *Amiens*, with a large Army, and committed great Devastations ; as *Richard Duke of York*, and *John Beaufort Earl of Somerset*, did in *Anjou* and *Maine*. *Hall*, fol. 141.

(3) Lending him four thousand Pounds, upon Jewels praised at twenty two thousand Marks, which he kept ; as the Article at length hath it. See *Hall*, fol. 142.

(4) *William de la Pole*.

(5) Promoted to the Cardinalship by *Eugenius IV.*, in 1431. *Rapin*. King *Henry* granted him a Licence in 1440, to take upon him that Dignity ; whereby it seems that he was then out newly promoted thereto. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 10. p. 758.

(6) *Sandford* says, he was born on April 29. 1441, at *Rouen*. *Genea.* p. 405.

(7) This Year a Parliament met at *Westminster* on January 28, in which, among other things, it was enacted, That no Customers or Searchers, shall have a Ship of his own, use Merchandize, keep a Wharf, or Inn, or be a Factor : And that, in order to avoid the many Frauds which would naturally ensue from thence. See *Statutes*.

1443

danger, if not relieved before the Arrival of the *English* Troops, resolved at last to send the Dauphin his Son, who pressed him to commit this Expedition to his care. It was however with unwillingness, that he granted him this favor. He was not only afraid to trust out of his Sight this young Prince, who had several Times given Proof of a turbulent Spirit, but moreover, did not care to afford him opportunities of acquiring Glory. These Considerations, however, gave place to the Necessity of relieving *Dieppe*, which was reduced to Extremity, by an eight Months Blockade. The Dauphin departed from *Guienne*, with four thousand Horse, and marched towards *Normandy*. When he came within Sight of *Dieppe*, he easily saw, the Fort of *Charles-Mejnil*, where the *English* had fortified themselves, was impregnable on the Side next the Country; and therefore, without hesitation, resolved to enter the Town, and, in spite of the *English*, executed his Design. Hardly was he entered, when without giving them time to come to themselves, he sallied out with all his Troops, and stormed the Fort on the Side next the Town. He was thrice repulsed, but, the fourth time, carried it Sword in Hand. The *English* finding they were unable to continue the Blockade, after the loss of their Fort, raised it, and retired in good Order. *John* Duke of *Somerſet* (1), arrived five Days after, with a Reinforcement of five thousand Men (2). Had he come sooner, the Dauphin would not perhaps have performed this Enterprize with so much Honour. As the Duke found the Blockade raised, he could do nothing more than ravage Part of the Enemies Country (3), after retaking some Castles in *Normandy*.

Lewis takes the Blockade of Dieppe. Monstrelet. P. Daniel.

The Duke of Somerset comes too late.

The Earl of Armagnac takes the life of John of Burgundy. P. Daniel.

The Dauphin enters the Territories. Hall.

Makes him Prisoner by embassy.

After the Dauphin's Departure, *Charles*, at last, quitted *Guienne*, and came to *Tours*, where he diverted himself after the Fatigues of the War. But his Pleasures were somewhat disturbed, by the News of the Earl of *Armagnac* taking Arms, and seizing that Part of the Earldom of *Cominge*, of which, he had been lately dispossessed. The voluptuous Life *Charles* led at *Tours*, was so alluring, that he could not resolve to interrupt his Pleasures so soon. He waited till the Dauphin's return, and, as he had gallantly behaved in the Affair of *Dieppe*, sent him, immediately after his Arrival, to chastise the Earl of *Armagnac*. Upon the Dauphin's Approach, the Earl saw himself deserted by all his Friends, and unsupported by the *English*, though the King was affianced to his Daughter. So, the Dauphin with ease became master of *Ro-vergne*, and of all, in general, that belonged to the Earl, who had nothing left, but the little Town of *Lisle en Jourdain*, about twelve Miles from *Toulouse*. The Dauphin held it long besieged in vain. At length, despairing of putting an honorable end to the Siege, he artfully drew the Earl to a Conference, upon the promise of a safe Conduct, and when he had him in his Power, sent him to the King his Father, who made no scruple to detain him (4). Two Years after, he restored him his Territories, at the Request of the Kings of *Castile*, and *Navarre*, who interceded in his Behalf.

The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Misfortune, caused the King and Council of *England*, to grow cold with respect to the Marriage, of which, there was no further Talk. It was not scrupled, to put that Affront upon an unfortunate Prince, who was unable to be revenged (5).

Since the Duke of *Burgundy*'s separate Truce with *Henry*, the *French* were not so eager to continue the War. The truth is, they had no less need of Repose than the *English*. *France* was utterly ruined, by this fatal War, which had lasted thirty Years, without Interruption, and by the intestine Troubles, raised several Years before the breach of the Truce, by the Quarrel between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. The Princes and great Men, were disheartened at the Fatigues and Losses, they so long sustained. The Country and Towns were become desolate; *France*, though generally well peopled, could no longer find Soldiers. Besides, the Duke of *Orleans*, who had promised to use his utmost Endeavours to procure a Peace, being willing to keep his word, never ceased to solicit King *Charles* upon that head. The Duke of *Burgundy* pressed him likewise on his Part, and the whole Kingdom in general, ardently wished to see a Cessation of so many Calamities. In *England*, a Peace was no less earnestly desired. All the Money levied there, was swallowed up in *France*, as in a bot-

tomless Gulf, from whence it never returned. In a word, the King was no Warrior, and his Council consisted, for the most Part, of Ecclesiasticks, introduced by the Cardinal of *Winchester*, to strengthen his Party. The Council was very sensible, the Continuance of the War would, by no means, recommend them to the People. As the War had, for some time, been disadvantageous to *England*, it was natural to throw the Blame, upon those that sat at the Helm, rather than upon the King, who only approved of what was suggested by his Ministers. The Duke of *Gloceſter* alone was of Opinion, that fresh Efforts should be made, to take the Advantage of King *Charles*'s Weakness, and of the late Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But this Prince was no longer in Vogue, nor were his Counsels regarded.

These Considerations, which were very weighty on both Sides, prevailed at length with the two Kings, to hearken to the Instances of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who pressed them to consent to a Truce, in order more calmly to endeavour a Peace. It was agreed, the Negotiation should be at *Tours*, where King *Charles* resided, though by that, the *English* seemed to be going to beg it. At any other time, the bare proposal of treating at *Tours*, would have been sufficient for a Rupture; but *Henry*'s Council were not so nice. They were for having a Truce at any rate, and nothing appeared dishonorable to attain that end. We shall even see presently, that almost every thing was settled in private, before the Ambassadors set out for *Tours*. This Truce, which seemed to be founded on the publick Good, was properly designed only for the Support of the Ministers, who had nothing left in View, than the Kingdom's Advantage. *Henry* understood nothing of it, but suffered himself to be guided, according to Custom, by his Counsellors, who made him believe, they had his Interest at Heart, when in reality they were working only for themselves.

William de la Pole Earl of *Suffolk*, was appointed head of this Embassy (6). The Earl had more Reasons than one to desire this Office, as will be seen presently. Mean while, as he was not ignorant how ticklish a Step he was going to make, and how liable to be strictly inquired into, he presented to the King a Petition, which, probably, had been concerted with the principal Members of the Council. He shewed in this Petition, a great Scruple with regard to his Instructions, pretending they were beyond his Capacity, though, it is likely, he was himself the Author. Then, he modestly begged to be eased of the burthen of the Negotiation; or at least, if the King did not think proper to grant him that Favour, he would be pleased to secure him against all Imputation. Whereupon the King, by the Advice of his Council, caused to be drawn an authentick Order, to execute fully, whatever was contained in his Instructions. As, probably, this Order was to be shown, only in case of necessity, and after the Execution, the King said in it, that the Instructions concerned not only the general Good of the Kingdom, but also his own Person and Marriage. A clear Evidence, that the Marriage, spoken of presently, was already resolved.

The Ambassadors of *England* being come to *Tours*, a Truce is entered immediately into Negotiation with King *Charles*'s Commissioners, concerning a Peace. But after some mutual and fruitless Proposals, they were content with a Truce, which was signed the 28th of May. It was to commence the 7th of July (7) this Year, and end the first of April 1446.

At the same time, the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, was prolonged at *Edinburgh* for seven Years, to begin the 1st of May 1447, which was the Day, the former was to expire.

The Affair of the Truce with *France* being ended, the Earl of *Suffolk* proposed, or caused to be proposed, the King's Marriage with *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Daughter of *René* of *Anjou*, who bore the Title of King of *Sicily*, after the Death of *Lewis* III, his elder Brother. The *English* tax the Earl of *Suffolk*, with making this Proposal of himself, without any Authority; but we have seen the contrary above. Not but that, probably, he was the first Contriver, but he had taken the precaution to procure the King's Approbation. He was willing to keep in his present Post, and nothing was more proper to support him, than this Marriage. He knew, *Henry*

It is agreed to treat about a Truce at Tours. Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 49, &c. Hall.

The Earl of Suffolk head of this Embassy. He acts cautiously in the Matter. February. Act. Pub. XI. p. 53.

A Truce is concluded at Tours. lb. p. 59, &c. Du Tillet.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 58.

Suffolk proposes a Marriage between the King and Margaret of Anjou. Monstrelet. Hall. Stow.

His Motives for it.

(1) Rapin says, he had lately succeeded his Brother *Henry*, whereas *John* had been Earl of *Somerſet* ever since his Brother *Henry*'s Death. 7 Hen. 5. *John* was made Duke of *Somerſet*, 21 Hen. VI, about this time. See Note, p. 555.

(2) Six thousand, says *Mejnil*, fol. 194.

(3) *Normandy*, part of *Bretagne*, &c. *Ibid*.

(4) Under pretence, that he was come to the Dauphin without a Safe-conduct. P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 197.

(5) This Year, on December 1, died the renowned Sir *John* Cornwall Baron of *Forſhope*, and Lord of *Milborne*; and was buried in a Chapel, founded by himself in the Church-yard of the Friars-Preachers near *Ludgate*, London. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 213.

(6) Together with Dr. *Aldeyn*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; *Robert* Lord *Reut*, Sir *Thomas* *Hoe*, Richard *Blount*, the King's Secretary, and *John* *Wick*, *John* *Rymers* *Fad*. Tom. II. p. 60. The French Ambassadors were, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, *Leonor* de *Basson* Earl of *Persame*, *Isabel* de *Arce*, Steward of *Orleans*, and *Bartram* *Deaurian* Lord of *Presigny*. Hall, fol. 134.

(7) It was to commence at Land, June 1; and at Sea, July 1. See *Rymers* *Fad*. Tom. II. p. 64.

1444. was himself incapable of governing; and consequently, it could not be, but that his Ministers would be liable to Envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the People. In this belief, he fancied, the best way to support himself, was to give the King a Wife, and at the same time, the Kingdom a Governess. To that end, it was necessary, the Princess who was to mount the Throne, should be of an understanding, proper to supply the defect of the King her Spouse, and of a Resolution, to protect the Ministry. It was necessary moreover, that she should be of a Rank not to disparage the King, but withal, should have no ground naturally to aspire to such a Marriage; that being entirely indebted for it to the Managers, she might be always ready to support them. The Earl of *Suffolk's* aim was likewise to be strictly united with the Queen, in order to compleat the ruin of the Duke of *Glocester*, who was a perpetual Obstacle to the designs of the Ministry. All these requisites were found in *Margaret of Anjou*, Daughter of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Niece of the Queen of *France*. She was a Princess of a lively, daring Spirit, of great Penetration, uncommon Resolution, and not to be frightened by opposition or difficulties. On the other hand, the Marriage proposed by the Earl of *Suffolk* was so advantageous, that she could not have expected it, without the Concurrence of several Circumstances in her favour. I do not speak of her Birth, which certainly was illustrious enough to give her a pretension to this Honour. But she was so destitute of the Goods of Fortune, that her Parents could not give her any Dowry. To supply this defect, the *English* Ministers extolled her noble Qualities, which, they said, were more valuable than all the Money in the world. But they chiefly insinuated to the People, that this Princess being Niece to the Queen of *France*, and to King *Charles's* Favorite, would be very instrumental in procuring a Peace. This was plainly showing how much this Peace was wanted. Accordingly, the Court of *France*, who had perfect Intelligence of what passed in *England*, made their advantage of it, by engaging the Earl of *Suffolk* to promise, in the King's Name, to deliver *Mans*, and the whole Province of *Maine*, to the King of *Sicily*; on condition, he should present them to *Charles of Anjou* his Brother. Thus, instead of receiving *Margaret's* Dowry, *Henry* purchased her with the restitution of one of the strongest Places in *France*, or rather, with the whole Province of *Maine*.

He engages to deliver up Maine to the King of Sicily. Hall. Stow.

He returns to England.

The Duke of Gloucester opposes the Match. Hall.

Divers new Creations. Hall.

The Terms being thus settled, the Earl of *Suffolk* returned to *England*, to propose them to the King, and cause them to be approved. This was no difficult thing, since the principal Counsellors were in the Secret, and had already given their consent. The Duke of *Glocester*, who had never heard of it before, strongly opposed it, for two Reasons which seemed unanswerable. The first was, that the King being already engaged to the Earl of *Armagnac's* Daughter, it would be very dishonourable to violate his Faith, without alledging the least excuse. The second was of no less force, namely, that *Maine*, being as it were the Bulwark of *Normandy*, could not be abandoned, without putting *Normandy* in manifest danger, as soon as the Truce should expire. But these reasons were not regarded. So, by the advice of the Council, the King empowered the Earl of *Suffolk*, to espouse the Princess *Margaret* in his Name.

For Joy the Marriage was concluded, the King created the Earl, his Ambassador, Marquis of *Suffolk*, and upon *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, conferred the Title of Duke of *Exeter* (1). At the same time he created *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Henry de Beauchamp*, Son of the late Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Warwick* (2).

The King's Marriage was solemnized by Proxy at *Tours*, in the Presence of King *Charles* and his whole Court (3), in a splendid manner, little suitable to the present Circumstances of the two Kings, and the Indigence of the new Queen.

Though the Nuptials were celebrated in *November*, the Queen came not into *England* till the *May* following (4), and on the 30th of the same Month, was solemnly crowned. She was no sooner with the King, but perceiving his weakness, she ruled him with an absolute Sway. By that means the Marquis of *Suffolk*, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, had the same Credit as before the King's Marriage. They stood in need of the Queen, as she did of them, since she had yet no other Creatures, but what they had procured her. For this reason, a very strict Union was formed between the Queen and the Ministers, which could not but end in the ruin of the Duke of *Glocester*, whom they all looked upon as their common Enemy.

1444. The King's Marriage. The Queen's coming. The 2. year. 1147. The Queen's coronation.

A League against the Duke of Gloucester.

The Truce being made only in order to a Peace, this whole year was spent in several Negotiations, concerning the time and place of a new Congress. It was thought likewise, that an Interview of the two Kings might promote the Conclusion of a Peace. So the Ministers of both Courts agreed, that the two Monarchs should meet somewhere in *France*; and for that purpose, *Henry* should repair to *Calais*, in order to be near the Place to be chosen for the Interview. But several difficulties occurring about the choice of the Place, the Truce was prolonged till *November* the 1st, 1446.

Henry Chicheley, who held the See of *Canterbury* thirty years (5), died this year, and was succeeded by *John Stafford*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

John Stafford Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Duke of *York* having no farther Business in *France*, came into *England*, where he was very civilly received, and thanked by the Court, for his Services to the State. The King, willing to shew his Gratitude, granted him a Patent to be Regent of *France*, another five years. We shall see hereafter, his Enemies would not suffer him to enjoy that Dignity so long.

The Duke of York is made Regent of France for five years longer. Hall.

The Parliament which met the beginning of the year 1446, granted the King a considerable Subsidy, for a vigorous Prosecution of the war in *France*, as soon as the Truce was expired (6). But this pretended design of continuing the war, was only a decoy to draw Money from the Parliament. Instead of Preparations for War, Negotiations for the Interview of the two Kings, and for a Congress of Ambassadors to conclude a Peace, were zealously continued. Mean while the Truce was farther prolonged to *April* the 1st, 1447. This shews, the Council intended not to carry on the war, though the Parliament was called on that pretence. We shall see presently, the Truce was again prolonged, and interrupted only by an unexpected Accident, contrary to the Intention of the *English* Ministry (7).

A Subsidy granted for the War. Cotton's Abridg.

The Parliament might easily have perceived the Devices made use of to procure Subsidies, if they had not voluntarily shut their own Eyes. This was one of those Parliaments that are managed, as it is but too often the case, by the Intrigues of the Court. This plainly appeared, in a Resolution to return the Marquis of *Suffolk* publick Thanks, for his great Service to the Kingdom, in negotiating the King's Marriage (8). Mean time, the advantages accruing to the King or State, from an Alliance with the Family of the most mortal Enemy to both, had not hitherto been perceived. Neither was the Parliament contented with this. They addressed the King, praying him to reward the Marquis; and even granted a Subsidy (9) on purpose to satisfy him for the Expences of his Embassy.

Truce is prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. p. 108, 110, 111, 149. 155. Monstrelet.

The Parliament gives the Marquis of Suffolk Thanks. Cotton's Abridg.

Hall.

(1) The King granted him and his Heirs-male, a Place and Seat in Parliament, and in the Great Councils, next to the Duke of *York*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 49.

(2) He also granted him in Reversion, from the death of *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*, the Isles of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Serk*, *Erm*, and *Aureney*; as also the Manor and Hundred of *Bristol*; and what is more, he was crowned King of the Isle of *Wight*, by King *Henry's* own hand. In consideration of his Father's great descent, the King granted him place in Parliament, and all other Meetings, next the Duke of *Norfolk*, and before *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*; which occasioned great Animosities between them, by a special Act made in Parliament, it was established, that they should have Precedency by Turns yearly, the Duke of *Warwick* to begin the first year: But his death, shortly after, put an end to this matter. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 248. Stow's Ann. p. 384.

(3) In the presence of the King and Queen of *France*, of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bretagne*, of seven Earls, twelve Barons, twenty Bishops, besides Knights and Gentlemen innumerable. Hall, fol. 148. Monstrelet, Vol. III. fol. 1, 2.

(4) Hall says, she landed at *Portsmouth* in *April*. The Marriage Solemnity was performed at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, on *April* 22; after which she came to *London*, and was crowned, fol. 148. Stow's Ann. p. 384.

(5) He was Archbishop but twenty-nine years, and died *April* 12. 1443. His Successor *John Stafford* was a Bastard, as were, in the next Century, *Tonstal*, *Gardiner*, and *Bonner*. The said Archbishop *Chicheley* founded *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*; as also *Bernard* College, now incorporated into *St. John's* in the same University. Stow's Ann. p. 383.

(6) This Parliament met at *Westminster*, on Feb. 25. 1445, and was at several times prorogued to Jan. 24, 1446. It granted the King a Tenth and a half, and a Fifteenth and a half, except five thousand Pounds allowed to poor wasted Towns. They also granted Tunnage and Poundage as before on Denizens, but double on Aliens: And gave a Subsidy of thirty four Shillings and Four-pence on Denizens, and fifty three Shillings on Aliens, for every Sack of Wool, for four years. Cotton's Abridg. p. 629, 630. In this Parliament it was enacted, That to prevent oppression, and exactions, no Man should be Sheriff or Under-Sheriff, above one year, upon pain of forfeiting two hundred Pounds. Statutes.

(7) At this year, on *August* 17, a twelve years Truce was concluded between *England* and *Flanders*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 131, 140.

(8) On June 2, in the first Session of this Parliament, he openly, eloquently, and boldly declared, what pain and diligence he had taken in *France*, as well in concluding the Truce, as in making the Marriage between his Sovereign Lord the King, and the Lady *Margaret*. The like Speech he made the next day in the House of Commons; whereupon it was voted, that his labour and diligence should be recorded in the Rolls of this Parliament, not only for the Honour of him and his Family, but also for his acquittal and discharge. Hall, fol. 149.

(9) A whole Fifteenth. Hall, fol. 148.

1447.
The Duke of
Gloucester.
Hall.

Hall.

The Queen, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Marquis of *Suffolk*, and the rest of that Party, finding themselves sufficiently established, and having nothing to fear from a Parliament so much at their devotion, began to contrive the ruin of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was ever formidable to them. The People, for the most part, were in his Interest. Besides, as hitherto he was presumptive Heir of the Crown, they had reason to fear, in case he should one day mount the Throne, he would call them to an account. Their first step was to remove him from the Council. To give some colour to this Injustice, Persons were suborned to accuse him of divers Crimes, the principal whereof was, that being Protector of the Realm, he had put several to death by his own Authority (1), and aggravated the Condemnation of many others. Upon these Accusations, about which a great noise was made, he was summoned before the Council. But he cleared himself with such Evidence, from all that was laid to his Charge, that the Council, though entirely composed of his Enemies, thought not fit to prosecute him thereon. It is not in *England* as in other Countries, where the Lives of the Subjects depend in some measure on the Will of the Sovereign, who appoints such Commissioners as he pleases, to prosecute those he has a mind to destroy. To take away the Duke of *Gloucester's* Life in a legal manner, he must have been tried by his Peers. But his Enemies were well aware, how great soever their Credit might be, the Body of the Nobility was not so corrupted, as to hope to cause the first Prince of the Blood to be condemned, upon forged Crimes. Mean while, this Proceeding so moved the *Londoners*, that nothing was heard, but Praises of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and Curses against those who governed in the King's Name. These Murmurs, which were plain Indications of the People's Affection for the Duke, convinced his Enemies, there was no Medium between his and their Ruin. Accordingly, without further Consideration, they resolved to dispatch him out of the way. The Queen, who was of a bold and enterprising Genius, was the Person that first encouraged this Resolution. At least, the Historians insinuate as much, if they have not expressly said it. And indeed, the Ministry would never have ventured upon such an Action, without having her at their head.

His Ruin
determined.

1447.
The Parlia-
ment is sum-
moned to St.
Edmunds-
bury.
Hall.

It was not possible, as was observed, to put this Prince to death, by the usual course of Justice; and it would have been very dangerous to murder him openly. His Enemies were bent to destroy him, but would conceal the hand that should give the blow. To execute their design with all possible Secrecy, they devised a Means, countenanced, if not contrived, by the Queen. This was, to accuse him of some Crime, in order to have a pretence to imprison him, and then their Plot might, with great privacy and ease, be accomplished. For this purpose, it was rumoured, that a very important Affair required the speedy meeting of a Parliament. Accordingly, one was called for the *February* following (2). In the mean time, the Queen and Ministry affected to load the Duke of *Gloucester* with Honours and Careless, not to inspire him with Confidence, but with Suspensions. They would have been glad at his absenting himself, or taking some other Course, that would have given them an Advantage against him. To that end, they endeavoured, by secret Emissaries, to terrify him, in warning him to take care of himself, and hinting a design to accuse him before the Parliament of sundry Crimes and Misdemeanors; and that every thing was prepared for his Condemnation; that *St. Edmunds-bury* was purposely chosen for holding the Parliament, as a Place more proper for this design than *London*, where he was supported by the People. All this was only to induce him to withdraw, and thereby give himself some appearance of truth to the Calumnies, wherewith it was intended to blacken him. But as he knew his own Innocence, he would not, by absenting himself, give occasion to the World, to believe him guilty. However, he could not, after all, avoid falling into his Enemies Snares.

The Duke is
confin'd.
Hall.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 178.

The first day of the Session, the Duke was apprehended (3), and put into close Confinement, without being al-

- (1) That he had caused Men adjudged to die, to be put to other Execution than the Law of the Land had ordered or assigned. *Hall*, fol. 151.
(2) It was summoned first to meet at *Cambridge*, but afterwards ordered to be at *St. Edmunds-bury*; where it accordingly met on *February* 10. *Cotton's* *Abridg.* p. 632---634.
(3) By *John* Lord Viscount *Beaumont*, then High-Constable, *Humphrey* Stafford Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 151.
(4) As though he had died of the Palsy or an Imposthume. *Ibid.* *Stow's Ann.* p. 386.
(5) Of thirty two that were attached, five were drawn to *Tyburn*, hanged, let down alive, stript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered, and then a Pad was shewn for their Lives. *Ibid.* *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 178.
(6) His Body was carried to *St. Albans*, where a noble Monument, afterwards erected to his Memory, still remains in the Conventual Church. The Vault wherein his Body was deposited, and the exact Place of which was, it seems, then unknown, was discovered in the late Queen *Anne's* Reign. He was called, *The Good Duke of Gloucester*. Having had his Education in *Bathol College*, he became a great proficient in Learning, and was a great Favourer of learned Men. He laid the first foundation of the famous Library at *Oxford*, since known by the name of *Bodleian*, from Sir *Thomas Bodley*, by whom it was wonderfully increased. Sir *Thomas Moor* gives an instance of this Duke's Sagacity. The King coming one time in progress to *St. Albans*, a Beggar, hunched, as he said, recovered his sight at the Shrine of *St. Alban*. The Miracle being noted about, the Duke being there with the King, desired to see him: The Beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? He answered, Yes truly. And can you now see, says the Duke? Yes, I thank God, and *St. Alban*, replies the Beggar. Tell me then, says the Duke, of what colour is my Gown? The Beggar readily told him the Colour. And what colour, says the Duke, is such a one's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him; and so of several others. You counterfeit Knave, says the Duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not see till now, so suddenly to know the difference of Colours? And thereupon, instead of an Alms, ordered him to be let in the Stocks.

lowed to keep any of his Domesticks. To give a plausible colour to this severe usage, Care was taken to publish, that he was accused of conspiring to kill the King, in order to seize the Crown; and with an armed Force, to deliver his Dukes out of *Kenelworth* Castle, where she was imprisoned. The first of these Accusations found no Credit at all with the People. On the contrary, there was presently a Commotion in the City in his favour, but which was soon appeased. As the People thought him innocent, they imagined he would clear himself from these, as he had from the former Charges. But he was allowed neither time nor opportunity to make his Defence. On the morrow, he was found dead in his bed, without any signs of Violence on his Body. However, the People were convinced he was murdered. Some say, he was smothered between two Feather-beds; and others, that he underwent the same fate with *Edward II.* To remove these Suspensions, his Body was shewn to both Houses of Parliament (4), and exposed, for some days, to publick View. But a Man must have been very bold, to charge with this Murder, those that were considered as the Authors. These were no less than the Managers of the Affairs of the Kingdom, who, in sacrificing the first Prince of the Blood to their Malice and Vengeance, plainly shewed, what Enemies of an inferior rank were to expect.

Mean while, to make good, in some measure, the Impeachment against the deceased, several of his Domesticks were apprehended, and accused of being in the Plot to kill the King. Whereupon they were all sentenced to die, by Judges appointed by virtue of the King's Commission, of whom the Marquis of *Suffolk* was chief. But, though the Crime for which they were condemned was the most heinous, the King pardoned them all without exception (5). This Act of Grace was founded upon the consideration of *Good-Friday*, and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, with the like pious and religious Motives. This gives occasion to presume, these People were bribed to confess themselves guilty, upon assurance of their Pardon. However this be, there was no enquiry made after the sudden death of the Duke of *Gloucester*. Nay, it was pretended, he was notoriously guilty of the Crime, for which his Domesticks were condemned, though they had never been confronted with him. But as these Domesticks were not those whom he most trusted, nor even some of the principal, it could not be thought, that he would have been so imprudent, as to make them his Instruments, or communicate to them such a design, if he had really conceived it.

The Outrage exercised upon a Prince of this Character, so universally beloved and esteemed by the People, drew upon the Queen and the Ministers an almost universal hatred, which time could never efface. The Queen especially was publickly charged with the murder, and the respect due to her was not capable of bridling People's Tongues. This however is the very Queen, whom the *French* load with excessive Commendations, probably because she was of the Royal Family of *France*. It is true, they very slightly pass over the Duke of *Gloucester's* death, without endeavouring to justify her. As for the King, very likely, he was not consulted in this infamous Action. But whether he did not so much as suspect the Authors of the murder, or had not the Courage to punish them, he can in some measure be excused only on account of his natural weakness. I cannot leave this Subject, without remarking, how short-sighted human Policy is. The Queen and the rest of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Enemies thought, his death had secured them from all opposition. But by the just Judgment of God, the Duke's death was the very cause of the ruin of the King, Queen, and all that were concerned. The Duke of *York* thereby saw himself at liberty to assert his Claim to the Crown, a Claim which occasioned Torrents of *English* Blood to be shed, and of which doubtless he would never have thought, if there had been such a Competitor as the Duke of *Gloucester* (6).

When this Tragedy was acting in *England*, the Negotiations for a Peace were carrying on in *France*. But as

1447.

He is found
dead in his
Bed.
Hall.

His Body
exposed to
view.

His Dome-
sticks con-
demned for
High Treason.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 178.
The King
pardons them

Hatred of
the People
against the
Queen and
Ministry.

Hall.
fol. 152.

The Truce
prolonged.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 152,
163.

great difficulties occurred concerning the projected Interview of the two Kings, the Truce was further prolonged to *January* the 1st, 1448.

The Truce
between
Burgundy
and England
prolonged.
p. 140.
c. 171

Mean time, the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, by virtue of the power received from the Duke her Husband, prolonged the Truce with *England* till 1459, on condition that, which of the two Princes ſhould deſire to break it, ſhould give the other twelve months notice. After that, a new Treaty was made, *May* the 4th, whereby both Parties agreed, that the Truce ſhould not be broke within the firſt four Years.

The Death
of Cardinal
of Win-
cheſter.
trill.
Sandford

The Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, one of the principal Authors of the Duke of *Gloceſter's* death, enjoyed but one month the ſatisfaction of his Enemy's Fall (1). He was a Prelate much more proper for the World than the Church. Accordingly, he remained, to his laſt breath, attached to the former. He is ſaid to die in a ſort of a Paſſion, that his Riches were not capable of exempting him from the common Fate of all Mankind, and to ſee himſelf thereby upon a level with the moſt miſerable.

See People
murmur
againſt Suffolk.

Mean while, the People perceiving, the time deſigned for procuring a Peace was ſpent in vain, loudly murmured againſt the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*. It was openly ſaid, he had betrayed the King and the State; that his Treaty with the *French* tended only to a Truce deſtructive to *England*, as it afforded the Enemy time to fortify himſelf; that he had ingaged to deliver *Maine* to the *French*, in order to marry the King to a Princeſs, who had given ſenſible proofs of the Calamities the *Engliſh* were to expect under her Government. Theſe murmurs were ſo publick, that the Marquiſs could not help taking notice of them; and in order to ſilence them, requeſted the King to hear his defence, that he might ſatisfy him of his Innocence. Whereupon the King ſet him a day to clear himſelf, and heard him in his own Apartment, in the preſence of ſeveral Lords, none of whom were there with a deſign to refute him. He related all he had done in *France*, and could eaſily juſtify himſelf, ſince he had taken care, before his departure, to be fortified with the King's Orders. Having finiſhed his Speech, the King declared himſelf ſatisfied, and gave him Letters Patents under the Great Seal, acquitting him from all imputation of Miſdemeanor, and forbidding all Perſons, on pain of his diſpleaſure, to accuſe or ſpeak ill of him. But this was not capable of putting a ſtop to the People's murmurs. It was not doubted that the King would be ſatisfied, but this was not thought a ſufficient reaſon to ſatisfy the Nation. Notwithſtanding the Marquiſs's pretended defence, he was looked upon with horror, as he was believed to be the principal Author of the Duke of *Gloceſter's* murder. Beſides the King's Marriage, procured by his means, was conſidered as one of the greateſt calamities that could befall *England*. This was the general opinion of Town and Country: But the Court, where the Queen would ſuffer none but her Creatures, ſtood otherwiſe affected. The Miniſters had likewiſe for Adherents, throughout the Kingdom, ſuch as found their account in their attachment to the Court, that is, whoever held any Poſt or Office under the Miniſtry. Theſe employed their authority and endeavours, to ſtifle the complaints and murmurs of the People, who could not bear to ſee the Adminiſtration of the publick affairs in the hands of a Foreigner. Indeed, the King, incapable of holding the Reins of the Government himſelf, only lent his name to the Queen, who made uſe of it as he pleaſed. For his part, he minded nothing but his Devotions, wherein the Queen took care to make him ſpend his whole time, as in the only thing he was fit for, in order to divert him entirely from the Government. Some have made a Saint of this Prince. But he may be ſaid to be one of thoſe Saints, more commendable for the vices they have not, than for the virtues they poſſeſs, and to whom a great weakneſs of mind is inſtead of Merit and Worth.

Le P.
d'Orleans.

The People's
diſpoſition
with regard
to the Queen.

It was impoſſible for the Queen, and the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, to govern the Kingdom alone, without raiſing jealousy. It was not cuſtomary to ſee the Queens take upon them the Government. Accordingly, this was perceived with uneaſineſs to uſurp an arbitrary power in the King's name, who had no farther concern in the affairs, than to ſign, without examination, the Orders that were brought him. The Queen's haughty carriage, her Partiality in diſpoſing of Places, and above all, the Duke of

Gloceſter's Murder, had drawn upon her the hatred of the Nation to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was every where talked of with very little reſpect. Her intimate Union with the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, gave her Enemies a freſh occaſion to ſpread reports not much to her Honour. The Marquiſs was no more beloved than the Queen. It was he that had brought her into *England*, and, to accompliſh the Marriage, ſacrificed the intereſts of the Kingdom. But the King's name was ſo revered, that beſides thoſe who were by intereſt attached to the Court, many others were of the ſame Party from a motive of Duty. It was therefore no eaſy matter, to wreat from the Queen and the Favorite the Authority they enjoyed.

The diſpoſition of moſt People with regard to the Queen and the Miniſters, inſpired the Duke of *York* with hopes, he ſhould one day be able to aſſert his Title to the Crown. He was, by his Mother, the only Heir of the Houſe of *Mortimer* or *March*, deſcended from *Lionel*, third Son of *Edward III.*, and elder Brother of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, whoſe Poſterity was in poſſeſſion of the Throne. But probably, he would never have formed ſuch a deſign, if the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been alive, or the People not diſaffected to the Queen and the Miniſtry. Mean while, as it would have been very dangerous to diſcover his intentions, before the People's inclinations were founded, he took care ſo to proceed, that it ſhould not be poſſible to convict him of the leaſt ſtep to that end. He contented himſelf with making uſe of ſecret Emiſſaries, who induſtriouſly ſpread among the People, diſcourſes proper to turn their thoughts to his title to the Crown. It was whiſpered about, that the Houſe of *Lancaster* had uſurped the Throne. That indeed the Uſurpation had been tolerable, whiſt the Kings of that Houſe were Princes of diſtinguiſhed worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the Nation; that even, during the Non-age of the preſent King, there had been hopes of his treading in the ſteps of his Anceſtors, and his being a worthy Follower of the King his Father; but that ſince he became of Age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: That therefore the *Engliſh* could have no reaſon to ſupport any longer the Uſurpation of the Crown, for the ſake of a Queen, who, being ſprung from the Blood of their moſt mortal Enemy, ruled the Kingdom with an arbitrary Power: That, in viewing the Poſterity of *Edward III.*, it was evident, the Houſe of *March* had been unjuſtly deprived of the Crown: That the Duke of *York* being the ſole Heir of that Houſe, and deſcended from *Edward III.* by his paternal Anceſtors, ought to have his due right. In ſine, that his noble Qualities, his known Virtue, and his ſignal Services to the Nation, very ſtrongly ſupported the juſt Title given him by his Birth. Theſe diſcourſes, artfully ſpread among the People, began to gain the Duke of *York* a Party. But he appeared not himſelf: All was done in private by his Friends.

Mean while, the Queen, the Favorite, and all the Houſe of *Lancaster*, failed not to take notice, of what was divulged concerning the pretenſions of the Duke of *York*. He might indeed keep himſelf concealed from others, but it was not eaſy to deceive ſuch quick-ſighted Perſons, who were ſo greatly concerned in the affair. As they did not queſtion, that all theſe Diſcourſes were divulged with his approbation, they believed it requiſite to leſſen his credit, by giving him ſome mortification. *John* Duke of *Somerset* dying during theſe Tranſactions (2), *Edmund* his Brother (3), who ſucceeded him, ſeemed a very proper Perſon to oppoſe to the Duke of *York*. So, without any pretence, the Queen and the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* cauſed the King to remove the Duke of *York* from the Regency of *France*, before his term was expired, and conferred it on the new Duke of *Somerset*. This laſt was of an exceeding haughty temper, and as his Brother had been ingaged in great Conteſts with the Duke of *York*, he behaved to him upon this occaſion, ſo as to make him his implacable Enemy. On the other hand, the Duke of *York* very highly reſented this affront: But, as it was not in his power to be revenged, diſſembled his reſentment, in expectation of a more favorable opportunity to ſhew it.

In the beginning of the year 1448, the King, who acted only by the Queen's ſuggeſtions, created the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, Duke of *Saſſex* (4). The Queen ſeemed to intend to brave the People, by daily ſhowering her favors

(1) He died April 11, after having been Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſeven years, and of *Wincheſter* forty three; in all fifty, from the time of his firſt Conſecration. He was alſo ſeveral times Chancellor of *England*; two years while Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and when of *Wincheſter*, four years at one time, and two at another. Before he entered into Orders, he begat by *Alice*, Daughter of *Richard Fitz Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, a natural Daughter called *Jean*, married to *de Burgh* *Stradling*. He founded *St. Croſſes* Hoſpital near *Wincheſter*; and lies buried in *Wincheſter* Cathedral, where a noble Monument is erected to his Memory: Which ſee in *Sandford*, p. 262.

(2) He died May 27, 22 Hen. VI. 1444, leaving an only Daughter, *Margaret*, married to *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, by whom ſhe had *Henry VII.* *John* Duke of *Somerset* lies buried under a grey Marble Monument, with his Wife *Margaret Beauchamp*, in *Wincheſter* Cathedral, in 1444. *Sandford*, p. 327, 328. This year alſo, on Auguſt 5, died *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, and was buried in *St. Catherine's*, near the Tower of *London*. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 81.

(3) Upon his Brother's death (22 Hen. VI.) he became Earl of *Somerset*, but the Dukedom of *Somerset* was not granted him till 26 Henry VI. 1446, which fell into the King's hands for want of Male-Iſſue of the ſaid *John*. The Earldom was granted to his Father and his Predeceſſor by King *Richard II.*, and confirmed by *Henry IV.* *Sandford*, p. 331.

(4) His Patent of Creation bears date June 2. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 100.

upon a Lord so extremely odious to the whole Nation. She thereby gave her own Enemies a great advantage, who only wanted occasions to stir up the People against her. It is an error, to which those at the Helm are frequently liable, to disregard the complaints of the People. As they are always surrounded with Flatterers, either they are ignorant of what passes any where but at Court, or imagine that having most of the great Men for them, the rest of the People are to be counted as nothing: But it often happens, they find it to their cost, that the great Men, and Kings themselves, have no more Power than private Persons, when unsupported by the People. This is what we shall have occasion to see more particularly in the course of the present Reign (1). But we must first return to the affairs of France, which will yet afford us matter for several years.

In the Negotiation concerning the King's Marriage, it was agreed, that the City of *Mans*, and whatever the English held in *Maine*, should be delivered to *Charles of Anjou*, the future Queen's Uncle. But the noise this Article made in England, and the Duke of *Glocester's* opposition, caused the restitution to be deferred till this year. In February, *Charles of Anjou*, at the head of some Troops, appeared before *Mans*, in order to take possession. The French say, he besieged the City, and that the Duke of *Exeter* the Governor, not daring to stand an assault, surrendered by Capitulation (2). But it is certain, the Duke of *Exeter* was not then in the Place, neither was there any appearance of a Siege. The restitution was made (3) by agreement between the two Courts, and *Henry* sent to *Mans* two Commissioners to deliver the City to the Prince of *Anjou*. As he was entering, the two Commissioners met him upon the Bridge, and before a publick Notary made a formal Protestation, declaring that the King of England's sole intent in restoring that place, was to procure a final Peace between him and *Charles* his Uncle, and only during the Truce. Moreover, he reserved to himself the Sovereignty of the City and Province, and, in case of any attempt upon the right of this Sovereignty, claimed a power to revoke the Cession without injuring his honour. *Charles of Anjou* heard the Protestation without approving it, and took possession of the Place.

After the surrender of *Mans* to the French, the Negotiations for a Peace, and the Interview of the two Kings, were continued: But by reason of some difficulties, the Truce was forced to be farther prolonged to April the 1st 1449. It did not last however so long; an unforeseen accident put an end to it sooner than was expected.

About the middle of this year (4), *Surienne an Arragonian*, who had served the King of England twenty years, and was Knight of the Garter, and Governor of Lower *Normandy*, scaled, in the Night, the Town of *Fougeres*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and took a great booty. Whereupon, the Duke of *Bretagne* sent a Herald to the Duke of *Somerset*, then at *Roan*, and demanded the restitution of the Place, with all the Plunder. The Regent answered, he was extremely displeased with this action, and would give the Duke of *Bretagne* all the satisfaction he could reasonably expect.

Mean while, as it would require some time to be informed more particularly of this affair, and to notify it to the Court of England, the Duke of *Bretagne*, impatient of this delay, complained to the King of France of the breach of the Truce, wherein *Bretagne* was expressly included. *Charles* considering, his affairs were in a good situation, and those of the English in great disorder, as well by reason of the King's inability as of the People's discontent, took fire at this News, as if the injury had been done to himself. And yet, to look back on the Duke of *Bretagne's* proceedings, during the whole former War, *Charles* had no great cause to be satisfied with that House. However, perceiving it to be a favorable opportunity to renew the War, whilst the English thought of nothing less, he sent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Somerset*, and two Ambassadors to London, to demand reparation for this insult. But at the same time, to make this reparation impracticable, he insisted upon the payment of sixteen hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of *Bretagne*, for the damages sustained by the taking of *Fougeres*. This Sum was so exorbitant, that it must not be thought strange, if the Court of England refused to pay it down. Besides, it was almost impossible, that in so short a time a just calculation could be made of the damages done by the English. It was also very surprising, that *Charles* should so eagerly espouse the Duke of *Bretagne's* quarrel, who was not included in the Truce as his Ally (5), but rather as a neutral Prince who had frequently been Mediator between the two Kings. The Ambassadors however were told, the King would take care to indemnify the Duke, as soon as it was known, what his loss might amount to; and if *Charles* would send Ambassadors to *Louviers*, the King of England would do the like, in order to settle all things to the common satisfaction of the two Kings and the Duke of *Bretagne* (6).

At the Congress held at *Louviers* upon this occasion (7), the English represented, that the taking of *Fougeres* was without Orders, and unknown to the Regent. They expostulated likewise against the sum demanded, as far exceeding what the Duke of *Bretagne* could justly require. But the French plainly told them, if the Duke received not the satisfaction their Master demanded, he deemed the Truce violated. This haughty and peremptory way of negotiating on *Charles's* part, seemed very strange to the English, but the French persisting in their first Proposition, the conference broke up, without any effect (8).

So bent was *Charles* upon renewing the War, whilst the King of England was unprepared, that in case the English should resolve to give the satisfaction required, he had another pretence for a Rupture. He pretended, they had violated the Truce with Scotland, and he was obliged to undertake the cause of the Scots. Indeed, there had been a conflict between the English and Scots, wherein the English had been worsted. *Buchanan* makes it a pitched Battle, and says, the English lost three thousand Men. However, this affair does not seem to have been of so great consequence, since it was presently suppressed. This year the two Nations renewed their Truce (9), without fixing the time of its continuance. Only it was agreed, that, which of the two Kings should desire to break it, he should give the other notice so long beforehand. However, King *James* had not desired *Charles* to interpose in this quarrel, and consequently, it is evident, *Charles* sought an occasion of Rupture.

Whilst *Charles* was making his preparations, he amused the English with fruitless Negotiations. The Court of England's imprudence at this juncture, is very astonishing. They knew neither how to preserve the Truce, nor prepare for War. If they had been willing to avoid a rupture, they should at least have restored *Fougeres* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with promise of amends for all damages. But they kept the Place, without using any effectual endeavours to appease that incensed Prince. The Council, where greater care was taken to introduce the Queen's and the Duke of *Suffolk's* Creatures, than Persons qualified to manage the publick affairs, seemed to be seized with a spirit of inconsideration. To see the Queen's indolence on this occasion, one would have thought, that being without Issue, she was in a Plot with the King's Enemies, to dispossess him of all he still held in France. If she, and her Favorites and Ministers, or even the whole Council, had such a design, they succeeded but too well. However that be, the faults they committed on this occasion, are to be excused, only by the consideration of the Haughtiness wherewith *Charles* acted, who rendered an agreement impracticable. But, at the same time, they should have prepared for their defence.

As soon as *Charles* was in condition to renew the War, he caused the Castle of *Conches*, and *Pont de l'Arche*, in *Normandy* (10), and, about the same time, *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoisis*, *Cognac*, and *St. Maigrin* in *Guienne* to be surprized, in the Duke of *Bretagne's* name. The

1448.

Answer of
the Court of
England.
A2. Pub.
XI. p. 216.

The Conference at
Louviers.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

so no purpose.

Charles seeks
occasion to
renew the
War.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

Buchanan.

A2. Pub.
XI. p. 229,
236, 238,
242, 244,
247, 268,
271.

1449.
Imprudence
of the Council of
England.
Hall.

Charles surprizes several
places of the English
by way of
Reprisals for
Fougeres.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

(1) This year, on February 12, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, which granted the King a Tenth, and a Fifteenth; Tonnage and Poundage for five years of all Merchants, with three Shillings Tonnage more of Aliens; and the Subsidy of Wool for four years, as before. They also granted the King Sixteen-pence, to be taken of every Householder within the Realm, not born in the King's Dominions; and Six-pence of every other Person not so born, and who was no Householder; as also, six Shillings and Eight-pence of every Merchant-Stranger, and Twenty pence of all and every of their Clerks. *Costen's Abridg.* p. 637, 638.

(2) *Monstrelet* says, the English had put off the restitution of *Mans* for the space of three Months, and had, within that time, introduced fifteen hundred Men therein: So that the Earl of *Dunois* was sent with an Army of about seven thousand Men, to reduce that City by force, fol. 5.

(3) March 15. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 204.

(4) On March 24. *Surienne* had with him between six and seven hundred Men. *Monstrelet*, fol. 6. They not only took this Town, but also made several Incursions in *Bretagne*. *Ibid.*

(5) He seems to have been so, for he insisted chiefly upon that point, (as being his Ally and Vassal) in his complaints to the King of France. See *Monstrelet*, fol. 6, and *Hall*, fol. 152. And indeed he is expressly mentioned in the Truce. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 64.]

(6) They also disavowed the Fact, saying, It was done without the Consent either of the King their Master, or of the Duke of *Somerset* his Lieutenant. *Monstrelet*, fol. 7. *Hall*, fol. 152.

(7) In May. *Monstrelet*, fol. 8.

(8) There was another Conference in the Abbey of *Bon-port*, but which likewise came to nothing. *Monstrelet*, fol. 9.

(9) It was July 8. 1449. The Truce was to last from August 10. 1449, to September 20. 1450. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 232.

(10) On May 16. *Monstrelet*, fol. 8.

1449. *English* complained in their turn of the violation of the Truce, but were told, it was by way of Reprisals for *Fougeres*. Thus the War was rekindled at a juncture very disadvantageous to the *English*. As they were unprepared, the Duke of *Somerfet*, Regent of *France*, was destitute of Forces, when he most needed them. *Charles* had therefore free scope to push his Conquests. This gives occasion to believe, the surprize of *Fougeres* was unknown to the Court of *England*. Otherwise, it must be thought, either the Ministers had lost their senses, in not preparing to support their enterprize, or had among them Traitors, who thereby intended to re-engage the *English* in War, before they were ready. Certainly, when it is considered, that the Court was so remiss to satisfy the Duke of *Bretagne*, and so careless to prepare for War, it is hard to know what to think of such a Conduct.

Charles against *Normandy* with four Armies. *Montfretet*. Hall.

Charles's chief aim was to recover *Normandy*, and for that purpose had prepared four Armies. A plain demonstration, he did not desire the business of *Fougeres* should be ended by an agreement. Since the Conquests of *Louviers*, which broke up in April (1), he would not have had time to put so many Forces on foot. The first of these Armies he headed himself. The Earl of *Dunois*, lately made Earl of *Longueville*, and Generalissimo of the King's Forces under the Constable, commanded the second. The Duke of *Alençon* had the command of the third; and the Duke of *Bretagne*, of the fourth, wholly consisting of his own Troops. All the Towns of *Normandy* were ill-provided with Men and Ammunition. Most of the Governors depending upon the Truce, were gone to *England*. So the *French* Armies had only to appear before the Towns, in order to carry them. Several places did not stay to be attacked. Some taking Arms, expelled the *English* Garrisons; others were sold by the commanding Officers. *Pont Audemer* and *Chateau Galliard* were the only places that made a tolerable defence. In short, not to enter into a needless detail of all the Sieges, whether real or feigned, it will suffice to say in a word, that before the Campaign was ended, *Charles* was able to besiege *Roan*, where he had friends. Having assembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thousand Men, he ordered the Capital of *Normandy* to be invested, the 8th of October. He would not form a regular Siege, being well assured, the Duke of *Somerfet*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who were shut up there, with three thousand Men only, would not be able to defend themselves against the Inhabitants, who had promised to rise in his favor. And indeed, within a few days, the Earl of *Dunois* was going to be introduced at *St. Hilary's Gate*, with three hundred Men, if the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had not come very seasonably, and repulsed that Detachment.

The Citizens open the Gates to the French. *Montfretet*.

The Duke of *Somerfet* surrenders upon Terms. *Montfretet*.

Siege and taking of *Harfleur*. *Montfretet*. *J. Chantier*. Hall.

The Inhabitants, notwithstanding this disappointment, persisted in their resolution. On the 19th of October, the whole City rising in Arms with one consent, all that the Duke of *Somerfet* could do, was to distribute his Garrison in some of the most advantageous Posts. But the *French* being introduced, quickly forced all these Posts sword in hand. There was only the Palace left, where the Duke of *Somerfet*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* were, with eight hundred Men. As they foresaw, they should soon be in want of provisions, the Duke desired to speak with the King in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable Terms. But the King insisted upon his surrendering at discretion, unless he would treat for the rest of *Normandy*. As this point could not be adjusted, the Duke returned to the Palace, and held out ten or twelve days longer. At last, he was forced to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his Artillery, paying fifty thousand Crowns of Gold, and delivering to the King *Caudebec*, *Arques*, *Lillebonne*, *Tancarville*, *Montravilliers*, and *Harfleur* (2). The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was left in Hostage (3) for the performance of this engagement, and the *English* Garrison marched out of *Roan*, where *Charles* made his entry, on the 19th of November. The Governor of *Harfleur*, not thinking fit to comply with this Capitulation, the Earl of *Longueville* was detached by the King to besiege

that Place, which surrendered the beginning of January (4). Though *Charles* might justly have detained the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, since the Capitulation of *Roan* was not fully observed by the *English*, he was pleased, as a mark of his esteem, to give him his liberty, without ransom. In the mean time, the Earl of *Pois*, who commanded in *Guienne* for King *Charles*, took the Castle of *Mauleon*, standing upon an inaccessible Rock. Thus ended the first Campaign, which proved so fatal to the *English*.

Besides the Court of *England's* concern, for the posture of affairs in *France*, a Rebellion raised in *Ireland* at the same time, gave them a fresh cause of uneasiness. However, the Queen and the Duke of *Suffolk* reaped some advantage by these commotions, as they furnished them with a pretence to remove the Duke of *York*. This Prince beginning to be a trouble to them, he was sent into *Ireland*, under colour of being the fittest Person to suppress the Rebellion, but without, had but few Troops allowed him for that purpose. It was hoped, he would either perish in the attempt, or forfeit his reputation. The Duke perceived their design, and wisely turned against themselves the artifice they used for his ruin. He so managed, that, by his mild and gentle behaviour, he won the *Irish*, and restored them to their duty, without being obliged to use force. What is more, he so made them his friends, that from thenceforward they were always devoted to the service of himself and Family, and even in the midst of his greatest misfortunes.

The universal confusion of the affairs of *France*, the negligence of the Court in that respect, the loss of almost all *Normandy* in one single Campaign, the conquest whereof had cost so much blood, began, at length, openly to provoke the impatient temper of the *English*. The whole Kingdom rung with complaints against the Duke of *Suffolk*. It was publicly said, he had betrayed the State, and that *Maine*, the Key of *Normandy*, was delivered to the *French*, for the accomplishment of a marriage, advantageous to none but himself. He was accused of being the principal Author of the Duke of *Glocester's* death, for fear that discerning Prince should see through his treasonable practices. It was complained, that there were but few Persons of parts, and still fewer of virtue, in the Council; that, on the contrary, the Board was filled with vicious Counsellors, without Principles of Honour or Religion, that no consideration might hinder their being wholly devoted to the Will of the Queen, and her Minister: That it was the same thing, with regard to those in the publick Posts, in whom, honesty and ability were not so much required, as an attachment to the Ministry. The Queen was no less disliked. It was complained, she ruled, with insupportable pride, a free Nation, used to be governed only by Law, and which had never suffered a despotick Power. It was added, the Usurpation of such a Power was not to be borne, even in a King, much less in a foreign Queen. It was farther observed, that, by degrees, she had turned out of the Council all those that gave her any umbrage, in order to substitute such as were at her devotion, without troubling herself, whether they were fit for so high an employment.

In this disposition were the People, when the Parliament met, the beginning of the year 1450 (5). The Court wanted an aid to enable them to restore the affairs of *France*: Otherwise, they saw themselves obliged entirely to abandon them, and thereby, give their enemies a farther advantage against them. The Queen soon perceived, the general discontent had seized the very Members of Parliament. She believed, it would be of great advantage to remove the Parliament to *Leicester*, where she hoped to have greater sway than at *London*, of whose Inhabitants she was jealous. But she met with so strong opposition from the Lords, that she was forced to desist. In all likelihood, something was feared like what had passed at *St. Edmundsbury*, with regard to the Duke of *Glocester*.

Upon the meeting of the Parliament (6), the Commons presented to the Lords, an Indictment

(1) Or rather in May. See *Montfretet*, fol. 8.

(2) With *James Butler*, Son of the Earl of *Ormond*, and some other young Noblemen. They were secured in the Castle of *Exreux*. Hall, fol. 154. *Montfretet*, fol. 21.

(3) The Governor was *Thomas Coreton*. *Ibid*

(4) This Parliament met first at *Westminster*, on November 6. 1449, from whence it was adjourned to the *Black-friers*, *London*, by reason of the Plague's being in the fore-named place; and on December 4, it was adjourned back again to *Westminster*; prorogued, on the 11th, to January 22. 1450, and on March 30, prorogued to April 29, at *Leicester*. In this Parliament the Commons granted the King an unusual Subsidy, &c. That every Person having frank Tenement by free Dearth, Copy, grant of Annuity, or Office, to the clear yearly value of twenty Shillings, should pay Six pence; and so from twenty Shillings to twenty Pounds: From twenty Pounds, to two hundred Pounds yearly, Twelve-pence in the Pound: From two hundred Pounds, to pay two Shillings for every twenty Shillings, as well for the Livery as the Clergy, Guardians of Warres, Men having Fees, and all Corporations to pay accordingly. *Cotton's Abridg* p. 640, 641. In this Parliament it was enacted, That whereas Customers, Searchers, &c. did daily wrongfully distress and arrest the Ships, Goods, and Merchandizes of the Merchants of this Realm; all Persons so aggrieved, should be authorized hereby to have a general Writ of Trepass against the Authors of such Arrests, Charges, and Impositions; whereby they might sue for, and recover forty Pounds, upon Conviction. *Statutes*, 28 Henry VI.

(6) On February 7. *Cotton's Abridg*, p. 641.

1450. against the Earl of Suffolk, containing the following Articles:

Articles of Impeachment against Suffolk. Cotton's Abridg. Hall, fol. 157.

I. That the Duke of Suffolk had treated with the Bastard of Orleans, and the other French Ambassadors, to persuade King Charles to invade England; to the end, he might place his Son on the Throne, whom he intended to marry with Margaret only Daughter of John Duke of Somerset.

II. That being bribed by the French, he had released the Duke of Orleans, against the express Orders of the late King.

III. That Normandy was invaded by his Means, and Advice.

IV. That being Ambassador in France, he engaged to surrender Maine to the French, without the consent of the rest of the Ambassadors, and drew the King and Council to ratify his Engagement.

V. That he had informed the Enemies, of the Weakness of the English Towns in France, and encouraged them to assault them.

VI. That he had betrayed the Secrets of the Council to the Enemies of the State.

VII. That he had hindered the Conclusion of a Peace, by discovering the Weakness of England (1).

VIII. That he had made his Boasts, in the hearing of several Lords, that his Credit at the French Court was no less, than at the English.

IX. That he had obstructed the sending of Succours to France, that the Enemies might make the greater Progresses.

X. That he had included in the Treaty of Truce neither the King of Arragon, nor the Duke of Bretagne, and by that affected neglect, England had lost those two Allies.

The Duke's Defence.

The Duke of Suffolk answered these Accusations, by a formal Denial of the greatest Part, and required the Proofs. As to the Articles which he owned, he produced the King's express Orders. But that was not sufficient to justify him, since his chief Crime, was the abuse of his Credit with the King, and his imposing upon the Council. Historians remark, that he cleared himself from all but the last Article, relating to the Duke of Bretagne. Indeed, it is certain, in the first Treaty of Truce concluded at Tours, and in several subsequent Treaties to prolong it, the Duke of Bretagne was included only by France. This is a Mystery, not very easy to be unravelled. The Duke of Bedford, as has been related, obliged the Duke of Bretagne to renounce the Alliance of Charles, and acknowledge Henry for King of France. Since that time, there had been no Rupture between England and Bretagne. And yet, Charles took care to comprize the Duke of Bretagne in the Treaty of Truce, concluded at Tours, whilst the English mentioned him not. Was it through Negligence, Forgetfulness, or designedly? The last is most probable. However, the Duke of Suffolk had in some measure repaired this Error, by including the Duke of Bretagne as an Ally of England, in the prolongation of the Truce in 1447, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. But that was not sufficient, it seems, to satisfy his Enemies.

Remark on the last Article. Act. Pub. XI p 59, 97

ib. p. 154.

The King sends the Duke to the Tower. Hall.

The Parliament adjourned to Leicester. The Duke is freed. A Sedition in Kent. Hall.

The Parliament sits again. The Commons offended at the Duke of Suffolk's appearing. Stow. Biondi.

The Queen perceiving that matters were like to go ill with the Duke, ordered it so, that the King sent him to the Tower, not so much with design to punish him, as to give some appearance of Satisfaction to the Commons. Mean while, for fear they should persist in their Prosecution, she caused the Parliament to be adjourned to Leicester (2). Presently after (3), the Duke came out of the Tower, and resumed his old Post at Court. The News of his release raised a Sedition in Kent, headed by a Fuller (4). But before the Rebels could make any considerable attempt, the Ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that means the Sedition was stilled in its Birth.

The Parliament being re-assembled at Leicester, the King and Queen appeared, attended by the Duke of Suffolk, as their Prime Minister. The Commons were extremely offended at this Proceeding, which they considered

as a Bravado to them. To shew their Resentment, they went in a Body and petitioned the King, that the Persons, who had been instrumental in delivering Normandy (5) to the French, might be punished according to their Demerits. The Queen was alarmed at this Petition. She found, the Commons were bent upon the Duke of Suffolk's Ruin, and that it was not possible to prevent it, without coming to an open Rupture with the Lower House. Wherefore, to save the Minister some part of the Punishment which, probably, was designed him, he resolved to prevent a formal Sentence, which could not but have been very rigorous in the present Juncture. A few days after this Petition, the King banished the Duke for five Years, and removed all his Creatures. The Duke himself looking upon this Exile as a proper means to secure him from the Fury of the People, speedily embarked for France. But he could not escape his Destiny. He was met in his Passage by an English Ship, called the Nicholas, and the Captain searching the Duke's Vessel, and finding him there, ordered his Head to be struck off, without any farther Ceremony (6). Thus fell William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, who a few days before, was the greatest and most powerful Person in the Kingdom. It is uncertain, whether he was guilty of all the Crimes the Commons laid to his Charge. But it cannot be denied, that the disasters which, one after another, happened to the affairs of the English in France, are to be ascribed to his ill Conduct; if it be true, that they are not to be deemed the Consequences of a Plot, formed to deprive the King of all his Conquests in France.

1450. He was banished. Stow. He was beheaded in his Passage to France. April. Hall. The Duke of York assumes the Crown. Hall. Biondi.

By the Duke of Suffolk's death, the Duke of York saw himself freed from a powerful Enemy, who, being attached to the House of Lancaster, would, doubtless, have strongly opposed the Execution of his designs. Though this Prince was in Ireland, his Friends effectually served him in England, by extolling his Merit, and representing to the People, the King's Incapacity, and the Queen's Male-Administration. These Discourses, joined to the entire loss of Normandy, which happened at the same time, made deep Impressions on the Minds of the People, and daily increased the number of the Duke's Adherents. He had perfect Information of what passed. But not to hazard himself in vain, he devised an Expedient, which he thought proper to sound the People's Inclinations, in order to take his measures with more Safety. By his Instigation, Jack Cade an Irishman, assumed the Name of John Mortimer, of the House of March, executed in the beginning of this Reign. Under this borrowed Name he repaired into Kent (7), where the Duke of York had many Adherents, and drew together great Numbers of Malecontents, using for pretence, the necessity of reforming the Government, and easing the People. In the present disposition of the greatest Part of the Nation, with regard to the Court, the Rebels so increased, that in few days Cade saw himself in condition to incamp on Black-Heath, near London.

Jack Cade's Insurrection in Kent. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 275, 285.

He appears in London.

The King having notice of the approach of the Rebels, sent to know the reason of their appearing thus in Arms. Cade answered for all, that they had no ill design upon the King's Person: That their Intention was, to petition the Parliament, that the evil Ministers might be punished, and the People rendered more happy than of late years. A few days after, they presented to the Parliament two Petitions, setting forth the Grievances of the Nation. Among other things, they prayed, that the Duke of Somerset might be punished, as being the principal Author of the loss of Normandy. That the King's Council might be filled with the Princes of the Blood, and other prudent and judicious Persons, and not with vicious and profligate Men, of ill Principles and Manners, and incapable of managing the affairs of the State. These Petitions being communicated to the King, the Council condemned them as seditious, and refused to suppress the Rebellion by force of Arms. Whereupon, the King assembling a Body of fifteen thousand Men, headed them himself, and marched against the Rebels. Upon his approach, Cade, as if he was afraid, retired, and lay in Ambush in a Wood near Sevenoak, not questioning but the King would follow him. But Herpy, imagining the Rebels were dispersed, returned to London, being contented

He presents two Petitions to the Parliament. Hall. Stow's Ann. p. 339.

The King marches against them. Cade retires and cuts in Ambush a Detachment of the King's Army. Hall.

(1) Or rather by discovering to King Charles, the Commission, Authority, and Instructions of the English Ambassadors. Hall, fol. 157.
(2) On March 30, to meet at Leicester, April 29.
(3) After a Month's Confinement. Hall, fol. 158.
(4) A desperate Fellow, called Thomas Thym, but nick-named, Blue Beard. Stow's Ann. p. 335.
(5) It should be Anjou and Maine, as Hall, fol. 158, and Stow have it, p. 337.
(6) The Ship belonged to the Duke of Exeter, then Constable of the Tower. Rapin, by mistake, makes the Captain's name to be Nicholas instead of the ship's. The Duke being thus taken, was brought into Dover Road, where his Head was struck off on the Side of a Cock-boat; and the Head and Body were left on Dover Sands, where they were found by a Chaplain of his, and taken up and buried in the Collegiate Church of Winfield in Suffolk. Hall, fol. 158. Or, according to others, in the Charter-house at Kingston upon Hull. Stow, p. 338. He was beheaded, says Dugdale, May 2. He lived twenty four years in France, and seventeen without ever returning home. He was Privy Counsellor fifteen years, and a Knight of the Garter thirty. His Daughters Alice, Daughter and Heir of Chaucer, and Isabella Edward IV, and was buried at Ewelme, in the Church of her own founding. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 180.
(7) In May this year. Stow, p. 338.

1450. with sending after them a Detachment of his Army, commanded by Sir *Humphrey Stafford* (1). This Detachment falling into the Ambush, were cut in pieces, and the Commander himself lost his Life in the Fight (2).

Cade's letter into London.
Stow.

At the same time, *Cade* began his march towards *London* (3), whilst the King and the whole Court hastily retired to *Kewlworth Castle*, leaving a Garrison in the *Tower*, under the Command of the Lord *Scales*. *Cade's* Success against *Stafford* increased his Army with Multitudes, who flocked from all Parts to join him. The City of *London*, either through fear, or some other Motive, opened her Gates to the Rebels, and *Cade* entered as it were in Triumph, at the head of his Troops. But he prohibited, under severe Penalties, the offering any Injury to the Inhabitants. Next day, being informed, that the Lord *Say*, High-Treasurer, was in the City, he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded (4). Towards the Evening, he retired to *Southwark*, on the other side of the *Thames*, and continued thus for some days, to enter the City in the Morning, and go out again at Night, on purpose to take from the Citizens all occasion of fear.

Helabrade the High-Treasurer.

Quarrel between the Soldiers and Citizens.
Fight on the Bridge.
Hall.
Stow.

Cade's Soldiers and the *Londoners* lived at first very friendly together. But at last, the Soldiers committing some Riot in the City, when they would have entered, according to Custom, in the Morning (5), they found the Bridge-Gate shut against them. Whereupon a Battle ensued between them and the Citizens (6), which lasted all day, and ended at the approach of night, by a Cessation of Arms till the Morrow. Mean while, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chancellor (7), who had taken refuge in the *Tower*, observing by their Spies, and the Proceedings of the Rebels, that their Hearts began to fail them, instantly drew up a general Pardon, put the Great-Seal to it, and caused it to be proclaimed in the Night, in *Southwark*. The Pardon produced so sudden and surprising an Effect, that, before it was day, *Cade* found himself deserted by his Followers, and forced to fly all alone, and conceal himself in the County of *Suffex*. But the King promising, by Proclamation, a thousand Marks to any Person that should bring him dead or alive, he was slain in his retreat (8), by [Alexander Iden] a Gentleman of *Kent*, who brought his Body to *London* (9). The Pardon under the Great-Seal did not prevent the Execution of many of his Accomplices (10). Thus ended this dangerous Rebellion, which might have been attended with worse Consequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced Leader (11).

Cade is deserted,

and slain.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 275.
p. 285.
Hall.

Continuation of the War in Normandy.
Kiriell brings a Supply from England.
He marches towards Caen.
Hall.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the War was continued in *Normandy*, but still to the disadvantage of the *English*. The Queen perceiving, the People's discontent partly sprung from the ill Success of the Affairs of *France*, had sent fifteen hundred Men (12) to the Duke of *Somerfet*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, who landed at *Cherbourg*. His design was to lead his Troops to *Caen*, where the Duke of *Somerfet* then was. But as it was dangerous to march with so small a Body, he was joined upon the Road by several Detachments of the *English* Garrisons in those Parts. The *French* Authors say, that by this Junction the *English* Army amounted to five thousand Men (13), which however is not very likely. Be this as it will, the Constable *Richemont* hearing of *Kiriell's* design, speedily drew together a Body of seven thousand Men, and went and expected him at *Fourmigni*, through which he was to pass. The two Armies engaging, the *English*, though inferior in Number, long defended themselves with great Bravery. But at length, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, they were put to rout, and their General taken Prisoner (14). Upon comparing this Battle with a certain Prediction of the *Maid of Orleans*,

The Battle of Fourmigni, wherein the English are defeated.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

that the *English* should be entirely driven out of the Kingdom, by a defeat, much greater than those of *Orleans* and *Patay*, one is inclined to believe, she was not perfectly inspired. For, in the Battle of *Fourmigni*, the only one since *Jean's* death, the *English*, even according to the Enemies Computation, were at most but five thousand, and lost but fifteen hundred (15). However, for the sake of the Prophecy, the *French* Writers talk of the Battle of *Fourmigni* in very lofty Terms, comparing it to the most famous Battles.

1450.

Kiriell's Reinforcement being defeated, the Duke of *Somerfet* could no longer withstand the victorious Arm of the *French*. It would be needless, to give a particular account of the Sieges carried on by the *French* in this second Campaign (16). It will suffice to say in a word, that about the middle of *August*, *Charles* saw himself master of all *Normandy*. The City of *Caen* was invested the 4th of *June*, and the 21st of the same Month, the Duke of *Somerfet* capitulated (17), against the Opinion of some of the Officers, who maintained, it was not yet time. *Falaise* (18), *Domfront*, and *Cherbourg* were besieged at once, and the Campaign ended in *Normandy* with the taking of *Cherbourg* (19), which surrendered the 12th of *August*. Thus in two Campaigns, *Charles* became master of the whole Province, without one single Town remaining in the hands of the *English*.

Charles comes into Normandy.
The Duke of Somerset capitulates.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

The Parliament met at *Westminster* the 6th of *November*, and about the same time, the Duke of *Somerfet* having nothing more to do in *France* came into *England*. He was blamed for the loss of *Normandy*, and particularly of *Caen*, where he was accused of not having done his duty. These Complaints were so publickly made, that the Commons could not help taking notice of them. They petitioned the King, to send the Duke of *Somerfet* to the *Tower*, that his Conduct might be examined. *Henry* not thinking proper to disoblige the Commons at such a Juncture, granted their request. The Populace of *London* were so transported with Joy, when they heard the Duke was in the *Tower*, that they immediately rose and plundered his Palace. They would have proceeded farther, if the King had not speedily put out a Proclamation to disperse them. Nevertheless, some of the most audacious continued the Tumult, till one of the most insolent was beheaded. The Parliament was no sooner up, but the Duke of *Somerfet* was released, and assumed, at Court, the Post enjoyed by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Parliament meets.
The Duke of Somerset is brought to the Tower.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

His Palace is plundered.

He comes out of the Tower, and is Prime Minister.
Charles takes general possession in Guienne.
Monstrelet.

The *English* not having been able to prevent the loss of *Normandy*, were still less able to defend *Guienne*, which was more remote. King *Charles* improving the present Juncture, had now sent his Troops into that Province, where, this very year, his Generals took *Bergerac*, *Gensac*, *Montferrand*, *Chalais*, *St. Foi*, which made but a very faint Resistance. The Season being very far advanced, hindered them from pursuing their Conquests.

During the Winter, the Earl of *Orval*, of the House of *Albret*, making Inroads to the very Gates of *Bordeaux*, the Mayor sallied out with ten thousand Men to attack him. How inferior soever *Orval* might be in number of Troops, he stood his ground against this undisciplined Militia, slew great part of them, and took many Prisoners.

The Earl of Orval takes the Town of Bordeaux.
Monstrelet.

In *April* 1451, the Army of *France*, commanded by the *Bastard of Orleans*, Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, was forty thousand strong. This General presently became master of *Montguion* in *Saintonge*. Then, *May* the 16th, he besieged *Blaye*, and carried it the 21st. Not only, there was no *English* Army in the Field, but moreover, no manner of appearance, that the Court of *England* effectually thought of defending *Guienne*. The *French* General improving so favorable a Juncture, divided his

1451.

Great Progress of the French in Guienne.
Monstrelet.
Hall.

(1) *Rapin*, by mistake, calls him the Lord *Stafford*. He was a collateral Branch of the Family of *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

(2) With his Brother *William*. Hall, fol. 159.

(3) And came again and encamped on *Blackheath*; where the King deputed to him the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, to know what Proposals he had to make. *Ibid*.

(4) *James Fynes*, who, by reason his Mother was Sister and Coheir to *William de Say*, a Descendant of the former Baron de *Say*, was created, 25 *Henry VI*, a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Say and Seale*. He was accused with the Duke of *Suffolk* about the affair of *Marre*, and thereupon to appease the People, was turned out from being High-Treasurer; and upon the Clamours of the Rebels, was sent to the *Tower*, from whence they tormented him, and arraigned him at *Guild-Hall* before the Mayor. He desired to be tried by his Peers, in order to gain time; but *Cade* and his Accomplices, not admitting of this dilatory Plea, took him by force from the Officers, and hurrying him to the standard in *Cherap*, cut off his Head, which they set on a Pole, and caused to be carried before them along the Streets. Not satisfied with this, they also dragged his naked Body at a Horse's Tail into *Southwark*, where it was hanged and quartered. Hall, fol. 160. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 243, 246.

(5) *July 5*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 391.

(6) Assisted by the Lord *Scales* keeper of the *Tower*, and the brave *Matthew Gough*, who was slain, *Hall*, fol. 160.

(7) Who was then the Archbishop of *York*, viz. *John Kempe*. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 641.

(8) At *Hatfield* in *Suffex*. *Stow*, p. 392.

(9) He was titled Captain *Mend All*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 388, 392. He was quartered, and his Head set up on *London Bridge*.

(10) Twenty-six Eight at *Canterbury*, and the rest elsewhere. *Stow*, p. 392.

(11) There were also insurrections at the same time in *Hampshire*, and particularly in *Wiltshire*, where *William Aysbith* Bishop of *Salisbury* was murdered by the Mob. *Ibid*.

(12) Three thousand, says *Monstrelet*, fol. 26. They took *Valongnes* soon after their landing. *Ibid*. Hall, fol. 154.

(13) Between six and seven thousand, according to *Monstrelet*, fol. 26.

(14) *April 18*. *Idem*. fol. 27.

(15) Three thousand seven hundred. *Ibid*. Hall says, four thousand were slain, and eight hundred taken Prisoners, fol. 155.

(16) They took *Guyenne*, *Horsieur*, *Erreney*, *Vire*, *Aurancien*, *Tomblaine*, *Bayeux*, *Briguebec*, *Valongnes*, *St. Sauveur le Vicomte*, &c. *Monstrelet*, fol. 25.

(17) Through the earnest Intreaties of his Wife, who had like to have been killed by a Stone-Shot, that fell between her and her Childrer. The Duke of *Somerfet* was not Governor of this Town; for the Duke of *York*, the Owner, had appointed Sir *Davy Hall* Captain-General, Sir *Robert Vere* Governor of the Castle, and Sir *Henry Radford* of the Dungeon. Hall, fol. 155.

(18) Of which *Andrew Trelopp*, and *Thomas Cotton* Esquires were Governors. *Idem*. fol. 156.

(19) *Thomas Genville* was Governor. *Ibid*.

Army into four Bases, the most considerable of which he commanded himself. He gave the Command of the other three to the Earls of *Foix*, *Pontievre*, and *Armagnac*. All these Generals made several Conquests with ease. *Libourn*, *Cayllan*, *Dacs*, *Rioure*, *Burg*, surrendered in a short time. *Fronjac*, the strongest Place of the Province, held out but three days; however, the Castle made a brave Defence.

Bordeaux and towns of Guienne treated with Charles Montrelet.

The Inhabitants of *Guienne* seeing themselves thus deserted by the King of *England*, thought it time to provide for their Safety. The States of the Province being assembled at *Bordeaux* in *June*, resolved voluntarily to submit to King *Charles*, and avoid the utter ruin they were threatened with. Pursuant to this Resolution, they concluded, with the Earl of *Dunis*, a Treaty, promising to submit to the Dominion of the King of *France*, if before the 24th of the same Month, they were not relieved by an Army able to give Battle. The French General could grant that Condition without apprehension, since he was well assured there was nothing ready in *England*, for the assistance of *Guienne*. The Army not appearing, all the Towns of the Duchy opened their Gates to the French, except *Bayonne*, which refused to be included in the Treaty. This Place, the only one the English had left, was invested the 6th of *August*. The Breach being large enough on the 19th of the same Month (1), the Besiegers were preparing to storm; but the Inhabitants saved them the trouble, by rising in Arms, and obliging the Garrison to capitulate. The French Historians say, that a white Cross was seen in the Air, just over the Town, an evident Sign of God's Protection to *France*.

Guienne surrenders to Charles, except Bayonne; which is forced to capitulate.

The Court's uneasiness with regard to the Duke of York.

Whilst the Court of *England* carelessly suffered *Guienne* to be lost, they grew extremely uneasy with regard to the Duke of *York*. As in the *Kentish* Rebellion, *Jack Cade* had assumed the Name of *Mortimer*, it was easy to perceive, his aim had been to found the People's Inclination to the House of *March*. Consequently it might be inferred, that he had been encouraged by the Duke of *York*, sole Heir of that Family. Indeed the thing was palpable, but there was no Evidence to convict the Duke, because *Cade* was slain. Besides, in the People's Disposition with regard to the Court, they would infallibly have joined with the Duke of *York*, if, by being publicly attacked, he had been forced to stand upon his Defence. Mean while, as he was suspected of forming some Plot in *Ireland*, and of intending to bring an Army of *Irish* into *England*, the King sent Orders to the Sheriffs of *Wales*, *Shropshire*, and *Cheshire*, to be in a readiness to hinder his landing. This Precaution produced several ill Effects. In the first Place, it shewed, that the Court was afraid of the Duke of *York*, which it would have been proper to conceal, for fear of giving the People occasion to inquire into the reason. In the next place, the Duke found it was his Business to be upon his guard; whereas, if the Court had feigned not to know his designs, they might have drawn him into some Snare, or given him room to make some false Step, which would have given them an advantage. In fine, he was thereby furnished with a pretence to complain, since he was so far from being convicted of any Project against the King, that he had not taken any apparent Step, on which an Accusation could be grounded. Accordingly, he wrote to the King, complaining of this Suspicion, which he feigned to look upon as extremely injurious, and as a mere pretence intended for his ruin. The King sent him a very civil answer, giving him some sort of satisfaction, but revoked not his Orders.

The King orders his Landing to be opposed. Stow.

Ill effect of this precaution.

The Duke complains to the King. His answer.

The Duke persists in his designs in spite of all difficulties.

He returns to England. Biondi.

Though *Cade's* Enterprize had miscarried, the Duke of *York* had reaped the Benefit he proposed. The great number of People that embarked in it, discovered how much the Nation was displeased with the Queen and the Ministry, and that the Memory of the Rights of the House of *March* was not entirely abolished. So, instead of being discouraged, he entertained fresh hopes. He judged, if the Shadow only of one of his Family was capable of causing so great a Multitude to take Arms, much more would the People be attached to a Prince of the Blood-Royal, sole Heir of this House. Mean while, not to be too hasty in the execution of a Project of such Consequence, he resolved, before any thing was attempted, to consult his Friends. The time of his Government of *Ireland* being expired, he embarked for *England*, but when he would have landed in *Wales*, found at the Port the Militia in Arms ready to oppose him. He landed, notwith-

standing, at another Place, which was not so strongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had only his own Servants with him, and had yet given his Enemies no hold. After that, he repaired to *London*, from whence the Court was gone some time before in Progress to the western Counties.

1451.

The Duke of *York* was impatiently expected at *London*. His Friends had frequently conferred together in his Absence, but could not come to any Resolution without him. His principal Adherents were, *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son-in-law to the General of the same Name (2), slain before *Orleans*, *Richard Nevil* his Son, who was shortly after Earl of *Warwick*, by his Marriage with *Anne Beauchamp* Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* who died in *France*, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, though Brother-in-law of the Duke of *Somerfet* (3), and *Edward Brook* Baron of *Cobham* (4). With these Lords, the Duke, immediately after his arrival, concerted Measures to accomplish his designs. The result of their Consultations was, that the Duke should retire into *Wales*, where the Family of *March* had always had a great Interest; That he should privately be assured of seasonably raising an Army, by means of his Friends; That he should then write to the King, to advertise him of the People's dislike of the Ministry, and particularly of the Duke of *Somerfet*.

He consults with his Friends. Biondi.

In pursuance of this Resolution, the Duke repairing into *Wales*, and taking all his measures, writ to the King, "that all the Kingdom was dissatisfied, because Traitors were screened from Justice, and that he took the freedom to advise him to prevent the ill Consequences of this discontent. That the speediest means was to order the guilty to be brought to their Trial, and particularly the Duke of *Somerfet*, who having been impeached by the Commons, was restored to Favour without any Examination. In fine, that if he would give the Nation this Satisfaction, he offered to assist in the Execution of so good a design." The Ministry easily perceived, the Duke of *York* sought an occasion of quarrel. But as in their present situation, they durst not act haughtily, it was judged proper, the King should send the Duke a civil answer, which would disappoint him of the pretence he wanted. Accordingly the King in his Letter told him, he had resolved some time since to reform whatever was amiss in the Government; and for that purpose intended to appoint a certain number of virtuous and able Counsellors, of whom he was designed to be one: That as for the Traitors mentioned in his Letter, he did not mean to let them go unpunished, but the affair being of very great Consequence, required mature Deliberation: That as for the Duke of *Somerfet* in particular, he should not be excused from answering the Accusations laid to his Charge.

He retires into Wales, and writes to the King to reform the Government. Stow.

Though this answer deprived the Duke of *York* of all pretence to take Arms, he imagined however, the King's bare refusal to remove or punish the Ministers complained of, was a sufficient Warrant. He did not expect so mild an answer. Mean while, as he had taken his measures to raise an Army, he did not think proper to break them, or suffer himself to be decoyed by a Moderation which might be as well feigned as real. So, putting himself at the head of his Army, he marched towards *London*. But he found the Queen had not been so negligent as he expected. Upon notice of the Duke's retiring into *Wales*, she had ordered Troops to be levied in the King's Name, without discovering however for what they were intended. The Duke therefore was no sooner upon the march, but he heard the King was advancing (5) to give him Battle. Though he wanted neither Courage nor Experience, he thought he should not venture a Battle with the King, without having a more plausible Pretence than what he would have covered his designs with. His aim was to gain the People; but to fight the King without a more specious reason, was not the way to compass his ends, though he could even have been sure of Victory. Besides, looking upon the City of *London* as able to incline the Balance to his side, he judged that, before all things, he ought to secure that Metropolis. For this reason, when he heard the King was coming against him, he suddenly altered his rout, and by speedy Marches got before him, and appeared before *London*, where he expected to be received with open Arms. But he had the mortification to find the Gates shut, the Inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him, whilst the King was so closely pursuing him with

The King sends him a mild answer. Ibid.

1452. The Duke marches to London with an Army. Hall. Stow.

The King gets out to meet him.

London Gates shut against the Duke.

(1) The 26th, says *Monstrelet*, fol. 39.

(2) Son-in-law of *Thomas de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of whose sole Daughter and Heir, named *Alice*, he had the Title of Earl of *Salisbury*. He was eldest Son by a second Wife to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. I. p. 302.

(3) *Rufin*, by mistake, says Son-in-law. He married *Margaret Beaufort*, Sister of *Edmund* Duke of *Somerfet*.

(4) Of these five, the two first were drawn to engage with the Duke of *York*, by reason of their affinity with him. For the said Duke had married *Cecily*, Sister of the Earl of *Salisbury*. And *John* Duke of *Norfolk* took part with the Earl of *Salisbury*, as being the Son of his Sister *Catherine*, but more in the behalf of his Father, who was banished, and of his Uncle, who was beheaded at *York* in the Reign of *Henry IV.* The Earl of *Warwick's* discontent was occasioned by a quarrel between him and the Duke of *Somerfet*. As for the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lord *Cobham*, it does not appear what induced them to declare against *Henry VI.* *Biondi*, p. 135.

(5) He set out *February* 16. *Stow*, p. 399.

a stronger Army than his. He was forced therefore to pass the Thames at Kingston, and encamp on *Burnt-Heath* (1), twelve Miles from London. The King following him, marched over London Bridge, and encamped about four Miles from him.

The two Armies being so near one another, that nothing could prevent an Engagement, the King sent two Bishops (2), to know of the Duke what had induced him to appear in Arms. As the Duke saw himself disappointed of his hopes to gain London, he thought it advisable to show some regard for the Court, for fear of ruining his Affairs by hasty Resolutions. In this Belief he answered, he had never intended to forsake his Allegiance to the King, but only to remove from his Person evil Counsellors, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the chief; and if the King would put him into safe Custody, till he should in Parliament answer to what was objected against him, he was ready to dismiss his Troops. He did not expect, his demand would be granted, since the King and Queen were solely guided by the Counsels of Him, who was most concerned to have it rejected. He hoped thereby to throw all the Blame on the Court, and demonstrate to the People, that the Ministry did not scruple to expose the Kingdom to a Civil War, for the sake of a Man odious to the Nation. But for once he was the dupe of his own Policy. The King took him at his word, promised to send his Enemy to the Tower, and even ordered him to be immediately arrested. The Duke of York was surprized at this Condescension. He would have been very glad to recede from his Engagement. But as he could not do it without laying himself too open, he thought he should run some risk, rather than hazard the Loss of the People's Good-Will, on which he built all his Expectations. So, without Hesitation, he disbanded his Troops (3) and came to Court, not vouchsafing even to take any Precaution for his Safety. When he was in the King's Presence, he accused the Duke of Somerset with great Warmth, and endeavoured to perwade the King, that he was a Traitor, and had sacrificed the Interest of the Kingdom to his Ambition and Avarice. Upon these Words, the Duke of Somerset, who was concealed behind the Hangings, suddenly stepped forth to answer him, and accused him of conspiring him to dethrone the King. The Duke of York seeing his Enemy before him, and in the King's Apartment, whom he thought in safe Custody, found he was amused, and perceived his Danger. Nevertheless, without showing any Concern, he modestly complained of the King's Breach of Promise, by the Suggestions of the Duke of Somerset, on whom he cast the Blame of this Fraud. Immediately after, the King dismissed the Duke of York, and ordered him to be apprehended as soon as he was out of his Presence (4).

If the Duke of York's Enemies had dared to gratify their Repentment, he would never have freed himself from the Snare he had imprudently fallen into. But the Posture of Affairs, and the Disposition of the People, affording just Occasion of Fear, they durst not proceed against him. Two other reasons helped likewise to save him. It was rumoured at Court, that the young Earl of March his Son, attended by all the Friends of his Family, was advancing with a strong Body of Troops to deliver his Father. So, for fear the Duke's Army, which was lately disbanded, should join his Son's Troops, the Court was obliged to take a more gentle Course. On the other hand, the Gascons had sent Deputies to the King, to offer to reduce Guienne to his Obedience, if he would send them Supplies. At such a Juncture it was believed, as the Duke of York's Blood could not be spilt without involving the King in a Civil War, there would be a Necessity of detaining the Troops intended for Guienne, and thereby a favorable Opportunity lost of recovering that Province. These Considerations induced the Queen and Duke of Somerset to give the Duke of York his Liberty, though their own, the King's, and the whole House of Lancaster's Interest, required he should be sacrificed to their Safety. Perhaps all the Calamities, England afterwards endured, might by that means have been prevented. However, as the Queen and Ministers were willing, as far as in them lay, to secure themselves against his Designs, they obliged him to take an Oath to the King, whereby he swore to remain his faithful Subject till Death, and never to take Arms against him. This done, the Duke of York retired to his

Castle of *Wigmore* (5), and the Duke of Somerset enjoyed, without a Rival, the Authority he had acquired at Court.

Whilst Henry was employed at home, in opposing the Attempts of the Duke of York, Charles had no less an Enemy to encounter in his own Kingdom. The Dauphin his Son, a Prince of a turbulent Temper, created him great Uneasiness by his Behaviour towards him. For some time past he had resided in *Nauphink*, where he acted as Sovereign, regardless of the King his Father's Orders, executing them no farther than he pleased. He had even the Rashness, to demand of the Duke of Savoy his Daughter *Violante* in Marriage; and the Duke complied with his Request, without either vouchsafing to acquaint the King with the Matter. Provoked at this Proceeding, Charles put himself at the head of thirty thousand Men, and marched towards *Lyons*, bent upon chastising his Son, and punishing the Duke of Savoy's Presumption. But the Revolution which happened at the same time in *Germany*, caused him to take other Measures.

The Gascons, who had been for three hundred Years without interruption, under the Dominion of the Kings of England, had submitted to King Charles, only because they were neglected by the English. As soon as the French Army had quitted Guienne, the Lords of the Country, in concert with the Inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, resolved to return to their antient Sovereigns (6). For that purpose, they deputed the Lords of *Candale* and *P'Esparre*, to contrive the means at London. The Troubles raised by the Duke of York, had for some time hindered the Court from attending to this Affair. But when they were appeased, the Queen and Council, after mature deliberation, judged that nothing should be neglected to accomplish the Enterprize. The Success, they expected, might redeem their Credit, and gain them an Interest with the People, which they wanted to support themselves against their Enemies. Talbot, the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was returned from a Voyage into Italy, was chosen for this Expedition. Though he was fourscore Years old, he readily accepted an Employment, which gave him Opportunity, once more, before his Death, to do his King and Country a considerable Service. As Diligence was absolutely necessary, he embarked what Troops were ready, consisting of seven hundred Men at Arms (7), upon a promise that the rest designed for him should quickly follow. He sailed the 18th of October, and on the 21st landed near *Bordeaux*. Next Day he appeared before the City, and as every thing was prepared to receive him, he was introduced at a Gate of which the Citizens had the Guard. The French Garrison, who had not heard of his Arrival, surprized at this unexpected Accident, would have retired at another Gate, but were almost all taken.

The promised Reinforcement being arrived from England a few Days after (8), the Earl of *Shrewsbury* took the Field at the head of seven thousand Men. With this little Army he reconquered some of the Towns of Guienne, among others *Fronsac* and *Castillon*, as rapidly as they were lost. If Winter had not prevented him from pursuing his Conquests, he would have made himself Master of all Guienne.

Charles, who was then at *Lyons*, hearing this ill News, did not think proper to persist in the Execution of the design he had formed. The Affair of Guienne seemed to him of greater Importance. So, suddenly altering his resolution, he permitted the Dauphin to marry the Princess of Savoy, and gave one of his Daughters to the young Prince of *Piedmont*. At the same time, he resolved to send all his Troops into Guienne the next Spring. Mean while, he dispatched before a Body of ten thousand Men, under the Command of *Chabanes*, and the Earl of *Pontieuve*. These two Generals being arrived in *Saintonge*, besieged *Chalais* and *Castillon*, whilst the Earl of *Clermont* followed them, with the rest of the Army designed for Guienne. *Chabanes* was taken up with the Siege of *Chalais* till June, after which, he joined *Pontieuve* before *Castillon*, which still made a vigorous Defence. The Dread inspired by the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Valour and Experience, made them use the Precaution seldom practised in those Days, of making Lines, and defending the Avenues of their Camp with Palisadoes.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was at *Bordeaux* with six or seven thousand Men, in suspense, what course he

(1) A Mile from *Dartford* in Kent. Hall, fol. 163.

(2) The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Fly*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*. Ibid. *Scow's Ann.* p. 393.

(3) On *March* 1, and came to the King's Tent. Ibid.

(4) And, soon after, the King assembled a Great Council at *Westminster*, to hear the Accusations of the two Dukes one against another. In this Council, the Duke of Somerset, who foresaw what soon came to pass, exhorted the Lords and others there present, to cause the Duke of York, by Force or otherwise, to confess his Offence; that, being attainted of Treason, he might be executed, and his Children put under arrest, as Enemies of the Kingdom. Hall, fol. 163.

(5) Induced therunto by heavy Taxes and Impostitions laid on them by the French; and because they were more hardly used than they were wont to be by their former Masters the English. *Montrelet*, fol. 55.

(6) Between four and five thousand Men. Ibid. fol. 41.

(7) It consisted of four thousand Men; among which were the Lord *Cameis*, the Bastard of Somerset, *John Lord Talbot*, *Vicomte Lisle*, the Lord *Molyns*, the Lord *Haryngton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *John Montgomery*, Sir *John Vernon*, &c. Ibid. Hall, fol. 165.

1453. should take with regard to the Siege. He was desirous to relieve the Place, but was afraid of meeting many difficulties, as well by reason of the Intrenchments of the French, as of the Superiority of their Number. On the other hand, knowing the Earl of Clermont was advancing with all speed, he considered, it must be done, before the Arrival of these fresh Troops, after which, it would be too late, since he would have all the Forces of France to oppose. In fine, having taken this last Resolution, he left Bourdeaux with all his Army, and approaching the French Camp, attacked them with the same Vigour, the English had shown at the Battle of Azincourt, and on several other Occasions. He soon defeated four thousand Men, commanded by Chabanes without the Intrenchments, drove them into the Camp, and, in spite of the Besiegers Canon, which swept away his Men by whole Files, forced their Lines, and entered with the flying Troops. Thus the English relate it. But the French only say, the Lines were like to be forced, when the English were attacked in the Rear by a Body of French Horse. This cooled their Ardor, and obliged their General to discontinue the Attack of the Lines, and face those that pressed him behind. This Motion gave the French an opportunity to draw all their Troops out of the Camp. So, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had not above five thousand Men left, was reduced to the Necessity of making two Fronts, and withstanding ten thousand. At length, the English finding themselves overpowered by Numbers, began to give ground. At the same time, the Earl of Shrewsbury was wounded in the Thigh with a Musquet-Ball, and his Horse killed under him. In this Condition, not being able, by reason of his Wound, to remount, he bid Sir John Talbot (1) his Son to retire, and save himself for another Occasion, where he might be still serviceable to his Country. But Talbot rather than basely fly, chose to die by the Earl his Father, who also, presently after, resigned his last Breath. The English lost two thousand Men, but their most considerable loss was their General (2).

He is defeated and slain.
Montrelet.
Hall.

The End of the War in France, with the Loss of Guienne.
Montrelet.

Henry falls sick.
Act. Publ.
XI. p. 347.
J. to 1.
Edward, the King's Son.
Hall.
Stow.

Reports to the Queen's Disadvantage.
Stow.

Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Stow.

After this Defeat, Castillon surrendered the 16th of July (3). A few Days after, the Earl of Clermont being arrived, and the King come to the Camp, the Army was divided into four Bodies, which besieged at once Cadillac, Libourne, Fronzac, and Bourdeaux. Fronzac and Libourne resisted only a few Days; but the Castle of Cadillac maintained a Siege of two Months. After the taking of that Place, the whole Army joined before Bourdeaux, which capitulated the 17th of October, and the Garrison had liberty to return into England. Thus, of so many Conquests made by the English in France, since Edward III, there remained only Calais and Guignes; poor remains of so many Provinces, several whereof, had belonged to their Kings by Hereditary Right, and the rest were acquired by so many Victories, and at the Expence of so much Blood!

Whilst the French were thus successfully carrying on the War in Guienne, Henry was seized at London (4), with a long and dangerous Sickness, which often gave occasion to believe he would never recover. At the same time, the Queen was delivered, on the 23d of October (5), of a Prince christened Edward. This Prince was inauspiciously born, since it was at the very time, the English lost all their Possessions in France. His Birth gave rise to several Reports, injurious to the Queen's Honour. There were some so hardy as to say publicly, he was not the King's Son. Others maintained, he was supposititious, because the Queen had never before been with Child, though married nine Years. In fine, some there were, who, without questioning the Queen's Honour or Honesty, took occasion from this Prince's Birth to hope well for the future. Their Reason was, because the Queen, having a Son, would be more firmly attached to the Interest of England, thereby plainly intimating, what they thought of her former Conduct.

Cardinal Kemp, translated from the See of York to that of Canterbury, dying in December this Year, Thomas Bouchier, Brother of the Earl of Essex (6), was elected Archbishop. He was a Prelate of eminent Merit, and was afterwards made Chancellor, and then honored with the Dignity of Cardinal.

The War in France, which had lasted thirty-eight Years, being ended, the remaining Events of this Reign, consist only of the Quarrels between the Houses of Lancaster and York; the first of which, had for Device, a Red, and the other a White, Rose. These Devices are famous for the vast Torrents of English Blood, shed upon their Account. The Troubles raised by the Duke of York, seemed entirely suppressed, since his Reconciliation with the King; but they were quickly renewed with so much more Fury, as the English were no longer diverted by a foreign War. I am going to give as brief an Account as possible, of the Events occasioned by the Duke of York's Pretensions, which ended at length, in the Ruin of the King, and the whole House of Lancaster.

The Duke of York had renewed his Oath to the King; but it was only to free himself from the danger, his Imprudence had thrown him into. He was no less resolved to maintain his Pretensions, and take the advantage of the King's Incapacity, and the People's Disaffection for the Queen and her Ministers. To consider only the Laws and Customs of the Realm, his Title was indisputable. He was descended from the third Son (7) of Edward III, whereas, Henry came only from the fourth Son (8) of the same Prince. It is true, it was by a Daughter, but there was no such thing in England as the Salic Law, to exclude him upon that account. On the contrary, in the Reign of Richard II, Roger Earl of March, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was declared by the Parliament, Presumptive Heir of the Crown, in case Richard died without Issue. And even since the House of Lancaster was on the Throne, the Parliament, as was related in the Reign of Henry IV, had confirmed by a solemn Act, the Right of the Daughters and their Descendants. And yet, Henry VI, was no Usurper. It was now above fifty Years, since the House of Lancaster had held the Crown, by the Authority of the Parliament, who settled it on the Family of Henry IV. So, the Duke of York could pretend to the Crown, only on Supposition, that the Parliament had not power to alter the Succession. For this Reason, he could not openly discover his Intention, without directly attacking the Privileges of the Parliament, of which the English Nation has ever been jealous. Besides, he stood in need of the Parliament to succeed in his design. But how could he gain the Parliament to his Side, if he offered to question the Validity of their Acts? On the other hand, he was to break through a fifty years Possession, confirmed by the unanimous Consent of the People, and become still more authentick by the glorious Advantages, procured the Nation by the late King Henry V.

These Obstacles were sufficient to divert the Duke of York from his Enterprize, if, on the other hand, the present Conjunctures had not encouraged him to pursue it. Henry was a Prince unable of himself, to oppose the Duke's Efforts against him. Though he was not hated by the People, he was little esteemed. He was looked upon but as the Shadow of a King, who only lent his Name to the Queen and his Ministers. Nevertheless, the sole Name of King, would have been capable to keep the People in subjection to those that were at the Helm, had they not made an ill use of their Power, as is too commonly done by those, who are in the like Station. But the Authority usurped by the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, was not the only Cause of the Discontent of the English. When they considered, that all the Conquests of Henry V, and Guienne it self, which had been for three hundred Years, under the Dominion of England, were lost in a few Years, they could not forbear casting the Blame upon those, that governed in the King's Name. Normandy had been taken from England, in two Campaigns only, under the Duke of Somerset's Regency, whilst he was actually on the Spot to defend it. He was accused likewise, of having been too hasty in surrendering Caen. On the other hand, it was considered, that during the Regency of the Duke of Gloucester, the Affairs of France were kept upon a tolerable Foot; and yet, the Queen to gratify her Passion, had dispatched that Prince out of the Way, in a base and violent Manner, and thereby, been the Occasion of all the subsequent Losses. So, the King was looked upon as a Prince, incapable of

1453.
The Civil War in England.
Hall.
Stow.

The Rights of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Difficulties of the Duke of York's Attempt.

His Advantages.

(1) He was eldest Son by Margaret, the Earl's second Wife, Daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and created Viscount L'Isle by Henry VI. The Earl's eldest Son, by Maud, his first Wife, was also called John, who succeeded him in his Honours. Dugdale's Barons, Vol. I. p. 337.

(2) He was buried at Wiltshire in Sarisburi, where a noble Monument is erected for him in the South-wall of the Chancel. In his Epitaph is styled, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Lord Farnham, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange of Blackmore, and Marshal of France. Ibid. p. 330. Hall, p. 166.

(3) Montrelet says, the Battle wherein the Lord Talbot fell, was fought July 17, fol. 57. But his Epitaph says it was the 20th. See Dugdale, p. 330.

(4) He was taken ill at Clarendon in Wiltshire, where he lay sick a considerable time, and then was removed to London. Stow, p. 397. Hall, p. 167.

(5) According to Hall, and other Historians, it was on the 13th. fol. 166. Stow, &c.

(6) Henry Bouchier, Son of William, by Anne Daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, (sixth Son of Edward III) was not created Earl of Essex till Henry IV. He was made Viscount in 25 Henry VI. Dugdale's Barons, Vol. II p. 129. See above, p. 536, Note (1); and read Henry's first of ten.

(7) Second Duke of Clarence.

(8) John Duke of Lancaster.

1453. retrieving the Honour of the Nation, and restoring the Affairs of the Kingdom to a flourishing State; the Queen as too well affected to France, and grasping at the whole Authority in England; and the Duke of Somerset as a greedy Minister, who sought only to enrich himself at the Expence of the Publick. It was farther, and loudly complained, that to preserve his Authority, the Duke filled the highest Posts with his Creatures, without any Regard to their Merit and Parts. This last Article made a deep Impression on the Minds of the People. They could not, without Indignation, see the Council filled with vicious Persons, and all the Places of the Kingdom possessed by Men of no Principles. This gave occasion to suspect, that the Queen's and Ministry's Aim, was to hinder Religion, Honour, Virtue, Love of one's Country, from inducing those, that were in the publick Posts, to oppose the Abuses and Disorders, spread over the Kingdom. This Disposition of the People gave the Duke of York so great Advantages, that he thought, he should improve them, not by acting directly for himself, but under colour of procuring the Good of the People, in obliging the King to make use of other Ministers. He knew, if he could remove his Enemies from the Council, and introduce his Creatures, it would not be difficult to pursue the Execution of his Designs.

The Earl of Salisbury and Warwick chief Friends of the Duke of York. Hall.

An undertaking of this Nature could not be accomplished, without the Assistance of Friends; and therefore, he engaged several Lords in his Plot, some under colour of turning out the Duke of Somerset, who was generally hated and envied; others, by discovering to them his most secret Purposes. Among these last, the two Nevils, Father and Son, were the Principal. The Father, who bore the Title of Earl of Salisbury, was eminent for his Virtues and consummate Prudence. The Earl of Warwick his Son, was universally esteemed for his Valour, and adored by the People for his engaging Behaviour (1). He knew how to carry himself so well, that he seemed to have solely in View, the Welfare and Glory of the Nation (2). Hitherto, he had affected, between the two Parties, a Neutrality, which by rendering him agreeable to the People, had taken from the Ministers, not only all pretence of destroying him, but even all occasion of suspecting him. These two Lords, with some others, consulting with the Duke of York, concerning the Means to accomplish his Project, agreed, it was not yet time to discover his Intention; that, on the contrary, he should behave very submissively to the King, in order to efface the ill Impressions, his former Conduct might have made in the People. The Frankness wherewith he had disbanded his Troops, and his new Oath to the King, were exceeding proper to instill a Belief, that he had no ill Design.

The Duke of York consults with his Friends.

Advice given the Queen and Duke of Somerset for their Ruin.

The Parliament had been summoned to Reading, but by reason of the King's relapse, it was adjourned to Westminster, for February the 14th (3). In this Interval, the Duke of York's private Friends, who pretended to be of the Court Party, intimated to the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, that in the present Disposition of the People, it was to be feared, the Parliament would come to very disagreeable Resolutions: That whilst the King was in Health, they could act in his Name, because all Orders were supposed to issue from him; but that the Case was not the same, during his Sickness: That their Authority being wholly grounded upon the King's Will, there was reason to fear, that the Royal Will no longer appearing, the Parliament would nominate other Governours: That therefore, it was proper to admit into the Council the Duke of York, the two Nevils, and some other of the most popular Lords, in order to show, that those who governed, did not seek to ingross all the Power. This Advice was built upon such plausible Reasons, that the Queen and the Favorite could not help falling into the Snare. So, the Duke of York, the two Nevils, and some others of their Cabal, were called to the Council before the Parliament met. They were no sooner admitted, but they became Superior, so that those, who before managed all, had no longer any Credit.

The Duke of Somerset sent to the Tower. Hall.

The first notable Step of these new Counsellors, was to arrest the Duke of Somerset in the Queen's Bed-chamber, and send him to the Tower. Mean while, the Par-

liament was farther prorogued to the 15th of March, 1453. to give the Duke of York and his Friends time to concert Measures with the Members. Two Days before the meeting of the Parliament, the Council empowered the Duke of York to hold it in the King's Name. In the beginning of the Session, the Commons sent to the House of Lords an Accusation against the Duke of Somerset, for suffering Normandy to be lost, during his Regency, and by his Fault. April the 2d, the Great-Seal was given to the Earl of Salisbury. Next day, the Parliament appointed the Duke of York, Protector of the Realm, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor of the King; with this Limitation, till the young Prince Edward the King's Son was of Age, to exercise that high Office. Hence it appears, first, that it was believed, the King's Indisposition would last as long as he lived, and that it affected his Understanding more than his Body. In the next place, by reserving this Office for a Child of six Months, who was to exercise it when of Age, the Parliament showed their Intention to preserve entire, the Rights of the House of Lancaster, though the Duke of York was declared Protector. Generally, on these occasions, there is too much or too little done, and from thence, spring Civil Wars. If the Parliament had openly declared against the House of Lancaster, very likely, at such a Juncture, it would have found but few Friends. On the other hand, if instead of placing the Duke of York so near the Throne, care had been taken to check his Ambition, which was but too manifest, doubtless, he would have lost many of his Adherents, and perhaps, the Civil War, which laid waste the Kingdom, been avoided. But it is very hard for a Parliament at such Junctures to act with Freedom, and according to Reason and Equity.

1454. The Duke of York is made Protector. Act. Pub. XI. p. 349. Cotton's Abridg.

The Duke of York having all the Power in his own Hands, removed the Duke of Somerset, who was still in the Tower, from the Government of Calais, and by the King's Letters Patent, placed himself in his Room. Every one imagined, the Accusation against the imprisoned Duke would be vigorously prosecuted. But the Affair was suffered to lye dormant, and seemingly unregarded, all the rest of the Year. Probably, the Evidences against him appeared insufficient.

and Governor of Calais. Act. Pub. XI. p. 351. 359.

In the beginning of the Year 1455, the King finding himself something recovered of his long Illness, the Authority conferred on the Duke of York ceased of course, since it was wholly founded on the King's Inability, by reason of his Indisposition, to govern the Kingdom himself. The Duke of York's Matters were not sufficiently ripe, to enable him to dispute with the King, the Right of resuming his Authority, though it was in effect, only to replace it in the Hands of the Queen. The first Effect of this Change, was the Duke of Somerset's Release. On the 5th of February the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Wiltshire (4), and two Knights (5), offering to be his Pledges, their offer was accepted, and the Governour of the Tower was ordered to release the Prisoner. A Month after, these Lords were discharged from their Sureties, without any Sentence intervening. As the Duke was apprehended by Order of Council, it was supposed, he could be released by the same Authority. But there was much to be said against this Supposition. The Impeachment of the House of Commons since intervening, it could not be pretended, that the King had Power to release him before he was legally acquitted. However, the Court had no regard to this Reason. After the King had resumed the Government, the Duke of York, and his Party, had no longer any Credit in the Council, where the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, bore an absolute Sway. So prevalent was the King's bare Name to give a new Turn to Affairs.

1455. The King resumes his Authority. Stow.

The Duke of Somerset is released. Act. Pub. XI. p. 361. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, some of the most prudent Lords, dreading the ill Consequences of the Quarrel between the two Dukes, endeavoured to reconcile them. It was the Interest of both to show, that they acted not from ambitious Motives; for their Aim was to gain the People. Wherefore, they both consented to chuse Arbitrators, and submit to their Decision, under Penalty, for him that refused, of paying to the other twenty thousand Marks. But it was on condition, that the Sentence of the Arbitrators should be pronounced before the 1st of June.

The Duke of York and Somerset put things to arbitration. Act. Pub. XI. p. 263.

(1) Hall says of him, That by reason of his engaging Behaviour, and of his Liberality and good House-keeping, "He was in such favour and estimation, amongst the common people, that they sung hymn able to do all thynges, and without hym, nothing to be well done." p. 107.

(2) This is he that was commonly called, the stout Earl of Warwick.
(3) This Parliament first met at Reading on March 6. 1452; and on the 18th, was prorogued to the 20th of April, at Westminster, where it assembled accordingly; from whence, on July 2, it was prorogued to November 7, at Reading; and from thence to February 11. 1453, at Westminster. But notwithstanding, it appears that it then met at Reading, whence it was adjourned to Westminster for Feb. 14. --- In the next Session, the Commons granted the King one Tenth and a half, and one Fifteenth and a half; Tunnage and Poundage during Life, the Subsidy of Wools, six, twenty three Shillings and Four-pence for every sack, of Denizens; and five Pounds of Aliens; and 10 of other Staple-wares in proportion. They also granted the King, of every Merchant not born within the Realm, who was no Denizen, and kept Houfe, forty shillings for Annam: And of every such Merchant as shall remain within the Realm but six Weeks, twenty Shillings: And of every Merchant-Alien, being no Denizen, six Pounds thirteen Shillings and Four-pence yearly, during the King's Life. Cotton's Abridg. p. 649, 650.

(4) James Butler or Butler, Son of James, the fourth Duke of Ormond in Ireland, was created Earl of Wiltshire, 27 Hen. V, and was now alio by his Father's Death Duke of Ormond. Dugdale.

(5) Sir Thomas de Ros, and Sir William de Fitzwarren. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 361.

1455.
The Duke of
York re-
moved from
the Govern-
ment of
Calais.
March.
Hall.
Biondi.

Act. Publ.
XI. p. 363.

He retires
into Wales,
and raises
an Army.
Hall.

Hall.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

The first
Battle of St.
Albans.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The King's
Army is de-
feated, and
the Duke of
Somerset
slain.
Stow.

The King
falls into the
Hands of the
Duke of
York, who
treats him
with Respect.
Stow.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Whilst People were in Expectation of this Sentence, the Duke of *Somerset* represented to the King, that he was removed from the Government of *Calais*, upon a bare Accusation, that was never determined; and it was not just, his Adversary should remain clothed with his Spoils, since their Difference was not yet decided. Upon this Remonstrance, the King took from the Duke of *York*, the Government, he had conferred on him for seven Years. Then under colour of observing a perfect Neutrality between the two Rivals, he declared himself Governor of *Calais*. In the Act, whereby the Duke of *York* was removed, it was said to be done, at the Duke's own Request. But the Duke taking it as a heinous Affront, withdrew from Court, where he found his Affairs began to be in an ill Situation.

He retired into *Wales*, not only to screen himself from the Attempts of his Enemies, but with design to levy an Army, and have it in his Power to attack them. He was very sensible, the Queen and the Duke of *Somerset* being absolute Masters of the King's Person, had an advantage, of which, nothing but Force could deprive them. So, without farther Consideration, he resolved to take Arms. The Court's Proceedings in releasing the Duke of *Somerset*, without giving the Nation any Satisfaction, made him imagine, he should be strongly supported, when he came to use that Pretence. He was not deceived in his Expectations. In a short Space, he saw himself at the Head of a numerous Army (1), and in condition to make head against the King, who had likewise prepared himself, and was marching directly towards him to give him Battle. The two Armies met near *St. Albans*, on a level Ground, where nothing hindered their engaging. The Duke of *York*, to show, he had taken Arms solely for the Good of the Publick, sent and offered the King to dismiss his Troops, if the Duke of *Somerset* was delivered to Justice, to be condemned if Guilty, or acquitted if Innocent. But the Court knowing, this to be only a vain Pretence, and that one time or other, the Quarrel must be decided by Arms, rejected the offer, and the Battle was fought the 31st of *May* (2).

The Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the Duke of *York*'s Vanguard, expecting this Answer, attacked the King's Army, whilst the Court was waiting for new Proposals from the Male-Contents. This Attack, which was as vigorous as sudden, put the Royal Army into such a disorder, that it was not in the Duke of *Somerset*'s Power to repair it. At the same time, the Duke of *York* improving this Advantage, advanced likewise from his Quarter, not to give the Enemies time to recover themselves. He pressed them so briskly, that the Royal Army was defeated in few Moments, with loss of five thousand Men (3), without making any considerable Resistance. The Duke of *Somerset* was killed on the Spot, with the Earl of *Northumberland* (4), the Earl of *Stafford*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Clifford*, and several other Lords and Officers of Note (5), all firmly attached to the House of *Lancaster*. The Duke of *Buckingham* receiving a Wound, retired out of the Battle (6), and by his retreat, completed the disorder among the King's Troops.

Mean time, the King, who was wounded in the Neck with an Arrow, seeing himself deserted in the Rout of his Army, retired to a little House, which was presently invested. The Duke of *York* having notice of it, posted thither with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and presenting themselves before him on their Knees, told him, since the publick Enemy was dead, he saw none there but Persons ready to obey him in whatever he should please to command them. The King, upon these Words, recovering a little from his Fright, caused by the Duke's Approach, intreated him, for God's sake, to put a stop to the Slaughter, assuring him, he was ready to give him all the Satisfaction he could reasonably desire. Whereupon, the Duke ordered a

Retreat to be sounded; and the Army enjoined to shed no more Blood. Then, he conducted the King to *St. Albans*, from whence they returned together to *London* (7).

Shortly after, *Henry* called a Parliament, which met in *July* (8). The King being then relapsed, the Duke of *York* was commissioned to hold it in his Name. The Parliament, which, at such a Juncture, could scarce be composed of any but the Duke of *York*'s Adherents, made the following Declaration. "That the Government had been ill-managed by the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerset*, who had abused the King's Goodness and Confidence: That the late Duke of *Glocester* had been unjustly accused: That all the Alienations of the Crown-lands made since the first Year of the present Reign, should be revoked: That the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, or any that had lifted under their Banners, were not guilty of Rebellion in taking Arms against the King, since it was necessary to free his Person from Captivity: That, on the contrary, the Blame was to be laid on the Duke of *Somerset* and his Adherents, who concealed from the King, the Duke of *York*'s Letter, which might have prevented these Disorders." Then, the Parliament petitioned the King to nominate a Protector, because of his Indisposition, which hindered him from attending to the Affairs of the Publick. This Petition was repeated several times (9), without the King's returning an Answer. Not that he had resolved to reject it. He was no more at Liberty to follow his own Councils, than when he was under the Guardianship of the Queen, and the Duke of *Somerset*. But the Duke of *York* had a mind this Nomination should not appear forced. At length, the Parliament being prorogued to the 12th of *November*, on the very Day, the King signed a Patent wherein he said, That having been frequently petitioned by his Parliament to nominate a Protector, he appointed the Duke of *York* for that important Employ, till he should be removed by the Parliament, or the young Prince of *Wales* capable of exercising it (10). Then, after a Month's Session, the Parliament was prorogued to the 14th of *January*.

Whilst the Duke of *York* thus enjoyed the Advantage he had gained upon his Enemies, these were not idle. The Queen, who knew his designs, was too much concerned, as well for her own, as the King's, and her Son's sake, not to try to disapprove them. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* (11), Son of him slain at *St. Albans*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, were equally desirous of revenging, the one his Son's, the other his Father's Death. In fine, all the Princes and Lords allied to the House of *Lancaster*, or attached to its Interest, seeing the Duke of *York* taking large Steps towards the Throne, were prepared to use their utmost Endeavours to stop his Progress. Mean while, the Duke of *York* lived in a Security which astonished his very Enemies. He perceived, it would be very dangerous, openly to aspire to a Crown, which had been Fifty-six Years in the House of *Lancaster*. Wherefore he chose to wait, till time should produce a favorable opportunity to prosecute his Right. Above all things, he wanted to gain the People's Affection, without which he was satisfied, all his Endeavours would be fruitless. So, to demonstrate, he was not swayed by Passion or Interest, he left the King and Queen at full Liberty. He imagined, it was not in their Power to deprive him of the Protectorship, which, according to his Patent, he was to enjoy till removed by the Parliament. But he had to deal with an able and enterprising Prince, who was not discouraged at the Obstacles she met in her way.

The King being recovered, the Duke of *York*'s Enemies resolved to improve this Juncture, to divest him of his Dignity of Protector, which gave him so great a Power. It would have been easy for him to foresee, the Pretence of the King's Recovery might be used, as it was once before, if he had not been blinded by the Clause in

(1) About two thousand Men. Among which were, *Edmund Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Stafford* his eldest Son, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, *John Beaufort* Earl of *Devon*, *John Tander* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Thomas Lord Clifford*, the Lords *Sudley*, *Barns*, *Roffe*, and others. They set out from *Westminster*, *May* 20 or 21, came to *Watford* that Night, and the next Day to *St. Albans*. The King set up his Standard in a place called *G. feld*, or *Sandsford*, in *St. Peter's* Church. In the mean time, the Duke of *York* lay encamped in *Keye-field*, having with him *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *William Lord Fauconbridge*, *Edward Lord Cobham*, &c. and not above three thousand Men. Before they came to an Engagement, Proposals for an Accommodation passed between the King and the Duke, but to no purpose. *Hall*, fol. 168. *Stow*, p. 398, 399. *Hollingshead*, p. 1287, 1288.

(2) All Historians say, it was on the 23^d. See *Hall*, fol. 168. *Hollingshead*, p. 1288. *Brady*, p. 162, &c.

(3) So says *Stow*, p. 400. *Hall* hath above eight thousand, fol. 168. But *Hollingshead*, with great probability thinks, it should be but eight hundred, p. 1288. There were six hundred slain on the Duke of *York*'s Side. *Stow*, p. 400.

(4) *Henry Percy*, Son of *Hottspur*, by the eldest Daughter of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*: He left Issue nine Sons, (of whom *Henry*, now thirty three Years of Age, succeeded him) and two Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. 1. p. 281.

(5) Of whom forty eight were buried in the Abbey of *St. Albans*. *Stow*, p. 400. *Hall*, fol. 168.

(6) As did also *Thomas Thorpe*, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. *Stow*, p. 400.

(7) The next Day. *Ibid*.

(8) *July* 9, at *Westminster*. ---- In this Parliament it was enacted, That whereas there were fourscore Attornies or more, in the Counties of *Wiltshire*, *Suffolk*, and the City of *Norwich*; most of whom had no other thing to live upon but their Practice, and the major part were not of sufficient knowledge; That therefore from henceforth, there should be but six common Attornies in the County of *Norfolk*, the same Number in the County of *Suffolk*, and two in the City of *Norwich*, upon pain of forfeiting twenty Pounds. *Statute*, 33 Hen. VI. c. 7.

(9) On the 13th, 15th, and 17th of *November*. *Cotton's Abridg*, p. 658.

(10) A Salary of four thousand Marks was allowed the Duke, for his Office of Protector. *Ibid*.

(11) He bore the Title of Earl of *Mortagne* in his Father's Lifetime. See Note p. 525.

1455.

The Parlia-
ment meets,
Cotton's
Abridg.
Hall.
Stow.

and con-
demns the
Queen's and
Somerset's
Manage-
ment, and
justifies the
Duke of
York.

The King is
petitioned to
name a
Protector.

The Parlia-
ment is pro-
rogued.

The King
makes the
Duke of
York Pro-
tector.
Act. Publ.
XI. p. 369.
370.

1456.

Perceval
against the
Duke of
York.
Hall.

His uncon-
cernedness
prejudicates
his affairs.

The King
recovers.

1456. his Patent. But this Clause whereon he relied, was a weak Fence against the Attempts of his Enemies. The Parliament being re-assembled, the King went in Person and declared, that being, by God's Grace, in good Health, and able to resume the Reins of the Government, he did not think the Kingdom any longer wanted a Protector. Then he desired the Parliament to consent, that the Duke of York might be dismissed from that Office. Whether the Parliament thought the King's Demand reasonable, or the Members had been gained unknown to the Duke, it was immediately resolved, to grant the King's Request. The same Day (1) the King sent the Duke an Order to resign the Office of Protector.

The Duke of York and his Party were amazed at this Proceeding. They easily perceived the Combination was too strong to be broken. So, making, as it is said, a Virtue of Necessity, they feigned patiently to submit to the King's and the Parliament's Orders. However, under colour of having no farther Business at Court, they retired into the Country. But the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury (2) and Warwick, kept within distance of each other in Yorkshire.

Shortly after (3) there was a Sedition at London, occasioned by a sudden Quarrel between two Merchants, one an Englishman, and the other an Italian (4). The Mob rising in favour of the Englishman, the King empowered the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham to bring the Guilty to a Trial; but the Populace would not suffer them to execute their Commission. The Queen suspecting this Tumult to be raised by the Duke of York's Adherents, and not thinking the King safe at London, carried him to Coventry, under colour of taking the Air. But besides this, she had another Motive of no less Importance: And that was, to insnare at once the Duke of York, and the two Earls his Friends, who were all three retired into the North. She was informed, that though they were separated in appearance, they had, on divers Pretences, frequent Conferences together, at which several other Lords of their Party were present. As she could not doubt, it was to concert Measures against the King, she believed she should have them in her Power, if she could draw them to Coventry, where they would not find the same Protection as at London. To that end, she sent them Letters under the King's own hand (5), requiring their Presence at Court, where their Advice was wanted, in an Affair of the utmost Importance.

The Duke of York had not yet done any thing openly, which shewed, that he aspired to the Crown. This was a Secret between him and his principal Friends. It is very true, the Court was persuaded of it, but it was not possible to convict him. Hitherto he had varnished his Actions with the Good of the Publick, and for that very reason was formidable to the Court. But though it was not easy to condemn him legally, he could not be ignorant, there were speedier and more certain ways to dispatch him, and that his Enemies were not over-scrupulous. Besides, though he had artfully concealed his Designs from the People, he could not think of deceiving the Queen, who was too much concerned not to discover them. Notwithstanding these Considerations, which should have created a Jealousy in the three Lords who had received the King's Letters, they resolved to go to him. They flattered themselves, that Henry being at length sensible of the Mismanagement of the Queen and the Ministry, required their Assistance, in making some Alterations at Court. But whilst they were on the Road to Coventry, their private Emisaries undeceived them, by warning them of their Danger. This Advice causing them to take other measures, they thought proper to separate. The Duke of York withdrew to his Castle of Wigmor, in the Marches of Wales; and the Earl of Salisbury to his Seat at Middleham in Yorkshire (6); as for the Earl of Warwick, he went directly to Calais, of which he was made Governor after the Battle of St. Albans. The Queen was extremely vexed at this disappointment, but her Comfort was, she had separated the three Lords, and so rendered them less formidable to her.

The Fears and Jealousies of both Parties were a little

interrupted during the Year 1457, by foreign Affairs. As the English had formerly improved the Disension in France, to make Conquests upon that Kingdom, Charles VII thought he should not neglect the Advantages, which the Quarrels of the English Court seemed to offer him. For that purpose, he prepared two Fleets which were to invade England, in two different Quarters. The first sailing to the Downs, plundered the Town of Sandwich (7). The other served [Foy] a little Town of Cornwall, in the same manner. But this was all they did worth remarking. Probably, they were too ill provided to venture upon more important Attempts. So, it was properly but a kind of Bravado, to insult the English in their own Country, after their expulsion out of France.

About the same time the Scots made likewise an Inroad into the northern Counties, and carried away some Booty. Indeed, there was a Truce concluded in 1453, between England and Scotland, till the 21st of May this Year, on condition, that when this Term was expired, which ever of the two King's intended to renew the War, he should give the other one hundred and eighty days notice. But so many outrages had been committed on both Sides, that neither Party thought themselves obliged to observe the Treaty. The very last Year, the two Kings had sent each other abusive Letters, full of Haughtiness and Contempt. However, whether the Scots intended only to revenge some particular Injury, or for some other Reason, the Truce was renewed from the 6th of July this Year, to that day Twelvemonth, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 6th of July 1463.

The Affairs with the foreign Enemies being ended, domestic Quarrels were going to be renewed; if some peaceful Persons had not used their Endeavours, to prevent the fatal Consequences of these Divisions. It was easy to see, that the two Parties, in deciding their Quarrel by Arms, could not but ruin the Kingdom, and occasion in the end some sad Revolution. Neither Party was so superior, as to promise themselves certain Victory. Success depended on the Events of the War, too doubtful for either to found any reasonable hopes upon. The Duke of York was sensible, it was no easy thing to dispossess by Force, a King that had been on the Throne thirty five Years. The truth is, Henry was little esteemed by his Subjects, on account of his Incapacity; but he gained their Affection by his innocent Life, and good Intentions, though ill-supported by his slender Abilities. On the other hand, the Queen, the new Duke of Somerset, who held the late Duke his Father's Post, the rest of the Ministry, and the whole House of Lancaster, were in a very tottering State. The French and Scots took Advantage of these Quarrels to invade the Kingdom, and all the Miscarriages were laid upon those who governed in the King's Name. The Court saw plainly, the Duke of York used this pretence to stir up the People against them. Though hitherto he had not made all the Progress, he could have wished, he saw himself, however, able very soon, to make a much more considerable. These Reasons, added to the King's Instances to adjust these Differences, moved the Queen and the Duke of Somerset, at length to send the Duke of York an Offer of a sincere Reconciliation. This first Step being taken, the King desired the Duke of York and his Friends to repair to London, a Place by them unsuspected, in order to endeavour an Agreement. He writ them a Letter with his own Hand, promising upon his Salvation, he would do them no Injury, and that his Intention was sincere.

Such an Invitation could not be rejected, without openly declaring himself, which the Duke of York was willing to avoid. So, the Lords of his Party resolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the Queen, who, on her Part, had as little Confidence in them. It may be, they were both equally in the right. Very likely, each Party hoped to reap some Advantage from this Proceeding, without intending however to alter their first Projects. Mean while, to remove all Fears, it was agreed, that both Parties might be attended with a certain Number of armed Followers. Nay, the King gave the Earl of Warwick Leave, who was to come from Calais, to bring with him four and twenty Foreigners, besides English (8).

1457. The French invade the County of England. Hall. Stow. R. Danth.

(1) February 25. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. p. 370.

(2) He was made Chancellor, at the same time that the Duke of York was appointed Protector, but they were both deprived of their Offices at the same time. Hall, fol. 169. Stow, p. 400, 401.

(3) In May.

(4) The Ground and Rise of this Quarrel was thus: An English Merchant's Servant that had formerly been in Italy, and blamed, or punished for wearing a Dagger at his Girdle, meeting an Italian Merchant's servant with one in his Girdle, quarrelled about it; and words arising, the Englishman snatched the Dagger from the Italian, and broke it about his Head. Whereupon a great Tumult ensuing, the Mob killed the Thieves of several Italian Merchants; but three were executed for this Riot. Fabian's Story, p. 401. Hall, fol. 169, 170. He calls them Merchants.

(5) Under the Privy-Seal. Hall, fol. 171.
(6) This Lordship came to the North by Mary, Daughter and Coheir to Ralph Fitz-Randolph, Lord of Middleham, who was married to Robert de Neest, one of the Associates of the Earl of Salisbury. This Robert's Name, meaning the Company of a certain Lady in French, in an adulterous Marriage, was seized by the Lord's Husband, who in revenge cut off his Girdle, which threw him into such excessive Grief, that he died June 6. 1271, 55 Henry III. Reginald's Itin. Vol. I. p. 292.

(7) They landed there August 23, with four thousand Men. R. Danth. Tom. VI. p. 292.
(8) He brought with him six hundred Men in red Cloak, embordered with white ragged Staves before and behind. The Earl of Salisbury brought five hundred. The Duke of York four hundred. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter eight hundred. The Earl of Northampton, the Lord Agmon and Countess hundred. Stow, p. 403.

1458. Every thing being thus settled, the Lords of both Parties came to *London* in *January*; but the Earl of *Warwick* arrived not till *February*. They were lodged in two different Quarters (1), to avoid the Disorders which their being together might occasion. The Mayor of *London* (2) rode every Night round the City with his Trainbands, to the Number of ten Thousand. The King and Queen entered the City the 27th of *March*, and lodged in the Bishop's Palace, at an equal distance from both Parties.

Mediators being chosen with unanimous Consent, such was the disposition of both Sides, that on the 3d of *April* a Reconciliation was made (3) to the common Satisfaction of the King, the Queen, the Parties concerned, and the whole Kingdom. The Substance of the Agreement was, that, all Animosity being laid aside, the Lords should live together in Peace and Concord, and in perfect Obedience to the King's Commands. But to avoid all occasion of Complaint, it was agreed, that the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with some others of that Party, should be admitted into the Council (4). Then the 5th of *April* was appointed for a publick Thanksgiving-Day, for this Reconciliation, by a solemn Procession to *St. Paul's Church* (5). The King and Queen, and all the Lords were present, and walked two and two, one of each Party, in token of a perfect Union (6). The Duke of *York* led the Queen by the Hand, who publicly gave him Marks of Confidence and Esteem.

It appeared however soon after, that this Confidence, of which so great shew was made on both Sides, was far from being restored. The Duke of *York* and his two principal Friends, always fearing some Treachery from their reconciled Enemies, withdrew from Court on divers Pretences. The Duke and the Earl of *Salisbury* went to *York*, and the Earl of *Warwick* to his Government of *Calais*. The

English Historians say, this Earl being Admiral of the Channel, equipped fourteen Ships, to give chase to some *Spanish* Corsairs, who infested the narrow Seas, and meeting them, sunk several, and brought six to *Calais*. But probably they were mistaken, since the *Collection of the Publick Acts* gives us quite another Idea of this Affair. It is true, we find there Complaints from the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lubeck* to the King against the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the King appointed Commissioners to take Informations. But in this Commission there is no mention of *Spanish* Ships. It even appears, that this Engagement was occasioned by an accidental Quarrel between the Ships of *Genoa* and *Lubeck*, and those which were conveying the Earl of *Warwick* with his Retinue to *Calais*. This does not shew they were Pyrates, or that the Earl of *Warwick* attacked them designedly. Be this as it will, upon this Complaint he was forced to return to *England* to answer for himself, and staid six or seven Weeks.

Whilst the Earl was at *London*, it happened one day, whilst he was present at the Council, one of his People quarrelled with a Servant of the King's, and wounded him: Whereupon the rest of the King's Domesticks arming themselves, some with Swords, others with Clubs or other Weapons, ran to revenge their Comrade. As they could not find the Aggressor, they fell upon the rest of the Earl of *Warwick's* Retinue. Inshort, They even assaulted his Person, as he was coming out of the Council to go to his Barge, which waited for him on the *Thames*. The Assault was so violent, that he very hardly escaped to his Barge, after seeing several of his People killed on the spot. He did not doubt this was a Contrivance of the Queen to dispatch him, without appearing to be concerned. He was confirmed in his Opinion, when he heard the King had ordered him to be arrested and sent to the *Tower*. He had notice timely enough to disappoint those who were sent to arrest him. It is very difficult to decide, whether the Queen contrived this Quarrel to dispatch him, or whether it happened by Accident. However this be, the Order to apprehend him, though he himself had reason to complain, made him sensible, he should never be more secured from

the Plots of his Enemies, than by attacking them with open Force. With a Mind full of Relentment at this Affront, he went to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Father; and without delay, they repaired together to the Duke of *York*, to consult what was to be done in this Juncture. From what had lately passed, they concluded, the Reconciliation at *London* was only a Snare to surprize them the more easily, and destroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not sorry for having this Excuse to justify their Resolution of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the Promises of the Court. Pursuant to this Project, the Earl of *Warwick* speedily returned to *Calais* to secure that Place, not questioning that there was a design to take it from him.

Mean while, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took measures to execute their Projects. They agreed, whilst the Duke was levying an Army in *Wales*, the Earl should advance towards *London* at the head of five or six thousand Men (7), and openly demand Satisfaction for the Injury done to his Son. As this Design could not be executed without the Queen's Knowledge, the Lord *Audley* (8) was commissioned to raise Troops (9), and oppose the Earl of *Salisbury* (10). *Audley* made such dispatch, that in a very short time he was at the head of ten thousand Men, and in condition to march towards *Lancashire*, thro' which the Earl of *Salisbury* was to pass. But he found the Earl was already advanced as far as *Shropshire*, where the two Armies met. The Earl of *Salisbury*, though but half as strong as the Enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but resolved to make use of Stratagem to obtain a Victory, which otherwise he could not expect. *Audley* being encamped on *Blore-Heath* near a little River, *Salisbury* posted himself on the other Side, as if he meant to guard the Pass, and hinder his being attacked. Then suddenly feigning a Fear, he retired in the Night, marching so, as at break of Day his Enemies could still see the Rear of his Army. This Retreat, which seemed to be with precipitation, inspiring the Royalists with Ardor, they began to pass the River in disorder, imagining they had nothing to do, but to pursue the flying Enemy. But whilst they were in this Confusion, some being over the River, others in the Water, and others ready to pass, the Earl of *Salisbury* returned and fell upon the Troops already over, who had scarce time to draw up. The Fight lasted however four or five Hours, because the King's Troops were supported by those that were continually passing. But as this could not be done without Confusion, the Royal Army was at length put to rout with the Loss of two thousand four hundred Men. *Audley* himself was slain with all the principal Officers (11).

The Earl of *Salisbury* having thus opened a Passage, joined the Duke of *York*, who was raising Troops in *Wales*. It would have been too dangerous to continue his March towards *London*, because the Court had now assembled a great Force at *Coventry*. The Queen, who still commanded in the King's Name, used all possible Endeavours to have a strong Army. She saw plainly, there was nothing to be done without a great Superiority. On the other hand, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* were no less intent upon procuring all possible Assistance, in order to withstand the Forces that were preparing against them. They sent word to the Earl of *Warwick*, it would be very necessary to come and join them, and try to bring them some Troops. Upon this Advice, *Warwick* left *Calais* under the Government of *William Nevil* Lord *Falsenbridge* his Uncle, and took with him Part of the Garrison, of which he gave the Command to Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who had signalized himself in the Wars of *France* (12).

It was seven Months after the Battle of *Blore-Heath*, before the two Parties had drawn all their Forces together. *October* was come, and no Motion yet made on either Side. At length the King departed from *Coventry*, where he had assembled his Troops, and marched towards *Wales* in quest of the Male-contents, who were encamped about *Ludlow*.

1458. He takes measures with his Father and the Duke of York. He returns to Calais. Hall.

1459. The Earl of Salisbury marches towards London with an Army. The Lord Audley is sent against him. He is slain. Hall.

Salisbury joins the Duke of York. The Court raises an Army. The Duke of York prepares also. The Earl of Warwick joins the Duke of York. Hall.

The King marches towards the Male-contents. Hall.

(1) The Duke of *York* at *Brynard's Castle*, which belonged to him; the Earl of *Salisbury* at his own House, called the *Herber*; and the Earl of *Warwick* at his House near the *Grey Friars*. The Duke of *Somerset* and his Friends were lodged without *Temple-Bar*, *Holborn*, and other Places in the Suburbs. Hall, fol. 171. Stow, p. 403. Halling, fol. 1292. The former Party held their Consultation at the *Black Friars*; and the latter in the *Chapter-House* at *Westminster*. *Ibid.*

(2) Sir *Geoffrey Bullen*, Ancestor of two famous Queens; *Ann*, second Wife of *Henry VIII.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, the 1st Daughter.

(3) Through the Persuasions of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Prelates. Hall, fol. 172. Halling, fol. p. 1292. Stow, p. 403.

(4) This Agreement passed the Great Seal, *March* 24. Halling, fol. p. 1293.

(5) Our Historians say, it was *March* 25. Stow, p. 404.

(6) Before the King went, Hand in Hand, the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Warwick*: And behind the King came the Queen and Duke of *York*. Hall, fol. 172. Stow, p. 404.

(7) Four or five thousand. Hall, fol. 173. Stow, p. 404. Halling, fol. p. 1294.

(8) *James Audley*, Grandson of *John Tacket*, by *Jean*, Daughter and Heir of *Nicholas Aldithy* or *Audley* of *Hilgh*, who died with ut Issue-Male. Whence the Possibility of the said *Jean* and *Jean* had the Title of Lord *Audley*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 23.

(9) Because his Seignory and Power lay in those Parts. Hall, &c. *Ibid.*

(10) And ordered to bring the Earl dead or alive. *Ibid.*

(11) The *Cheshire* Men were the greatest Souldiers, who wore that Dey little Silver Swans, the Prince of *Wales's* Badge, which the Queen had ordered to be distributed to all the Gentlemen of that County. Halling, fol. p. 1295. Stow, p. 404. This Battle was fought on *September* 27, about a Mile from *Worcester* in *Shropshire*, on *Blore Heath*, which lies in *Staffordshire*, where, at the Head of the River *Seve*, a Stone is set up in Memory of *James Lord* *Salisbury* slain. *Canal. Add. to Stafford.*—The most eminent Persons slain in this Action, besides the Lord *Audley*, were, Sir *Thomas Dutton*, Sir *John Darnley*, Sir *Hugh Venables*, Sir *Richard Malineux*, Sir *John Leigh*, &c. Hall, fol. 163. Halling, fol. p. 1293.

(12) And to Sir *John Blunt*. Hall, fol. 174.

1459. When he came to *Glocester* (1) he made a Halt, and sent an Offer of Pardon to the Rebels (2) provided they would lay down their Arms. They answered, they could no longer rely on such Promises, which were intended only to surprize them, as was visible in what had happened at *London* to the Earl of *Warwick*; that nevertheless, they were ready to submit to the King, if some Expedient could be found for their Safety. Upon this Answer the King ordered his Army to advance. At the same time, he gave the Duke of *Somerset* a Patent to be Governor of *Calais*, in the room of the Earl of *Warwick*. But it was easier to give the Duke this Government in Parchment, than to put him in possession.

The King having advanced with design to give Battle, the *Yorkists* sent him a very submissive Letter, praying him to consider, that they had taken Arms only in their own Defence, against the Attempts of their Enemies; That this Intention appeared, in their keeping themselves in a Corner of the Kingdom, without undertaking any thing, being determined not to fight unless forced; That they desired only the Redress of the Grievances introduced into the Government, to the great Oppression of the People, by the Fault of the Ministry. Lastly, they besought the King, to look upon them as loyal Subjects, who had formed no Design against his Person and to restore them to Favour.

This Letter had a quite contrary Effect to what they expected. Their Enemies not questioning but Fear had made them talk thus, advanced within half a Mile of them, with a Resolution to give them Battle next day. At the same time, they found means to disperse in the Enemy's Camp the King's Proclamation, offering Pardon to all the Adherents of the rebellious Lords, provided they would lay down their Arms. This Proclamation had a surprizing Effect. The Duke of *York's* Troops imagining the King offered a Pardon, by reason of the Superiority of his Forces, and that there was no time to lose to take the Benefit of it, immediately began to disband themselves. Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who commanded the Detachment of the Garrison of *Calais*, put the whole Army in Disorder, by flying in the Night to the King's Camp, with the Troops under his Command. This Desertion, which increased every moment, threw the Leaders into so terrible a Consternation, that fearing to be delivered to the King as soon as Day should appear, they chose to save themselves by flight.

The Duke of *York* taking with him the Earl of *Rutland* his second Son, embarked for *Ireland*. The Earl of *Warwick* fled towards *Calais*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* speedily followed him, with the Earl of *March* eldest Son of the Duke of *York* (3). This young Prince was then nineteen Years old. The Generals being retired, the rest of the Officers and Soldiers thus abandoned were reduced to the King's Mercy, who was pleased to pardon all, except a few that were executed for an Example.

The Parliament being assembled in *December* (4), declared the Duke of *York* and his Adherents guilty of High-Treason. Their Estates were confiscated, and they and their Posterity, pronounced incapable of Inheriting, to the fourth Generation. We see here a remarkable Instance of the Variableness of the Parliament, according as the Face of Affairs was altered. I shall have frequent occasion hereafter to take notice of many the like Instances.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, the Duke of *Somerset* embarked with a Body of Troops (5), in order to take possession of his Government of *Calais*; but the Garrison firing upon him, he was obliged to land elsewhere, and retire to *Guines*, from whence he made frequent Incursions about *Calais*. But those little Sallies were not capable of rendering him Master of so strong a Place.

The Queen finding the Earl of *Warwick* would not be deprived of his Government, equipped a Fleet to transport Succours to the Duke of *Somerset*. This Fleet, well provided with all things, lay at *Sandwich* in expectation of a fair Wind. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice of it, sent a Body of Troops privately from *Calais*, under the Command of Sir *John Dinham*, who arriving at *Sandwich*

about break of Day, surprized most of the Officers in their Beds (6). As soon as he had them in his Power, he found means to gain the Soldiers and Mariners, and carried the King's Ships to *Calais* (7).

The Earl of *Warwick* made use of these Ships to convey him into *Ireland*, where he went to concert measures with the Duke of *York*, for their common Defence. After he had been about a Month (8) on this Voyage, he met in his Return the Duke of *Exeter* (9), Admiral of *England*, who waited to take him in his Passage. But the Royal Fleet were so little inclined to fight against him, that the Duke of *Exeter* fearing to receive some Disgrace, thought not proper to attack him.

The Queen and the Ministers doubted not, that the Interview of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick* would produce a fresh Rebellion. For this reason, at a Council held upon that occasion, it was resolved, strict Search should be made in all the Counties and Towns of the Kingdom, for the Adherents of the Duke of *York*, and that such should be suppressed as favoured him most, and were best able to serve him. It was not questioned, but this Method would put an effectual Stop to his ambitious Pursuits. Pursuant to this Resolution, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Scales* (10) were empowered to inquire out those that bore Arms for the Male contents in the late Rebellion, and to punish them according to Law. These two Lords began to execute their Commission, in some of the Towns (11) which had most openly declared for the Duke of *York*, and condemned several Persons to Death. Of all the Counties of the Kingdom, none had more reason to dread the Court's Repentment than *Kent*. Upon all occasions that County had shewn a very strong Attachment to the Duke of *York*, and what was done there in favour of *Cade* was not yet forgot. So, the Inhabitants of *Kent* perceiving, by what was practised in other Places, that their Ruin was unavoidable, began early to think of means to prevent it. To that end, they sent word to the Lords at *Calais*, if they would make a Descent in their Country, they should be received with open Arms, and the Inhabitants were ready to venture their Lives and Fortunes with them.

This Overture was very agreeable to the Lords. However, not to embark rashly in this Affair, they sent the Lord *Falconbridge* to be assured of their Sincerity. *Falconbridge* meeting at Sea with Sir *Simon Montfort*, who was appointed to guard the Coasts, attacked him, and taking him Prisoner with many other Officers, sent them all to *Calais*. Upon their Arrival, the Earl of *March* ordered *Montfort* with twelve of his Captains to be beheaded, by way of retaliation for his Father's Adherents, who had been executed in *England*. These are almost unavoidable Cruelties in such Civil Wars.

Falconbridge being come to *Sandwich*, found the Inhabitants of that Place and of the whole County of *Kent*, so well affected to the Lords, that he writ to *Calais*, there was no time to be lost; that the County of *Kent* was going to be ruined, if not speedily relieved; and that in the Terror People were under, it was not to be doubted, that several other Counties, as well as *Kent*, would rise against the Court, if they could hope to be supported. This Junction appearing very favorable, the Lords at *Calais* resolved to improve it, and took care to inform the Duke of *York*, who still kept in *Ireland*. Before they parted, a Manifesto was dispersed in *Kent* and in the neighbouring Parts (12), declaring that the sole Motive of their taking Arms, was to free the poor People from the Oppression they groaned under, and secure their Liberties and Privileges. It was added, that they did not question, but all honest *Englishmen* would assist in the Execution of so good a Design. This Manifesto had such an Effect, that the Lords arriving at *Sandwich* with fifteen hundred Men only, found there a Body of four thousand armed Men conducted by the Lord *Cobham* (13). With this Reinforcement they began their March towards *London*, knowing the Citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed the Gates being opened to them, they entered the City, at the head of forty thousand Men, their Army increasing to that Number in

(1) To *Worcester* says *Hollingsh.* p. 1296. *Stow*, p. 405.

(2) By *Richard Beauchamp*, Bishop of *Salisbury*. *Ibid.*

(3) These three Lords came into *Devonshire*, where, by the means of *John Dinham*, who was High-Treasurer in the Reign of *Henry VII.* they bought a Ship at *Exmouth*, and sailed to *Guernsey*, and from thence to *Calais*. *Hollingsh.* p. 1297. — After this, the King committed the Custody of the northern Parts to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *John Lord Clifford*. *Hall*, vol. 175. *Hollingsh.* p. 1297.

(4) It met *November 20.* *Cotton's Abridg.* v. 601.

(5) In *October*, with *Henry Lord Roos*, and the Lord *Audley*. This last was taken Prisoner by the Garrison of *Calais*. *Stow*, p. 406.

(6) *Richard Woodville* Earl of *Rivers*, the Admiral, and his Son *Anthony*, were both taken Prisoners. *Hall*, vol. 175. *Hollingsh.* p. 1298.

(7) The Ships that had brought the Duke of *Somerset* to *Flanders*, revolted also, and went over to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Calais*. *Hall*, vol. 175. *Hollingsh.* p. 1297.

(8) He went, and came back, from *Calais* to *Dublin*, in less than a Month. *Hall*, *Ibid.*

(9) *Henry Holland*.

(10) *Thomas Lord Scales*, *Anthony Woodville*, Son of the Earl *Rivers*, marrying *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir of this *Thomas Lord Scales* of *N. calis*, was

upon, 2 *Edward IV.* declared Lord *Scales*. *Dugdale*, v. 1. p. 231.

(11) In *Neubury*, a Lordship belonging to the Duke of *York*. *Dugdale*.

(12) *Stow*, who hath it at length in his *Annals*, say, it was directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to the Commons of *England*, p. 407.

(13) With whom were *John Guildford*, *William Pucke*, *Robert Horne*, and many other Gentlemen. *Hall*, vol. 176. *Hollingsh.* p. 1298.

1460. so short a March. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Ely, Exeter declared for them.

The Queen
takes in Queen
to prevent
them.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Mean while, the Queen who was at Coventry, was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the Entrance of the Male-Contents into London, by sending the Lord Seals with a good Body of Troops. But the Mayor had refused him Admittance, even before the Arrival of the Lords. Seals being thus repulsed, had thrown himself into the Tower, from whence he threatened to demolish the City with his Cannon, if the Rebels were received. But his Threats were not capable of frightening the Citizens. In the mean time, the King and Queen were assembling their Forces at Coventry, with all possible diligence. As soon as their Army was ready to march, they gave the Command to the Duke of Somerset, lately returned from Guisnes, and the Duke of Buckingham. But this was only for Form's sake, the Queen herself being really General, since every thing was done by her Orders, though the King was present in Person. The young Earl of March, hearing the Queen was marching to London, departed thence with twenty-five thousand Men to give her Battle before she should grow stronger. He left at London the Earl of Salisbury, with good Part of his Troops, and took with him the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham, who served as his Lieutenants (1). At his Departure from London, the Lord Seals ordered the Tower Cannon to fire upon the City, and did some Damage (2). But by the Earl of Salisbury's care, to prevent his having any Provisions, he was himself reduced to great Straights.

The Queen
leaves Coventry
at Coventry,
and marches
towards
London.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 455.

The Lords go
to meet her.
Hall.

Hall.
Hollingsh.
Stew.

The Queen
passes a River
to fight
them.
Hall.
Stew.
Hollingsh.

The Court
receives the
Submission of
the Lords.

The Battle of
Northampton.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The Royal
Army is de-
feated and
the King
taken.
Hall.
Stew.
Hollingsh.

Hall.
Hollingsh.

The Queen
flies to Dur-
ham.

rick of Durham; so great was their Fear of being delivered to their Enemies. The unfortunate King, who continued in his Tent, fell once more into the Hands of the victorious Lords, who paid him however all the Respect he could have required of them, had he been in his greatest Prosperity. This deference was some Comfort to him in his present Condition, which would have been more worthy of Pity, if his natural Imbecillity had not rendered him insensible of good and bad Fortune. Immediately after the Battle, he was honorably conducted to Northampton, where he resided some time. After that, on the 16th of August (6), he came to London, surrounded with a crowd of Lords, who, a few days before, were in Arms against him. Mean while, the Queen, not thinking herself safe in Durham, privately retired with eight Persons only, into Wales (7), where she would never have been fought. Shortly after, she left that Retreat, and with the Prince her Son fled into Scotland.

1460.

The King is
treated with
respect.
Stew.

and conduct-
ed to London.

The Queen
retires into
Wales.
Hall.

A Parliam-
ent is called.
Hall.
Stew.

Upon the King's Arrival at London, he called a Parliament for the 2d of October (8). They who governed him wanted this delay, in order to send for the Duke of York, who was still in Ireland. They took care to acquaint him with what had passed, and desired him to repair to London with all possible speed, that he might be there at the opening of the Parliament, or sooner, if the Wind would permit. In this Interval, they acted in the King's Name, and made him sign all the Orders which agreed with their Interest. In the Collection of the Public Acts, there is a Patent, confirming to the Earl of Warwick the Government of Calais; and an Order to the Duke of Somerset, to resign him that of Guisnes: And moreover, the King's Declaration, acknowledging the Duke of York, and his Adherents, for good and faithful Subjects, as having given undoubted Proofs of their Loyalty, not only in Words, but in Deeds.

The King's
Declaration
in favour of
the Duke of
York.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 459.

the King of
Scotland as-
sumes the Ro-
xborough.
ib. p. 426.

Whilst England was thus in Combustion, James II, King of Scotland, prepared to make an Irruption. It was the Duke of York, that after his retreat into Ireland, had, by some advantageous offers, engaged him to break with Henry, in expectation of reaping some Benefit himself from this Diversion. Though last Year, James had concluded with England a four years Truce (9), he believed, he ought to improve this opportunity. Indeed, he alledged several Reasons to colour his Invasion, but the Circumstances of England was the sole and real Motive of his Preparations. Be this as it will, a few days after the Battle of Northampton, he entered England at the head of an Army, and besieged Roxborough; but had not time to make any great Progress. One of his own Cannon happening to burst, he was killed with a Splinter on the 4th of August. James III, his eldest Son, then but seven Years old, was his Successor. The Queen his Widow, who was in the Army, carried on the Siege, till the Town was surrendered.

p. 461.

He is killed
by the splin-
ter of a
Cannon.
Buchanan.

The Death of James II. had been preceded some days, by that of Charles VII. King of France. It is pretended, he starved himself for fear of being poisoned by the Dauphin his Son, who mounted the Throne of France after him, by the Name of Lewis XI.

Charles VII.
dies, and is
succeeded by
Lewis XI.

The Duke of York could not reach London, till two Days after the opening of the Parliament. He rid directly to Westminster, and alighting from his Horse, went to the House of Lords, where he stood some time under the Canopy of State, with his Hand on the Throne, expecting as it were, to be desired to seat himself thereon. But the Silence of the House was a plain Indication, his Intention was not universally approved. At the same time, to encrease his Confusion caused by their Silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury approaching him (10), asked him whether he would not go and pay his respects to the King. With what Caution soever the Duke had hitherto behaved he could not forbear changing Countenance at this Question, and telling the Archbishop, he knew no Person, to whom he owed that Honour. Upon these Words, he immediately withdrew to his own House. He was too discerning, not to perceive, he in vain expected to be intreated to accept of the Crown. So, with-

The Duke
of York ar-
rives, and
goes to the
Parliament.
He expects to
be asked to
seat himself
on the Throne.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

(1) He had also with him the Lords Fauconbridge, Clinton, Bourchier, Bergavenny, Say, and Scrope, the Archbishop, &c. Stew. p. 403. Hall, fol. 176.

(2) With him, in the Tower, were the Lords Voffy, Lovel, Delaware, Kendal; Sir Edmund Hampden, Sir Thomas, and Sir John Brune, Sir Geruase Clifton, Sir Thomas Tereel, &c. Stew. ibid.

(3) The River Nyne. Hall, fol. 176.

(4) The Ninth, says Hall, ibid. and Hollinghead, p. 1299.

(5) Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, John de Beaumont, the first Viscount in England, created 18 Henry VI. and Thomas Lord Egremont, Sir William Lucy, &c. The King's Cannon were rendered unserviceable in the Battle, by reason of the great Rains that fell that Day. Hall, fol. 176. Hollingsh. p. 1299. Stew. p. 409.

(6) The 16th of July. Hall, fol. 177. Stew. ibid. On the 19th the Tower was delivered to the Earl of March. Ibid.

(7) To the Castle of Hardrag or Hardin: She was plundered, in the way, of her Goods and Baggage, to the Value of ten thousand Marks. Ibid.

(8) It met the ninth. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 663.

(9) Nine Years Truce, from July 6, 1453, to July 6, 1463. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. p. 426.

(10) This Question was not put to him now, while he was standing under the Canopy of State; but at another time. And though he and the King were both lodged in the Palace at Westminster, yet for no Prayer or Intercession would he once visit and see him, till things were brought to a Conclusion. Hall, fol. 181.

1460. out concealing his Sentiments any longer, he sent next Morning (1), a Writing to the Parliament, containing the Reasons on which his Pretensions were built. As they have been frequently mentioned, it will be needless to repeat them. It suffices to say in a word, that he claimed the Crown as Heir of the House of *March*. This Affair was very warmly debated in Parliament (2), according to the Knowledge and Inclinations of the Members. To relate all the Arguments alledged *pro* and *con*, would be excessively tedious; but as this is a Matter of great Moment, it will not be improper to give the Substance of the Objections to the Duke of *York's* Claim, and the Replies of his Friends. I must not, however, forget to remark, that both Sides referred to the Decision of the Parliament, which they equally acknowledged for the sole Judge of this Affair.

Arguments
Pro and
Con.

In the first place it was said, when *Henry IV.* Grandfather of the present King, took possession of the Throne, no Person offered to oppose him.

The Duke of *York's* Friends replied, that as *Edmund Earl of March*, who was then alive, could not dispute it, without manifest Danger, his Silence could not be interpreted for Consent.

II. It was alledged on the King's behalf, that *Henry IV.* his Grandfather, had received the Crown by the Parliament's Authority. To this it was answered, the Duke of *York* did not pretend to take possession, without the same Authority, as appeared in his Memorial directed to both Houses. But, as the Parliament had strong Reasons to proceed contrary to Custom, in favour of the House of *Lancaster*; so they had at present as strong, to do the Duke of *York* Justice. They who talked thus, took care not to dispute the Parliament's Authority, at a time, when they meant to make use of it, to place the Duke of *York* on the Throne. But, probably, they did not speak, upon this Subject, all their Thoughts.

III. The Resignation of *Richard II.* was pleaded in behalf of the House of *Lancaster*.

Answer was made, by denying that *Richard's* Resignation concerned that House in particular, or even the Person of *Henry IV.* But, supposing it so, it was not in the Power of a captive King, just going to be deposed, to appoint a Successor.

IV. It was objected against the Duke of *York*, that the Earl of *Cambridge* his Father, having been executed for High-Treason, his Posterity were rendered incapable of any Inheritance.

The Duke's Adherents answered, he had been restored to his Honours, and all his Birth-Rights, and acknowledged for Duke of *York*, and Earl of *March*, by the King himself, and the whole Kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the House of *Lancaster* had enjoyed the Crown above sixty Years.

To this it was replied, that Prescription was no Plea against the Right of Succession to the Crown, which was a natural Right, and not to be destroyed by a positive Law.

VI. Lastly, it was represented in the King's favor, that having now reigned thirty eight Years, and all along led an innocent Life, without giving any Person cause to complain, it would be a great Cruelty to deprive him of the Crown.

This Argument seemed very strong: But the Duke of *York's* Friends replied, that *Henry* being incapable of governing by himself, to leave him in possession of the Crown, was acting rather for the Queen and the Ministers, who abused his Name and Authority, than for him. Moreover, the whole Kingdom was not to be ruined for his sake, or a Wrong to be committed from a Motive of Charity.

It may easily be judged, that these and several other Reasons, alledged by the two Parties, were enlarged and displayed to the best Advantage, especially in the Parliament, where there are generally many Persons of great Abilities. This was a very proper Subject to exercise the Ingenious, difficult in it self, and still more so, by the present Situation of Affairs. At length, after a Debate of several days, it was resolved (3), that *Henry* should enjoy

the Crown during his Life, and the Duke of *York* be declared his Successor. This Resolve was passed into an Act of Parliament, declaring, That notwithstanding the Duke of *York's* indisputable Title to the Crown, he had freely consented, that *Henry* should possess it for his Life, and promised to swear Allegiance to him as his lawful Sovereign. But if the King should any way break this Agreement, then the Crown should immediately devolve to the Duke of *York*, or his lawful Heirs (4).

Very likely, this Agreement did not come up to the Duke of *York's* Expectations. He was contented however, because he perceived it would be very difficult to obtain more, without open Force. It cannot be denied, that he behaved with a Moderation very uncommon in such Cases. In his present Circumstances, and according to the Rule generally followed by Parliaments, to declare for the strongest, nothing was more easy for the Duke, than to cause the Crown to be adjudged to him immediately. He had at his Command a victorious, and at that time, irresistible Army. Besides, most of the Members of Parliament were in his Interest, and probably, after acknowledging his Title to be indisputable, they would not have wanted much Solicitation to proceed one Step farther, and place him on the Throne. It is therefore manifest, if the Parliament showed any regard for *Henry*, it was, because they thought themselves at liberty to use this Equity, notwithstanding the victorious Army which might have offered them Violence, if the Duke would have made use of his Advantages. It must be farther observed, that the Duke of *York* was older than the King, and therefore naturally could not expect to out-live him. And yet, those who have writ the History of these Troubles, have put an ill Construction upon all they have said concerning this Prince. The Reason may be easily guessed. The House of *York* enjoying the Throne but twenty four Years, we have no Historian in that Interval; all we have being later, and writing since the Restoration of the House of *Lancaster* in the Person of *Henry VII.* This must be always remembered in reading the History of these Civil Wars.

The day after passing the forementioned Act, a Procession was made at *St. Paul's*, where the King was present, with his Crown on his Head, attended by the Duke of *York* (5).

After this Agreement, the King continued the same. Though it was easy for him to perceive, what Prejudice the late Settlement brought to his Family, and particularly to the Prince of *Wales* his Son, he lived quietly in his Servitude, without thinking of Means for his Deliverance. Satisfied with whatever the Duke of *York* was pleased to suggest, he wholly gave himself up to Devotion, and left the Publick Affairs to those who managed them in his Name. Thus the Duke finding himself absolute Master of the Government and Person of the King, caused him to sign an Order, requiring the Queen to repair to him. The Duke was sensible, this Order would be to no purpose. But his Aim was, to render her criminal, by her refusing to obey the King, and thereby to justify his intended Proceedings against her. He thought her without Refuge, and in that Belief imagined, he had only to find some Pretence, to lay an insuperable Obstacle to her return, in order to be freed from so dangerous an Enemy. But he relied too far on his own good Fortune, and the Queen's Weakness. Instead of being discouraged at the ill Situation of the King's, and his Family's Affairs, she was now returned into *England*, with the Prince of *Wales* her Son, and had drawn together in the North, an Army of eighteen thousand Men (6). The better to engage the People of those Parts to her Interest, she had caused to be reported, that they were allowed to plunder the Country on the South of the *Trent*. Probably, this most conduced to her assembling so great a Number of Troops.

The Duke of *York* had been informed of the Queen's Endeavors to levy an Army, but did not know she had made so great a Progress, and yet, thought he could not be too speedy to prevent the Execution of her Designs. He departed therefore from *London* (7) with four or five thousand Men only, leaving Orders with the Earl of *March* his Son, to lead the rest of the Army into *Wales* to refresh them, and then come and join him. As he advanced

1460.

The Duke of
York con-
sents to the
Decree.
Hall.

Instances of
his Moderation.

Historians
have been
partial to
him.

Procession at
St. Paul's
Hall.
Stow.

The Duke is
absolute
Master of
the Govern-
ment.

The King
orders the
Queen to re-
pair to him.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

She leaves
an Army in
the North.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The Duke of
York goes
against her
with five
thousand
Men only.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

(1) October 16. Cotton's Abridg. p. 665.

(2) The Historians say, That it was debated by divers Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, with many grave and sage Persons of the Commonalty, daily assembled at the *Black-Fryers* and other Places.

(3) On October 31. Hall, fol. 182.

(4) The Parliament settled also on the Duke of *York* ten thousand Marks; viz. five thousand for himself, three thousand five hundred for his eldest Son *Edward Earl of March*, and fifteen hundred for his other Son the Earl of *Rutland*. Cotton's Abridg. p. 667. Stow, p. 410. In this Parliament was the following Statute made, That Women being of the Age of fourteen Years, at the time of the Death of their Ancestors, shall, without question or difficulty, have Livery of their Lands and Tenements descended to them: For so the Law of this Land will that they should have. Statut. 39 Henry VI, c. 2.

(5) And on the Saturday following, *Richard Duke of York* was, by sound of Trumpet, proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm. Hollingsh. p. 1303. Stow, p. 411.

(6) Or, according to others, twenty two thousand. Hall, fol. 182. Hollingsh. p. 1303. Among whom were the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Resse*. Hall, ibid.

(7) On Decemb. 2, leaving the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* to take care of the King. Hall, ibid. Hollingsh.

1460.

The Queen
resolves
to fight
at Sandal
Castle.

towards the North, he received the mortifying News of the Queen's great Success, in the levying of Troops. At length, being arrived near *Wakefield* in the County of *York* (1), he heard the Queen was advancing towards him, at the Head of eighteen thousand Men. Whereupon he resolved to retire to his Castle of *Sandal*, till the Arrival of the Earl of *March*. He knew, the Queen, who had no Artillery, could not force him in that Castle, which was well fortified, and did not question but the Earl his Son would speedily come to his Relief.

The Queen
thus secures
her to fight
at Sandal
Hall.

The Queen was extremely troubled to see her Enemy thus secured from all Attack. As she was then much superior in Number of Troops, if the Duke would have fought, she might have flattered herself with undoubted Success. But it was not certain, that after the Earl of *March's* Arrival, she should be in the same Situation. For this Reason, she neglected nothing to provoke her Enemy, and induce him to come out of his Retreat. As she did not despair of accomplishing her Design, she placed a Body of Troops in Ambush, behind a Hill (2). Then she appeared before the Walls of *Sandal*, provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatening him, another while sending him Defiances, and upbraiding him, that a Man who aspired to the Crown, should suffer himself to be thus shut up by a Woman.

The Duke
resolves to
fight
at Sandal
Hall.

The Duke of *York* had hitherto acted with great Prudence and Conduct. During the Wars of *France*, where he had often commanded in Chief, he had shown no less Wisdom, than true Valour. But, on this occasion, he unfortunately suffered his Courage to prevail, contrary to the Opinion of his Friends (3), who advised him to despise those vain Reproaches. Probably, his Hatred to the Queen led him, as it were against his Will, to commit an unpardonable Fault, in a General of so established a Reputation. These at least were the Motives ascribed to him by the Historians. For my Part, if I may be allowed to speak my Opinion, I own I think it improbable. I should rather believe, the want of Provisions forced him to a Battle, in order to avoid the Danger, to which he was exposed. So, if he committed a Fault, it was in shutting himself up in a Castle, instead of returning, or meeting his Son, who could easily join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of *Sandal*, and drew up his Men on *Wakefield Green*, counting, his Courage and Experience would supply the Defects of his Army. He was no sooner drawn up, but he saw himself attacked by the Queen's Troops, which being more numerous than his, had a great Advantage over him. Whilst he was pressed in the Front by his Enemies, stronger than himself, the Ambushes rose, and attacked him in the Rear. This unexpected Assault, bred such Confusion among his Troops, that within half an Hour they were routed, and himself slain, valiantly fighting. The young Earl of *Rutland* his second Son, not above twelve Years of Age, flying with his Governor, was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who plunged his Dagger into his Breast, notwithstanding the earnest Intreaties of the Governor, to spare the young Prince's Life (4). Afterwards, the same Lord *Clifford* finding the Duke of *York's* Body, cut off the Head, and crowning it with a Paper-Crown, fixed it on the end of his Lance, and presented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be placed on the Walls of *York* (5).

The Battle
of Wake-
field, where
the Duke of
York is
slain.
December.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Stow.The Earl of
Rutland
killed by
Clifford.
Hall.
Hollingsh.Remark on
the Parti-
cularity of
Historians to
the House of
Lancaster.

Thus fell the Duke of *York*, about fifty Years old (6). It may be said, never was Prince so near a Throne, and not in it, and that it lay in his own Breast to take possession, had he been willing to use the Power he had in his Hands. I shall not undertake, either to condemn, or

justify his Pretensions. I leave the Reader to pass his own Judgment, upon the Grounds already explained in several Places. Unhappily for this Prince, the *English* Historians that writ, when the Restoration of the House of *Lancaster* was still fresh, I mean in the Reigns of *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* have put an ill Construction on all his Actions. Those that came after them, not content with taking the Facts as they found them related, have likewise copied the Reflections, and even the very Invectives. They have thereby all unanimously given the Cause for the House of *Lancaster*, instead of leaving their Readers at Liberty to pass an impartial Judgment upon so difficult a Case, the Decision whereof, should the same thing happen again, would be no less perplexing at present, than it was formerly. The Earl of *Salisbury* having the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner in the Battle, was carried, notwithstanding his Wounds, to *Pontefract*, where he lost his Head on the Scaffold (7). The Queen ordered it to be set on a Pole, near the Duke of *York's*.

1460.

Such was the Success of this Battle, fought on the last Day of *December*, near *Wakefield* (8), from whence it took its Name. This Battle seemed to have firmly restored the Affairs of the King and Queen, and yet it served only to hasten their Destruction, and sooner advance the House of *York* to the Throne. The Earl of *March* hearing of the Defeat and Death of the Duke his Father, was not discouraged. On the contrary, he resolved to maintain the Quarrel, let what would be the Consequence, and lose his Life, or execute his Father's Designs. After what had passed, there was no Medium, one of the two Houses must necessarily be established, upon the Ruins of the other. This Prince was then in *Wales* (9), ready to march to the Assistance of his Father. His Army was three and twenty thousand strong, besides what was left at *London*, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, for the Defence of the Metropolis. So, finding himself strong enough to go in quest of the Queen, he wished for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his Father's Death.

The Earl of
Salisbury
wounded.
Hall.
Hollingsh.The Earl of
March re-
solves to
maintain the
Quarrel.
Stow.
Hall.
1461.Hall.
Hollingsh.

Whilst the Earl of *March* was taking this Resolution, the Queen advanced towards *London*, with design to secure that great City, which alone could influence the Fortune of either Party. But hearing upon the Road, that the Earl of *March* began to move, she detached *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* (10), to oppose this new Enemy, whom she did not imagine to be so strong as he was. The Earl of *March* being informed of the Queen's Motion towards *London*, altered his Course, and instead of going to meet her, took likewise the Road to *London*, in order to prevent her. But having Advice of the Detachment sent against him, he did not think proper to come between the two Armies of his Enemies, which must have happened, had he continued his Rout. So, coming to a sudden Resolution, he returned to meet the Earl of *Pembroke*. He met him near *Mortimer's Cross* in *Herefordshire*, and as he was much superior in Number of Troops, easily defeated him, and slew three thousand eight hundred of his Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had the good Fortune to escape. But *Owen Tudor* his Father, according to some, or more probably, his younger Brother (11), being taken Prisoner, was beheaded, with several others, in revenge for the Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Queen
marches to-
wards Lon-
don, and
sends Pem-
broke a-
gainst the
Earl of
March.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Stow.Pembroke
is defeated.Owen Tudor
is beheaded.

The News of this Defeat reaching the Queen on the Road, prevented her not from continuing her March towards *London*. She believed, that appearing at the Gates of the City with a victorious Army, she should astonish the Inhabitants, that they would of themselves,

The Queen
keeps on
march to
London.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

(1) On *Decemb. 24.* Hall, fol. 182.

(2) She is said to place an Ambush on each side *Wakefield Green*, under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and the Earl of *Wiltshire*. Her main Army was led by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*. Idem. fol. 183. Stow, p. 413.

(3) Particularly Sir *Daisy Halle*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*. Hall, fol. 182.

(4) He is said to have killed that Day so many with his own Hand, that he was thenceforward called the *Butcher*. His Father, *Thomas Lord Clifford*, having been slain in the Battle of *St. Albans* by the Duke of *York*, this Lord *Clifford* (as *Grafton* says,) swore, he would not leave one Branch of the *York* Line standing. *Leland Col. Vol. 1. p. 45.*

(5) Besides the Duke of *York*, there fell in this Battle his two Bastard Uncles, Sir *John*, and Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Daisy Halle*, Sir *Hugh Hastings*, Sir *Thomas Newell*, &c. and two thousand eight hundred Persons more. Hall, fol. 183.

(6) His Corps was first interred at *Pontefract*, but afterwards in the Collegiate Church of *Fotheringhay*. The Duke of *Somerset* (his chief Opponent) said of him, That if he had not learned to play the King by his Regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject, when he returned to England. By Cecily, Daughter of *Ralph Newell* Earl of *Westmoreland*, he had, as some say, eight Sons, (*Henry*, who died young; *Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King *Edward IV.*; *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*; *John*, *William*, and *Thomas*, who all died young; *George*, Duke of *Cambridge*; and *Rubard* Duke of *Gloucester*, afterwards King *Richard III.*) and four Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 161. Summerville, p. 391, 392---402.*

(7) His Body, with that of *Alice* his Wife, sole Daughter and Heir to *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Thomas* (slain in the Battle) were, in 2 *Edw. IV.* Feb. 16, buried at *Bisham Abbey* in *Berkshire*. He had three sons, (*Rubard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Marquis of *Montague*, Sir *Thomas*, *George* Bishop of *Exeter*, Chancellor of *England*, and then Archbishop of *York*;) and five Daughters. *Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 303.*

(8) A Town in the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, famous for its Cloth Trade, Largeness, neat Buildings, Markets; and for the Bridge upon which King *Edward IV.* built a very neat Chapel, in Memory of those that were cut off in this Battle. The carved Work of Stone upon the Chapel, was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the Right-hand of the Road from *Wakefield* to *Sandal*, there is a square Plot of Ground hedged in from a Close, whereon (before the Civil War between King *Charles* and the Parliament) stood a Cross of Stone, where the Duke of *York* was slain. The Owners are obliged by Tenure to keep up that Hedge. Camden.

(9) He was then at *Gloucester*, from whence he removed to *Sherbury*. Hall, fol. 183. Hollingsh. p. 1304.

(10) And *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, with a Body of *Welsh* and *Irish*. This Battle was fought on *February 2.* Hall, fol. 183. Hollingsh. p. 1304.

(11) *Owen Tudor* the Son, was a Monk of *Wolyminster*. See above, p. 559, Note (7). Hall, fol. 184. Hollingsh. p. 1304; and Stow, p. 413, say, it was Sir *Owen Teutob* (or *Tudor*) Father of the Earl of *Pembroke*. And indeed there is no manner of Improbability or Contradiction in supposing it to have been him. For from the Year 1423, or 1424, when it is probable he was married, to 1460, there are but thirty six or thirty seven Years; and supposing he was twenty or twenty five when he married, he might very well live till 1460, and not have been a very old Man.

1461.
The Earl of
Warwick
presses out to
fight bar.

expel the Earl of *Warwick*. Indeed, the Earl himself seems to have been of that Mind, since he chose rather to go and fight the Queen, than remain in *London*; which doubtless, he would not have done, had he been secure of the City. The Queen being arrived at *St. Albans*, received certain Advice, that the Earl of *Warwick* was marching towards her with his Army, reinforced with a Body of *Londoners*, and bringing the King with him. The Queen's Army consisted of northern Troops (1), who committed such monstrous Ravages, that it was one of the chief Reasons, why the *Londoners* chose to join the Earl of *Warwick*. If these Troops had entered the City, they would have had every thing to fear from such Guests.

He is de-
fended at
Bernard's
Heath.
Feb. 17.
Hall.
Stow.

The two Armies meeting near *St. Albans*, on *Bernard's Heath*, began a Fight, which at first was very fierce on both Sides. But *Lovelace*, who commanded one of the Wings of *Warwick's* Army, either through Treachery, or for some other Reason, not engaging in time, Victory declared for the Queen, and the Vanquished lost two thousand eight hundred Men (2). She had withal the Satisfaction to free the King, whom the Earl of *Warwick* durst not venture to leave at *London*. She used her Victory with the Barbarity too common in Civil Wars, beheading several Persons of Distinction, particularly the Lord *Bonville* (3), and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, though the King had granted them their Lives. As her Troops had voluntarily lifted in her Service, without her having wherewithal to pay them, she could not hinder them, after the Victory, from plundering the Town of *St. Albans*. These northern Soldiers declared, they had taken Arms only upon the Promise of having the plunder of the Country lying South of the *Trent*. This Pretension inspired the Inhabitants of *London*, and the neighbouring Country, with a Terror very prejudicial to the Queen. Provisions being grown very scarce in her Army, by reason of the great Licentiousness of her Troops, she sent to the Mayor of *London* for a Supply, who not daring to deny her at such a Juncture, ordered several Carts to be loaded. But as they were going out of the Gate, the Mob stopped them, and told the Mayor, they would not suffer Provisions to be sent to an Army, which was come on purpose to plunder the Country. The Mayor not being able to help this Disorder, made his Excuse to the Queen (4), and gave her hopes of being received into the City, as soon as the People were appeased.

The Queen
presses the
King.

Her Troops
plunder St.
Albans.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

She demands
Provisions
of the Mayor
of London.

The Mob
opposes it.
Hall.
Stow.

The Earl of
March ap-
proaches
London.
Hall.
Stow.

The Queen
retires to-
wards the
North.

The Earl en-
ters London.
Hall.
Stow.

His Friends
refuse to
place him
on the
Throne.

Whilst the Queen at *St. Albans* was treating with the Mayor of *London*, the Earl of *March* was advancing with all possible diligence, to inspire the *Londoners* with a Resolution to keep their Gates shut against the Queen, on account of the approaching Assistance. And indeed, the News of his March did not a little contribute to prolong the Negotiation between the Queen and the Mayor, which ruined her Affairs. When she heard, the Earl of *March* was approaching, and had strengthened his Army, with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick's* (5), she chose to retire into the North. Besides that she was inferior to her Enemy, she was justly apprehensive of not being received into *London*, in case she advanced that way, and of being obliged to join Battle at the Gates of the City, too well inclined to favour her Enemy.

The Earl of *March*, overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily gave him up the Metropolis, entered as it were in Triumph, the beginning of *March* (6). He was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens, who, several Years since, had very near declared against the Court. The Caution wherewith the late Duke of *York* had thought fit to proceed, had been so much to his Prejudice, that his Son's Friends judged it absolutely necessary to place him at once in the Throne. After sundry Consultations, they resolved not to be exposed to the Delays of a Parliament, but to proceed to an extraordinary Election, first by the People, and then by the Nobles. They were of opinion, this Method could be justified by the Act of Parliament, confirming the Agreement between the King and the Duke of *York*, and that it was unnecessary to stay for a fresh Confirmation.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* (7) drew up his Army in *St. John's* Fields, in the midst of Throngs of People, whom ordering to be cast into a Ring round him, he read aloud the Agreement between

the King and the Duke of *York*, with the Act of Parliament, whereby it was confirmed. That done, he told the People, *Henry* had notoriously violated this Agreement, and so forfeited, according to the Act of Parliament, his Right to the Crown. But after all, I do not see upon what foundation he could charge the King with the Queen's Proceedings, since he was all the while as a Prisoner at *London*: Neither was he any more his own Master, after he was with the Queen. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Warwick* raising his Voice, asked the People, who stood round him, whether they would have *Henry of Lancaster* for King? The whole Multitude crying out, *No, No*: He asked, whether according to that Settlement, they would have *Edward, Son of the late Duke of York*, to reign over them? To which, all the People answered with Acclamations, expressing their Consent.

This first Step being made, and the People's Mind being, as was pretended, sufficiently known, a great Council was called of all the Bishops, Lords, Gentlemen and Magistrates, in and about *London* (8). *Edward* being present in this Assembly, set forth his Title to the Crown, as well by Birth, as by the fore-mentioned Agreement, and desired it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldness, to dispute his Pretension at such a Juncture. So, with one Consent the Assembly declared, that *Henry of Lancaster* having forfeited his Right of enjoying the Crown during Life, by the Breach of the solemn Agreement made with the Duke of *Edward*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*. Upon this Declaration, the Crown was offered the Duke, who accepted it, modestly confessing his Insufficiency; and adding, that though his Youth and Inexperience made him apprehensive of taking upon him so weighty a Charge, he would however, with God's Assistance, use his utmost Endeavors to render his People happy. On the Morrow (9), he went in Procession to *St. Paul's*, [and from thence, was conducted in great State to *Westminster-Hall*,] where he sat in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his Hand (10). The Archbishop of *Canterbury* having asked the People, whether they would have *Edward* Earl of *March* for King; the People answered with loud Acclamations. Then, the King took the Homage of the Lords that were present. The Ceremony concluding with singing *Te Deum*, *Edward* was conducted with great Solemnity to the Bishop's Palace, where *Henry* used to lodge, when he was within the Walls of the City. Next Day, being the 5th of *March*, he was proclaimed in *London*, and the neighboring Towns, by the Name of *Edward* IV.

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry* VI, which had lasted thirty-eight Years and a Half, without his ever intermeddling with the Administration of the publick Affairs. It does not even appear, that he was, upon any occasion, much moved with Events; which however were, for the most Part, such as would affect a Prince of a different Character. He was fitter for a private Life, than a Crown. His great and only Defect was a natural Imbecillity, which rendered him incapable to govern of himself. Ever ruled by those who managed the Affairs in his Name, his Capacity reached not to see the Consequences of the Counsels given him, which to him seemed always good. Herein, he was different from the King his Father, whose Genius was always superior to that of his Ministers. As to the rest, he was chaste, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring Injustice and Cruelty. It was these Virtues that have served for Foundation to the Praises bestowed on him by several Historians, and which have made some consider him as a true Saint. Indeed, these Virtues would have rendered him an accomplished Prince, had they been attended with the Qualifications of a Sovereign. But being alone, they served only to make him an honest Man, and withal, a very indifferent King, not to say worse. His Incapacity rendered him contemptible to his Subjects. But the Innocency of his Life, never suffered their Contempt to turn into Hatred.

During the first Years of his Reign, his Affairs were in a prosperous State, because they were managed by the

1461.

Assembly of
the chief
Men who
adjudged
him the
Crown.
Hall.
Stow.

Hall.

End of
Henry's
Reign.

His Character.

Causes of the
decay of the
English Af-
fairs in
Henry VI's
Reign.

(1) Welsh, Scots, and Irish, besides English. Stow, p. 413.

(2) Two thousand three hundred; and no Man of Note among them, except Sir *John Grey* of *Gruby*, first Husband of *Elizabeth Woodville*, married afterwards to King *Edward* IV. Hall, fol. 184. Hollingsh. p. 1305. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I p. 719.

(3) He was one of those who had the Custody of the King after he was taken at *St. Albans*, and had played with him at his Request, and upon Promise of being free. Hall, fol. 184. Stow, ibid.

(4) By the Recorder, the Duchess of Bedford, the Lady *Scals*, and some Bishops. Hollingsh. p. 306. Hall, fol. 184.

(5) Which he met at *Chipping-norton* in *Oxfordshire*. Ibid. Stow, p. 414.

(6) February 28. Stow, ibid.

(7) This was done on *March* 2, by the Lord *Faulconbridge*, who took the Musters. See Hall, fol. 185. Stow, p. 415. Hollingsh. p. 1307.

(8) Which met at *Baynard's Castle*. Hall, &c. ibid.

(9) *March* 4. Hall, fol. 185.

(10) Then he went in Procession, under a Canopy, to the Abbey, and was placed in the Choir as King, whilst *Te Deum* was sung; after which he made the usual Offerings. That done, he returned by Water to *St. Paul's*, and lodged in the Bishop's Palace. Ibid. fol. 185. Stow, p. 415. Rapin, by mistake says, he sat in the King's Seat at *St. Paul's*, with the Scepter in his Hand.

1461. Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester his Uncles, Princes of great Abilities, and who had his Interest at Heart. And, if even in their Life-time, his Affairs began to decline, it may be said to be owing, not so much to their Fault, as to some unforeseen Accidents, which all the Prudence in the World could not have prevented. After the Death of the Duke of Bedford, Henry suffered himself to be governed by the Cardinal of Winchester, and the Duke of Suffolk; who, acting not by the same Motives, and regarding only their own Affairs, completed his Ruin. Afterwards, Queen Margaret by her uncommon Abilities, might have restored his Affairs, but the King's Glory, and the Nation's Interest, were least in her Thoughts. Her sole View, was to grasp all the Power, and use the King's Name to authorize her Passions. The Ministers she employed, were all of the same Character. It is not therefore strange, that the King's Affairs should run so swiftly into Confusion. The Death of the Duke of Gloucester, will be an indelible Stain in Margaret's Reputation, and unhappily, this Crime reflected but too much upon the King himself, since he had not the resolution to oppose it, or punish the Authors. Accordingly, it was manifest, that Heaven took publick Vengeance of this Murder, by the Civil Wars which ensued, and which occasioned the Ruin of the King, the Queen, the Prince their Son, and the whole House of Lancaster.

Henry VI. was thirty-nine Years and about a Quarter old, when he was dispossessed of a Crown, which he had enjoyed almost from his very Birth (1). He still lived long enough to be the sport of Fortune, as will be seen in the following Reign. Edward his Son, Prince of Wales, was in his nineteenth Year, at the time of this Catastrophe (2).

(1) In the first Parliament of his Reign the Queen-Mother came and sat among the Lords, with the young King in her Lap.
 (2) The most remarkable Things during this Reign were these: The Art of Printing being found out at Mentz in Germany by John Gutenberg, was brought into England by William Caxton of London Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abbey of Westminster, in 1471. Hall, fol. 170. Stow's Ann. p. 404.
 In the 23d Year of this Reign it was enacted in Parliament, That when Wheat was sold for six Shillings and Eight-pence the Quarter; Rye for four Shillings; and Barley for three Shillings; it should be lawful to export the said Kinds of Corn into foreign Parts without Licence.----- In the Year 1454, there was such Plenty of Corn, that a Quarter of Wheat was commonly sold for twelve or fourteen-pence; and a Quarter of Malt for fifteen or seventeen-pence at most. Stow's Ann. p. 398.
 Queen Margaret began Queen's College in Cambridge, which was finished by Edward IV's Queen her Enemy.---- Archbishop Kemp built the Divinity-School at Oxford, as it now stands, and St. Paul's Cross.---- William Eaffield Mayor of London, built at his own Charge the Water-Conduit in Fleet-street; and John Wells Mayor of London, the Conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap.---- In the Year 1446, Sir Simon Eyre Mayor of London, built Leaden-hall, to be a common Garner for the City. Stow's Survey, B. V. p. 120.---- In 1453, Sir John Norman, Mayor of the same, went by Water to Westminster to take his Oath; being the first that went in that manner. For before that time they rode on Horseback. Idem. p. 121.

I. In this and the two foregoing Reigns, the Parliament was reformed in many Particulars, as appears by the Statutes. First, in point of Elections, the Parliament 7 Henry IV, and (25 Henry VI,) ordained, "That the Election of Knights shall be at the next County-Court, after the Writ delivered to the Sheriff, and that the Names of the Persons elected shall be returned by Indenture between the Sheriff and the Electors." This the Sheriff was to do, under Penalty of one hundred Pound, and a Year's Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize, besides Damages for false Returns, (11 Henry IV. 8 Henry VI. 23 Henry VI.) Thus the Election was reduced, but the Persons were not as yet, for hitherto any Englishman had right to give or receive a Vote, wherefore he resided. But (1 Hen. V.) (8 Hen. VI.) the Parliament reduced these also to their proper Counties, or else rendered them incapable to vote or serve for any County: And the like Order was made for the Burroughs, (23 Henry VI.) "That no Person must serve for any City or Burrough, nor give vote in electing such as shall serve for that Town, unless they be both Free and Resiants within that City or Burrough." This was a reasonable Law, for the Times of Henry IV had taught Men, That a King that hath Soldiers dispersed over the Kingdom, can easily sway the County-Courts, and make such Parliaments as they please. However, this was not enough: For all Electors, though of the meanest sort, could do as much hurt with their Vote, as those of the best sort could do good by theirs. This made Elections much subject to Confusions and Parties, and rendered the Parliament less considerable. Hence (in 8 Hen. VI.) it was ordained, "That no Man should give his Vote in Elections in the County, unless he had forty Shillings yearly in free Lands or Tenements, and this is to be testified upon Oath of the Party." And more plainly, two Years after (10 Hen. VI.) it was ordered, "That the said Lands should be within the County." Thus the Free-men yielded up their Liberty of Election to the Free-holders, possibly not knowing what they did. But this change was no less good than great. 1st, It prevented Parties, Tumults, and Bloodshed; for the Preface of the Statute shows, the meanest held himself as good a Man, as the greatest in the County. 2dly, Where the Multitude prevails, the meaner sort are superior; and these (generally ignorant,) cannot judge of Persons, nor Times; but being, for the most part, led by Faction or Affection, rather than by right Understanding, make such Elections as are either inconvenient, or injurious to the State. 3dly, There is no less Equity in the Change than Policy. For what can be more reasonable, than that those Men only should have their Votes in Election of the Common-Council of the Kingdom, whose Estates are chargeable with the publick Taxes and Assessments, and with the Wages of those Persons that are chosen for the publick service? But above all, this advancing of the Free-holders was beneficial to the Freeman of England, though perhaps they considered it not. First, It abated the Power of the Lords and great Men, who held the inferior sort at their Devotion, and much of their Possessions by their Will. 2dly, It raised the Spirit of the meaner sort to publick Regards, and by a kind of Ambition, to aspire to the Degree of a Freeholder, in order to be somewhat in the Commonwealth. And thus leaving the meanest Rank, rack'd to the very Dregs, they become less considerable, and more subject to the coercive Power; whilst, in the mean time, the Freeholder, now advanced to the Degree of a Yeoman, becomes no less careful to maintain Correspondency with the Laws, than he was industrious to attain his Degree. Lastly, To bind all the rest, a negative Law was made, (23 Hen. VI.) That the Persons elected in the County, must not be of the Degree of a Yeoman, but of the most noted Knights, Esquires, or Gentlemen of the County, which tacitly implies, it was too common to advance those of the meaner sort. The Person thus agreed upon, his Entertainment must be accordingly; and therefore the manner of taxing in full County, and levying the Rate of Wages for their Maintenance, is reformed and settled (23 Hen. VI.) And lastly, their Persons are put under the Protection of the Law in an especial manner; and a penal Law is made (11 Hen. VI.) against Force upon their Persons, either in going to, or attending the Parliament. Thus, even in these Times of Confusion, a Foundation was laid of a more uniform Government in future Times, than England hitherto had seen.



II. In the first Year of Henry VI, A Pound weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into forty five Rials of ten Shillings, or a proportionable Number of Half-Rials, and Quarter, or Farthing-Rials, at five Shillings, and two Shillings and six Pence. These Rials give him crowned with an imperial Crown, seated on the Throne, with a Scepter and Globe, inscribed, HENRICUS. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRAN. DNS. H. B. Reverse, the Arms of France and England, quarterly, IHESUS. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. &c. (See Fig. 1.) By the same Indenture, instead of Nobles, and Half-Nobles, were coined sixty seven and a half to the Pound, Angels, at six Shillings and eight Pence, or a proportionable Number of Angelets, at three Shillings and four Pence. Consequently the Pound Troy, was coined into twenty two Pounds ten Shillings, by Tale. The Angels were impressed with Michael and the Dragon, HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRA. Reverse, a Shield, with the Arms of France and England quartered, in a Ship, having a Cross for a Mast, on one Side the Letter H, on the other the Rose. PER. CRUCE. TVA. SALVA. NOS. XRE. RED. (See Fig. 2.) The Salut was a French Coin, like his Father's, and very much resembled the Silver Groat, which he likewise coined in that Kingdom, saving that the Groats wanted the Angel and Virgin over the Shield, and instead of CHRISTVS. VINCIT. had SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENEDICTVM. By the Indenture of the same first Year of Henry VI, the Silver Money was of the old Standard, one hundred and twelve Groats to the Pound, making in Tale thirty seven Shillings and six Pence, or a proportionable Number of Half-Groats, Sterlings, Half-Pence, and Farthings. These are distinguished from all his Predecessors, by the Crown; he being the first of our Monarchs that bore the arched Crown, with Globe and Cross upon it. (See Fig. 3.) These were most coined at London, but there were other Mints at York, Bristol, and Dunwich, Dublin, Canterbury, and at York with the Keys. The Half penny has likewise the King's Head very fair. H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPA. By Indenture, the fourth of this Reign, the Value of Gold was brought down again to sixteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and the Silver to thirty Shillings. By another Indenture of the last Year of this Reign, it was raised again to thirty seven Shillings and six Pence, and so continued for near fifty Years. In the thirty seventh of this Reign, Brass Money was first coined in Ireland, but there is no perfect Account from any Author that has ever seen it.

A DISSERTATION on the MAID of ORLEANS.

THE Actions of *JOAN of ARC*, commonly called the *Maid of Orleans*, made formerly a great Noise in the World. We find them dispersed in the Histories of *France* and *England*, with Circumstances all favouring of Prodigy. Most of the Writers upon this Subject have scarce left their Readers the Liberty of reasoning and judging. They have expressly decided, some, that *Joan of Arc* was inspired by God, others, that she was an Instrument of the Devil. But even in this Difference, they all agree to insinuate, that what she did could not be performed without a supernatural Assistance. However, impartial and unprejudiced Readers find great Difficulties in both these Opinions. As they do not see wherein Religion can be concerned in *Joan's* Actions, they think it equally hard to believe, that God should either supernaturally raise this Maid in favour of *Charles VII.*, or give the Devil an extraordinary Power to make her his Instrument to ruin the Affairs of the *English* in *France*. Hence several have been induced to embrace a third Opinion; namely, That the pretended Inspiration of *Joan of Arc*, was only a Contrivance thought proper to produce the Effect, it did indeed produce. This Diversity of Opinions, joined to the Marvellous visible in the Actions of a Country Girl, very naturally raises a Curiosity to know what may be relied on. Wherefore I am persuaded, it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine this matter, with the sole view of discovering, as far as possible, the Truth. As I design to be as brief as the thing will allow, omitting the Learning such a Subject is capable of, I shall only relate the Facts and Testimonies which may clear this Affair, and afterwards make some Remarks upon the whole. They who are impatient to pursue the History of *England*, may dispense with reading this Dissertation, without fear of losing any thing absolutely necessary to be known.

It must first be observed, that we have but one single cotemporary Author, who gives an Account of the *Maid of Orleans*. All the After-writers have added something to what he relates, in order to embellish their History. *Monstrelet* is the Author I mean. He was one of the Retinue of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and had himself seen this Girl. But he is extremely reserved in what he says. He never gives his own Opinion, and the Reason is very evident. For *Joan* making her appearance when the Duke of *Burgundy* was in Alliance with *England*, *Monstrelet*, with all of that Party, did not believe her inspired. But as he writ not his Chronicle till after the Duke was reconciled to King *Charles*, he thought it not proper to combat in his Writings the general Opinion of the *French*, who were then his Master's Friends. On the other hand, as probably, in changing his Party, he had not changed his Opinion of *Joan*, he took care to say nothing, to make it thought he was under the same Prejudice with the rest of the *French*. It seems to me therefore that *Monstrelet* may be taken for a Guide, who, whatever his Opinion was, has said nothing to render him suspected. The truth is, he never says either that *Joan* was, or was not inspired.

The same Author has inserted in his Chronicle a Letter written in the Name of *Henry VI* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with what passed at the Trial and Condemnation of the *Maid of Orleans*. This Letter might be justly suspected of Partiality, if the Facts it contains did not, for the most part, agree with the Records of the Trial mentioned hereafter. So, this Letter is a farther means to help us to discover the Truth.

We have a third means which is both the amplest and most considerable, namely, *Joan's* Examination and Answers, of which the famous *Stephen Pasquier* has given us the Particulars. *Pasquier* says, he had *Joan's* original Trial four whole years in his hands, and what he has related was faithfully extracted. But we must carefully distinguish what *Pasquier* says as of himself, from the Records of the Trial. He was so prejudiced in favour of *Joan*, that he could not help being angry with those of his Countrymen, who did not believe her inspired. He says,

they were worse than the *English*, and extremely injurious to the Honour of *France*. So, considering only his private Opinion, he may be said to have justly rendered himself suspected to one of the Parties. But the Trial itself is an original Piece beyond all Suspicion, since we find there Word for Word, *Joan's* own Answers to the Articles she was examined upon.

Monstrelet's Chronicle, the King of *England's* Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Trial of the Maid, are the three Evidences which must be examined, in order to pass a true Judgment upon this Affair. As to the Facts dispersed in the Histories of *France* and *England*, which are not drawn from these three Fountains, I do not think they ought to be much regarded. It is evident that the Historians have copied, without any previous Examination, those that writ before them, and that several have industriously embellished their Subject, by relating more Wonders than there really were. If some are to be credited, *Joan* worked Miracles, foretold future Events, knew Secrets unknown to all but the King, her Heart was found whole and entire amongst the Ashes of her funeral Pile, and out of the Flames which consumed her Body, was seen to fly a white Dove, the Emblem of her Chastity. According to these Historians, *Joan* had the Command of the Convoy which entered *Orleans*, and led the Besieged to the Assault of the *English* Forts. By her sole Advice the Battle of *Patay* was fought, and to her Valour the *French* were indebted for their Victory. In a word, they pretend *Joan* did all, and leave King *Charles's* Generals only the Honour of following her, and fighting under her Banner. In all this they doubtless exceed the Truth. The surest way is to keep to the three forementioned Authorities, which it will be necessary to examine. I shall begin with *Monstrelet*, and cite some Passages of his Chronicle, essential to the Point in hand, for it would be tedious to copy all he has said concerning the Maid.

" Now in the Year above-mentioned, came to the *Monstrelet*
King at *Chinon*, where he resided, a young Damfel V. 11.
" about twenty Years old (1), called *Joan*, cloathed f. 1. 4.
" dressed like a Man. She was born in the Parts between
" *Lorraine* and *Burgundy*, at a Place called *Droimy* (2),
" not far from *Vaucouleur*. This *Joan* was long a
" Servant at an Inn, and had the Courage to ride the
" Horses to Water, and likewise to perform other Feats
" which young Girls are not used to do. Being turned
" away, she was sent to the King by a certain Knight
" called Sir *Robert de Baudrencourt*, Captain under the
" King, at *Vaucouleur*, who furnished her with Horses,
" and four or five Attendants. She stiled herself *Pucelle*
" [or Maid,] inspired with divine Grace, and said she
" was sent to the King, to put him in possession of his
" Kingdom, of which he was wrongfully deprived. She
" was in a very mean Condition. She was about two
" Months in the King's Palace, whom she several times
" admonished to furnish her with Men and Aid, and
" she would repulse his Enemies, and exalt his Domi-
" nion. In the mean time, the King and his Council
" gave no great Credit to whatever she said, but took her
" for a Mad-Woman, and not well in her Senses. For
" to so great Princes and other Noblemen, such or the
" like Words are very doubtful and dangerous, as well on
" account of the Wrath of our Lord chiefly, as of the
" Slander from the Talk of the World. All her Words
" were in the Name of God; and therefore many of
" those that saw and heard her speak, were strongly per-
" suaded she was, as she herself said, inspired by God.
" She was several times examined by notable Clerks and
" other learned Men of great Authority, that her Inten-
" tion might be more fully known. But she always kept
" to her Point, saying, if the King would believe her,
" she would restore him to his Dominions. — When she
" came before the King, there were present the Duke of
" *Alençon*, the King's Marshal, and several Generals.
" For the King had held a Council concerning the Siege
" of *Orleans*, and from thence went to *Poitiers*, and this

(1) She was then twenty seven Years of Age; for in her Examination in the Year 1431, she declared she was twenty nine Years old, consequently when she came to the King in 1429, she was twenty seven Years of Age. *Rapin.*

(2) It should be read *Dampre*. *Rapin.*

" Maid with him. Shortly after, the Marshal was ordered
" to carry Provisions and other Necessaries to Orleans.
" Joan would go with him, and requested she might have
" a Suit of Armour and Man's Cloaths, which she was
" furnished withal. Presently after, she set up her Stan-
" dard and went to Blois, where the Rendezvous was,
" and from thence to Orleans with the rest. She was
" always completely armed. In this Expedition many
" came and lifted under her. And when she was arrived
" at Orleans, she was made very welcome, and many
" People were overjoyed at her coming."

This is all *Monstrelet* says of the Maid, to her Entry
into Orleans. It may be observed, it was not she that
commanded the Convoy, but only that she attended the
Marshal with some who had lifted under her. As to the
storming of the Forts, it seems at first from what he says
of it, that Joan commanded in all the Sallies. But after-
wards he says: " And notwithstanding that in these three
" Assaults, Joan is reported by common Fame to have
" had the chief Command, yet all or most part of the
" noble Knights and Captains were in them, who during
" the Siege, were in the City of Orleans, and behaved,
" each for his Part, valiantly, as Warriors ought to do on
" such Occasions." He does not fail however, highly to
commend her Valour in several Places. For instance,
speaking of the March of the French Army after the rais-
ing of the Siege of Orleans, he says: " Joan was ever in
" the Front before her Standard. And in all the March-
" es, her Fame was spread, as if there had been no other
" Warrior but herself."

After his Description of the Battle of Patay, he adds
these Words; " and especially Joan acquired on such
" occasions so great Praise and Reputation, that all People
" imagined, the King's Enemies would be no longer able
" to resist her, and that shortly by her means the King
" would be restored to his whole Kingdom."

In fine, not to cite too many Passages of this Author, it
will suffice to observe in a word, that when he mentions
the Inspiration of the Maid, he never says what he him-
self thinks, but always, that she called her self inspired.
He is so very cautious, that in speaking what the Duke of
Burgundy said to her, when he went to see her after she
was taken, he pretends not to remember it, though he was
himself an Ear-Witness. His Words are these: " The
" Duke went to see her at the Place where she was lodg'd,
" and spoke to her some Words, which I have forgot,
" tho' I was present." It is easy to see, the Duke's Words
were Reproaches for seducing the People, and Menaces
upon that account. But *Monstrelet* chuses rather to be
silent, than to say any thing *pro or con*.

He relates moreover, that a few days before Joan threw
her self into Compiègne, she had fought a Captain of the
Duke of Burgundy's called *Franquet d'Arras*, and having
taken him Prisoner, cut off his Head. But he does not
say whether justly or not, contenting himself with relating
the Fact, without giving his Opinion.

When he comes at last to her Condemnation, he so ex-
presses himself, that he does not discover his own Sentiments.
He only transcribes the King of England's Letter
to the Duke of Burgundy upon that occasion. As that Let-
ter is an Original which may help to discover the Truth,
it will be proper to insert it at length.

Most Dear and Well-beloved Uncle.

" THE servent Affection which we are sensible you
" have, as a true Catholick, for our Holy Mother
" Church, and for the Advancement of our Faith, justly
" exhorts and admonishes us to notify to you in writing,
" what, to the Honour of our said Holy Mother Church,
" to the strengthening of our Faith, and to the Extirpa-
" tion of pestilent Errors, has been lately in this our City
" of Roan solemnly transacted.

" It is now well known almost every where by com-
" mon Fame, how the Woman who called herself Joan
" the Maid, had, for above these two Years, contrary to
" the divine Law, and the Condition of her Sex, wan-
" dered about in Man's Clothes, a thing abominable to
" God, and in such Dress brought to our and your
" mortal Enemy; and to whom and to those of his Party,
" Churchmen, Nobles and Commons, she frequently in-
" timated, she was sent from God; presumptuously boast-
" ing to have personally and visibly conversed with
" St. Michael, and great Numbers of Angels and Saints
" of Paradise, as St. Catherine and St. Margaret. By
" this false Intimation, and the Promise of future Victo-
" ries, she turned the Hearts of many Men and Women
" from the Truth, to Fables and Lies. She likewise
" wore Arms appointed for Knights and Squires, and set
" up a Standard. Moreover, she demanded with great
" Boldness, Pride and Presumption, to bear the most ex-

" cellent Arms of France, which she partly obtained, and
" bore in several Incurfions and Assaults, as did her Bro-
" thers also, according to Report: Namely, Azure, Two
" Flower-de-Luces, Or, and a Sword, the Point up-
" wards, fermed with a Crown. In this State, she took
" the Field, and led Men at Arms and Archers in Bands
" and great Companies, to commit and exercise inhuman
" Cruelties, by shedding human Blood, by raising Sedi-
" tions and Commotions among the People, leading them
" into Perjury, Rebellion, Superstition and erroneous
" Opinions; by disturbing all true Peace, and renewing
" mortal Wars; by suffering herself to be honoured and
" revered of many as a Saint; and by working other
" damnable Deeds, too tedious to relate, which however
" were well known in several Places, and at which almost
" all Christendom was offended. But God taking Pity
" on his faithful People, and not suffering them to remain
" long in Danger, nor to continue in vain, pernicious,
" and novel Opinions, which they had rashly embraced,
" has permitted, through his great Goodness and Mercy,
" that this Woman should be taken in your Army at the
" Siege you were carrying on at Compiègne, and by your
" good means put into our Power. And because we were
" immediately required by the Bishop of the Diocese
" where she was taken, to deliver over to him as her
" Ordinary Ecclesiastical Judge, this same Joan branded
" with the Crime of High-Treason against the Divine
" Majesty; we, as well out of Reverence to our Holy
" Mother Church, whose Ordinances we justly prefer
" to our own Will and Pleasure, as also for the Honour
" and Exaltation of our Holy Faith, delivered her to him
" to be brought to her Trial, without suffering our secu-
" lar Judges to take Vengeance upon her, as we might
" lawfully have done, considering the great Damages
" and Mischiefs, the horrible Murders, and detestable
" Cruelties, with innumerable other Crimes, she had com-
" mitted against us and our dutiful loyal People. The
" Bishop joined with him the Vicar of the Inquisitor of
" Errors and Heresies: And calling in with them a great
" and notable Number of solemn Masters and Doctors
" in Divinity and Canon-Law, commenced with great
" Solemnity and due Gravity the Process of this Joan.
" After he and the Inquisitor, Judges in the Cause, had
" for several Days examined her, they ordered her Con-
" fessions and Assertions to be maturely considered by the
" Masters and Doctors, and in general by all the Faculties
" of our most dearly beloved Daughter the University of
" Paris, before whom the Confessions and Assertions were
" laid. By their Opinion and Determination, the
" Judges found Joan guilty of Superstition, Witchcraft,
" Blasphemy against God and his Saints, Schism, and of
" greatly erring in the Faith of Jesus Christ. And in
" order to restore her to the Union and Communion of
" our Holy Mother Church, to cleanse her from her
" horrible and pernicious Crimes and Wickedness, and
" to preserve her Soul from eternal Damnation, she was
" frequently and long, very charitably and calmly admo-
" nished, to reject and cast away all her Errors; and
" humbly return to the Way and Paths of Truth, or
" otherwise she would greatly endanger both Soul and
" Body.

" But the most pernicious and divided Spirit of Pride
" and outrageous Presumption, which is always endea-
" vouring to destroy the Union and Safety of Christians,
" so strongly possessed this same Joan, that notwithstand-
" ing all the holy Doctrine or Counsel, or other mild
" Exhortation, administered to her; her hardened and
" obstinate Heart would not be humbled or mollified. She
" still boasted, that all she had done was performed by
" the Command of God and the Holy Virgin, who had
" visibly appeared to her. And what is worse, she would
" recognize no Judge on Earth, except God alone, and
" the Saints in Paradise; rejecting the Judgment of our
" holy Father the Pope, and of a General Council, and
" the Universal Church Militant. Whereupon, her Ec-
" clesiastical Judges seeing her persevere so long, and so
" obstinately in her Resolution and Purpose, ordered her
" to be conducted to the Church, before the Clergy
" and People, there assembled in great Multitudes; in
" the presence of whom her wicked Purposes were set
" forth, exposed and declared, solemnly and publicly,
" by a notable Doctor in Divinity; to the Exaltation of
" our Faith, the Extirpation of Errors, the Edification
" and Amendment of Christian People. After that, she
" was charitably admonished to return to the Union of
" Holy Church, and reform her Faults and Errors,
" wherein she was hardened. And therefore, the Judges
" proceeded to denounce upon her, the usual and custo-
" mary Sentence in such Cases. But before the Sentence
" was fully declared, she seemingly began to relent, cry-
" ing out, she would return to Holy Church. This was
" readily and gladly heard by the Judges and Clergy,
" who

“ who kindly received her, hoping by that means, her Soul and Body would be saved from Perdition and Torment. Then she submitted to the Ordinance of Holy Church, abjured with her own Mouth her Errors and detestable Crimes, and made a publick Recantation, signing the Instrument with her own Hand. And thus, our compassionate Mother Holy Church, rejoicing over this penitent Sinner, glad to find and restore this strayed and lost Sheep to the rest of the Fold, condemned her to do Penance in Prison. But hardly was she there, before the Fire of her Pride, which seemed to be extinguished, re-kindled into pestiferous Flames by the Suggestions of the Enemy. And presently, the unfortunate *Joan* relapsed into her former Errors and Follies, lately abjured and recanted.

“ For this reason, according to the Decrees and Orders of Holy Church, she was again publicly preached, that she might not hereafter infect the rest of the Members of Christ. And, as she was relapsed into her wonted wretched Crimes and Faults, she was delivered over to the secular Arm, and condemned to be burnt. Perceiving her end to approach, she plainly owned and confessed, that the Spirits which, she said, appeared to her several times, were evil and lying Spirits, and that their frequent Promises to free her, were false. So she acknowledged, she had been deceived and mocked by these Spirits, and pursuant to her Sentence, was carried bound to the old Market-Place in *Roan*, and publicly burnt in the Sight of all the People.”

Before we proceed to her Trial, it will not be amiss to see a Letter, said to be sent by her, to the King of *England* and his Generals, before the Siege of *Orleans* was raised. You have it as follows, in the Words of *John de Serres*, a *French* Historian.

King of ENGLAND,

“ Do Justice to the King of Heaven, in his Royal Blood. Restore to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Cities you have forced. She is come from God to demand the Blood Royal, and is ready to make Peace, if you are willing to do Justice, and restore what you have taken away. King of *England*, if you will not do thus, I am chief of the War. In what Place soever I find your Men in *France*, I will make them depart, whether they will or no. If they will submit, I will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from the King of Heaven, to drive you out of *France*. If you will not obey, she will make such a Havock, as has not been known in *France* this thousand Years. And be assured, the King of Heaven will send to her and her good Men at Arms, greater strength than you can have. Go in God's Name into your own Country. Persist not obstinately in your Opinion; for you shall not hold *France* of the King of Heaven, Son of the Holy *Mary*. But King *Charles* the right Heir shall possess it, to whom God has given it, and he shall enter *Paris* with a noble Train. You, *William Poullet* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John* Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, Lieutenants of the Duke of *Bethford*, and you Duke of *Bethford*, styling yourself Regent of *France*, spare innocent Blood. Leave *Orleans* at Liberty. If you do not Justice to those you have injured, the *French* will perform the noblest Exploit that ever was done in Christendom. Hear this Advice from God and the Virgin.”

This Letter, writ in a prophetick Style, by a Girl who pretended to be sent from God, and appears so certain of the Future, ought to contain nothing but what was afterwards found to be exactly true. And yet, there are Predictions in it, which were never accomplished. For instance, it is not true, that she drove one single *Englishman* out of *France*. She farther affirms, she will make so great a Havock, as had not been known this thousand Years in *France*. These Words can relate only to the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Battle of *Patay*. But the first of these Actions has nothing in itself extraordinary. That a Garrison should make a Sally and drive the Besiegers from their Posts, is a thing too common to be reckoned a Miracle. As to the Battle of *Patay*, supposing *Joan* had commanded the *French* Army, which she did not, can that Action be said to deserve to be expressed in the Terms she uses? The *English* had only six thousand, and lost two thousand five hundred. That Defeat hardly bears any Proportion to those of the *French* at *Creffy*, *Poitiers*, *Azincourt*, the first of which, was but a hundred Years before *Joan's* time, and the last but thirteen or fourteen.

It is further remarkable, That in her Letter, she speaks as if she were actually at the Head of the Armies of *France*, since she summoned the King of *England*, to re-

turn her the Keys of all the Towns in his Possession. And yet, the Letter must have been writ whilst she was only upon the March, with the Convoy designed for *Orleans*; which instead of commanding, she obtained, says *Monstrelet*, as a sort of favor, leave to accompany. I say nothing of her speaking to the King of *England*, as if then a grown Person, though he was but nine Years old, exhorting him not to persist in his Opinion, nor of her admonishing him to depart out of *France*, though he was then in *England*; these things may be passed over as being in a prophetick Style, and taken as so many Figures of Speech. But she should at least have known the Names of those she addressed herself to, and not have called the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Poullet*, when his Name was *de la Pole*. To mistake the Name of Foreigners, may be easily excused in common Persons: But I do not know whether it is pardonable in one, who pretended to speak in the Name, and by the Authority of God. These, and several other Reasons, which it would be tedious to insist upon, induce me to believe, this Letter was composed after the Event, by some Person, that knew the *Maid* had really writ to the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Bedford*, as we shall see presently.

Let us proceed now to the Process of *Joan of Arc*, as we find it in *Pasquier*. I say to the Process, and not to the Sentiment of that Author, who lived too long after her, for his Testimony to be of any great Weight. It suffices to say with regard to him, that he every where speaks of her with great Commendations, and believed she was really inspired, and sent from God to save *France*. Here follows her Examination and Answers, which I shall abridge as much as possible, without obscuring the Sense.

In the first Place, being charged to speak the Truth, she replied, she would say what concerned her Father and Mother, but not disclose the Revelations she had told King *Charles*, though in eight Days she should know whether she might or no.

To the second Question, concerning her Name and Family, she answered, she was of the Village of *Dompré*, was called in her own Country *Jeanette*, but in *France*, *Joan of Arc*. That her Father's Name was *James of Arc*, and her Mother's *Isabella*, &c.

That she was then about twenty nine Years old.

That she was by Trade a Seamstress and Spinster, and not a Shepherdess.

That she went every Year to Confession.

That she frequently heard a Voice from Heaven, and in the Place where she heard it, saw also a Light, which she took for an Angel. That the Voice had often warned her to go into *France*, and raise the Siege of *Orleans*. That she should go to *Robert de Baudricourt*, Captain of *Vaucouleurs*, who would give her a Guard to conduct her, which she did accordingly.

She added; she knew, God loved the Duke of *Orleans*, and she had received more Revelations concerning him, than any Person living, except the King.

Item. She confessed she was engaged in a Skirmish before *Paris*, on a Holy-day, and being asked whether that was Right, she answered, *Go on*.

Being asked when she heard the Voice last, she replied, Yesterday, three times; in the Morning; at the time of *Vespers*; and when the *Ave Maria* Bell rung in the Evening.

Being asked, whether she had ever seen any Fairies, she answered, *No*; but that one of her God-Mothers pretended to have seen some at the Fairy-Tree, near the Village of *Dompré*.

Being examined who they were that spoke to her, she answered, *St. Catherine*, and *St. Margaret*, and she had frequently seen and touched them since she was in Prison, and kissed the Ground on which they trod. Moreover, that she consulted them about her Answers.

She said further, she had put on Man's Cloaths by the express Command of God, and was wounded in the Neck before *Orleans*.

Item. That, within seven Years, the *English* should leave a greater Pledge than that before *Orleans*, and lose all they possessed in *France*.

That they should sustain in *France* a much greater Loss, than what they had yet done, by means of a great Victory, which the *French* should gain over them.

Being asked, whether she bore any Coat of Arms, she answered, *No*, but only her Standard. That it was true, the King had given her Brothers a Coat of Arms; namely, in a Field *Azure*, two Flower-de-luces, Or, and a Crown in the Middle.

She added, that her Father dreamt she would go with the Soldiers, and for that Reason kept her short, and said, he had rather see her crowned.

Then she was charged with throwing herself headlong from the Tower, in order to kill herself, whilst she was Prisoner at *Beauvoir*. She confessed the Fact, but

said,

said, her Design was not to kill herself, but make her Escape.

Whilst her Process was in hand, she desired leave to hear Mass, and communicate at *Easter*. This was granted her, upon condition she would put on Women's Clothes; but she chose rather not to communicate, than do it on that Condition.

She was taxed with suffering herself to be worshipped; but she replied, if some People had killed her Hand, or Clothes, it was without her Consent.

After these Answers, came several others, which give occasion to believe, they were made to as many Interrogations, suppressed by *Pasquier*. And are as follow:

That she had talked with St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*, at the Fairy-Tree, and not with the Fairies, as she had been accused. That she began at thirteen Years of Age to converse with these Saints.

That at twenty Years old, she hid herself at *Neufchatel* in *Lorraine*, to a Woman that kept an Inn, called *La Rouffe*, and there led the Beasts to Grass, and watered the Horses, and so learned to ride.

That whilst she was there, she had a Law-Suit about a Marriage, before the Official of *Thoul*, and carried her Cause.

That after serving five Years, she returned to her Father, and, against his Will, went to *Baudricourt*, who made no Account of her for the two first Months, but in the third gave her a Guard of twenty Knights, a Squire, and four Servants, to conduct her to *Chinon*, where the King was.

The Judges earnestly pressing her to put on Woman's Apparel: She replied, she desired to have none of her Sex's Clothes, but a Shift after she was dead.

Whereupon she was told, she should be received to Communion only in Women's Clothes; but she refused to comply with that Condition. However, she consented at last to take a Woman's Habit to hear Mass, provided she should be allowed to put on Man's Clothes again. But as that favour was refused her, she declared, she would rather die than be dressed like a Woman, contrary to God's express Command.

She said likewise, she had promised the King to raise the Siege of *Orleans*, and cause him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always against a Peace; which she owned, affirming, there could be no Peace concluded, unless the *English* would leave *France*.

The Proctor charging her with causing a Sword to be concealed in St. *Catherine's* Church at *Fierbois*, and sending for the same, after she had talked with the King, she denied she had ever used any Frauds. She owned however, she had heard three Masses in that Church.

Upon being accused of saying, she was sent from God to wage War, which was directly contrary to the Will of God; she answered, that in the Letter sent by her to the King of *England* and the Princes of the Blood, she had first offered them Peace. *Pasquier* says, the Letter is copied in the Trial. But as he thought not proper to transcribe it himself, one cannot be sure it is the same inserted by *de Serres* in his History.

Upon being charged with putting to Death *Franquet d'Arras* her Prisoner; she replied, he was a known Robber, and condemned to die by the Bailiff of *Sens*.

Upon the Charge of having several times communicated in Man's Clothes, and kneeled to the Voice which spoke to her; She confessed it all.

The Proctor accused her also of having seduced many People to such a degree, that they revered her as a Saint, caused Prayers to be said in the Church to her Honour, maintained that, next to the Holy Virgin, she was the greatest of Saints, and wore about them her Image in Lead, or other Metal. To this Charge she replied, that God should be Judge.

Upon the Accusation of usurping Dominion over Men, by making herself Chief of the War, she answered, she had done it to beat the *English*. Adding, her Standard was of Linen or Fustian, bordered with Velvet, with a Field semee of Fleur-de-lis, and in the middle, the Image of God holding the World, supported by two Angels in white, and underneath, *Jesus Maria*.

Whereupon her Judges upbraided her, that she was in the wrong to ascribe unto God such Vanities, contrary to the Reverence due to him, and asked her, whether she put her Confidence in her Standard; to which she replied, she placed her Confidence only in him whose Image it bore.

After this she was asked, why she held alone her Standard at the Coronation of King *Charles*. She answered it was not just, that he who had been in Trouble, should be in Glory.

She was taxed, that being wounded before *Paris*, she caused her Armour to be hung up in the Church of *Sens*, out of Ostentation: She replied, she did it

from a Motive of Piety, according to the Custom of those that were wounded in War.

Lastly, She was asked, if she would submit to the Judgment of the Church Militant. She answered, she would, provided the Church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That she could not in any wise revoke what she had said concerning her Visions and Revelations, and if the Church affirmed they were Illusions, in that case, she would not refer it to the Judgment of Men, but to God alone.

The Examination being ended, the Judges drew a Summary of her Confessions. Containing

I. That being thirteen Years old, she saw St. *Michael*, St. *Catherine*, St. *Margaret*, and a great Company of Angels.

II. That these Saints advised her to go to King *Charles*, and to wear Mens Clothes.

III. That she chose rather not to hear Mass and communicate, than put on Woman's Apparel.

IV. That she refused to submit to the Judgment of the Church-Militant.

V. That she pretended to foretel future Contingencies.

VI. That she knew Saints by their Voices, whom she had never seen or heard before.

VII. That she was expressly commanded by God to wear Men's Clothes.

VIII. That she cast herself headlong from a Tower, chusing rather to die than remain in the hands of her Enemies.

IX. That she not only saw and heard, but likewise touched bodily St. *Catherine*, and St. *Margaret*, and kissed the Ground on which they trod.

The Proctor having taken his Conclusions upon these Articles, it was said by the Judges, That what *Joan of Arc* had done, was all a Cheat, and the Invention of the Devil, to delude the poor People: That she was guilty of Disobedience to her Parents, and of Idolatry, to the Dishonour of the Church; particularly, for chusing rather to deprive herself of the Body of our Lord, than lay aside Men's Clothes. At this Sentence were present the Bishops of *Coutance* and *Lisieux*, the Chapter of the Cathedral of *Roan*, sixteen Doctors, six Licentiates, or Batchelors in Divinity, and eleven Advocates of *Roan*.

This Sentence being sent to the University of *Paris*, was confirmed by the Faculties of Divinity and the Decrees, and *Joan* pronounced Heretick and Schismatick. Then the University writ to the King and the Bishop of *Bayeux*, to desire she might be put to death. It does not appear in *Pasquier*, to what Punishment she was condemned by this first Sentence. All that can be said, is, she was at least excommunicated. However that be, *Joan* being carried into the Church, and placed on a Scaffold, was publicly preached, as it was called in those Days. All these Preparations striking her with great Dread, she cried out aloud, She would submit to the Judgment of God and the Pope. But finding what she said was not sufficient to revoke her Sentence, or stop the Publication, she declared, She would stand to the Church's Determination: That since so many wise and learned Men affirmed her Visions came not from God, she was willing to believe so too, which she repeated several times. Then she made a publick Abjuration, inserted in the Trial, but *Pasquier* thought not fit to give the Contents.

Upon this Abjuration, another Sentence intervened, absolving her from the Bond of Excommunication, and condemning her to perpetual Imprisonment by way of Penance. After that, she put on Woman's Apparel. But as she had all along been very obstinate to Men's Clothes, which she wore, as she said, by God's express Command, it was thought proper to try whether her Abjuration was sincere, by leaving a Man's Habit with her in Prison. This Expedient, to her Misfortune, succeeded but too well, since she was no sooner alone, than she resumed this same Habit. On the morrow, being found in that Dress, she was asked the Reason: To which she answered, She had put on her former Habit by the express Order of St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*, and had rather obey God than Man. Whereupon, an Information was entered against her in the Ecclesiastical Court, and she was declared an Heretick Relapse, and delivered over to the secular Arm. *Pasquier* says nothing of her Confession, according to the King of *England's* Letter, that she was seduced by lying Spirits, who had promised to set her free. Indeed, this Confession is directly contrary to the Inferences *Pasquier* would draw from the Records of the Trial, namely, that *Joan* was inspired by God. He only says, she was sentenced to be burnt, May the 31st, 1431. But as all the rest of the Facts,

Facts, mentioned in the King's Letter, exactly agree with the Records of the Process. I do not see why *Pasquier's* Silence should cause this to be questioned.

One might make numberless Reflections upon the Examination, Answers, and Behaviour of the Maid. But not to tire the Reader's Patience, I shall content my self with the following Remarks.

1. It is certain, *Pasquier's* View in what he has related of this Trial, was, to prove *Joan's* Inspiration. And therefore, prejudiced as he was, he made no scruple to curtail in several Places, the Questions and Answers. This manifestly appears, in that several of the Answers have no Connexion with the Questions, nor with one another. For Instance, what she says in her Answer to the second Question, concerning the Duke of *Orleans*, necessarily supposes some other Question, which *Pasquier* was pleased to omit.

2. It appears, that he has passed over in Silence some of the Answers. For Example, it is said in the Summary of *Joan's* Confession, that she had boasted of seeing St. Michael, and yet it is not mentioned in the Examination.

3. *Pasquier* would not transcribe *Joan's* Letter to the King of *England*, or her Abjuration: Papers however of no less Importance, than all he has produced. Much more unwilling was he to mention her Confession before she died, that she was seduced or deceived. These Omissions gave occasion to presume, that *Pasquier* fought in *Joan's* Trial, not so much what might be of service to discover the Truth, as what he believed conducive to prove his Opinion. And indeed, he multiplies Words, to draw from *Joan's* Answers Consequences favorable to his Notion, and to shew, that her Predictions were fulfilled, and her Assertions all true. He labours chiefly to prove, by very weak Arguments, that the Duke of *Orleans* was, as the Maid affirmed, greatly beloved of God. Among other Reasons, he alleges this: That God had blessed that Prince with two illustrious Sons, the one, legitimate, afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Lewis XII.* the other Natural, namely, the great General, known first by the Name of the Bastard of *Orleans*, and afterwards by that of Earl of *Dumais* and *Longueville*. But every one knows, this last was natural Brother, and not Son of the Duke of *Orleans*, mentioned by *Joan*. It is surprising that a Man so versed as *Pasquier* in the History of *France*, should be guilty of so gross a Mistake.

Having related such Facts concerning the Maid, as cannot be denied, since they are supported by incontestable Testimonies, nothing more remains, but to examine the three Opinions upon this Affair, in order to embrace the most probable.

Most of the *French* Writers maintain, that *Joan* was really inspired, and sent by God, and found their Opinion upon these four principal Reasons. The first is, the Possibility of God's working such Miracles. But this Point may be granted them, and yet they not able to draw any Inference from the Possibility, for the Truth of the Fact.

The second is, *Joan's* own Evidence, grounded upon her Visions of Saints and Angels. But this is the very Thing in question, and consequently cannot be urged as a Proof.

The third Reason is taken from her knowing King *Charles* in disguise, among his Courtiers. This does not deserve notice. Supposing, as a great many believe, that *Joan* was persuaded to act this part, it is easy to conceive, she might be very well instructed to know the King, tho' she had never seen him before.

The fourth is founded upon the accomplishment of her Prediction, of the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the King's Coronation, at a time when these Events were extremely improbable. This Reason, added to her uncommon Valour on all Occasions, is doubtless, the strongest that can be alledged for this Opinion. However, the Objections this Argument is liable to, very much weaken, if not wholly destroy it.

First, It may be objected, it is she herself, who said in her Examination, and after the Event, that she had foretold to the King, the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and his Coronation. We have observed, that *Monstrelet* does not make her speak so precisely. He only makes her say to the King in general Terms, *That she would exalt his Dominion, and drive his Enemies out of the Kingdom*; which however she did not perform, since the *English* were not expelled out of *France*, till above twenty Years after her Death.

Moreover, *Joan* says in her Examination, these two Things were revealed to her by St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*. I do not mean to consider here, all the Objections that may be made to this Circumstance. I am willing to suppose, God reveals sometimes to the glorified Saints what is to happen upon Earth; that he commands them to assume a human Shape, to inform certain Persons thereof, and that *Catherine* and *Margaret* were of the Number of those glorified Saints, though it cannot be affirmed with Certainty. But it must be owned, at least,

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that God very rarely makes use of such means, and when he does, it is always for his own Glory, or the Good of his Church, or in favour of some Persons very eminent for their Holiness. Now, in the War which was then waging in *France*, neither the Glory of God, nor the Honour of Religion, nor the Good of the Church were directly concerned: And *Charles VII.* for whose sake, according to the Supposition, God did so great Things, was far from being famous for Holiness of Life. The Dispute between the two Kings, and the two Parties, was purely about Temporal Concerns. They both professed the same Religion, and could not tax one another either with Schism or Heresy. It does not therefore appear, wherein it could be for the Glory of God, or the Advantage of Religion or the Church, that the Realm of *France* should be governed by a Prince of the House of *Valois*, rather than by a King of *England*, descended by a Daughter, from the Blood Royal of *France*. A Man may affirm, as much as he pleases, that the Usurpation of the *English* was so heinous and manifest, that God's Honour was concerned to make them an Example of his Justice. This is supposing the Thing in question. One need only read what has been said upon this Point in the Reign of *Edward III.* to be satisfied, that the Supposition is not so manifest as is pretended, but is liable to great Difficulties. However, though it were undeniable, that the *English* were real Usurpers, can it be affirmed, that God's Honour is concerned, to punish in an exemplary and supernatural manner, the heinous Injustices committed in the World? How many Usurpations of Provinces and Kingdoms are to be met with in History, without the Intervention of a Miracle to punish the Usurpers? In fine, *Charles VII.* or his Successors do not appear to have done Religion any Service, to make it presumed, that God had it in view, in what he did by *Joan's* means. Besides the *French*, in those Days were no better Christians, nor honest Men than the *English*. As for the Person of King *Charles VII.* for whose sake, it is pretended, God miraculously raised up the Maid, all knew him to have been very immoral. To say nothing of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murder, committed by his Order, and in his Presence, contrary to the Faith of a Treaty ratified with an Oath, is it not certain, that at the very time *Joan* came to him at *Chinon*, he lived in open Adultery with *Agnes Sorrel*, in the Eyes of his whole Court? Are they Princes of this Character, whom God usually honours with particular Favours? If to all these Reasons be added *Joan's* Confession before her Death, that she was deceived, there will be room to be satisfied, she was not really inspired. But I insist not on this Confession, because it is a disputable Point, as being supported only by the Testimony of her Adversaries.

I come now to the Opinion of the *English*, who obstinately maintain, that *Joan of Arc* was a Witch, and acted only by the Instigations of the Devil. I shall only briefly observe, that this Opinion is liable to the very same Objections as the foregoing, since it is no less difficult to conceive, why, upon this Occasion, God should have given such Power to the Devil. So whatever has been said concerning her Inspiration, may be applied to her Witchcraft, and retorted upon the *English*.

But there is a third Opinion, which is not liable to so many Difficulties. If it is supposed, that in King *Charles's* extreme Distress, himself, his Queen, *Agnes Sorrel*, or some one of his Ministers, invented this Contrivance; nothing will be more easy than to reconcile the Events with such a Supposition. The Business was to revive the Courage of the *French*, disheartened by so many Losses, and perhaps, of the King himself, who was thinking of retiring into *Dauphiné*. Is it any wonder, that such an Artifice should be used for that purpose? This is at least as possible as the Apparitions of Saints, or as Witchcraft. A Country Girl of good Sense, (as there are many) of an undaunted Courage, and who knew how to ride, may have been chosen. She may have been taken from out of the Kingdom, that she might be the less known, and impertinent Neighbours not obstruct, by discovering her, the Execution of the Project. This being supposed, it will be easy to account for most of the Things, which appear extraordinary in the Maid. All the King says of her, and the Secrets she discloses, will be only a Consequence of the Cheat. Those that are in the Plot will not fail to extol her, and the rest will be carried away by their Authority.

It must not however be concealed, that strong Objections may be made to this third Opinion, which it will be proper to answer.

The first is, that it is only a Conjecture. I own it: But it is a very natural Conjecture in a thing, where it is so difficult to discover the Truth. The *French* say, she was inspired by God. This Notion is demonstrated to be full of Difficulties, and highly improbable. The

English affirm, she was a Witch, and acted by the Institution of the Devil: This is no less hard to conceive. It is however certain, she performed great Actions. What remains therefore, in order to explain the Cause of the Revolution in *France*, but to have recourse to natural means, since the supernatural are so doubtful, not to say worse? In my opinion, this is a case, where, if ever, Conjecture is to take Place.

The second Objection is taken from *Joan's* uncommon Valour, which is represented as supernatural. To this it may be answered, much more was certainly ascribed to her than she deserved, as appears by the Testimony of *Monstrelet* a cotemporary Writer. A Man must be very ignorant of the Way of the World, not to know how apt we are, on such Occasions, to run into Excesses, and how capable such a Subject is of Imbellishment. It does not appear, by what *Monstrelet* says, That *Joan* ever commanded in Chief. If this Author seems to say it in one Place, he unsays it in another, as may be seen in the Passages above-cited. It is true, the Generals carried her with them, and placed her at their Head to confirm the Soldiers Prepossession. So, she had only to shew Resolution enough to keep always near them, and such a Resolution cannot be accounted Miraculous. And if the Glory of all the happy Successes were ascribed to her, where is the wonder, since it was for the Advantage of the King, and all his Adherents?

The third Objection is the strongest, grounded upon the accomplishment of *Joan's* Predictions. She told the King, she would cause the Siege of *Orleans* to be raised, and himself to be crowned; which fell out accordingly. On Supposition therefore, that the whole was a Contrivance, it must be supposed withal, that she had the Gift of Prophecy.

To this Objection, it may be replied in the first Place, that the Assurance, wherewith the *French* Historians have advanced, that these Predictions were before the Event, is what gives it the most Strength. But it must be observed, that of the two Articles, namely, the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the King's Coronation at *Rheims*, the first only is attested by *Joan* herself in her Examination, without any mention of the Coronation. In the next place, this same Attestation comes after the Event; neither can it be well proved, that when she waited on the King, she gave him any Assurance of raising the Siege of *Orleans*. As *Monstrelet* relates it, *Charles* does not seem to have relied on her Promises, when he undertook to send a Convoy to *Orleans*. *Monstrelet* says, he was resolved to send a Convoy to that City, and that *Joan* desired to accompany it, which was granted her. Certainly, if that Design had been formed solely upon her Promises, she would have had no occasion to desire to be present at the Execution, since in that Case, she would have been the principal Actress.

But secondly, though *Joan* had foretold what is ascribed to her, I do not know whether that will be a convincing Proof. Upon supposition that she was persuaded to act this Part, and had her Lesson given her beforehand, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the King, she was commissioned to raise the Siege of *Orleans*. This Siege was then the Cause of Uneasiness to the King and the whole Court. It was not known which way to save that important Place, and consequently, to give hopes of raising the Siege was requisite, in order to create a Belief of *Joan's* coming from God. Herein nothing was hazarded but the Reputation of a Country Girl, which would not have been regarded, had the Affair proved unsuccessful. As to the King's Coronation, the hopes of that was likewise necessary to be instilled, since the raising the Siege was but a means to attain the chief End, which was to establish the King on the Throne of his Ancestors.

In the third Place, to *Joan's* Predictions a very perplexing Objection may be made. If she was inspired by God to foretel the future, how came she to be mistaken? She said, she would drive the *English* out of the Kingdom, and yet they were not driven out till above twenty Years after her Death. She foretold, they would be expelled by a great Victory gained over them by the *French*. Does not this raise the Idea of a bloody Battle, and an extraordinary Victory? But where is this Victory to be found after *Joan's* Death? There is only that of *Fourmigni*, which happened twenty Years after, and was, as I observed, very inconsiderable. She foretold likewise in her Examination, that within seven Years, the *English* should leave a greater Pledge than that before *Orleans*. I don't understand that Expression, unless it means the Loss of some Battle. But there was no Battle within that Term. Let us however give the Words the most favorable Sense we can, and understand them, if you please, of the Loss of *Paris*. But this Event happened five Years after the Prediction. Is it usual for the Holy Ghost to mark thus the Space of seven Years instead of five? Was it more difficult for him to foresee this Event would happen in five, than in seven, Years?

Thus, all things considered, let the Difficulties of the third Opinion be compared with those that arise from the Apparitions of Saints and Witchcraft, and I imagine, they will be found to be less in this than in the two other Opinions.

Besides, the Inspiration of the Maid was not so generally owned by the *French* themselves, but that several questioned it. The Constable *Richemont* being upon the March to join the King before *Baugenci*, the King preposessed that he was coming with some ill Design, resolved at first to go and fight him. But altering his Mind, he sent *Joan* to meet and receive him. As soon as she saw him, she alighted, and embraced his Knee: Whereupon the Constable said these Words to her, which plainly shew what he thought of her: *Joan, I am told you design to fight me. I neither know who you are, nor from whom you are sent, whether from God or the Devil. If you come from God, I have no reason to fear you, for he knows my Intention as well as yours. If you are from the Devil, I have less reason to fear, and therefore do your best or your worst.*

The Lord of *Langcy*, in his Treatise of military Institution, says, that *Joan's* Inspiration was like *Numa's* pretended Conversations with the Nymph *Egeria*.

Others have affirmed, she was persuaded to act this Part by the Lords of the Court. *Du Haillan* was of this Opinion, who even relates several Circumstances, and then adds, *Some have taken it ill that I say this, and put the French out of conceit with so holy and miraculous a Thing, by endeavouring now to turn it into Fable. But I was willing to say it, because Time, which discovers all Things, has discovered this to be a Cheat. Besides, it is not a Thing of that Moment, as to be received for an Article of Faith.*

Pope *Pius II*, under the Name of *Gobelin* his Secretary, after relating the Story of *Joan* and her Exploits, adds, *It is very difficult to affirm, whether this was the Work of God, or the Invention of Man. Some think, the great Men at Court contending for the Command, some one more wise than the rest invented this Contrivance, and persuaded Joan to say she was sent from God, that none might scruple to serve under her.*

In fine, there are *French* Writers who have defamed *Joan of Arc*, and said, she was corrupted by *Baudricourt*, or according to others by the Bastard of *Orleans*, or by *Xaintrailles*, and that these three Lords, with the Duke of *Alençon*, contrived the whole Plot. *Polydore Virgil* says, when *Joan* found she was condemned, she pretended to be with Child, and for that reason her Execution was delayed for some Months. In a word, among all the Historians both antient and modern, who have spoken of the Maid, there are no two to be found that agree in the Facts concerning her.

But, supposing *Joan's* Inspiration to be a human Invention, it is not easy to determine, whether the King was in the Secret, or was himself cheated. It may be *Joan* herself was deceived, by certain Means but too frequently practised. For my part, I think this Opinion very plausible, considering the Firmness wherewith she answered her Judges, when she must have perceived her great Danger. But after all, this is only Conjecture.

I conclude this Inquiry, that *Joan's* pretended Inspiration may justly be deemed a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the terrified *French*. It is true, the Project succeeded doubtless beyond the Expectation of the Authors. However, it is not very strange, the Courage of the *French* Troops should be revived, when they thought to fight under the particular Direction of Heaven. This is not the first time that such Invention has produced the like Effect. We meet with Instances in the Histories of the Heathen Nations. The feigned Apparitions of the *Pagan* Gods and Goddesses, were not certainly the immediate Works of the Power of God, and yet, upon some Occasions, they produced wonderful Effects.

Before I close this Subject, I cannot help reflecting on the Barbarity exercised upon *Joan*. It is not possible to give any colour to this Injustice. As *Joan* was not a Native of *France*, *Henry* could not pretend she was his Subject, and consequently could treat her only as a Prisoner of War. Upon this Supposition, he could much less punish her for a Schismatick, Heretick, or Witch, tho' she had been convicted. If the Rule which the *English* would then have established, was once received, every Prisoner of War would be in danger of being condemned by his Enemies for forged Crimes, and sacrificed to their Malice. *Charles VII* caused the Sentence to be reversed by other Judges, and *Joan's* Honor to be retrieved, which by several is alledged in proof of her Innocence. But this is a weak Argument, since, without strong Prejudice, the last Sentence can be no more depended upon than the first. This was passed by her Enemies, whose Interest it was to defame her, and the other by her Friends, who found their Glory and Advantage in proving her innocent.



THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XIII.

The Reigns of the Three Kings of the House of York, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, and RICHARD III: Containing the Space of Twenty Four Years and a Half.

16. EDWARD IV.

1461.
Edward goes
to fight the
Queen.
Hall.
An Execution
upon a slight
Account.
Stow.
Habington.



EDWARD was proclaimed the 5th of March, and on the 12th or 13th of the same Month, he was obliged to put himself at the Head of his Army. Before his Departure from London, a Tradesman was executed, for saying, he would make his Son Heir of the Crown (1). Probably, he added some contemptuous Words against the new

King, and expressed too much Zeal for the House of Lancaster. However this be, some have considered this Man's Execution, in the beginning of this Reign, as a Pre-
sage of the Blood which was yet to be shed, in the Quarrel of the two contending Houses.

Queen Margaret had acted with Prudence, in not hazarding a Battle at the Gates of London, and in retiring among the northern People, who had hitherto appeared firmly attached to the House of Lancaster. They even gave her, upon this occasion, a sensible Mark of their Affection, by strengthening her Army with Recruits, nay, whole Bodies of fresh Troops. This was done with such Expedition, that in a few Days the Queen saw herself at the Head of sixty thousand Men, in condition to expect her Enemy, or even to march against him.

Though Edward had been proclaimed at London, he was very sensible, that Ceremony made no great addition to his Right, considering how irregularly it was performed. The Nobles of his Party, and the People of London, were not invested with Power to give the Kingdom a Sovereign: And therefore, he could not depend

upon that extraordinary Election, unless it was supported with Force. Henry VI had reigned thirty eight Years, acknowledged for lawful King by all the English; and yet this Right, which seemed so well established, had not been able to maintain itself against a superior Strength. It was therefore easy to see, that Edward's Right, which had not greater Advantages, would subsist no longer than crowned with Success. Matters standing thus, the two Parties were once more to try the way of Arms. Happy Both, if one single Battle could have decided this bloody Quarrel! Edward being young and lively, trusted to his Courage and Fortune. He was likewise excited to venture all, by the great Men of his Party, who having shewn so little regard for Henry, saw no safety but in Victory. He departed therefore from London a few Days after being proclaimed (2), and heading his Army, marched towards the North, with a Resolution to go in quest of Queen Margaret.

As soon as he was come to Pontefract, he detached the Lord Fitz-Walter (3), to secure the Passage of Ferry-bridge, upon the River Aire, which was necessarily to be passed, in order to join his Enemies. Fitz-Walter succeeded according to the King's Desires, and posted himself on the other side of the River with his Detachment. In the mean time Henry and his Queen, who were at York, hearing that Edward was marching with all speed, readily concluded, it was to give them Battle. This was what they themselves earnestly wished, since the gaining of a Victory was the only Means left for their Restoration. They made therefore the Duke of Somerset General of their Army, and waited at York the Issue of a Battle, which was to determine their Fate.

1461.

Hall.
Habington.

Habington.
Hall.

(1) Meaning only, as it is said, his own House, which had the Sign of the Crown. Rapin, not understanding the Jest, says, it was for saying, he would make his Son Prince of Wales. The Man's Name was Walter Walker, a Grocer in Cheapside. Habington, p. 431.

(2) Having with him, John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, William Nevill Lord Fauconbridge, Sir John and Henry Ratcliffe, Sir John Wenlock, John Stafford, Roger Wulfeisford, &c. Stow, p. 415.

(3) There was at this time no Lord Fitz-Walter: For Walter Lord Fitz-Walter died in 1432; and Sir John Ratcliffe, Son of Anne, Daughter of the said Lord Fitz-Walter, had not summons to Parliament till the 11th of Henry VII. This Sir John, or his Son, is probably the same, whom Rapin, and other of our Historians, call by Anticipation Lord Fitz-Walter. See Dugdale's Baron, Vol. I. p. 223; and Vol. II. p. 285.

1461.
His Men
killed from
the River.

The Duke of Somerset hearing Edward had secured the Passage of Ferribridge, did not doubt that it was with intention to fight; and to oblige him to do it with Disadvantage, resolved to dislodge Fitz-Walter, in order to have the River between him and his Enemies. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Lord Clifford was detached to recover the Post seized by Fitz-Walter. Whether Fitz-Walter was guilty of any Neglect, or was not timely supported, he could not withstand Clifford's Attack, who drove his Troops over the River with great Slaughter. Fitz-Walter, and the Bastard of Salisbury (1), were slain in the Action.

The Earl of
Warwick is
alarmed at it.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The Earl of Warwick, of whom I have had frequent Occasion to speak towards the end of the late Reign, was considered as the Soul of Edward's Army. The King was looked upon as a Valiant young Prince, without Experience, and the Earl of Warwick, as the real General. Accordingly, all Eyes were fixed upon him, to see by his Countenance whether there was Reason to hope or fear. The News of Fitz-Walter's Defeat being brought to the Earl, he seemed to be under great Consternation, dreading, this first Check would discourage the Army. He immediately posted to inform the King, with an Emotion, that plainly discovered how apprehensive he was of the Consequences. But withal, to shew his Fears were not personal, he stabbed his Horse, and kissing the Hilt of his Sword, made like a Cross, swore that though the whole Army should take to Flight, he would alone defend the King's Cause.

The King's
Steadfastness.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Edward perceiving the Earl's Concern, judged it necessary to prevent the ill Effects it might produce among the Troops. Instead therefore of being alarmed at the News, he made Proclamation, that all who desired it, might depart: That he would reward those that should do their Duty; but there was no favour to be expected for those that should fly, during the Battle. At the same time, he detached William Nevil, Lord Fauconbridge, to pass the Aere at Castleford, about three Miles from Ferribridge, with Orders to attack those who guarded the Post lately lost. Fauconbridge executed his Orders, with such Secrecy and Expedition, that he passed the River at Castleford, before the Enemies had the least Notice. Then marching along the River, he met Clifford at the Head of a Body of Horse, suddenly attacked him, and put him to Rout. Clifford was slain with an Arrow in the beginning of the Fight, too light a Punishment for his inhumanity to the young Earl of Rutland, Brother of Edward, at the Battle of Wakefield. With him was killed likewise, the Earl of Westmoreland's Brother. The Post of Ferribridge being thus fortunately recovered, Edward, who kept himself ready, passed his Army over the River, and immediately marched in quest of his Enemies.

The Battle of
Towton.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The two Armies met on Palm-Sunday (2), between Saxton and Towton (3), where they drew up. Henry's Army was sixty thousand strong, and Edward's about forty thousand (4). The Air was darkened by the Snow, which fell very thick, and was blown by the Wind in the Faces of the Lancastrians. These last began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being discharged too far off, did no great Execution (5). Fauconbridge, who commanded the Van of Edward's Army (6), disdainful to fight at such a Distance, ordered his Men to lay by their Bows and take to their Swords. Whereupon, the Armies approaching one another began a furious Fight, wherein both Sides seemed equally brave and resolute, to exert their utmost to gain the Victory. It would be very difficult to describe this terrible Battle at large; most of those that have mentioned it, not understanding the Art of War, have, instead of representing the several Circumstances, given only a confused Idea thereof. Besides, the two Armies are to be considered, as trusting more to their Courage, than the Experience of their Generals. It will suffice to observe, that the Battle lasted from Morning (7) to Night; and from thence, it may be judged, how obstinately it was fought on both Sides. Edward signalized himself by an uncommon Valour, which did not a little contribute to maintain his Troops in their Resolution of conquering or dying for his sake. At length, the Lancastrians began, towards the

Edward is
the Victory.

Evening, to give ground, not flying, but retreating as they fought, and making a stand now and then, so that their Enemies could not be entirely sure of the Victory. However, this Advantage encouraging Edward's Soldiers to make fresh Efforts, they so pressed their Enemies, that at last they forced them to fly. Then it was that a dreadful Slaughter ensued. Edward had, before the Battle, made Proclamation in his Army, that no Quarter should be given, well knowing, the taking of Prisoners would but weaken his Army. The flying Troops shaped their Course towards Tadcaster Bridge, but despairing to reach it, because they were so hotly pursued by their Enemies, they turned aside, in order to pass the Cock, which runs into the Wharf. This was done with such Confusion and Hurry, that the River was immediately full of those that were drowned, and who, in their Misfortune, served for a Bridge to their Companions. The Slaughter is said to have been so great in this Place, that the Waters of the Wharf were all dyed with the Blood. And indeed, it is not to be thought strange, since the Historians affirm, no less than thirty six thousand seven hundred and seventy six were killed in the Battle. Among the Dead, were found the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland (8), the Lords Dacres and Wells, Sir John Nevil, and Andrew Trollop. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter had the happiness to escape. Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire was taken. He was at first spared, notwithstanding the King's Orders, but it was only to put him to a more inglorious Death on the Scaffold.

1461.

Hall.
Hollingsh.

Number of
slain.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Earl of
Devonshire
taken and
beheaded.
Biondi.

An Italian Author (9), who wrote the History of these Civil Wars, makes this remark on the Battle of Towton; That if France or Scotland had then invaded England, the Kingdom would, doubtless, have been subdued, in its weak Condition, after so violent a Bleeding. This might have been the Case, and the Example of France, which in much the same Circumstances was almost entirely conquered by Henry V, gives weight to this Reflection. But however, the Battles, fought before the Quarrel between the two Houses was decided, shew there was still much English Blood to be shed before it was possible to give England a mortal Wound.

After this signal Victory, Edward marched directly to York, perhaps in expectation of finding Henry and Margaret. But as after the Loss of the Battle they could not hope for Safety at York, they chose to retire to Berwick, and from thence fled for Refuge to Edinburgh. Upon his Arrival at York, Edward ordered the Heads of the Duke his Father, and the Earl of Salisbury to be taken down, and those of the Earl of Devonshire and some others, beheaded at Pontefract (10), to be set up in their room. He stayed some time at York, to take measures for the Defence of the Borders, in case the Scots should think of making an Incurfion. But as he perceived, though they had such a Design, they were not yet ready to execute it, he believed there would be no great Danger in returning to London, where he arrived the 8th of June.

Edward takes
down his
Father's
Head from
the Walls of
York.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

and returns
to London.

All appearing quiet in England since the Victory of Towton, Edward would no longer defer his Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of June (11). Whilst the Preparations were making, he considered how to guard against Scotland, from whence he foresaw the fugitive King and Queen might have Assistance. For that purpose, he sought means to find the Scots Employment, that should hinder them from meddling with their Neighbours Affairs. To this he was likewise induced by the Solicitations of the Earl of Douglas, who had taken refuge in England several Years since. But for the better Understanding how Matters then stood between England and Scotland, it will be necessary briefly to relate the then Situation of that Kingdom.

and prepares
for his Coro-
nat. n.
Hall.
Stow.

He guards
against
Scotland.
Ibid.

Scotland had been for some time rent with dangerous Factions, which began with the Reign of James II. That Prince not being above seven Years old when the King his Father was murdered, Archibald Douglas pretended to the Regency, but the States not thinking proper to trust so powerful a Person with the Administration of Affairs, made Alexander Levingston Regent, and William Creighton Chancellor. These two Barons immediately formed two Parties, which would have divided all Scotland, if the Earl of Douglas had not had a third, which

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

(1) Son of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury. Hall, fol. 186.

(2) Which was March 29. Ibid. Stow, p. 415.

(3) Forty eight thousand six hundred and sixty. Hall, fol. 186.

(4) The Reason of this was: Fauconbridge finding the Enemy was blinded by the Snow, ordered his Men to shoot a Volley of Flight Arrows, (provided on purpose) and then draw back. The Lancastrians feeling the Arrows, and thinking their Enemies were nearer than they were, shot all their Arrows, which fell short sixty Yards, and sticking in the Ground, did them hurt when they came to close fight. Ibid.

(5) Because John Mowbray Earl of Norfolk, was fallen sick. The Rearward was commanded by Sir John Wenlock, and Sir John Dynham. Ibid. Hollingsh. p. 1297.

(6) Nine o' Clock. Ibid.

(7) Sir Francis Biondi, of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles I, writ a History of our old Civil Wars, which was translated into English by the Earl of Monmouth. Folio, two Volumes, London 1641, 1646. It is taken almost word for word from Hollinghead, and Stow; and extremely full of Faults, especially in the Names of Persons and Places.

(8) On rather of the Earl of Kyme, and Sir William Hall, whom he caused to be beheaded at York. Hall, fol. 187. Stow, p. 416.

(9) He was crowned on the 29th. Hall, fol. 187. Stow, p. 416. Hollinghead, p. 1313.

(3) A small Village in Yorkshire.

(3) Henry Percy, and John Nevill.

1451.

balanced the two first. The Earl dying about two Years after, *William* his Son succeeded him, who still more haughty and impetuous than his Father, raised great Disturbances in the Kingdom. Sworn Enemy of the Regent and Chancellor, he showed in all his Proceedings that he was labouring the Destruction of both, in order to establish himself upon their Ruins. This obliged them for their Interest, to unite against their common Enemy. Some time after, they found means to draw him to the Assembly of the States, upon the Assurance of a Safe-Conduct, notwithstanding which, they caused his Head to be struck off. *Beatrix* his Daughter inherited his Estate, and *James* his Brother his Title. But *James* died two Years after, leaving *William* his Son head of that powerful Family.

William was no less proud and ambitious than his Predecessors. He so well gained the young King's Confidence, who began to look into his Affairs, that he became his prime Minister and Favorite. When he saw his Credit sufficiently established, he attacked the two Heads of the opposite Factions, and forced *Levingston* to retire from Court. He met with stronger Opposition from *Creighton*. But however this be, he so abused his Power, and acted so arbitrarily, that he put People to Death, not only by his own Authority, but even contrary to the King's Will. In short, *James II.*, blinded by his Affection for the Earl, was not content with forgiving all his Excesses, but moreover, made him his Lieutenant-General of the whole Kingdom. Probably, this high Promotion inspired the Earl of *Douglafs* with two ambitious Projects. Without saying any thing to the King, he took a Journey into *England*, where it was known he privately conferred with *Henry VI.*'s Ministers. This Proceeding gave his Enemies, what they had long sought, an Opportunity to ruin him in the King's Favour. They instilled into him so many Suspensions and Fears, that in order to hinder the Earl from executing his pretended Designs, he removed him from all his Posts, not daring perhaps to attempt to punish him more rigorously. At the same time he gave the Administration of Affairs to the Earl of the *Orcaides* (1), mortal Enemy of *Douglafs*, and restored the Seals to *William Creighton*.

The Earl enraged to see his Enemies triumph, formed a League against them, and brought the Kingdom to the very Brink of Destruction. In a word he committed so many Outrages and Violences, that the King justly provoked with him, resolved to be freed from a Subject who created him so much Uneasiness. But as he was sensible he could not openly execute this Design, he had recourse to Policy. By means of some of his Friends, he put him in hopes of being restored to Favour upon the same foot as before. Then sending for him to Court, upon a Safe-Conduct signed with his own hand, he carried him alone into his Closet, and stabbed him with a Dagger. This Deed, though violent and irregular, was approved by the States, who, at the same time, declared *James*, Brother and Heir of the deceased, with the rest of his Brothers, Enemies of their Country.

James, the new Earl of *Douglafs*, thinking only of revenging his Brother's Death, and supporting the Credit of his Family, raised a Civil War in the Kingdom. During which, the King besieging one of his Places, *Douglafs* was preparing to relieve it, but was suddenly forsaken by all his Friends, and forced to fly for Refuge into *England*. Some time after, he entered the County of *Anandale* with some Troops, and being defeated, was once more forced to fly his Country. *George* Earl of *Ormond* (2), one of his Brothers, was taken and beheaded.

These Misfortunes were not capable of discouraging the rebellious Earl. He gained the Earl of *Rofs* Lord of the Isles, *Donald* his Brother (3), and the rest of that Family, and persuaded them to take arms against the King. Then they entered together the County of *Merch*, and ravaged it from one end to the other. But when *Douglafs* was preparing to pursue his Progress, the Earl of *Rofs* repenting of his Fault, deserted him, and went and cast himself upon the King's Mercy. The King gave him hopes of a Pardon, on condition he would merit it by his Services. *Douglafs* unwilling to follow this Example, once more retired into *England*.

These Commotions being appeased by the Earl of *Rofs*'s Submission, and *Douglafs*'s Retreat, *James II.*, at the Duke of *York*'s Solicitation, besieged *Roxburgh*. The Earl of *Rofs*, willing to render himself worthy of the King's

Pardon, came and offered him his Service with a Body of chosen Troops. *James* as was before said, was unfortunately killed at this Siege, and left *James III.*, his Son, about seven Years old, for his Successor.

The Death of *James II.*, and the tender Years of the new King, revived the Earl of *Douglafs*'s Hopes; but as he could not then expect any Assistance from *England*, by reason of the Civil War which raged in that Kingdom, was obliged to wait till Affairs were in another Situation. He believed the favorable juncture, he expected, was at length come, after *Edward*'s Victory at *Troxton*. Wherefore, applying himself to that Prince, who seemed firmly settled in the Throne, he intimated to him, that by means of his Friends in *Scotland*, it would be very easy for the *English* to conquer that Kingdom. *Edward* had no Inclination, in his present Circumstances, to undertake so difficult a Task. However, to find the same Employment, and hinder them from assisting *Henry*, he embraced the Opportunity offered him by the Earl of *Douglafs*, in hopes of kindling a Civil War in *Scotland*. So, *Douglafs* alluring him, the Earl of *Rofs*, *Donald* his Brother, and *Donald*'s Son, were disposed to rise against the King of *Scotland*, he gave him a full Power to treat with them.

Whilst *Douglafs* was negotiating this Affair with the Earl of *Rofs*, *Edward* was crowned at *Westminster* with the usual Solemnities (4).

Though Queen *Margaret* was out of the Kingdom, she gave the new King great Uneasiness. He was justly apprehensive, the Success of the Scots would enable her to make a fresh Attempt upon his Crown. So, in order to obstruct her Designs, he proposed a Truce to the Regents of *Scotland*. That Kingdom was then divided into two Parties, formed on the account of the Regency. *Mary de Gollers*, the King's Mother, was at the Head of the first, and the Earl of *Argyll*, of the second. They both claimed the Regency, but the State, to disoblige neither, nominated two Regents of each Party, and petitioned the Queen, to be contented with the Care of her Children's Education. Thus the two Factions still subsisted, because it was not possible to satisfy both. The Affairs of *Scotland* being in this Situation, when *Edward* proposed the Truce, the Regents resolved to consent to it, and even sent Ambassadors to treat with him. But Queen *Margaret*, who was then at *Edinburgh*, perceiving how prejudicial this Truce would be to her, found means to break *Edward*'s Measures, by surrendering *Berwick* to the Scots (5), and concluding a Marriage between Prince *Edward* her Son, and *Margaret* Sister of King *James*. Whereupon the Negotiation of the Truce was entirely broke off.

Whilst *Margaret* was employed in gaining the Scots to her Interest, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Windsor* (6), to confirm the Revolution, which had placed him on the Throne. It is easy to conceive, that in such a Juncture, the Parliament did not want much Solicitation, to confirm whatever had been done in favour of *Edward*. How irregular soever his Election might be, he was victorious; that was sufficient to hinder any Person from venturing to dispute his Right. Several foregoing Instances demonstrate, that the Parliaments of *England* never attempted to swerve from that wholesome Principle, of declaring for the strongest; and what we shall see in the Sequel of this very Reign, will still farther confirm it. Pursuant to this Maxim, the Parliament approved of *Edward*'s Coronation, confirmed his Title, and repealed all the Acts made in the late Reign, against the House of *York*. *Henry VI.*, after a thirty-eight Years Reign, was deemed an Usurper, and all he had done, whilst on the Throne, annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority, and as being of no Force, till confirmed by the new Parliament (7). Thus the People's Credulity was abused, and they were made to believe, that what had been just sixty Years, was become unjust, by a contingent Event, I mean, by *Edward*'s Victory at *Troxton*.

During this Session of Parliament, the King created *George* his eldest Brother, Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* his younger Brother, Duke of *Glocester*. The Lord *Fauconbridge* was made Earl of *Kent*. *Henry Beaufort*, the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side (8), was honoured with the Title of Earl of *Essex*, and *John Nevill*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother, was made Lord *Montague*.

Though the Earl of *Devonshire*, and some others, had been beheaded at *York*, these Victims seemed not sufficient

(1) *William Sinclair*.

(2) *Buchanan* gives him no Title, and says, *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*, another Brother, was slain on the Spot. *George Dunbar* was Earl of *Ormond*. *Buchan*. l. XI.

(3) *Donald Bannagb*. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. 11. p. 474.

(4) On June 29, as is said above. See *Hail*, fol. 189.

(5) Which met there Novemb. 4. *Cotton's Abridge*. p. 669.

(6) The following Persons were then attainted; King *Henry VI.*, Queen *Margaret*, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry* Duke of *Somerfet*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumbreland*, *Thomas* Courtenay Earl of *Devonshire*, *Thomas* Lord *Ross*, *Henry* Duke of *Exeter*, *William* Viscount *Beaufort*, *James* Earl of *Pembroke*, *James* Bishop Earl of *Wiltshire*, *Robert* Lord *Langford*, *John* Ferrers, Esq; and many others. *Cotton's Abridge*. p. 670, 671.

(7) He married *Judith*, the King's Aunt, Sister to the late Duke of *York*, the King's Father. *Douglafs* *Barth*. Vol. II. c. 129.

1461. to atone for the Blood of the Friends of the House of York, shed by the Queen on the Scaffold. To the King's Policy, Fear, or Relentment were likewise to be sacrificed John de Vere Earl of Oxford, and Aubery his eldest Son, who were publickly beheaded (1).

Disposition of France After Edward had thus settled his domestick, he seriously thought of the foreign Affairs. The Kingdom was actually in War with France, Scotland, Bretagne, and the Low-Countries. There was equal Danger from all these Quarters. If these States had all joined against him, it would have been very difficult for Edward to withstand their Forces, considering his present Situation, and little Dependence upon the Assistance of his Subjects. Happily for him, France had a new King who never thought of conquering England. I mean, Lewis XI, who was wholly intent upon the Project of rendering himself absolute in his own Kingdom, and humbling the great Men, among whom the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the principal. It is true, his Designs had not yet been disclosed. But what he was meditating, was more than sufficient to hinder him from renewing the War with the

Of the King of France.

Of the Duke of Bretagne, and Burgundy.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 478.

Disposition of Scotland.

Margaret goes and desires Aid of Lewis XI.

Edward's Treaty with the Earl of Ross.

To conclude this Affair, which Edward hoped would turn to his advantage, he impowered the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Worcester, and others, to make in his Name a Treaty with the Earl of Ross, which was accordingly done. The Substance of the Treaty was,

That John Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles (3) Donald Balagh, his Brother, and John of the Isles, Son of Donald, should do Homage to King Edward.

That they should never acknowledge any other King of England, but Edward or his Successors descended from Lionel Duke of Clarence.

That they should be always ready to serve him in all his Wars with Scotland, or with the Scots in Ireland.

That in Time of Peace the Earl of Ross should have a yearly Pension of a Hundred Marks Sterling, Donald one of twenty pound, and John his Son one of Ten Pound; and that these Pensions should be doubled in Time of War (4), during actual Service.

That in case Scotland should be conquered by the Arms of Edward, and with their Assistance, the King should invest them with all the Isles beyond the Sea of Scotland, to be equally divided among them.

That James Earl of Douglas should likewise be invested with all the Lands formerly held by him in the Kingdom of Scotland, from the North-Sea to England.

Lastly, That Edward should make neither Peace nor Truce with the King of Scotland, without including them if they desired it.

As this Treaty is mentioned by no English Historian, probably it lay concealed among the Records of England, till it was inserted in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Indeed, it was of little moment since it was not executed. Edward had too many affairs upon his Hands to think of the Conquest of Scotland; his sole View was to make use of the Earls of Douglas and Ross to raise Disturbances in that Kingdom. But 'tis likely, the Earl of Douglas's Measures were not very just, since the History of Scotland speaks of no Insurrection at this Time.

The rest of the Year 1462 was quiet enough, the Storm which was gathering not being yet ready to break.

Pope Pius II believing Edward sufficiently established in the Throne, writ him a congratulatory Letter upon his coming to the Crown, in Answer to one sent him by the King to notify him of it. The Pope expressed himself so, that it appeared he reserved the Liberty of retracting if there was Occasion, since his Approbation was founded only upon the Proofs Edward himself had given him of his Title, whereby he made it conditional.

The Duke of Exeter who had married Edward's Sister, having followed Henry into Scotland, the King gave the Confiscation of his Estate to his Dukes, who chose rather to remain with the King her Brother, than follow the Fortune of her Husband.

The Lord Fauconbridge, a zealous Friend of the House of York, who was created in Parliament Earl of Kent, was made High-Admiral of England about the End of this Year.

All being quiet in the Kingdom, and no appearance of any fresh Attempt against Edward, the Duke of Somerset, and Ralph Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's Brother came and threw themselves upon the King's Mercy, who generously granted them a Pardon.

Historians affirm, that in the Course of this Year, the English Fleet made an expedition into Bretagne and the Isle of Ree, mentioned neither by the French nor the Bretons. And indeed, it is hard to conceive what could induce Edward wantonly to renew the War, at a juncture when he should have thought himself very happy in being left unmolested. Nay it appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that he was not without Fear of an Insurrection of the Lancastrians. At least it seems, that this only can be ascribed his care to gain the Clergy to his interests, by granting them a Favour, none of his Predecessors had ever willingly granted; namely, that for the future all Ecclesiastical Persons indicted for any Crime, should be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court, without the Interposition of the King's Judges upon any pretence whatsoever. By this same Patent, he screened the Clergy from the Penalties of the Statutes of Provisors and

(1) And also Sir Thomas Tudenham Knight, William Tyrrel, and Walter Montgomery Esquires. The Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, with a hundred and forty more, were attainted. This John de Vere, is said to have disputed in a former Parliament the Question about the Precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons (a bold Attempt in those Days) and by his Arguments carried it for the Lords Temporal. Stow, p. 416. Holingsh. p. 1513.

(2) This Year, in the Harvest-season, King Edward took a Progress through several parts of England; namely, to Canterbury, Sandwich, and so along the Sea-coast to Scarborough, and from thence into the Marches of Wales, and to Bristol. Stow, p. 416.

(3) The western Isles, called by the Inhabitants *Inch Gall*; by a Writer of the last Age, *Hebrides*; by the Antients, *Beterica*, *Inchades*, *Leucades*, *Haualis*, commonly thought to be forty four in Number, but are really more. Among them is *Jona*, which Bede calls *Hy* or *iu*, given to the Scotch Monks by the *Picts*, for preaching the Gospel amongst them. Here stands a Monastery famous for the Burial of the Kings of Scotland. The Inhabitants of these Isles speak the Irish Language, and retain the Customs, &c. of the antient Scots, as the English do. They are enjoyed at present by the *Mac-Gonills*, who derive themselves from this Donald, who took the Title of King of the Isles, and ravaged Scotland in a cruel manner.

(4) That of the Earl of Ross to be two hundred Pounds. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 485.

(5) In which were the Lords Audley and Clinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgrave, and others, to the Number of ten thousand. Holingsh. p. 1513. Stow, p. 416.

1462. *Præmunire*, passed in the 16th Year of *Richard II.* He pretended, he was induced to this Concession from his great Zeal for Religion, his Dread of the Excommunications decreed by the Holy Canons, and his Belief that all the Calamities with which *England* had been for some Time afflicted, were the just Judgments of God for the disregard shown to his Ministers. But, very probably he was led by quite another Motive, to break so many Statutes, which the Parliaments had deemed necessary to check the Growth of the Clergy's Power.

To. p. 493.
497. About the end of this Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England*, and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, was prolonged for some time (1).

1463. Edward calls upon the Earl of *Rofs* to perform his Promise; and for that purpose, appointed Commissioners, who were ordered to receive his Oath. But the Earl, who had his Spies in *England*, not seeing that *Edward* was really preparing to support him, did not think proper to begin, for fear of being deserted.

Queen Margaret arrives in the North of England; *Blondie*. *Habington Hall*. It was not without Reason, that *Edward* dreaded a Storm from the North. Presently after, *Queen Margaret* having obtained of the King of *France*, an Aid of five hundred Men, with the Promise of a greater, embarked to make a Descent into *England*. As she hoped, the Inhabitants of the Northern Counties would take Arms in her favor, she landed at the Mouth of the *Tine*. But she found there a Body of *English* Troops, who forced her to re-embark with Precipitation. A few Hours after, her Ship being separated from the rest of the Fleet by a Storm, it was with great difficulty that, having entered the *Tweed*, she at last landed at *Berwick*. The rest of the Ships were driven towards *Bamburgh*, where the *French* would have landed; but the Bastard *Ogle* (2), who was in those Parts, having hindered their Descent, they retired to the little Isle of *Lindisfarn*; for the Weather would not suffer them to put to Sea. Thither *Ogle* followed them, and attacking them flew part, and took four hundred Prisoners. Their Leader (3) was the only Person, that found means to escape in a Fisher-boat to *Berwick*.

and it forced to fly to *Berwick*.

The King sends Montague into the North. Act. Pub. XI. p. 500. Stow. *Edward*, upon receiving this news, easily perceived, *Margaret* was secure of the Assistance of the *Scots*, and would march into *England*. This fear causing him seriously to attend to his Affairs, he dispatched the Lord *Montague*, with what Troops were ready, whilst himself hastened a great Armament, he was making by Sea and Land, to oppose his Enemy (4).

Montague having begun his March, heard upon the Road, that the Queen was entered *Northumberland* at the Head of an Army, which daily increased, by reason of the great Licence the Soldiers were allowed (5). He advanced however as far as *Durham*, where he staid some days expecting a Reinforcement, sent by the King. These Supplies being arrived, he continued his March, and meeting a Detachment of the Enemies (6), commanded by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Rofs*, attacked and put them to Rout. *Ralph Percy*, who served *Henry*, though he had taken the Oath to *Edward*, was slain in this Action. The Duke of *Somerfet* making no more Scruple than *Percy*, of breaking his Oath, was likewise gone to join the Queen.

Montague, encouraged with this Success, marched immediately to *Hexham*, where *Henry* lay intrenched (7), and attacking him in his Lines, without giving him time to recover himself, gained a compleat Victory. The Duke of *Somerfet*, the Lords *Rofs* and *Hungerford*, (8), were taken Prisoners; but *Henry*, *Margaret*, and the Prince their Son, fled into *Scotland*. The Prisoners were not long suffered to languish. Some Days after, the Duke of *Somerfet* was beheaded at *Hexham*, *Rofs*, and *Hungerford*, elsewhere; and twenty Officers of Distinction at *York*. Many others, who had concealed themselves in several Places, being discovered, or given up to the Conqueror, were likewise sacrificed to his Vengeance.

Edward returns to London, and leaves the Earl of Warwick in the North. Stow. *Habington Hall*. After this Victory, *Edward*, who was advanced to *Durham*, sent the Earl of *Warwick* farther Northwards, to recover some Places taken by the Queen; after which, he returned to *London*. The Earl of *Warwick* having nothing to fear after his Brother's Victory, divided his Army into three Bodies, and besieged at once *Bamburgh*, *Dunstanburgh*, and *Alnwick* (9). The two first of these

Places were easily taken, and the commanding Officers punished. *Alnwick*, where a *Frenchman* commanded with some Troops of his Nation, held out till the Earl of *August* came to its Relief with a Body of *Scotch* Troops (10). But the Earl could do no more than draw out the Garrison, probably by a Treaty with the Besiegers, though *Buchanan* says otherwise.

Edward being arrived at *London*, ordered two Patents to be drawn under the Great Seal, to reward the Lord *Montague* and Sir *William Herbert*, with the Dignity he conferred on them. The first had done him a great Service in his two late Victories. The other had all along distinguished himself by an extraordinary Zeal for the House of *York*. So, being pleased to give them both Marks of his Gratitude, he created the former Earl of *Northumberland*, and the latter Earl of *Pembroke*; *Henry Percy*, and *Jasper Tudor*, who bore these Titles, having forfeited them by adhering to King *Henry*. But *Percy* submitting afterwards to the King, and obtaining his Pardon, *Montague* willingly resigned him the Title of Earl of *Northumberland*, for that of Marquis of *Montague*. As for the Title of Earl of *Pembroke*, care must be taken not to confound the two Lords that bore it; namely, *Jasper Tudor* Half-Brother of *Henry VI.*, and *William Herbert*, who was in *Edward's* Service.

Whilst *Edward* was enjoying the Tranquillity procured by his late Victory, he received Advice that Preparations were making in *France*, to support the Interests of *Henry* and *Margaret*. Whereupon he resolved to send for the Earl of *Warwick*, and leave the Marquis of *Montague* in the North, with a Patent of Governor of the Northern *Marches*, and a Power to levy what Troops he thought necessary. He did not doubt, that his Enemies had resolved to make their greatest Efforts from that quarter, by reason of the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. These Precautions, joined to his late Victory, probably cooled the Ardour of the *French* and the *Scots*. Soon after the *Scots* demanded a Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors they intended to send to him. At the same time, *Lewis XI.* negotiated a Truce with him, by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Mediation. This Truce was actually concluded at *St. Omer*, to the 1st of *October* 1464, on the condition, that neither of the two Kings should assist the Enemies of the other. The Duke of *Burgundy* agreed likewise to renew, for one Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

After *Edward* had thus secured himself against *France*, he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce for a Year, negotiated by the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* at *London*, in the Name of the Regents. Thus having nothing to fear from his Neighbours, at least for one Year, he saw himself at leisure to strengthen himself in the Throne, in case of another Attack.

Mean while, the unfortunate *Henry*, deserted by the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; who alone, were able to assist him, saw himself entirely without Refuge. He was still at *Edinburgh*, but not without Uneasiness. Besides that the late Truce between the *English* and *Scots*, did not allow these last to give him any Assistance; very likely, in concluding the Truce with *Scotland*, *Edward* had stipulated, that his Enemy should not be suffered to remain any longer in that Kingdom. It even appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that before the Truce was signed, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, agreed upon certain secret Articles, which could only concern the unfortunate fugitive King. Be this as it will, *Henry* not knowing where to retire, preposterously imagined he might be concealed in *England*. Perhaps, he flattered himself that the Inhabitants of the northern Counties would rise in his favour. But unhappy Princes seldom meet with faithful Friends. At least, it may be presumed, that fearing to be delivered up by the *Scots*, and having no Conveniency to escape by Sea, he hoped to find a safe Retreat with some Friends in *England*, till an opportunity offered of passing into *France*. Whatever his Design might be, he had no sooner set foot in *England* but he was known, seized (11), ignominiously conducted to *London* (12), and confined in the Tower. Some affirm, he was taken the last Year at the Battle of *Hexham*, or at least a few Days after. But it appears in some Public Acts, that in *October*, that Year, he was not yet in *Edward's* Power. It is therefore more probable he was taken, as I said, in endeavour-

(1) For a Year, from December 18. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 497.

(2) And John Manners. Hall, fol. 190.

(3) See an account of the Lords and Knights that accompanied him in this Expedition, in Stow, p. 416, 417.

(4) She took *Bamborough* Castle, and garrisoned it with *Scots*, making Sir *Ralph Gray* Governor. Hall, fol. 190. Stow, p. 417.

(5) At *Hedgeley-More*, in June.

(6) As also the Lord *Myls*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Husey*, Sir *John Fynderne*, &c. Ibid. Hollingsp. p. 1314.

(7) Having with him the Lords *Montague*, *Fauconbridge*, *Scrope*, &c. Hall, fol. 191. Hollingsp. p. 1315.

(8) Thirteen thousand. Ibid.

(9) By Sir *James Haryngton*, at *Waddington Hall* in *Lancashire*, whilst he was at Dinner. Habing. p. 435. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 513.

(12) With his Legs tied to the Stirrups. Stow, p. 419.

1464. *Bona of Savoy* his Sister-in-law in Marriage. This Proposal could not but be very agreeable to him, since he desired nothing more ardently than to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, in order to prevent his interposing in his future Quarrels with the great Men of his Kingdom. But before the Conclusion of the Marriage, he was willing to be sure of reaping this Benefit by it. To that end, he caused the Affair of the Marriage to be a little prolonged, whilst he negotiated at *London*, and with the Earl of *Warwick* at *Paris*, a Treaty of personal Alliance between him and *Edward*. This appears in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, where are several Papers concerning this Negotiation. We see there a full Power given by *Edward* to the Earl of *Warwick*, to treat of a final Peace, an Alliance, or Truce with *Lewis XI.* and another to conclude a Treaty of Amity and Friendship between the two Kings. *Lewis's* Designs were still more extensive. In order to deprive the Duke of *Bretagne* of all Protection, he would have drawn the Duke of *Burgundy* into his intended Alliance with *England*, and for that purpose agreed with *Edward* and *Philip* upon a Congress of Ambassadors at *Hejdin*, which was afterwards removed to *St. Omer*. He managed his Affairs at *London* by the Lord *Launey* Governor of *Amiens*, sent thither towards the end of the last Year. But all these Negotiations ended only in the Conclusion of a Sea-Truce, to last as long as that before made for the Land (1).

p. 521.

p. 513-520, 526.

p. 523-
Monstrelet.

Edward makes a Truce with Scotland. Act. Pub. XI. p. 514, 515, 517, 524, 525. Stow. Hollingh.

He grants a Pardon to Henry's Friends. Act. Pub. XI. p. 527. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. XI. p. 523.

He concludes a Peace with Bretagne. Act. Pub. XI. p. 531, 532, 536.

1465. The Earl of Warwick concludes the King's Marriage with Bona of Savoy. Hall.

Edward falls in love with Elizabeth Woodville. Hall. Stow. Habington. Biondi.

Whilst these things were in agitation at *London* and *Paris*, *Edward* concluded with *Scotland* a fifteen Years Truce. *John Kennedy* (2), a Lord of great Abilities, and very zealous for his King and Country, thought he could not, during his Regency, do a greater Service to both, than to preserve a good Understanding with the *Engl.* Otherwise it was almost impossible to maintain Tranquillity in *Scotland*, because, during the War, the Male-Contents always relied upon the Protection of *England*.

This Affair being ended, *Edward* offered to all that had taken arms against him, an absolute Pardon, excepting only *Ralph Grey* and *Humphrey Nevill*. *Grey* having been taken in *Banborough*, where he commanded for *Henry*, had been degraded (3). Probably, he had done something since, which caused him to be excluded from the Pardon granted to the rest. Shortly after, the King issued out a Proclamation, commanding all his Subjects from sixteen to sixty Years of Age to take Arms. But the Historians mention not this Armament, nor the Occasion.

In *August* this Year, *Edward* received Ambassadors from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who came to negotiate a Truce. As the Duke then found himself pressed by the King of *France*, and was labouring to form the *League of the Public Good*, he was glad to secure himself against *England*. He obtained from *Edward* a Truce for one Year, beginning the 1st of *October*.

About the same time the See of *York* becoming vacant, *George Nevill*, Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, was promoted to it by the King's Recommendation (4).

Mean while, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was still at the Court of *France*, having pressed *Lewis* upon the principal occasion of his Embassy, *Edward's* Marriage with *Bona of Savoy* was at length concluded and agreed. Presently after, *Lewis* appointed the Earl of *Dammartin* for his Ambassador to *Edward*, to settle with him what still remained to be done in the Affair, but all these Projects were demolished by *Love*. What I am going to relate is not a Romance, but a true Story, which shews how far that Passion is sometimes concerned in the most important Revolutions; for this Affair was attended with great Consequences.

Whilst the Earl of *Warwick* was hastening in *France*, with all his Power, the Conclusion of his Negotiation, *Edward*, by mere Accident, rendered it useless in *England*. This Prince being in *Northamptonshire* near the Manor of *Grafton* (5), had a mind to visit *Jacqueline of Luxemburg*, Duchefs of *Bedford*, who had married Sir *Richard Woodville*. By him she had, among other Children, a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, who had been Wife to Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*] and upon his Death (6) was retired to her Father. She had the Affliction to see her Hus-

band's Estate confiscated, on account of his attachment to the Interest of the House of *Lancaster*, in whose Service he had lost his Life. The King's Visit appearing to this young Lady to be a favorable opportunity, she came and threw herself at his Feet, imploring the Restitution of her deceased Husband's Lands, and his Pity upon their Children. *Edward*, who was young and very amorous, no sooner saw the charming Widow at his Feet, but he fell desperately in Love with her. He immediately gave her hopes, as he raised her from the Ground, that he would grant her Request, and even intimated, it was not in his Power to refuse her any thing. Afterwards, in his private Conversations with her, he would fain have persuaded her to purchase the Favour at a very high rate. All the Historians agree, he was the handsomest Man in *England*, and the most proper to make Conquests on the fair Sex. As he knew this, he did not question to gain this Lady's Heart, with the same ease he had done many others. But she plainly told him, though she thought her self unworthy to be a Queen, she was above being a Concubine. This Declaration, which shewed so great Virtue in *Elizabeth*, made such Impression on the King, that despairing to attain his ends any other way, he offered her Marriage. A Heart like *Edward's*, with a Crown, could hardly be refused. The young Lady, agreeably surprized at so advantageous a Proposal, accepted it immediately in so respectful and grateful a manner, as completed the Conquest of this Monarch's Heart. However, as he was unwilling to disoblige the Duchefs of *York* his Mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his Intention. The Duchefs, surprized at this hasty Resolution, used all her Endeavours to dissuade him from it. She represented to him the Injury he would do the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom he was so much obliged, and who, it was to be feared, would highly resent it: That by the Affront he was going to put upon the King of *France*, he would make him his mortal Enemy, and render a Peace impracticable: That the Nobles of *England* would behold with Envy, the *Woodville* Family raised so high above them, and their Discontent might be attended with fatal Consequences. In a word, he was going to marry a Woman with nothing, his Subject, who had Children by another Husband. *Edward* briefly replied, it was uncertain whether the Earl of *Warwick* would consider his Change as an Injury; but, as for him, he was sure of his Affection: That the King of *France* was like to have Affairs upon his hands, that would probably divert him from thinking of Revenge: That a King's marrying a Subject, instead of offending the Great Men, would rather be agreeable to them, since for the future all the noble Families might aspire to the same Honour. Lastly, That a Dower ought to be of no consideration in a King's Marriage; and whatever else he could expect, would be supplied by his Love, and her Virtue, whom he chose for his Wife. The Duchefs, perceiving the King was not persuaded by her Arguments, added another, and, as she thought, a much stronger, reason. She remonstrated to him, that he was contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and could not in Conscience take another Wife. *Edward* positively denied he was engaged to that Lady. Nevertheless, for his Mother's Satisfaction, or for fear this pretended Contract might one day furnish a pretence to dispute the Validity of his Marriage, he consented that *Elizabeth Lucy* should be examined by some Bishops. Upon her Examination, she confessed, the King had not made her a positive Promise: But she said however, she should never have yielded to his Desires, had she not been persuaded of his Intention to marry her. This Answer shewing, there was no absolute Promise on the King's part, the Bishop's were of opinion the King might with a safe Conscience marry another. Accordingly, *Edward* espoused *Elizabeth Woodville* in the presence of a few Persons (7), so that his Marriage was divulged only by the Orders given to prepare for the new Queen's Coronation (8).

The nobles and People were extremely surprized to see the King married to one of his Subjects, when he was negotiating his Marriage at the Court of *France* with the Princess of *Savoy*: nay, when this Marriage was

and married her. February. Hall. Hollingh.

The Nobles jealous of the Woodvilles.

(1) From May 20, till October 1. *Rymor's Hand.* Tom. XI. p. 123.

(2) *Rymer* calls him *Kennet*. He was a Son of the Earl of *Cassil*, but was not the sole Regent at that time.

(3) This was done by cutting off his Spurs, reverting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his Head. *Hall*, fol. 191. *Stow*, p. 418.

(4) The Parliament that had been held April 29, last Year, after several Prerogatives, met again this Year at *Westminster* on January 21, and granted the King, for Life, Tunnage and Poundage; and of every *Engl.* Merchant for every Sack of Wool, thirty-three Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-sacks, the same; and of every Last of Hides, three Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence. Of every Merchant Stranger, a new Denizen as otherwise, for every Sack of Wool, three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight-pence; of every Last of Hides, three Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence; of every two hundred and forty Wool-sacks, three Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 675, 676. In this Parliament, the Importation of foreign Woolen Cloths was prohibited, under pain of Forfeiture: And several other Regulations were made about the Length and breadth of *Engl.* Cloths, to which some Inferted. See *Statut.* 4 *Edw.* IV.

(5) He came there accidentally, as he was hunting in the Forest of *Wyche*. *Hall* fol. 194.

(6) See above, p. 587. Note (2).

(7) At *Grafton*. *Hall*, fol. 193. *Hollingh.* 1326.

(8) She was crowned May 20. *Stow*, p. 417.

1465. already concluded. Sir Richard Woodville the Queen's Father was immediately raised to the Dignity of Earl of Rivers, and his son Anthony Woodville, married to the only Daughter of the Lord Scales, the greatest Heir's in the Kingdom (1). This created great Envy in the Nobles, particularly in the Duke of Clarence, who could not forbear being angry, that the King his Brother should not think of procuring him so rich a Match. But this was nothing in comparison of the Earl of Warwick's Indignation for being thus mocked. He thought the King should have had more respect for him, than to use him so dishonourably. In this belief, he expressed his resentment to the King of France, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmost of his power. Lewis himself could not but look upon Edward's Proceedings as a deadly Affront. But his Affairs not permitting him to demand immediate Satisfaction, he concealed his resentment, till he had a favorable Opportunity to shew it. As for the Earl of Warwick, he left the Court of France, and returned into England, with a Heart full of Hatred and Revenge against Edward, whose Ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however, to conceal his Sentiments, because it was not yet time to discover them; but his very dissimulation shewed the King he was extremely disgusted. In this belief, Edward himself began to consider him as a secret Enemy, though he still gave him some slight Marks of his Confidence. Thus amidst the disguises of the King and the Earl, a mutual Hatred was nourished, which induced the King to give him several Mortifications, as well to gratify his Passion, as to lessen the Earl's Credit with the People. As he could not believe, that he who had by his Interest raised him to the Throne, might likewise have it in his power to pull him down, he was not careful to shew him any regard. Warwick plainly perceived the King's Aim, but wisely dissimulated, for fear an unseasonable resentment might oblige Edward to disabuse him to be revenged. All the Historians unanimously agree, that presently after his Return from France, he retired into the Country on pretence of his Health. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that during the Years 1465 and 1466, he was at Court, and even employed in Negotiations of Importance with Ambassadors of foreign Princes. So, it was two Years after his Return that he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to be entirely removed from Affairs, whilst the new Earl of Rivers had all the King's Confidence.

The rest of the Year 1465 was spent in sundry Negotiations with the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of Charolois, and the Duke of Bretagne. As these several Negotiations concerned the Affairs of France, and as upon these depends, in great measure, the Knowledge of the History of England, it will be necessary briefly to relate their Situation at that time.

Lewis XI was one of the subtlest and least scrupulous Princes then in Europe. His Design was, as I observed, to ruin the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the former by Artifice, and the latter by Force. With regard to the Duke of Bretagne, he had, as I said, begun to execute his Project, by assembling an Army in Anjou, ready to fall upon Bretagne, and which only waited till the Delay granted the Duke was expired. As for the Duke of Burgundy, Lewis had not thought proper to proceed so haughtily with him. He was too powerful a Prince to hope to succeed by attacking him openly; but he made use of a secret expedient, which partly procured him what would have been with great difficulty obtained by way of Arms. He bribed the Lords of Croy and Chimay, Brothers, prime Ministers and Confidants of the Duke, who persuaded their Master to deliver to the Crown of France, the Towns on the Somme (2), for four hundred thousand Crowns, pursuant to the Treaty of Arras. Charles Earl of Charolois, only Son of the Duke of Burgundy, considered this Restitution as a mortal Wound to him and his House. He believed, the Duke his Father should at any rate have kept those Places, which rendered him more formidable to France than all the rest of his Dominions. He was so angry with the Ministers, that he openly threatned to punish them one day for their pernicious Advice to his Father. This Affair created between the Father and Son a Quarrel, which the Favorites took care to foment; so that the Earl at last in great discontent retired into Holland. He pretended, it was not safe for him to be any longer at Court; that the Favorites had counselled his Father to apprehend him, and even bribed People to poison him.

Whilst the Earl of Charolois was in Holland, Lewis XI sent thither privately the Bastard of Rubempré, in a Vessel fitted out at Dieppe, with some chosen Soldiers, who,

without knowing where they were going, had orders to obey Rubempré's Commands. The Bastard landing with four of these Soldiers, was known and discovered to the Earl of Charolois, who immediately caused him to be seized. Some say, there was found upon him an Order under the King's own hand to apprehend the Earl, and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean time, Lewis was upon the Somme, with a considerable Army drawn together upon some pretence. He had appointed the Duke of Burgundy to meet him, on purpose, as it was afterwards reported, to seize his Person as soon as he knew the Success of Rubempré's Plot. But the Earl of Charolois sending speedy notice to his Father of what he had discovered, the Duke immediately rode away from Hesdin, where he was now come. Thus, if it be true, that Lewis intended to seize at once the Father and Son, his Project miscarried. This Attempt, whether it was only suspected, or there was some Proof of it, greatly increased the Earl of Charolois's hatred to Lewis. He every where proclaimed, that the King of France designed to assassinate, or carry him away by force, and the Report immediately flew all over Flanders.

Lewis easily perceived, his Honour could not but be concerned in this Affair, especially if the Bastard of Rubempré, whose Trial was preparing in Holland, should be convicted of the Fact laid to his charge. So, to prevent this Trial, he sent the Chancellor de Morvilliers with some other Ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy, to require him to deliver the Prisoners into his hands. The Earl of Charolois being present at the Audience, the Chancellor spoke very haughtily to the Duke, and even dropt some offensive Expressions against the Earl his Son. The Earl would have frequently replied; but the Chancellor still interrupted him, with saying he was sent to his Father, and not to him. The Duke of Burgundy's Answer was, that being Sovereign in Holland, without any Dependence on France, he would cause the Prisoner to be tried, and either punished or acquitted, according as he was found guilty or innocent. When the Ambassadors of France took their Leave of the Duke, the Earl of Charolois taking one of them aside, said to him: *The King your Master has been very severe upon me by his Chancellor, but he shall repent it before a Year is at an end.* And indeed, he was as good as his word.

This passed in the Year 1464, whilst the Duke of Bretagne, to defend himself against Lewis, was labouring to form the League of the Publick Good above-mentioned. The Earl of Charolois was one of the first to come into it, and had obtained his Father's Permission to raise Troops and join the Duke of Bretagne, with almost all the great Men of France, who were to be near Paris in June 1465. When the Duke of Bretagne saw himself secure of a powerful Assistance, he sent Ambassadors to the King, under colour of desiring a longer delay, but in reality to corrupt the Duke of Berry his Brother. They succeeded so well, that they brought the Duke with them into Bretagne. As soon as he was out of the King's power, the Confederates declared him Head of the League, and every one went and prepared to be at the Rendezvous. The Duke of Bourbon was the first that ventured to take Arms, with a design to draw the King into his Country, at a distance from Paris. Lewis, who had yet no intelligence of the League, marched immediately towards Bourbonnois. But quickly after he received advice, that the Earl of Charolois, at the head of a powerful Army, was approaching Paris, and the Duke of Bretagne with the rest of the Confederates, were preparing to join him. Upon this News, he speedily left Bourbonnois, to save his Metropolis. In the mean time, the Earl of Charolois attempted to become master of it, but as he saw no appearance of Success, went and encamped at Montlher, expecting the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne. Mean while, the King, who was advancing with great Marches, being come near Montlher, the two Armies met and joined Battle. The Success was so doubtful, that both Sides claimed the advantage. But as the King decamped in the night, to throw himself into Paris, he gave occasion to his Enemies to say, he owned his Defeat. Some days after, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne joined the Burgundians. But the King had now so well provided for the defence of his Capital, that it was impossible for the Confederates to take it. At length, the War ended in a Treaty signed at Conflans the 30th of October. Lewis restored to the Duke of Burgundy the Towns upon the Somme, for which he had paid four hundred thousand Crowns, and gave Normandy in Appennage to the Duke his Brother (3). After the signing of the Treaty, the Earl of Charolois retired into the Low-Countries, and the

(1) And also Sir Thomas Grey, Son of Sir John Grey, the Queen's first Husband, was created Marquess of Dorset, and married to Cecily, Heiress of the Lord Bonville. Hist. lib. 1. c. 1. Hollinghead, p. 1309.

(2) *Charles, 1. c. 1. 2. Secret Register, P. 100, D. 100, &c. Commens, l. 1. c. 1. 12. Montrelet, fol. 93.*

(3) *Charles, Duke of Burgundy, Commens, l. 1. c. 1.*

1465. Duke of Berry, accompanied with the Duke of Bretagne, went and took possession of Normandy. But a few days after, the Duke of Bretagne quarrelling with the Duke of Berry, returned into his own Dominions. Then Lewis taking advantage of this Diffension, marched, without loss of time, into Normandy, expelled his Brother, and forced him once more to take refuge in Bretagne, where, notwithstanding their former Quarrel, he was civilly received by the Duke. These are all the most material Transactions in France, in the Year 1465.

Whilst the French Princes were employed in Preparations for the War of the Publick Good, they had not neglected the King of England. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that from March, to their taking the Field, the Duke of Bretagne, and the Earl of Charolois had their Ambassadors at London, and the Earl offered to make with Edward a Treaty of Alliance and Friendship. Lewis XI himself, though very angry with him, did not fail to court him. But Edward willing, no doubt, to be better informed of his Affairs, avoided, on divers pretences, to come to any Agreement.

He proceeded otherwise with regard to the King of Scotland, with whom, after a long Negotiation, he concluded at Newcastle a Treaty, whereby the late Truce was prolonged for forty Years (1), till 1519.

In the beginning of the Year 1466, the Queen was delivered of a Princess, called Elizabeth (2), who afterwards became the happy Instrument to bring Peace to England, after a long Civil War.

Edward having greatly affronted Lewis XI, considered him as a secret Enemy, who would not miss an opportunity to be revenged. He behaved however with great Caution, during the War of the Publick Good, for fear of affording him a fresh Cause to support the House of Lancaster, in case he subdued the Confederate Princes. The same reason induced him to hearken to the Proposals of the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne; but he had taken care to conclude nothing, either with them or the King of France. Afterwards, Lewis's Disadvantage at the Treaty of Conflans, might have caused Edward to pay him less regard, had not the Revolution immediately after in Normandy, made him act with deliberation. Mean time, he was equally pressed on both sides. The King of France, feigning to forget the Affront he had received, urged him to enter into Treaty with him for a final Peace between the two Crowns, or at least, for a long Truce. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of Charolois, and the Duke of Bretagne, represented to him, that if he suffered the French Princes to be oppressed, the King of France would become so powerful, as could not but prove fatal to England. The Course he took upon this occasion, was to manage them all, and keep both Sides in hopes. The truth is, it was by no means his Interest to concern himself in their Quarrels, and create new Enemies; when the Lancastrian Party, though humbled, were still very numerous in England. This is the real Motive of his Conduct, and of all his Negotiations, as well with the King of France, as with the other Princes, who pressed him to declare himself. Mean while, to keep Affairs upon the same foot, till farther Discoveries could be made, he concluded a short Truce with France, and the like with the Duke of Bretagne. In managing the King of France he had a farther Aim, to hasten the conclusion of a Marriage proposed to him, between Margaret his Sister, and the Earl of Charolois. He was sensible, the less inclined he appeared to break with Lewis XI, the more eager would the Duke of Burgundy and his Son be for the Marriage. And indeed, his Policy had all the success he expected. These two Princes perceiving how difficult it was to engage him in their Party, imagined there was no shorter way to attain their Ends, than to effect the Marriage proposed. As soon as Edward saw them in this Disposition, he delayed not to enter into Engagements with them. He loved not the King of France, as knowing he was not beloved by him. Besides, he considered there was no reliance upon that Prince's Word; that his Proceedings were insincere, and at one time or other he would shew his resentment. Moreover, it was not for the Interest of England, to suffer the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne to be ruined, which, as it evidently appeared, was Lewis's grand Design. Wherefore, October the 23d, he signed a Treaty of personal Alliance, Amity, and Friendship with the Earl of Charolois. A few days after, he sent a Safe-Conduct to Lewis of Bruges Lord of Gruuthuse, appointed by the Duke of Burgundy to treat with him of a perpetual Peace, and settle the Articles of the Marriage of the Earl of Charolois with the Princess Margaret.

He makes a Truce with France, June 7. and with Bretagne, April 30. Act. Pub. XI. p. 567, 567, 63. Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Charolois with Edward's Sister. p. 564. Hall. Stow. Holingst.

Treaty with the Earl of Charolois. Act. Pub. XI. p. 30. p. 574.

All this seemed to tend to a League between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy for the Duke of Bretagne's defence, who was vigorously pressed. Since the Duke of Berry had been expelled out of Normandy, the Duke of Bretagne had undertaken to support him, and cause the Treaty of Conflans to be executed. This was projected by him and the Earl of Charolois, who promised to make a powerful Diversion in Picardy. But unhappily for the Duke of Bretagne, the Duke of Burgundy was engaged in a War with the Liegeois, which hindered the Earl of Charolois from performing his Promise. Mean while, Lewis XI, improving this Juncture, pressed the Duke of Bretagne extremely, who being unable to withstand him alone, gave him hopes he would comply with his Will. But this was only to gain time, till the Duke of Burgundy was ready. At length the War with Liege being suspended by a Truce, the Earl of Charolois prepared to march into Picardy. But, when least expected, Lewis by his secret Practices caused the Liegeois to take Arms again. Thus the Duke of Bretagne was still greatly distressed. He defended himself however as well as he could, in expectation of being quickly assisted.

Whilst these things passed in France, Edward concluded a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with the King of Castile. He had done the same with the King of Denmark the beginning of this Year. Tho' these Alliances were inconsiderable with respect to his principal Affairs, they gained him reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his Enemies.

The first part of the Year 1467 was wholly spent in Negotiations with France and the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke only waited the end of the War with Liege, to give all his Forces to his Son, and prevent, by a powerful Diversion, the Duke of Bretagne's ruin, who having already lost his Towns in Lower-Normandy, saw himself upon the point of being attacked in his own Country. On the other side, Lewis, who spared no Cost to have good Spies, was informed of what passed between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, and easily perceived, their Union tended to the Duke of Bretagne's defence. As he still intended to ruin that Prince, he omitted nothing to divert Edward from the Engagements he was entering into with his Enemies. For that purpose, in February 1467, he sent the Bastard of Bourbon into England, and in June, the Archbishop of Narbonne. Edward pretending to be entirely disengaged, appointed immediately Commissioners (3) to treat with these Ambassadors. But as it is easy to gain time in these Negotiations, nothing was concluded. Mean while, Lewis was afraid to distress the Duke of Bretagne, for fear of obliging Edward to declare for him.

Such was the State of Affairs between those two Princes, when the Duke of Burgundy died the 15th of June, in the 72d Year of his Age. Charles Earl of Charolois his only Son, whom for the future I shall call Duke of Burgundy, succeeded him in all his Dominions. He would immediately have posted to the Duke of Bretagne's Assistance, had he not been detained by the War with Liege.

Mean while, Lewis, fearing his Prey would escape out of his Hands, sent and offered the new Duke of Burgundy to desert the Liegeois whom he had hitherto assisted, provided he would, in return, abandon the Duke of Bretagne. If Charles had closed with this Proposal, the Duke of Bretagne would have been irrecoverably lost, since there was now a French Army of thirty thousand Men in the heart of his Country. But he bravely rejected it, declaring, let what would be the consequence, he would assist the Duke of Bretagne to the utmost of his Power. He only waited the end of the War with Liege, to throw himself into Picardy, and did not question that Edward would declare against France, when he saw himself secure of being so strongly supported. The very Day of his Father's Death (4), he ratified his Alliance with Edward, and the new Bond whereby they were going to be farther united, namely, his Marriage then upon the Point of conclusion, seemed to promise him, he should never want the Assistance of England. Mean while, the Duke of Bretagne, fearing to be oppressed before the Succours arrived, put Lewis in hopes of all the Satisfaction he desired, and by that means obtained a Truce which gave him some respite.

Whilst these things passed in France, considerable Alterations were made in the Court of England, which in the end occasioned great Troubles. The Queen's Relations daily increased in favour with the King; and the Earl of Warwick with his Brothers, who had been so powerful, were little regarded. The Archbishop of York (5) was still

1466. The Duke of Bretagne's defence. Act. Pub. XI. p. 574.

The Duke of Bretagne's defence. Act. Pub. XI. p. 574.

Common.

Edward's Alliance with Castile and Denmark. Act. Pub. XI. p. 57, 57, 66, 69, 583. Hall.

1467. Negotiations with Lewis and the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. XI. p. 576, 576-600.

p. 577.

Death of the Duke of Burgundy. The Earl of Charolois succeeds him. Monstrelet. Mozerai. He refuses to leave the Duke of Bretagne.

He ratifies his Treaty with Edward. Act. Pub. XI. p. 580.

The Duke of Bretagne obtains a Truce.

The Queen's Relations in great credit at Court. Biendi. Habington.

(1) From O^{ct}. 31. 1470, when the fifteen Years Truce, concluded before, was to end, to O^{ct}. 31. 1519. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. p. 558.

(2) St. Germain l'auxerrois. Stow, p. 419.

(3) Richard de Burgh, Earl of Warrwick, Sir John Wenlock Chief-Butler of England, Sir Robert Harcourt, Thomas Kent Doctor of Laws, and Thomas C.

Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. p. 574.

(4) O^{ct}. 23. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. p. 580.

(5) George Neville.

1467.

Warwick
and his Bro-
thers neglect-
ed.

The Earl of
Rivers is
Treasurer
and High-
Constable.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 581.

The Earl of
Warwick
withdrew
from Court.
How exte-
remely in-
censed
against the
King.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Hall,
fol. 195.
Hollingsh.

He takes his
Resentment.

He goes and
makes Lewis
his Friend.
fol. 153.

1468.

The Duke of
Burgundy's
Marriage
solemnized.
Hall.
Stow.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 602.

A Truce of
Trade pro-
longed for
thirty Years.
Ib. p. 591,
605, 624.
Negotiations
with the
Duke of
Bretagne.
n. 602, 603.

Id. p. 615,
624.

Chancellor, but at length was removed to make room for the Bishop of Bath and Wells (1), one of the Queen's most zealous Adherents. The Earl of Warwick was no longer employed as before in Affairs of Importance. This manifestly appears in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, where his Name is not found after the middle of this Year. As for the Marquis of Montague his Brother, Governor of the northern Counties, that Post being of no great Consequence, since there was no danger from Scotland, he was not displaced. Besides, Edward had less Inclination to displease him, because in the decline of his Family's Credit he behaved with more circumspection than his Brothers. On the other hand, the Earl of Rivers, the Queen's Father, was raised to the highest degree of Favour. Besides the Office of Lord-Treasurer, he was likewise made High-Constable, upon the voluntary or forced Resignation of the Earl of Worcester (2), whom the King requited, by making him Lieutenant in Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence. Thus the Earl of Rivers held at once two of the greatest Offices of the Crown, and moreover, his Son Anthony Woodville had a Grant of the Reversion of the High-Constableship. Probably it was about this time, that the Earl of Warwick retired from Court, and the Archbishop of York went and resided upon his Diocese.

It was very hard for a Man of the Earl of Warwick's Character to suffer such a Disgrace without resentment. He was the proudest Lord that had ever been in England, and his natural Pride was still increased by the great Services he had done the King. The Affront put upon him by the King, in marrying in England without his knowledge, at the very time he was employed by him at Paris to negotiate another Marriage, which too was concluded, had extremely incensed him. The Contempt shewn him by the King at his return from France, in not making him some civil Excuse, had very much increased his Disgust. To this was added, an extreme Indignation to see his Credit entirely sunk. In fine, the Favours, heaped by the King upon the Queen's Relations, racked him with Envy, and threw him upon the most violent Resolutions (3). If we may believe certain Historians, he had a stronger reason to hate Edward than those I have mentioned. And that is, Edward attempted the Chastity of one of his Daughters (4); and this Prince's Character, who was not very scrupulous in that respect, makes the thing credible. Be this as it will, the Earl mortally hated Edward, though he concealed his Aversion in order to shew it effectually. It is certain the King, to whom he was not unknown, committed a great Error in not giving him some Satisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. With Persons of this Character, Policy requires that one or other of these two Courses be taken. The Continuator of *Monstrelet* says, that in June 1467, the Earl of Warwick met Lewis XI at Roan, and staid with him twelve days. If so, it may be presumed, that being sent into France upon the King's Affairs, he took that Opportunity to secure Lewis's Protection, and concert measures with him concerning the Execution of his Project to dethrone Edward (5).

Mean while, the Negotiation of the Marriage of Edward's Sister with the Duke of Burgundy still continued, whilst Edward kept Lewis in hopes of concluding a perpetual Peace with him. But it was only to amuse him, and hasten withal the Marriage of the Princess his Sister. However, for fear his Embassy to Paris might give some suspicion to the Duke of Burgundy, he issued out a Proclamation, expressly ordering the Coasts to be well-guarded, as soon as the Truce with France, which was to end in March, should be expired. Shortly after, the Marriage was at last concluded, and Margaret sent to Bruges with a splendid Retinue, being attended by the Duchesses of Exeter and Suffolk (6). There the Nuptials were solemnized with a Magnificence worthy the two Princes who were allied by this Marriage. The same day the Truce of Commerce between England and the Duke of Burgundy's Dominions was prolonged for thirty Years.

The rest of the Winter was spent, in negotiating an Alliance between Edward and the Duke of Bretagne: The Duke of Burgundy strongly solicited the conclusion of that Affair, because he was so incumbered with the War of *Lige*, that it was not possible for him to assist his Ally. The thing was not without difficulties, since it was to pass from a long War between England and Bretagne, to a strict Alliance. So, all that could be done at first, was to prolong the Truce till July. After that,

Edward and the Duke of Bretagne sent one another Letters Patent, promising mutual Assistance to the utmost of their Power. The Duke of Burgundy sent the like to the King to induce him the sooner to declare against France. Indeed, it was of the utmost consequence to him to prevent the Duke of Bretagne's Ruin, and procure the Duke of Berry a Settlement, which might enable him to keep the King his Brother in awe. He was almost certain, that after Lewis had put it out of the power of these two Princes to hurt him, he would not fail to attack him with all his Forces. On the other hand, Edward saw but too plainly how prejudicial Lewis's growth of Power might be to him. Wherefore by his Orders his Commissioners signed, the 2d of July, a Treaty of Commerce with Bretagne, and the next day a Levy of Troops was ordered for the assistance of that Duchy. In the beginning of August, he sent Ambassadors (7) to France, on pretence to treat with Lewis of a perpetual Peace, and yet two days after he signed a Treaty, whereby he engaged to send the Duke of Bretagne an Aid of three thousand Archers. As the Duke saw himself pressed by the King of France, it was necessary to hasten that Affair, as well on his own as on the part of Edward, without standing too much upon Terms. The Fleet and Troops designed for Bretagne being ready in the beginning of October, the King gave the Command to Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, his Brother-in-law.

Whilst these Affairs were negotiating at London, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne were not a little embarrassed. The Truce granted them by Lewis being about to expire, they saw the Duke of Burgundy too remote and too busy elsewhere, to hope to be delivered by his means. As for the Succours expected from England, they were neither speedy nor strong enough to free them from their Danger. Mean while, the Duke of Burgundy made all possible haste to end the War with the *Liegeois*, knowing how the Duke of Bretagne was pressed. At last he found means to force his Enemies to a Battle, wherein he obtained a complete Victory, which obliged them to sue for Peace. As soon as the Treaty was signed, he marched for Picardy. He was now come upon the *Somme*, ready to enter upon action, when he heard, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne had made a Peace with the King of France, and after renouncing all foreign Alliance, the Duke of Berry was contented with an Appannage of six thousand Livres a Year in Land, and an annual Pension of sixty thousand in lieu of Normandy, granted him by the Treaty of *Confians*. This News, which Lewis sent him by an Express, was the most unwelcome. However, without being discouraged with this unexpected accident, he resolved to remain incamped where he was. He hoped, as the Duke of Bretagne had been compelled to a Peace, he would repent what he had done, when he saw himself supported, and easily find an excuse to break it. This is what he plainly told those who advised him to sue to the King of France for Peace.

The Duke of Burgundy's resolution inspired Lewis with fear. He was apprehensive, the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne would recede, when they saw Assistance so near. In that case, he might depend upon having to deal with the King of England, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and many of the most potent Lords of the Kingdom, who were dissatisfied with him. In this Uneasiness, which was not ill grounded, he departed from Paris, where he then was, into Picardy, to treat with the Duke of Burgundy. This Design succeeded to his Wish. The Duke, uncertain of the resolution the Duke of Bretagne might take, agreed to retire, for four hundred thousand Crowns, which Lewis gave him to defray his Expences.

Hitherto Lewis had reason to be satisfied with his Advantages. He had dispersed the League made against him, and reduced the Duke his Brother to a very moderate Appannage. However, he could not think of abandoning his first Project. He was resolved to ruin the Duke of Bretagne, that he might afterwards attack the other Peers, and the Duke of Burgundy himself, with more safety. His extreme desire to execute this Project, made him commit the grossest fault that so politick a Prince could possibly be guilty of. After signing his Treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, he would go and confer with him. He had such a Conceit of himself, that he fancied he should persuade that Prince to relinquish the Interests of the Duke of Bretagne. At least, he hoped to sow Jealousies between them, from which he could not fail to reap great Advan-

(1) Robert de Stallington.

(2) He could not fail of drawing soon a large Army together. If, as Stow relates, whenever he came to London, six Oxen were eaten in his House at a Breakfast, and every Tavern was full of his Meats. Stow, p. 421.

(3) Or his Niece. The Contamty was net, for both the Honors, openly known, says Hall, fol. 195.

(4) This Year, on June 3, or, according to others, July 3, a Parliament met at Westminster, where n the King resumed into his Hands all the Crown-land granted away during his Reign. This Parliament was regred to November 6, at Reading, and from thence adjourned to May 12, 1468, at Westminster, when it met again, and granted the King two Tenths, and two Fifteenths. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 684. Stow, p. 420, 421.

(5) And the Dukes their Hu-bands, John Holland, and John de la P. In. They set out June 18. The Marriage was solemnized on July 3. Hall, fol. 193.

(6) *Annals of Richard II.* Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 625.

(7) John Tiptot.

1468. tages. To that end, he demanded of the Duke a Safe-Conduct to meet him at *Peronne*. As soon as it was received, he repaired to that Town with a slender Retinue, the better to gain the Duke by that extreme Confidence. But before his departure, he forgot to recal the Ambassadors sent to the *Liegeois*, to persuade them to break the Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon his Assurance of a powerful Aid. This was sufficient to induce that People to take Arms again, and the News of it was brought to the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Peronne*, the same, or the next, day, after the King's Arrival. A proceeding so contrary to good Faith, convincing the Duke that *Lewis* fought only to deceive him, he even imprisoned him in the Castle of *Peronne*, where he was lodged, and detained him several days, uncertain what to resolve. *Lewis* judging of his Enemy by himself, was in mortal Agonies. So, not knowing how to escape, he saw no other remedy, but to submit to what Terms the Duke should please to impose upon him. He met with more Generosity in that Prince than he could have expected. After a very short Negotiation, it was agreed between them, that the King should give *Champagne* and *Brie* to his Brother, instead of *Normandy*, which he was to have had by the Treaty of *Conflans*, and should accompany the Duke in the War with *Liege*. A few days after, they departed together towards the Territories of *Liege*, and *Lewis* had the mortification to be himself witness of the Destruction of the Capital, which he had preposterously thrown into that misfortune. At last, he got out of the Duke of *Burgundy's* hands, after having been in continual fears either of losing his Life, or undergoing a grievous Captivity during the residue of his days. Mean while, he had no Inclination really to execute the Treaty made at *Peronne*. He found means afterwards to evade it.

The Duke discovers the Infincerity of Lewis, and makes him Prisoner Commin.

Lewis submits to hard Terms. Commin.

Destruction of the City of Liege. Commin.

Edward's Alliance with Arragon. Act. Pub. XI. p. 631. --- 635.

He presents the King of Arragon with some Sheep. Biondi. Habington. Hall.

1469. The Earl of Warwick draws his Brothers into the Plot to dethrone the King. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

It is time now to leave the Affairs of which it was necessary to give a general Knowledge, and resume those of *England*, where a more affecting Scene is going to open, by the Variety of the Events which render this Part of *Edward's* Reign very remarkable. The 20th of *October*, *Edward* renewed the antient Alliance between *England* and *Arragon*. The *English* Historians place this Treaty in the Year 1466, but in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, it is dated *October* 20, 1468. Probably, they have confounded the Alliance with *Castile*, in 1466, with that which was renewed two Years after with *Arragon*. *Edward* is said, upon this occasion, to send the King of *Arragon* a Present of some *Ewes* and *Rams* (1), which so multiplied in *Spain*, that it proved very detrimental to the Wool-Trade of *England*.

It was about the end of the Year 1468, or the beginning of 1469, that the Earl of *Warwick* believed himself in condition to begin the execution of his Project against *Edward*. Since he had quitted the Court, he was so forgot, that he was not thought of, unless it was necessary to send him Orders concerning his Government of *Calais*. If he went to *France* the last year, as *Montfret's* Continuator affirms, it is hardly to be doubted that he communicated his Designs to *Lewis* XI, and took measures with him accordingly. But supposing he left not *England*, it was not difficult to treat with that Prince by secret Emisaries. However this be, the Earl passionately desiring to show that he was not to be offended with Impunity, believed it proper to begin with gaining his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York* and the Marquis of *Montague*, whose Interest was the same with his. To that end, he represented to them the Services they had all three done the King, and the little Account made thereof, since their Rewards bore no proportion to what they had done for him: That not content with being ungrateful to all their Family, he had put upon him in particular a grievous Affront in the Affair of his Marriage: That moreover, he had attempted to disgrace their Family in a manner insupportable to Men of Honour. In fine, after many other things tending to convince them of the King's Ingratitude, he told them, he was determined to use his utmost endeavours to show him, that he who had raised him to the Throne was powerful enough to pull him down, and for the execution of this Design, desired their advice and assistance. The Archbishop of *York* was very easily led to follow his Brother's Passion, but the Marquis of *Montague* was not so forward to resolve. He alledged Arguments and Objections which the Earl of *Warwick* answered with great vehemence.

At last he was prevailed with, but intimated, it was more out of complaisance to his Brother than inclination. 1469.

This first Step being made, the Earl of *Warwick* addressed himself to the Duke of *Clarence*, the eldest of the King's Brothers. He knew the Duke was dissatisfied, that the King his Brother had done nothing for him, but given him an empty Title which he did not want: That moreover he had seen with extreme Jealousy the Lord *Scales*, the Queen's Brother, married to the richest Heir-esses in the Kingdom, without any thought of procuring him so advantageous a Match. These Considerations causing the Earl of *Warwick* to believe, the Duke would gladly embrace an opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his Design. The Duke was really inclined as the Earl wished him, and, as he burned with desire to be revenged for the little Affection shown him by the King, readily entered into the Plot. The better to confirm him in this resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* promised him his eldest Daughter (2) in marriage with a very considerable Fortune. All the Historians affirm, that presently after this Conference, they went together to *Calais* (3), where the Nuptials were solemnized; but do not say whether it was privately, or with the King's consent. What they add, that the Duke and the Earl staid at *Calais* till the Insurrection, mentioned hereafter, cannot be true. It appears, on the contrary, by several Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that they were in *England* most part of this Year, before the Insurrection, and even in the King's Favour, who had no Intelligence of their Plot. Nay, it seems he began to repent his great Neglect of the Earl of *Warwick*, since on the 17th of *August* he made him Justiciary of *South-Wales*, and some time after, Seneschal of the whole Country (4).

He engages the Duke of Clarence to the same Design. Hall.

He marries his Daughter to him. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 647.

Notwithstanding these Favours, the Earl of *Warwick's* Projects began to be executed. In the beginning of *October*, there was a Sedition in *Yorkshire*, which all the Historians unanimously ascribe to the secret Practices of the Marquis of *Montague* (5), and his Brother the Archbishop of *York*. The occasion or pretence, was this. There was at *York* an Hospital (6), to the Maintenance whereof the whole County had always contributed, without however being obliged. In time, these voluntary Contributions were changed into a kind of Right, wholly founded upon Custom, and for which there were Collectors appointed. They who had been bribed to stir up the People, artfully spread a report, that the Contributions were misapplied, and served only to enrich the Directors of the Hospital: That besides, the Hospital being sufficiently endowed, these Collections were needless. Whereupon the Country People took fire, as if it had been an Affair of the utmost Importance. They assembled to the number of fifteen thousand, and killing some of the Collectors, marched towards *York*, under the command of one *Robert Huldern*. Upon this news, the Marquis of *Montague*, who resided at *York*, assembling a Body of the Citizens, sallied out upon the Rebels, slew a great number, and taking their Leader, ordered his head to be struck off. This conduct would give occasion to presume, the Sedition was not raised by himself, had not his after-Proceedings been less ambiguous.

An Insurrection in Yorkshire, raised by Warwick's Friends. Hall. Hollingh.

Montague defeats the Mutineers, and beheads their Leader.

The first rumour of this Commotion made the King apprehensive of the consequences. Indeed the Cause was not very important, but knowing how numerous the *Lancastrian* Party still were, he did not doubt that it was raised by some Lord, Friend to that House. However, he was very far from mistrusting his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* to be the chief Authors. Whatever the Issue might be, he dispatched Orders to the Earl of *Pembroke* Governor of *Wales*, to assemble all the Forces of those Parts, and keep himself ready to march (7). Mean time, the *Yorkshire* Male-Contents, rather animated than discouraged at the ill Success of their first attempt, took arms again, and set at their head *Henry* Son of the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and *Henry* Neville Son of the Lord *Latimer*. These two young Leaders had not much experience, but were directed by Sir *John Conyers*, a Person of great conduct and valour, and well versed in the art of War. Their first Project was to make themselves masters of *York*, but suddenly altering their resolution and rout, they marched towards *London*, not at all doubting that their Army would encrease by the way, as it really

Pembroke ordered to raise an Army in Wales. Stow. Habington. Hall.

(1) He gave Licence and Liberty for some *Cotswold* Sheep to be transported into *Spain*. But the Reader must not from hence infer, that there were no Sheep in that Country before: For the contrary is evident, from a Patent of King *Henry* II, granted the 31st of his Reign, to the Weavers of *London*, importing, That if any Cloth were found to be made of *Spanish* Wool, mixed with *English* Wool, the Mayor of *London* should see it burnt. Stow, p. 419.

(2) *Isabella*. Hall, f. l. 200.

(3) Of which the Earl of *Warwick* was Governor. Hollingh. p. 1519.

(4) Capitelem Justiciarum Suthwallie. --- Camerarium Suthwallie, --- & Senescallum Cunarum & Commotarium, in Comitatus de Kermerdyn & Cardigan, &c. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 647.

(5) *John* Nevill.

(6) Dedicated to St. Leonard. Hall, fol. 201.

(7) He also issued out Orders, on *Novemb.* 16, to *John* Mowbray Duke of *Norfolk*, *John* de la Pole Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Anthony* Earl of *Ryvers*, to array, and assemble all Persons able to bear Arms in *Norfolk*, and other parts; and made *Henry* Percy Earl of *Northumbria* Lord, and the Prior of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem*, renew their Oaths of Fealty to him. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 11. p. 648, 649, 650.

1469. happened. Then it was that the affair of *York Hospital* appeared to have been only a pretence to draw the People together. For the Hospital afforded the Seditious no manner of pretence to take the rout to *London*.

The Earl of Pembroke goes out to meet them. He is joined by the Lord Stafford. Hall. Habington. Mean while, the Earl of *Pembroke* having drawn together about ten thousand Men (1), began his March in quest of the Male-Contents. He was joined on the road by the Lord *Stafford*, with eight hundred Archers. The two Armies being come near one another, the Earl of *Pembroke* sent Sir *Richard Herbert* his Brother, with a Detachment (2) to view the Enemy as near as possible. Sir *Richard*, who was a very good Officer, executed his Orders with great conduct, without exposing himself however to be attacked. But his Men, who had not his experience, preposterously imagining, he would lose a fair opportunity to defeat the Enemies, fell, against his Will, upon their Rear. But *Conyers*, who foresaw it, was so well prepared, that the Detachment was routed with great Loss.

The Earl receives a L. js. Hall. Hollingsh. *Edward* hearing this news, writ to the Earl of *Pembroke* not to be discouraged for so inconsiderable a Loss, assuring him he would come in person and join him, or send a strong Reinforcement. Mean while, the Seditious finding they had near them an Army which might daily encrease, and fearing to meet the King in the way, resolved to retire to *Warwick*, where, very likely the Leaders knew, they should be received. But the Earl of *Pembroke*, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near *Banbury*, where the two Armies incamped at a small distance one from another (3). Mean time, the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* quarrelling about an Inn (4), *Stafford* withdrew in the night with his eight hundred Archers. On the morrow, at break of day, the Male-Contents marched in good order to attack the King's Army. They had heard by Deferters of the Lord *Stafford's* retreat, and were resolved to improve it. *Henry Neville* (5), one of their Generals, advancing in order to ingage, for fear the Royalists should retire, was fiercely repulsed, made Prisoner, and slain in cold blood. This barbarous Action inspiring the northern Men with a sort of Fury, they rushed upon their Enemies, and notwithstanding the Valour of Sir *Richard Herbert*, who performed that day Actions extolled by all the Historians (6), the King's Army was put to rout (7). The Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brothers fell into the hands of the Conquerors, who carrying them to *Banbury*, ordered their Heads to be struck off, in revenge for the Death of Sir *Henry Neville*. After this Victory, the Male-Contents continued their march to *Warwick*. Hitherto the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* had not declared themselves. It may be, they were gone some time before to *Calais*, to avoid the Suspicion of being concerned in the Insurrection, in case it miscarried, and to improve it, in case of Success.

The King's Army is worsted, and the Earl of Pembroke beheaded. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. A few days after the Battle of *Banbury*, the People of *Northamptonshire*, following the Example of the *Yorkshire* Men, assembled in great numbers, under the conduct of one *Robert of Riddisdale* (8). This Multitude, which continually increased, tumultuously assailing *Grafton*, a Seat belonging to the Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Father, seized the Earl, and brought him to *Northampton*, where he was beheaded without any form of Law.

The Earl pursues them. Stafford defects him. Hall. Hollingsh. On the other hand, the King justly incensed with the Lord *Stafford* for abandoning the Earl of *Pembroke* upon a frivolous quarrel, and by his retreat occasioning the loss of the Battle of *Banbury*, commanded him to be publicly beheaded (9).

The King's Blindness in regard to the Earl of Warwick. The Death of the Earl of *Rivers* should, one would think, have convinced the King, that the Earl of *Warwick*, though absent, was the real Author of these Troubles; supposing the March of the Male-contents towards *London*, and the Battle of *Banbury* had not been sufficient to make him suspect it. *Warwick* was sworn Enemy of the Earl of *Rivers*, he was angry with the King, and the Male-contents had been received without opposition into *Warwick*. In a word, these People had no reason to take Arms against *Edward* on account of *York-Hospital*, if they had not been privately encouraged by some powerful Enemy of the King, who could be no other than the Earl of *Warwick*. For, there was not then in the Kingdom, any Prince of the House of *Lancaster*, or any Lord of that Party, of sufficient power to cause these Insurrections. As therefore, *Edward* could not be ignorant of the Discontent and great Credit of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brothers, he ought to have naturally concluded, they were the secret Authors. And yet, though it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Earl of *Rivers* was put to death before the 16th of November, the King did not clearly see till the following March, that he had to deal with the Earl of *Warwick*! Strange and inconceivable Blindness!

The War ceases during the Winter. The Sharpness of the Season interrupted for some time the Civil War lately kindled. Besides, the King, to whom it was very unexpected, wanted time to prepare. On the other hand, the Male-contents having yet no declared Head, remained quiet, in expectation of more particular Directions.

Embassy from France. p. 650. During this Winter, *Lewis XI.* sent Ambassadors into *England*, under colour of renewing the Truce. Probably, his sole Aim was to be perfectly informed of the Situation of Affairs in that Kingdom. At the same time *Edward*, desirous of strengthening his Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, sent him the Order of the Garter, which that Prince received at *Bruges*, the 4th of February, with great Solemnity.

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were at Calais during the late Troubles, it is likely, they returned not to England till about February 1470. For, they are not mentioned in the Collection of the Publick Acts since August the last Year. After their return, Edward was so far from suspecting them, that on the 7th of March he sent them, jointly, a Commission to levy Troops against the Rebels in the North. Seven Days after, he conferred on the Earl of Worcester the Office of High-Constable, vacant by the Death of the Earl of Rivers. But, shortly after, the King's Eyes were fully opened with regard to the Duke his Brother, and the Earl of *Warwick*. They levied Troops by virtue of his Commission, but not for his Service. Besides, the Rebels made no scruple to own them for their Heads. Thus, both Sides were preparing more than ever to renew the War. Mean time, *Edward* was so prepossessed, that his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* durst not appear before him, that he imagined their Design was to retire into *Ireland*, of which the Duke of *Clarence* was Lieutenant. In this belief he issued out a Proclamation, dated March the 23d, forbidding the *Irish* to obey the Duke his Brother, and ordering them to apprehend him as well as the Earl of *Warwick*, in case they came there. Moreover, he promised any Person that should take them, a Pension of a thousand Pounds Sterling, or the Sum of ten thousand Pounds in Money, which he would. By the same Proclamation, he conferred the Government of *Ireland* upon the Earl of *Worcester*. Three days after, he gave Orders to levy Troops in all the Counties under his Obedience, which was very diligently performed (10).

The Duke and Earl levy Troops and join. The King marches against them. Hall. Biondi. Habington. But the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were very far from any Thoughts of retiring into *Ireland*. On the contrary, they were very intent upon raising Troops, each in different Quarters. At last, having advice the King was preparing to march against them, they thought proper to join, lest by remaining separate, they should give him too great an advantage. So, *Edward* when he marched to attack them, found them ready to expect him, and bent to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. However, the Uncertainty of the Issue keeping both Sides equally in suspense, some of the most prudent Lords interposed, to procure an Agreement before it came to a decision by Arms. The King passionately desired it, because he considered he was going to hazard his Crown by the loss of a Battle, whereas the Victory could procure him no great Advantage. On the other hand, he flattered himself, that the Earl of *Warwick* seeing him in so good Posture, would be glad, by an honorable Composition, to get clear of his present ill State. So, thinking the Negotiation could not fail of Success, he neglected to take the usual Precautions for the defence of his Camp, contrary to the most constant Maxim of War, that a Man ought never to be more upon his guard, than whilst he is in Treaty.

Talk of an Accommodation. The King desires it. He is negligent during the Negotiation. Hall. Mean time, the Earl of *Warwick* being informed of the King's Negligence, failed not to take the Advantage. After using all possible care to hinder his Design from be-

(1) *Hall*, (fol. 201.) *Hollingsh.* (p. 1319.) and others, say, he had only six or seven thousand Men. But *Stow* affirms, he had with him eighteen thousand Men, and *Humphrey*, Lord *Stafford* of *Southwark*, six thousand Archers, p. 421.

(2) Of two thousand Horse. *Hall*, fol. 201.

(3) Upon *Danes-Moor* near *Hedgecot*, within three Miles of *Banbury*. *Idem*. fol. 202. *Stow*, p. 422.

(4) Where it seems a Woman lived, who was a Mistress of the Lord *Stafford's*. They had agreed too beforehand, that whoever took possession of an Inn, should keep it, and not be liable to be turned out. *Hall*, *ibid*.

(5) With his Pole-Ax in his Hand, he made his way twice through the main Body of his Enemies. *Hall*, fol. 202.

(6) This Battle was fought July 26, and there were above five thousand Welshmen slain. *Idem*, fol. 202. *Stow*, p. 422.

(7) *Robert Fitzhard*, whom they nick-named *Robin* of *Riddisdale*. *Hollingsh.* p. 1321.

(8) He was beheaded on August 17, at *Bridgewater*, and buried at *Gloucester*. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. I. p. 173.

(9) And appointed, on August 26, his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*, Guardian of the *Wight-Marches* towards *Scotland*. *Rymer's Fœd*. Tom. II. p. 653.

1470.

and takes
him Pri-
soner.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

ing discovered, he marched in the night directly into the King's Camp, and suddenly attacking it, put it in the utmost Confusion. *Edward* himself surprized, like all the rest of his Army, saw himself in the hands of his Enemies, before he could take any measures for his Defence or Escape (1). The victorious Earl no sooner had him in his power, but he caused him to be conducted to *Warwick*. After that, he ordered him to be removed to *Middleham Castle* (2), under Custody of his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, who was no less concerned than he, carefully to guard such a Prisoner.

Warwick
dismisses his
Troops.

This Accident seemed to have ended the War. Indeed *Edward* being a Captive, nothing more appeared that could oppose the two victorious Lords. Wherefore, they so relied on their good fortune, that they disbanded most of their Troops, as not wanting them after this decision. They had only to resolve, in what manner the Government should be settled; for it does not appear, they had any desire to restore *Henry* to the Throne. But an unexpected Event, no less surprizing than what had just happened, broke all their Measures. *Edward* being confined in *Middleham Castle*, in the Custody of the Archbishop of *York*, behaved so obligingly to that Prelate, that he had leave with a small Guard to hunt now and then in the Park. This first Step being taken, he prevailed with one of his Guards to deliver a Letter to two Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, wherein he pointed out to them, what Course they should take to free him. The Gentlemen (3), overjoyed at the opportunity to do the King so great Service, privately assembled their Friends, and lying in ambush near the Park, easily carried him away. *Edward* being at liberty, contrary to all Expectation, immediately repaired to *York*. But he did not long remain there, whether he mistrusted the Inhabitants, or thought it more convenient to be nearer *London*. Be this as it will, he made haste into *Lancashire*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain, who had assembled some Troops. After that, taking a compass, to deceive the Vigilance of the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *London*, where he was received without any difficulty. The Earl of *Warwick* so little expected such a turn, that he had neglected to secure the Metropolis, not imagining it to be in any danger.

Warwick
draws his
Troops to-
gether again.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

It is easy to conceive the Earl of *Warwick's* Surprize, when he received this fatal News. The Indiscretion of his Brother the Archbishop, was so very great, that he could not help suspecting him of being bribed. But as it was not then proper to examine his Conduct, he thought only of re-assembling his dispersed Troops, which could not be done in few days. *Edward* was likewise in the same Confusion, since he was without an Army. So, however desirous both were to end their Quarrel by a Battle, they were obliged to stay till their Forces were assembled. In the mean time, some peaceable Lords proposed to renew the Negotiation begun before the King's Imprisonment. The Proposal being accepted, the Mediators judged an Interview of the King, and the two Chiefs of the opposite Party, might conduce to a Peace. In this belief, they so ordered it, that these last came to *Westminster* upon the King's Safe-Conduct. But the Conference had not the desired Effect. It was wholly spent in mutual Reproaches, by which Men are not very apt to be softened.

Edward does
the same.Conference at
Westminster
of no Effect.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Presently after the Interview, every one prepared for War (4). The Earl of *Warwick* commissioned Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*, to levy Troops in *Lincolnshire*, which he performed with great ease, by reason of his Family's Interest in those Parts. *Edward* having notice of it, sent an express Order to the Lord *Wells*, to come immediately to Court. His design was to oblige him to use his Authority, to persuade his Son to forsake the Rebels. The Lord *Wells* being come to *London*, and hearing how much the King was incensed against his Son, in a dread of feeling himself the Effects of his Resentment, took Sanctuary in *Westminster Abbey*. But the King sending him a Safe-Conduct, he immediately came to Court. He even writ to his Son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of *Warwick's* Party, and dismiss his Troops; but the Son refused to obey. Then *Edward*, enraged at not being able to succeed, ordered the Lord *Wells* to be beheaded, with Sir *Thomas Dymock* his Brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Probably, he imagined them guilty of Conivance.

The Lord
Wells's Son
raises troops
for War-
wick.
Hall.The Lord
Wells is be-
headed.
Hall.

This violent Action was very injurious to *Edward's* reputation, and inspired young *Wells* with a desire of Revenge, which occasioned his own Ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the Earl of *Warwick's* Affairs. The King perceiving that *Wells's* Troops visibly increased, thought proper to fight him, before he was joined by the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, who were raising Men in other Counties. *Wells* was encamped near *Stamford*, where he might easily have retired; but the desire of revenging his Father's death, made him resolve to expect the King. He fought with an undaunted Courage as long as he was supported by his Troops. At last, finding Victory declared for the King, he would have provoked his Enemies to kill him, but they refused him that favour, and spared his Life only to make him lose it, a few Days after (5), on the Scaffold. In this Battle *Edward* obtained a compleat Victory over his Enemies, of whom ten thousand were slain (6).

1470.
The King
draws up
Wells, and
the Duke of
Clarence
Hollingsh.
Stow.

Sir *Robert Wells's* defeat broke all the Measures of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*. They were not yet ready (7), and the King was now marching to attack them. In this Extremity they found no other remedy than to embark, in order to screen themselves from the impending Danger (8). The Earl of *Warwick* took his two Daughters with him, the eldest of whom, Wife of the Duke of *Clarence*, was ready to lye-in. His Intent was to retire to his Government of *Calais*, where he had left for his Lieutenant *Vauclair*, a Gascon Captain, in whose Fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his Surprize, when approaching *Calais* he saw the Cannon fired at him! He thought to move *Vauclair* by the consideration of the Duchess of *Clarence's* Case, who was just delivered in the Ship of a Prince, named *Edward*. But all he could obtain, was a Present of two Bottles of Wine for the Duchess. Mean while, *Vauclair* took care to send this small Present by a trusty Messenger, who told the Earl of *Warwick* from him, that he was still devoted to him, though forced to behave in this manner, the better to serve him, because if he entered the Town, he would not be safe; but he might depend upon his Fidelity. *Edward*, who knew not the Motive of *Vauclair's* Proceedings, was so pleased with his Conduct, that he gave him the Government of *Calais*, to which the Duke of *Burgundy*, of his own accord, added a yearly Pension of a thousand Crowns.

Clarence
and War-
wick retire
to France.
Commons
Hall.Vauclair re-
sues them
Entrance
into Calais.
Commons
Hollingsh.
Hall.He is made
Governor of
Calais.

Warwick seeing himself thus repulsed, steered his Course to *Dieppe*, where he safely landed with the Duke of *Clarence*, and his two Daughters. A few Days after, they departed from thence to wait upon the King of *France*, then at *Amboise*, who received them very civilly. *Lewis*, as I before observed, would not concern himself with the Affairs of *England*, when *Edward* and *Henry* were contending for the Crown. But when he saw the strict Alliance between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he found it equally his Interest to labour the ruin of both. To this reason of State was added, the desire of revenging the Affront put upon him by *Edward*, on account of his Marriage. In short, the Assistance *Edward* would have given the Duke of *Bretagne*, evidently showed, so long as he was on the Throne, the French Princes would ever find in him a Protector. All these reasons together moved *Lewis*, not only to receive the fugitive *English*, but moreover to promise them a powerful Aid. For, nothing could be to him more agreeable, and withal, more advantageous, than to see the Civil War re-kindled in *England*. Nay, very probably, he had already taken, for that purpose, private measures with the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl would never have ventured to declare against *Edward*, had he not been secure of this Assistance. However that be, an opportunity naturally offering to create *Edward*, in his own Country, Troubles which would prevent his interposing in the Affairs of his Neighbours, he sent for Queen *Margaret* to Court (9), who, some Years since was retired to the King of *Sicily* her Father. It was the Earl of *Warwick* that had been Author of all that Prince's Misfortunes, and the Earl, on his part, looked upon her as his mortal Enemy. And yet, their common Interest requiring them to stifle their Animosity, *Lewis* very easily reconciled them. At present, they could hardly proceed without each other. *Warwick* perceived, he wanted a pretence to dethrone the King, and could find none more plausible than *Henry's* Resto-

The Duke
and War-
wick to Lewis XI,
Commons
Biond.
Hollingsh.Lewis pro-
mises them
Aid.
Hall.Queen
Margaret is
reconciled
with them.
Hall.
Contin.
Monstrelet.

(1) This happened at a Place called *Wolney*, four Miles from *Warwick*. Hall, fol. 202. Hollingsh. p. 1321.

(2) In *Yorkshire*. See above, p. 581. Note (6).

(3) Sir *William Stanley* and Sir *Thomas Burgb*. Hall, fol. 203.

(4) The King retired to *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Clarence* and Earl to *Warwick*. Idem. fol. 204.

(5) March 13. Stow, p. 422.

(6) This Battle was fought near *Stamford*, not *Stratford*, as *Rapin* says by mistake, and from the *Lincolnshire* Men throwing off their Coats, in order to run away the lighter, was called, *The Battle of Lose Coat Field*. Hall, fol. 204. Hollingsh. p. 1322.

(7) They intended to march the next Day. Hall, ibid. Hollingsh. p. 1322.

(8) They repaired to *Exeter*, and, after a short stay there, hired a Ship at *Dartmouth*, and embarked for *France*. Hall, fol. 204. This was done in May. The Continuator of *Monstrelet* says, they went away with fourcore Vessels, and landed in *Normandy* at *Harflur*, fol. 164.

(9) Hall says, she came thither of her own accord, attended by *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who, after a long Imprisonment in *England*, had escaped into *France*, fol. 206.

ration, which he could not endeavour, without being united with the Queen. On the other hand, the Queen saw this to be the only way to restore the King her Husband, or rather herself, to the Throne. So, beholding a ray of hope from that quarter, she readily received her old Enemy for Protector. Their Reconciliation therefore was made by the King of France's mediation, upon these Terms: That the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick should endeavour to restore Henry to the Throne: That the Queen should promise with an Oath to leave the Government of the Kingdom in their hands during the King's Life, and the Prince his Son's Minority, in case he came to the Crown before he was of age: Lastly, To strengthen their Union, the Prince of Wales should marry the Earl of Warwick's youngest Daughter (1). The last Article was immediately executed. Thus the Brother of King Edward (2) became Brother-in-law of the young Prince of Lancaster, and the Earl of Warwick was equally allied to both Houses.

The Duke of Burgundy, who had good Spies at the Court of France, being informed of these Transactions, gave Edward warning, who was very unconcerned. He could never believe, the Earl of Warwick, who was forced to quit the Kingdom for want of support, would be powerful enough, in his absence, to cause the People to rise in his favour. As for the Preparations in France, they gave him no uneasiness, being sensible how difficult it is for a foreign Nation to conquer England, if the People themselves don't assist. Thus, reasoning upon very doubtful grounds, namely, the People's Affection, and the Earl of Warwick's little Credit, he neglected his principal Affair, to abandon himself to Voluptuousness and Sensuality, to which he was extremely inclined.

What gave him most Uneasiness was to see the Duke of Clarence his Brother strictly united with his Enemies. This Union had already produced ill effects, and might in time produce worse. He believed therefore, to make himself easy, he ought to endeavour to gain his Brother to his Interest. To that end he bribed one of the Duchesses of Clarence's Women, and instructing her in the part she was to act, granted her a Passport, to go to her Mistress. This Woman departing for Paris, passed through Calais, where she saw the Governor without telling him the Secret. It was very happy for Edward that Vauclair, who was in the Interests of the Earl of Warwick, was not acquainted with the Affair; for he would have entirely discovered all. When the Woman came to her Mistress, she very artfully and successfully discharged her Commission. She represented to the Duke of Clarence from the King his Brother, "That the Course he was taking must end in his own Ruin: That supposing the designs he had formed with the Earl of Warwick should succeed to his Wish, he could not expect, the House of Lancaster would put any trust in a Prince of the House of York, when there was no farther need of him: That his very Life would be in danger: That instead of relying on the Queen's Oath, he ought rather to consider it as a Snare to surprise him: That the Earl of Warwick would be the first to oppress him, as well to free himself from a Colleague in the Government, as to be rid of a Prince, who might one day have it in his Power to revenge the Injuries done to his House: That on the other hand, the King his Brother having only a young Daughter, whom Death might easily snatch out of the world, he was next Heir to the Crown: But if the House of Lancaster was restored, he would lose all hopes of mounting the Throne, since Henry's Son very possibly would have a numerous Issue." To these reasons, which were very strong, she added Motives taken from the Ties of Blood, some Excuses from the King, with a positive Promise to consider him for the future as his real Brother and the chief support of their Family. A Man must have wanted common sense not to yield to such convincing Arguments. The Duke of Clarence seeing at last his true Interests, charged the Woman to tell his Brother, he would not fail to declare for him, when he could do it with safety and probability of rendering him a considerable service. Edward being informed how the Duke of Clarence stood affected, grew perfectly easy, believing the Earl of Warwick's future Attempts would be fruitless, when no longer seconded by the Duke his Son-in-law. It must be confessed, the Earl of Warwick's Policy was very

extraordinary, in making the Duke of Clarence an Instrument to ruin the King his Brother. He must have supposed, the Duke would openly act against his own Interest, which was not to be expected from the most stupid of Men. And indeed, he was afterwards very sensible, when it was too late, that he had taken false measures.

Whilst Edward lived in a deceitful security, the Earl of Warwick was preparing to return into England. He was sure of finding a powerful Party, to which were joined all the Friends of the House of Lancaster, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his design. Lewis XI furnished him, though sparingly, with Money and Troops. As far as can be judged, that Monarch's sole Aim was to foment discord among the English, to prevent their interposing in his Affairs. He still persisted in his design of subduing the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, in which he thought he could not succeed, so long as these two Princes might expect the Protection of England. Mean while, to facilitate the Earl of Warwick's descent, he ordered the Bastard of Bourbon to convoy him with some Ships of War; but it was not easy to pass into England. The Duke of Burgundy's Fleet, much stronger than that of France, waited in the Mouth of the Seine to engage the French if they sailed, and it was not likely, the Bastard of Bourbon would venture upon so unequal a Fight. Notwithstanding this, the Earl of Warwick repaired to Havre de Grace, to be ready to embrace any opportunity that should offer. This precaution was not in vain. Some days after his Arrival, a violent Storm so dispersed the Flemish Ships, that not being able to keep the Sea, they were forced to retire to their Ports. The Storm being over, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick set sail and arrived at Dartmouth (3), from whence they had passed into France four or five Months before.

The News of their landing was so far from alarming Edward, that he rejoiced at it. Possessed with the Notion that it was impossible for the Earl of Warwick to accomplish his designs, he fancied he could wish for nothing more advantageous, than to see his Enemy come and deliver himself into his hands. Thus possessed, he desired the Duke of Burgundy to continue his Fleet at Sea, to hinder the Earl of Warwick's escape. But the Duke of Burgundy thought otherwise of this Expedition. He could not believe so prudent a Person as the Earl of Warwick, would have thus ventured, if he had not been sure of a Party in England capable of supporting him. And indeed Warwick had no sooner landed his Men, but he saw himself at the head of an Army, which in a few days increased to sixty thousand. Immediately he caused Henry VI to be proclaimed, publishing an Order in his name, for all his Subjects from sixteen to sixty, to take arms and expel the Tyrant and Usurper.

So unexpected an Event opened Edward's Eyes, and showed him the Folly of his expectations. Mean time, he gave Orders to levy Troops, and appointed the Rendezvous about Nottingham (4). Some affirm, his Army was more numerous than the Earl of Warwick's. Others again say, it was much inferior, and this indeed is most probable (5). For, had Edward been superior in number of Troops, he would most certainly have marched to his Enemies; whereas upon their approach he retired towards the Sea. The News he received, that the Marquis of Montague, who commanded in the North, had declared against him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehensive as he was, that this defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid a Battle, but knew not where to retire, because he was ignorant who were his real Friends. At length, he encamped near Lynn, a little maritime Town in Lincolnshire (6), and lodged in the Castle. This precaution, though perhaps taken without design, proved of great service. The Earl of Warwick being come within three Miles of his Army, caused the cry of King Henry! King Henry! to be every where sounded. And the same cry, by some unknown practices, began likewise to be heard in Edward's Camp. Whereupon he commanded the Castle Gates to be shut, and the Bridge to be strongly guarded, whilst a Council was held to consider of what was to be done. But the Shoutings, which grew louder in his Army, not affording him time to deliberate, he saw no other remedy than to embark with four or five hundred of the most trusty Men (7), on board three small Vessels which had served to bring Provisions for his Army. The Lord Hastings placed himself in the Rear, to withstand the ef-

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The Earl of Warwick comes into England. Comm. Mercur. Hall. Con. Mon.

Commia.

Edward's ill-grounded Security. Commia. Hall.

Warwick has an Army of sixty thousand Men. Hall.

Edward raises Troops likewise. Ibid.

Montague defects him. Stow. Commia.

Edward retires into Lincolnshire. Hall. He is pursued. Hall.

He embarks and goes for Holland. Commia. Hall. Hollingh.

(1) Named Ann. (2) George Duke of Clarence, who had married Isabella the eldest Daughter. (3) September 13. Stow, p. 422. (4) And marched towards that Place, attended by his Brother the Duke of York, the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, the Lord Scales, &c. Hall, fol. 208. (5) Hall observes, that of them who were sent for, few in effect came, and yet more came than were willing, and more came willingly than were trusted, fol. 208. (6) It is in Norfolk. See Camden, &c. (7) About seven or eight hundred; among whom was the Duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, &c. Commia, l. 11. c. 5. Hall, fol. 209. Hollingh. p. 1324.

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forts of the Soldiers, in case they attempted to oppose the King's flight, and when all were embarked, went himself on board one of the Ships (1).

He is in danger of being taken by Pirates, but is delivered by the Lord Gruthuyse. Comm. Hall.

Edward being reduced to this sad condition, ordered his Ships to steer for *Holland*, not knowing where to retire, except into the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother-in-law. Whilst he was beating the Seas, his Ships were descryed by eight Corsairs of the *Low-Countries* or *Germany*, whom the *English* called *Easterlings*, from their Country lying Eastward of *England*. Immediately these Corsairs gave chase to the three Ships, but as these were the more light, they had time to get into *Alcmar* Road at low-Water, which hindered the Corsairs from pursuing them any farther, because they durst not come so near the Shore. Mean while they anchored in fight, designing to attack them at high-Water. In this extremity, *Edward* had no other refuge than to make Signals to implore the protection of the Country. Happily for him, the Lord *Gruthuyse*, of whom I have before spoken, being then Governor of *Holland*, chanced to be at *Alcmar*. When he was told, these Ships desired assistance, he sent a Sloop to know what they were. As soon as he heard the King of *England* was there, he sent an order to the Corsairs not to approach, on pain of incurring the Duke his master's indignation. These people, though so near their prey, not durst disobey. They too often wanted the Governor's protection, to displease him. So, *Gruthuyse* went himself in a Sloop to wait on the King, and paid him all the respect due to him. *Edward* not having money to reward the master of the vessel that brought him over, made him a present of a rich robe lined with Sables. After that he was conducted to the *Hague*, where *Gruthuyse* bore his Expences, till he had received the Duke of *Burgundy's* orders.

Comm. Hall.

Mean while, the Queen, who was at *London*, hearing of the King's flight, took sanctuary in *Westminster Abbey* (2), where she was followed by a great number of *Yorkists*. There she was delivered (3) of a Prince called *Edward*, born Heir of a noble Kingdom, at the very time it was lost by his Father (4). Whilst *Edward's* friends were in the utmost consternation, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, victorious without drawing their Swords, were marching to *London*, where they entered in triumph the beginning of *October*. On the 6th of the same month (5) the Earl of *Warwick*, attended by several Lords and a great crowd of people, went to the *Tower* and freed King *Henry*, who had been Prisoner six Years.

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The Queen flies to Westminster Abbey. Hall. Stow. Clarence and Warwick come to London and free King Henry. Hollinghead.

Whilst these things were transacting, the populace of *Kent* flocking together marched directly to *London*, with design to enrich themselves with the plunder of the City. But the Earl of *Warwick* meeting them with part of his Troops, easily repulsed this multitude, and ordered the most mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent their plundering *Southwark*, parted from the City by the *Thames*.

Sedition in Kent. Hall. Hollinghead.

The Tumult being appeased, *Henry* was solemnly proclaimed, as remounting the Throne. Next day there was a Procession, at which the new King, assisted with his Crown on his head (6), and followed by an innumerable crowd of people, who by their Acclamations shewed their Approbation of the late Revolution. Thus the Earl of *Warwick* had the Honour of restoring *Henry* to the Throne, after having deposed him, and of pulling down *Edward*, who had been raised entirely by his means. Wherefore, he was commonly called, *The King-Maker*.

Henry is restored to the Throne. Hall. Hollinghead.

HENRY VI. Restored.

Montague is made President of the North. Act. Pub. XI. p. 665. Hall.

THE new King's first care, or rather the Earl of *Warwick's*, who governed in his name, was to restore the Marquess of *Montague* to the Government of the northern Counties, which *Edward* had taken from him, and given to the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother. Then, a Parliament was called for the 26th of *November*, to confirm the new Revolution. This was a necessary Formality to satisfy the people; though the Parliament's Confirmation was of no great weight in an Affair transacted without it, and in which it could make no alteration. The same thing happened when *Edward* mounted the Throne. The contrary Resolutions of the Parliaments, in regard to the Quarrel between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, clearly shew, these Assemblies acted not with freedom, but were swayed by the Events which happened before their deliberations. It is in vain therefore to urge the Authority of the Parliaments in support of the Rights of either House. Their Determinations are properly of no force, since they had not the liberty to judge according to their Understanding; unless it is said, their Understanding directed them always to side with the strongest.

Remarks upon the Parliaments.

Be this as it will, the Parliament voted *Edward* a Traitor and Usurper of the Crown, confiscated all his paternal Estate, and annulled all the Statutes made in his Reign, as wanting a lawful Authority.

Edward declared a Traitor and Usurper.

By another Act, the Crown was confirmed upon *Henry VI.* and his Male-Heirs. But in default of such Heirs, the Crown was to descend to the House of *York*, that is, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs; *Edward*, eldest Son of the late Duke of *York*, being excluded for his Rebellion. Here would be a large field to expatiate upon the unlimited Authority of the Parliaments, if the Statute had been made with freedom, and after mature delibera-

An extraordinary Act to settle the Succession. Hall. Hollinghead.

tion. But it is easy to see the little Freedom there was in this Parliament, if it is considered, this Act was only a bare Confirmation of the Earl of *Warwick's* Engagements. Moreover, out of pure condescension for the Earl, or rather by his direction, and contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, it was not scrupled to deprive the Daughters of the House of *Lancaster*, of a Right enjoyed by the Princesses of the Royal Family, ever since the *Norman Conquest*. Thus, by a hasty Resolution, was established in *England* a kind of *Salic Law*, which the *English* had so much censured and derided, when *Edward III.* and *Philip de Valois* were contending for the Crown of *France*. This same Parliament restored to all their Honours and Rights, *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, Half-Brother to *Henry*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who were attainted under *Edward*.

Moreover, in consequence of Queen *Margaret's* Engagements at *Amboise*, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were declared and appointed Governors of the Kingdom. By this, the Parliament manifestly supposed *Henry's* Inability, who indeed was considered only as the Shadow of a King. A Pardon was likewise granted to the Marquess of *Montague*, for his crime in serving *Edward*, since by deserting him at so critical a time, he was the principal Cause of his Flight. But this was not all. To give the Earl of *Warwick* a plausible pretence to be revenged on his private Enemies, all that had born arms in defence of *Edward's* pretended Right, were declared Traytors and Rebels (7). By virtue of this Act, *John Tiptoft* Earl of *Worcester*, Governor of *Ireland*, and High-Constable of *England*, having been found hid in a hollow Tree (8), was brought to *London* and beheaded (9). By these Acts of private revenge, the Nobles of the opposite Party were forced, as one may

The Duke and Earl declared Governors of the Kingdom. Hollinghead. Hall.

(1) Thus, as Hall observes, King *Edward* embarked (on *October* 3.) without Bag or Baggage, without Cloth, Sack, or Mail, and perchance with a great Purse, and little Treasure, fol. 208. Stow, p. 422.

(2) On *October* 1. She went thither privately from the Tower, by Water. Stow, p. 422.

(3) *November* 4. Sandford, p. 425.

(4) His Godfathers were, the Abbot, and Prior of *Westminster*, and the Lady *Scrope* stood Godmother. Hall, fol. 210. Hollinghead.

(5) The 12th, according to Hall, fol. 210, and Hollinghead, p. 1325. Stow says, it was the 6th, p. 422.

(6) On *October* 25. He came from the Tower, dressed in a long Gown of blue Velvet, to *St. Paul's Church*; attended by the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick* and *Sherwbury*, the Lord *Stanley*, &c. and from thence went to the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he kept his Court. Hall, fol. 210. Hollinghead, p. 1325.

(7) And it was enacted, That extreme Punishment should be done without delay, on such of King *Edward's* Adherents, as were apprehended, and were either in Captivity, or went at large upon trust of their Sureties. Hall, 210.

(8) In the Forest of *Wairbridge* in *Huntingdonshire*. Stow, p. 423.

(9) On *Tower-Hill*, and buried at the *Black-friars*. Ibid.

1470. say, to seek for safety in Arms. Perhaps this is one of the principal causes of several Revolutions which had already, and which afterwards happened.

The Earl of Richmond presented to the King. Henry's pretended Prophecy. Hall. Hollingh.

Shortly after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke* went for *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew, who had concealed himself in *Wales* (1), and brought him to the King. It is pretended, *Henry* steadfastly fixing his Eyes upon that young Prince, foretold, he should one Day mount the Throne, and put an end to the Quarrel of the two Houses. But I do not know whether this fact be so well proved, as some Historians affirm. There seems to be reason to presume, it was invented in the Reign of *Henry VII.*, whilst the Canonization of *Henry VI.* was soliciting at *Rome*. For, the chief cause of the Pope's opposition, was, that though he was willing to own *Henry VI.* for a good Man, he could not see in his Life any proof of an eminent Sanctity. So, this pretended Prophecy, if it had been well attested, would have been very proper to remove the Objection.

A Grant to the Archbishop of York. Act. Pub. XI. p. 669.

The Earl of *Warwick* having forgiven the Archbishop of *York* his Brother, for letting *Edward* escape, procured him a Grant of *Woodstock* Park, and many other Manors (2), with the confiscation of the Estates of several Persons condemned for Rebellion, that is, for having served *Edward*.

The Duke of Burgundy's Trouble about Edward. Commin. Hall.

I left *Edward* at the *Hague* in a very melancholy State, deprived of his Kingdom, and living at the expence of the Lord *Gruthuyse*, till the Duke of *Burgundy* was informed of his case. The news of the King his Brother-in-law's arrival in his Dominions, was by no means pleasing to the Duke. *Philip de Commines* affirms, he would have been less uneasy at the news of his Death. For, in that case, he would have had but one course to take; namely, to approve of *Henry's* Restoration. But *Edward* being alive and in *Holland*, could not but throw him into great perplexity. He had made an Alliance with him not out of Affection, but solely for reasons of State. He had sacrificed to his Interest his Aversion for the House of *York*; an Aversion wherein he had been educated by Mother, Daughter of a Princess of the House of *Lancaster*. Mean while, he was reduced to the sad Necessity either of deserting his Brother-in-law, who was come for refuge into his Dominions, or of exposing himself, in protecting him, to the danger of drawing upon him the united Forces of *France* and *England*. On the other hand, the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, who made a different sort of figure at his Court from what they did before this Revolution, earnestly pressed him to abandon *Edward*, and threatened him, in case of Refusal, with the Indignation of *England*. Moreover, the Earl of *Warwick* had now sent to *Calais* a Body of Troops, which only waited for orders to join the *French*, and invade some Province of the *Low-Countries*. *Vauclair* had not only received these Troops into the Town, but by many other Steps had shewn, that he was far from being unfaithful to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Philip de Commines* relates, that the Duke his Master having sent him to *Calais*, for a Confirmation of the Truce of Commerce between that Place and the *Low-Countries*, found the Governor, Garrison, and Townsmen entirely for *Henry* (3). He adds, that he saw no other way to succeed in his Negotiation than to tell the Inhabitants of *Calais*, that the Truce being made with *England*, and not with *Edward's* Person (4), the change of King was not a sufficient motive to break it. By that, he intimated his Master disliked not the Revolution.

Posture of the Duke of Burgundy's Affairs.

It is certain, it greatly concerned that Prince to keep fair with the *English*. But the better to understand his embarrassment caused by *Edward's* retreat into his Dominions, it will be necessary to know the Situation of his Affairs. By the Treaty, *Lewis XI.* signed at *Peronne*, he promised to give in Appenage to the Duke of *Berry* his Brother, *Champagne* and *Brie* in lieu of *Normandy*, which he had taken from him. He was not a little embarrassed by this Engagement. He plainly perceived, the Duke of *Burgundy's* Aim was to have Prince *Charles* for neighbour, to be able by his means to stir up Commotions in *France* whenever he pleased. But for the same reason he himself wanted to keep his Brother at a distance from the Duke. For that purpose, he tried to persuade the Duke of *Berry* to accept of *Guienne* and *Rochelle*, instead of *Champagne*, and, to succeed in this Project, bribed all those who had any influence upon him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being informed of this design, opposed it to the ut-

most of his power, by representing to the Duke of *Berry*, 1470. how much that Exchange would be to his prejudice. But perceiving these Reasons to be ineffectual, he intimated to him, by private Emisaries, that, if he demanded his only Daughter in Marriage, he would certainly obtain her, and might, to prevent his Brother's Opposition, retire into *England* till the Marriage was concluded. This Negotiation had been carried so far, that *Edward*, at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Instance, had ordered a Safe-Conduct to be dispatched for that Prince. But these measures were broken, because the Duke of *Berry*, persuaded by his treacherous Counsellors, determined at last to accept of the Exchange offered by the King his Brother.

Upon this the Duke of *Burgundy* listened but coldly to the proposal of the Marriage, which could no longer be subservient to his Designs. Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable de *St. Pol*, who were deeply concerned in the Negotiation (5), were extremely desirous of its Success. As they loved not the King, they considered, this Marriage would be an infallible means to keep up, between the two Brothers, a Dissension from which they hoped to reap great Advantages. There was nothing wanting but the Duke of *Burgundy's* Consent, and as they saw he had no Inclination, they undertook to obtain it by an extraordinary method. They pretended to be dissatisfied with the Duke, and advised the King of *France* to make War upon him, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power. Their Aim was to offer the Duke, when he should come to be pressed, to espouse his Quarrel, on condition he would give his Daughter to the Duke of *Guienne*. *Lewis XI.* desired nothing more than to see the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* at variance. Besides, he most passionately wished to take from the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Towns upon the *Somme*, delivered to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. He would not however have attempted to make war upon him, for fear the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable should have raised Disturbances in the Kingdom, whilst he was elsewhere employed. But when he thought himself safe from that quarter, he immediately resolved upon the War, as having no Intelligence of their Plot. Before he declared himself, he sent private Emisaries to the Towns he wanted to recover, to win the principal Burghers to his Interest. It must be observed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* kept but slender Garrisons in his Towns, and upon the Peace, disbanded his Troops to ease his Subjects.

Lewis having laid all his Plots, assembled the Estates at *Tours* in March 1470, where, upon frivolous Complaints brought by the Earl of *Eu* against the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was summoned before the Court of Peers, and the Citation was sent by a Summoner of the Parliament. The Duke not appearing, War was proclaimed against him, and *St. Quentin* taken, where the Constable de *St. Pol* entered without opposition. *Amiens* opened her Gates to the King by the like Practices, and the Duke was also very near losing *Abbeville*.

Such was the Situation of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Affairs, when *Edward* came for refuge into his Country. He saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the King of *France*, and presently after the Earl of *Warwick* sent (6) four thousand Men to *Calais* to join the *French*, or make a Diversion. So, the Duke could do nothing more prejudicial to his Interest, than exasperate the Earl of *Warwick* by protecting *Edward*. It is not therefore strange, if *Edward* endured some mortifications during his retreat. It was necessary for the Duke of *Burgundy's* interest, that it should be thought in *England*, he was sorry to see him, and had no inclination to protect him. But in private, he promised to give him assistance as soon as he could do it with safety.

This policy did not serve *Edward's* turn. He could have wished, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have openly declared for him, imagining such a declaration would have greatly conduced to the support of his party in *England*. At last, finding the Duke remained firm to his resolution, and his Dukes's solicitations made no impression upon him, he demanded a private Audience. As the Duke could not refuse it, he represented to him, "That a longer delay was extremely prejudicial to him: That he lost his friends and creatures in *England*, whilst the Earl of *Warwick* was daily strengthening himself in his usurped power: That therefore there was no medium betwixt assisting him speedily, and abandoning him to his ill-fortune. Then he imparted to him his Brother the

(1) He went into *Wales* to visit his County of *Pembroke*, where he found *Henry*, then between nine and ten Years old, who was kept in a manner like a Captive, but well and honourably educated by the Lady *Hesbert*, Relict of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*. Hall, fol. 211.

(2) *Hanburgh, Wotton, and Stonefield*. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 669.

(3) He found they all wore the Earl of *Warwick's* Badge, and on every Door were set white Crosses and ragged Staves. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6. Hall, fol. 212.

(4) Whom he reported to be dead. See *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6.

(5) The Earl of *St. Pol* had a yearly Pension of thirty thousand Livres from the King of *France*. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 420.

(6) He intended to send them, but was dissuaded from it by the Merchants of the *Staple*; who were then Persons of great Authority, and had a great Influence upon the Affairs of the Nation. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 6.

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"Duke of Clarence's promises, adding, it was absolutely necessary to make haste, lest that Prince, who was naturally inconstant, should alter his mind, or the Earl of Warwick discovering his design, hinder him from executing it, by removing him from the Government. To these reasons, which concerned him in particular, he added the consideration of their mutual oath, whereby they were bound to give each other proofs of a sincere friendship and a ready assistance, in case of necessity. Moreover, he intreated him to reflect, that in acting for him, he was also labouring for his own family, which might one day stand in need of assistance; not to reckon the honour which would redound to him, by restoring a King his Brother-in-law to the Throne. Finally, he positively promised to enter into a strict alliance with him against France, the moment he was restored; adding, that such a league was the right way to resist their common enemy. He concluded with representing, that dissimulation would never be able to produce the effect he intended, since it would not hinder Lewis and the Earl of Warwick from jointly endeavouring to ruin him."

The Duke of Burgundy resolves to assist Edward. Comm. Hall. Hollingh.

The Duke of Burgundy was moved with this discourse. He perceived, that in effect there was no medium in the alternative proposed to him by Edward. Above all, he seriously considered what that Prince had said in the last place, that he could not hope to repulse the attacks of the King of France, without the assistance of England, which could be expected only by Edward's restoration. That on the contrary, by deserting him, he would run the risk of seeing France and England unite all their forces against him. But on the other hand, he considered, he could give Edward but a very small aid, considering the present posture of his own affairs. That it was to be feared this attempt happening to miscarry, he should furnish the Earl of Warwick with a plausible pretence to attack him. In this perplexity, he devised an expedient, whereby he imagined he could at once save the appearances with Warwick, and give some small assistance to the fugitive King. He equipped four large Ships at Vere, a free Port in Zealand, in other Persons names, who were furnished with Money. Moreover, he privately hired fourteen Ships of the *Easterlings*, to convoy the King into England, and to keep upon the Coast a fortnight after his landing, to conduct him back in case of necessity. Then, giving Edward a good sum of money (1), he left him in Holland, and went himself into Flanders. When all these Ships were ready, Edward disappearing, notice was sent to the Duke, who immediately ordered Proclamation to be made, that none of his Subjects should assist him directly or indirectly upon pain of Death. It is likely, if Edward's attempt had miscarried, the Earl of Warwick would not have been deceived by this Artifice.

Comm. Hall. Hollingh.

Comm.

Warwick has some intimations of Edward's Design. Act. Pub. XI. p. 676.

Whatever care was taken by Edward and the Duke of Burgundy to conceal their designs, the Earl of Warwick had received some intelligence of them. It was too much for his interest to have good Spies in Holland, to neglect so necessary a precaution. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 21st of December the Marquess of Montague had orders to levy Troops in the North, on pretence of a Rebellion (2), not mentioned by the Historians. Probably, it was only a farther precaution taken by the Earl of Warwick, upon some general advices of a Plot forming in Holland.

1471. He is made High-Admiral. p. 679. Clarence levies Troops. p. 680.

The 2d of January 1471, the Earl of Warwick was made High-Admiral. Doubtless, he did not dare to trust others with the care of equipping a Fleet, which he foresaw would be wanted, if the Duke of Burgundy attempted to assist Edward with open force. The advices from Holland being something more certain than hitherto, the Duke of Clarence, who was by no means suspected of holding intelligence with his Brother, was commissioned to raise an army to oppose his designs in case he should return into the Kingdom.

Truce between England and France. p. 667, 681. 683.

These measures being taken, the Earl of Warwick made haste to conclude with Lewis XI an alliance, projected some time before. But as it was difficult, to make

an alliance with a Prince actually in War with England, and as a Peace could not be concluded by reason of Henry's pretensions to the Crown of France, a long Truce was resolved upon, almost equivalent to a Peace. In the Treaty upon this occasion, it was agreed the Truce should last till one of the two parties desired to break it, in which case he was to give the other five years notice, and the Truce was to continue ten years without being revocable (3). It was farther agreed, that a place should be appointed to treat of a final Peace. Lewis XI, was pleased, I know not for what reason, that the Duke of Guienne his Brother should be particularly included in the Truce.

The same day the Treaty was signed, the grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem set out for France, to bring home Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales.

Shortly after, the Earl of Warwick, out of affection to the Duke of Clarence his Son-in-law, or to attach that Prince the more to the King's side, restored him the Government of Ireland, with several Manors in England, forfeited by Edward's adherents. The Marquess of Montague, and Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, had likewise a share in the King's favours.

Mean while, Edward having finished all his preparations, sailed from the Port of Vere about the middle of March (4), bringing with him two thousand Men. He disembarked at Ravenspur (5), where Henry IV had formerly landed when he came to wrest the Crown from Richard II. He expected to be received with acclamations; but, contrary to his expectation, found the Inhabitants of those parts extremely displeased with his coming. Some were well affected to the House of Lancaster. Others, seeing Edward so thinly attended, were afraid to venture openly to espouse his cause. Mean while, as there were no regular Troops, he met with no opposition. But that was not all he desired. He would have been glad to be met by the People and see his army increase.

This disappointment obliging him to march with circumspection, he caused it to be rumoured, that he was come only as Duke of York to claim the private inheritance of his family, which had been confiscated (6). Henry IV had formerly used the same artifice, but more justly, since he was banished without legal Cause. But if Edward had no Right to the Crown, as he seemed to own; he must have been guilty of Usurpation, and consequently could not with justice complain that his Estate was confiscated. The reason why he did not carry his pretensions any farther, upon his arrival in the Kingdom, seems to be this: He was strongly persuaded, that the people in general were much more inclined to him than to his Rival, but that the Magistrates were against him. Indeed, as soon as the Earl of Warwick had the Government in his hands, after Henry's Restoration, his first care was to fill all the offices with his creatures. It was therefore convenient, that Edward should furnish the People with a pretence to favour him, how slight soever it might be; thereby to oppose the authority of the Magistrates, who would have had too great an advantage, could they have affirmed, he was come in arms to dethrone the reigning King. Whereas by demanding only his private patrimony, he moved the People's compassion, and inspired them with hopes that the quarrel between the two Houses might at length be ended, by restoring his Inheritance.

Be this as it will, Edward, though little pleased with the People's coldness, marched towards York, giving Henry every where the title of King, and styling himself only Duke (7). The News of Edward's landing having reached the Court, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick departed from London to levy Troops. At the same time the Magistrates of the Town were ordered to shut their Gates upon the Enemy, and the Marquess of Montague, who kept at Pontefract with a Body of Troops (8), had Orders to fight Edward before his arrival at York (9). But the Marquess, for what reason is unknown, remained in his Post without making any Motion to hinder his

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(1) Fifty thousands Florins. Comm. l. 3. c. 6.

(2) ----- Tam in resistentiam Adversariorum & inimicorum nostrorum Exterorum, Regnum nostrum Angliæ in Partibus Borealibus ut accepimus invadere nientium, quam in repressionem diversorum Rebellium nostrorum. ----- Rymer's Fæd. Tom. XI. p. 676.

(3) Rapin has not plainly expressed the Nature of this Truce: By the Treaty, as it stands in Rymer's Fæd. Tom. XI. p. 683-----690, the Truce was not to be revoked in five Years, after which, if either Party thought fit to revoke it, the Revocation was not to take place till five Years more, that is, not till ten Years after the Date.

(4) He embarked at Flushing in Zealand, on March 2; but the Wind being contrary, he did not sail till the 11th. Holinshed, p. 1327.

(5) The 12th of March, Edward came before Cromer, in Norfolk, where he sent on Shore Sir Robert Chamberlaine, Sir Gilbert Deberham, and others, to understand how the People stood affected; they found, that by reason of the Vigilance of John de Vere Earl of Oxford, and the great Preparations he had made, it was unsafe to land in those Ports: Wherefore they steered to the Northward, and, a Storm arising that night, they could not land till the 14th, which they did at Ravenspur, and places adjoining. The King lodged that night in a Village two Miles from the Place of his Landing. The next day, being the 15th of March, the King's Forces met and joined in a Body, whence they proceeded to Beverly, &c. Ibid.

(6) Answered the Earl of Northumberland's Letters under his Seal, wherein he had invited him over. Stow, p. 423.

(7) It is incredible, says Hall, what effect this new imagination (his claiming only the Duchy of York) had upon the People. All Men moved with mercy and compassion, began out of hand either to favour him, or else not to resist him, fol. 215.

(8) Four thousand Men. Stow, p. 423.

(9) Or else to hinder him from proceeding further, till he should come himself. Hall, fol. 215.

1471. March (1). Some ascribe this Conduct to his ignorance of Edward's Forces. But what likelihood was there of his wanting good Intelligence upon so important an occasion? Others tax him with Cowardice; but he was one of the bravest Lords of the Kingdom. Some believe there was a good Understanding between him and Edward; but the Sequel shewed the contrary. Those that reason with most probability, say, That *Montague*, imagining *Edward* would not return into *England* without a well-grounded hope of being restored, designed to reserve himself this way, in order to make his Peace with him. And, though his Attempt should miscarry, *Montague* did not despair of appeasing the Earl his Brother.

Edward, upon his approach to York, is desired to take another Rout. He answers with great Moderation. *Hollingsh.*

Mean while, *Edward* approaching *York* (2), two of the Aldermen came and intreated him, in the name of the Magistrates, to march another way; representing, that they could not receive into their City, a Prince that was come to take the Crown from their lawful King. *Edward*, pursuant to the Plan he had formed, replied, "That he was not come to take the Crown from the King: That since the people had declared for *Henry*, he acknowledged him for his Sovereign, and had no intention to do him any prejudice: That he was come to request the King for the restitution of his estate, not with an army to use force, but only with a few followers, to secure him from the malice of his enemies: That the Parliament should be the Judge of his cause, and desired only to have means to pass his days quietly, in the allegiance becoming a good subject: That however, the inhabitants of *York* should of all others be the last to deny him admittance, since his Lands in the County, as well as his Title of Duke of *York* rendered him their Countryman. In fine he prayed them to remember the favors which, on several occasions, the City had received from his Family."

The Aldermen returned with this answer, which was not sufficient to satisfy the Magistrates, devoted as they were to the Earl of *Warwick*; but *Edward's* Adherents in the City, persuading the People, that it would be very cruel to refuse the gates to a Prince, who, submitting himself to the King and Parliament, was only come to demand his Inheritance, there was such a Commotion, that the Magistrates were not able to appease it. All they could obtain of the People was, that Deputies should be sent to *Edward* to make Terms with him, in order to preserve, as far as possible, the Rights of the King, and save the City from plunder. The Deputies found *Edward* ready to promise whatever they desired. He protested he was sincere, and promised he would do no damage to the City, and always remain the King's faithful Subject. Whereupon the gates were opened to him, and entering the City, he went to the Cathedral, and confirmed his engagements with a solemn Oath. Every thing being thus transacted, on his part, with great mildness and moderation, he borrowed some Money of the Citizens, and leaving a Garrison, departed, in order for *London*. During his short stay at *York*, his Army was greatly increased. He would not however have ventured to march towards *London*, had he not expected, it would continue to increase in his rout, and the Duke of *Clarence* perform his promise (3).

He fears to be faithful to Henry. *Hollingsh.*

In the mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were parted in order to assemble their Forces. Their design was afterwards to join their Troops into one Body, and set at their head the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry*, who was expected from *France*. The Earl of *Warwick* thought, he had sufficient time to prepare and join the Duke of *Clarence*, because he did not doubt that his Brother *Montague* would be strong enough to stop *Edward*. But contrary to his Expectation, he heard that *Montague* had suffered him to pass without opposition; and that his Army continually increased upon his rout with great numbers of Officers and Soldiers, that came to him from all Parts of the Kingdom. He was extremely surprized with this News, and could not tell what to think of *Montague*, who behaved so remissly in an affair of such Importance. He dissembled however, and after sending him express Orders to come and join him, and desiring the Duke of *Clarence* to advance with all possible diligence, resolved to encamp near *Coventry*, and there expect *Edward*. His design was to follow him

in case he had the boldness to come between him and the Duke of *Clarence*, or amuse him in those parts till his two other Bodies were arrived. Indeed, *Montague* began his march to join his Brother, and the Duke of *Clarence* likewise advancing, kept within distance, as if he intended the same thing.

Mean while, *Edward*, who was now about *Coventry* (4), approached the Earl of *Warwick's* Intrenchments, with a shew of attacking them. The Earl finding himself weak, sent frequent Expresses to the Duke of *Clarence*, to desire him to advance with all possible expedition. But the Duke still found some excuse to defer the Junction. Whilst the two Armies were thus in fight, and ready, in all appearance, to engage, the Duke of *Gloucester*, with a small Train, rode forth from the Camp of *Edward* his Brother, and without demanding a Safe-Conduct, went directly to the Duke of *Clarence*. At their first meeting the two Brothers tenderly embraced one another. Then, after a short Conference, the Duke of *Clarence* having gained the principal Officers, caused *Edward* to be proclaimed in his army. The same day *Edward* headed his own Troops, and joined the Duke of *Clarence* with all the marks of a mutual Friendship.

This was a stunning Blow to the Earl of *Warwick*, who little expected it. However, in spite of this misfortune, which would have discouraged any other Man, he could not resolve to hearken to any proposals of agreement, though the Duke of *Clarence* offered him his mediation. But such a mediator, who had so openly betrayed him, could not but be suspected by him. As his army would be soon reinforced by *Montague's* Troops, and he was strongly intrenched, he did not think proper, too hastily to treat of an accommodation, which must have been very disadvantageous to him. Besides, he hoped that *London*, where he had left the Duke of *Somerfet* (5), and the Archbishop of *York* (6), would shut her gates against *Edward*, if he appeared before the City. In that case, he was resolved to follow him, immediately after *Montague's* arrival, and force him, either to retire elsewhere, or join battle at the gates of the Capital, with a manifest disadvantage. But these measures proved not very just.

Presently after the junction of the two Brothers, it was debated, whether they should attack the Earl of *Warwick* in his Intrenchments, or march directly to *London*; and the last was deemed most convenient. First, because *Edward* having many friends in the City, it was likely, that seeing him approach with a powerful army, they would use their endeavours to procure him admittance, and the Earl of *Warwick's* distance would greatly facilitate their attempt. Secondly, nothing could be more for *Edward's* advantage than to have *London* on his side. He wanted Money, and could not easily find it elsewhere. Moreover he could not absolutely rely upon his Restoration, so long as he was not master of the Metropolis. Lastly, it was of the utmost importance to have *Henry* in his power. He began therefore his march to *London* (7), leaving the Earl of *Warwick* behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great straits, in case the *Londoners* refused to receive him.

When the news reached *London*, that the two Brothers were joined, and approaching the City, the Earl of *Warwick* was given over for lost. This belief inspired the People with a terror which *Edward's* Friends carefully cherished, by aggravating the City's danger of being exposed to *Edward's* Indignation, unless it was averted by a speedy submission. At the same time, they, that after *Edward's* flight had taken Sanctuary in *Westminster-Abbey*, came out and supported that Prince's Interest. On the other hand, those that were against him durst hardly open their mouth, for fear their endeavours should turn to their ruin. So, without waiting the Resolution of the Magistrates, the People were ready to open the gates to *Edward*, and run out to meet him (8). In vain did the Duke of *Somerfet* and the Archbishop of *York* oppose this resolution; they were not heard. In vain did they promise the People, that the Earl of *Warwick* would come to their relief in three days: *Edward's* army, which was now at the gates of the City, wrought a contrary effect. In fine, *Edward's* Party prevailing, the People went out in crowds to receive him with acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, were to him of great service. Whilst

(1) *Stow* says, he had received Letters from the Duke of *Clarence*, that he should not fight until he came, p. 423.

(2) March 18. *Hollingsh.* p. 1328.

(3) In his March from *York* to *London*, instead of going through *Pontfract*, where the Marquess of *Montague* lay encamped, he took a Compass of about four miles, and came to *Nottingham*, where Sir *Thomas Parre*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Burgh*, Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, Sir *William Norris*, &c. repaired to him. Here they persuaded him to issue out a Proclamation, as King, under the name of *Edward IV.* saying, they would serve no Man but a King. *Hall*, fol. 215. *Hollingsh.* p. 1329. *Stow*, p. 423.

(4) When he came March 29, *Hollingsh.* p. 1329.

(5) *Edmund Beaufort*.

(6) *George Nevill*.

(7) On April 6. *Hollingsh.* p. 1331.

(8) Which they did upon these three Accounts: 1. They were induced thereto by the many Friends of his that had taken Sanctuary, and particularly the Queen his Wife. 2. Because he owed several Merchants great Sums, which would have otherwise been lost. And 3dly, *Edward* having been familiar with the Wives of the Chief Citizens, they persuaded their Husbands and Relations to declare for him. *Commines*, l. 3. c. 7.

14-1. Edward was thus received, Henry's friends withdrew from the City, without any one's thinking to help that unfortunate Prince to make his escape.

Edward enters the City. Hall. Hollingsh. Edward entered London the 11th of April, and immediately thanked the People for their Affection, and promised to have it in everlasting remembrance. He seconded

this promise with several acts of Clemency, which entirely won him the hearts of the Citizens. Mean while, Henry, who had not found means to escape, nor perhaps so much as thought of it (*), was again imprisoned in the Tower, from whence he had been taken seven months before to re-mount the Throne.

Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

Edward goes out to meet Warwick.

Warwick resolves to fight. Hall.

EDWARD had not time to make a long stay at London. Two days after his arrival, he departed to put himself at the head of his Army, hearing the Earl of Warwick was advanced to St. Albans. Undoubtedly the Earl was extremely embarrassed. He had decamped from Coventry, and marched with great diligence, in expectation that the City of London would keep Edward at least a few days before the Walls, and the news of his approach hinder the Inhabitants from receiving him. But he saw the Metropolis lost, King Henry in prison, and the whole Kingdom, as it were, ready to declare for his Enemy. In this extremity there was no other refuge, but to fight and vanquish Edward. A Victory was the only means of restoring his Affairs. But on the other hand, though he had a good Army, it was far from being so strong as Edward's, which too continually increased, since his being master of London. Besides, the Conduct of the Marquis of Montague his Brother was so mysterious, he could not tell what to think of it. He remembered he entered with reluctance into the Project of dethroning Edward, and had lately twice neglected to fight him, upon occasions where all hazards were to be run. It is true, he was come to join him, but this farther increased his suspicions. The Duke of Clarence his Son-in-law's example, made him apprehensive, his own Brother was corrupted. In this state of fear and uncertainty, he would willingly have dismissed him, if he had not been afraid of discouraging his army. In short, after many reflections upon the posture of his affairs, flight being difficult and dishonourable, and the success of the Battle yet uncertain, he concluded, his only way was to venture a Battle, and die honorably, if Victory declared for his enemy. But withal, he resolved so to order it, that the Marquis his Brother should run the same fortune with him, since it was the event only that could assure him of his fidelity. In this resolution, he marched from St. Albans, and advancing to Barnet, which is but ten miles from London, met Edward, who was likewise advancing to fight. There, upon the 14th of April, being Easter-Day, a terrible Battle was fought, which decided the fate of the two Competitors. Edward had brought Henry with him, not daring to commit him to any one's custody. Thus, that unfortunate Prince seemed born only to be the sport of fortune. Happy in being, by his natural weakness of mind, less sensible of his misfortunes than any other would have been (2).

He marches towards London. Hall.

The Battle of Barnet. Warwick and Montague defeated and slain. Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

The Battle began early in the morning, and lasted till Noon: Never perhaps had two Armies been seen to fight with more bravery and obstinacy. Every one considering himself as a Rebel in case the Enemy was victorious, no favour was expected. The barbarity usually practised in civil Wars was well known, and more especially in this, where sundry revolutions in favour of both parties, had carried animosity to the highest degree. This probably was the true cause of the continuance of the Battle. The Earl of Warwick's Troops, though inferior in number (3), fought desperately; being determined, by the example of their General, either to conquer or die. They had even reason to hope, for some time; that victory was going to declare in their favour. Some Squadrons detached by the Earl of Warwick from the third line, gained so much ground upon their Enemies, that several posted to London with the news of their defeat. But Edward not losing the presence of Mind so necessary to

a General on such perilous occasions, ordered a body of reserve to advance, who falling upon the victorious Enemies in the Flank, put them in extreme disorder. The small number of the Earl of Warwick's Troops suffered him not to make a detachment to oppose to that body. At the same time, the Earl of Oxford, who had beat back Edward's Troops, considering he had left the line where he was posted, too much exposed, wheeled about, to return to his Post. This precaution, though prudent, occasioned the Earl of Warwick's Defeat. The Earl of Oxford's Badge upon his arms and colours was a Star with Streams, and Edward's device was a Sun. A small Mist, which arose during the Battle, hindering the Earl of Warwick's Troops from discerning the difference, they furiously charged these Squadrons as they were returning to their Post, and put them to rout before the Earl of Oxford had time to remove their mistake. This bred an extreme confusion in the Army. Some imagining they were betrayed, because attacked by their own men, ran away to the Enemies. Others seeing them fly that way, thought themselves attacked in the rear, and knew not what course to take. Mean while, Edward improving this mistake, cut in pieces the Troops that were flying towards him. The Earl of Warwick perceiving the disorder, did his utmost to remedy it, but it was to no purpose. At last, willing to animate his Troops by his example, he rushed, tho' on foot, among the thickest of his Enemies, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds. The Marquis of Montague his Brother, desirous to rescue him, perished in the attempt a few moments after him. Thus ended the Battle about Noon, by the entire defeat of Warwick's Army, ten thousand whereof were slain on the spot (4). It is said, Edward, who in all the other Battles was wont to publish before the fight, that the common Soldiers should be spared, and the Officers put to the sword, had ordered now that no quarter should be given. The Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Somerset fled into Wales, to the Earl of Pembroke, who was levying Troops for the Earl of Warwick. The Duke of Exeter was left for dead among the slain, but coming to life again, he crawled to the next house, from whence he found means to be carried to London, where he took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey.

Hollingsh. Edward's Badge. Oxford's Device. Hall.

Hall. Entire defeat of Warwick's Army. Oxford and Somerset escape. Exeter is wounded. Hall. Hollingsh.

Such was the success of this bloody Day, and such the end of the famous Earl of Warwick, who since the beginning of the quarrel between the Houses of Lancaster and York, had made in England the greatest Figure any subject had ever done before him. In a word, he had made and unmade Kings as he pleased. Nothing more glorious could be said of a private Man, if true Glory consisted in excess of Power (5).

Edward having thus obtained a complete victory which seemed to secure him the Crown, returned to London (6), where he was triumphantly received. The Inhabitants could not sufficiently express their Joy, to see themselves freed from the danger to which they would have been exposed, had the Earl of Warwick been conqueror. The King's first care was to return God thanks for the victory at St. Paul's Church; after which, he ordered the unfortunate Henry to be sent to his old prison. A few days after, he granted a Pardon to the Archbishop of York, probably not to incense the Clergy by the punishment of one of their principal Members. Besides, he remembered the great service that Prelate had done

Edward returns to London. Hall.

The Archbishop of York is pardoned. Act. Pub. XI. p. 709.

(1) He was delivered to Edward by the Archbishop of York, who had made his Peace with him. Hollingsh. p. 1332.

(2) In Edward's Army, the Front was led by Richard Duke of Gloucester; Edward himself, and George Duke of Clarence commanded the main Body; and William Lord Hastings the Rear. In the Earl of Warwick's Army, the right Wing was commanded by John Neville Marquis of Montague, and John de Vere Earl of Oxford; the left by the Earl of Warwick himself, and John Holland Duke of Exeter; and a Body of Archers, which was in the middle, by Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset. Hall, fol. 217.

(3) The Number of King Edward's Troops did not exceed nine thousand. Hollingsh. p. 1335.

(4) Hall says, there were ten thousand slain on both sides; Edward hath but about sixteen hundred; and Stow four thousand. They were buried in the field of Battle, half a mile from Barnet, where a Chapel was afterwards built in memory of them. The most considerable Persons slain on Edward's side, were, the Lords Cromwell and Say, the Lord Montjoy's Son, Sir Humphrey Bourchier Son of the Lord Berners, &c. Hall, fol. 218. Hollingsh. p. 1335. Stow, p. 423.

(5) His Body, and that of his Brother, John Neville Marquis of Montague, after being exposed three Days to all Corners, in St. Paul's Cathedral, were conveyed to Bishopham Abbey in Berkshire, and there buried. Hall, fol. 218. Stow, p. 423.

(6) On Easter-Day, in the Afternoon; he went immediately to St. Paul's Church, where he offered his Standard. Hall, fol. 218.

1471. him, though perhaps more out of negligence than affection, in suffering him to escape from his confinement at Middleham.

While these things passed, Queen Margaret who was just arrived from France in Dorsetshire (1), saw herself in a state worthy of pity. She had scarce time to refresh herself two Days, when she received the fatal news of the defeat and death of the Earl of Warwick. Though she had hitherto bravely withstood all the attacks of fortune, she was so affected with this new disgrace, that she fell into a Swoon, out of which she recovered with great difficulty. She saw in an instant all the consequences, and perceiving no refuge, she gave way to her Grief, and lost upon this occasion that wonderful Firmness, by which she had ever been to gloriously distinguished. Thus yielding to her unhappy Lot, and thinking only of saving the Prince her Son, she took Sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. She was still in the mortal agonies, caused by this fatal Accident, when she saw arrive the Duke of Somerset, John Beaufort his Brother, the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, and the Lord Wenlock. The two last had been for Edward, and unhappily for them had deserted him. The Queen had also with her the Grand Prior of St. John's, sent into France to conduct her to England. All these Lords, with several other Officers of distinction, strove to comfort her and revive her hopes. They represented to her, "That she had no reason yet to despair; That

"indeed Edward was victorious, but might be vanquished again; That the Kingdom still abounding with friends to King Henry, it was not so difficult as she imagined to form a new Army capable of stopping the Usurper's progress: That as the gaining of one battle had restored him to the Throne, so the loss of another might cast him down: That the sundry revolutions for and against the two Houses, since the quarrel began, ought to teach her, that there was still hope, provided she would not by an unreasonable fear relinquish her own interests, with those of the King her Husband and the Prince her Son: That her Armies had been frequently victorious under her conduct, and it was by no means impossible that victory should once more incline to her side. Lastly, That all the world considered the Prince of Wales as undoubted Heir of the Crown, and by setting him at the head of the Army, there was still room to expect a happy revolution."

If Margaret was afraid to expose herself once more to the vicissitude of fortune, it was not upon her own account. The Prince her Son was the cause of all her uneasiness. Her tenderness for him made her see all the fatal consequences of the undertaking proposed to her, in case it was not crowned with success. She plainly perceived, he could not attempt to recover the Crown of his Ancestors, without hazarding at the same time his own life, and that consideration was so grievous to her, as to hinder her coming to any resolution. In this perplexity, she proposed sending the Prince into France, that in case the enterprise succeeded, he might reap the benefit, and if it miscarried, might at least be in safety. But the Duke of Somerset represented to her, that it was chiefly upon the Presence of the Prince that her hopes could be founded, which alone would be capable of drawing multitudes into his service, and induce the Troops to fight valiantly for him. At length the Queen, after enduring a violent conflict in her Soul, between the fear of losing her Son, and the desire of procuring him a Crown which she believed his lawful right, consented to follow the advice of her friends.

This resolution being taken, it was agreed, that the Queen and Prince should retire to Bath, and the rest go and assemble their friends, with the remains of the Earl of Warwick's Army (2). The Earl of Pembroke undertook to levy an Army in Wales, where his interest was great, and immediately departed, only desiring the Duke of Somerset, who was to command in chief under the Prince of Wales, to run no hazard till joined by the Welsh. The suddenness wherewith all these Lords levied or assembled their Troops, would be most surprising, if in the first place, the astonishing effects usually produced by hatred and revenge, especially in civil Wars, were

not considered. Secondly, it must be remembered, that the remains of the Earl of Warwick's Army having dispersed themselves after the Battle of Barnet, wanted only a Leader to head them. Lastly, as it was but a few days since the Battle, it was not yet known how the Conqueror would behave to the vanquished. So most having greater reason to expect severity than mercy, chose rather to venture again their Lives in a Battle, than run the risk of dying on the Gibbet and Scaffold. Be this as it will, it appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the 27th of April, thirteen days after the Battle of Barnet, the Lancastrian Lords had now re-assembled an Army.

Upon the same day, as appears by the date, Edward issued out a Proclamation, setting forth, that his title to the Crown was unquestionable: First, by Reason: Secondly, by Authority of Parliament: Thirdly, by his Victories, and particularly the last, where the Marquis of Montague and the Earl of Warwick were slain. That notwithstanding these three most firm Foundations, namely, Reason, parliamentary Authority, and Victory, sundry Persons had taken Arms against him: But to avoid the effusion of more blood, he had thought proper to give his People a list of the names of those Persons who were pronounced Traitors and Rebels, that their encouragers might not complain if any mischief befel them. The Persons proscribed were, Margaret, styling herself Queen of England, Edward her Son, the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Somerset, John Earl of Oxford, John Courtney Earl of Devonshire, William Viscount de Beaumont, John Beaufort Brother to the Duke of Somerset, Hugh Courtney, with eleven others.

Mean while, Edward lost not a moment. As the Troops were ready to march, he put himself at their head (3), to give his Enemies battle, before the Earl of Pembroke joined them with Welshmen. How diligent soever the Lords in league with the Queen had been, they were far from being in so good posture as the King, because of their want of Arms and Ammunition. So, knowing that Edward was marching in quest of them, they resolved to retire into Wales, where the situation of the Country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleased. Besides, they expected to be joined very soon by the Earl of Pembroke, and then should be in condition to give battle. The point was to pass the Severn before the King overtook them, and for that purpose they marched to Gloucester (4). But that City refusing her gates (5), and there being no likelihood of taking it at the first Assault, much less of besieging it in form, they resolved to pass the Severn at Tewksbury. Mean time, Edward so closely pursued them, that upon their Arrival at Tewksbury, they consulted, whether they should venture to pass the River, at the peril of seeing their rear put to rout, or intrench themselves in a Park adjoining to the Town, till the Earl of Pembroke arrived. The Queen, who thought only of saving the Prince, was for passing. Some others, more out of complaisance to her than for any good reason, seconded her opinion. But the Duke of Somerset strenuously opposed it. He represented the Enemy was so near, that before the Army had all passed, he would certainly have it in his power to attack them, and cut in pieces those who should have the misfortune to be left behind: That such an accident, which seemed unavoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and discourage such as were still friends to the House of Lancaster: In fine, tho' their Army was inferior in number to that of the Enemy, that disadvantage might be repaired by intrenching in the Park, and drawing lines which would balance the superiority of his Troops. After mature deliberation, this opinion was thought most advisable, considering the circumstances of time and place. Historians, of whom few understand the art of War, have taxed the Duke of Somerset with imprudence and rashness, solely because they considered not the difficulty of passing a River like the Severn, with the Enemy in the rear. But if that General had been guilty of no other fault, perhaps the Queen's Affairs would have taken another turn. At least she might have waited the Earl of Pembroke's arrival (6), and by fighting upon equal terms, caused her Enemy to run his share of the peril. This the Sequel will demonstrate.

(1) She embarked, March 24, and landed at Weymouth on April 13 or 14. Hollingsb. p. 1331, 1335.

(2) And so, they soon drew together a large Army out of the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wilt, Devon, and Cornwall. Idem. p. 1336.

(3) He set out, April 19, with such Forces as he had got together about London, and came to Windsor; from whence he departed on the 24th, and the 27th came to Abingdon, where he waited the 28th for the coming of some Troops. The 29th, he advanced towards Cirencester, and thence to Malmesbury, and afterwards to Sudbury, on May 1, where he was informed the Enemies intended to meet him. Idem. p. 1336, 1337.

(4) Queen Margaret removed from Bath (where she was) in great haste to Bristol; from whence she sent a few Horsemen to discover whether she could safely pass the Severn at Gloucester; and soon after advanced towards that City, and thence went to Tewksbury. Ibid.

(5) Richard, Son of the Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, was Governor of this Town, which was under the Obedience of Richard the King's Brother. Hall, fol. 220. Hollingsb. p. 1337.

(6) This was what several of the Officers advised her to do. Hall, fol. 220.

1471. The Resolution being taken of expecting *Edward*, the whole night was spent in making intrenchments round the Park, which were finished before day; so ardently was it laboured to be secured from surprize. *Edward* approaching to view them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack them, before they were rendered more impentrate, and before the Arrival of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was hourly expected. So, without loss of time, he drew up his Army in two lines. He gave the command of the first to the Duke of *Glocester* his younger Brother, and headed the second himself with the Duke of *Clarence*. The Duke of *Somerfet* ranged his Army behind the intrenchments, in three bodies, of which he commanded the foremost himself (1), in order to sustain the first shock. *Wenlock* (2) conducted the second, under Prince *Edward*, who was considered as the Commander in chief. The Earl of *Devonshire* (3) was placed at the head of the third. *Edward* taking a closer view of the intrenchments, perceived an opening to be left to go out upon occasion. This made him think, the Duke of *Somerfet* hoped to repel the first charge, and if he observed any disorder among the assailants, had resolved to fall out and improve the advantage. So, the more easily to draw him out of his lines, he ordered the Duke of *Glocester* who was to begin the fight, to retreat with some precipitation, in case he met with too strong a resistance; and, if he was pursued, to face about, and vigorously attack his pursuers, in the assurance of being supported by all the rest of the army. This order was founded upon *Edward's* knowledge of the Duke of *Somerfet's* intrepidity, and good opinion of himself.

Every thing being thus disposed, the Duke of *Glocester* began the attack of the intrenchment with great vigour. But finding, the enemies stood their ground, and appeared every where ready to sustain his assaults, he retreated toward the second line, with a precipitation that made the Duke of *Somerfet* believe the whole Body to be entirely disheartened. Then it was that the Duke, not being able to curb the impetuosity of his Courage, and thinking he ought to improve the present Advantage, sallied out of his intrenchments to press the enemy's army, which he imagined to be now in confusion. At the same time, he sent *Wenlock* word to come immediately to his support. Mean while, the Duke of *Glocester*, who was again drawn up at a good distance from the intrenchments, seeing the Duke of *Somerfet* advancing towards him in good order, saved him some part of the way. As he was sure of being supported by the King his Brother, who was not far off, he furiously fell upon the Troops that were marching against him, and by this vigorous and unexpected attack, so astonished them, that they saw no other refuge than to fly in disorder to their Camp. The Duke of *Somerfet* was in a fury when he perceived himself unsupported. He had depended upon *Wenlock*, and instead of finding him without the intrenchments with the second line, to oppose the Duke of *Glocester*, he saw him motionless in the very place where he first drew up his Men. Not being able at this fight, to bridle his rage, he furiously rode up to him, and clove his skull with a Battle-Axe.

Mean time, the Duke of *Glocester* entering the enemy's Camp together with the run-a-ways, made a terrible Slaughter. *Wenlock* being dead, the young Prince knew not what to do, and the Duke of *Somerfet* transported with passion, was incapable of giving orders, and making himself obeyed. Thus confusion instantly spreading in the army, and the King, who closely followed the Duke his Brother, entering likewise the Camp, the Queen's Troops thought only of saving themselves by flight, without making any farther resistance. It is said, the Queen was found in a Chariot, half dead with grief at the sight of her forlorn affairs, without knowing what was become of the Prince her Son, and was brought in that condition to King *Edward*. A Historian however affirms, it was not till a day or two after the Battle, that she was taken out of a Nunnery where she had fled for refuge, and conducted to the King then at *Worcester*. In this Battle, by which the Crown was entirely secured to *Edward*, there fell on the Queen's side but three thousand, because the two last lines ran away without fighting. Among the slain were found the Earl of *Devonshire* and Sir *John Beaufort* Brother of the Duke of *Somerfet* (4). The

Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Somerfet* (5), and the grand Prior of *St. John's* (6) were made Prisoners. But it would have been more happy for them to have died in the Battle, since they saved their lives only to lose them in a less honorable manner. The young Prince being brought into the King's presence, appeared before him with an undaunted countenance, without debasing himself by submissions unbecoming his birth. *Edward* was surprized, and still more, when, asking him how he came to be so rash thus to enter his Kingdom in arms; the Prince replied, *That he was come to recover his own inheritance, which had been unjustly usurped*. *Edward*, full of indignation at this boldness, struck him on the mouth with his gantlet, and turned from him. This was, as it were, the signal to take away the life of that unfortunate Prince. It is said, immediately upon the King's withdrawing, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester* his Brothers, the Earl of *Dorset* (7), and the Lord *Hastings*, fell like wild beasts upon the young Prince, and stabbed him with their daggers. It is certain, he was murdered that instant, and probably, the King had given orders beforehand for that barbarous execution. But I do not know, whether the Historians are to be credited, who affirm, these four Lords killed him with their own hands. This might be an effect of the prejudice of those that wrote the history, after the restoration of the house of *Lancaster*, since it is certain they have forgot nothing to render the house of *York* odious. It is likely however, the murder was committed in the presence of the fore-mentioned Lords. Some say, the Prince escaping out of the Battle, the King offered a pension of five hundred pounds Sterling, to any Person that should bring him dead or alive, promising, if he was alive, not to put him to death: That upon this promise Sir *Richard Crofts*, in whose hands he was fallen, brought him to the King, who performed not his word. This Prince lost his life at eighteen years of age (8). Next day the Duke of *Somerfet*, and the grand Prior of the order of *St. John* were beheaded (9). Queen *Margaret* was confined in the Tower, where she remained a Prisoner till 1475, when *Lewis XI* ransomed her for fifty thousand crowns (10). Such was the sad catastrophe of this Princess, who, for attempting to rule *England* with an absolute sway, caused a great effusion of *English* blood, and wrought her own as well as the ruin of the King her Spouse, of the Prince her Son, and of all the house of *Lancaster*, of which there remained but a single branch in the Person of the Earl of *Richmond*. There was, it seems, a sort of fatality with regard to the Kings of *England*, that married the Daughters of *France*. *Edward II*, *Richard II*, *Henry VI* and *Charles I*, were the only Kings that espoused *French* Princesses (11), and they all four underwent the same fate, three of them by the fault of their Queens.

The Battle of *Tewksbury* fought on the 4th of *May* (12), eighteen days after that of *Barnet*, was the twelfth since the beginning of the quarrel between the two Roses. But it was not the last, though followed by no other in the rest of this reign.

Whilst *Edward* was employed in pursuing the Queen, there arose a fresh enemy against him. *Thomas Nevil*, known by the name of the bastard of *Fauconbridge*, because he was natural Son to the Lord of that name, had been made Vice-Admiral of the Channel, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, to whom he adhered. The Earl being dead, and King *Edward* re-inthroned, the Bastard had lost his place. As he was a Man of ill morals and without means, he saw no other way to subsist than turning Pirate. When he found the King employed in the West in pursuit of the Queen, he assembled some Ships, and many Persons of desperate fortunes, with whom he came upon the Coast of *Kent*, not imagining the War, newly kindled, would so quickly end. His design was to surprize *London*, and enrich himself with the plunder of the City. Accordingly, he began his march towards *London* (13), giving out, that he only intended to free King *Henry* from captivity. On this pretence, drawing in many adherents of the house of *Lancaster*, he formed an army of seventeen thousand Men. He presently became master of *Southwark*. At the same time, he ordered part of his Troops (14) to pass the *Thames*, and assault two of the City gates (15), whilst himself attempted to force the bridge. But the Citizens having had notice of

(1) With his Brother the Lord *John Beaufort*. Hall, fol. 220.

(2) *Th. mas Courtney*.

(3) And also Sir *John Deloys*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whyttingham*, Sir *John Leakester*, &c. Hall, fol. 221.

(4) *Ed. and Beaufort*.

(5) *Then as Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*. Hall, fol. 221. *Hollinghead*, p. 1340.

(6) He was buried without any Solemnity, among some mean Persons, in the Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewksbury*. Hall, fol. 221.

(7) They were beheaded, *May 6*. Hall, *ibid*. *Stow*, p. 424. *Hollinghead* says, it was the 7th, p. 1340.

(8) Her Father ransomed her for that Sum, which he borrowed of *Lewis XI*, and mortgaged to him for it the Kingdoms of *Neples* and *Sicily*, and the County of *Provence*. Hall, fol. 221.

(9) *Rapin* forgot *Henry V*: But of this see more in the Note on his Reflections at the end of the Reign of *Richard III*.

(10) Hall says it was the 3d, fol. 221.

(11) Contin. of *Edifex Mon*. *Ibid*.

(2) And the Lord *St. John*. *Idem*, fol. 221. *Hollinghead*, v. 1358.

(6) *John Langfistetter*.

(13) *May 12*. *Hollinghead*, p. 1341.

(15) *Alldgate and Bishopgate*, &c.

1471. his march, were upon their guard, and repulsed him on all sides. In the mean while, the Bastard hearing of the success of the Battle of Tewksbury, and knowing the King was diligently marching to London (1), retired in good order to Sandwich, where he fortified himself. Edward being come to London, passed through the City without staying, and marched to Canterbury, where the Bastard sent him word he was ready to submit, upon certain terms which were immediately granted him. The King even knighted him, and made him Vice-Admiral of the Channel as before. But he did not long enjoy these favours. Shortly after, he was beheaded, either for new, or the old, crimes.

Edward arriving at London the 21st of May, after two Victories in less than three weeks, granted an absolute pardon to William Wainfleet Bishop of Winchester (2), a zealous Lancastrian. But he had not the same generosity for King Henry, head of that house. The innocent life of that unhappy Prince, seemed to screen him from the cruelty of his victorious enemy. It was doubtless upon that account, Edward had twice before spared his Life. Nay, it is very probable, he would have suffered him to die a natural death, had he believed it consistent with his safety. But he was afraid he should never enjoy a settled repose, so long as that Prince was alive; and this consideration made him resolve to dispatch him. It was properly Queen Margaret that hastened her Husband's death by her last attempt to re-inthronize him. If she had won the Battle of Tewksbury, and taken Edward prisoner, it is scarce to be doubted, that she would have put him to death on the Scaffold. She ought not therefore to think it very strange, that the ill success of her enterprize fell upon the heads of her Husband and Son. It is even very probable, she was herself indebted to her Sex for her own life. However this be, Edward resolving to sacrifice Henry to his safety, ordered the Duke of Gloucester, to whom all the Historians unanimously give the character of a brutish and bloody Prince, to put him to death in Prison. It is pretended, this Prince would be the Father's, as he had been the Son's executioner, and that entering his room he himself stabbed him to the heart. But as I observed, it is necessary to receive with some caution what the Historians say of the Princes of the House of York (3).

Thus died Henry VI, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty eight years before he was dethroned, and of seven months only after his restoration. Never had Prince been the occasion, though innocently, of more bloody Tragedies, or caused more blood to be spilt in his quarrel. Though his natural weakness rendered him unfit to govern his Kingdom, and for that reason, he always gave himself up to the guidance of others, he had some good qualities, which after his death, were extolled for virtues of the first class, on purpose to render the more odious the person that deprived him of his Crown and Life. All that can truly be said of this Prince, is, that considering him in his private capacity, his life was innocent, or at least, free from the crimes but too common in the world. But if he is considered as a Sovereign he will appear in his whole life, to have acted neither good nor bad. He founded Eaton College near Windsor, and King's College in Cambridge, for the benefit of Eaton Scholars. These two foundations are still in being. After his death, his body was brought to St. Paul's, where it was some time exposed to publick view; after which it was interred without any pomp, in a Village near London (4).

The twelve Battles, fought since the year 1455, and the consequent barbarous executions, had reduced the House of Lancaster to two persons only, namely, Margaret, (Daughter of John Duke of Somerset, Wife of Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI,) and Henry Earl of Richmond her Son. Margaret had two other Husbands, Henry Earl of Stafford, and Thomas Stan-

ley, but had Children by neither. I mention not Charles Somerset, from whom the Earls of Worcester were derived, because being only natural Son of the Beaufort-Somerset Family (5), he could have no Title to the Crown.

Jaques Tudor Earl of Pembroke, Uncle of the young Earl of Richmond, not having been speedy enough to be present at the battle of Tewksbury, was not a little embarrassed. As he found himself too weak to support alone the Interests of the House of Lancaster, he dismissed his Troops, and kept with the Earl of Richmond his Nephew in Wales, where he had many friends and great credit. Edward passionately desired to have in his power these two Lords, the only persons that could give him any farther disturbance. To accomplish this design, it was by no means proper to march his Troops against them. Besides that this would warn them to leave the Kingdom, it was not easy even to seize their persons, in a Country where they had as many friends as there were Inhabitants. So believing policy to be more serviceable than force, he sent into those parts Roger Vaughan, with orders to use all ways to seize or kill them. Vaughan not having been so secret as he ought, the Earl of Pembroke, who had notice of his design, pretending to fall into the Villain's Snare, slew him, and retired to Pembroke Castle (6), from whence he departed with Henry his Nephew, and embarked in a Vessel which was to carry them to France. Mean while, the winds driving them upon the coast of Bretagne, they were forced to put into a Port of that Country. Their design was to go to Paris, but as they could not be excused waiting on the Duke of Bretagne, when they would have taken their leave, they were told, they were not at liberty to pursue their Voyage. The Duke judging these two Lords might be of some advantage to him, assigned them the Town of Vannes for their habitation, with an honorable allowance. Mean while, though they outwardly received all the respect due to their Birth and Quality, they were, however, very narrowly watched.

Edward seeing himself perfectly restored, without any appearance of being again disturbed, in the possession of a Crown acquired with so much pains, assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at Westminster (7). There, in a studied Speech, wherein he endeavoured to display the Title of the House of York to the Crown, and forgot not his Victories, he expressed his desire, that they would take the Oath to Prince Edward his Son, as to his apparent Successor, to which he found them all inclined. The two Archbishops, eight Bishops, five Dukes, with all the Earls and Lords there present took this Oath on the 3d of July. Many former examples had demonstrated the little use of such a precaution, and without going any farther, Edward might have remembered his Father's Oath to Henry VI, as well as his own at York. He was persuaded however, that people would be more scrupulous to him. But after his death, his Children unhappily experienced how little such assurances are to be depended upon.

Shortly after, Edward granted a pardon to seven Bishops (8), who had declared against him in the late revolution. From the beginning of his reign to the end, he always endeavoured to carry it fair with the Clergy. The rest of the year was spent in sundry Negotiations, which I shall briefly mention.

The first was with the King of Scotland. During the troubles in England, the Truce between the English and Scots had been frequently violated, contrary to the Intention of the two Kings. After Edward's restoration, the King of Scotland sending Ambassadors to him, it was agreed, to hold a Congress at Alnwick, the 24th of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two Nations upon one another. The two Kings were equally desirous to preserve the Truce, and even to conclude a final Peace. This Negotiation however, was not ended till 1473. It appears in the Collection of the

(1) He was at Worcester, in his march against some Rebels in the North, when he received the News of this Insurrection; whereupon he altered his course and came to London, May 11. *Hollingshead*, p. 1341.

(2) The Founder of Magdalen College in Oxford.

(3) Some say, that when he heard what Loues had happened to his Friends, and how not only his Son, but also his other chief Adherents were dead, and dispatched out of the way, he took it so to heart, that out of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholy, he died on May 23. *Hollingshead*, p. 1343.

(4) His Body was brought, in an open Coffin, on May 29, through Cornhill, with a great Company of armed Men, to St. Paul's Church, where it was exposed, for some whole day, to publick view. The next day it was removed to the Black-Friers; and thence, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, conveyed to the Monastery of Chertsey in Surrey; but it was afterwards removed by Edward IV, or, according to others by Richard III, in the second year of his Reign, to Windsor, and there buried. A Monument was erected for him, of which there are, at present, no remains. *Hall*, vol. 223. *Sney*, p. 424. *Windsor*, p. 330.

(5) He was Son of Henry Beaufort Duke of Somerset, by Joan Hall. This Henry was eldest Son of Edmund, who was third Son of John, the eldest Son of Geoffrey of Gant, by Catherine of Swabia. See above, p. 338, Note (8). *Sandford*, p. 337.

(6) He was besieged in it by Margaret Thomas, and relieved by David, Brother of the said Morgan; he was, by the same David's means, conveyed to Jersey, where he embarked. *Hall*, vol. 222. *Hollingshead*, p. 1343.

(7) This Parliament met on the 6th of October, (so it is in Cotton; but by Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 714, it seems to have been sitting July 3.) The Commons granted that fourteen thousand Archers should serve the King, at their own charge, to be levied out of all Mens Lands, according to a certain proportion: And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal granted towards the furniture aforesaid, the tenth part of one whole year's Revenue, of all and singular their Possessions. On November 30, the Parliament was prorogued to Feb. 8. 1472, when it met again; and April 8, the Commons granted the King one Tenth, and one Fiftieth. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 688—691.

(8) The Bishops of London, Lincoln and Coventry, Hereford, St. Asaph, Landaff, Bath and Wells; that is, only six. For there are no Pardons for more. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XI. p. 715, 716, 728, 729, 734, 736.

1471. *Public Acts*, that *Edward* empowered his Ambassadors to propose a Marriage between the King of *Scotland*, and an *English* Princess. I shall speak elsewhere of the sequel of this Negotiation.

On the 30th of *September*, the thirty years Truce with *Bretagne* was confirmed. This confirmation was necessary, as the Truce, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, had been often violated.

Lewis XI was very sensible *Edward* had no reason to be pleased with him; but however he offered him a Truce, That with *Henry VI* being of no force, now *Edward* was restored. In the present situation of the *English* Affairs, it was by no means proper for *Edward* to renew the war with *France*. His Kingdom was too much exhausted, to think of early of such an undertaking. So, without much intreaty, he agreed to continue the Truce, from the 1st of *September* this year, to the 1st of *May* following. This was only whilst he prepared to be revenged of *Lewis*, for assisting *Queen Margaret*.

1472. The year 1472 abounded not with so many important and remarkable events as the last. It was almost wholly spent in divers Negotiations, tending to secure the Tranquillity of the King and Kingdom, by Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes.

The Negotiation with *Scotland* still continued, though slowly, by reason of the obstacles which occurred in the reparations demanded by each King.

It appears in several papers of the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that some dispute arose concerning the Truce of Commerce for thirty years, between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions. Probably, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, the *English* had injured the Duke's trading Subjects. These last demanded reparation for sundry damages sustained, affirming, the Truce was to be considered as made with *England*, and not with the person of the reigning King. *Edward* on his part did not think himself obliged to repair the damages done to the *Flemings*, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Ministry. But these differences properly concerned only the Merchants of the two Nations. As for the two Princes, it was for both their Interests to live in a good understanding. Wherefore in treating of the outrages committed against the Truce, they did not fail to negotiate a final Peace.

An affair of much the same nature with the *Hanse Towns* (1), created the King likewise some trouble. These Towns, whereof *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, and *Dantzick*, were the three principal, had obtained of the Kings of *England* several Privileges for their Merchants, because their Commerce was very advantageous to the *English*. But under the frequent changes of the Government during the Civil War, the *English* had injured the Merchants of these Towns, and violated their Privileges several ways. Whereupon these last had obtained of their Magistrates Letters of Mart, which had turned these differences into an open War, destructive to both Sides. At length, the troubles in *England* being ended, the *Hanse Towns* sent Ambassadors to the King, to demand satisfaction for their losses, and to propose a renewal of Alliance, to confirm their Privileges, and secure the Trade and Navigation of the *English* in the northern Seas. *Edward* received the Ambassadors very civilly, and appointed Commissioners, who after several Conferences, agreed with them, that a Congress should be held at *Utrecht*, to settle all things to the satisfaction of both parties. But this affair was so full of difficulties, that it could not be ended till 1474.

Some time after, *Edward*, by his Letters Patents confirmed the antient Alliance between *Richard II*, and *John* King of *Portugal*, for them and their Successors. *Alphonso* King of that Country sent him the like Letters, dated the 30th of *August*.

Whilst *Edward* was endeavoring to secure his Peace, by renewing the Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes, the return of the Earl of *Oxford* into *England*, gave him fresh cause of uneasiness. The Earl, great favourite of the House of *Lancaster*, had retired into *France*, after the battle of *Tewksbury*. But as he was not very favourably received by *Lewis XI*, he was returned into *England* (2) with seventy five Men, and had taken by surprize *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*. *Edward*, ever apprehensive that the least spark might re-ignite the flames so happily

extinguished, ordered some Troop to march immediately into the West, and invest the Earl of *Oxford* in the Mount. But as the Earl had not time to provide against a Siege, he surrendered (3) before he was reduced to extremity. All he could obtain, was his Life only; but he lost his Liberty and Estate, which was all confiscated, without any allowance to his Countess, Sister of the Earl of *Warwick*, for her Subsistence. From *St. Michael's Mount*, he was conducted to the Castle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, where he remained Prisoner twelve years.

The Archbishop of *York* had much the same fate. Though the King had pardoned him, and received his Oath at *London* the day before the battle of *Barnet*; he was Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, and that was sufficient to render him suspected. So, notwithstanding the Pardon, he was confined in the Castle of *Guines*, where he died soon after (4).

The King had no considerable enemy left in the Kingdom but *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, who had taken Sanctuary at *Wiglmuster* after the battle of *Barnet*. Growing weary of his Confinement, he employed his Wife, *Edward's* Sister, to obtain his pardon. They had lived separate, ever since the beginning of the Civil Wars, because the Duke, whose Grandmother was Sister of *Henry IV*, adhered to the *Lancastrian* Party, and his Duke's had continued with the King her Brother. This Princess, instead of suing for her Husband's Pardon, desired, on the contrary, to be legally divorced, and though she had no lawful reason, obtained her desire. Probably, the King's Solicitation was very serviceable to her. Thus the Duke of *Exeter* saw himself forced to remain in his Sanctuary, without any hopes of pardon, or any thing to subsist upon, but what was privately sent him by his friends. At last, not bearing to live thus immured, he left the place, without its being known how or when. It is only known, that in 1474, he was found dead upon the Seashore in the County of *Kent*.

Edward having nothing more to fear, after the death, imprisonment, or exile, of all the principal friends of the House of *Lancaster*, gave too great a loose to his revenge, upon persons of an inferior rank, whom he ought not to have dreaded. Some were put to death, and others fined immoderately, as a punishment for taking Arms against him. But what troubled him most, was the escape of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. He seemed to foresee the evil that was to befall his family from that quarter. The Earl of *Richmond* was, as I said, the only remaining branch of the House of *Lancaster*, or rather, the only person that could pretend to dispute the Crown with *Edward*, as being Son of a Princess of that House. He had with him the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, who was a Lord of great Merit, and very capable to direct him. Though they were both absent, and as Prisoners in *Bretagne*, they made the King very uneasy, who wished to see the quarrel between the two Houses entirely ended, by the death of the young Earl, to whom all the Rights of the House of *Lancaster*, were fallen. For that purpose, he sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, intreating him to deliver the two *English* Lords he had in his power; but the Duke very civilly desired to be excused. He promised however to guard them so carefully, that they should never be able to hurt him. Upon this consideration *Edward* paid him yearly a large Pension, under colour of a maintenance for the two Prisoners.

All this while the Negotiation with *Scotland* was continued, and as great difficulties occurred, it was agreed between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, that the Truce should subsist till July 1473.

After *Edward* had settled his affairs to his mind, he remembered the honorable and hearty reception he had met with in *Holland*, from *Lewis de Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyse*, and resolved to make him an acknowledgment. To that end, having so managed it, that the Parliament petitioned him to create that foreign Lord a Peer of *England*, he made him Earl of *Linchester*, and afterwards by Letters Patents, allowed him to bear the Arms of *England* in his Scutcheon.

Before I finish what relates to the events of this year, it will be necessary briefly to mention how matters stood between *Lewis XI*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The knowledge of their disputes is very requisite for the understanding of the History of *England*. *Lewis*, as I said, at the Instance

(1) There are certain Towns in *Germany* confederate for the Benefit of Trade. They are so called from the word *Hanse*, signifying Alliance. *Bremen* in *Lower Saxony*, is said to have been the Founder of this Confederacy, about the year 1164. How many Towns were affiliated are first not known: But the design so wisely prospered, that most of the chief trading places in *Europe*, to the number of twenty two, entered into the Confederacy. In the flourishing times of their Alliance, these *Hanse Towns* had four general *Supplies*, viz. *London*, *Bruges* in *Flanders*, *Prague* in *Bohemia*, and *Norwiche* in *Russia*. At present, the *Hanse Towns* are in a manner reduced to these six, *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, *Bremer*, *Riga*, *Dantzick*, and *Cologne*.

(2) *September* 15, 1471. *State*.

(3) *February* 15, 1472. *State* says, he had so great plenty of Provisions, that he could have held out a good while longer, p. 426.

(4) One day as he was hunting with the King at *Windsor*, the King told him, he would come and hunt with him at his Seat called *St. Michael's Mount* in *Wiltshire*. Accordingly the Archbishop made great preparations, and borrowed a good deal of Plate from his Friends. But the day when *Edward* was to come, the Archbishop was apprehended, and all his Goods and Effects, valued at twenty thousand Pounds, seized to the King's use. *State*, p. 426.

1472. of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Constable *de St. Pol*, who fought only to deceive him, had begun the war with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and taken from him *Amiens*, and *St. Quentin*. As he did not want good Spies, he discovered at length, that he was engaged in that war, solely for the accomplishment of the projected Marriage between the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Daughter. In order therefore to free himself at once from the troubles that were designed to be raised by means of his Brother, he caused a poison to be given him, which was to operate slowly, that his death might be ascribed to a common distemper. Mean while, for fear the Duke of *Burgundy*, finding himself too much pressed, should take new measures with the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable, he sent to offer him a Truce. The Duke could with for nothing more advantageous in his present Circumstances. But as he had reason to fear, the offer was designed only to amuse him, *Lewis* gave the Duke of *Bretagne* full power to conclude the Truce in his name. As this last could not refuse to undertake this affair, without discovering himself, he sent the Bishop of *Leon* in quality of Mediator, to *Cambray*, where the Treaty was to be negotiated. Both Parties were so willing to agree, that it was not possible for the Bishop to find any way to hinder the signing of a Truce for thirteen Months, from the first of *April* 1472, to the first of *May* 1473. About six weeks after the conclusion of the Truce, the Duke of *Guienne* died, and *Lewis* took possession of that Duchy without opposition.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perceived then, that *Lewis* had granted him a Truce only to have time to secure *Guienne*, and that, upon all occasions, he should be that Prince's Dupe, when their affairs were determined by way of Negotiation. So, being highly provoked to see himself thus abused, and finding, that with such enemies, the surest way is to act with open force, and make them at least run an equal share of the danger, he entered *France*, and destroyed whatever he met in his way with fire and sword. The Duke of *Bretagne* seeing his projects vanishing by the death of the Duke of *Guienne*, resolved seriously to join with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being persuaded that the preservation of Both depended upon their strict Union. Mean while, *Lewis* perceiving the Duke of *Bretagne* would not fail to take that course, had already sent Troops into *Anjou*, to keep him in awe.

Commin.

Whilst *Lewis* was still employed in *Guienne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* made some progress in *Picardy*, and took *Nesle* and *Roye*. But unfortunately, he lost two whole months before *Beauvais*, without taking the place. This accident was the cause, that *Lewis* not perceiving himself much pressed left his Troops in *Anjou*. So, the Duke of *Bretagne* not daring to stir from his Country, was prevented from joining his Ally according to agreement. At length, the Duke of *Burgundy* raising the Siege of *Beauvais*, came into *Normandy*, in expectation of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Mean time, *Lewis* was a little embarrassed. By leaving his Troops in *Anjou*, he exposed *Picardy* and *Normandy* to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s attacks, and if he marched to the assistance of these two Provinces, he left the Duke of *Bretagne* free to make a powerful diversion in his neighbourhood. But he soon freed himself from this difficulty. By the help of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Ministers, whom he gained to his interest, he found means to make a Truce with that Prince (1), and persuade him to renounce the Duke of *Burgundy*'s alliance. This unexpected defection obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to accept of a Truce offered him by *Lewis*, and which was frequently prolonged.

1473.
Mistakes of
the English
Historians.

Before we enter upon the events of the year 1473, it must be observed, that all the *English* Historians are mistaken in a whole year, placing in this what happened in the next. *Biondi*, the *Italian* author I have sometimes quoted, owns, the *French* place in the year 1475, what the *English* fix to the year 1474, and adds, that he chuses to follow the *English*, and so is guilty of their mistake. The *Collection of the Publick Acts* shows it so plainly, that there is no reason to question it. Indeed, the year 1473 was so barren of events, that it is not very strange if it was confounded or joined with the following. The affairs which ought to be assigned to the year 1473, though they are of little moment in themselves, they serve to distinguish these two years and rectify the Chronology.

Agreement
with Por-
tugal.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 762.
766, 767-
769.

The King of *Portugal* demanding the restitution of certain *Portuguese* Vessels taken by the *English*, enquiry was made, whereby it appeared that these Ships were plundered by the Bastard of *Fauconbridge* during his revolt

against *Edward*. For which reason the King of *Portugal* desisted from his demand.

The affairs with *Scotland* employed *Edward* good part of this year. At length by a Treaty concluded at *Alnwick* the 28th of *September*, it was agreed, the Truce of *Newcastle* should be inviolably observed by both the Nations.

The differences *Edward* had with the *Hanse Towns* were also decided, at the congress of *Utrecht* the 19th of *September* (2).

There were likewise some negotiations, concerning the thirty years Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions; but it does not appear that any thing was concluded in the affair, which, probably, was only a pretence for more secret and important Negotiations, as will be seen presently.

The Alliance between *England* and *Denmark* being often violated during the confusion of the Civil Wars in *England*, the two Sovereigns were equally desirous to renew it. To that end they agreed, that without inquiring into the mutual damages, the *English* and *Danes* had done one another, the Alliance should remain upon the same foot as before the violation.

This is all worth notice in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* for the Year 1473. Let us proceed now to the following year, which will afford us more plenty of Matter.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, as I said, obtained a Truce which was afterwards prolonged two or three times till 1475. During this Truce, he employed his time in conquering the Duchy of *Gueldres*. *Arnold* Duke of that name, being displeased with *Adolphus* his Son, who had for some time kept him in Prison (3), made a grant of his Duchy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Upon this pretence entering *Gueldres*, he defeated *Adolphus*, and taking him Prisoner seized upon the Duchy.

This acquisition exciting him to new conquests, he considered how to enlarge his Dominions on the side of *Germany*, and formed projects too vast, and too difficult to be performed. *Mezerai* says, he promised his Daughter in marriage to *Maximilian* Son of the Emperor *Frederic*, upon condition his Dominions should be erected into a Kingdom. He adds, this affair miscarried, because the Duke would have the condition performed before the marriage, in order to sign the contract as King; but the Emperor would have the marriage consummated first. Be this as it will, the Duke forming the project of extending his Dominions in *Germany*, embraced the first opportunity to carry his arms into that Country. A dispute concerning the Archbishop of *Cologne* arising between *Robert* of *Bavaria*, and the Brother of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, furnished him with the wanted pretence. He immediately took the Prince of *Bavaria*'s part, and laid Siege to *Nuz*, a strong Town in the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*. He reckoned, the taking of that place would promote the execution of his other designs.

The Truce with the King of *France* being to last till June 1475, the Duke of *Burgundy* hoped to be master of *Nuz* before it was expired. But *Lewis* put such obstacles in his way, that he could not execute his designs so soon as he imagined. *Lewis* so managed by his intrigues, that the Emperor *Frederic* drew together a strong Army, to oblige the Duke to raise the Siege. The Duke of *Lorraine*, the Duke of *Austria*, the *Switzers*, entered into a league against him; so that finding himself extremely embarrassed to resist so many enemies, he remained ten months before *Nuz*, without being able to take it. Whilst he was employed in the Siege, he saw no other way to free himself from the persecutions of his enemy, than to engage the King of *England* to make a powerful diversion in *France*. For that purpose, he sent Ambassadors to *Edward*, to persuade him to make War upon their common enemy. The better to engage him in this undertaking, he promised to join him with all his forces, the moment he landed in *Picardy*. He made him hope likewise, that the Constable *de St. Pol* would deliver him *St. Quentin*, the Duke of *Bretagne* league with them, and by the help of that Prince's adherents in *France*, he would put the Kingdom in such confusion, that the conquest of it would be rendered much easier than in the reign of *Charles* VI.

This was precisely the opportunity impatiently expected by *Edward*, to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. Every thing seemed to conspire to the downfall of that restless and turbulent Prince, since he was going to be attacked by three formidable powers, without reckoning his danger from his own Subjects. And indeed, it all his enemies had acted

(1) By granting him a Pension of forty thousand Livres, the half of *Guienne*, and other places. *Comm.* l. 3. c. 11.

(2) Or rather in February 1474. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 11. p. 793.

(3) Six Months. *Comm.* l. 4. c. 1.

1474. with the same ardour as *Edward*, he would doubtless have run the hazard of seeing his affairs in great disorder. But, in all appearance, the Duke of *Burgundy* only intended to ingage *Edward* to make a diversion in *France*, in order to prevent *Lewis* from disturbing him in *Germany*. However this be, acting as if he really designed to undertake the conquest of *France* jointly with the King of *England*, he gave very ample powers to his Ambassadors to treat with him upon that head. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Princes having settled all the Articles, signed about the end of *July* several Treaties concerning this important undertaking.

Several
Treaties be-
tween Ed-
ward and
the Duke of
Burgundy.
Act. Pub.
XI. p. 804,
806.

The first was a Treaty of Amity, Alliance, and Confederacy between the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, mutually promising to assist one another to the utmost of their power.

The second contained certain private conventions concerning the War they were to carry into *France*, comprised in the eight following Articles:

I. That *Edward* should pass into *France* at the head of ten thousand Men at least, all well armed and well-appointed, before the 1st of *July*, 1475, to recover the Duchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, and the whole Kingdom of *France*.

II. That the Duke of *Burgundy* should assist him in Person with all his forces.

III. That the King should hearken to no proposal of Peace or Truce without the Duke's consent.

IV. The Duke of *Burgundy* promised likewise the same thing.

V. That the two Princes should cause the War to be proclaimed, each in his Dominions, against *Lewis* as their common enemy.

VI. That immediately after the War was begun or proclaimed, the two Allies should attack the common enemy, in the most convenient places, in such manner however as to be within distance to assist one another.

VII. That in case one of the two Princes should besiege some Town, or be forced to give Battle, the other should be obliged to join him with all his forces, and at his own charges, that both might run the same hazard. That their Lieutenants should be bound to the same thing.

VIII. That when the War was once commenced, neither should desist so long as the other should desire to continue it. That if one was absent, his Lieutenant should be obliged to obey the other, in whatever concerned the common good of the two Allies.

p. 808.

The third Treaty contained an explication of one of the Articles of the first, where it was said that each of the two Allies should assist the other with all his Forces. As this expression was too general, they agreed upon the Number (1) and Pay of the Troops they were to supply (2).

p. 810.

The fourth was a grant from *Edward* to the Duke of *Burgundy* of several Provinces of *France*, in consideration of the future services of that Prince, in aiding him to recover the whole Kingdom. This grant included the Duchy of *Bar*, the Earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guise*, the Barony of *Doufy*, with all the Towns on both sides the *Somme*; and lastly, all the Lands possessed by the Earl of *St. Pol* and held of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he renounced the Homage of all these Provinces, as well as of *Burgundy*, the Earldoms of *Charolois* and *Mâcon*, of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and in general of all the Territories the Duke was actually possessed of, or acquired by this grant. Finally, he added, his intent was, that this grant or conveyance should be as firm as if consented to by the Estates, promising to procure their confirmation of the whole, as soon as he was in possession of the Crown of *France*.

p. 812.

The fifth was an agreement, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* ingaged to furnish for the War, an Army of between ten and twenty thousand Men. The King promised on his part, to assign him yearly the pay of these Troops upon the Provinces included in the foregoing grant, in case they were conquered, and if not, upon other Demesns of the Crown, in proportion to what should be wanted: That if the assignment of the pay was not made before the end of every year, he agreed, the Duke should not be obliged to find any Troops the Year following.

The sixth and last Act was in form of Letter Patents, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* agreed that *Edward* and his Successors Kings of *France*, should have free Liberty to enter *Rheims* in order to be crowned, and depart without any impediment. This Act was necessary, because *Champagne* was included in the grant.

This was properly selling the Bear's skin before he was killed. However, it is not very difficult to discover the Motives of the conduct of these two Princes, since it is certain they both intended to deceive one another. They were both too wise, to expect to conquer *France* with the stipulated Forces. But the Duke of *Burgundy* meant to ingage *Edward* to make a powerful diversion in that Kingdom, by persuading him, it would be very easy to conquer it. *Edward* relied on his part to be assisted with these hopes, the better to ingage the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him a sufficient supply, to recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. This is neither the first nor the last time that Princes have played Counterfeits in their Treaties.

Edward having signed all these Treaties, began seriously to make preparations for the intended War. His first care was to assemble a Parliament (3), which readily granted him a subsidy. Since the Reign of *Edward* III, the Parliaments seldom wanted much solicitation to grant money for a War with *France*. As soon as *Edward* saw himself supported by his Parliament, he issued out Commissions to levy a much greater number of Troops, than what he had promised to supply by his Treaty with *Burgundy*.

Indeed as the War was upon his account, it was his part to exert himself answerably to the greatness of the undertaking. Whilst he was hastening his preparations, he sent ambassadors to divers Courts, as well to make alliances with several Princes, as to endeavour to hinder their union with his Enemy. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he sent to the Emperor *Frederick*, to *Ferdinand* King of *Sicily*, to the King of *Hungary*, and some others, to ingage them to enter into the League.

At the same time, he secured himself against any diversions from the *Scots*, by concluding a marriage between *Cecily* his second Daughter, and the King of *Scotland's* eldest Son. The first overture concerning this Marriage was made in the beginning of the year, and it was afterwards negotiated in divers conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings. At length, it was concluded the 30th of *July*, and *October* the 18th the young Prince and Princess were affianced by Proxies. Some days after (4), the Truce of *Newcastle*, which was to last till 1519, was again ratified at *Edinburgh*. As the affianced Couple were yet too young, it was agreed the Marriage should be accomplished as soon as they were both of fit age, and in the mean while, *Edward* should pay at several times his Daughter's Dowry, consisting of twenty thousand Marks Sterling.

Edward having thus secured himself against the diversions his Enemy might have caused, continued his Preparations, with great hopes of succeeding in his designs. The Subsidy granted by the Parliament not seeming sufficient, or part of it perhaps being applied to other uses, he borrowed Money of all his Subjects that were known to be rich. Some contributed cheerfully; others were gained by the King's Flatteries; and some feared to incur his displeasure, and perhaps some Violence in case they refused. In general, there were but few who dared to disobey. This sort of Aid levied after this manner was called by the new Name of *Benevolence*, intimating that private Persons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, these Loans raised without Authority of Parliament, were of a very dangerous consequence: But as it was to make war upon *France*, there was no murmurs. It is reported, the King himself asking a rich Widow what she would lend him, she replied, *She could not refuse twenty Pound Sterling to a Prince who borrowed with so good a Grace*. The King, as much pleased with the Lady's Politeness as her present, very courteously gave her a Kiss, which she took as such an honour, that she doubled the sum she had promised.

Amongst the new-raised Troops there were three thousand Men designed for the Duke of *Bretagne*, pursuant to a secret Treaty between him and *Edward*. That Prince however had lately changed into a perpetual Peace the

Subsidy granted the King. See Act. Pub. XI. p. 816, 836.

Several Embassies. Act. Pub. XI. p. 816, 836.

He concludes the Marriage of Cecily his Daughter with the Prince of Scotland. p. 814, 836.

He pays her Dowry in four instalments.

1475. He raises Money by various Contributions. See Act. Pub. XI. p. 816, 836.

Hill.

He designs three thousand Men for Bretagne. Act. Pub. XII. p. 12.

(1) Which was to be six thousand Men.

(2) If either Party wanted Troops for his own Defence, he was to pay two thousand four hundred Men out of those six thousand, and he that furnished them was to pay the remaining three thousand six hundred. But if they were wanted for any other occasion, he that employed them was to pay them alone. *Rymer's Fœd. Tem.* II. p. 809.

(3) This was no new Parliament, but the same as first met on *October* 6, in the 12th year of this King's Reign, and is mentioned above. It was by Jundry Prorogations continued to the 6th of *June*, 1473, when it granted the King one Tenth, and one Fifteenth; and fifty one thousand one hundred and seventy Pounds, four Shillings and Seven-pence three Farthings, in full payment of the Wages of the fourteen thousand Archers granted before; towards the payment whereof every County, City, and Town, was severally taxed. This Parliament was continued till *March* 1474, when it was dissolved. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 688-700.

(4) *October* 26. *Rymer's Fœd. Tem.* II. p. 824.

1475. Truce made with Lewis. And yet, when he was informed of the League between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, he desired to be included, but privately, for fear of being oppressed before his Allies were ready. The Lords Audley and Duras (1) were to command the Successors intended for Bretagne.

Every thing being ready for the Army's departure, Edward embarked at Sandwich the 20th of June (2), having appointed the Prince of Wales his Son, but five years old, Guardian of the Realm in his absence. A Historian affirms, he found at Dover five hundred transports sent by the Duke of Burgundy, which is not very likely. Mezerai says, on the contrary, that the English Troops spent three weeks in passing to Calais, which is a sign, there were but few Vessels, or a very great number of Troops. Philip de Commines assures, never did King of England lead into France so strong an Army. But this is speaking hyperbolically, or not exactly according to truth. It is certain, this Army was not comparable for number, to that, led by Edward III into France a little before the Treaty of Breigny (3). However, it is not easy to know the precise number of the Troops, since the Historians only mention the number of the Horse, without speaking of the Foot. But if we judge by the usual proportion in those days, when the Cavalry was much more relied on than the Infantry, this Army was not so numerous as it is pretended, since there were but fifteen hundred Men at arms, and fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback. Besides, by Edward's Treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, he was obliged to find but ten thousand Men. In fine, it will be seen in the sequel, that he made peace with Lewis without opening the Campaign, when he found he could not depend upon the Duke of Burgundy's assistance, which doubtless he would not have done, before he had rendered himself formidable by some exploit, had he been so superior as he is represented.

Upon Edward's arrival at Calais (4), he sent a Herald to Lewis to summon him to restore the whole Kingdom of France, and in case of refusal, to proclaim War against him. Lewis hearing the Herald in private, told him, he was very well informed, Edward was not come of his own inclination to make war, but by the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Constable de St. Pol (5), who, he might assure his Master, would both deceive him. Then after asking him some questions, which gave the Herald occasion to say, that when he made any offers of Peace, he should apply to the Lords Howard and Stanley, he presented him with three hundred Crowns (6), and thirty yards of Velvet, to make him a Robe. He did not expect, doubtless, to reap great advantages from the Herald by this liberality, since the Man was a stranger to his Master's inward resolutions; but meant to show Edward's Courtiers, what they might expect from him for more important Services. The Herald failed not to magnify his Present, and relate to the Lord Howard, who held the chief place in the King's Favour, what passed between Lewis and him.

Mean while, Edward advancing into Picardy, where he expected to meet the Duke of Burgundy, found not so much as a single Man from him. Surprised at so seemingly strange a Proceeding, he sent to the Duke (7), who was still before Nuz, to know the reason. But before I proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the Duke of Burgundy's affairs.

The Duke was intent upon the Siege of Nuz, in hopes of taking that Place, and Cogné too, before Edward's arrival in France. But the Emperor approaching the Siege with an army four times as strong as the Duke's, without however offering him Battle, the Besiegers were so harraffed, that the Siege, instead of advancing, was retarded. And yet, the Duke, from a motive of vain glory, obstinately continued it, to show that the Emperor with all his forces was not able to raise it. Nothing could be more advantageous to the King of France, or more prejudicial to the Duke's affairs, than this unseasonable obstinacy. In the first place, it hindered his joining the King of England. 2. In the mean time, Sigismund Duke of Austria took from him the Earl-dom of Forêt (8), and the Duke of Lorraine ravaged Luxemburg. 3. As soon as his Truce with France was expired, Lewis made himself master of Roye, Corbie, and Montdidier. In fine, when it was too late, and he was within eight days of being master of the Place,

pressed by Edward's instances, he agreed, it should be delivered to a Legate, to be disposed of according to the Pope's pleasure. After the raising of the Siege, the Duke's Army was so little able to march, that instead of speedily joining the English, it was put into Summer quarters. Then he went himself with a very small Train, to make his excuses to Edward. It was difficult for the King to digest such a negligence, in so important an affair. He began from that time to open his eyes, and perceive, he was engaged in the War for the interest of others, whereas he had imagined, it was for his own. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy's precaution, not to admit but few English at a time into Peronne, confirmed the King's suspicions. At last, he was quite undeceived by the behaviour of the Constable de St. Pol, who commanded in St. Quentin. The Constable, who was one of the chief promoters of the War, because he founded his greatness solely upon the dissension between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, had positively promised, to deliver St. Quentin to the King of England. Upon this assurance, the Duke of Burgundy would have conducted Edward into the place, that having so good a Pledge in his hands, he might be patient. But upon their approach, they were fired upon from the Town. At the same time, a body of Horse falling out, killed some English Soldiers, who were most eager to enter, expecting to be admitted without difficulty. Very probably, the Duke of Burgundy himself was deceived, upon this occasion, by the Constable. For it is not likely, he should designedly cause such an affront to be put upon a Prince whom he yet wanted, and who had him in his power. He did all he could however to excuse the Constable, and feed the King's hopes. But finding Edward gave no credit to his words, but on the contrary bitterly reproached him, he left him next day, under pretence of hastening his Troops. It may be, he was not without some apprehension, that Edward might pursue his resentment.

Edward seeing himself thus deserted by the Duke of Burgundy and the Constable, and not hearing that the Duke of Bretagne made any motion, or there was any appearance of the Insurrections in France, he had been made to expect, found himself extremely embarrassed. In the mean time, a French Prisoner, the only one taken since the English Army's arrival, being released by the King's order, the Lords Howard and Stanley charged him, to present their respects to the King his master. The Prisoner discharging his Commission, Lewis began to think it was not without design, that this Compliment was made him, remembering what the English Herald told him concerning these Lords. He perceived, the Court of England desired to enter into Treaty, but would not make the first Advances. For his part, who was not so scrupulous, he resolved to improve this sort of overture. Philip de Commines says, he caused a certain Person of little note, but of good Sense, to be dressed like a Herald, and fully instructing him, sent him to the English army, to demand a Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors, and address himself for that purpose to the Lords Howard and Stanley. The pretended Herald being admitted into the King's presence, told him, "That he was ordered by the King his master to represent to him, that the war between their two Kingdoms could not but be destructive to both, and the mutual Trade of the two Nations was on the contrary a manifest advantage, which ought to be cherished. Then, he excused the King his master's countenancing the Earl of Warwick, assuring, it was not out of ill-will to Edward, but on the account of the Duke of Burgundy his irreconcilable enemy. He added, that the Duke of Burgundy's and the Constable's insincerity was so evident, that it was needless to mention it, since he was very sensible of the effects. That he was come in arms into a Country where he had neither Cattle, nor Friends, and he left it to him to judge, whether the Conquest of France was so easy as he had been made to believe: That however, the King his master, knowing so great an Armament could not be made without vast expence, was very willing so to make him amends, as he should have reason to be satisfied: That therefore he demanded a Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors, with a Train of one hundred Horse, that they might treat in a proper place, with those of England, concerning a firm and lasting Peace, between the two Kings and their Subjects."

1. Gualard de Duras, Lord of Duras. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 12.

2. There are in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 12--14, two Papers witnessed by the King at Westminster, June 20; and three dated at Sandwich the same day: which makes it probable that he might embark that day. But Hall, fol. 126. Hollinghead, p. 1546. say, it was not till June 4.

3. Edward the Third's Army was a hundred thousand Men. Rymer.

4. Commines says, he sent him before his departure from Dover, l. 4. c. 5.

5. And the Commines of England. *Ibid.*

6. And promised to give him a thousand Crowns more, in case matters were adjusted. *Ibid.*

7. Rymer, l. 4. c. 5. Commines. Hall.

8. He had a mortgage due him for a hundred thousand Florins. Commin. l. 4. c. 2.

1475. In Edward's circumstances, the King of France's proposal was very acceptable. Accordingly, the Herald was dismissed with a Present (1), and the desired Safe-Conduct. The same day, or the next, Edward called a Council (2), at which were present all the Lords in the Army, to the number of eighteen. It was resolved, almost unanimously, that the Lord Howard and three others (3) should confer with the King of France's Ambassadors, and a full power was given them to conclude a Peace upon these terms: 1. That Lewis should pay the King, within a fortnight, the Sum of seventy five thousand Crowns, and from thenceforward fifty thousand Crowns yearly, at two payments, during the Life of the two Kings. 2. That the King of France should promise to marry the Dauphin his Son to the King's eldest or second Daughter, and allow his Daughter-in-law sixty thousand Livres a year. Upon these two conditions, the Ambassadors were empowered to promise in the King's name, that he would return into England with his Troops, immediately after the receipt of the seventy five thousand Crowns; To conclude a Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the two Kings, with promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious Subjects; And lastly, to sign a Truce for seven years.

Conditions offered to the King of France.

The Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings (4) meeting near Amiens, at almost an equal distance from the two Armies, the Treaty was concluded the 28th or 29th of August, as Edward desired, without any considerable alteration. Every thing being thus settled, separate writings were drawn, on each particular Article of the Treaty.

By the first, the two Kings promised to decide all their differences by arbitrators, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Clarence for the King of England, and for the King of France, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Earl of Dunois. Moreover, Edward engaged to quit the French territories, upon the receipt of the seventy five thousand Crowns, without doing any damage, and to leave Hostages for the performance of his word.

The second concerned the seven years Truce, in which were included all the Allies of both the Kings, and expressly the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, if they desired it.

The third contained a mutual engagement of brotherly friendship between the two Kings, and express articles concerning the Dauphin's marriage with Elizabeth Daughter of Edward.

The fourth was in form of Letters Patents, whereby Lewis promised to pay annually to Edward during their lives, the Sum of fifty thousand Crowns. This the English Authors call a Tribute, though the Letters Patents express not under what title this yearly pension was to be paid. Some say, it was limited to nine years. But no other limitation appears than the lives of the two Kings.

Lastly, Edward promised to release Queen Margaret, for a ransom of fifty thousand Crowns, which the King of France was to pay for her, within five years. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Margaret was accordingly released the beginning of November this year, and Lewis XI punctually paid the Sum promised.

The Duke of Burgundy having notice that the two Kings were beginning to treat, departed immediately from his Army, to which he was returned, and made all possible haste, in expectation of preventing this blow, but found the Truce was already signed. He fell upon Edward with bitter reproaches; to which Edward returned a suitable answer, telling him however he had taken care to include him in the Truce. But the Duke fiercely replied, he wanted not his mediation, and valued it so little, that if he treated for himself it should not be till three months after his arrival in England. Thus parting extremely angry with each other, the Duke retired into his Country. The Constable de St. Pol did all that lay in his power, to persuade Edward to break the Truce, offering to deliver St. Quentin, and lend him fifty thousand Crowns. But Edward was far from renouncing the War for his sake, and trusting to his promises after having been so manifestly deceived.

Before Edward's departure for England, it was thought proper, that the two Kings should confer together upon

Pequigny Bridge, with a Bar [or Grate] between them. Lewis came first to the place, attended with the Cardinal of Bourbon, and five other Lords. Edward arrived afterwards, accompanied likewise with a small number of Lords (5). After they had both sworn to observe the late Treaty, Lewis inviting Edward to Paris, told him, he would procure him agreeable diversions with the fair Ladies of that City, and if he chanced to trespass upon his chastity, the Cardinal of Bourbon should be his Confessor, who would easily absolve him. After some other raileries, Lewis made a sign to the Lords that were with him to retire, and the English likewise did the same. When the two Kings were alone, they talked a good while together, and it was afterwards known, that the Constable, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the subject of their conversation. As to the Constable, Edward would not be concerned for him. As for Burgundy, Lewis asking him, what he should do if that Prince refused to be included in the Truce, Edward replied, he might do as he pleased, if, after another offer, the Duke should refuse. But as for the Duke of Bretagne he plainly told him, that he would assist him to the utmost of his power, if attacked. Lewis thought proper to insist no farther upon that subject, and in fine, they parted very well satisfied with each other (6).

The interview being ended, Lewis repaired to Amiens, where the Lord Howard followed him as Hostage. Whilst Lewis was washing his hands before supper, Howard whispered him in the ear, that he would undertake to persuade the King his master to take a journey to Paris; to which Lewis returned no answer. Howard frequently hinted the same thing at table, without the King's seeming to hear him. However, he caused him to be afterwards told, that the War he was going to wage with the Duke of Burgundy not permitting him to go to Paris, he was very sorry he could not enjoy the honour the King intended to do him. Philip de Commines remarks upon this occasion, that there was nothing more feared by Lewis, than to see Edward relish France, nor any thing more passionately desired by him, than to see him return into England. He was under such apprehension that Edward would repent of the Truce, that he privately bestowed pensions upon his principal Counsellors, to induce them to keep him in the resolution to observe it. Commines could speak of these things with certainty, since he was then in Lewis's service and confidence. He adds moreover, that the Duke of Gloucester, who was against the Truce, waiting upon the King of France, was received with extraordinary respect, and that the King forgot nothing to gain to his interest such of Edward's Courtiers as were in any credit. The English Army approaching Amiens, Lewis caused the gates to be kept open, and sent orders to the publick Inns, to entertain at free cost all the English that came there. Moreover, he sent to the King of England a present of three hundred waggon-loads of wine, for the use of his army; so desirous was he to gain the hearts of the English, for fear some one of them should make Edward sensible of his error. This present gave occasion to say, that he found means to send home the English with cart-loads of wine. At length, all Lewis's fears vanished with the departure of the English, who went away, says a Historian, extremely well pleased with the French gold and wine; adding, the pensions assigned to Edward's principal courtiers, amounted to sixteen thousand Crowns a year (7).

The Duke of Burgundy not bearing the thoughts of deserting to be included in the Truce, made by Edward without his knowledge, stood out for some time, and at last accepted of a separate Truce (8) offered him by Lewis. As for the Constable, who had deceived the three Princes, and been the principal author of their division, he saw himself in the end forsaken by all, and forced to retire into the Duke of Burgundy's Dominions, upon the faith of a Safe-conduct. But notwithstanding that security, he was delivered by the Duke to the King of France, who commanded his head to be struck off. A notable lesson for such as labour to sow discord among Princes!

Lewis would have been glad the Duke of Bretagne had been thus sacrificed to him. But that Prince had in his hands a pledge which obliged Edward to protect him; and

(1) Of four Nobles. Commines, l. 4. c. 7.

(2) Dr. John Morton, Master of the Rolls, William Dudley, Dean of the King's Chapel, and Thomas Selenger. Ibid. and p. 27.

(3) The English Plenipotentiaries were, John Lord Howard, Sir Thomas Saint Leger, and Dr. John Morton, Master of the Rolls. The French King's were, the Cardinal of Bourbon, Admiral of France, the Lord of St. Pierre, and the Bishop of Evreux. Hall, fol. 130. Hollinghead, p. 1347.

(4) His Brother George Duke of Clarence, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, William Lord Hastings the Chamberlain, the Bishop of Lincoln Lord Chancellor, &c. Ibid.

(5) This Conference was on August 29. Commines, l. 4. c. 10.

(6) The chief Men who had Pensions, were, the Chancellor, Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. John Morton, Master of the Rolls, William Lord Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, and John Lord Howard; Sir John Cheney, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Sir Thomas Montgomerie, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, &c. Commines, l. 6. c. 2. Hall, fol. 235. King Edward returned to London, September 28, and was met on Black-Heath by the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and about five hundred Persons more, by whom he was conducted in great triumph to Westminster. Hs., fol. 236. Hollinghead, p. 1349.

(7) For nine years. Commines, l. 4. c. 11.

(8) At Seyntre near Peronne. Rymer's Fœd. Tom XII. p. 14.

1475. otherwise he would have regarded him no more than the Duke of Burgundy. This was the Earl of Richmond, who, tho' absent, made the English Monarch extremely uneasy. If the Duke of Bretagne had suffered that Prince, with the Earl of Pembroke his Uncle, to escape, they might in time have revived the Lancastrian party, and thereby exposed Edward perhaps to the hazard of a thirteenth Battle, to maintain himself in the Throne. This was the true reason of Edward's supporting the Duke of Bretagne, and telling Lewis, who earnestly pressed him several times to desert that Prince, that on the contrary, he would defend him to the utmost of his power.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 22.

1476. This open demonstration of friendship for the Duke of Bretagne, causing Edward to imagine the Duke would be glad of an opportunity to shew his acknowledgment, he sent Ambassadors (1) to him, under colour of renewing their Truce. There were but few difficulties in this negotiation. The Duke readily agreed to confirm the Truce (2), though often violated on the part of the English. He even desisted from his demand of fifty thousand Crowns, for the damages sustained by his Subjects. The King on his side, quitted his demands upon him for the armament made in his favour. Every thing being thus upon the terms of a perfect good understanding between the two Princes, the Ambassadors acquainted the Duke with the principal business of their embassy. They told him, the King their Master was extremely desirous, entirely to extinguish the Flames of the two factions which had been so long kindled in England; that the Earl of Richmond, who was in Bretagne, being the only surviving Person of the House of Lancaster, he intended to marry him to one of his daughters, in order to unite the two Houses; that therefore he desired him to send him the Earl, that he might give him marks of his favour, and thereby manifest to his whole Kingdom his earnest desire of procuring them a happy tranquillity.

Edward
Comm. 10.
Rymer's
Fœd. Tom.
XII. p. 22.
Hall.
Bondi.
F. 1476.
H. 1476.
A. 1476.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 23.
57.

The Duke of Bretagne was a good Prince, who judging of others by himself, and not believing Edward concealed ill-designs under these appearances of moderation, ordered the Earl of Richmond to be put into the hands of the Ambassadors, to be conducted to England. Some however affirm, that a large Sum of Money presented to the Duke by the English Ambassadors, rendered their instances more effectual. However this be, they departed with their prey, to embark at St. Malo's. But whilst they were on the road, one of the Duke's Counsellors (3) represented to him, that by this proceeding, he would be eternally infamous; that besides, he could not in conscience deliver a Prince, who thought himself safe under his protection, to his most mortal enemy, who demanded him only to destroy him, under the false pretence of an honorable settlement; that he would be accountable to God for this Action, whatever colour he might put upon it in the eyes of Men; and conjured him to consider, what Honour, Justice and Religion required of him on this occasion. Whether this remonstrance made the Duke sensible of what he had not hitherto fully known, or stung him with remorse of what he had done, he immediately dispatched Peter Landais his favorite to St. Malo's, with orders to recover the Earl of Richmond out of the hands of the Ambassadors, if they were not yet embarked. Landais arrived, just as they were entering the vessel that was to carry them to England. He immediately gave private orders to help the two Prisoners to escape, whilst himself conferred with the Ambassadors. The conference being ended, the two Earls were found to have taken sanctuary in a Church, from whence Landais pretended they could not be removed. The Ambassadors complained of this fraud; but, after some frivolous excuses, he plainly told them, the Duke his master, upon second thoughts, believed he could not deliver the Earl to the King, without an insupportable stain on his honour; that however, he would promise to guard him so carefully that Edward should never receive any damage. The Ambassadors finding themselves the weakest, were forced to be content with this promise, which eased in some measure their vexation to be thus disappointed. Thus, by a fort of miracle, the Earl of Richmond escaped the danger to which he was exposed, Providence having preserved him on this occasion, in order to place him one day on the Throne of England.

The Duke
Comm. 10.
Rymer's
Fœd. Tom.
XII. p. 23.
Hall.
Bondi.
F. 1476.
H. 1476.
A. 1476.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 23.
57.

He gets him
a promise
from the
Ambassadors
that he
shall
Hall.

Alliance
quith
Denmark.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 27.
27, 29, 30.

The rest of the year 1476, affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of England, but a Negotiation to renew the Alliance with Denmark; the death of the Archbishop of York at Guisnes, where he was Prisoner; and some other inconsiderable affairs. But it will be necessary to speak of those of the Duke of Burgundy, which became of great consequence both to England and France.

The Duke had accepted of the Truce offered by Lewis, 1476. not so much out of fear of his Arms, as from a desire to carry war into Germany. He wanted to be revenged of the Duke of Lorraine, the Swiss, and the Duke of Austria, but this would have been impossible, if the War with France had continued. In October, 1475, presently after signing the Truce with Lewis XI, he attacked the Duke of Lorraine, and subdued his whole Duchy, without meeting much resistance, except at Nanci, which endured a Siege of two Months. Lorraine being conquered, he formed the Project to humble the Swiss, who had dared to declare against him, whilst he was employed in the Siege of Nuz. He used for pretence the Injury they had done to James of Savoy, Earl of Romont, in seizing his Territories. The Swiss, who made yet no great Figure in Europe, seeing the Storm approaching, humbly sued for Peace; but the Duke was inexorable. So leaving Lorraine in March 1476, he passed through Burgundy, and threw himself into the Country of Faux, where he took three or four Towns. Then he laid Siege to Granfon, where were seven or eight hundred Swiss, bent upon making a gallant defence. The Town having at length capitulated, the Duke broke the Articles, and put the Garrison to the sword. Mean while, a Body of Swiss was advancing to relieve the Belieged, but came too late. The Duke, contrary to the opinion of his Council, resolved to meet this body, which was still in the narrow Passages of the Mountains. To that end, he detached a hundred Archers to seize a certain pass, and presently after he marched himself to support them. These Archers meeting the Swiss coming out of the Mountains, hastily retreated towards the body which was marching after them. Whereupon, the Duke's Army imagining the Horsemen were repulsed by the Enemy, were seized with a panic, and took to flight, without the Duke's being able to rally them. He lost only seven Men at arms, but all his baggage became a Prey to the Enemy.

His defeat at
Granfon.

This ill success not being capable of discouraging him, he assembled his scattered Troops, and soon rendered them fit for action. About fifteen days after he took the field, and laid siege to Morat, a small Town not far from Bern. Mean time, the Swiss receiving supplies from some neighbouring Princes, marched, to the number of thirty thousand Men, to fight him. The Battle was fought three weeks after the rout of Granfon, and the Duke was entirely defeated, with the loss of eight thousand Men.

His defeat at
Morat.

This terrible misfortune so struck the Duke, that he sickened with grief. Philip de Commines even affirms, he was somewhat disordered in mind. He remained six weeks at a Town called la Riviere, where he kept himself as it were concealed, and none durst venture to speak to him to comfort him. Mean time, several of the Princes who before were his Friends (4) declared against him. Then the Duke of Lorraine, perceiving it to be a favorable opportunity, appeared before Nanci, and took the place upon terms without the Duke of Burgundy's stirring to its relief. At length, when it was too late, and the Town surrendered, the Duke of Burgundy approached, and his Enemy being retired, undertook the Siege, where he met with difficulties which made him lose a great deal of time, and proved the occasion of his ruin.

His concern
at it.

Mean while, the Duke of Lorraine drew together Forces from all quarters, Lewis XI finding him Money for their subsistence. When he thought himself sufficiently strong, he approached Nanci, and encamped at St. Nicholas, expecting the effect of his correspondence in the Enemy's Army, with Campobache, a Neapolitan Captain, in whom the Duke of Burgundy entirely confided. This City being now reduced to extremity, the Duke of Lorraine advanced to join battle. Then Campobache suddenly deserted his matter with about two hundred Lances (5), and went over to his Enemy. He left in the Army fourteen Men whom he had bribed, who were to alarm the Troops during the fight, and kill the Duke of Burgundy, if they had an opportunity. The Battle being fought on the 5th of January 1477, the Duke of Burgundy's Army was routed, and himself slain in the forty sixth year of his age. He had reigned nine years and a half, amidst continual troubles, employed one while in defending himself against the open or secret Attacks of Lewis XI, another while, in executing Projects beyond his strength, which argued more ambition and rashness, than prudence and counsel.

1477.
His defeat
and death at
Nanci.
Commin.

The Duke of Burgundy's Death made a great alteration, not only in the Affairs of the Low-Countries, but also in those of the neighbouring Princes. Nay, it may be said to be the first and principal source of most of the Wars, wherewith Europe has been troubled ever since. The

Alterations
caused by the
Death of the
Duke of
Burgundy.

(1) D. de St. Julien and two others, with a large Sum of Money. Hall, fol. 137. H. 1476.

(2) He confirmed it, on January 22, 1476, as King Edward did on March 10. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 22, 24.

(3) Philip de Commines. Hall, fol. 137.

(4) The Duke of Milan, René King of Sicily, the Duke of Savoy, &c. Commin. l. 5. c. 2.

(5) One hundred and sixty. Commin. c. 8.

1477. Duke of *Burgundy* left but one Daughter, called *Maria*, who was Heiress to his large Dominions, and whom he had in some measure promised to *Maximilian of Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederic*. This Princess, about nineteen years old, saw herself not only forsaken by all the late Duke her Father's Friends, but moreover exposed a Prey to *Lewis XI*, who immediately deprived her of *Burgundy*, with the Towns on the *Somme*, and even formed the Project to dispossess her of all the rest of her Dominions. In this pressing necessity, her only refuge was the King of *England's* assistance, whose interest it was to oppose the growth of *Lewis's* Power. But *Edward's* whole Council being bribed and corrupted by the King of *France's* bounties, *Maria* obtained from that quarter empty wishes only for her prosperity, and compliments, which ended in nothing. To complete her misfortune, the young Princess saw herself also exposed to the Tyranny of the *Gantois*, who seized her Person, removed all her Counsellors, beheaded two, and gave her a new Council entirely composed of their Creatures.

Lewis takes from Maria part of her Dominions. Comm. Mezerai.

Comm. 1. 6. c. 2.

Maria is tyrannized over by the Men of Gant. Comm.

Several Matches are proposed for her. Comm.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 42.

Edward refuses to aid her.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 43, 50.

His Reasons for it. Comm.

Maria espouses Maximilian of Austria. Mezerai. Lewis grants him a Truce. Comm.

1478. Death of the Duke of Clarence. Hall. Biondi. Holingsh.

Mean time, this Princess's marriage was thought of. Some were for her espousing the Dauphin of *France*. But *Lewis* having already entered into engagements with *Edward*, durst not disoblige him at such a juncture. Others would have her married to the Duke of *Guelders*, and some to a *German* Prince. All but herself were consulted about the choice of a Husband. Mean while *Lewis* continued his conquests. In May 1477, the Emperor *Frederic* sending Ambassadors to *Gant*, to renew the Treaty concerning the Marriage of his Son *Maximilian* with *Maria*, the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, Mother-in-law of the Princess, desired her Brother *Edward* to send Ambassadors into *Flanders* to assist her in that Affair. *Edward* consented, but would not promise to aid *Maria* against the King of *France*, though the *Flemings* and the Duke of *Bretagne* strongly pressed him. On the contrary, he agreed to prolong the seven years Truce concluded at *Amiens*, till a year after the death of one of the two Kings. Thus *Edward* acted directly contrary to the interests of *England*, in suffering the advancement of *France*, and the ruin of the House of *Burgundy*. Three principal reasons hindered his quarrelling with *France*. The first, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he was no longer fit to bear the hardships of War. The second, that his chief Counsellors were Pensioners to *France*. The third, that having promised his Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Dauphin, he was unwilling by any proceeding to obstruct the marriage. Mean while, *Lewis* was extremely careful to keep him in these dispositions, by punctually paying him the Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, and ten thousand yearly for Queen *Margaret's* ransom.

Thus *Maria* of *Burgundy* seeing herself forsaken by all whose interest it was to support her, had no other refuge than to marry Prince *Maximilian*, from whom however she could expect no great assistance. The Nuptials being celebrated in July, *Lewis XI*, out of regard to the Emperor, granted the new Duke of *Burgundy* a Truce for a year, and restored him some Towns in *Hainault* which he had seized. Shortly after, he received Ambassadors from *England* (1), who were come to settle the arbitration agreed on, concerning the differences between the two Crowns. But he had then other Affairs, which hindered him from thinking of this, and obliged him to defer it to a more proper season (2).

The beginning of the year 1478 was very quiet, with respect to the general Affairs I have been speaking of. But at the same time, there passed at the Court of *England*, things which wholly grossified the attention of the publick: I mean the tragical death of the Duke of *Clarence*, which it will be necessary to insist upon a moment. This Prince was haughty and ambitious, of ungovernable Passions, of an inconstant Temper, taking no care to conceal his Sentiments; in a word, of a very mean Genius. Whilst the King his Brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the hopes of sitting one day on the Throne, though it was very unlikely, *Edward* would always remain in a state of Celibacy. The King's Marriage destroying these hopes, he was displeased with the King himself, and especially with the Queen and her Creatures, who did not fail to do him ill offices. So *Edward* began by degrees to neglect him, and took no care to procure him advantages, which may easily be procured by a King for his Brothers. The Duke so repented this con-

tempt, that he scrupled not to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, to dethrone his own Brother. He repented it afterwards, and his repentance, as hath been seen, proved *Edward's* preservation. He was in hopes a reward would quickly follow to signal a Service, reflecting only upon what he had done for the King, without considering the danger to which he had exposed him. But *Edward*, prejudiced against him, thought, on the contrary, the bare pardon of the injury to be a sufficient recompence for the service he had received. These Sentiments were instilled into him by his Queen, who having lost the Earl of *Rivers* her Father during the Rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the Authors of it, as the objects of her vengeance. On the other hand, the Duke of *Glocester*, to the utmost of his power, privately fowed dissension between his Brothers. He was a Prince of greater ambition than the Duke of *Clarence*, but withal of a very different Character, proceeding to his ends by deep and artful Contrivances, which rendered his ways imperceptible. He always thought before he spoke, whereas the Duke of *Clarence* ruined himself by too freely discovering his Sentiments. It was difficult for two Brothers of so contrary Tempers to love one another. But in their discord, the Duke of *Clarence* used no Ceremony with his Brother, whilst *Glocester* strove never to give him publicly any advantage. Mean while, he gave him secret stabs, the more unavoidable, as they came from an unsuspected hand. All the Historians agree, that from this time, the Duke of *Glocester* thought of securing the Crown after the King's death, and therefore the Duke of *Clarence* could not but very much incommode him. This was however an undertaking, the execution whereof seemed very difficult, since his two elder Brothers had Children. But his Ambition made him think it not impracticable, in proceeding by degrees. The first step was, to dispatch the Duke of *Clarence*. To that end, he endeavoured to render him odious to the King, and cause him to consider him as a secret enemy, who was privately labouring to supplant his Children. The Duke of *Clarence's* rash expressions were extremely subservient to his design. On the other hand, the Queen, who had a great Influence over the King, failed not to confirm his suspicions.

Matters standing thus, the King, as he was hunting in a Park belonging to *Thomas Burdet* (3), Confident of the Duke of *Clarence*, chanced to kill a white Buck, in which that Gentleman greatly delighted. *Burdet* was so concerned for the death of his favorite Buck, that in the first transports of his passion, he swore, he would the horns in the belly of him that killed it. Whereupon he was accused of High-Treason, condemned, and executed, within the space of two days. Some say, his Imprecation concerned only the Person that advised the King to hunt in his Park. Be this as it will, the design, no doubt, of those who so hotly prosecuted that unfortunate Gentleman, was, to induce the Duke of *Clarence* to expose himself by some rash proceeding; of which his inconsiderate, impetuous, and haughty Temper, afforded great assurance. Accordingly, the Duke, who was then in *Ireland*, being returned to Court, talked very boldly to the King of his Friend's death, and bitterly complained of his disregard for a Brother, to whom he owed his restoration to the Throne. In fine, he was so far transported with anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was this all. After leaving the King, he dropped some farther no less imprudent expressions, intimating, his Brother was a Bastard, and consequently had no Right to the Crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the desires of his enemies, than to see him thus run into their Snare, they so exasperated the King against him, that he resolved to destroy him. For that purpose, he held a Council, entirely consisting of the Duke of *Clarence's* enemies, where it was resolved to apprehend him, accuse him of High-Treason, and bring the Accusation before the Parliament, then assembled. All this was immediately executed, that the Duke might not have leisure to repent, and beg the King's Pardon. For had he been allowed time to come to himself, and implored the King's Mercy, his rash expressions must have been considered only as the effect of a sudden Passion, which deserved not the rigorous punishment intended him. His affair being brought before the Parliament (4), he was accused of several Crimes, under the eight following Articles. I. By his seditious discourses, he had endeavoured to draw upon the King the hatred of his Subjects, by accusing him of unjustly putting *Burdet* to death. II. He had bribed some of his domesticks and others to spread such a report,

1478.

Stow. Holingsh.

Stow. P. 430.

(1) *Edward's* Ambassadors were, Sir *John Donn*, *John Cke* Doctor of Laws, and *Lewis Bretell*, Esq; Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 43.
(2) This year, on January 16, a Parliament met at *Westminster*: In which nothing remarkable was done, but the creating *Richard*, the King's second Son, Duke of *York*, &c. See below, *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 501, 502.
(3) On *Arden* in *Warwickshire*. Stow, p. 430.
(4) The Parliament last mentioned, which met on January 16. Stow, p. 430. — Whoever observe, what hurry the Duke's Enemies were in to take him off, and the general Indignation of the People against the King as a Fratricide, must be of Sir *William Dugdale's* Opinion, That the Duke was not condemned and attainted in Parliament till after his death. *Bacons* Vol. II. p. 164.

1478. III. He had said the King made use of Necromancy to know the future. IV. He had taxed the King with poisoning innocent persons, whom he thought he could not legally destroy. V. He had affirmed, the King was not Son of the Duke of York, but of an adulterer admitted by the Duchess their Mother to her bed. VI. Inferring from thence, that the Crown was fallen to him, he had discovered his design to seize it, by requiring many persons to swear to be true to him and his Heirs, without any exception of their Allegiance to the King. VII. He had accused the King of using Magick to take away his Life, by causing him to consume away like a Taper. VIII. Lastly, He had openly shewn his design to dethrone the King, in procuring an authentick Copy of the act of Parliament passed during the Earl of Warwick's Usurpation, whereby the Crown was adjudged to him, after the death of Henry VI, and his Issue-Male.

All the Historians agree, it would have been very difficult to prove all these Articles of Impeachment, if the King had not declared himself a Party, and the Queen and the Duke of Gloucester acted underhand to have him found guilty. Be this as it will, he was condemned to die. But there is in this Sentence a very remarkable Circumstance. One of the chief reasons of his Condemnation was, his affirming, the King not to be the Duke of York's Son, and that very thing served afterwards for foundation to the Duke of Gloucester to mount the Throne, in prejudice of Edward's Children. Herein must be admired the blindness of Men, and the Justice of God. Edward makes use of a false Accusation to put his Brother to death, and thereby gives occasion to suspicions, which are to serve hereafter to ruin his own Children. The Duke of Clarence being condemned, all the favor he could obtain of the King his Brother, was, to chuse the manner of his death. To avoid appearing on a Scaffold, he desired (1), to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey (2). He left one Son named Edward, who inherited from his Grandfather, by the Mother's Side (3), the Title of Earl of Warwick, and a Daughter called Margaret, who was Countess of Salisbury. As the death of the Duke of Clarence raised among the People a general Indignation, and murmurs against the King, it was designed to put a stop thereunto, by exposing his body in St. Paul's Church, and giving out he died of immoderate Grief. But this Artifice was not capable of amusing the People, who too plainly saw, in the Condemnation of that Prince, the terrible effects of his enemy's malice (4).

About three Months before, the King had created Edward his eldest Son Prince of Wales (5), and his second Son Richard, Duke of York. The rejoicings at Court upon this occasion, expressed not so much Joy of the Favorites, for the two Princes Promotion, as their satisfaction to see the Project of the Duke of Clarence's Ruin so near accomplished. Edward did not foresee that his unjust Plot against his Brother, was the first step towards the ruin of his own Sons. Had the Duke of Clarence lived, the Duke of Gloucester would never have thought of sacrificing them, as he did, to his ambition.

Shortly after the death of the Duke of Clarence, the Term taken by Lewis XI, and Edward, to decide their differences by arbitration, was further prolonged, and the Duke of Gloucester appointed by Edward one of the Arbitrators (6), in the room of the Duke of Clarence.

Whilst these things passed in England, the Truce between Lewis and Maximilian being expired, Maximilian entered Burgundy, and took several places with great ease, by reason of the People's affection to the House of Burgundy. Probably, he would then have taken possession of the two Burgundies, if he had received from the Emperor his Father, a supply answerable to his occasions. This Lewis very much feared, and as he knew it to be Edward's Interest to join forces with Maximilian, he forgot nothing to divert him therefrom. In July this year, he sent a full power to prolong the Truce, till a hundred years after the death of the two Kings, and oblige him to the payment of the annual Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, so long as the Truce should last. Moreover the Ambassador was empowered, to prolong for three years

the Term agreed upon, to decide the differences by Arbitrators, and to promise for Lewis and his Successors, to prolong it every third year, till all things were settled. The Ambassador being arrived at London, Edward appointed Commissioners to treat with him, and at length the Treaty was concluded as proposed by Lewis, though not till February the 15th, 1479 (7).

What retarded a little this Negotiation was, Edward's desire to secure, first, his Daughter Elizabeth's Marriage with the Dauphin. To that end, he sent two Ambassadors (8) into France, with power to perform the Ceremony of betrothing. But Lewis, it is likely, found some excuse to defer it. Mean while, he made the second Payment of ten thousand Crowns for Queen Margaret's Ransom.

Thus Edward, contrary to his own, and the Kingdom's Interests, suffered himself to be managed by the King of France, or rather by his own Ministers, bribed by that Prince. Lewis not content with diverting him by his Intrigues from assisting the Duchess of Burgundy, sent him also a Proposal to divide betwixt them that Prince's Dominions, offering him for his part Flanders and Brabant (9). Edward closed with the Proposal, but upon this condition, that in exchange for the Towns conquered in Flanders, Lewis should give him others in Picardy, and particularly Boulogne (10). But Lewis was too apprehensive of the neighbourhood of the English, to accept that condition. If he proposed to him the Conquest of Flanders, it was only to engage him in a war with Maximilian and Maria, for fear he should one time or other repent his deserting them.

But Edward was far from such a thought. Instead of meditating War, he entirely abandoned himself to his pleasures, with intention to pass the residue of his days in effeminate Sloth. Mean while, these pleasures which he so eagerly pursued, cost him more than the most burdensome War. And therefore, his Coffers being empty, he used divers illegal means to extort Money from his Subjects. The most terrible was, that of causing the rich to be accused of High-Treason, in order to confiscate their Estates, or exact large Sums for their pardon. In the mean time, he continued, with several Princes, negotiations, tending to secure him the continuance of that repose he so passionately loved.

The first of these negotiations was with the King of Denmark, their Alliance not having been well observed on either side. At last, that Prince sending Ambassadors to London, the Alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a congress appointed at Hamburg, to decide all their differences. One of the conditions of the Treaty was, that the English should not set foot in Iceland, without a Passport from the King of Denmark.

Two days after the conclusion of this Treaty, the French Ambassador and the King's Commissioners signed that before-mentioned, whereby Lewis XI promised, for himself and Successors, to pay to the King of England fifty thousand Crowns every year, as well during the life of the two Kings, as a hundred years after, to commence at the death of the survivor. Next day was also signed another Treaty, prolonging the Truce, Friendship and good understanding between the two Kings during their life, and between their Successors, for the space of a hundred years, with promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious Subjects. The other Articles were, that if one of the two Princes was driven out of his Kingdom, the other should be obliged to receive him, and assist him with all his Forces: That they should make no Alliance without a mutual consent: That the King of France should ratify this Treaty, and cause it to be confirmed and ratified by the States: And that Edward should likewise procure the Parliament's approbation. Lastly, that the Dauphin's Marriage with the Princess Elizabeth should be accomplished, according to the agreement at Amiens, and this new Treaty not be derogatory to the former. It does not appear that Lewis XI ever ratified this Treaty, which, probably, was made only to amuse Edward. Lewis knew, he was bound to nothing without a formal ratification, which doubtless he was resolved not to grant, tho' the Treaty contained only such Articles as were proposed by

(1) That it was done at his own desire seems to be a mistake. Hall, fol. 239, and Hollinghead, p. 1350. say, he was privily drowned in a Butt of Malmsey, on March 11, or rather February 18. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 164.

(2) It seems that King Edward was afterwards very sorry for his death; inasmuch, that when any one sued to him for the Pardon of a condemned Malefactor, he would break out into these words: Oh, unfortunate Brother, for whose Life not one Creature would make intercession! Hall, fol. 239.

(3) Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

(4) His Body was buried at Leakebury in Gloucestershire, by that of his Duchess, Isabella, Daughter and Coheir of Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick. She being with Child, is said to die of Poison a little before. Sandford, p. 438. Cotton's Astric. p. 703.

(5) Edward was created Prince of Wales, July 26, 1471, and his Brother Richard was created Duke of York, May 28, 1474, Earl of Nottingham, January 12, 1475, and Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Warren, February 7, the same year; and also Earl-Marshal. On January 15, 1477, he married Anne, the only Daughter of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; by whom he left no Issue. Sandford, p. 415, 425.

(6) The others were, Thomas Beaufort Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham, Thomas Rotherham Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor, and Anthony Earl of Rivers. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 64.

(7) In July, this Year, a Treaty of Trade and Commerce was also concluded between King Edward and Burgundy. Ibid. p. 66.

(8) Sir Richard Twissall, and Dr. Thomas Langton. Ibid. p. 90.

(9) And to pay ten thousand Angels towards his Charges. Hall, ibid.

(10) Monstreuil and Abbeville. Commin, l. 6. c. 7. Hall, fol. 241.

1479. himself. This was one of *Lewis's* Artifices, against which it is very difficult to be prepared. With Princes of this character the shortest and most secure way, would be never to enter into a negotiation.

Project of a Marriage between Philip of Austria, and Anne, Edward's Daughter, p. 110.
As *Lewis* amused *Edward* with the Marriage of *Elizabeth* to the Dauphin, *Maximilian* used the same means to gain him to his interests. Though *Philip* his Son was but a year old, he offered *Edward* to marry him to *Anne* his third Daughter. *Edward* accepted the offer, and whilst the Marriage-Articles were settling, the two Princes sent one another Letters Patents, promising not to marry their Children without a mutual consent, during the space of three years.

and of his Daughter, Catherine, sister to the Infante of Spain, p. 110.
About the same time, *Edward* had thoughts of marrying *Catherine* his fourth Daughter to *John*, Infante of *Castile* and *Aragon*, Son of King *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* of *Castile*. Nay, it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that Ambassadors were sent into *Spain* to hasten the Treaty, which however came to nothing.

Lewis duly pays the Pension. p. 45, 65, 111, &c. p. 112.
Mean while, *Lewis* duly paid the Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, as appears by several acquittances in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there likewise, that in *March* 1480, he completed the Payment of *Margaret's* ransom.

He amuses Edward, Hall, Stow, Hollingh. who finds some Subsidies. Act. pub. XII. p. 113.
Lewis readily performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Amiens*, except the Dauphin's Marriage, for which he still found some fresh excuse, though he still persisted in his promise to fulfil that engagement. *Edward*, surprized at all these delays, called an extraordinary Council, where it was resolved to send Ambassadors to *Lewis*, peremptorily to demand the performance of his promise and the ratification of the late Treaty at *London*. The Lord *Howard* and *Thomas Langton* Treasurer of the Church of *Exeter*, were chosen for this Embassy. *Howard*, who was one of *Edward's* Confidants, was, very likely, the chief of those that suffered themselves to be corrupted by the King of *France's* favours.

Lewis continues to amuse him. Hall.
Mean time, *Lewis* was not a little embarrassed. He had given his word for the Marriage, and even bound himself by a Treaty, though he had never any thoughts of accomplishing it. On the other hand, his Ambassadors at *London* had signed another Treaty upon the foot proposed by himself, and yet he was resolved not to ratify it. His sole Aim had been to amuse *Edward*, for fear of his joining with the Arch-Duke. To free himself from these difficulties, he resolved to dissemble and continue to promise the completing of the marriage, whilst, by Ambassadors sent into *Scotland*, he tried to persuade *James III.* to break the Truce with *England*. This Negotiation succeeded to his wish. King *James* suffered himself to be governed by three Favorites, raised from the Dust, without advising with any Lord of his Realm. It was very easy, for the King of *France* to bribe those mercenary Souls, who promised to induce their Master to break the Truce with the *English*. And indeed, presently after, *James* made preparations which plainly discovered his design. *Edward*, surprized at the impending rupture between the King of *Scotland* and him, readily guessed the

He stirs up the King of Scotland against him. Hall, Stow, Hollingh.
Author. He dissembled however his resentment, and only ordered an Army to be raised, the command whereof he resolved to give to his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*. Then it was, that he began to open his eyes, and perceive the King of *France's* insincerity, who, ever since *Burgundy's* death, had amused him with false promises. Mean while, though he had lost all the favorable Opportunities, he turned his thoughts, though too late, to revenge.

1480. This appears in several pieces of the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, all dated the Year 1480, before the *Scots* had actually broke the Truce.

Embassy to Castile. p. 119.
First, he sent ambassadors (1) to *Castile* to make reparation for certain Outrages committed by the *English*, during the Earl of *Warwick's* administration, contrary to the Alliance between *Castile* and *England*. When a Prince offers of himself to repair the damages, his Subjects have done to another Nation, there is reason to presume it is with a view to some other design. *Edward's* aim was to engage the King of *Castile* to make war upon *France*, or at least, to hinder his assisting *Lewis*.

Treaty with Denmark. p. 119, 121.
In the second place, he ratified the Treaty concluded by his Ambassadors at *Homburgh*, with the King of *Denmark*.

Edward promises to aid Maximilian. p. 123, 124, p. 126, 127.
Thirdly, he confirmed his Treaty of Alliance with the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and promised to send *Maximilian* and *Maria* an aid of six thousand Men, pursuant to the Treaty. The Archduke promised on his part to pay him fifty thousand Crowns yearly, in case the King of *France* discontinued his Pension, and a War ensued upon that account.

Lastly, the Marriage of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* Son of *Maximilian* and *Maria*, with *Ann* Daughter of *Edward* was concluded, with promise on both sides to cause it to be consummated as soon as the Parties were of age. By this Treaty *Edward* gave with his Daughter a hundred thousand Crowns. But by a subsequent Treaty, the Dower was set against the yearly Pension of fifty thousand Crowns, to be paid by the Archduke instead of the King of *France*, and they mutually forgave one another.

He promises to aid Lewis against him, if he is not made Emperor. p. 123.
By another Treaty, *Edward* promised to use his Endeavours to procure *Maximilian* a Truce with the King of *France*; to offer to be arbitrator himself between *Lewis* and him; to try to be received as such; and if *Lewis* refused, engaged to declare against him. This Proceeding was not very fair, but probably, he did not think himself obliged to act more sincerely than *Lewis* had done.

Embassy to France. p. 123.
Edward having thus settled his matters with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, sent again Ambassadors to *France*, to press the Marriage of his Daughter *Elizabeth* with the Dauphin. If *Lewis* had complied, very likely he would not have scrupled to relinquish the Archduke. But *Lewis*, according to custom, using some ill excuse, he equipped a Fleet, and gave the command to *John Middelton*, to go to the assistance of his new Allies.

Mean time, the King of *Scotland* continued his preparations with intention to break with *England*. But before I speak of the success of this War so little expected by *Edward*, it will be proper briefly to relate what passed then in *Scotland*, with the situation of the Affairs of that Kingdom.

James III. who came to the Crown at seven Years of age, being out of his Minority, had suffered himself to be so corrupted by Flatterers, that he made his will the sole rule of his actions. Without entering into a needless detail of the outrages he committed upon his Subjects, it will suffice to say in a word, he was deemed a real Tyrant. He had three Ministers or Favorites (2), Men of mean birth, who governed him entirely and whose sole view was to render him independent of the Laws, that they themselves might rule in his name with an arbitrary power. The King had two Brothers, namely, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John*. The last speaking too freely of the King his Brother's conduct, was thrown into Prison, and there put to death by having his Veins opened. As the Favorites were afraid, *Alexander* would revenge his death, they persuaded the King to confine him in a Castle.

Edward prepares for his Defence. Act. Pub. XII. p. 139, 140.
At this juncture it was that *James*, hated by his People, and particularly by the Nobility, undertook, without the least pretence, to break the Truce with the *English*. *Edward* was vexed to see the approaches of a rupture that would divert him from the War with *France*, to which he was much more inclined. Mean while, not to neglect all necessary precautions, he gave orders for the defence of the borders, and at the same time committed to certain Persons of *Ireland*, the care of making an Alliance in his Name, with the Earl of *Ross* Lord of the *Isles*, to give his Enemy a diversion from that quarter.

James enters England, and carries off some Booty. Edward's more than Scottishness.
In *June* 1481, the *Scots* made an irruption into the borders before *Edward's* Army was ready. They carried away some booty, and that was all these mighty preparations came to. *Edward* made no haste to send an Army against *Scotland*, as well because he still hoped to end this Affair amicably, as because he knew King *James's* circumstances to be such, that he could not do him much hurt. His grand design was to be revenged of *Lewis XI.* For though that Prince, with his usual dissimulation, still put him in hopes, he would perform his promise with respect to the Marriage, and though he punctually paid twenty five thousand Crowns every six Months, *Edward* plainly perceived, he intended not to call in his word with regard to the first Article, and that a rupture was unavoidable.

Project of Marriage between the Prince of Wales and Ann, youngest Sister, upon these conditions: That if there should be several Sons, the second, or next to the Heir of the Crown of England, should be Duke of Bretagne, and reside in the Country; That if the Duke should hereafter have a Son born in wedlock, he should espouse her of Edward's Daughters that was most suitable to his age; That if Edward had no Daughter to give him, the Duke should not marry his Son without the King's consent. Lastly, it was agreed betwixt them that if the King of France made war upon the Duke of Bretagne, Edward should send the Duke three thousand Men at his own

(1) John Coke secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, and Dr. John Fox. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 119.
(2) Thomas Preston, Robert Cokchain a Merchant, and William Rogers a Musician. Buchan. l. 12.

1481. charge. The Duke promised the same thing in case of a War between England and France.

1482. In the beginning of the year 1482, Edward renewed his Alliance with Portugal. Shortly after, he sent Ambassadors to Castile, to conclude the marriage of his Daughter Catherine with the Infante. But that affair did not succeed to his wish. All these Treaties, these renewings of Alliances, these projects of marriages, show, Edward intended to carry War into France (1).

The Duke of Albany escaped into England. Buchanan. Act. Pub. XII. p. 154. Whilst Edward was intent upon every thing conducive to the good success of his undertaking, Alexander Duke of Albany, Brother of the King of Scotland, escaped out of prison, and came by Sea into England, to implore the King's protection. Besides the general reasons which all the Scots had to complain of their Sovereign, Alexander had very particular ones. The Death of the Duke his Brother, and his own imprisonment, violently inclined him to seek means to be revenged, and doubtless, ambition greatly conduced to inflame his passion. The English and Scotch Historians have limited his desire of revenge, to some general views of reclaiming the King his Brother, and procuring to himself the restitution of his estate. But the Collection of the Publick Acts furnishes authentick proofs, that Alexander's design was to be possessed of the Throne. We find there his Treaty with Edward, wherein he assumes the Title of King of Scotland, and promises to do homage for that Kingdom to the Crown of England. He engages moreover to break the antient Alliance of France with Scotland, and make one with Edward against Lewis XI; to deliver Berwick to England, and marry Cecily, Edward's Daughter, affianced to Prince James his Nephew, in case, by the judgement of the Church, he could be divorced from his Wife. That if he could not succeed, he promises to marry his Son only to a Princess of England. Edward obliges himself on his part, to assist him with all his power to take possession of the Throne of Scotland. This Treaty being signed, Edward sent an Army against Scotland (2), under the command of the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, whom the Duke of Albany would accompany, but without taking however the title of King. Probably, this Treaty was a secret known to few Persons. At the same time, Edward gave the command of a Fleet to Robert Ratcliff, to act against Scotland. The Duke of Gloucester advancing to the borders of the two Kingdoms, took the Town of Berwick, and being unwilling to lose time in besieging the Castle, left it invested (3) and marched directly to Edinburgh.

The Duke of Albany marches into Scotland. P. 157. Whilst the Duke of Gloucester was advancing at the head of his Army, King James who had wantonly undertaken this War without concerting measures to prosecute it vigorously, was greatly embarrassed. The only means he had to resist the English was to assemble the Nobility; but he durst not attempt it, knowing how much they were displeased with him and his Ministers. He was forced however to resolve it, or cast himself upon the mercy of the English. So, the Lords being summoned, came with their Troops to Lauder, where they were expected by the King. But to what streights soever that Prince was reduced, he altered not his conduct. His three favorites were his sole Council, and scarce any dared to approach him but themselves or their creatures. The Nobles, full of indignation at this conduct, resolved to embrace so fair an opportunity to be rid of those by whom the King was beset. After consulting together upon what was to be done, some of them well-attended came to the King's apartment, and carrying away the three favorites who had sheltered themselves in his room, brought them to the Army, where they caused them to be immediately hanged. James, extremely terrified, dreading also an attempt upon his life, promised to reform his conduct for the future; but a few days after, withdrew to the Castle of Edinburgh. So, the army being without a leader, disbanded themselves, and the Lords returned to their homes.

The Duke of Gloucester hearing of this disorder, hastened his march to Edinburgh, and entered the City without opposition. He would have conferred with the King, but it was not even possible to inform him of his desire. This obstinacy to hearken to nothing, obliged the Duke of Gloucester to publish, by sound of Trumpet, in all the

quarters of Edinburgh, that if, before September, the King of Scotland did not observe the Treaties made with the King of England, he would destroy the whole Kingdom with fire and sword. King James's engagement were chiefly to keep the Truce, and return the Money received for the dower of the Princess Cecily, affianced to the Prince his Son. To this the Duke of Gloucester added, that he should recall the Duke of Albany and restore him to his estate and honours. James equally unable to resist his enemies and to perform his engagements, made no answer. Mean while, the Nobles being assembled at Haddington, sent Deputies (4) to the Duke of Gloucester, to acquaint him, it was their earnest desire, the intended marriage should be consummated, and that neither they nor the States were to be blamed, that the Truce was not punctually observed. The Duke of Gloucester replied, the marriage being projected only to maintain a good understanding between the two Nations, and King James having wantonly broke it without any provocation, he did not know whether the King his Brother desired the marriage to be consummated: That however he had orders to receive the sums that were paid in part of the Princess's dower: That as for the Truce, it would be assuredly observed by England, provided the King his Brother was put in possession of the Castle of Berwick, or at least, the Scots would promise not to assist the Besieged.

Matters standing thus, the Duke of Albany demanded of the Scotch Lords a Safe-Conduct, and obtaining it, he went and conferred with them. In the conference it was agreed, That the Duke of Albany should be made Regent of Scotland: That the Citizens of Edinburgh should be obliged to pay the King of England the money received by James, in case the projected marriage did not take effect: Lastly, That the Castle of Berwick should be surrendered to the Duke of Gloucester. For the Duke of Albany's private security, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the High-Chancellor, the Earl of Argyle, promised to procure him a general pardon for all crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the King; and to cause him to be restored to his whole estate. On the other hand, the Duke promised to acknowledge the King his Brother for his lawful Sovereign, and to swear Allegiance to him. This gives occasion to presume, his Treaty with Edward was known in Scotland, or the Duke thought proper to discover it, that this clause might be included in the pardon. This agreement being made (5), the Duke of Albany, either out of pure generosity, or because he thought he should meet with too many obstacles, relinquished his project of placing himself on the Throne. On the other hand, the Duke of Gloucester spent some time at Newcastle, till the King his Brother should acquaint him with his pleasure, concerning his Daughter's marriage (6).

The Duke of Albany seeing himself thus master of the Kingdom, restored the King his Brother to his former state, reserving to himself only his own estate, and the glory of his generosity. James pleaded, as may be imagined, that his fear was his only punishment, seemed at first to behave very differently from what he had done before. Presently after, he resolved to go to Amiens and visit the relics of St. John, or perhaps to take new measures with Lewis XI. But I do not know whether he executed this design, though there is in the Collection of the Publick Acts a Safe-Conduct for him and a thousand attendants. Be this as it will, his dissimulation lasted not long. He resumed his former course of life, as well as his enmity to his Brother, and resolved to dispatch him. This design was kept so private, that when the Duke was told of it, he had but just time to throw himself into a fishing-boat, and escape to the Castle of Dunbar with some friends. From thence he sent into England the Earl of Angus and some others (7) to renew with Edward the Treaty made the last year, and which was set aside by the intervening agreement. This Treaty was confirmed February 11. 1483, with additional articles. But Edward's death, which happened presently after, prevented the execution. Mean while, the Duke of Albany having now, pursuant to the Treaty, delivered the fortress of Dunbar to the English, and seeing no appearance of being relieved, withdrew into France, where he was unfortunate-

(1) In the beginning of this year, namely, on the 20th of January, a Parliament met at Westminster; wherein the Commons, with the assent of the Bishops and Lords, gave the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, to be levied on the Laity, except six thousand Pounds to be bestowed upon decayed Towns. They also granted a yearly Subsidy to be levied of all Strangers, as well Denizens as otherwise. They moreover allowed a yearly Rent of the Custom, and other Revenues, to defray the King's Household Expenses, amounting to eleven thousand Pounds. *Collect. of the Publick Acts* p. 702, 703.

(2) They began their march in May, and came to Abernethy in the beginning of July. The number of Men in the Army, with their chief Commanders, were as follows: The Front was led by Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, under whose Standard were, the Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir John Manners, Sir John Dabfield, and others, to the number of six thousand seven hundred. In the middle Ward was the Duke of Gloucester, and with him the Duke of Albany, the Lords Lovell and Greylock, Sir Edward Woodville, and others, to the number of five thousand eight hundred Men. The Lord Norfolke was appointed to follow with three thousand Men. The Lord Stanley led the right Wing, with four thousand Men, or thereabouts. The left Wing was commanded by the Lord Fitzhugh, Sir William Parr, Sir James Harington, with two thousand Men. All these, there was a thousand Men appointed to attend the Ordinance. *Hall*, fol. 243. *Stow*, p. 432. *Holingshead*, p. 135.

(3) By the Lord Scrope, Sir John Dabfield, Sir William Parr, and four thousand Men. *Hall*, fol. 243.

(4) On March 2. *Idem* p. 244.

(5) The City of Berwick was surrendered to the English, August 28. *Idem* fol. 112.

(6) James's first escape, and Sir James Lyddall. *Rymer's Fed. Tom.* 12. p. 170.

1482.

The Nobles
send Deputies
to him.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingshead.

The Duke of
Albany first
demanded
of the Scotch
Lords.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 163.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingshead.

James being
restored dis-
patches his
Religions.
Hall.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 170.

He attempts
his Brother's
life, who
escapes to
Dunbar.

1483.
His Treaty
with Edward.
p. 171.

Buchanan.
Hall.

145;

Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or date.

(2) *He* lay, he had been troubled, ever since his last journey to France, with a terrible Ague and Fever, which continually turned to a Quaggers, led, 247.

difficult

1483. difficult to chuse the juſteſt ſide between the two Houſes, that were contending for the Crown. And yet, we don't find, *Edward* had ever any regard to that conſideration. The death of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry VI.*, murdered almoſt in his preſence; and that of *Henry* himſelf, notwithstanding his innocence, may perhaps be juſtified in ſome meaſure, by thoſe who think nothing unlawful when a Throne is in queſtion; but they will never be excuſed by thoſe who have any tincture of Religion. As for the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, I don't know whether it would be poſſible to find the leaſt ſoftning, if it be true, as it is very probable, that he was innocent.

His Breach
of Faith.

Edward's breach of faith was viſible, in the unjuſt puniſhment of the Lord *Wells* and his Brother-in-law, after drawing them out of Sanctuary by a Safe-Conduct; in that of the Baſtard of *Fauconbridge*, whoſe Crime he had pardoned: And laſtly, in his Oath at *York*, taken even with intention to break it. All theſe actions are of the number of thoſe, that can be excuſed only by reaſons of State; weak excuſe in things where Honour and Religion are concerned.

His Inconti-
nence.
Mour.

As for *Edward's* Incontinence, his whole Life may be ſaid to be one continued Scene of Luſt. He had many Concubines, but eſpecially three, of whom he ſaid, *One was the merrieſt* (1), *the other the wittieſt, and the third the beſt in the World, for ſhe was always in a Church, but when he ſent for her.* He had however but two natural Children, both by *Elizabeth Lucy*, (to whom he is ſaid to have been contracted before his marriage,) *Arthur* ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, created Viſcount *L'Iſle* by *Henry VIII* (2), and *Elizabeth*, Wife of Sir *Thomas Lumley*. I ſhall ſay nothing of *Edward's* Religion, ſince Hiſtorians mention it only in relating his Death-bed diſcourſes.

Hill.
Stow.

Hill.
Stow.
Holingſh.

His Good-
Fortune.

What is moſt ſurpriſing in the Life of this Prince, is his good fortune, which ſeems to be almoſt miraculous. He was raiſed to the Throne after the loſs of two Battles, the firſt by the Duke his Father, the other by the Earl of *Warwick*, then devoted to the Houſe of *York*. The

head of the Father was ſtill upon the Walls of *York*, when the Son was proclaimed at *London*. *Edward* eſcaped, as it were by Miracle, out of his Confinement at *Middleham*. He was reſtored to the Throne, or at leaſt received into *London* at his return from *Holland*, before he had vanquiſhed, and whiſt his fortune yet depended upon the deciſion of a Battle, which the Earl of *Warwick* was ready to give him. In a word, he was ever victorious in all the Battles where he was preſent (3).

Elizabeth his Queen brought him a numerous Iſſue, namely, three Princes, and eight Princeſſes, of whom one Son and two Daughters died in their Infancy (4). We ſhall ſee preſently the fate of his eldeſt Son *Edward* his Succeſſor, and of his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*.

Elizabeth the eldeſt of his Daughters (5) was promiſed in marriage to the Dauphin, Son of *Lewis XI.*, afterwards King of *France* by the Name of *Charles VIII.* In proceſs of time, ſhe was married to *Henry VII.*, King of *England*.

Cecily, who was affianced to the Prince of *Scotland*, eſpouſed the Lord Viſcount *Wells*, and after his death, another whoſe Name I know not, ſhe died without Iſſue (6).

Ann was contracted to *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* and *Maria* of *Burgundy*. But that Marriage not taking effect, ſhe eſpouſed *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, who died without Iſſue.

Bridget was a Nun, [at *Dartford*.]

Mary, who was promiſed to the King of *Denmark* died at *Greenwich* before her marriage was ſolemnized.

Catherine, whom the King her Father would have given to the Infante of *Spain*, was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, by whom ſhe had a Son created Marquiſs of *Exeter*, in the reign of *Henry VIII.*

It muſt be remarked, that in the *Engliſh* Hiſtories there is a continual Anachroniſm of a year, and ſometimes of two, from 1474, to the end of this reign (7).

(1) *Jane Shore*.

(2) From *Frances Plantagenet*, his ſecond Daughter, married to *Thomas Monk*, Eſq; was deſcended the late *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*. *Sandf.* p. 449, 450.

(3) King *Edward* was buried at *Windſor*, in the Collegiate Chapel begun by him, and finiſhed by the Lord *Reginald Bray*. He is ſaid to have taken a thouſand pound a year from *Eton* and *King's* College, to beſtow on this his new Foundation at *Windſor*. He alſo repaired the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Dover*, the Tower of *London*, his Palace at *Eltham*, &c. *Stow*, p. 433. *Habington*, p. 479.

(4) The Son was called *George*, who being a Child, was created Duke of *Bedford*, and ſhortly after dying, was buried at *Windſor*. The two Daughters were, *Margaret*, (the ſixth Daughter, buried in *Wiſtmiſter* Abbey, with a Latin Epitaph;) The other's name is not mentioned. See *Sandford*, p. 418, 419.

(5) Born at *Wiſtmiſter*, Feb. 11. 1466. *Idem*, p. 417.

(6) She had by *Wells* two Daughters, *Elizabeth* who died without Iſſue, and *Ann Wells*, buried at the *Auguſtin* Fryers. *Cecily's* ſecond Husband was one *Kyme* of *Lincolnſhire*, by whom ſhe had no Children. She was buried at *Quarera* in the Iſle of *Wight*. *Idem*, p. 418.

(7) In this Reign flouriſhed ſeveral eminent Men, particularly *Thomas Littleton* Judge of the *Common Pleas*, and *John Forteſcue* Judge and Chancellor of *England*. In the year 1483, the laſt of this Reign, was born *Thomas Parr* a *Sarſſhire* Man, noted for his extraordinary great Age. He lived to the year 1631, being then brought up to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel*, as a great rarity, where he died, after having lived in the Reigns of ten Kings and Queens, aged a hundred and fifty two years.



By an Indenture of the 4th of *Edward IV.*, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make by Tale twenty Pounds, sixteen Shillings and Eight pence; and a Pound Weight of Silver, old Sterling, was to make thirty ſeven Shillings and Six-pence. By other Indentures of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 16th, and 22d of the ſame King, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to make forty five Nobles, going for ten Shillings each, or ninety half Nobles, or one hundred and eighty quarter Nobles, or ſixty ſeven and a half of the Pieces impreſſed with Angels, going for the ſhillings and Eight-pence each, and conſequently was coined into twenty two Pounds ten Shillings by Tale; and the Silver Moneys were ſhorn at thirty ſeven Shillings and Six pence the Pound Weight Troy. Theſe Indentures were made between the King, and the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain, Maſter, Worker, and Warden, of all his Exchanges and Outchanges in *England* and *Calais*. King *Edward IVth's* Monies are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of *Edward III.*, by the Form of the Letters, particularly Π which is not made like an H, as in thoſe of *Edward III.*; as alſo by the Weight, his Groats being above twenty Grains lighter: moreover, the Title of *Ireland* is wanting on his Coins. The outer Circle on the Groats is wanting, leaving the Letters extended to the very edge, and generally worn part away, in other reſpects like his Predeceſſors; and of ſeveral Mints, as *London*, *York*, *Canterbury*, *Briſt*; ſome of them, beſides the Name of the Place of Mintage on the Reverse, have the initial Letters E. C. B. on the King's Breſt (Fig. 1.) The *Irish* Groats have the King's Head within a Roſe, and generally make no mention at all of *England*, with the Place of Coinage on the Reverse, as *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, *Waterford*; the power of coining Money being taken from other Places. Theſe fall ſhort of the *Engliſh* Groats near ten Grains; the firſt difference betwixt the Standards of the *Engliſh* and *Irish* Money beginning in this Reign. Of this *Irish* Money there is one piece having on the Reverse, CIVITAS. DVBLINIE. with a large Star, that fills the whole Area: This is reckoned a great Curioſity. (Fig. 2.) There is another in *Speed*, having on one ſide the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered, inſcribed, REX. ANGLI. Z. FRANCIE. Reverse, three Crowns, denoting the three Kingdoms DOMINVS. HIBERNIE. (Fig. 3.) The *Ryal* is like *Henry VIth's* *Ryal* Noble, only here is added a Flag at the Stern of the Ship, wherein is the Letter E. EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. IB. Reverse, HBS. AVT. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBAT. Inſtead of a Croſs, there is a Roſe in the Center, with Keys like a Son, vaſtating to the Lions and Fleurs-de-lis interchangeably. The *Angel* is exactly like that of *Henry VI.*

17. EDWARD V.

1483.
EDWARD
V.
is proclaimed.
April 9.

AFTER the death of *Edward IV*, the Prince his eldest Son, between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed King by the name of *Edward V*. The reign of this Prince was short and unfortunate; if the two months and twelve days that he bore the title of King, and which were wholly spent in depriving him of the Crown, even before he had solemnly received it, is not rather to be deemed an Interregnum. However, as during that short space, he was generally acknowledged for Sovereign of *England*, Historians have made no scruple to rank him among the Kings. The whole subject of this reign consists only of the means used by the Duke of *Glocester* to dispossess the young King his Nephew, and place himself in the Throne. But before I enter upon the relation of these detestable practices, it will be necessary to shew the state of the Court of *England* before the death of *Edward IV*.

State of the
Court before
Edward's
Death.

Elizabeth Woodville, who from a subject was become Queen, by her marriage with *Edward*, held the first rank at Court, as well by the privileges common to all Queens, as by her great credit. From the time of her marriage, she had acquired an influence over the King which she preserved to the day of his death. Her birth by her Father's side was not very considerable (1). But her Mother, who had been Wife of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, was of the House of *Luxemburgh*, illustrious for the Princes, Kings, and Emperors it had given to *Europe*. So, considering *Elizabeth* as derived from thence, it is not at all strange, she should have a great soul, and think herself as worthy to command, as the noblest Lords of *England*. Mean time, as being Queen gave her no right to interpose in the publick affairs, she artfully assumed it by her ascendant over the King. Though *Edward* often proved false to her, she bore it with patience and without any signs of uneasiness. *Edward* charmed to find himself at liberty to pursue his inclinations, without danger of continual reproaches, repaid this moderation with all sorts of condescensions, which the Queen knew how to improve. The advancement of Sir *Richard Woodville* her Father to the honour of Earl of *Rivers* (2), and the marriage of her Brother with the richest Heiress of the Kingdom, were the first proofs she gave of her power. After that, *Edward* heaped honours and riches upon this family, even to the desiring to marry his Brother-in-law *Anthony* to the King of *Scotland's* Sister (3), as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. When the Prince of *Wales* was of age to have a Governor, this same Lord, become Earl of *Rivers*, was entrusted with that high Office. The Queen forgot not her own Children by her former Husband Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*.] *Thomas Grey* her eldest Son, was made Marquis of *Dorset*, Governor of the *Tower*, and keeper of the King's treasures. *Richard Grey* his Brother, was created a *Baron*, and had a considerable post about the Prince of *Wales*.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 171.

Two Parties
at Court, the
old and the
new Nobility.

If the Queen had confined her favours to her Sons, her Father, and her Brother, there would have been no reason to think it very strange. But it cannot be denied, that she made an ill use of her power, by causing to be created Peers, many persons who would have had no pretension to that honour, if they had not been supported by her favour. This gave occasion to the distinction in those days, between the *ancient* and the *new Nobility*. But if this distinction redounded not to the honour of the last, that disadvantage was amply repaired, by the places of honour and profit procured them by the Queen. By degrees she had as it were banished the ancient Nobility from the Court, where appeared scarce any but Lords of the new Creation, all attached to the Queen. It was much the same in all the rest of the Kingdom, where the most considerable posts were filled by such as the Queen knew to be her creatures. Her aim was to preserve her power during the King's life, and in case she survived him, to secure the Government of the Kingdom in her Son's

name, when he should be on the Throne. But by a fatality very common to the best contrived projects, this very thing proved the occasion of her own and her family's ruin.

The Queen having thus openly declared against the ancient families, it is easy to conceive she was not beloved. Accordingly she took all possible care to hinder the Lords whom she did not like, from having the King's ear. Mean while, it was not in her power to expel the Court three Lords of the ancient Nobility whom the King loved, because they had done him signal services. These were *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *William Hastings*, and *Thomas Stanley*.

The first, who was of a very ancient Family (4), had moreover the advantage of being descended from a Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Duke of *Glocester*, seventh Son of *Edward* the third, and enjoyed the office of High-Constable.

The Lord *Hastings* (5) was High-Chamberlain. The King had a singular affection for him, because of his constant loyalty, of which he had given proofs in the time of his adversity; particularly when he was forced to fly into *Holland*. This Lord was extremely attached to the King's person, but loved not the Queen; if he paid her any respect, it was with reluctance and solely out of complaisance to the King his master.

The Lord *Stanley* (6), of an ancient family, was in the same dispositions. He was devoted to the King without making much court to the Queen.

The King's Concubines held likewise a considerable rank at Court, by reason of their influence over him. There were three especially, of whom *Jane Shore* alone was concerned in the events of this new Reign. She was Wife to a Citizen of *London*, whom *Edward* had debauched, and taken from her Husband. She was surprisngly beautiful, and withal of a generosity very uncommon in persons of her character. The King was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her speak ill of any person, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him against any man whatever. If she importuned him sometimes, it was in behalf of the unfortunate. When she had done a good office, she scorned to take a reward, being unwilling to give occasion to think she acted from a motive of interest. And therefore she had amassed but few riches, in comparison of other Concubines, whose greediness can never be satisfied.

The Duke of *Glocester* the King's Brother was embarrassed between the two parties formed at Court, and in the Kingdom. The only way to please the King, was to make court to the Queen. But on the other hand, the Duke perceiving the Queen's aim was to ingross the Government in case the King happened to die, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the affection of the ancient Nobility, of which he might one day stand in need. As he was naturally a great dissembler, he resolved to make his court publicly to the Queen, but in private, he joined with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hastings*, and the Lord *Stanley*.

It is needless to say much of the two young Princes the King's Sons, the eldest of whom was but twelve, and the Duke of *York* his brother but nine years old, when the King their Father died. It will suffice to say, that before *Edward IV*, was seized with the distemper that laid him in his grave, he had sent the Prince his eldest Son, with the Earl of *Rivers* his Governor, into *Wales* to appease some commotion (7). The young Duke of *York* remained at Court with the Queen his Mother.

Edward saw with some concern the two parties that were formed in his Court. But his affection for the Queen not suffering him to hold the balance even, he took no care to prevent the consequences. So long as he enjoyed his health, he imagined, that during his life he should be always master of both, and by strengthening the

(1) The first mention of that Family, is in the 37th of *Edward III*, when *Richard de Wydeville* was constituted Sheriff of *Northamptonshire*, and Governor of the Castle there. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 230.

(2) This was not the name of any place, but of an ancient Family, sometimes Earls of *Devon*. *Ibid*.

(3) *Margaret*.

(4) He was descended from *Robert de Stafford*, who at the time of the general Survey, in the Reign of *William I*, possessed two Lordships in *Suffolk*, one in *Northamptonshire*, one in *Worcestershire*, twenty in *Lincolnshire*, twenty six in *Warwickshire*, and eighty one in *Staffordshire*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. I. p. 150.

(5) Ancestor of the Earl of *Huntington*.

(6) Ancestor of the Earl of *Derby*.

(7) The Prince was then at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, that by his Presence he might compose the disorders of the *Welsh*; who, though not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown so unruly and disobedient to their Governors and Superiors, that the Magistrates, with all their power, were not able to suppress the Disturbances and Disorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. *Moor*, p. 431.

1483. new Nobility hinder the old from being able to prejudice the Queen and her Children after his death. But when he came to die, he beheld this division in another light. He considered, that he left for support to his house only new families, which had not had time to establish themselves, and owed all their authority and credit entirely to his favour, of which they were going to be deprived. This thought sensibly troubling him, he sought in himself the means to repair this error, and in his present condition, found no better way, than to persuade the two parties to be reconciled for his sake. Weak expedient! which could hardly produce the desired effect. The regard for a dying King, never beloved by the antient Nobility, was little capable of extinguishing their hatred and envy of the Queen's relations, which unhappily, had been but too much fomented. However, before he expired, *Edward* had at least the satisfaction to see this reconciliation, which he thought sincere, because of the seeming readiness and cheerfulness wherewith both Parties consented to his request. The Earl of *Rivers* being absent, the Queen his Sister passed her word for him, and the Marquis of *Dorset* her eldest Son, as representing the family of *Grey*, embraced the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, who were the heads of the opposite party. The Duke of *Glocester* being then at *York*, upon the King's affairs, had it not in his power to obstruct this reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his prejudice had it not been insincere.

Measures of both Parties to seize the Government.

As soon as *Edward's* eyes were closed, the two parties forgetting their late mutual protestations of friendship, thought only of gaining the advantage one of another. Mean while, they unanimously agreed to proclaim the deceased King's eldest Son by the name of *Edward V.* That done, each took such measures as were thought most proper to attain his ends. The chief thing was to become master of the King's person, in order to govern in his name. The Queen hoped to maintain and even to increase her authority, during the King her Son's Minority, and the other party saw themselves irrecoverably lost, if the young Prince was once in the hands of his Mother. However, thus far the advantage was entirely on the Queen's side. Immediately after the death of the King her Husband, she had dispatched a courier to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother with the news. She told him withal in the letter, that she believed it absolutely necessary for him to raise forces in *Wales*, and the adjoining Counties, to enable him to conduct the new King safely to *London*, in order to his Coronation.

On the other side, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* sent an express to the Duke of *Glocester* (1), acquainting him with the King's death, and the Queen's measures; and withal representing to him, that being the King's Uncle by the Father's side, the Government of the Realm belonged to him, during the Minority; but if he did not prevent the Queen, it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain his due Right. In fine, that at all adventures, they offered him a thousand Men well armed, and ready to march at the word of Command.

It is very difficult to judge, whether before the death of *Edward IV.* the Duke of *Glocester* had thought of mounting the Throne, to the prejudice of his Nephews. But it is scarce to be doubted, that he formed this design the moment he heard of his Brother's decease. All his after-proceedings, too plainly appear to be consequences of a Scheme laid to compass that end. As for the Lord *Hastings*, his sole Intention was certainly to take the Government out of the hands of the Queen and her Relations. His constant attachment to *Edward IV.* would never have suffered him to be concerned in a Plot to dethrone his Son. As for the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Conduct is more ambiguous. Besides his hatred of the Queen and her Family, he had always preserved a particular respect for the Duke of *Glocester*, which gives occasion to suspect, he had joined with him at first in the design to place him on the Throne. However, the Historians ascribe to him (at least in the beginning of this Reign,) the same Intention only with the Lord *Hastings*, namely to remove the Queen from the Government of the King's Person, and of the Realm. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Glocester*, upon news of the King's death, sent back the Express, with orders to desire the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, to come and confer with him at *Northampton*.

These two Lords, with some others of their Party, repairing to the place appointed, the Duke of *Glocester*, in a long Speech, demonstrated to them, the great and impending danger, if the Queen was possessed of the Government. He told them, "They would be exposed to

the Mercy of an imperious Woman, and of the two Families of *Rivers* and *Grey*, newly raised by the King his Brother, who would never think themselves perfectly safe, till those whom they considered as their rivals and enemies were destroyed. That the late King had kept them, by his Authority, within some bounds, but when they should be possessed of the supreme Power, in the name of the young King, nothing would be capable of curbing their Insolence. He added, that no person had more Right, or was more concerned than himself, to take care of the affairs of the Kingdom, during the Minority of the King his Nephew. That every one knew his constant attachment to the King his Brother, and therefore his tender affection for his Children suffered him not to leave them to the Mercy of those, who had never appeared to have any other view than their own advancement. That for these reasons he was resolved, zealously to apply himself to promote, to the utmost of his power, the good of the Nation, and the honor of his Nephew, principally by giving him an Education that should render him capable of treading in the Steps of his illustrious Ancestors. But that he could not hope to execute such a Project, without the assistance of all honest Men, and particularly of those to whom he was speaking, who, without doubt, had, like him, no other view, than the Nation's welfare and glory. That he had assembled them to consult with them upon what was to be done in the present emergency, being resolved not to proceed without their advice."

This Speech meeting with applause, all the Lords entered into a serious debate, concerning the means to be used to become master of the King's person. To succeed by force was extremely difficult. The Earl of *Rivers* had not only assembled a good number of Troops, but it would have been also very easy for him to conduct the King to *London*, before they were in condition to prevent it. Besides, they would have given him too great an advantage, if without any apparent necessity, they had begun so soon to take arms. Such a step would have infallibly caused the people to side with their enemies, and been looked upon as tending to obstruct the King's Coronation. These considerations made the Lords resolve to use policy. To that end, they agreed, that they should continue to shew a great zeal for the King, in order to deprive the Queen of all pretence to raise Forces, or keep those on foot that were assembled by the Earl of *Rivers*. That the Duke of *Glocester* should try to persuade her to dismiss these Troops as useless. That in case he succeeded, it should be endeavoured to become master of the King, before his arrival at *London*; but if, on the contrary, the Queen was bent to keep these Forces, she was to be amused with Negotiations, till her designs could be openly opposed.

The Conference being ended, the Lord *Hastings* posted to *London*, where his presence was necessary, by reason of his great Interest in the City. Presently after, the Duke of *Glocester* sent the Queen a Letter (2) of condolence upon the King's death, expressing an extreme affection for the young Prince, his Successor, and an extraordinary respect for her. After this beginning, he told her, "He beheld with great Joy, all hearts united in the same Sentiments, which made him hope, that the King his Nephew would pass his Minority in a perfect Tranquillity. That, for his part, he would do all that lay in his power, to keep the People in the obedience due to their Sovereign, by giving them himself an example of unlimited Submission. That he did not question, she would likewise contribute to cause all the King's Subjects, to enjoy the peace and quiet they had reason to expect. That therefore, he took the freedom to advise her, to use her endeavours to dispel the old Jealousies among the great Men, and confirm, by her prudence, the Reconciliation lately made before the King her Husband's death. That his advice was, that without affection or prejudice, care should be taken to reward Merit wherever it was found, that no man might justly complain of being neglected for mere Party-concerns. That this was chiefly to be endeavoured, lest by acting otherwise, divisions, which ought to be buried in eternal oblivion, were renewed. That therefore he could not forbear telling her, he was surprized to hear the Earl of *Rivers* was gathering Forces, to conduct the King to *London*, since they seemed to be entirely needless. That he was really convinced of the goodness of her Intention, but it was to be feared, this proceeding would be ill-contrived. That Troops, raised upon the frivolous pretence of providing for the King's safety, when none appeared to give him any

Result of the Conference. Moor.

returns to London. The Duke of Glocester's Letter to the Queen. Moor.

Conference at Northampton.

The Duke of Glocester's speech to the Lords.

(1) He was then at *York*, to keep all things quiet in those parts. *Compl. Hist. Moor.* p. 482.

(2) Sir *Thomas More* does not say, that he sent the Queen such a Letter, but only, that he secretly, and by divers means caused the Queen to be persuaded, that it was unnecessary, and would be dangerous for the King to come to *London*, with an Army of Attendants. See in *Hall*, fol. 5. He, and his Ancestors sent Letters; but it was to the Lord *Rivers*, and others of the Queen's Friends, that were about the King. *Perf. Idem.* fol. 6.

"disturbance,

1483. "disturbance, could not but breed suspicions in the opposite party, lately reconciled. That the precautions several Lords would undoubtedly take, to screen themselves from the mischiefs they would have reason to dread, were the natural and infallible fruits of these suspicions. That therefore, to avoid a groundless peril, and by a needless precaution, the peace of the whole Kingdom was endangered. That when once these suspicions should take root, and two armies be on foot in the Kingdom, God alone knew what might be the issue. That for these reasons, of which doubtless she perceived the strength, he advised her to dismiss her Troops, that all the Nobles of the Realm might come, without fear and suspicion, to pay their respects to their young Sovereign, and contribute, every one according to his power, to the preservation of peace and union in the State.

The Queen very imprudently followed this advice, of which she perceived not the venom. She thought it was the sooner to be complied with, as it came from a Brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the Interests of the late King, and still shewed himself very zealous for her and her Children. During Edward IV's Life, the Duke of Gloucester had been very respectful to the Queen, so that she had no reason to suspect him. Besides, there was not in his Letter a single word to induce her to think he intended to dispute the Government with her. In fine, she considered, the Duke could not aspire to the Crown, without supplanting two Nephews, and five Nieces, who were not in his power. This alone would have been capable to remove her suspicions, supposing she could have entertained any. So, believing herself sufficiently supported, since the Duke of Gloucester expressed so great an attachment to her Interests, she writ to the Earl of Rivers her Brother, that she thought it proper, he should dismiss his Troops, for fear of raising Jealousies without occasion. The Earl immediately obeyed her orders, and keeping only the King's domesticks, began his Journey to conduct him to London.

The Queen falls into the Snare. Moor.

The young King approaching Northampton, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who had brought into the Town nine hundred armed Men (1), went to meet him, and saluted him very respectfully. In discoursing with the Earl of Rivers, they told him, the Town of Northampton was so full of strangers, and ill provided with Provisions and other Conveniences, that it would be very incommodious for theirs, and the King's Retinue to lodge in that place. Then, they advised him to carry the King to Stony Stratford (2), which is but twelve Miles further in the road to London. They added, for their part, they would return to Northampton, and wait upon the King in the morning, before he sat out. Upon parting, one of them proposed to the Earl, in a free and easy manner, as if it had been a sudden thought, to go and pass the night with them at Northampton, whilst the King rested at Stony Stratford. The Earl not suspecting their design, complied with this kind Invitation. He was even glad of an occasion to cement their mutual reconciliation, by this mark of Confidence.

Rivers carries the King to London without a Guard. The Duke of Gloucester and his Friends go and meet the King. Moor.

The three Lords being come to Northampton, spent the Evening together in perfect Harmony, with mutual protestations of friendship and offers of service. Bed-time being come, the Earl of Rivers withdrew to his Lodgings. But the other two passed the rest of the night in consulting what was to be done, since the Earl of Rivers had indiscreetly put himself into their hands. Their consultation being ended, they secured the Keys of the Inn where they lodged, under colour that they would be the first that should attend the King in the morning. For the greater precaution, they sent a good number of Men to line the way, and suffer no person whatever to enter Stony Stratford. At break of day they were ready to mount, whilst the Earl of Rivers was still in bed. Mean time, one of his People waking him, and telling him, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were ready to depart, and that no body was suffered to go out of the Inn, he immediately put on his Cloaths, to know the reason of this proceeding. But he found them in a very different disposition from that wherein he had left them some hours before. Upon his Approach they began to quarrel with him (3), taxing him with alienating the King's affection from his most faithful Subjects, adding, they should take care to prevent the like practices for the future. The Earl began to return a calm answer to this accusation, but refusing to hear him, they committed him to the custody of some of their Servants, and mounting their Horses rid away to the King.

They persuade Rivers to go with them to Northampton. Moor.

They carelessly care him very much. Moor.

They found the young Prince ready to depart, and paying him their respects, re-mounted in order to attend him. Before they were out of the Town, they quarrelled with the Lord Grey (4), the King's Half-Brother, and charged him, that jointly with the Marquis of Dorset his Brother, and the Earl of Rivers his Uncle, he had formed the project to become master of the King's Person: And that the Marquis of Dorset had moreover taken out of the Tower, the Treasure committed to his custody by the late King. Whereupon the King said, that for what concerned the Marquis of Dorset he could say nothing, but would answer for the conduct of the Earl of Rivers and the Lord Grey, since they had been continually with him. To this the Duke of Buckingham replied, they had taken care to conceal their Plots from his Highness, which however were not the less certain. At the same time, he ordered his people to arrest the Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, and instead of proceeding to London, carried the King back to Northampton (5). The same or next day the Prisoners were conducted to Pontfract Castle (6), the Governor whereof was the Duke of Gloucester's Creature. The King appeared extremely concerned for the disgrace of his Brother and Uncle, as well as for the violence to his own Person. But he had no way to free himself from his new Governors, but his tears, which were little regarded. Mean while, they paid him outwardly all the reverence usually paid to a Sovereign, in order to blind the Eyes of the People by these marks of respect and submission.

1483. the Lord Grey and his Cousins.

They send them to Pontfract. They come upon the King.

The news being brought to the Queen, she perceived her error in relying on the Duke of Gloucester, and suspected immediately, he would not stop there, and had formed designs still more destructive to the Royal Family. So, finding herself deprived of the assistance of her Brother and Sons, as well as of their Counsels, she saw no other refuge, than, with the Duke of York her Son and the rest of her Family, to take sanctuary in Westminster (7).

The Queen takes Sanctuary in Westminster with her Children. Moor.

The Lord Hastings, then at London, hated the Queen, as I observed, but loved the King and all Edward IV's Family. It is true, he was engaged in Gloucester's and Buckingham's plot, but it was with a belief that it tended only to hinder the Queen from assuming the Government, which he thought just and reasonable. He had intelligence in the night of what had passed at Northampton, and instantly sent the news to Dr. Rotherham the Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, assuring him withal, he had no reason to be alarmed: That the King's Person was in no danger, and very shortly what had happened would turn to the welfare of the Kingdom. The Archbishop rising that moment, went to the Queen, and carried the great Seal along with him. He found her in a disconsolate condition, sitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her Children's Fate, whilst her Domesticks were busy in carrying such goods as were necessary into the Sanctuary. He endeavoured to comfort her, telling her what the Lord Hastings had declared to him. But he found her very backward to believe, that any good could come from such an Enemy. Then the Prelate, to give her hope, told her, the King's Person was safe, since the Duke of York his Brother was not in the power of those whom she considered as her Enemies. He added, if they should be so audacious as to put the King to death, or give the Crown to another, he assured her he would immediately crown the Duke of York. In fine, to give her all possible assurances of his fidelity, he left the Great Seal with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his error, in resigning so precious a pledge committed to him by the late King, he sent for it again as soon as he came home.

The Archbishop of York gives her marks of his Fidelity.

Mean while, the whole City of London was in commotion. Several Citizens had taken arms, not knowing what might be the end of the news they had just received, which probably was very much aggravated. The Lord Hastings being sensible, that an Insurrection at London might break the measures of his friends at Northampton, instantly came into the City, and as his credit was great among the Citizens, he assured them that the King was in no danger: That indeed the Earl of Rivers, the Lord Grey, and some others, were arrested for conspiring against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, but would be brought to a legal Trial: That however, it was no just reason for them to take arms, and it was to be feared they would be called to an account for the tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up. The Citizens supposing the Lord Hastings to be perfectly informed, by reason he was of the Duke of Buckingham's Party, retired to their houses, being unwilling

Tumult at London occasioned by Hastings. Moor.

(1) And had him there some days. Moor, p. 483.

(2) When he asked them the reason of their keeping the Keys of the Inn. Moor, p. 484.

(3) Richard Grey.

(4) And displaced all such Persons as had Offices about the King, and in whom they could not entirely confide. Moor, *ibid.*

(5) They were at first sent into several Prisons in the North for a time, and afterwards removed to Pontfract Castle. Moor, *ibid.*

(6) In the middle of the night. *Ibid.*

(7) In Buckinghamshire.

1483. to concern themselves with the Quarrels of the great Men.

The King is brought to London Moor.

Shortly after, the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* conducted the King to *London*, paying him all the respect due to his dignity. As they travelled along, they caused a report to be spread, that the Earl of *Rivers* and the rest of the Prisoners at *Pontfract* had intended to kill them; and their Servants shewed the People Barrels of Arms, which were said to be found among the baggage of the Conspirators. The news of the extraordinary respect paid the King, flying to *London* before his Arrival, the City grew much more quiet, because there was reason to believe, there had been no attempt upon the King's Person or dignity. At his approach, the People went out in crowds to receive him, and the young King entered the City (1), attended by a great number of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of *Glocester*, who followed him bare-headed (2). He was lodged in the Bishop's Palace, to shew the Citizens the great confidence placed in them, and that his safety only was consulted (3). This management entirely removed the suspicions of the Duke of *Glocester*, raised by the *Northampton* Affair.

The Duke of Glocester calls a grand Council.

The Rejoicings for the King's safe Arrival being ended, it was necessary to think of settling the Government during his Minority, which was to last seven years. The most natural way would have been to call a Parliament, as was practised after the death of *Henry V.* But as, during a Parliament, all other Authority would have ceased, till the Government was regulated, the Duke of *Glocester* did not think fit to part with the power he had acquired by seizing the King's person. Indeed he might have expected, that the Parliament would confer on him the dignity of Protector of the Realm, since he was the only Prince of the blood capable of holding the Reins of the Government. But withal the care of the young King's Person and Education would have been certainly committed to others. It is a constant and very just rule not to trust a minor King to those that may be Gainers by his ruin. But this was what the Duke of *Glocester* feared above all things. He resolved to continue Master of the King's Person, otherwise it would have been very difficult to accomplish his designs. These considerations made him think it more agreeable to his Interests to call a great Council, and not summon a Parliament till he had secured the Crown. This Council, mostly consisting of the antient Nobility and the Duke of *Glocester*'s friends, declared him Protector of the King and Kingdom, usurping a Privilege belonging only to the Parliament. But as I have often observed, it is easier to cause the Parliament to confirm what is done, than induce it to do what is desired.

He is declared Protector.

Doubtful Behaviour of the Protector.

The seizing of the King's Person, and the getting himself declared Protector, were the two first steps by which the Duke of *Glocester* intended to mount the Throne. Each had its fair and foul side. In the first place, after the death of *Edward IV.*, the Queen and her Relations having no right to seize the Government of the Realm, it could not be thought strange, that the Duke of *Glocester* should assume near the King, the rank to which he was intitled by his Birth. But his fraud and violence to the Queen's Relations, gave occasion to suspect, he had formed deeper designs. In the next place, nothing was more natural than to see the King's Uncle Protector of the Realm. But at the same time, his affecting to obtain that dignity, without vouchsafing to call a Parliament, and his causing to be annexed to the office of Protector of the Realm, that of Protector of the King, which should have been separated from it, was an extraordinary Proceeding, which might have raised just suspicions. And yet the consequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear these irregular things might open People's eyes, the Duke took care to conceal himself under the veil of an extraordinary zeal for the King his Nephew's interests, and a great respect for his Person.

Alterations at Court.

As soon as the Duke was declared Protector, he took the Great Seal from Archbishop *Rotherham*, who had given him a very plausible pretence, and delivered it to the Bishop of *Lincoln* (4). The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* were confirmed in their places; but there were great alterations made in all the rest of the Posts, the new Protector putting in his own creatures in the room of the Queen's, who filled them before. Tho' the Lord *Hastings* was not trusted with the secret of his principal design, he did not despair of gaining him, when his affairs were more advanced. Besides, *Hastings* was a mortal enemy to the Queen and her Family, and had a great interest in *London*. This was sufficient then, for, without knowing it, he could be serviceable to the Pro-

1483. tector in executing his projects, which it was not yet proper to discover.

To proceed with any appearance of success in his design, it was necessary for the Duke of *Glocester* to have the young Duke of *York* in his power, as well as the King his Brother. To dethrone or murder the King, would have been to no purpose, so long as the Duke of *York* was out of reach. For he would still have had the same thing to act over again. In order to accomplish this Design, he moved in the Council whether it would not be requisite to get the Duke of *York* out of the Queen's hands, and place him with the King his Brother. He made, upon this occasion, a very long speech, wherein, after testifying an extraordinary zeal for the Royal Family, and confirming what he said with a great oath, he displayed the reasons which required the young Prince's removal from the Queen. The first was, "That the Queen's flying to sanctuary without any apparent danger to herself or family, could not but be construed as an affront to the Government. In the second place, her sole aim must have been to raise disturbances by making the people believe the King was in danger, since no other consequence could be inferred from her conduct. That therefore it was necessary to undeceive the people by procuring the Duke of *York*, and causing him to be educated according to his quality. That the more visible the Queen's malice was, the more it should be endeavoured to prevent its effects. That it was manifest, she was striving to form in the Kingdom a party capable of setting her at the head of affairs, as she was in the late Reign. That it was with difficulty and by great chance, that they were freed from the imperious rule of that Princess and her Family; but if the King should happen to die, the Realm would be again plunged into the same calamities, since she had the lawful Heir in her power. On the other hand, it was necessary to consider what Foreigners would say when they heard, that whilst one of *Edward* the fourth's Sons was crowned, the other was forced to keep in sanctuary. That it would be dishonorable to the Government, to suffer themselves to be thus braved by a Woman, who had attempted to cause the King's Council to be considered as enemies of the Royal Family. That besides, the King being young and wanting some diversion, he could not have a more agreeable companion than his own Brother, and there was no reason to keep them asunder. In fine, it would be indecent to proceed to the Coronation, in the absence of the Duke of *York*, the second person in the State, who having an evident right to be present, could not be debarred of it without Injustice. Upon all these accounts, he concluded that Deputies should be sent to the Queen, to desire her to deliver the Duke of *York* to the King his Brother. He added, that, in his opinion, the Cardinal Archbishop of *Canterbury* (5), was the properest person for this deputation. That if, notwithstanding all the Archbishop's arguments, she should obstinately keep the young Prince with her, and persist in her groundless suspicions, he saw no reason why the Council should not take him away by force. This was his opinion, and he desired every member of the Council to speak his own with freedom."

The Cardinal readily took upon him to go and acquaint the Queen with the Council's pleasure, but by no means approved the motion of violating the privilege of sanctuary. He said, the Church of *Westminster* was consecrated, five hundred years since, by St. *Peter* himself, who descended from Heaven (6), attended by multitudes of Angels. That no King of *England* had ever dared to violate that Sanctuary, and that such an attempt would certainly draw down the just vengeance of God upon the whole Kingdom.

The Duke of *Buckingham* replied with great warmth to this part of the Cardinal's Speech. He shewed that sanctuaries were intended only to protect such as had reason to fear oppression and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious suspicions, detrimental to the King and Kingdom. After many sharp reflections against the Queen, he enlarged upon the abuses of Sanctuaries, particularly as they afforded those who fled thither means to escape. He added, tho' the Duke of *York* was neither guilty nor oppressed, there was room to fear the Queen his Mother would carry him out of the Kingdom, which might one day give the Queen opportunity to invade *England*, by the help of some foreign Prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting. In fine, after alledging

The Archbishop of Canterbury is sent to the Queen. He is against violating the Sanctuary.

Moor.

Buckingham's Reasons for it.

(1) On the 4th of May. Moor, p. 486.

(2) He ran bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice said to the People, Behold your Prince and Sovereign. Ibid.

(3) At the Bishop's Palace, the Duke of *Glocester* did the King homage, and invited all the Nobility to do the same. Ibid.

(4) Thomas Becket, a wise and good Man, and of very great Experience in State-Affairs. Moor, p. 486.

(5) Thomas Becket.

(6) In the night. See Moor, p. 487.

1483. sundry other reasons, he agreed with the Protector to take the Duke of York by force out of Sanctuary, if the Queen refused to deliver him freely. This matter being taken into consideration, the opinion of the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham prevailed, notwithstanding the opposition of most of the Ecclesiasticks there present.

Confession
of the Duke
of York
to the
Protector
Moor.

The Cardinal being come to the Queen (1), used all possible arguments to induce her to comply, and to persuade her that neither the King, nor herself, nor the Duke of York were in danger. He spoke with the greater assurance, as he was satisfied of the truth of what he said, never suspecting the Duke of Gloucester of having ill designs. For, as to the violence used to the Queen's relations, he considered it as no great hurt. Besides, as he was ignorant whether they were innocent, he did not think it any great injustice to detain them some time in Prison, in order to prevent their disturbing the Kingdom by their immoderate ambition. But all his eloquence was not capable to persuade the Queen, who plainly saw in the Duke of Gloucester's conduct too much reason to strengthen her fears. At last, the Cardinal perceiving his arguments were fruitless, told her, that the Council, apprehensive of her carrying the Prince her Son out of the Kingdom, had resolved to take him by force out of his Sanctuary, if she obstinately insisted upon keeping him there. The Queen hearing these menaces, dwelt upon the privileges of Sanctuaries, which was entirely needless, since she spoke to a Prelate who was thoroughly convinced of the same. At length, seeing herself pressed to obey the Council's order, she freely declared to the Cardinal the real cause of her fears. She told him, she could not help suspecting the Duke of Gloucester of having designs destructive to the Royal Family, which he could not accomplish without having both the Brothers in his power; and that the only means to preserve the King, was to keep the Duke of York out of their Uncle's reach. The Cardinal growing warm at this discourse, replied, since she obstinately terrified herself with vain and groundless suspicions, he would say no more upon that head. That being only the Council's deputy, and the business not concerning him in particular, he would press her no farther, lest he should give her occasion to think him in the plot she apprehended. That however, he saw with grief her ill opinion of the members of the Council. That she must believe them to be either void of understanding, not to perceive what she fancied she saw so plainly, or else so wicked as to lend their assistance to the Duke of Gloucester. That for his part, he believed he might confidently affirm, the Duke had never entertained such a thought; and that the Council would be very sorry to see themselves taxed with treachery or extreme imprudence. The good Cardinal, to remove the Queen's fears, said nothing but what he really thought, because he was not in the Protector's confidence. Accordingly the Queen felt herself very much shaken by the assurances of a person of his character. It was apparent, that if the Council intended to deceive her, they would not have made him their instrument; and yet she could not lay aside her fears. Mean while, she saw the Cardinal ready to return, and herself going to be exposed to the violence of her enemies, and obliged to do by force, what was civilly desired. So, suddenly resolving to give up the young Prince, she caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a shower of tears delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to the Protector. As soon as he saw his young Nephew, he ran to him with open arms (2), to embrace him and give him marks of a feigned affection, telling him, he would always be to him instead of a Father. Then, he carried him to the King, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the Protector found some excuse to convey them both to the Tower (3), whereas before they lodged in the heart of the City at the Bishop's Palace (4).

97. Queen
delivers up
the Duke of
York.
Moor.

57. The Protector
takes the
King and his
Brother in
the Tower.

He imparts
the secrets to
the Duke of
Buckingham.
Moor.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the Duke of Gloucester had not communicated his most secret thoughts to the Duke of Buckingham, nor imparted them to him till after he had the two Princes in his power. Buckingham mortally hated the Queen and her Family, because it was through their means that the late King refused to give

him possession of certain lands in Herefordshire, to which he laid claim (5). His Hatred had even passed to the King's Person, though he had not dared to shew it. He had joined with the Duke of Gloucester, to deprive the Queen and her relations of the Government of the Realm, during the King's Minority; but it is not believed, his thoughts had gone any farther. For as he wanted only to preserve or increase his credit, a Minority seems to have been more for his purpose than the Government of a grown King, such as the Duke of Gloucester. However, as he was a Man of ill principles, it was not difficult for the Protector to engage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward. It is said, he promised not only to procure him the Lands he desired, but also to give him part of the late King's Wardrobe, to furnish his house in a stately manner, and secure to his Heirs the Office of High-Constable, of which he was in possession (6). Be this as it will, the Duke of Buckingham so engaged in the project, to set the Protector on the Throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no less eager than the Protector himself to accomplish it. The thing being resolved, the question was only how to put it in execution.

From that time the conferences between the Duke of Gloucester and his trusty friends became more frequent than before. They debated the principal difficulties that might occur in the execution of the design, and the means to surmount or prevent them. In short, they came to the following resolutions, which were considered as the Plan whereon they were gradually to proceed. First, As the strongest Opposition was probably to be expected from the Queen, it was resolved to dispatch the Prisoners at Pontfract, in order to deprive the Royal Family of their chiefest support. The Lord Hastings, to whom this design was imparted, readily gave his consent, though he knew not the Protector's real motive to put these Lords to death. 2. It was agreed to endeavour to engage in the plot the properest persons to accomplish it, that is in other words, Villains capable of any undertaking, without regard to honour, justice, or conscience. 3. It was judged necessary to find some foundation to support the Duke of Gloucester's pretensions, that the people might be amused with some appearance of reason. 4. As it was no less requisite to keep the Plot secret till matters were ripe for execution, it was resolved still to shew publickly a settled design to cause the King to be crowned, till it was no longer necessary to dissemble. 5. Lastly, It was agreed, that the Lord Hastings should either be gained or dispatched out of the way. One of the two seemed absolutely necessary, considering his great Interest with the People of London.

This Plan being laid the Protector writ to Sir Richard Ratcliff Governor of Pontfract and his Creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four Lords that were under his custody.

Orders to behead the Prisoners at Pontfract.

After that he applied himself particularly to gain Sir Edmund Shaw, then Mayor of London, and succeeded to his wish. The Mayor engaged in the plot his Brother John Shaw a famous Preacher, and one Pinker, Monk and Provincial of the Augustine Fryers, who were much esteemed by the people. To these the Protector joined one Catesby, a particular friend and confident of the Lord Hastings.

The Protector gains Shaw and Catesby. Moor.

By means of these men the Protector's secret Council resolved to spread among the people the reasons which might strengthen his pretensions. This seemed very difficult, since there were three Princes and six Princesses before him, namely, the King, the Duke of York his Brother, Edward the Fourth's five Daughters, the Earl of Warwick Son to the late Duke of Clarence, and Margaret his Sister. One single expedient seemed proper and sufficient to destroy the rights of these Princes and Princesses; which was, to intimate that Edward IV's Children were all Bastards, and Edward himself and the Duke of Clarence his Brother not Sons of the late Duke of York. To exclude Edward's Children, it was resolved to urge the validity of his pretended Marriage-contract with Elizabeth Lucy before he espoused Elizabeth Woodville, from whence it followed, that the Children by the last Marriage were illegitimate. This pretension was to be proved by the Duchess of York's testimony, who had used that Argument to hinder the King her Son from marrying Sir Richard Woodville's Daughter. Philip de Commines says, the Bi-

A Report is spread against the Legitimacy of Edward IV and V. Moor.

Remark upon a Poem advanced by Commines.

(1) Attended by several Lords of the Council; the Duke of Gloucester, and the rest of the Council, remaining all the while in the Star-Chamber to expect the Event. Moor, p. 489.

(2) He was brought to him in the Star-Chamber. The Duke took him up into his Arms, and kissed him, saying, Now welcome, my Lord, with all my very heart. Moor, p. 491.

(3) Which was the usual Place from whence the solemnity of the Coronation began; for he still feigned to be making preparations for Edward's Coronation. Moor, ibid. Hall, fol. 13.

(4) Which was near St. Paul's.

(5) It was no less than half the Earldom of Hereford, and the Lands belonging to it, (which were then in the Crown.) He claimed them, as being descended from the Daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, who had married Eleanor, one of the youngest Daughters and Co-heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 163, 168. And below in the beginning of Richard III's Reign.

(6) It appears from Rymer that he was not. For that Office was, November 14. 1482, given in Commission to Sir William Parre, Sir James Haryngton, Sir James Tyndel, and four other persons. Tom. XII. p. 109.

shop of Bath and Wells then affirmed that he married Edward IV to a Lady called *Eleanor Talbot*, before he espoused the Queen; that it was done without witness, and the King had strictly charged him never to mention it to any person whatever. But we do not find in the English Historians, that the Duke of Gloucester, at the time we are speaking of, made use of this reason, which however would have been more plausible than that taken from Edward's Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*. For, Edward had taken precautions with regard to this last, as observed in the History of his Reign, whereas the first had been unanswerable, being supported by the evidence of the very Bishop that pretended to officiate. It is therefore unlikely the Duke of Gloucester should neglect so great an advantage. But it may very well be that *Philip de Commynes* was wrong informed, or at least mistaken in the name of the King's Mistress.

Mean while, as it was not easy to prove Edward's pretended Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*; and as, on the contrary, the Bishops had declared there was no mutual Contract, the Protector's Council judged that the other point should be chiefly insisted upon, namely, that Edward IV and the Duke of Clarence were not Sons of the late Duke of York. Thereby were excluded, at once, the posterity of these two Princes, and then the Duke of Gloucester was next Heir. To support this assertion, it was resolved to plead the Duke of Clarence's own testimony, who, as was pretended, maintained that Edward IV was illegitimate. Moreover, some of the late Duke of York's Servants were already suborned, who took care to spread divers reports which confirmed what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out, that the Dukes of York had taken to her bed certain persons perfectly resembling Edward IV and the Duke of Clarence, and that the Duke of Gloucester alone was Son to the Duke of York.

As for the Earl of Warwick and his Sister, another way was used to exclude them, namely, the Attainder of the Duke of Clarence their Father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus, the Duke of Gloucester did not scruple to accuse his own Mother of Adultery. But this was one of the least crimes which cleared his way to the Throne, so blinded was he by his ambition.

Every thing being thus prepared, the Protector feigned to hasten the King's Coronation. For that purpose he appointed a particular Council, which was to meet every day (1), and regulate the preparations. He took care to compose this Council of such Lords as were most attached to Edward IV's family, among whom the two Archbishops, the Bishop of Ely (2), the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley were the principal. At the same time, he had another Council consisting of his Creatures, which also met regularly (3), but whose consultations were only how to defer the Coronation, and place the Protector on the Throne.

The Lords appointed to hasten the preparations for the Coronation, quickly perceived all their orders were retarded by obstacles from another quarter. On the other hand, they were something surprized, that the Protector seldom suffered the King to be seen; that the young Prince had but very few Attendants, whilst the Protector's house was full of unnecessary people, and a crowd of Courtiers, who were always well received and caressed. These things joined to the affected delays of the Coronation, began to breed suspicion in those who were really friends to the King's Person. The Lord Stanley, a Man of deep penetration, was the first to discover his fears of the Protector's ill designs. He freely spoke his mind to his Fellow-Counsellors, and declared, he did not like the Duke of Gloucester's proceedings: That the other Council which so frequently met, and whose resolves could not be known, was to him very suspicious. That therefore it was his opinion, they should think betimes of means to prevent the mischiefs which might happen. This advice was prudent; but the Lord Hastings, still prepossessed that the Protector thought only of humbling the Queen's Party, removed all these suspicions. He affirmed there was no danger from the other Council, and he would pawn his Life, that if any thing were transacted there detrimental to the King and the State, he should be instantly informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant *Catesby* his friend and confidant (4). But he did not know that *Catesby* betrayed him, and was therefore trusted by the Duke of Gloucester. So, Stanley and the other Lords of the same party preferring the Lord Hastings's assurances to their own judgment, took no mea-

asures to stop the Protector's progress, which they might easily have done, had they endeavoured it in time.

Mean while, the Duke of Gloucester, knowing what a firm friend the Lord Hastings was to the King, thought it time to execute the project he had formed concerning him, that is, to engage him in the plot, or destroy him. To that end, he ordered *Catesby* to sound him, but with all the caution imaginable, for fear of discovering the design before he was sure to be gained. *Catesby* having put the Lord Hastings upon discoursing of State affairs, told him, People talked very much of the Duke of Gloucester's title to the Crown preferably to Edward IV's Children, and many were persuaded this title was not groundless. That it was openly said, it were to be wished, the reasons alledged in his favour were good, since it would be more advantageous to the Nation to be governed by a Man, than by a Child. That, for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and should be glad first to know his opinion. Hastings not suspecting his friend, disclosed all his thoughts, and imparted to him the Lord Stanley's suspicions of the Duke of Gloucester. He added, for his part, he had rather see the ruin and destruction of the Protector, and the Duke of Buckingham, than the late King's Children deprived of their Right. That if he perceived any plot in favor of the Duke of Gloucester, he would employ his Credit, his Estate, and his very Life, to prevent its succeeding. This reply was immediately carried to the Protector, by the treacherous *Catesby*, with many aggravations, to hasten the Lord Hastings's destruction, for fear he should one day discover his treachery.

The Duke having thus founded the Lord Hastings, was greatly embarrassed. He passionately desired to gain that Lord, knowing how serviceable he could be to him. But for that very reason he could not help fearing him, if he persisted in his attachment to the King. To free himself from this uneasiness, he ordered *Catesby* to sound him once more. *Catesby* speaking a little too plainly in his second Conversation with Hastings, and not doubting that his treachery was known, told the Protector, that not only he had nothing to hope from that quarter, but moreover was to expect to find in Hastings a professed enemy. Whereupon the Protector resolved to dispatch him, looking upon him now as his real adversary.

This resolution being taken, he called a Council at the Tower (5), under colour of finishing the affairs of the King's Coronation. He came himself at nine a clock in the Morning, with a cheerful Countenance, courteously saluting all the Lords, as if he had nothing in his mind that gave him the least uneasiness. After that, he went out, and desired the Lords of the Council to continue their deliberations in his absence.

About an hour after, he returned with an angry Countenance, knitting his Brows, biting his Lips, and shewing all possible signs of the perturbation of his mind. Remaining some time without speaking, he broke silence with these words: *My Lords, what punishment do they deserve who have plotted against my Life?* The Lords not immediately answering, the Lord Hastings replied, *Whoever was guilty of such a Crime ought to be punished as a Traitor.* It is, answered the Duke, that *Sorecraft's* my Sister-in-law, with her Accomplices. These words astonished many of the Council who favoured the Queen, being afraid this Accusation concerned them. But the Lord Hastings was far from any such fear. All knew he was sworn Enemy to the Queen, and consequently there was no likelihood of his joining with her in such a design. Besides, he had lately approved of the order sent to *Pontfract*, to behead the Lords Prisoners, who were to be executed that very day. After a short pause, the Protector, unbuttoning his left sleeve, shewed the Council his arm, dried and withered, saying, with extreme emotion, *See what that Sorecraft, and Shore's Wife have done by their Witchcrafts. They have reduced my arm as you see, and my whole body would soon have been the same, if by God's Mercy their infamous plot had not been discovered.* These words caused a greater surprize than the former, the whole Council knowing the Duke's arm had long been in that condition. Besides, if the Queen had framed such a project, *Jane Shore* would have been the last person she would have imparted it to, since of all Women she most hated her. The Lord Hastings, who since Edward's death had kept *Jane Shore*, perceiving she was involved in the Accusation, could not forbear to shew how much he doubted her being guilty, by saying, *If they had committed such a Crime, they deserved to be punished.* Then the Protector raising his voice, *What, says he, dost thou*

(1) At *St. Dunstons* in the East. Moor, p. 491. In the mean time, Orders were issued out, on June 2, for creating Knights at the King's Coronation, which was to be the 22d of June. *Kymer's Feud.* Tom. XII. p. 123.

(2) At *Croby's Place*, in *Bedfordshire*. It was the Protector's Mansion-house. Moor, p. 491.

(3) *Catesby* was a Lawyer, who had, through the Lord Hastings, means, been put into a post of considerable Trust in the Council of *Langley*, where this Lord's Power and Interest lay. Moor, p. 492.

(4) On June 13. Moor, p. 493.

1483. answer me with Ifs and Ands, as if I forged this Accusation? I tell thee they have conspired my death, and thou thy self art accessory to the Crime. As he ended these words, he struck the Table twice with his Fist, and immediately the room was filled with armed Men. As soon as they were in, the Protector turning to the Lord Hastings, said to him, I arrest thee for High-Treason. Who, Me, my Lord, answered Hastings? Yes, Thee, Traitor, replied the Protector. At the same time he delivered him to the Custody of the Soldiers. During the bustle, one of the Soldiers would have cleft the Lord Stanley's skull with a Battle-ax. But he avoided part of the blow by sinking under the Table; however, he was dangerously wounded. Probably, the Soldier had orders to kill him as it were by chance, under pretence he would have defended the Lord Hastings. It is not hard to guess, why the Protector desired to be rid of him. Be this as it will, having missed his aim, Stanley was arrested with the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely, it being the Protector's Interest to put it out of their power to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealously affected to the young King. As for the Lord Hastings, he would scarce give him time to make a short Confession to the next Priest that came, swearing, he would not dine till his head was struck off. Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log which was found on the Green before the Tower Chapel, the time fixed by the Protector being too short to erect a Scaffold. Historians enlarge upon sundry prefaces he had of his death. But though such kind of remarks may have their use, when the Facts are very certain, I shall pass them over in silence (1). It suffices to observe only, that the Lord Hastings died the same day and hour that the Pontfract Prisoners (2) were executed, to whose death he greatly contributed.

Stanley is arrested, and avoided such the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely.

The Prisoners at Pontfract are executed.

The Protector tries to justify what was done by the Mayor of London.

Proclamation upon that subject.

The Lord Hastings being dead, the Protector judged it necessary to palliate so hasty and illegal an execution, for fear the Londoners should take fire upon hearing it (3), and for that purpose, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. In the mean while, he and the Duke of Buckingham put on two old rusty Coats of Armour. The Mayor being come to the Tower, the Protector told him, the Lord Hastings, and some others had conspired to take away his Life, and he had no Intelligence of the plot till ten a clock that Morning. That the fact being fully proved, the King and Council had thought necessary to execute him immediately, by reason they were informed, a great number of people were all ready to rise in his favour. That this Conspiracy had put his person in extreme danger, and forced him to harness himself in old rusty Armour, for his defence. That he had sent for him to inform him of the truth, that he might, when he acquainted the Londoners with this sudden execution, take care to appease or prevent the Commotions, which ill-affected People might raise in the City. The Mayor and Aldermen easily perceived, the Protector did not tell them the whole truth, but not daring to express their doubt, they withdrew, assuring him his orders should be obeyed. What the Protector had said to the Mayor and Aldermen, was only to prepare the people to receive a Proclamation, published in the City two hours after the death of the Lord Hastings. The King, in whose name it was published, was made to say in it, "That the Lord Hastings had conspired to seize his person, in order to govern the Kingdom as he pleased, and to kill the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham. That to prevent this design, he was forced, by advice of his Council, to cause the criminal to be immediately punished, and that never man more deserved to die. That it was he that persuaded the late King to do so many things contrary to the rights and privileges of the people. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his persuasions and example, and had lain the night before with Shore's Wife, the accomplice of all his crimes, and particularly of that for which he was executed." There were several other things in the Proclamation, tending to lessen the people's affection and compassion for the Lord Hastings, and to shew that his death was a judgment upon him. It was observed, that the Proclamation was elegantly composed, and fairly written on Parchment, though published so very soon after

that Lord's death. This bred a suspicion that it was ready prepared (4) in order to be published immediately after the execution. Accordingly, it produced but little effect (5).

As Jane Shore was accused of being an accomplice of Moore the Lord Hastings, the Protector was obliged to proceed against her. So, giving orders (6) to arrest her, he commanded her to be brought to the Tower, where she was examined before the Council. The Duke of Gloucester accused her himself of intending, by her forgeries, to waste his flesh by degrees, and conspiring with the Lord Hastings to assassinate him. But, besides that he could alledge nothing in proof of these accusations, she made so good a defence, that the Council could find no reason to condemn her. However, as the Protector was unwilling she should escape without punishment, she was fined for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her Husband, and living with other men. These were facts she could not deny, since the whole Court was witness, she had been kept by the late King, and afterward, by the Lord Hastings. Whereupon she was delivered over to the Bishop of London, and condemned by the Ecclesiastical Court to do open penance in St. Paul's Church in a white Sheet, with a Wax-Taper in her hand, before all the people (7).

The late executions at London and Pontfract without any form of process, the imprisonment of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, left no room to question the Duke of Gloucester's designs. Hitherto, he had given some colour to his conduct; but after these violent proceedings there was no way to hide his intentions. Every one said to himself, these unjust doings could not but end in the King's destruction. But people durst not tell their thoughts to one another, such a terror was there every where spread. They who could have taken measures to oppose the Protector's designs were dead or in prison, and if there were any left capable to make him uneasy, the example of those who had been treated with so much barbarity, was sufficient to cause them to act with circumspection. They plainly saw the imminent danger, if they did but seem to perceive what was plotting.

Fear and consternation having thus seized the great men, the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham thought the advantage should be taken, and that it was time to discover their designs (8). There remained but one difficulty, and that was to get the Londoners to approve of the intended change. This was no easy matter. Indeed, private persons may suffer themselves to be corrupted, and if any are too obstinate, they may be dispatched as the Lord Hastings had been served. But the thing is to persuade a whole Nation, they ought to approve of manifest acts of injustice, wherein they themselves are not concerned. There are but two ways to succeed. The first is to oblige them through fear, to feign to believe what they do not believe; the other, to gain those in whom they put any confidence, that they may by degrees be brought to what is desired. After several consultations, the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham resolved to use these two means, the first whereof had already begun to have a very great effect. For the second, they agreed, that, by emissaries, it should be continued more than ever to be spread among the people, that Edward the fourth's Children were illegitimate, and their Father himself and the Duke of Clarence his Brother were not the Duke of York's Sons. That these rumours should be supported by a Sermon of Dr. Shaw, whose eloquence was applauded by the whole City.

These measures being taken, the Doctor mounted the Pulpit one Sunday morning at Paul's-Cross, and preached upon these words, *Bastard Slaves shall take no deep Root* (9). He began with shewing the Blessings God usually bestoweth on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the Children born out of wedlock. He did not want examples of both, as well in sacred as prophane History. Then he enlarged on the noble qualities of the Duke of York, slain in the Battle of Wakefield, and shewed how happy the English would be to have a Sovereign of the race of that great Prince.

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He explains Dr. Shaw's Sermon at Paul's Cross.

Shaw's Sermon at Paul's Cross.

(1) The Prefaces Historians dwell upon were, a remarkable Dream of the Lord Stanley's, who dreamed, that a wild Boar with his Tusks, had wounded him and the Lord Hastings's head, and therefore advised him to fly from danger; the Solicitations of his Concubine Jane Shore, that very morning, to go to the Council, nor to trust the wild Boar; the often rumbling of his Horse as he was riding to the Tower, and some other like observations. He was afterwards buried at Windsor, near King Edward's Tomb. Moor, p. 494.

(2) Anthony Earl of Rivers, Richard Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Langston, and Sir Richard Haryng. See above, p. 631.

(3) The Lord Hastings was in great esteem with King Edward's Friends, as being well-affected to his Family, and in no small favour with the People, being reckoned a lover of the common Good. Moor, p. 495.

(4) By Cuthbert. Moor, p. 495.

(5) People jested and said, it was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy. Idem, p. 496.

(6) To Sir Thomas Howard, to apprehend her Person, and seize her Goods, which were valued at between two and three thousand Marks. Idem.

(7) Which she accordingly did the next Sunday Morning, after this manner: She was brought, clothed in a white Sheet, by way of Penitency, with the Cross carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her hand, to St. Paul's Church, from the Bishop's Palace adjoining. In all this Action she behaved with so much modesty and decency, that such as respected her Beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her, than now. Idem.

(8) In the mean time, he issued out a Proclamation, importing, That the King's Coronation, for divers great and urgent Causes, should be deferred to the 2d of November. Moor, Hall, vol. 17.

(9) Wisdom of Solomon iv.

1483. From thence he took occasion to remark, that it was to be feared, the Reign of *Edward V* would be fatal to *England*, since he was born of an illegitimate marriage. Moreover, that neither *Edward IV* nor the late Duke of *Clarence* were Sons of the great Duke of *York*, as was certainly known from officers of his household, witnesses of the Duchess their Mother's scandalous life. That she had taken to her bed, in the sight of all her servants, Men whom the two Brothers perfectly resembled. But that the Duke of *Glocester* alone could truly be called the Duke of *York's* Son. That besides, *Edward IV* was not lawfully married to his Queen, since he had before plighted his faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, as could be shewn by good evidences. That consequently his Children could be no better than Bastards. That therefore the Duke of *York's* real posterity was not to be looked for in the Children either of *Edward*, or of the Duke of *Clarence*, and that their race would infallibly perish, because *Bastard Plants shall take no deep Root*. But my Lord Protector, continued he, raising his voice, that noble Prince, the pattern of all virtue, carries in his countenance, in his air, in his carriage, in his soul, the perfect image of his illustrious Father. At these words, it was designed the Duke of *Glocester* should appear, in hopes that the People, moved by the Preacher's eloquence, would salute him King. But the Duke happening to stay a little too long, the Doctor had begun another subject, when he saw him entering, which however he left, and repeated the same words before-mentioned, whilst the Duke was pressing through the crowd to come to his place. But instead of hearing the cry of *Long live King Richard!* as he expected, he perceived, all kept a fullen silence, the People detesting the baseness of the Preacher, instead of applauding his eloquence. The sermon being ended, the Doctor went and hid himself for shame, neither durst he ever show his face again in the World. It is said he died presently after with grief at his ill-success, and for losing the esteem of his audience.

Shaw's Sermon not producing the expected effect, other means were to be used; for the Protector had proceeded too far to recede. So the Duke of *Buckingham*, being a fine Speaker, took upon him to harangue the people, imagining, a polite Speech would be more successful than *Shaw's* methodical Sermon. To that purpose, the Lord Mayor had orders to assemble the Aldermen, Common-Council, and principal Citizens, in the *Guild-Hall* (1). Which being done, the Duke of *Buckingham* came to the Assembly (2), and taking his place near the Mayor, told the People, he was come from the Council, to acquaint them with a matter of the greatest Importance to the whole Kingdom, but especially to the Inhabitants of *London*. His Speech ran at first upon the Calamities endured by the People of *England* in the last Reign. He aggravated in a very violent manner, the Cruelty, Avarice and Incontinency of *Edward IV*, and endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to render him odious. Then, he put his Audience in mind, the Sunday before, that excellent Man, *Dr. Shaw*, had clearly proved to them, that *Edward* was not lawfully married to his Queen, and consequently their Children were bastards: That neither *Edward* himself, nor the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, were the Duke of *York's* Sons, and to the proofs alledged by the Doctor, he himself could add many more, did not his respect for the Protector, hinder him from dwelling upon the Duchess his Mother's loose Life: That for these reasons, the Lords of the Council, and the Commons of the Realm, particularly of the northern Counties, had declared, that a Bastard should not sit on the Throne of *England*, and petitioned, that the Crown should be adjudged to the Duke of *Glocester*, only Son of the late Duke of *York*: That indeed there was reason to fear, the magnanimous Duke would refuse the offer; but on the other hand, it was to be hoped, all the people, and especially the Inhabitants of *London*, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed with to take upon him the Burden of the Government, too weighty for a Child: That upon all these Considerations, he required them in his own, and the name of the Lords of the Council, to declare their Intention. Here he stopped, in expectation to hear the People cry, *Long live King Richard*; but every one stood speechless, so great was their surprize, to hear so unjust a proposal. The Duke, surprized in his turn at so unexpected a silence, asked the Mayor the reason; who replied, perhaps, they did not well understand him. If that's the case, answered the Duke, I will make my self better understood. Then raising his voice, he repeated the sense of what he had

1483. said in other words, with a gracefulness and eloquence worthy a nobler subject. But the People still kept a profound silence. The Duke, in confusion that his Rhetoric should produce to little effect, talked some time in a low voice with the Mayor, to consult with him what was to be done. At length, the Mayor told him, perhaps the People were silent because they were used to be harangued only by the Recorder, who was the Mouth of the City. Whereupon he commanded the Recorder (3) to speak to the People, which he did with great reluctance. However, he so managed his Speech, that without any addition of his own, he repeated to the people the substance of what the Duke had said. He concluded, with requiring the people (4) to give a positive answer, whether they would have the Duke of *Glocester* for King or not? At these words there was a confused murmur in the Assembly, and as it was yet uncertain whether the People answered Ay or No, some of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Servants, who had slipt in amongst the crowd, fell to crying, *Long live King Richard!* Some of the Citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to begin, seconded the Cry, and the Apprentices, with the Rabble, who stood near the door, followed their example, and throwing up their Hats in token of Joy, cried out *King Richard! King Richard!* The Duke of *Buckingham* plainly perceived, the Cry came from the Rabble without, and not from the principal Citizens in the Hall. Nevertheless, improving this advantage, he commanded silence, and resuming his Speech, said, he was overjoyed to see so general and unanimous an approbation to his proposal. Wherefore, continued he, my good Friends, I desire you to meet me here to-morrow about this time, that we may all go together, and present our humble petition to his Highness, and intreat him to condescend to our request. Then, the Mayor dismissing the people, the Citizens returned to their Houses with tears in their Eyes, and grief in their Hearts, without daring to shew it, for fear of offending those whose Interest it was to have it concealed.

Next day the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Mayor, Aldermen, and many other Persons of the Cabal came to the Protector's Palace (5) and sent a Message to him, that the Magistrates of *London* desired an audience. The Protector scrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that such numbers were assembled for no good design. Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* observed to the Mayor and those about him, that his Highness was not conscious of their intent, intimating thereby that he was not concerned in the transactions of the foregoing day. At length, upon the repeated desire, that his Highness would be pleased to grant an audience, he came forth with signs of great mistrust, and as not daring to approach such multitudes, for fear of some Mischief (6). Then the Duke of *Buckingham*, without giving the Mayor time to speak, briefly set forth the grievance of the Nation in the late Reign. After that, he said to the Protector, the People had found no better way to free themselves from their evils, than to pray his Highness to assume the Royal Authority, which of right belonged to him. He added, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, whom he saw there, were come to petition him in the Name of all the people, who were united in the same intention.

The Duke of *Glocester* seeming surprized at this proposal, answered, "he was convinced that all he had heard was true: But he had so great a veneration for the memory of the late King his Brother, and so tender an affection for his Children, as out-weighed all the Crowns in the world, and therefore he could not comply with their request. However he willingly pardoned their petition, and thanked them for their affection: But advised them to be obedient to the Sovereign under whose Dominion they lived: That for his part, he would continue to the utmost of his power, to give the King his Nephew such Counsels, as he should judge most conducive to render his Kingdom flourishing, and his People happy, as he believed he had hitherto done, to the satisfaction of all the world."

The Duke of *Buckingham* seeming dissatisfied with this answer, murmured some words to himself expressing his discontent, and at length desired leave to speak once more; and having obtained it, he plainly told the Protector, "That all people were unanimously resolved not to acknowledge for King any of *Edward IV's* Children: That they had proceeded too far to go back, and therefore if he would not receive the Crown, the People would be forced to offer it to one who would not refuse it." At these words the Protector began to be a

(1) On the Tuesday following, which was the 17th of June. Moor. Hall, fol. 20.

(2) Attended by several Lords, who were privy to the design. Ibid.

(3) Thomas Fitz-William. Moor. Hall, fol. 22.

(4) It was not the Recorder, but the Duke of *Buckingham*, who continuing to speak, required the People to give a positive Answer. Moor. Hall, fol. 20.

(5) At *Baynard's Castle* in *Thames-street*, where the Protector then lay. Moor.

(6) He is said to appear in a Gallery, with a Bishop on each side of him. Moor. Hall, fol. 23.

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His Speech
to the People.
Moor.

little more compliant, and at last, spoke to the people in this manner: Since I see the whole Kingdom is resolved not to suffer EDWARD's Children to reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced, the Crown can of Right belong only to me, who am the undoubted Son of the late Duke of YORK my Father. To this Title is now joined the free Election of the Lords and Commons of the Realm, which of all Titles I shall consider as the chief and most effectual. From these considerations I graciously re-

ceive your Petition, and instantly take upon me the Government of the two Kingdoms of England and France, the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's help, and my people's assistance, to be subdued. At the close of this Speech was heard a great shout of, Long live King Richard III! The Comedy being over, the people retired to their homes, making upon this occasion such reflections as were suggested by their respective Understandings, Interests, or Passions.

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18. RICHARD III. Surnamed CROOK- BACK.

1483.
RICHARD
III.
is pro-
claimed.
Moor.
Hall.

THE Duke of Gloucester having attained to his ends by such extraordinary ways, and in spite of all the obstacles that opposed his ambition, was proclaimed the 22d of June (1), by the name of Richard III. He might have been crowned the next day, since the preparations for Edward the fifth's coronation were finished: But he delayed the ceremony till the sixth of July, expecting the arrival of five thousand Men, which he sent for out of the North, because he did not entirely confide in the Citizens of London.

The Bishop
of Lincoln
is made
Chancellor,
Moor.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 189,
190.
and John
Howard
Duke of
Norfolk.

During this interval, he gave the Great Seal to the Bishop of Lincoln (2), one of his favorites. On the 28th of June he conferred the office of Earl Marshal upon the Lord John Howard (3), and the next day, the title of Duke of Norfolk. The day following, he commissioned him to exercise the office of High-Steward during the Coronation. A few days after, he created Thomas Howard his Son, Earl of Surrey, William Berkeley Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Lovel one of his Confidants, Viscount of the same name (4).

Archbishop
of York and
Stanley are
released.
Moor.

Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of York, and the Lord Hastings was executed, were released at the same time, and the new King made the Lord Stanley, Lord Steward of the Household. It was not from a motive of affection or confidence, but out of fear that the Lord Strange his Son (5), who was beginning to levy forces in Lincolnshire (6), should raise commotions, the consequences whereof he much dreaded.

The Bishop
of Ely is
committed to
the custody
of Bucking-
ham.
Moor.

As for Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely, who was arrested the same day, the King designed not to do him the same favour. But the University of Oxford, of which that Prelate was member, having presented a Petition in his behalf, he did not think proper wholly to reject it, at a time when he wanted to gain the affection of his new Subjects. However, as he mortally hated that Bishop, he could not resolve to release him entirely. He only took him out of his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the Duke of Buckingham's Custody, who sent him to the Castle of Brecknock in Wales. He was a Man of mean Parentage (7), but having studied at Oxford, where he had taken his Doctor's Degree, was so eminent for his learning and parts, that he was taken from thence, and made Privy-Counsellor by Henry VI. The Revolution which had placed Edward IV on the Throne, made no alteration in his Fortune. Edward, it is likely, pleased with his complaisance, continued him in the same Post, and promoted him to the Bishoprick of Ely. From thenceforward he was wholly attached to that Prince, which drew on him Richard's hatred, who put him under confinement the same day the Lord Hastings was beheaded, for fear his affection to the late King's Family, should lead him to oppose his designs.

The King
and Queen
crowned.
Moor.
Hall.

The sixth of July, the Coronation of the King and Queen was performed with great Solemnity (8). All the Peers of the Realm were present for fear of being suspected by the new King, whose jealous temper was well known. Margaret Countess of Richmond, Wife of the Lord Stanley, and Mother of the Earl of Richmond, detained in Bretagne, held up the Queen's Train.

Richard enjoyed but two years and two months the Crown he had so eagerly desired. He spent his whole Reign in devising means to support himself in the Throne, which having mounted by Bloodshed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep possession by the same Methods, but all his measures proved ineffectual, divine Providence being pleased to blast projects, founded wholly upon Injustice, Violence, and the subversion of the Laws. The present circumstances seemed however to be very favorable for him. The Lancastrian Family was quite extinct in England. Henry Earl of Richmond, the only branch of that House, was in the hands of the Duke of Bretagne, who had promised Edward IV to hinder him from going out of his dominions. Margaret his Mother shewed no inclination to prosecute her Rights. Besides, she was subject to a Husband whom Richard had attached to his interest, by one of the most considerable Posts at Court. As to the Princes and Princesses of Portugal and Castile, descended from Philippa and Catharine of Lancaster, Daughters of John of Gant, they were too remote to disturb the new King. In fine, there was not a Lord in the Kingdom that seemed to have credit enough to excite insurrections, the Civil War having swept away great numbers, and entirely destroyed many ancient families. As for those that were still left, Richard hoped to win them by favours, as he had already gained the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Stanley, and some others. As for the Yorkists attached to the family of Edward IV, namely, the Howdilles, Greys, and others of the new Nobility, he had already dispatched some, in the last reign, and the rest were fled. The Queen-Widow was still with her five Daughters in Sanctuary, from whence she durst not stir, and where she seemed unable to hurt him. The Marquis of Dorset her Son had likewise taken Sanctuary, and Sir Richard Woodville had absconded. In a word, Edward V and the Duke of York his Brother were in the Tower, where, since the 27th of June, Richard had taken care to place as Governour Sir Robert Brackenbury his Creature. Thus, nothing seemed capable to shake the new Monarch's Throne.

Given
under the
Great Seal
of the
King.
Richard.

Mean while, to be provided against whatever might happen, he formed the project to secure Castile and Portugal, the Archduke Maximilian, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of Philip his Son, France and Bretagne, from whence he feared his enemies might procure some assistance. In fine, to break all the measures which the friends of Edward the IVth's family might take against him, he resolved to murder his nephews young King Edward V, and the Duke of York his Brother. These were Richard's first projects to preserve his Crown, which created him no less uneasiness after possession, than whilst he was labouring to obtain it.

Richard's
measures for
his safety.

To execute all these resolutions, the 12th of July, he appointed for his Ambassador to Castile, Bernard de la Force, with orders to renew the ancient Alliance with Queen Isabella and Ferdinand King of Arragon her Husband. The next day he gave the like commission to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the Truce with Francis II, Duke of Bretagne. Probably, Hutton had secret instructions to endeavour to procure the Earl of

From the
Crown.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 193.
to Bretagne;
p. 194.

(1) Sir T. Moor, (as published in Hall) says, that Richard took the Reins of the Government the 19th of June, and the next day, viz. the 20th, was proclaimed King, when with great Solemnity he rode to Westminster, and sitting in the Seat Royal, called before him the Judges of the Realm, whom he straightly commanded to execute the Law without favour or delay. Moor. Hall, fol. 25.

(2) John Russell. See above, p. 632.

(3) He was Son of Sir Robert Howard, and Margaret Daughter and Co-heir of Thomas de Mowbray Duke of Norfolk. The first Person of Note in this Family, was William Howard Judge of the Common Pleas, in the Reign of Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 295.

(4) And Chamberlain. Moor.

(5) Having married Joan, Daughter and Heir of John Lord Strange, he was summoned to Parliament in 22 Edw. IV, by the Title of Lord Strange. Dugdale. ibid. p. 249.

(6) Hall and Hallinghead say, it was in Lancashire, fol. 25. p. 185.

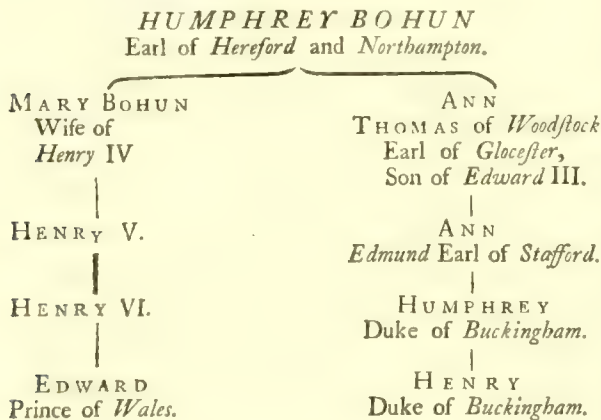
(7) Bishop Morton was not of mean Parentage. He was Son of Richard Morton, a Gentleman of Berks in Dorsetshire; whose Grandfather was Robert Morton of Morton in Nottinghamshire, of a very ancient Family.

(8) On the 4th of July he went to the Tower with his Wife; the 5th he rode through London with great pomp; and the 6th was crowned. See a particular account of his Coronation in Hall, fol. 25, 26; and Holingb. p. 1387, &c.

1483. Richard, or at least to renew the Treaty upon that subject between Edward IV, and the Duke. Three days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with France concerning some breaches of the Truce, in order to have occasion to confirm it.

These measures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the principal article, the murder of his two Nephews. For that purpose, he resolved to remove from London, that their death happening in his absence, he might be the less suspected. With this view, he departed from London to visit several Counties, under colour of reforming certain abuses introduced to the great detriment of the people. His progress into the North was particularly necessary, to curb the insolence of the Troops he had sent for from thence, and who, after their return, had committed great outrages. But before he proceeded to York, he made some stay at Gloucester, not to be too far from London, whilst his orders concerning his Nephews were executing.

The Duke of Buckingham, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to Gloucester. He had loaded that Lord with estates and honours, both whilst he was Protector, and after he was King. But the Duke still expected another favour, of which he had received a positive promise. And that was, the moiety of the Lands of the House of Hereford, to which he thought he had a very just right. The foundation of his claim will plainly appear in the following Genealogy.



To consider only this Genealogy, it is evident, the Duke of Buckingham had a right to claim one half of the Earl of Hereford's Lands, as descended from one of his Daughters. But there were other reasons which rendered his title disputable. When Richard II put to death his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester at Calais, he caused his Estate to be confiscated by the Parliament, and gave what that Prince held in Right of Ann his Wife, to the Earl of Derby, who had married the eldest of the Sisters, and withal created him Duke of Hereford. Thus, the Earl of Derby took possession of the whole Inheritance of the Earl of Hereford his Father-in-law, and afterwards mounting the Throne by the name of Henry IV, all his Lands were annexed to the Crown, which was thereby possessed of the whole Estate of the Hereford Family, till Richard the third's accession to the Throne. However, when Richard, being Protector, intended to engage the Duke of Buckingham to serve him in his design to usurp the Crown, he promised to restore him the moiety of the Inheritance confiscated upon the Duke of Gloucester his great Grandfather. But after he was King he altered his mind, whether he thought he had amply rewarded him otherwise, or was afraid of rendering him too powerful, and so giving him occasion to aspire to the Throne, as descending from Edward III. Be this as it will, the Duke during this Journey putting him in mind of his promise, received such an answer, as left him no room to expect that Justice or Favour (1). The Duke, who was very high-spirited, was so offended at the King's answer, that he desired leave to go and look after his own private affairs (2). Richard not imagining, this refusal had made so deep an Impression upon the Duke, or perhaps, not fearing the effects of his resentment, gave him the leave he desired, and parting from him at Gloucester, he pursued his Journey to York.

During the King's stay at Gloucester, he sent an express

order to Brackenbury, Governor of the Tower of London, to murder Edward V, and the Duke of York his Brother. Brackenbury more conscientious than his master, returned a very submissive answer, but withal, told him, he should never be able to execute his Commands. Richard vexed to be deceived in his opinion of that Officer, sent him by James Tyrrel a written order, to deliver to the bearer the Keys and Government of the Tower for one single night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrel brought in his Agents (3) to execute the King's orders. That very night, whilst all were asleep, he went into the two Princes's room, and smothering them in their bed, caused them to be buried under a little Stair-case. This is what Tyrrel himself afterwards confessed, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. In 1674, whilst some Alterations were making in that part of the Tower, Bones were found, which were thought to be those of Edward V, and the Duke of York, and upon that supposition, Charles II, who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble Urn, and removed to Westminster among the Tombs of the Kings (4). As the two Princes were never more heard of since the day Tyrrel went into the Tower, and as their Servants were dismissed, the publick doubted not that they were sacrificed to their Uncle's safety.

Richard having received the news of the death of his two Nephews, continued his Journey into the North, and came to York about the end of August. As the pretence of his Journey was to cause Justice to be impartially administered to the people, he could not help executing some of the northern Soldiers, who in returning from London had committed great outrages. Then, he caused himself to be crowned a second time at the Cathedral of York, the beginning of September, and the same day he created Edward his Son, ten years old, Prince of Wales, with the usual Formalities.

A few days after his Coronation, he received the agreeable news, that Ferdinand and Isabella had prevented him, by desiring themselves the Confirmation of the Alliance between England and Castile, by an Ambassador sent on purpose, and who was then come to York. The renewing of that Alliance, which he ratified himself the 31st of August, pleased him extremely. He found that Ferdinand and Isabella acknowledging him for lawful King, were forming no project to restore to the Throne the House of Lancaster, from whence Queen Isabella was descended, being Grand-daughter of Catherine of Lancaster, Daughter of John of Gant. He expressed his satisfaction by conferring the honour of Knighthood (5) upon Geoffrey de Sapiola Ambassador of Castile, who brought him the good news, and by his Letters full of esteem, affection, and acknowledgment, to the King and Queen of Spain, to the Cardinal de Mendosa, and to the Earl of Leryn their Ministers.

Lewis XI King of France died August the 26th (6) this year. Charles VIII his only Son being a Minor, succeeded him under the Guardianship of his Sister Ann, Wife of Philip de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu, pursuant to the late King's Directions. But Lewis Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the Blood, disputed the Regency with her. This contest raised, in the Court of France, disturbances which prevented the Ministers from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the Truce with England, which Richard earnestly solicited.

Whilst the King was flattering himself with having taken all necessary measures to support himself on the Throne, a Conspiracy was forming against him, which ended in his ruin, after proving the destruction of its Author. I left the Duke of Buckingham dissatisfied, and parting from the King in order to retire. He was a person of a lively and penetrating Genius, exceeding proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very strict in his Morals. During Edward the fourth's Life, he could never bring himself to stoop to the Queen, though she had a great ascendancy over the King her Husband. He was even considered as head of the party of the Antient Nobility against the New, which wholly consisted of the Queen's relations and creatures. It was chiefly from his aversion to the Queen, that after Edward IV's death, he devoted himself entirely to the Duke of Gloucester, for whom, as has been related, he procured the Protectorship, and at last the Crown itself. In return for so signal a service, Rich-

(1) That Rapin, and the rest of our Historians are mistaken in this particular, is plain from Sir W. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 163, wherein is inserted a Bill signed by King Richard, whereby he granted the Duke of Buckingham Livery of all those Lands to which he pretended a right by descent from Humphrey de Bohun. Among the rest there were sixteen Lordships in Essex, particularly Walden, Badow, Paig, Waltham, Hoo, &c. besides many more in other Counties, amounting in all to the yearly value of 1084 l. 1 s. 9 d.

(2) Dugdale attributes the cause of his retiring, either to trouble of Conscience, or because he found himself neglected by the King. Ibid.

(3) Miles Forest, and John Dighton. Moor.

(4) In the time of Sir Thomas Cromwell Master of the Ordinance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answers lying in the Six Clerk's Office, were removed to be deposited in the white Tower; and a new pair of Stairs were made into the Chapel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither. The Lacounters, in digging at the foot of the old Stairs, came to a wooden Chest, containing the Bones of consumed Corps covered with a heap of Stones: Which Bones King Charles caused to be interred in Henry VII's Chapel, near two other Royal Children, Mary and Sophia, Daughters of King James I, with a Monument of white Marble, and an Inscription on it in Capital Letters. Sandford, p. 427, 429.

(5) Which he did by putting a good Collar round his Neck, and striking him thrice on the Shoulders with his sword. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 200.

(6) P. Daniel says, it was the 30th. Tom. VI. p. 538.

1483.
Death of
Edward V,
and of the
Duke of
York.
Moor.
Hall.

Their Bones
are found in
the Reign of
Charles II.
Sandford.

The King is
crowned
again at
York.
Hall.
Hist. Croyl.

He creates
his Son
Prince of
Wales.

The Alliance
with
Castile is
renewed.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 199.

Sept. 8.
p. 200.
p. 201, 202.

Death
Lewis XI.
Commin.
P. Daniel.

Troubles at
the Court of
France.

The Duke of
Buckingham
conspires
against the
King.
Moor.

The King
denies his
Request;
Moor.
Hall.

upon which
the Duke
retires.

1483.

Cause of his
Dysgust.

ard had liberally bestowed his favours upon him. Particularly he made him as it were master of *Wales*, and the adjoining Counties, by the Posts and Governments given him in those parts (1). But all these favours were forgotten, when he refused to grant him a Moiety of the Lands of *Hereford*. The Duke perceived the King's policy, in giving him Posts, from which he could remove him at pleasure, whereas in restoring the Lands he demanded, it would not have been in his power to resume them without using force. This proceeding convinced him, that the King would always keep him in dependance, and as he perfectly knew that Prince's Character, easily perceived, that the least occasion would be sufficient to make him forfeit whatever he enjoyed. Besides, he thought it a manifest injustice, in refusing him what he believed to be his lawful right; that moreover he broke his promise, and showed himself extremely ungrateful, in making so ill a return for the services he had received from him. All this gave him reason to fear, he had intended to ruin him in time.

The Duke
and Bishop
of Ely con-
sult together
how to de-
thron the
King.
Moor.
Hall.

Full of these sinister thoughts he retired to his Castle of *Brecknock*, where Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* was Prisoner under his custody. In his frequent conversations with that Prelate, he could not help discovering his resentment against the King. The Bishop, who was a Man of sense, quickly found, the Duke was dissatisfied, which imboldened him to talk to him freely. He observed the Duke took a pleasure in hearing him, and would have perhaps spoken himself more plainly, had he dared to trust him entirely. So, to inspire him with more confidence, he affected to speak of the King in a manner, which by showing what he thought of him, gave him to understand, that he should find in him a Person ready to second him in all his designs. At length, after mutually founding each other for some time, they opened their minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy state of the Kingdom under such a King. The late death of *Edward V* and of the Duke his Brother, afforded them fresh matter to exclaim against *Richard*. They concluded, that since he had not spared his own Nephews, no Lord in the Kingdom could be sure of his life. These conversations ended at length in the Duke's request to the Bishop, to tell him freely, whether he saw no way to prevent the mischiefs they had reason to fear; promising with an Oath to keep the secret inviolably. *Morton*, who till then was under some apprehensions that the Duke designed to insnare him, being encouraged by this Oath, told him in plain terms, "it was his opinion, there was no other way than to dethrone *Richard*, and set up another King. He owned, that though he could have wished the Crown had continued in the family of *Henry VI*, he had not been able to avoid following the stream, when he saw almost all *England* declare for *Edward IV*. That afterwards, *Henry VI* and the Prince his Son being dead, he had faithfully adhered to *Edward*. That upon *Edward's* death he had served with the same zeal his young Son, whom he believed his lawful Successor. That afterwards he perceived with grief the Duke of *Glocester* aspiring to the Throne, and having the honour to be of the Council, thought it his duty to endeavour to oppose his design. But instead of succeeding, he had only drawn upon himself the hatred and displeasure of that Prince, who had thrown him into Prison, solely for adhering to the family of *Edward IV*. That this unjust violence had increased his aversion for the Usurper, and the tragical death of the two young Princes had carried it to the utmost height. That being in these circumstances, he had considered with himself what Prince would be most proper to be placed on the Throne in the room of the Tyrant, and had found no other than the Duke of *Buckingham*, descended from a Son of *Edward III*. That the whole race of *Lancaster* being extinct, at least in *England*, there remained of the House of *York* only the Tyrant and his Son, with the young Earl of *Warwick* Son of the Duke of *Clarence*. As for the last, he could not pretend to the Crown, his Father's attainder having barred his Heirs of the right of inheriting. That the present King had by his crimes rendered himself unworthy, and to preserve the Son's right after destroying the Father, would be acting imperfectly. That therefore, once more, he saw only the Duke of *Buckingham* capable of lawfully claiming the Crown."

The Bishop
proposes to
the Duke
to make him-
self King.
Moor.
Hall.P. L.
Hellingth.

The Duke listened very attentively to this discourse, but deferred his answer till next day. This delay

threw the Bishop into great perplexity, since it left him still uncertain whether the Duke was sincere, or designed only to flit him. By the way, the Bishop it seems, was not very scrupulous, since knowing the Duke of *Buckingham's* Character, as he must have done, he readily offered his service to set him on the Throne. This is a sign that he acted more from a motive of revenge against *Richard*, than with a view to the good of the publick. The King and the Duke were too much alike to expect a great advantage by such a change.

Hall.

Next day the conversation being resumed, the Duke, after a long apology for all his former actions, freely confessed to the Prelate, "he had once an intention to aspire to the Throne, but upon mature deliberation had entirely dropped it. He considered, that in acting for himself, he should stir up against him all the friends of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, equally concerned to oppose his pretensions. That there was a Prince nearer than he, whom the House of *Lancaster* looked upon as their head, and he it was on whom he had cast his eyes to raise to the Throne. Then he named *Henry Earl of Richmond*, who was in *Bretagne*." Adding, "that the project to restore the House of *Lancaster* to the Throne, would draw one half of the Kingdom to that Prince's interest, and he had devised a happy expedient to gain him the other half: And that was his marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV*, which would make all the *Yorkists* his friends. That moreover, the Nation would receive great advantage from thence, in as much as all the seeds of the Civil Wars would be destroyed, by the union of the two contending Houses. That by this means even those who were indifferent for either party, would be forced, as one may say, to promote the common good of their Country; and then *Richard's* few friends would not be able to balance so great a power. Whereas if he pretended to set up himself, the whole Kingdom would be united against him, since there was not the least colour to exclude from the Throne, two Houses that had been in possession above fourscore years. In fine, he added, that in his way to *Brecknock*, he met the Countess of *Richmond*, and having founded her upon this head, believed he could be sure, she would be easily disposed to promote the advancement of her Son."

The Duke
rejects the
Proposal,
and names
the Earl of
Richmond.
Hall.
Stow.
Hellingth.

The Bishop liked this expedient, as more conformable to justice and equity, and more adapted to the good of the Realm, especially as it came from the only person, who would have had reason to oppose it, had it been proposed by another.

The Bishop
likes the
Proposal.
Hall.

Henry Earl of Richmond, as I elsewhere observed, was of *Welsh* extraction. But his Mother *Margaret* was Daughter of *John de Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Grandson of *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaster*. *Margaret's* Father dying without Issue-Male, *Edmund* his younger Brother inherited his title. But *Edmund* and all his posterity being destroyed in the Civil Wars, *Margaret* and her Son were the only remains of that House. So, it seemed, they should have indisputably inherited all the rights of the House of *Lancaster*. But however the title was liable to great objections.

Rights of
the Earl of
Richmond.

Whilst *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaster* lived with *Constantia* of *Castile* his second Wife, he kept, as his Concubine, *Catharine Roet*, Widow of Sir *Otho de Swinford*, and by her had several Children. *Constantia* his Wife being dead, he married his Concubine, and had interest enough to cause her Children, born before marriage, to be legitimated by an Act of Parliament, and by *Richard II's* subsequent Letters-Patent. However, the King and the Parliament, willing to make a distinction between these natural Children and the others born in Wedlock, gave them not the name of *Lancaster* or *Plantagenet*, but that of *Beaufort*, the name of the Castle where they were born. Moreover, though in the Act of Parliament, and in the King's Letters Patent, power was granted them to hold Principalities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, &c. and to transmit them to their Heirs, there was no mention of the Crown (2). During the Reigns of *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, the Princes of this branch durst not assume the name of *Lancaster*. It was not till about the end of *Henry V's* reign, that *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet* being Prime Minister, and very zealous for the King, against the attempts of the Duke of *York*, began by degrees to assert his descent from *John of Gant*, and his kindred to the King, as being of the House of *Lancaster*. It was a question therefore to know, whether the Princes of this Branch could succeed

(1) He was Chief-Justice and Chamberlain of all *South-Wales* and *North-Wales*; as also Constable of all the Castles, and Steward of all the King's Lordships lying within *Shropshire* and *Herefordshire*. See *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. I. p. 169; and *Sirry's* Notes in *Compl. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 530.

(2) There was mention of the Crown, but it was to exclude them absolutely from it; as is plain from the words of the Act. They were by i in-tel.----Ad quęcunque honores dignitates (excepta dignitate regali) preeminencias status gradus & officia publica & privata tam perpetua quam temporalia atque feudalia & nobilia quibuscunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamſi Ducatus Principatus Comitatus Baronie vel alia feud. fuerint---This Act bears date Febr. 9. Anno 20. *Richard II*, and was afterwards exemplified by King *Henry IV*, on Feb. 12, in the 8th year of his Reign. See *Sandford*, p. 322, 323.

to the Crown in their Turn. And supposing they could, the point was to know when their turn was to be, and whether the Heirs of *John of Gant's* Daughters born in *Wessex*, were not to precede the Posterity of a Son only legitimated, and born before Marriage. If so, there was no less than ten or twelve Princes and Princesses in *Portugal, Castile and Germany*, who would have excluded the Earl of *Richmond*. On the other hand, it seems that by *Edward IV's* Endeavours to have the Earl of *Richmond* in his hands, he had, as it were, owned him capable of inheriting all the Rights of the House of *Lancaster*. This was a question which might have been debated in those days, but which, having been decided above two hundred Years since, requires no farther Examination, unless out of meer curiosity those that are versed in these matters are willing to exercise their Wits.

Very likely, if the Duke of *Buckingham* had thought it in his power to mount the Throne, he would not have failed to object against the Earl of *Richmond's* Title the foremention'd Reasons. But, as he had himself observed, in his discourse with the Bishop of *Ely*, he could not set up himself without opposing the two Houses of *York and Lancaster*, that is to say, the whole Kingdom, which was divided between these two Factions. So the pretence to restore the House of *Lancaster*, and put an end to the Civil Wars by the Union of the two contending Houses, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of *Richard*. I say to be revenged, for it is hard to believe, a Man of his Character should act on this occasion from a nobler Motive.

Be this as it will, the Duke and the Bishop having consulted together how to accomplish their Designs, came to this Conclusion: That all hope of Success was founded on the Marriage of the Earl of *Richmond* with the Princess *Elizabeth*; That therefore, before all things, that Point was to be secured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at least with great uncertainty. To that end they agreed, that they should without loss of time acquaint the Countess of *Richmond* with their Project, that she might inform her Son of it, and persuade the Queen-Dowager, Mother of the Princess, to consent to the Marriage.

But as conferring with *Margaret* would have been very dangerous for the Duke of *Buckingham*, considering the King's extreme jealousy of the House of *Somerset*, the Bishop told him, he had an old Friend in the Countess's Service, one [*Reginald*] *Bray*, who might safely be trusted with the Secret. The Duke approving this Expedient, *Bray* was privately sent for to *Brecknock*, and the Project being imparted to him, the proposing of it to his Mistress was left to his care. More especially, he was charged to tell her, that the Marriage of the Earl her Son was the Basis and Foundation on which the whole Project rested.

As soon as *Bray* was gone to execute his Commission, the Bishop of *Ely* desired the Duke's leave to retire to his Bishoprick. He was justly afraid of his Life, in case the Plot came to be discovered. It may be he did not wholly depend upon the Duke's Sincerity. But the Duke gave him two invincible Reasons why he could not comply with his Request. The first was, that he should be guilty of letting his Prisoner escape, which alone would be sufficient to inspire the King with suspicions. The second, that in an Undertaking of this Nature, he could not proceed without his Advice. The Bishop seemed to yield to these reasons, but had by him still stronger, to free himself from the impending Danger, in case the Affair was discovered. And therefore as he was not so narrowly watched by his Keepers, since his frequent Conversations with the Duke, he found means to escape, and retire to *Ely*; (1) from whence he fled into *Flanders*. Upon his Arrival, he wrote to the Duke to excuse his escape, and withal, endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his Power to promote the Execution of their intended Design, than whilst he was Prisoner. He conjured him likewise, to continue in his Resolution, and shewed him how he might carry on a private Correspondence with him.

Mean while, the Countess of *Richmond* being informed of what was projected in favour of the Earl her Son, sent back her Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham* with her Complement of Thanks; and withal let him know, she was endeavouring to obtain the Queen Dowager's Consent to the Marriage, and then would take the most proper Measures to send to the Earl of *Richmond*.

Elizabeth Woodville Widow of *Edward IV*, was still in 1483. her Sanctuary at *Westminster* with her five Daughters, lamenting the Death of her two Sons, and blaming herself for having been the occasion, by her easiness to deliver the Duke of *York* to his Uncle. There had never been any particular Friendship between that Queen and the Countess of *Richmond*. One was Wife to a King of the House of *York*, and the other was of the Family of *Somerset*, sworn Enemies of the *Yorkists*. Wherefore the Countess could not visit the Queen in her Sanctuary, without causing great suspicion. To avoid this Inconvenience, she made use of one *Lewis* her Physician, (2) and having communicated the whole Affair to him, ordered him to go to *London* and so manage as to see the Queen, and inform her of what was in Agitation. Above all, she charged him to tell her, that all hope of Success depended upon the Union of the two Houses of *York and Lancaster*, by the Marriage of the Princess *Elizabeth* with the Earl of *Richmond*.

Lewis being come to *London*, found no great difficulty, as a Physician, to get admittance to the Queen. He communicated to her what he had in charge, intimating it would be in her own power to be reveng'd of her mortal Enemy, the Murderer of her Children, and dethrone the Usurper, provided she would consent to the Marriage proposed. The Queen gladly listened to the Overture. She charged the Doctor to tell his Mistress, she approved of the project, and would so order it, that all the King her Husband's friends should join with the Earl of *Richmond*. But she added, she wished the Earl would swear to marry *Elizabeth*, or in case she happened to die, *Cecily* her younger Sister.

Matters being thus settled between the Queen Dowager, the Countess of *Richmond*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, they endeavoured to ingage in the plot, their most trusty friends, who likewise drew in others (3). The *English* were as favorably disposed as could be wished, by three principal reasons. First, because of the people's universal hatred of the King, who had made himself extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his Protectorship, as by his late Crime, in putting his Nephews to death, after robbing them of the Crown. He had thereby lost most of the friends of the House of *York*, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the Family of *Edward IV*. In the second place, all the *Lancastrians* saw with pleasure, a project tending to restore the House of *Lancaster* to the Throne. Lastly, those that without regarding the Interests of the two Factions, had only the good of the Nation in view, could not but consider as a great happiness, the success of an enterprize, which by uniting the two contending Houses, would put an end to the Civil War, wherewith the Kingdom had been afflicted thirty years. Thus the *Lancastrians*, *Yorkists*, and even those that stood neuter, were equally disposed to concur to the downfall of the Usurper.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being the Author and head of the Enterprize, it was his part to conduct it to a happy issue. For that purpose, he first secured some friends in *Wales*, where his power was great, who undertook to lift Soldiers privately, to enable him to bring, suddenly and seasonably, an army into the field. Then, he settled a Correspondence with some Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall*, who promised to raise Forces, and receive the Earl of *Richmond* at his arrival. His design was to join them himself, with his *Welshmen*, that *Richard* might be less able to oppose the Earl's landing. At the same time, several Lords and Gentlemen were to rise in other Counties, that the King might be at a loss where to march first. The Marquis of *Dorset*, who had lately quitted his Sanctuary (4), Sir *Richard Woodville* his Brother (5), the Bishop of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Courtney* his Brother, and several other persons of Quality engaged in the plot.

These measures being taken, the Countess of *Richmond* sent two Expresses (6) to the Earl her Son, by different ways, to let him know what was resolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two Expresses arriving almost together, informed him of all the circumstances of the plot, and prayed him to repair into *England* without loss of time, upon the Assurance they gave him, that every thing was ready for his reception. They told him likewise that *Dorsetshire, Devonshire, or Cornwall* (7), were the most convenient places to land, by

(1) Where he found Friends and Money. Hall, fol. 36. Hollingsp. p. 1399.

(2) Who was a *Welshman*. Hall, fol. 36.

(3) *Reginald Bray* was employed by the Countess of *Richmond* to engage People in her Son's Party, which he accordingly did, and brought in, among the rest, Sir *Geoffrey Darcy*, Sir *John Cheney*, *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Rame*, Esquires, and many others. Hall, fol. 37. Stowe, p. 403.

(4) He repaired into *Wales*, where he raised large Forces; Sir *Edward Courtney* and his Brother did the same in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*; and in *Kent*, *Richard Guilford* and other Gentlemen gathered a great body of Soldiers, and began to commit Hostilities. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingsp. p. 1400.

(5) It should be his Uncle. For he was Brother to *Elizabeth Woodville*, the Marquis's Mother. She sent *Henry Courtney*, Esq. with a large sum of Money. But *Richard Guilford*, for fear *Courtney* should be stopped at *Flintwich*, where he intended to take Ship, sent out of *Kent*, by the way of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Rame*, with the same Instructions. They both arrived within less than an hour, at the Duke of *Buckingham's* Chamber. Hall, fol. 37, 38. Hollingsp. p. 1400.

(6) *Wales*, says *Stowe*, p. 403.

1483. reason of the measures taken with the people of those parts.

He resolves to impart the Matter to the Duke of Bretagne. Hall. Stow.

The Earl of *Richmond* was then at *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, where he had been several years, really a Prisoner, because of the Duke of *Bretagne's* engagements with *Edward IV*; but his Confinement was not strict, the Duke contenting himself with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his escape, in case he attempted it. In other respects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy, that he was thought of in *England*. But when he came to consider his present condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own Country, so as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almost impossible to succeed in his enterprize, without the Duke of *Bretagne's* consent and assistance. For unless that Prince supplied him with Money, Troops, and Ships, it was not practicable to take just measures to accomplish his designs. Besides, the Duke might have made him close Prisoner, by which means the whole affair would have miscarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he resolved to tell him the secret, and engage him, if possible, to assist him. He found the Duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The Duke was not engaged with *Richard*, as he had been with *Edward* his Brother. Besides, the unjust and violent actions of the new King had rendered him odious to all the Princes of *Europe*, and especially to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Another thing likewise induced him to hearken to the Earl's proposals. He had pretensions to the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*, formerly enjoyed by his Ancestors, and imagined, the Earl would readily promise to restore it, if, by his means, he arrived to the Crown. It is pretended, this was the principal Article of their agreement, for which the Duke very willingly engaged to supply him with Men and Ships. When the Earl was sure of the Duke of *Bretagne's* assistance, he sent Expresses (1) to the Countess his Mother, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of *October*, desiring them to prepare all things by that time. This good news presently put all the Conspirators in motion. Every one repaired to the post assigned him, as well to raise Forces, as excite Insurrections. There was no time to lose, good part of *September* being now past.

The Duke promises him assistance. Hall. Hollingh.

Richard receives confused Notions of the Conspiracy. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

How careful soever the Conspirators had been to conceal themselves, all these things could not be done, and *Richard* have no Intelligence that some plot was contriving against him. But none could tell him what it was, or who were the Authors. He was then at *York*, thinking of very different things, so secure was he in his own opinion. But these advices obliged him to leave the North, and approach the Center of the Kingdom. At the same time he ordered his Troops, which were dispersed in several parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Mean while, he prepared very slowly, not imagining the danger so near. As the Intelligence he had received, made him uneasy, he ran over in his mind all the Lords of the Realm, who could be dissatisfied, or had sufficient Credit to excite Insurrections against him. He found none but the Duke of *Buckingham*. He had angered him by disappointing him with regard to the Lands of *Hereford*, and knowing him perfectly, could not doubt that he was capable of any thing, to be revenged. Besides, he knew him to be alone in condition by his parts, his riches, and his interest, to form and execute great projects. His own experience would not suffer him to question it. The Bishop of *Ely's* escape served also to strengthen this suspicion. The Duke of *Buckingham* must have known how odious that Prelate was to him, and therefore his carelessness in guarding such a prisoner, could not but be deemed a collusion and consequence of some ill design. Upon these suspicions, which were but too well-grounded, *Richard* resolved to send for him to Court, but the Duke desired to be excused, on pretence of some Indisposition. This refusal confirmed the King in his belief, that what he had suspected was but too true. Nevertheless, to be more fully satisfied, he sent him positive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuse. The Duke perceiving dissimulation was to no purpose, sent him word, he would not expose his person to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would serve.

He suspects the Duke of Buckingham. Hall.

He orders him to Court. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

The Duke refuses, and declares against the King. Hall.

This was sufficient to convince the King, that the

Duke of *Buckingham* was the prime mover of the plot, which for some time had made him uneasy. On the other hand, the Duke perceiving, that after such a declaration there was no more Ceremony to be used, drew together the Forces which himself and friends had privately lifted in *Wales*, and began to march towards the western Counties (2), where he knew the Earl of *Richmond* intended to land. There he was to be joined by those who were gone before, to prepare all things against the Earl's arrival.

1483.

Richard was not a little surprized to hear, that the Duke was so ready. However, as he had taken some precautions to assemble his Forces in case of necessity, he appointed the rendezvous at *Leicester*, where he repaired himself, with a resolution to give his enemies Battle, before their number was increased. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the Duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to rise in arms in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*. The Duke was advancing by long marches (3) to *Glocester*, where he designed to pass the *Severn*. But at the same time the River was so swollen, that the Country on both sides was over-flowed, and great damage done by the waters. Never had so terrible an Inundation been heard of in that Country. It held six whole days, during which the Duke's army could neither pass the River, nor subsist on the other side, where was nothing but desolation (4). In fine, the *Welsh* Soldiers, tired with being exposed to hunger, rains, and numberless hardships, returned to their homes, notwithstanding all the Duke's Intreaties to the contrary (5). The desertion was so general, that there remained with the Duke only one single Servant. Reduced to this sad condition, he saw no other remedy than to conceal himself till he should take new measures. Unhappily for him, he chose for his retreat, the House of one *Banister*, who had been his Servant, and to whom his Father and himself had been very kind.

He deserts, and goes to Cornwall. Hall.

but never passes the Severn. Hall. Hollingh.

His Army starves.

He hides himself at the House of one of his Domestic. Hall. Buck.

The King hearing of the dispersion of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Troops, issued out a Proclamation against him and the Marquis of *Dorset*, with some other of his Adherents, or whom he supposed to be in league with him. But as the Marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and so could not be stiled a Rebel, he made use of another pretence to involve him in the Sentence. He said, that having taken an Oath at his Coronation, to punish vice and wickedness, he was obliged to punish the Marquis of *Dorset*, notorious for his debaucheries, who had seduced and ravished several Virgins, been guilty of sundry Adulteries, and publicly kept *Shore's* Wife. Then he promised a reward of a thousand Pounds Sterling, or a hundred pounds a year to any person that should bring the Duke to Justice; a thousand Marks, or one hundred Marks a year for the Marquis, and so in proportion for the rest that were named in the Proclamation (6). The Villain *Banister* (7), not being able to resist so strong a temptation, betrayed his master to the Sheriff of *Shropshire* (8), who causing the House to be surrounded by a Company of armed Men, seized the Duke of *Buckingham*, disguised like a Peasant, and conducted him to *Shrewsbury*. The Duke was desirous to speak with the King, but could never obtain that favour. Some say, he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death. But this is only Conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at *Shrewsbury* (9), without any legal process, by the King's bare order. Thus, this Lord, who had helped to take away the Lives of the Lord *Hastings*, the Earl of *Rivers*, and the other prisoners at *Pontfract*, by an arbitrary Sentence, perished himself in the same manner, contrary to all right, by the absolute orders of him whom he had placed on the Throne. On the other hand, we shall see presently, that this very Conspiracy, formed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, accomplice of all the King's ill actions, whilst he was but Protector, proved the occasion of that Monarch's ruin. Is it possible, not to perceive the direction of Providence in such sort of Events!

Proclamation against the Conspirators. Act Pub. XII. p. 204.

The Duke of Buckingham is betrayed and beheaded. Hall.

The Conspiracy now differs. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Upon the first news of the dispersion of the *Welsh* Army, the Duke's friends, who expected him in the West, ready to take arms the moment they should hear of his passing the *Severn*, dispersed themselves. Some lurked among their friends, others fled to Sanctuary. But the

(1) He sent back *Canvey* and *Rame*. Hall, fol. 38. Hollinghead.

(2) Towards *Salisbury*. Hall, fol. 39. Stow, p. 463.

(3) Through the Forest of *Dean*. Hall, fol. 39.

(4) This inundation was so remarkable, that for a hundred years after, it was called the *Great Water*, or *Buckingham's Water*. It is said to have taken away that Men, Woman, and Children, were carried away in their Beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the Mountains were covered with the Waters. Hall, fol. 39. Hollinghead, p. 1402.

(5) *Hall* says, he had enforced and compelled them into his Service, against their wills, rather by lordly and straight Commandment, than by liberal wages, and other rewards; which was the very occasion why they left him desolate, fol. 39.

(6) Welsh men are named in the Proclamation, Sir *William Norris*, Sir *William Knevet*, Sir *Thomas Burghbushen* of *Barnes*, Sir *George Brown*, *John Cleyne*, *John Noss*, *Thomas Hungerford*, *John Rush*, and *John Harecourt*. Rymer's *Fœd*. Tom. XII. p. 204.

(7) His Name was *Rufus Partridge*. King *Richard* gave him for his Reward the Manor of *Esdaing* in *Kent*. See *Comp. H. I.* p. 552. Note.

(8) *John Humberston*. Hollinghead, p. 1403.

(9) So say *Hollinghead*, p. 1403; but *Hall*, fol. 40, and *Stow*, p. 465, say, it was at *Salisbury*.

1433. greatest part embarked and sailed to the Earl of *Richmond*, perceiving there was no safety for them in the Kingdom. The Marquis of *Dorset* was of this number.

The Earl of Richmond Whilst these things passed in *England*, the Earl of *Richmond* imagining that all went there to his wish, sailed from *St. Malo's* the 12th of *October* with five thousand Men and forty Ships, furnished by the Duke of *Bretagne*. But the Fleet being dispersed by a Storm, some of the Ships were driven on the Coast of *France*, others returned into *Bretagne*. The Ship in which was the Earl of *Richmond*, resisting the Seas better than the rest, arrived, after the storm, upon the Coast of *Cornwall* (1), where he saw the Shore crowded with Troops, who made him a signal to approach. But happily for him, he resolved not to land till his fleet had re-joined him, expecting they would soon be at the Rendezvous. Mean time, he sent to inquire whether the Troops he saw were friends or enemies. The Commander answered, he was posted there by the Duke of *Buckingham* to wait for the Earl of *Richmond*, and favour his landing. But the Person sent by the Earl easily perceived the contrary, and informed his master of it, who finding his design was discovered, put to sea, and arrived at a Port in *Normandy*. The truth is, the Troops he saw on the Coast of *Cornwall* were the Militia of the County, posted there by *Richard*, with intent to surprize his enemy by that Artifice.

He retires out of the Country. The Earl of *Richmond* heard in *Normandy* of the Duke of *Buckingham's* misfortune. As after that, there was no more appearance of pursuing his enterprise without taking new measures, he returned to *Bretagne*, where he found the Marquis of *Dorset*, with the rest that had made their escapes out of *England*. Tho' his design seemed entirely blasted, he despaired not of better success another time. The fugitives told him, *Richard* was extremely hated in *England*, which he took for a good omen. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* promised him to continue his assistance. So, resolving to make a fresh Attempt, he solemnly swore on *Christmas-Day*, in the Cathedral of *Rennes*, that he would marry the Princess *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward IV.* or in case she died, *Geoffrey* her younger Sister. Then all the *English* there present swore allegiance to him, considering him as King of *England* by right though he was not so in fact. From thenceforward, the strict enquiry made in *England* after those that were concerned in the plot, forced great numbers to retire into *Bretagne*, so that the resort of the *English* was very great for some time.

Richard puts several of the Conspirators to death. Mean while, *Richard* having freed himself from this danger more happily than he had reason to expect, commanded several Persons to be seized, some of whom were immediately sacrificed to his vengeance (2). Of this number was Sir *Thomas St. Leger* his Brother-in-law, who married his Sister *Ann*, Widow of the Duke of *Exeter*. In order to make short work, and avoid the usual formalities of the Courts of Justice, he commissioned Sir *Ralph Ashton* to exercise the office of Vice-Constable, with so extensive a power that he could condemn and execute upon the spot all Persons whatever, guilty, or suspected of the crime of High-Treason, without having regard to any appeal (3).

By virtue of this Commission, *Ashton*, who was, probably, a man after the King's own heart, came into the western Counties, where he signalized his zeal by bloody executions of such as were found guilty, or only suspected of having favoured the Conspirators. Thus were spent the first six months of the Reign of *Richard III.* This ambitious Prince was no sooner on the Throne, but he had occasion to perceive, with what difficulties he should preserve a Crown so eagerly desired, and by so many unlawful practices procured.

1484. In *January* 1484, the King summoned his first Parliament (4). This was done at a very seasonable juncture.

(1) At *Perlin Desjephers*. Hall, fol. 40. *Hollingshead*, p. 1403.

(2) Sir *George Burgh*, Sir *Robert Ufford*, and four others, were executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, *Thomas Rame*, with many more at *Exeter*. Hall, fol. 41. *Hollingshead*, p. 1403.

(3) By this Commission, which is to be seen, Tom. XII. p. 257. of *Rymer's Fœdera*, may be known the Office and Authority of the High-Constable of *England*. He was thereby empowered:—*Ad Audendum & Examinandum, ac Prosequendum contra quoscunque Personarum de Crimine laice nostre Regie Majestatis suspectarum & cognitarum, tam per viam Examinatus Testium quam aliter, prout veritas meritis videretur ex Officio merito seu promoto. Necnon in Causis illis judicandis & sententiis pando Causas, respondentium, & Denegantium Denegantes, sine Disputa & figura Judicii, Appellatione quacunque remota, quoad omnes vocibus legitime Precedentibus, iudicandum, & hanc Executionem Demandandum*—&c. This Commission is dated at *Coventry*, 3, October 24.

(4) It met at *Westminster* on *January* 23. *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 269.

(5) Though *Rymer*, p. 334, in the Reign of *Edward IV.* says, that *Commenda* was broken in favour, the Marriage of *Edward IV.* with *Elizabet* Talbot or Butler, (Daughter of the Earl of *Longshere*, and betrothed to the Lord *Butler* of *Radley*) was objected to prove the Illegitimacy of his Children; yet we find it was urged in this Bill, that *Edward IV.* was not married to *Elizabet* Talbot. See *Cotton's Abridg.* p. 712.

(6) *Hall's*, that *Richard* went with the army, *Richard* had in the People a great Tax and Tollage, fol. 42.

(7) The most remarkable statute enacted in this Parliament were these: 1. That who ever the Subjects of this Realm had of late been burdened with a new Imposition, called *W. P.*—the same should not there be exacted. 2. That every Justice of the Peace shall have power to admit a Prisoner arrested for Felony, to bail. And that no Other shall receive the Good of a Prisoner arrested for Felony, till he is attained. 3. That no Person shall be imprisoned upon Justice, but with him, twenty Shillings, five and, or twenty six Shillings and Eight pence Copyhold at least. 4. That Wine and Oyl-Vessels shall contain as follows: Every Tun shall hold 200 Gallons; a Pipe 120 Gallons; a Tretan 84 Gallons; a Hoghead 63 Gallons; 3 Barrel 31 Gallons; and a half; a Rundlet 18 Gallons and a half. Stat. 1. *Richard III.* c. 2, 3, 4, 13.

(8) He ordered Sir *William Cade*, *John de Lint* and *William de Beche* to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for aiding the Earl of *Richmond*, and writing a satirical Dutch upon him and his Favorites, *Vincent Lovel*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, and Sir *William Cade*.

The Rat, the Cat, and I sell our Dye.
Ruled *England* under a Hye.

Alluding to *Lovel's* Arms, and to one of *Richard's* Supporters, being a wild Bear. Hall, fol. 42. *Hollingshead*, p. 1406.

The Duke of *Buckingham's* conspiracy seeming entirely 1484. stifled by the death of that Lord and the retreat of the Earl of *Richmond*, there was not in the Kingdom any person in condition to lift up his head. So the Parliament, consisting no doubt of Representatives devoted to the King, declared *Edward the Fourth's* Issue illegitimate (5), and confirmed *Richard's* irregular election, with his pretended right to the Crown. This Act was absolutely necessary for the King's security. Besides, the Parliament thereby avoided the Trouble of inquiring after the fate of *Edward V.* whom all *England* had for some Months acknowledged for King.

Then an Act of Attainder was passed against *Henry Earl of Richmond* and all his Adherents, by virtue whereof all their Estates were forfeited to the King (6). By this Act, which declared all those Rebels and Traitors that were concerned in the Duke of *Buckingham's* and the Earl of *Richmond's* conspiracy, all the late executions were in some measure justified, because such as had suffered, were considered as guilty of the crime condemned by this Act (7). By good fortune none of them discovered that the Countess of *Richmond* was concerned in the Plot, whether she had trusted but few persons, or her confidants had escaped into *Bretagne*. However, *Richard* thinking it hardly possible for the Earl of *Richmond* to form an enterprize without his Mother's knowledge, ordered the Lord *Stanley* her Husband to keep her confined, to prevent her from any future attempts. He had then a perfect confidence in the Lord *Stanley*, whom he had made High-Constable, after *Ashton*, as Vice-Constable, had been instrumental in his designs. It is likely, he did not think the Lord *Stanley* a proper person to exercise the severities for which he had commissioned *Ashton*, and no doubt that was the reason why he did not make him High-Constable, till every thing relating to that Commission was finished.

Richard had reason to believe, that after all the rigours exercised upon the parties concerned, the conspiracy was entirely crushed (8). But *Thomas Hutton*, who was returned from his Embassy to *Bretagne*, told him, the same Plot still subsisted, and the Duke of *Bretagne* had promised the Earl of *Richmond* the continuance of his assistance. He gave him the Names of those conspirators who were with the Earl, and informed him, they had frequent conferences together, and were very busy. It was easy to conclude from thence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had not lost all hopes, and had still in *England* correspondencies whereon he founded the execution of his designs. And yet since the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the flight of the Marquis of *Dorset*, and the execution of several of the same party, *Richard* saw no one in the Kingdom that seemed to be able to withstand him. So, concluding the danger must come from abroad, he resolved to take all possible precautions to hinder his enemies from being assisted by foreign Princes.

Last year, he confirmed the alliance of *England* with *Castile*, and in *June* this year did the same thing with regard to *Portugal*. Probably the whole storm was to come from those two quarters, since the King of *Portugal* and the Queen of *Castile* were both descended from *Philippa* and *Catherine*, Daughters of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and consequently might have pretended to the Crown of *England*. Mean while, the readiness wherewith they had renewed their alliance with *England*, suffered not the King to suspect them of having any such thought.

Maximilian, Archduke of *Austria*, who governed the Low-Countries in the Name of his Son *Philip*, being Son of *Leonora* of *Portugal*, Grand-Daughter of *Philippa* of *Lancaster*, might have also claimed the Crown of *England*, or assisted the Earl of *Richmond*. This consideration made *Richard* resolve to send him Ambassadors, un-

and the Archduke *Maximilian*.
p. 231, 248.

1484. der colour of renewing the Truce of Commerce between England and the Low-Countries. But it is likely, the Ambassadors had instructions to found whether there was any project at that Court with respect to England.

He sends Ambassadors to France, p. 221, 222, 223.

Though Richard did not seem to have occasion to fear any thing from France, under a Minority disturbed with intestine divisions, he had taken care however to send Ambassadors to Charles VIII to desire the prolongation, or at least, confirmation of the Truce.

and tries to gain the Duke of Bretagne.

There remained only Bretagne and Scotland that could give him any uneasiness. He did not question that the Duke of Bretagne had already assisted, and was still inclined to assist the Earl of Richmond. For that reason, he thought nothing should be spared to gain that Prince to his interest.

Affairs of Bretagne.

Francis II, Duke of Bretagne, being old and infirm, was entirely governed by Peter Landais his Treasurer, and committed to him the sole management of his Affairs. This Favourite, who was the Son of a Taylor, used his power so insolently, that he drew upon himself the hatred of all the Bretons. This very year 1484, the great Men combining together against him, would have seized him in the Duke's Palace, but missing their aim, saw themselves exposed to the Favourite's vengeance, who caused them to be declared guilty of High-Treason. Mean while, as the whole Country was against him, he believed it proper to support himself by some foreign aid. To that end he sent in his Master's Name Ambassadors to Richard, on pretence to make a Truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in June at Pontfract, where the King then was, and which was to last till the 24th of April following.

Richard's Truce with Bretagne, p. 226.

But this was not the only Commission these Ambassadors were charged with. There are two Records in the Collection of the Publick Acts, whereby it appears, that Richard had promised to send the Duke of Bretagne an aid of a thousand Archers. Now this could be only for the abovementioned occasion, since the Duke of Bretagne had then no War upon his hands. As the Duke did nothing of himself, very likely, to obtain this aid, Landais had put the King in hopes, he would deliver up the Earl of Richmond. And indeed the sequel plainly shewed, he had enter'd into some such engagement. Thus Richard thought himself so secure from Bretagne, that instead of fearing the Duke would assist the Earl of Richmond, he flattered himself with the hopes of having his enemy very soon in his power.

Truce with Scotland, p. 207, 218, 232—244. Hall. fol. 42, &c. Hollingh. Stow.

As he might also be apprehensive that the King of Scotland, descended from a Princess of the House of Somerset, would countenance the Male-contents, as being concerned to place the Earl of Richmond on the Throne of England, he believed he ought to secure himself too from that quarter. To that end, he negotiated with James III. a Truce, concluded in September this year, and which was to last from the 29th of that month to the same day of the year 1487. At the same time, he concluded the marriage of his Niece Ann de la Pole, Daughter of his Sister Elizabeth and the Duke of Suffolk, with the Duke of Rothsay, the King of Scotland's eldest Son.

Death of the Prince of Wales, Hist. Croyl. Hall.

Earl of Lincoln declared Heir to the Crown.

All these precautions appeared so just, that he seemed to be screened from all danger. However, to rob the Earl of Richmond of all hopes of accomplishing his designs, the Prince of Wales his Son dying in April this year (1), he declared his Nephew the Earl of Lincoln his presumptive Heir, intending to have this declaration ratified by the Parliament. The Earl of Lincoln was Son of Elizabeth his Sister (2), and Brother of Ann, who was to marry the Prince of Scotland.

Embassy of Obedience to the Pope, Act. Pub. XII. p. 253.

Moreover, not to neglect any thing that might give his enemies an advantage, he sent an Ambassador of obedience to Pope Innocent VIII, lately elected to the papal Throne. He had omitted this compliment to Sixtus IV, Innocent's Predecessor, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. But his fear of incensing the Pope, and affording some pretence to the Male-contents in the Kingdom, and particularly the Clergy, made him dispatch his Ambassadors to Rome.

Embassy from France p. 234.

Shortly after, he had the satisfaction to see that Charles VIII, King of France, desired a Safe-Conduct for Ambassadors he intended to send to him. Thus every thing seemed to be happily disposed in his favour. Mean while, the Earl of Richmond was still full of life, and so long as that Prince was out of his power, he could not think himself thoroughly fixed on the Throne. This was the chief, or rather the sole cause of all his trouble and care.

The Truce with Bretagne being to last but till the 24th

of April 1485, Richard took occasion from thence to send Ambassadors to the Duke to cause it to be prolonged. That was the pretence of the Embassy. But the Ambassadors had orders to treat of another more important affair, with Landais, prime Minister and absolute Master of the Duke, who was fallen into a kind of Lethargy, which rendered him unfit for publick affairs. And that was to persuade this Minister to deliver up the Earl of Richmond.

Landais had not wanted the forementioned thousand Archers. It was therefore necessary, in order to obtain what the King desired, to make a new Treaty which might be so advantageous to the Duke and the Favourite, as to cause them to overlook all their scruples upon that subject. As for the Duke, Argentré affirms, he saw among the Records of Bretagne, Richard the third's Letters Patent, whereby he gave to Duke Francis the Earldom of Richmond with all its dependencies, as enjoyed by his Ancestors, with the sole reservation of its return to the Crown in case the Duke died without Issue. With respect to Landais, as the negotiation was more secret, it is not well known what reward he expected for his intended service. Thus much is certain, Richard made him very advantageous offers. But as he was a Man not to be satisfied with bare promises, there was often occasion to send expresses to the King. These delays, which, as Argentré positively affirms, were upon the Minister's account, proved the Earl of Richmond's security. Though he was then in Bretagne, he was entirely ignorant of what passed at the Duke's Court. But the Bishop of Ely, who though absent, had good spies about Richard, being informed that the Bishop of Leon, Ambassador of Bretagne, was treating very privately with the King, warned the Earl of Richmond that he was not safe in the Duke of Bretagne's Dominions. This advice coming from so good a hand, put the Earl upon seriously thinking of freeing himself from the impending danger. As he knew Landais to be a person capable of committing the vilest actions, he resolved to retire into France, and for that purpose sent privately to King Charles for a Pass-port (3), which was readily granted him. Mean while, informed as he was of Landais's ill designs, he did not question that he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. So the difficulty of escaping was not small, especially as he was surrounded with a great number of English, in respect of whom it was very hard to conceal the secret, and very dangerous to reveal it. To remedy this inconvenience, the Duke of Bretagne being at that time recovered of his illness, the Earl took occasion to send the principal Lords of his retinue to congratulate him upon it (4), ordering them to take with them all their servants, under colour of doing him the more honour. His aim was not only to be more alone at Vannes, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all suspicion of his desiring to escape, whilst he had so many Hostages at the Duke's Court. Accordingly, this artifice succeeded to his wish, so that, two days after, he departed from Vannes in disguise, attended by five persons only. As soon as he was out of the Town, he left the great road, and riding cross the Fields and through by-ways, without stopping any where, safely arrived at Angers Capital of Anjou. This diligence was absolutely necessary; for otherwise he would have been infallibly taken. Those who were charged to watch him, hearing of his escape, pursued him so closely, that they came upon the borders of Bretagne, but one hour after him. In a few days the Duke being informed that the Earl was retired under an apprehension of ill treatment, seemed very angry with Landais for giving him occasion to fear, not knowing doubtless what his Favourite was negotiating with the King of England. Then he gave all the English in his Dominions leave, to go to the Earl with his compliments and offers of service. The Earl of Richmond received these civilities with signs of the utmost gratitude, and desired the Duke's messenger to tell him, he would have all his favours in everlasting remembrance. Thus the Earl of Richmond escaped, as it were miraculously, out of Richard's snares. This was the second time he had been thus happily delivered. The English belonging to his retinue, thought themselves no less fortunate than he, to be freed, by the Duke's generosity, from his unworthy Minister, who not long after atoned on a Gibbet for all the ill actions his avarice had prompted him to commit.

The difficulty of the thing.

He escapes fortunately, and arrives at Angers. Hall. Hollingh.

The Duke of Bretagne

The Earl of Richmond making but a short stay at Angers, went to Charles VIII, then at Langeais, who received him very civilly. However, as the Court of France was not yet free from troubles, it was no favourable juncture for the Earl to procure the assistance he could no longer

(1) At the Castle of Middleham in Yorkshire. Buck. p. 134.

(2) Ann Jean de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. His Name was also John. See Dugdale.

(3) By Christopher Urfe k. Hall. fol. 46.

(4) The Duke of Bretagne was then, for recreation and change of Air, on the Borders and Confines of France. Hall. Hollinghead, p. 1408.

1484. expect from the Duke of *Bretagne*. Nevertheless, as the young King seemed well-inclined to him, he despaired not to obtain some aid of that Prince, when the disturbances at his Court were appeased.

The Earl of Oxford escapes out of Hammes, and goes to the Earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Whilst his Affairs were in this state of uncertainty, he saw the Earl of *Oxford* (1) arrive, whom King *Edward IV* had confined in the Castle of *Hammes* in *Picardy*. This Lord, who had been one of the principal friends of the House of *Lancaster*, hearing in prison that the Earl of *Richmond* pretended to the Crown, had wrought so effectually upon the Governor of *Hammes* (2), that he had persuaded him to release him, and declare for the Earl. He even brought him along with him to salute that Prince, and offer him his service. The advantage of having the Earl of *Oxford* in his party, was very beneficial to the Earl of *Richmond* in *England*. Several other Lords privately sent him word that he might depend upon their assistance, when they should see a proper season to declare against *Richard*.

Richard obliges the Lord Stanley to leave his Son in Hostage. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, the King had daily notice that something was contriving against him in favor of the Earl of *Richmond*; but could not discover the authors of the plot, what spies soever he employed. Besides, he knew no *English* Lord powerful enough, as he thought, to form or execute an enterprize of that nature. The Lord *Stanley* was the only Person he could mistrust, because he was Husband to the Countess of *Richmond*. That alone rendered him suspected, though otherwise he had no Proof against him. So, to secure himself from that side, *Stanley* desiring permission to retire upon his own estate, he required him to leave his Son (3) at Court as a sort of Hostage. Indeed, his suspicions were but too just, since that very Lord proved afterwards the principal instrument of his ruin.

He discovers the Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Richmond with Elizabeth. Hall. Stow.

Richard knew he was not beloved in *England*. On the other hand, he heard there were certain motions among the people, which, though secret, could not but be dangerous. However, he could not prevent the mischief he dreaded, without knowing wherein consisted the plots of his enemies, and the principal authors: Upon this therefore he laid out all his pains. At length, by planting spies in the Country, he came to find, that the projects in favor of the Earl of *Richmond* were founded upon his promise to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV*. This discovery made him perceive, the *Yorkists* were not far from an union with the *Lancastrians*, since they consented to this marriage. It was manifest that such an agreement could not but occasion his ruin, since in that case he would have only a few friends of his house to rely on, all the rest declaring for his Brother's family. Finding therefore, that the Plot which was contriving against him, rested upon a more solid foundation than he had imagined, he applied himself wholly to break the Earl of *Richmond's* measures, by preventing this fatal marriage. He found no better way to accomplish his ends, than to marry himself the Princess designed for his Enemy. But the execution of such a Project was clogged with several difficulties, which to a Prince less scrupulous than himself, would have appeared insuperable. The first was, he had a Wife already, whose constitution afforded no signs of her leaving this world. But he despaired not to surmount that obstacle, either by a divorce, or some other less lawful means. The second difficulty was, to draw *Elizabeth* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where she was with the Queen her Mother. Besides, it was no easy task to persuade the Queen Dowager to give her Daughter to the murderer of her Sons. Lastly, the Pope's Dispensation to marry his Niece must be obtained. But this obstacle seemed inconsiderable in comparison of the others, well knowing, it was not impracticable to adjust that affair with the Court of *Rome*.

He resolves to marry his Niece. Hall. Hollingh.

To begin the execution of this strange project, he sent several persons to the Queen Dowager, to insinuate to her, that he wished to live in friendship with her, and to shew her marks of his good will: That he confessed, he had dealt too rigorously with her; but to repair in some measure the injury he had done her, he intended to assign her an honorable pension, and give her two Brothers such posts as they should have reason to be satisfied with. Moreover, he would take care of her Daughters, and help them to marriages suitable to their quality. But as the Queen would hardly be induced to credit his promises,

He gets the Queen Dowager to give up her Daughters. Hall. Hist. Croyl. Stow. Hollingh.

after having been so cruelly deceived, the persons he employed hinted to her, that this alteration proceeded from the death of the Prince of *Wales*. That the King being now childless, and without hopes of having any Issue, his interests were no longer distinct from those of his Brother's family, and therefore he could do nothing more advantageous to himself and his house, than to marry his Nieces into the most considerable families in *England*. In fine, she was told, the King's design was, that after his death, the Princess *Elizabeth* should ascend the Throne; what he had done in favour of the Earl of *Lincoln* his Nephew being easily revokable, since it had not yet passed into an Act of Parliament.

These last insinuations made deep impression in the Queen's mind. Her interest made her imagine, what was said to be very probable. On the other hand, she was heartily tired of her Sanctuary, which was properly a Prison, from whence she could not stir without being liable to greater mischiefs. She had an extreme love for her Brothers, as she had plainly shewn in the life-time of the King her Husband, and the hopes *Richard* gave her concerning them, agreeably flattered her. In fine she considered, that the plot in favor of the Earl of *Richmond* having miscarried by the Duke of *Buckingham's* death, she could expect for herself and Daughters only a still more rigorous fate, if by her denial she should farther incense the King. These considerations causing her to forget the grievous outrages received from that Prince, she was so excessively blind, as to put her five Daughters into his hands. Moreover, she writ to the Marquis of *Dorset* Hall. her Brother, to advise him to relinquish the Earl of *Richmond*, and throw himself into the King's arms. The Marquis as inconsiderate, and no less ambitious than the Queen his Sister, flattering himself with the hopes of honors and preferments, privately withdrew from *Paris*, in order to pass into *England*. But the Earl of *Richmond* caused him to be pursued with such diligence, that he was brought back to *Paris*, and, by strong reasons, persuaded to stay with the Earl.

As soon as *Richard* had his Nieces in his Power, he thought of means to execute another part of his project: And that was, to be rid of his Queen, in order to marry his Niece. Those Historians that speak most favorably of his conduct, say, he made the Queen die with vexation, by shewing an aversion for her which she did not deserve, and by grievously mortifying her every day. Others speak plainer, and affirm, he hastened her death by poison. Some add, he privately acquainted the Archbishop of *York* with certain secret infirmities of the Queen, which rendered her very disagreeable to him. This was on purpose that the Archbishop might tell her again, which he thought would cause her to languish away, and shorten her days. It is said farther, that the Archbishop, after hearing the King's discourse, told some of his friends the Queen had not long to live. And indeed, she died presently after. Her fate would have been more worthy of pity, if her death had not been observed to be a manifest judgment upon her, for marrying the murderer of the Prince of *Wales* her first Husband, Son of *Henry VI*. *Richard* shewed an extraordinary sorrow for his loss, and made a pompous funeral for his deceased Queen. But this feigned grief was not Hall. capable of undeceiving the people, who openly accused him of murdering his Queen (4) as he had done his Nephews.

Notwithstanding the extreme sorrow he expressed in publick, the Queen was no sooner in her grave, but he had the assurance to make his addresses to the Princess *Elizabeth*, and offer her marriage. But she so answered him, as shewed her abhorrence of such an union, and desired him never to mention it more (5). *Richard* being sensible it was no proper season to use violence, was satisfied for the present with this first step, till time should furnish him with a more favorable opportunity to press the execution of his project. Mean while, as he daily became more odious, many Lords and Gentlemen went over and offered their service to the Earl of *Richmond*. Others took the same course, to avoid the persecutions of that bloody Prince, if unhappily he came to suspect them. Those that remained in the Kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favorable opportunity to declare against him.

1484.

Death of Richard's Queen. Hall. Hist. Croyl. Stow. Hollingh.

The Princess Elizabeth refuses to marry the King her Uncle. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Several Lords go over to the Earl of Richmond. Hall.

(1) *J. An. de Vere.*

(2) *John Blunt*, entitled Sir *John Fortescue* Governor of the Town of *Calais*. Hall, fol. 47.

(3) *George Stanley* Lord *Stranger*. *Idem* fol. 49.

(4) *Richard* will have it, that her great Grief at the death of the Prince of *Wales*, her only Son, threw her into a Consumption, which carried her off in a very little time. Her Name was *An*, being the second Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Neville*, Earl of *Warwick*. She died *March* 16, and was buried with due Solemnity at *Hammerden*. *Nordind*, p. 450. *Stow*, p. 467. *Hist. Croyl.* p. 572.

(5) *Buckley*, that there is an original Letter under *Elizabeth's* own hand, in the Cabinet of the Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, written to the Duke of *Buckingham*, when in Prison, desiring him to be a Mediator for her Marriage with the King, who (she said) was her joy and maker in the World; and that she was *Richard* and thought, without insinuating, that the best part of *February* was past, and that she feared the Queen would never die. p. 563.

Richard hearing that the Earl of *Oxford* and the Governor of *Hamme*s were gone to the Earl of *Richmond*, sent orders to the Governor of *Calais* to besiege that Castle, and reduce it to his obedience. This order was so readily executed, that the Earl of *Oxford*, who was marching to relieve the place, arrived not in the neighbourhood, till after the capitulation (1). However he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the Garrison for the Earl of *Richmond*.

After the Earl of *Richmond's* attempt, *Richard* had fitted out a Squadron of Ships to oppose his Passage in case he endeavoured to make another descent. But the beginning of the year 1485, the Truce with *Bretagne* being prolonged for seven years, and *France* showing no great willingness to assist his enemy, he believed he might save the charge of a Fleet, which he now considered as useless. Accordingly the Ships were unrigged and laid up in the Spring.

This proceeding encouraging the Earl of *Richmond*, he earnestly solicited the Court of *France* for aid. King *Charles's* Ministers at length seriously considering his request, believed it could not but be advantageous to *France*, to cherish the troubles in *England*. It was solely with this view that they promised the Earl an aid of two thousand Men, with Ships to transport them, and gave him a Sum of money. *Philip de Commines* says, he never saw such wretched Troops as those designed for this expedition. Which is a clear evidence with what intent the Court of *France* granted the Earl this inconsiderable Supply. Besides, he was required to leave Hostages in *France*, that satisfaction should be made for what was expended by the Court. The Earl having reason to mistrust the Marquis of *Dorset*, embraced this opportunity to leave him in Hostage at *Paris*, with Sir *Thomas (2) Bourchier*. Then he repaired to *Roan*, where the Troops that were lent him were ordered to assemble.

When he came to *Roan*, he received the disagreeable news of the Queen's death, and of *Richard's* design to marry the Princess *Elizabeth* his Niece, and to give *Cecily* her younger Sister to one of his Favorites. His measures being broken by this marriage, which was represented to him as ready to be accomplished, he consulted upon this occasion with the Lords that attended him. The result of their opinions was, that since he could have no hopes of espousing one of *Edward the Fourth's* marriageable Daughters, he ought to think of some other. For that purpose, he was advised to gain to his interest Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Person of great power in *Wales*, by an offer of marrying his younger Sister, the eldest being already married to the Earl of *Northumberland*. The resolution being taken, he dispatched an express to Sir *Walter Herbert* (3) to make the proposal. Happily for the Earl, the Messenger found the roads so narrowly watched, that he durst not venture to pursue his Journey to *Herbert*. It is extremely probable, if this Affair had succeeded according to the Earl of *Richmond's* desire, he would have been forsaken by all the friends of *Edward the Fourth's* family, who were very numerous. For, they had engaged in his party, only out of hopes of his uniting the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* by his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*.

Not many days after, he received Letters from *England* (4), acquainting him, that if he would make haste and land in *Wales*, he could not have a more favorable opportunity. That all the Nobility of the Country were for him (5). That he would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, and a good sum of money, which had been privately gathered (6) to supply his occasions. That in the rest of the Kingdom every one was displeased with the King, who daily rendered himself more odious. In fine, that the Juncture was the most favorable, as it did not appear that *Richard* imagined him so ready to depart, since there were no extraordinary preparations in hand.

This good news obliged the Earl to hasten his departure, without staying for Sir *Walter Herbert's* answer. So coming to *Horsfleur*, where his Ships waited for him, he embarked his Troops (7), and set sail the last day of *July*. He arrived the sixth of *August* at *Milford-Haven* (8) in *South-Wales*, and next day came to *Haver-*

ford (9), where he was joyfully received by the Inhabitants.

From this place he sent an express to the Countess *Mother*, to inform her of his Arrival, and Design to march towards *London*, desiring her withal to assemble all his friends, that they might join him upon his rout with as many Troops as possible. This rout was to be very long, since having no Town upon the *Severn* at his command, he was necessarily obliged to cross almost all *Wales*, to get to *Shrewsbury* to the head of that river, where he was told he should be received. So making but a short stay at *Haverford*, he began his march to *North-Wales*, in order to reach *Shrewsbury* before the King was ready to dispute his passage.

Richard hearing the Earl of *Richmond* was landed at *Milford-Haven* with so few Troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great progress. However he sent orders to Sir *Walter Herbert*, to raise the Militia of the County, thinking that *Herbert* might easily stop him till he was himself ready to march. But *Herbert* having been privately gained by the Earl's friends, suffered him to pass unmolested, without offering to make the least opposition.

Some days after, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great power in *Wales*, met the Earl upon his rout, and offered him service, which was gladly accepted (10). He had with him a good body of *Welshmen*. It is not surprising that all *Wales* should declare for the Earl, since he was of *Welsh* extraction, and of one of the antientest families of the Country.

The Earl of *Richmond's* Army being greatly increased by the junction of Sir *Ralph ap Thomas*, and several *Welsh* Gentlemen (11), and the whole Country supplying him in his march with all necessaries, he arrived in a few days at *Shrewsbury*, where he was received without opposition (12).

The King had very justly suspected the Lord *Stanley* of being a secret friend to his Son-in-law. *Stanley* had indeed assured the Earl of *Richmond*, he would favour him to the utmost of his power. But as he was forced to leave his Son in Hostage with the King, he could not openly espouse his cause without endangering his Son's life. For this reason he pretended to take the King's part, and having levied about five thousand Men, posted himself at *Lichfield*, as if he intended to oppose the Earl of *Richmond's* march. On the other hand, Sir *William Stanley* (13) his Brother drew together likewise a body of two thousand Men, insinuating that it was with the same view.

The King was then at *Nottingham*, where, at the first news of his enemies landing he had given orders to assemble his forces (14). He at first considered the Earl of *Richmond's* attempt as a sort of Bravado, which he hoped to make him quickly repent. But when he heard that Sir *Walter Herbert* had suffered him to pass without opposition, that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* had joined him, that all *Wales* had taken his part, and that he was marching to *Shrewsbury*, he perceived, the Affair was going to become more important. So, without hesitation, he resolved to give him battle before he had made greater progress, and his Army was reinforced. He wisely judged, if on this occasion, he showed the least faint-heartedness, it would certainly cause the whole Kingdom to declare against him. On the contrary, his firmness was capable of keeping in awe such as were inclined to side with his enemy. Meanwhile he had every day the mortification to hear his Officers and Soldiers deserted to the Earl. He was still in hopes, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would join him with their Troops, though the little correspondence they kept with him, gave him but too much cause to suspect them of treachery. Be this as it will, having received certain advice, that the Earl of *Richmond* intended to march towards *London*, he resolved to expect him upon his rout between *Leicester* and *Coventry*, in order to put a speedy end to their quarrel by a Battle.

Though the Earl of *Richmond's* Army was not considerable, he was no less desirous to engage, because he expected that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would not

(1) It however stood out some time after his arrival, and *Thomas Brandon* found means to introduce thirty Men into the Castle. *Hall*, fol. 49. *Hollingsh.* p. 1411.

(2) *Hall* calls him Sir *John*, fol. 50; so doth *Hollingsh.* p. 1413.

(3) *Hall* says, this Messenger was sent to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. fol. 50.

(4) By the hands of *Morgan Kydvelly*. *Hall*, ibid.

(5) Particularly Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great Interest, and *John Savage* a famous Captain. *Ibid.* (6) By *Reginald Bray*. *Ibid.*

(7) Which consisted only of two thousand Men, as is said above. *Hall*, fol. 51. *Hollingsh.* p. 1413. *Stow*, p. 468.

(8) One of the most spacious and secure Ports in *Europe*; it contains sixteen Creeks, five Bays, and thirteen Roads, distinguished by their several Names.

(9) Called now *Horsford-West*. It is a County of itself, and is governed by a Mayor, a Sheriff, and two Bailiffs.

(10) *Henry* promised to make him chief Governor of *Wales*. *Hall*, fol. 51.

(11) *John Savage*, *Arnold Butler*, *Richard Griffith*, *John Morgan*, &c. *Ibid.*

(12) Here Sir *George Talbot*, with his Ward the young Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was then a minor, came to him, and brought him two thousand Men. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Stow*, p. 468.

(13) *Rapin* calls him *William Struge*.
(14) He sent to *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and to his Son *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, &c. to bring him their servants and Tenants: And ordered Sir *Robert Brackenbury* to come to him, with Sir *Thomas Blount*, Sir *William Hungerford*, and several other Knights and Esquires. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Hollingsh.* p. 1414.

1485. fail him in his necessity. With these hopes, he advanced to *Lichfield*, from whence, upon his approach, the Lord *Stanley* retired to *Atherston*. Whilst his Army was upon the march, he came privately to *Stafford*, where he had a conference with Sir *William Stanley*, in which were concerted the measures, the effects whereof will presently be seen.

A dangerous Adventure happens to the Earl in his March.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The Earl being come to *Lichfield*, heard that the King was at *Leicester*. So, perceiving he could not possibly proceed to *London* without fighting, he resolved to march directly to his enemy (1). Whilst he was on the road to *Tamworth*, he happened to be behind his Company, and attentively musing upon his Affairs, mistook his way, and lost the track of his Army. He roved about till night, not daring to inquire the way to *Tamworth* for fear of addressing to some one of *Richard's* party. At last, not being able to find the road, he was forced to pass the night at a Village, without knowing where he was, or daring to inquire. However, next morning he found means to get to *Tamworth*, where his Army was in great pain for him, not knowing what was become of him. To excuse such a blunder which, had it been known, must have done him great injury, he pretended he had been to confer with some private friends who did not care to appear openly. That very day, he went with few Attendants to *Atherston*, where he had a long conference with the Lord *Stanley* (2). On the morrow hearing that *Richard* was gone from *Leicester* to meet him, he advanced to save him some part of the way. The two Armies met at *Bosworth*, so near one another, that there would be no avoiding a Battle, supposing either of the two Leaders had desired it. But they were both very far from such a thought. The 22d of August was the day famous for the Battle which decided the quarrel of the two contending Houses.

The two Armies meet at Bosworth.
Hall.
Hist. Croyl.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

and drew up.
Hist. Croyl.
Hall.
Stow.
Buck.
Pol. Virg.

Richard perceiving his enemy to advance, drew up his Army, consisting of between twelve and thirteen thousand Men. He gave the command of the vanguard to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and led the main body himself, with his Crown on his head, either to be better known, or to put his Troops in mind they were fighting for their King. The Earl of *Richmond* who had but five thousand Men, drew up his Army likewise in two lines, of which the Earl of *Oxford* commanded the first, and himself the second (3). A Historian has recited the Speeches of the two Leaders to the Soldiers before the fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really spoken, and as besides they contain nothing very particular, I shall pass them over in silence.

Hall.

Conduct of Stanley and his Brother.
Hall.
Stow.
Etc.

Whilst the two armies were preparing for battle, the Lord *Stanley*, who till then had continued at *Atherston*, posted himself with his Troops over against the space, between the two armies, and his Brother, who was come from *Stafford*, took his station on the other side, opposite to him. *Richard* had been hitherto in doubt, whether the Lord *Stanley* was for or against him, because he had not yet made any publick demonstration in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*. But when he saw him in that post, it was easy to perceive, he was not there to assist him, since he had not given him notice of his design. Mean while, willing to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he sent him orders to come and join his Army. *Stanley* answered, he would come when it was convenient. This answer not satisfying the King, he commanded his Son to be immediately put to death. But his Generals represented to him, that though the Lord *Stanley's* behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave cause to suspect him, he had not yet however declared for the Earl of *Richmond*: That it was not improbable, he was meditating some great action in favour of his Sovereign, or perhaps intended to stand neuter during the fight, in order to join the Conqueror. That in both these cases, it was better to defer examining his Conduct till after the event, than to provoke him by putting his Son to death, to give the Earl of *Richmond* an assistance capable of making Victory incline to his side: That after all, in the King's present Circumstances, the death of the young Lord *Strange*, could procure him no advantage. These arguments seemed to the King of sufficient strength to cause him to revoke his orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable error, in remaining doubtful as to the two Brothers, who plainly enough discovered their design. As his army was

Stanley refuses to obey the King's Orders. The King orders his Son to be put to Death, but is dissuaded from it.
Hall.

Overfight of the King.

still superior to the Forces of the Earl of *Richmond* and the two Brothers together, he should have opposed to these last, two Bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them the moment they offered to stir. He would thereby have debarred them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as they afterwards did. Such an oversight in so able a Prince as *Richard*, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from a particular direction of the providence of God, who had determined his destruction.

1485.

The two armies approaching one another, the battle Hall. began with a shower of Arrows discharged from both sides, after which the Royal Army moved forward to come to close fight. The Lord *Stanley*, who till then had been only a Spectator, perceiving the Duke of *Norfolk* widened his line to the left, in order to surround the Earl of *Richmond's* Troops, gave him not time to execute his design. On a sudden, he posted himself on the right of the Earl's, to receive the front of the King's first line. This motion causing the Duke of *Norfolk* to halt, in order to re-close his line which was too much extended to the left, the fight ceased for some moments. But presently after, both sides being more upon an equality, by the Lord *Stanley's* joining the Earl, fought with great ardour.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Mean while, *Richard* being impatient to know what passed at the first line, spurred his Horse towards the place where they were engaged. At the same time, the Earl of *Richmond* quitting his second line, where he had taken his Post, was advanced as far as the foremost ranks of the first, to encourage his Troops by his presence, being sensible that the success of the day, would in great measure be determined by the fight of the two first lines. *Richard* perceiving him, instantly rode to attack him. He slew Sir *William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer, who had interposed in his way. Sir *John Cheney* having taken *Brandon's* place, to oppose the King's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground. The Earl of *Richmond* avoided not the Combat. But if we may judge by the manner wherein the Historians relate these particulars, he showed no great eagerness to join his enemy, contented himself with standing in a posture of defence; and willingly suffered his people to come between them, and hinder them from too closely approaching each other.

At the very time that *Richard* was singling out the Earl of *Richmond*, to decide at once their important quarrel, it was decided very much to his disadvantage from another quarter. Sir *William Stanley*, following the example of the Lord *Stanley* his Brother, and seeing that the left of the Earl of *Richmond's* first line began to give ground, openly declared against the King, by falling upon his Troops in the flank, who were employed in fighting their enemy's in the front, and vigorously repulsing them. This so seasonable an attack at so critical a moment, having caused an extreme disorder in the right of the King's first line, they were seen suddenly to retreat towards the main Body, and the left quickly followed their example. This hasty retreat struck such a terror into the main Body, that they almost all took to flight, without expecting the enemy. The Earl of *Northumberland* alone, who commanded one of the wings, stood without motion, having first ordered his Troops to throw down their arms, to let the enemies see they had nothing to fear from him. *Richard* perceiving the day was lost, and not being able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the Earl of *Richmond*, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he soon met with the death he sought. Thus fell the Usurper, in a more glorious manner than his Crimes seemed to deserve. He wore but two years and two months the Crown, he had purchased by so many ill actions.

Sir William Stanley flanks the Troops, who are put to rout.
Hall.

The Battle lasted about two hours, including the time spent in the pursuit of the run-aways (4). As most part of the King's army fled without fighting, there were not slain on the spot above two thousand Men (5) on his side. The Earl of *Richmond* lost but a hundred, of whom Sir *William Brandon* was the only person of note. He was Father to *Charles Brandon* afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*. On the King's part, the Duke of *Norfolk* lost his Life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a Duke (6).

Hall.

The Duke of Norfolk among the slain.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

(1) In his march he was joined by Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, who deserted King *Richard*. Hall, fol. 53. Stow, p. 469. See also, p. 469. Hollingsh. p. 1416.

(2) The same day Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, Sir *Simon Digby*, and many others, left *Richard*, and came to him. Hall, fol. 53. See also, p. 469. Hollingsh. p. 1416.

(3) Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanded the right Wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left. Hall, fol. 54. ----- Between the two Armies there was a morsel of his enemies. Hall, fol. 57. Hollingsh. p. 1420.

(4) This Battle was fought about three miles from *Bosworth*, an antient Market Town in *Leicestershire*. The exact spot of ground is frequently more and more discovered by pieces of Armour, Weapons, and especially abundance of Arrow-heads found there of a long and large Proportion. There is a little Mount cast up, on which *Henry VII* is said to make his Speech to his Soldiers. Camden in *Leicest.*

(5) Hall says, there were few above a thousand slain, fol. 57. But Stow says, there were four thousand, p. 470.

(6) The other Persons of note that lost their Lives, were, *Walter Lord Ferrers of Chertley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, *Robert Bechenbury*, Sir *Wil-*

Ham *Conyers*, Sir *Richard Glarington*. Hall, ibid. Stow, p. 470.

1485. He would have doubtless gained more honour and glory, had he employed his valour for a Prince who had better deserved than *Richard*, that a Man should hazard his Life for his sake. The Earl of *Northumberland* was taken into favour by the Conqueror, having perhaps held Intelligence with him before the battle. It seems at least, that it may be inferred, as well from what he did in the beginning of the rout, as from certain verses found that very morning by the Duke of *Norfolk*, on his Tent-door, intimating, that the King was sold (1). The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was taken prisoner, and sent at first to the Tower of *London*, but shortly after obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of *Richard's* Adherents were treated with the same lenity, others had the good fortune to escape. But *Catesby*, Minister and Confident of *Richard*, who had so basely betrayed the Lord *Hastings*, being made prisoner, was executed two days after at *Leicester*, with some others of the same stamp, who had been the Usurper's Instruments.

The Earl of Surrey is taken Prisoner.

Catesby is executed.

The Lord Stanley first the Governor on the Earl of Richmond's bead. Hall. Stow. Hallingb. Richard's Body is carried to Leicester.

Richard's Crown being found by a Soldier, was brought to the Lord *Stanley*, who went immediately and placed it on the Earl of *Richmond's* head, congratulating him upon his Victory, and saluting him King. From that time *Henry* kept the regal title, and acted always as Sovereign, as if that bare Ceremony had given him an undoubted right. *Richard's* body was found among the slain stark naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown across a Horse, with the head hanging on one side and the legs on the other, and so carried to *Leicester* (2). The body lay two whole days exposed to publick view, after which, it was interred without any Ceremony, in one of the Churches of that City. Some time after, *Henry VII* his Enemy and Successor, ordered a more honorable Monument to be erected for him on account of *Elizabeth* his Queen, who was of the House of *York* (3).

The Character of Richard III.

Richard III was surnamed *Crook-back'd*, because he was so in reality. Moreover, one of his arms was almost withered, receiving but little or no nourishment. As to the defects of his mind, if we believe most Historians, they were so great and so numerous, that it would be difficult to find in History a Prince of so ill a Character. It is certain, he had a boundless ambition, which often caused him to commit actions unbecoming a Christian Prince. To this Passion alone must be ascribed his treachery and cruelty, since he was treacherous and cruel only with respect to the acquisition or preservation of the Crown. He has not been the sole Prince whom ambition has led into the like excesses. The Historians who writ in the reign of *Henry VII* and *Henry VIII*, have so aggravated the heinousness of his actions, that one cannot help observing in their writings, a strong desire to please the Monarchs then on the Throne. Nay, very probably they have ascribed to him some actions upon no very good foundation; for instance, his murdering with his own hand *Henry VI*, and the Prince of *Wales*. Their desire to say a great deal of ill of this Prince, made them overlook his good qualities, which ought not to have been passed over in silence. Be this as it will, without pretending either to justify him upon what he did of ill, or condemn him generally upon all, as some have done. I shall content my self with blaming what was blame-worthy, and acknowledging withal what deserved condemnation. The Crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the Crown, are, as I said, effects and consequences of his immoderate ambition, by which he suffered himself to be blinded. But their being produced by that Passion, does

not in the least lessen their heinousness. As to the rest, he had a great deal of sense, and a very solid Judgment, Qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been used to better purposes. We may judge of his good sense and penetration, by his precautions to secure himself from the assaults of his enemies. These precautions could not be more just, if divine Providence had not been pleased to render them fruitless, as it sometimes does with respect to seemingly the best concerted designs. On several occasions he shewed an uncommon Valour, and particularly in the battle where he was slain. This cannot be denied him without injustice. He expressed great concern that Justice should be impartially ministered to all his Subjects without distinction, provided the preservation of his Crown was not concerned; for in that respect he made no scruple to trample upon all the rules of Right and Equity. This natural Inclination for Justice, but combated by his ambition, may afford some occasion to presume, he would perhaps have proved a good King, had he been able to fix himself so firmly in the Throne as to have feared no revolution (4). At least, this cannot be said to be improbable. The Emperor *Augustus*, who was guilty of so many Cruelties to arrive at the Empire, affords a memorable and well-known Instance of such a Change, and it would not be impossible to find other examples. But as *Richard* was taken out of the World before he had given signs of any amendment, his ill actions absorb'd whatever there might be commendable in him. There is one Historian however who has endeavoured to vindicate this Prince. But as he has set no bounds to this Vindication, and laboured to make him entirely innocent, he has not acquired much credit, especially as he was often obliged, in order to attain his ends, to advance facts not strictly true. He has however a place in the Collection of the *English* Historians; but no modern Author has thought fit to take him for guide (5).

Buck.

Richard left but one natural Son, who was yet a Minor when the King his Father died. Some months before, he had made him Governor of *Calais*, *Garnes*, and of all the *Marches of Picardy*, belonging to the Crown of *England* (6). With *Richard III*, ended the *Angevin* Kings, surnamed *Plantagenets* (7); who, since *Henry II*, the first of this race, had possessed the Crown of *England* from Father to Son, during the space of three hundred and thirty years. *Richard* was the last King of this House; but not the last Male, as some have affirmed, since the Earl of *Warwick* his Nephew, Son of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was still alive. This young Prince was the sole branch of the Male-issue of *Edward III*, which had been so numerous; but was almost entirely destroyed by the late Civil War. This War, commenced thirty years before, was at length ended by the Battle of *Bosworth*, after destroying above one hundred thousand *English-men*, and a great number of Princes of the two contending Houses. *Philip de Commines* mounts the number to fourscore; but it is a mistake or exaggeration of that author, as it is easy to see by the Genealogical Table of the posterity of *Edward III*.

End of the Reign of the Plantagenets. Act. Pub. XII. p. 265.

Let us close the History of the *Plantagenets* with a brief recapitulation of the most memorable accidents that befel the Kings of this race, whilst on the Throne of *England*. In this summary of the fourteen foregoing reigns, it will be seen, not without astonishment perhaps, that the happiness and glory enjoyed by this race for above three hundred years, were almost nothing in comparison of their misfortunes (8).

and of the Civil Wars.

Brief Recapitulation of the History of the Plantagenets.

(1) The Verses said to be written upon the Tent-Door were these:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk*, Son of Sir *Robert Howard*, as is said above, p. 637. Note (3) left behind him *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, and five Daughters.

(2) He was brought in that manner to *Leicester*, behind a Pursuivant at Arms, called *blanche Sanglier*. Hall, fol. 58. Stow, p. 470.

(3) He was buried in *St. Mary's*, belonging to a Monastery of the *Grey-Friers*. *Henry VII* put over him a Tomb of various coloured Marble adorned with his Statue in Alabaster. This Monument stood till the dissolution of the Abbies under *Henry VIII*, when it was pulled down and utterly defaced; since which his Grave being over-grown with Weeds and Nettles, is become very obscure and not to be found; only the Stone-Coffin, wherein his Corps lay, was made a drinking Trough for Horses, at the *White-Horse-Inn* in *Leicester*. --- *Richard* was not above three or four and thirty years old when he was killed. He gave five hundred Marks a year to *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*. Sandford, p. 434.

(4) His Enemies seem to own, that excepting his Cruelties to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him to be a good King: Particularly in his care to check Vice, and promote Sobriety and Virtue; witness his Circular Letters to the Bishops, and in his concern for the good Government and Ease of his Subjects, as may be seen in his Proclamation against the Rebels in *Kent*. See *Compl. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 576. My Lord *Verulam* says of him, that he was in military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and likewise a good Law-Maker. He founded the Society of *Heralds*, and made them a Corporation, &c. See the Charter in *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 215.

(5) *George Buck*, Esq; has endeavoured to represent King *Richard III* as a Prince of much better Shapes (both of Body and Mind) than he had been generally esteemed. His Work, consisting of five Books, is inserted in the Collection of the *English* Historians.

(6) In his Patent he is called *John of Gloucester*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 265.

(7) i. e. a *Broom-Stalk*; the reason of this Surname Antiquaries are at a loss to find out, and give no better than this: *Fulk*, the first Earl of *Arjou* of that name, being stung with remorse for some wicked Actions of his, in order to atone for them, went in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and before the Holy Sepulchre was soundly scourged with Broom Twigs, which grow in great plenty there. From whence he ever after took the Surname of *Plantagenet*, or *Broom-Stalk*, which was continued by his noble Posterity. Buck, l. 1.

(8) It were to be wished, that so good a Historian as *Rapin* had been more sparing of God's Judgments; such Remarks at best being a sign of great Weakness. But when they are built on Falsities in Fact, as is sometimes the Case, they are inexorable. Or this we have an Instance even in *Rapin* himself. See above, p. 615. Note (11). As for the long List he has given of God's Judgments upon the House of *Plantagenet*, it contains nothing extraordinary, nothing but what is very common in this World, and what might easily be matched out of the Histories of several other Nations.

HENRY II, the first King of this *House*, was the greatest of all the *English* Monarchs with respect to extent of Dominion. Besides the Kingdom of *England*, he possessed in *France*, *Guienne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, *Auvergne*, *Limousin*, *Perigord*, *Angoumois*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Normandy*, to which he joined also *Bretagne* by the marriage of one of his Sons with the Heiress of that Duchy; and lastly, crowned all with the Conquest of *Ireland*. But with all this grandeur he was ever unhappy. His contest with *Becket*, the vexatious persecutions from Pope *Alexander III*, the rebellion of his Queen and Sons, and the unfortunate success of his last War with *France*, suffered him not to enjoy a moment's repose.

RICHARD I, rendered his name famous in the East, by the conquest of the Isle of *Cyprus*, by the taking of *Acre*, and by a great victory over the *Saracens*. But the fame he acquired in that expedition was a dear purchase to Christendom, and particularly to *England*, by the prodigious quantity of Men and money, exported from thence, without the Christians of *Palestine* reaping any great advantages. *Richard* himself at his return into *Europe*, underwent the rigours of a grievous and long imprisonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ransom which quite drained his Kingdom. In short, after a several years struggle with *Philip Augustus* to very little purpose, he unfortunately perished by an Arrow at the Siege of *Chaluz*, undertaken from his greedy desire of money.

JOHN Lack-land enjoyed not a moment's happiness during his whole reign. Persecuted by the King of *France*, then by Pope *Innocent III*, and lastly, by his own subjects, his reign was nothing but a continual train of misfortunes. He lost first all the Provinces possessed by his Ancestors in *France*. After which, *Innocent III*, deprived him of his Crown, and restored it to him upon shameful and dishonourable terms. In fine, he had the great mortification to see his Barons in arms against him, and to die at a time when all *England* was paying Allegiance to a foreign Prince.

HENRY III, a Prince of a very mean Spirit, lived in a continual state of subjection, though seated on a Throne; one while a slave to his favorites and ministers, another while to the imperious will of the Popes. At length, stripped of all his authority by his own subjects, he remained some time captive to his greatest enemies. And he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the Prince his Son, for his restoration, and the tranquillity he enjoyed the two last years of his life.

EDWARD I, rendered his name famous by the conquest of *Scotland*. But after shedding torrents of Blood in that unjust quarrel, he had the mortification to lose that acquisition, and to die before he had recovered it. His conquest of *Wales* was the most real advantage procured for the Kingdom by any King of *England*.

The reign of **EDWARD II**, is remarkable only for that Prince's ill-conduct and misfortunes. He is the first instance of a King of *England* deposed by authority of Parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had stopped there! but, with an unparalleled barbarity, he was made to suffer the most cruel death that could possibly be devised, and which bore no proportion to the indiscretions he was guilty of.

EDWARD III, was one of the most illustrious Kings of *England*, as well for his personal qualities as for his victories in *France*, and the famous Treaty of *Bretigny*, which restored to him with interest the Provinces, *John* Lack-land had suffered to be lost. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was sullied by the tragical death of *Edward II* his Father, and of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle. To punish these horrid outrages, he was forced to keep his own Mother in Prison as long as she lived. Towards the end of his days he had the mortification to see himself stripped of all he had re-conquered upon *France*, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined, as I may say, his own reputation, and died at a time when his subjects began to lose their former esteem for him.

Thus far it is easy to see that the race of the *Plantagenets* had enjoyed no great share of happiness. But their misfortunes, which were blended with some prosperities, were very inconsiderable in comparison of what that race afterwards underwent. When a Man takes a view of what happened to the posterity of *Edward III*, he sees nothing but Disasters, tragical or untimely Deaths, Hatred, Animosity, Revenge, Civil Wars, Cruelties unheard of, among Princes sprung from the same Stock. *England* had never seen so terrible a destruction of her inhabitants, nor had the Scaffold been ever dyed with so much noble and royal Blood as during the hundred years

between the death of *Edward III*, and that of *Richard III*. Let us briefly run over the several branches of *Edward* the third's family, in order to see their calamities.

EDWARD the *Black Prince*, one of the most accomplished Princes that ever was born, died in the forty-sixth year of his age, having first buried his eldest Son *Edward* but seven years old.

RICHARD II, his other Son, who mounted the Throne after his Grandfather, was deposed, imprisoned, and barbarously murdered.

LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward III*, died in a foreign Country in the flower of his age. He left but one Daughter, whose marriage into the House of *March* was the occasion of all the calamities *England* was afflicted with for thirty years together.

The Posterity of *John* of *Gaunt*, *Edward*'s fourth Son, were far from being happy. **HENRY V**, successor of *Richard II*, passed his whole reign in continual apprehensions of losing a Crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preserved by the violent death of *Richard II*, whom he caused to be murdered in Prison.

HENRY VI, one of the most illustrious Kings of *England*, after so great a progress in *France* as to be declared Regent and Heir of that Kingdom, enjoyed that considerable advantage but two years, or rather, had only a foretaste of what he had so eagerly desired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a Son nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the work, his illustrious Father had so gloriously begun.

The Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Glocester*, died all three without Issue. *Glocester* was long exposed to the fury of his enemies, and at last sacrificed to their vengeance.

HENRY VI, Son of *Henry V*, lost all that the King his Father had acquired in *France*. After which, he was stripped of his Royalty, imprisoned, restored for a short space, and at last murdered by a Prince sprung from the same stock with himself.

EDWARD his Son, Prince of *Wales*, died after the same manner, and by the same hand.

In surveying the other branch of the House of *Lancaster*, namely, that of *Beaufort-Somerſet*, hardly shall we find a Prince but what lost his life in a Battle, or on the Scaffold.

The House of *York*, of whom *Edmund de Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward III*, was head, was still less favoured. Some unfortunate Stars seemed to be continually shedding their malignant influences upon that Family. Excepting *Edmund de Langley* himself, first Duke of *York*, all the Princes his descendants died a violent or untimely death.

EDWARD Duke of *York*, his eldest Son, was slain at the Battle of *Azincurt*.

RICHARD Earl of *Cambridge* lost his head on a Scaffold.

RICHARD, third Duke of *York*, and his Son **EDMUND** Earl of *Rutland*, perished in the Battle of *Wakefield*.

GEORGE Duke of *Clarence* was afterwards condemned to die in a Butt of *Malmſey*.

EDWARD IV, after enjoying the Crown of *England* some years, to which he had a better title than the House of *Lancaster*, died indeed a natural death, but in the two and fortieth year of his age.

EDWARD V, and **RICHARD** his Brother, were smothered in their Bed.

EDWARD Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Richard III*, was taken out of the World in the eleventh year of his age.

RICHARD III, was killed at the Battle of *Bosworth*.

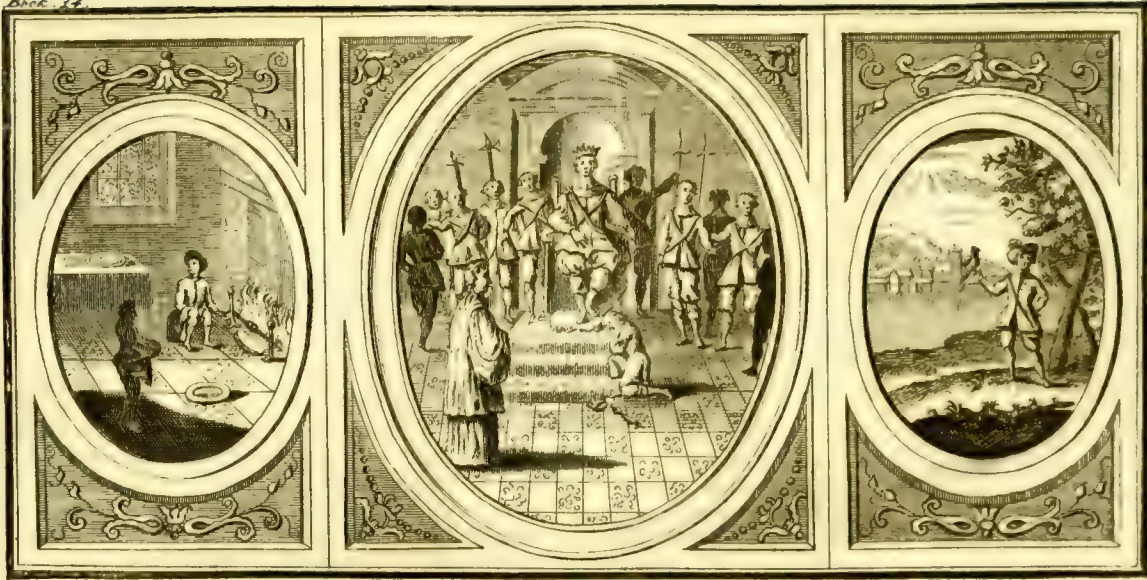
In fine, we shall see in the course of the History, **EDWARD** Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, and the only surviving Male of the House of *York*, end his days by the hand of the Executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the disasters that happened to the Posterity of *Edward III*, but to take notice that **THOMAS** of *Woodstock*, Earl of *Glocester*, seventh Son of that Monarch, died a violent death in Prison at *Calais*.

Were not all these misfortunes which fell on *Edward* the third's Posterity the effects of the divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation, for the barbarous murder committed on the person of *Edward II*? At least, it is difficult not to see in these events the tragical death of *Edward II*, revenged upon *Richard II*: That of *Richard* upon *Henry VI*: That of *Henry* upon *Edward V*: and That of *Edward* upon *Richard III*. (1)

THE

(1) That *Richard III* coined Money, appears by an Indenture, whereby he contracts with *Robert Brakenbury* for the Coinage both of Gold and Silver.



THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XIV.

The Reigns of HENRY VII; with the STATE of the CHURCH, from the beginning of the Reign of HENRY IV. 1399, to the end of the Reign of HENRY VII. 1509.

19. HENRY VII.

1485.
HENRY
VII.
proclaimed
King by his
Army.
Bacon.



HE battle of *Bosworth* being ended, as was said, by the flight of the Royal Army, and death of King *Richard*, Henry caused *Te Deum* to be sung upon the place, all the Troops falling on their knees to return God thanks for his Victory.

Presently after, the whole army, as it were by Inspiration, made the air resound with the Cry of, *Long live King Henry!* which was not disagreeable to him. For, it was a sort of military Election, which might have served him for foundation to pretend to the Crown, though he had no other title. Mean while, he was embarrassed by the uncertainty he was under, whether he should keep to this Election, or found his title upon a more solid foundation. He was however, to determine without delay, either to reject the title given him by his Army, till the Parliament should confirm it, or accept it, and assert his Right independently of the consent of the Estates.

He had three titles, or foundations, whereon he could ground his Right. The first was, his descent from the House of *Lancaster*, by *Margaret* his Mother Daughter of a Duke of *Somerset*. The House of *Lancaster* had been possessed of the Crown above sixty years, and this possession had been confirmed by many Acts of Parliament. But on the other hand, several Parliaments had afterwards condemned this possession as a continual Usurpation, and adjudged the Crown to the House of *York*, as descending from *Lionel*, third Son of *Edward III.* This question, considered originally, and independently of the Circumstances which moved the Parliaments to come to such opposite determinations, could not have been decided in favour of the House of *Lancaster*, if the Laws and Customs of the Realm had been followed. But, if setting aside the usual practice, it should be considered with respect to the Acts of Parliament, it could not but be doubtful, since the *Pro* and *Con* were equally supported by the same authority. It might also be objected to *Henry*, that indeed sundry Parliaments had decided the point in favour

1485.
The Reasons
of it.

of the same value and denomination with the Money of the fifth of *Edward IV.* Dr. *Nicolson* describes one of his Groats, as inscribed with Characters of the like Shape with those of *Henry VI.* and *Edward IV.* weighing about two penny Weights three Grains, which was the exact Standard of *Richard III.*'s Groats. Others in the possession of the late Archbishop of *York* and Mr. *Tborsby*, in which the Face side wants the outer Circle, the Letters of the Inscription reach to the extremity of the Coin being generally imperfect, so that there was reason for the Provision made by Act of Parliament in the next Reign, that the new Money should have a Circle about the outermost Parts. That Coin which *Speed* gives of *Richard II.* is thought rather to belong to this King, by the word *AGLIE* instead of *ANGLIE*, in whose Reign that way of writing was used. The Author of *Num. Brit. Hist.* has two pieces of this King inscribed, *RICHARDUS. REX. ANGL.* Reverse, *CIVITAS EBORACI.* Another, *RICARDUS. REX. ANGL.* Reverse, *CIVITAS. LONDON.* The shortness of this King's Reign makes his Coin so very rare, that *Tborsby* observes, he had seen a Series of ancient Monies from *Edward the Confessor* to the present times, *Richard III.* excepted, which he had not chanced to light upon. *Speed's* case was the same, so that he was forced to leave a Blank for this King's Money.



1455. of the House of *Lancaster*, but it did not follow that the House of *Somerſet* could receive any advantage from that deciſion. The *Somerſets* were indeed deſcended from the Houſe of *Lancaster*, but by a Baſtard-branch, which could pretend to the Crown only by virtue of their legitimatiſation. Now it was a queſtion yet undecided, whether the Act of Legitiſation, and *Richard* the Second's ſubſequent Letters Patents, gave to that Branch, derived from a Baſtard born in Adultery, the right to ſucceed to the Crown, though mentioned neither in the Act of Parliament, nor in King *Richard*'s Letters. Beſides, even upon ſuppoſition of this Right, another query ſtill aroſe, namely, whether the Poſterity of this legitimatiſed Baſtard, were to have the preference of the deſcendents of the Daughters born in wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral in *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Germany*. To leave theſe points to the examination of the Parliament, ſeemed therefore too dangerous for *Henry*. But on the other hand, he was not ignorant that in the deciſion of the differences between the houſes of *Lancaster* and *York*, the Parliaments had not ſo much regarded the arguments of either Party, as the circumſtances of time and things. Now he could never have a more favorable juncture than the preſent, ſince he had juſt delivered *England* from a Tyrant univerſally hated. *Henry* IV, his Predeceſſor, had not done more for the *Engliſh*, when ſort e-ward, the Crown was adjudged to him, in prejudice of the Houſe of *March*.

Henry's ſecond title was, his intended Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV, which he had ſworn. But here, no leſs difficulties occurred. If he relied upon this Title, he was to reſolve either to reign only in right of his Wiſe, or to confound together the Titles of both Houſes. In the former caſe, he would have relinquished his own, to leave to the Houſe of *York* a Title which had all along been conteſted, and have owned that Houſe's Right, for the ſole foundation of his mounting the Throne. Beſides, he conſidered, that in caſe *Elizabeth* happened to die without Iſſue, all her Rights would of courſe devolve to her next Siſter, and he thereby be excluded from the Throne upon the death of his Queen (1): That ſuppoſing he could get the Parliament to adjudge him the Crown during Life, he ſhould only have a perſonal right, which would not deſcend to his Children by a ſecond Wiſe.

In the latter caſe, on ſuppoſition of the confuſion of the Titles of both Houſes, by means of the projected Marriage, purſuant to the Intention of thoſe who had invited him into *England*, this confuſion, indeed, might be advantageous to the Children born of this Marriage. But if unhappily there ſhould be none, and his death fall out before *Elizabeth*'s, he would leave the poſſeſſion of the Crown to the Houſe of *York*, which his averſion for that Houſe would not ſuffer him to behold, even at a diſtance, without extreme concern. But if, on the contrary, *Elizabeth* ſhould die before him, he foreſaw it would prove the occaſion of renewing the troubles of the Kingdom, ſince, as ſhe reigned in her own right, her Siſter, or neareſt Relations, might pretend to ſucceed her.

Henry's third Title was, That of the Sword or Conqueſt, which his late Victory ſeemed to give him. But he conſidered this Victory was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of the People of *England*, and therefore gave him at moſt but a right of Conqueſt over the vanquiſhed Party. Beſides, as he could ſupport himſelf only by the ſame aſſiſtance, he had reaſon to fear, that in reſting upon this pretended Title, he ſhould loſe his beſt friends, ſince ſuch a proceeding might be conſtrued as a ſettled deſign to rule with arbitrary power. He knew *William* the Conqueror had wiſely avoided that rock, by rejecting the title of the Sword, till he ſaw himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed in the Throne.

Theſe were difficulties conſiderable enough to merit *Henry*'s mature deliberation before he reſolved. But on the other hand, there was no medium to take. He was neceſſarily either to accept the Title given him by the army, and thereby engage to proſecute his Rights independently of the Parliament's approbation, or by rejecting it, ſhew, he miſtruſted his own right, and be expoſed to a troubleſome examination. After weighing the reaſons on both ſides, as far as the time would permit, he reſolved at laſt to reſt upon the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaster*. So taking for granted, that the army in ſaluting him King, had only given him his due, he determined to aſſert the *Lancastrian* claim, without any mixture of that of *York*, and

without ſubmitting it even to the examination of the Parliament (2). To that end, he reſolved to be crowned before he ſummoned the Parliament, and to defer his Marriage till he had obtained an Act to adjudge him the Crown as his own by Inheritance. He determined therefore to aſſume the title of King, and to iſſue out orders as ſuch, ſuppoſing that the Crown was fallen to him of full Right, though *Margaret* his Mother was ſtill alive, and ought to precede him. Notwithſtanding all the reaſons which rendered his title dubious, he believed there were likewiſe reaſons ſufficient to give him room to ſupport it, eſpecially at a time when his Victory was capable of deciding all the queſtions in his favour. This reſolution was the fountain of all the troubles of his reign.

Mean while, though he affected to be convinced of the goodneſs of his Title, he diſtruſted it in his own Mind, knowing, if it came to be conteſted, the reaſons whereon he ſhould ground it, were of no great weight, unleſs ſupported by force of arms. In this ſtate he continued almoſt during his whole Life. Always unconcerned in appearance, and yet terrifying himſelf with the leaſt thing, and dreading that every little accident would be of dangerous conſequence. The Houſe of *York* was a perpetual terror to him. He knew that they who had called him into *England*, were not enemies to that Houſe, but only to the perſon of *Richard* III. So the Rights of the two Houſes remaining ſtill doubtful, as having been decided only by the Sword, he was very ſenſible that his could be maintained but by the ſame way, or by wiſe precautions, to prevent all future deciſions of that kind.

Upon theſe conſiderations it was, that the next day after the Battle (3) he ſent a detachment of Horſe under the command of Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriff-Hutton* (4), to take from thence the Earl of *Warwick*, and conſequent him to the Tower of *London*. This young Prince was Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was ſtiled in a Butt of *Malmſey*. After the death of the Duke his Father, *Edward* IV his Uncle cauſed him to be carefully educated, and created him Earl of *Warwick*; a title enjoyed by his Mother's Father (5). He was unwilling to make him Duke of *Clarence*, leſt that title ſhould preſerve the memory of an unhappy Brother, whom he had ſacrificed to his jealousy. When *Richard* was on the Throne, he ordered this young Prince his Nephew to be confined in the Caſtle above-named, knowing how likely he was one day to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the Crown. After the Uſurper's death, the Earl of *Warwick* ſeemed to have room to expect ſome favor from his ſucceſſor; but it proved juſt the contrary. So far was *Henry* from releaſing, that he made him cloſe Priſoner in the Tower, a rigour proceeding only from his jealousy and inward conviction that his title was not ſo undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all. It will hereafter be ſeen, that he put this unhappy Prince to death by the hand of the executioner, therein ſtill more tyrant than the tyrant himſelf, from whom he boaſted to have delivered the Kingdom.

The Princeſs *Elizabeth*, whom *Henry* was to marry, was kept in the ſame Caſtle by the late King's order, who did not think fit to leave her at liberty to chooſe a Husband, intending to marry her himſelf. *Henry* reſolving to repair to *London* with all poſſible diligence, thought it not proper to leave the Princeſs at ſo great a diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould be told that ſhe had no need to mix her rights with thoſe of others. Wherefore ſhe was deſired to come and remain with the Queen her Mother at *London*. His deſign was to make it believed, he intended to eſpouſe her very ſoon, tho' he was determined to defer his marriage till after the Seſſion of the Parliament.

A few days after, *Henry* ſet forward, by eaſy journies, to *London*, taking care to avoid all appearance of uſing the right of conqueſt. He was received in all places with loud acclamations, the people conſidering him as their deliverer, and as going by his marriage, to put an end to all the Calamities occaſioned by the Civil Wars. He made his entry into *London* with great ſtate (6). However, the People had not the ſatisfaction to ſee him as he paſſed through the City, becauſe he was carried all the way in a cloſe Chariot till he came to *St. Paul's*. His Hiſtorian aſcribes this conduct to a motive of grandeur and ſecurity, as if having been proſcribed in the reign of *Richard* III, he diſdained to ſawn upon the people, leſt they ſhould think he expected all from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the

(1) The caſe would be the ſame, ſuppoſing the Queen left Iſſue, for the Crown would upon her death fall to her eldeſt Son or Daughter.

(2) On, as the Lord Bacon expreſſes it, he reſolved to reſt upon the Title of *Lancaster* as the main, and to uſe the other Two, that of Marriage, and that of Batt, but as Supporters, p. 170.

(3) Bacon ſhews the poſture from *Lancaster*. Hall, fol. 1. Stow, p. 450.

(4) In *Yorkſhire*.

(5) Richard Nevill.

(6) On a Saturday the 27th of Auguſt; and as he had alſo obtained the Victory upon a Saturday, he counted out of fancy, and choſe afterwards that day for the proper one to him. The Mayor and Companies of *London* went out to meet him at *St. Dunſton*. Bacon, p. 579.

1485. same Historian adds, that *Henry* caused *Richard's* Standards taken at *Bosworth* (1), to be brought into *St. Paul's* Church, that the people of *London* might not forget that he had just gained a Battle, and was entering the City as a Conqueror. When a Prince has acquired a reputation for politics, something mysterious, suitable to the notion formed of him, is discovered in his most indifferent actions.

Her father's Oath to marry Elizabeth.
Hall.
Bacon.
Next day *Henry* assembled a Council (2) of all the persons of distinction in the Court and City, before whom he solemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*. This declaration was absolutely necessary at the present juncture, because of a rumour that he was contracted to *Ann*, eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and had not acted with sincerity when he promised to marry the eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* Besides, though his design was not to derive his right from this marriage, it was however proper the people should think so, till he had obtained his desire of the Parliament, for fear measures should be taken beforehand to obstruct it. Indeed, he was resolved to perform his promise, but was bent not to consummate his marriage before his Coronation, lest his Queen should be crowned with him, and her title supported by that junction. Nay, he had reason to fear, that in case his Nuptials were celebrated before the Parliament met, some Clause in favour of the House of *York* might be inserted in the Act to settle the Succession.

The Sweating Sickness.
Hall.
Stow.
Bacon.
About the middle of *September*, the City of *London* was afflicted with a disease then unknown, which threw the Patients into a prodigious sweat, and carried them off in four and twenty hours. Those that died not within that space were almost sure of recovering. Happily, it lasted but till the end of *October*; however, it swept away multitudes of people before proper remedies were found (3). The method of cure was to keep the Patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate Cordials, which, without too much increasing the heat, helped Nature to expel the humours that caused these extraordinary sweatings.

The Earl of Oxford is made Governor of the Tower.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 276
About this time the new King made the Earl of *Oxford* (4) Constable of the *Tower*, who had always been attached to the House of *LANCASTER*, and after his escape out of the Castle of *Hamme* joined him at *Paris*, and had since done him signal services, particularly at the Battle of *Bosworth*.

Truce with France.
p. 277.
Some time after, the King issued out a Proclamation, notifying that he had concluded a Truce for one year with the King of *France*, from the last day of *September*. It was no small advantage to shew the people that *Charles VIII* acknowledged him for King, even before he was declared so by the Parliament.

The Office of High-Steward is exercised by Commissioners.
Ibid.
The Coronation-day approaching, it was necessary to settle the places and claims of those who were to officiate at this Ceremony. For that purpose, it was requisite to create a Lord High-Steward. But as this Office for some time had been enjoyed only by Princes of the Blood, and there were none then in the Kingdom; the King, not to raise jealousies among the great Men, caused it to be executed by Commissioners (5).

Creations.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingh.
Bacon.
Mean while, he would no longer delay to shew his gratitude to three Lords who had faithfully and effectually served him in his greatest distresses. These were *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Father's Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* his Father-in-law, and *Sir Edward Courtney*. The first had been a Father to him in his youth, and delivered him from the snares of *Edward IV.* when he was concealed in *Wales*. After that, he was his constant companion in *Bretagne*, and had helped him to overcome all the difficulties which occurred in his undertakings. In return for his services *Henry* gave him the title of Duke of *Bedford*, vacant ever since the death of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, Brother of *Henry V.* The Lord *Stanley*, who had been very serviceable to the King at the Battle of *Bosworth*, was created Earl of *Derby*. *Sir Edward Courtney*, who had ventured to engage in his party, and favour in the Western Counties, the Duke of *Buckingham's* plot, was honoured with the title of Earl of *Devonshire* (6). *Henry* thought not proper to dispense his favours to others, being willing, according to

the custom of his predecessors, to reserve his creations till 1485. the sitting of the Parliament.

The Coronation had been fixed to the 30th of *October*, and the Parliament was not to meet till the 7th of *November*. Hence it is evident, that *Henry* did not mean to bring his Title into question, or leave to the Parliament care any more than to confirm his Coronation, without suffering the foundations to be examined. The examples of *Edward IV* and *Richard III* had taught him, that the best way to gain the Parliament's approbation, was to take possession. Indeed, there is a great difference between debating, whether a Prince who claims a crown has a right to pretend to it, or whether he is to be dethroned when in actual possession. The former of these things may be done by reasons, arguments, and studied speeches: The latter requires an Army ready to give weight to the reasons. So *Henry* may be said to set the Crown himself on his head, since he alone disposed of his right, without the authority of the Parliament, who would have had much to say, if they had examined or been at liberty to examine, by what title *Henry* ascended the Throne. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed by Cardinal *Bouchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who supposing *Henry's* right to be indisputable, thought it not proper to inquire into the validity of his title (7). The same day *Henry* instituted a guard of fifty Archers (8) to attend him and his Successors for ever, covering with a pretence of Grandeur and Majesty, a precaution which he believed apparently necessary in the present juncture.

The Parliament meets.
Hall.
Bacon.
The Parliament met eight days after the Coronation. *Henry's* ends in calling a Parliament were chiefly four. The first was to be declared King *de Jure*, as he was already King *de Facto*, and to secure the Crown to his posterity, by an Act in form. The second, to reverse the Attainders of all his party (9). The third, to attain those who had expressed a great animosity against him, and most zeal for the late King. The fourth and last, was to shew, that tho' he had by his sole authority placed himself on the Throne, to prevent his title from being questioned, he intended however to govern the Kingdom like his Predecessors, by way of Parliaments, and not assume a despotick power. This step was absolutely necessary for a Prince whose title was so dubious, and who ascended the Throne without being called to it in the usual way.

It was requisite, for the people's satisfaction and the King's security, that the Parliament should settle the Crown upon him by an express Act; otherwise obedience to him might not be thought indispensable. Though he had been powerful enough to cause his authority to be owned without such an Act, his Heirs were not certain to be always in so favorable a situation. Mean while, it was not easy to pen this Act. *Henry* would not hold the Crown either by the People's election, or by the Parliament, or by the Princess he was to marry. He did not even intend that *Elizabeth* should share in the Royalty, otherwise than any other foreign Queen. Nevertheless, in this beginning of his Reign, it was proper, the People should not know too much, but have some cause to believe, the King rested upon all these titles. The reason was, the *English* were extremely jealous of the authority of their Parliaments, and generally much better affected to the House of *York* than to that of *LANCASTER*. Wherefore the King finding the Parliament disposed to do whatever he could desire, intimated or dictated himself the words of the Act, namely, *That the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, and the Heirs of his Body, perpetually so to endure, and in none other.* Which ambiguous words left it undecided, whether he had a prior Right, which was doubtful, or was only King in fact, which could not be denied. As for the limitation of the Entail, he was contented it should go no further than to himself and to the Heirs of his body, leaving the rest to be decided by the Law in case his Line came to fail. Thus by not mentioning the House of *York*, the Act left it undetermined whether that House was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the Heirs of the new King. In this obscure and ambiguous manner did the Parliament draw and pass the Act, which was afterwards confirmed by the

(1) There were three, on one of which was the Image of *St. George*, in the second was a fiery Dragon upon white and green Sarcenet, the third was of yellow tattern on which was painted a dun Cow. *Hall*, fol. 1. *Hollinghead*, p. 1425.

(2) In the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he lodged for some time. *Bacon*, p. 580.

(3) Two Mayors, and six Aldermen died of it within one Week. *Hall*, fol. 3.

(4) *John Vere*.

(5) The Bannersets made at this Creation, were these, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, *Sir John Cheney*, *Sir William Stonor*, *Sir William Testard*, *Sir John Mortimer*, *Sir Richard Glesby*, *Sir John Fortescue*, *Sir Edward Bedingfield*, *Sir Thomas Coke*, *Sir James Baskerville*, *Sir Humphrey Stanley*, *Sir Richard de la Bere*. *Stow*, p. 471.

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(7) *Hall* and *Hollinghead* say, King *Henry* was crowned by the whole assent, as well of the Commons as of the Nobles, fol. 2. p. 1425.

(8) Under a Captain, by the name of *Women of the Guard*. There are at present a hundred in daily waiting, and seventy more not in waiting; and as one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up out of the seventy.

(9) And among the rest of *Henry* Lord *Clifford*, who had been concealed, and obscurely brought up in the mountainous parts of *Cumberland*, and at *Lancaster* in *Yorkshire*, ever since the Battle of *Lauren*. See *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. 1. p. 343.

1485. Pope's Bull. But Henry took care to have all his titles inserted in the Bull, namely, his descent from the House of Lancaster, his marriage with Edward the Fourth's eldest Daughter, his victory at Bosworth, and the Act of Parliament: To which might be added also the Papal Bull of Confirmation. All these titles joined together, are a clear evidence of his uncertainty, with respect to his right, and of his trouble caused by that uncertainty.

2. *See* *the* *Act* *of* *settlement* *and* *succession* *being* *passed*, *it* *was* *moved* *for* *another* *to* *reverse* *the* *Attainders* *of* *the* *King's* *friends*, *whilst* *only* *Earl* *of* *Richmond*. *But* *several* *of* *these* *attainted* *persons* *were* *actually* *members* *of* *the* *House* *of* *Commons*, *elected* *by* *the* *favor* *they* *had* *found* *with* *the* *People* *since* *the* *Revolution*. *There* *were* *like-* *wise* *some* *in* *the* *House* *of* *Lords*. *It* *was* *therefore* *repre-* *sented* *to* *be* *incongruous*, *that* *these* *persons* *should* *give* *their* *Votes* *in* *an* *affair* *which* *particularly* *concerned* *them*, *and* *be* *Judges* *in* *their* *own* *cause*. *The* *King* *was* *troubled* *that* *the* *Acts* *passed* *in* *the* *late* *Reign* *should* *be* *deemed* *valid*, *and* *his* *friends* *wanted* *to* *be* *purged* *of* *the* *Crime* *of* *espousing* *his* *quarrel*. *He* *concealed* *however* *his* *concern*, *and* *only* *insinuated*, *that* *he* *wished* *the* *Judges* *to* *be* *con-* *sulted* *upon* *the* *affair*. *The* *Judges* *being* *met* (1), *gave* *it* *as* *their* *opinion*, *that* *the* *Members* *attainted* *by* *course* *of* *Law*, *should* *absent* *themselves* *till* *their* *Attainders* *were* *reversed*.

The Act of settlement and succession being passed, it was moved for another to reverse the Attainders of the King's friends, whilst only Earl of Richmond. But several of these attainted persons were actually members of the House of Commons, elected by the favor they had found with the People since the Revolution. There were likewise some in the House of Lords. It was therefore represented to be incongruous, that these persons should give their Votes in an affair which particularly concerned them, and be Judges in their own cause. The King was troubled that the Acts passed in the late Reign should be deemed valid, and his friends wanted to be purged of the Crime of espousing his quarrel. He concealed however his concern, and only insinuated, that he wished the Judges to be consulted upon the affair. The Judges being met (1), gave it as their opinion, that the Members attainted by course of Law, should absent themselves till their Attainders were reversed.

But whilst they were debating upon this question, another was started with respect to the King himself, who was of the number of the attainted, having been declared Traitor and Rebel by an Act of Parliament. This question was much more embarrassing than the other. The King could not be disjoined from the Parliament without a dissolution, neither was it probable that he would submit to a Parliamentary Examination. In this puzzling case, the Judges unanimously resolved, *That the Crown takes away all defects and stops in blood: And that from the time the King assumed the Crown, the Fountain was cleared, and all Attainders and Corruption of blood discharged.* This decision, more conformable to Politicks than to the Laws, established a principle that might be attended with terrible consequences.

This Affair being ended, the Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against the late King, by the name of the Duke of Gloucester, and against his principal Adherents. Of this number were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, the Lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouch, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Sir William Catesby (2), all Ministers or Favorites of Richard III, of whom some were killed at Bosworth field, others executed since the Battle. If the Plots which were afterwards formed against Henry himself had taken effect, he would doubtless have been served in the same manner, with all his Adherents. So dangerous is it to carry severity too far in cases of this Nature. Accordingly we shall see hereafter, that Henry perceiving the consequences, caused an Act to be passed to prevent the abuse of such a precedent. The design of the present Act was to satisfy the King's vengeance, and procure him the forfeited Estates of the attainted. These confiscations brought him in immense sums, which rendered the demand of a Subsidy unnecessary in this first Parliament, especially as the Nation was in Peace, or Truce with all the neighbouring Princes.

After the King was revenged of his enemies, and had filled his coffers, he published the Royal Proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any Plot against him before he came to the Crown, or borne arms for the late King, provided they submitted themselves by such a day. His first design was to procure this general pardon to be passed in Parliament, but recollecting it was an Act of Grace, he chose rather that it should wholly flow from himself. Many who were apprehensive of being prosecuted, readily came and took the oath of Allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon. But others chose to remain in Sanctuary, till the character of the new King was more known. The Lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's Favorites, took this last course.

Before the Parliament broke up, Henry was pleased to reward some of the companions of his exile, by creating them Peers of the Realm. The Lord Chandos of Bretagne was made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles D'Aubenev received the title of Baron of D'Aubenev, and Sir Robert Willoughby that of Lord Brooke. At the same time the King restored Edward Stafford to the dignity of Duke of

Buckingham, forfeited by his Father's attainder, and to all the possessions belonging to his family, confiscated in the late reign. This was a piece of justice he could hardly refuse to the Son of a Lord, who had lost his life in his service, and been the first author of his advancement to the Throne.

The Parliament being dissolved about the end of November, Henry sent into France, Oliver King, Archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay King Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the Fleet which brought him to England. Whereupon the Marquis of Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, left as pledges at Paris, had leave to return home. At the same time, Henry gave his Envoy power to prolong the Truce with France, if he found King Charles's Council inclined.

Probably his want of ready-money to pay the King of France, put him upon sending to the City of London to borrow six thousand marks. His demand met at first with great difficulties, because he was not yet well known. However, he obtained at last two thousand pounds (3), which he thankfully received, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often borrowed money in this manner in the course of his reign, and always paid at the day. His view was to establish his credit in that powerful City, that he might use it upon any pressing occasion.

About the end of the year, he called to his Privy-Council John Morton Bishop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox (4). He lay under great obligations to Morton, particularly for his intelligence of what was plotting against him in Bretagne, and had a great value for Fox, knowing him to be a person capable of doing him great service, and of a temper very like his own. In time, Morton was made Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Prime Minister, and at last Cardinal. As for Fox, the King made him first Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, then Bishop of Exeter: After that he translated him to Bath and Wells, from thence to Durham, and lastly to Winchester, the richest Bishoprick in England. These two Prelates, with Urfwick the King's Chaplain, were almost always employed in the most important Commissions, Embassies, and Negotiations. Henry loved to employ Ecclesiasticks, because he had always Church-Preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from smaller to more considerable Sees. Herein he found his own profit; for by translating Bishops from one See to another, he made the more vacancies, and consequently the First-Fruits which accrued to the King, were greatly multiplied. Never did Prince more ardently seek occasions to heap up riches. Avarice was his predominant passion, influenced even his meaner actions, and caused him to take many false steps, as will be manifest hereafter.

The events of this reign have such a connexion with those of some other States, that it is absolutely necessary to shew in few words the situation of the affairs of divers Princes. Otherwise the motives of Henry the seventh's conduct would be but imperfectly known, who made in his time a very great figure in Europe, though not so much by his arms as policy. I shall begin with Bretagne.

I have elsewhere observed, that Peter Landais, favorite of the Duke of Bretagne, entirely governed that Prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his understanding: That several Lords of Bretagne had made a league against that Minister, and intended to seize him; but having missed their aim, were exposed to the vengeance of the favorite, who had caused them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of this year 1485, Landais, in the name of the Duke his master, levied an Army to execute the sentence, and the Lords on their part took arms in their defence. While Bretagne was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a Battle, the condemned Lords caused it to be represented to those who served Landais, that in the present affair, the interest not of their common master the Duke, but of only his unworthy favorite, was concerned: That it was unjust to shed the Blood of their Countrymen in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriously abused his master's confidence: That therefore, to appease at once the troubles of Bretagne, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms; namely, to rid themselves of the Minister, after which, not a man would refuse to render

(1) In the Exchequer Chamber, which is the Council Chamber of the Judges. Bacon, p. 581.

(2) And Robert Middleton, William Barkley, Robert and James Harrington, Robert Brackenbury, Richard Charlton, Thomas Pilkinton, Walter Hpton, Roger Wake, William Sapote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geoffrey St. Germaine, Richard Warkyns, Richard Russell, Thomas Pencer, John Walde, Andrew Rat, William Brampton, John Kendal Secretary to Richard III, and John Buck, a Relation of George Buck, the Author of the Life of Richard III. This John Buck was a creature of the Duke of Norfolk, and lost his head at Bosworth. Hollingh. p. 1425. Comp. Hist. p. 581.

(3) Which was levied of the Companies, and not of the Wards. Stow, p. 471.

(4) The rest of his Privy-Council were, John Vere Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, Steward of his Household, Giles Lord Daubenev, John Lord Dynham, Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Cheney, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Edgcombe, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir John Rycy, &c. Hall, vol. 3.

1485. due obedience to the Duke. The Lords of the Duke's party deeming this expedient very reasonable, were of opinion that in effect it was for the interest of the Country and the Duke himself, that *Landais*, sole cause of the troubles, should be sacrificed to the good of the publick. *Landais* hearing that the Lords of the two Armies were contriving something against him, caused a Declaration to be drawn, wherein the Duke ordered that all Persons of his own Army, who held intelligence with the proscribed Lords, should be deemed Traitors and Rebels. But this only served to hasten his ruin. The Chancellor, who was in the Plot against him, refused to seal the Declaration, and informed the Lords of it, who resolved to have no further regard for the Favorite. So, without giving him time to take other measures, they went in a body to the Palace, and seized *Landais* in the Duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him on condition they would spare his life. But that was not their intention. On the contrary, they brought him to a speedy trial, and convicting him of a thousand crimes, made him atone for them on the Gallows, before the Duke was informed of the sentence. How much sooner the Duke was troubled at the death of his Favorite, he could not help granting the Lords of the two Armies letters of pardon. Thus *Bretagne* would have been restored to her former tranquillity, had not the Duke imprudently concerned himself with the troubles of the Court of *France*, which proved the ruin of himself and Dukedom. This is what must now be shewn, since it was the occasion of the War which broke out between *Charles VIII* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, and wherein *Henry VII* was concerned.

Affairs of
France,
Mezerai.

Lewis XI, King of *France*, dying in the year 1483, left the government of the person of *Charles VIII*, his Son and Successor, to his Daughter *Ann*, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu*. *Charles* was fourteen years old, and consequently of Age according to the ordinance of *Charles V*. But as he had been ill-educated (1), the King his Father thought him incapable of governing. The moment *Lewis XI* was in his grave, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, first Prince of the Blood, refused to acknowledge *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the King's Governess; affirming, a Woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the Kingdom. The States being assembled at *Tours* in *January* 1484, ended the Dispute by their authority. They confirmed the late King's will, and ordered the Duke of *Orleans* should be President of the Council in the King's absence.

Whilst the States of *France* were assembled, the Lords of *Bretagne* made their first attempt upon *Landais* before-mentioned, which proved unsuccessful. The sentence which was given against them, creating a dread of the Favorite's revenge, they applied to *Ann* Lady of *Beaujeu* to obtain the King her Brother's protection. On the other hand, *Landais* seeing his enemies had recourse to the Lady *Ann*, thought he could not do better than rely upon the assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. To that end, he intreated him to come to the Court of *Bretagne*, putting him in hopes, the Duke would give him in marriage *Ann* his eldest Daughter and presumptive Heir. The Duke of *Orleans* had espoused against his Will, *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis XI*; but had made against this forced marriage a secret protestation, which he meant to use in order to annul it at a more favorable juncture. So, pleased with the hopes *Landais* had inspired him with, he came to *Bretagne*, where he was extremely caressed. But he could make no long stay, being obliged to assist at the King's Coronation, which was performed in *June* this year. Probably, whilst he was in *Bretagne*, he concerted with the Duke and his Favorite measures to disturb the Government of *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was become absolute mistress of the King her Brother's person and affairs.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Orleans* forming a league against the Court, and retiring to *Boisgency*, demanded that the States of *France* might be assembled. He intended to annul the regulation already made, with respect to the Government of the King's person. But *Ann* of *Beaujeu* caused the King to march against him with such expedition, that he was forced to accept of such terms as were granted him, because his friends were not yet ready to assist him. By this agreement, the Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, who was considered as his chief adviser, was banished to *Ast* in *Piedmont*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, with a command not to stir from thence without the King's express licence.

The Duke of *Orleans* being thus compelled to dismiss his Troops, caused the greatest part to lift in the Duke of *Bretagne's* Army against the condemned Lords. On the other hand, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* sent likewise to the Ba-

rons part of the King's Troops. *Landais's* death, which happened soon after, was not capable to make the Duke of *Orleans* desist from his projects. He stood in need of the Duke of *Bretagne* to support him against the Court, and even hoped one day to marry his Daughter. On the other side, the Duke of *Bretagne* having been greatly persecuted by *Lewis XI*, and knowing, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* was of the same character, and followed the same maxims, believed he could not do better than rest upon the assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. So, after some private negotiations, these two Princes formed a league together, into which came *John de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and several other Princes and Lords. Some time after, the Earl of *Dunois* returned into *France* without leave, and withdrew to his Seat at *Partenay* in *Poitou*. The King was yet ignorant of the Duke of *Orleans's* designs. But the Earl of *Dunois's* return convincing him, some Plot was contriving in favor of that Prince who was gone to *Blois*, he sent him a positive order to repair to Court. The Duke obeyed upon a second summons; but next day being informed some ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into *Bretagne*, where he was quickly followed by the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We must now see what passed in the *Low-Countries*.

Since the death of *Maria* of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian* of *Austria* her Husband had been involved in troubles, on account of the guardianship of *Philip* her Son, become Sovereign of the *Low-Countries* by the death of the Dukes his Mother. *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, had willingly received him for Guardian; but *Flanders* and *Hainault* refused to obey him as such.

The obstinacy of the *Flemings* obliged *Maximilian* to make peace with *Lewis XI* upon these terms: That the Dauphin *Charles*, Son of *Lewis*, should marry *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, as soon as they were of such an age: That *Margaret* should have for Dower, *Artois*, *Franche Comté*, *Macon*, *Auxerre*, and be educated at the Court of *France*. Pursuant to this Treaty, *Lewis* kept these Provinces which he had already seized, and took *Margaret* home, till the marriage could be consummated.

In 1483, *Maximilian* successfully made War upon the *Liegeois*. This same year *Hainault* owned him for Guardian of his Son *Philip*.

In 1484, the *Flemings* still persisting in their refusal to acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian, appointed Governors for *Philip*, of whom *Adolphus de Cleves* Lord of *Ravenstein* was the chief. Their obstinacy occasioned between them and *Maximilian* a War, in which *Charles VIII* concerned himself by assisting the *Flemings*.

This War ended in *January* 1485, in a Treaty, importing, that the *Flemings* should acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian of his Son, upon the express condition that he should not remove him from *Flanders* till of Age. The Treaty being signed, *Maximilian* made his Entry into *Gaunt*, where a few days after was a Sedition, but which was happily appeased. During the rest of the year, the *Low-Countries* enjoyed a Tranquillity which afforded *Maximilian* time to take a Journey into *Germany*, to be elected King of the *Romans*. Let us now speak of the *Spanish* Affairs.

Henry IV, surnamed the *Impotent*, King of *Castile*, died in 1474, leaving only a Daughter called *Joanna*, who was universally believed to be supposititious. For which reason, *Isabella* Sister to *Henry*, and *Ferdinand* Prince of *Aragon* her Husband, took possession of the Throne of *Castile*. They had a fierce War to maintain against *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, who being affianced to *Joanna*, supposed Daughter of *Henry IV*, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom. This War ended in 1479, to the advantage of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who compelled *Alphonso* to desist from his pretensions. By the Treaty, upon this occasion, it was agreed, that *Alphonso*, the King of *Portugal's* Grandson, should marry *Isabella* Daughter of *Ferdinand*, when the Parties were of Age to consummate the Marriage.

John King of *Aragon* died this year, leaving to his Son *Ferdinand* the Kingdom of *Aragon*, with a War to maintain against *France*, the occasion whereof was this. King *John* had mortgaged to *Lewis XI*, *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*, for three hundred thousand Crowns. Afterwards, the Inhabitants of *Perpignan* revolted from the *French*, whose Dominion did not please them. Upon this news, *John* came to *Perpignan*, to try to persuade them to remain in subjection to the *French*, till he could redeem *Roussillon*, by payment of the mortgage. But whilst he was labouring to appease them, *Lewis XI* caused

1485.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.

Affairs of
Spain.

(1) And was of a very infirm Constitution. P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 573.

1486. " of Parliament and Confirmation, that the Children of
 " Henry by any other lawful Wife should succeed him
 " by Hereditary Right, pronouncing excommunicate, as
 " above, all persons that should oppose the Succession of
 " his Children. Granting on the contrary his Benediction
 " and plenary Indulgence for all their Sins, to those who
 " should, in that case, assist Henry or his Posterity.
 " Moreover, he enjoined all Archbishops, Bishops,
 " Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Curates, Rectors, Priors,
 " and Superiors of Monasteries, upon the Penalties ex-
 " pressed in the holy Canons, to excommunicate publick-
 " ly, and to pronounce excommunicate, whenever they
 " were required, all persons that should breed any distur-
 " bances upon that account, or oppose in any manner
 " whatever the execution of the said Acts, notwithstand-
 " ing all Constitutions and Ordinances Apostolical to the
 " contrary, &c."

Remarks on
this Bull.

Nothing shews more how much Henry was himself convinced of the weakness of his Title, than his procuring the Pope's Confirmation. This precaution was not only needless, but even unlawful, since it was directly against the Statutes of *Præmunire*, of which the *English* were so jealous. Accordingly, he had taken care to have it said in the Bull, that the Pope granted the Dispensation of his own motion, and without any previous request; a Clause evidently false. It is certain, the Bull of Dispensation ran in express terms, that the Pope granted it upon what was represented to him by Henry and Elizabeth. Besides what the Pope affirmed, that the Crown of England was fallen to Henry by Hereditary Right, that heap and confusion of other Titles, namely, the Consent of the Nobles and People, the Act of Parliament, the King's Marriage with Elizabeth; all this, I say, corresponded so exactly with Henry's uncertainty concerning his Title, that doubtless, it proceeded not from the Pope's own Knowledge, but rather from the King himself, who had as it were dictated how the Bull should be worded. In fine, the Pope would never have thought of confirming the Act of Settlement, if he had not been requested. But it was not convenient the King should appear to have desired such a Bull, since nothing could be more disagreeable to the *English*. For taking such a step, even before the Statute of *Præmunire* was enacted, King John entirely lost the affection and confidence of his Barons, with the Crown which he meant to secure by that expedient. Henry III was like to undergo the same fate, for taking some precautions of this nature. Accordingly, it will hereafter be seen, that this Bull was not capable of hindering the King's being frequently molested. The *English* were not, as formerly, such Bigots, as to imagine, the Pope's Authority could give Henry a Title which he really had not.

The King's
uneasiness
with regard
to the House
of York.
Bacon.

Though the King had happily attained his ends, with respect to the Act of Settlement and Succession, he knew however, what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the sentiments of the People. He had been called into England to deliver the Nation from the Tyranny of Richard III, and not to dispossess entirely the House of York. This is so true, that in case the *Yorkists* had not joined with him, in order to preserve the Crown in that House, by means of his marriage with Elizabeth, the *Lancastrians* would never have been able to raise him to the Throne. The Queen, Widow of Edward IV, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Stanley, were not friends of the House of Lancaster, tho' private enemies to the person of Richard. To these however Henry was chiefly indebted for his greatness. If the People had been consulted, and at liberty to chuse a Sovereign, Richard III indeed would have been dispossessed, but Elizabeth placed on the Throne, and the Earl of Richmond left in his exile in *Bretagne*. Henry therefore was considered only as the instrument of their deliverance from the Dominion of a Tyrant. But as it was reasonable to reward him, the giving him a share of the royal dignity, by means of his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, was thought a great recompence. And if it was readily agreed, that his right from the House of Lancaster should be united with Elizabeth's, it was rather to avoid fresh troubles by that expedient, than out of a belief of the lawfulness of his title. He had himself gladly accepted the proposal, and upon that foundation it was that he formed his enterprize; otherwise he would have doubtless met with less assistance and much greater opposition. But he had no sooner gained the Battle of *Bosworth*, but he formed the design of reigning in his own right only, and excluding entirely the House of York, wherein he deceived the expectation of the *English*, and abused their confidence. This is what he had always in his thoughts, tho' he concealed his uneasiness with all possible care.

The King's
Progress into
the North.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

As the House of York had most Adherents in the northern Counties, Henry resolved to take a progress into

(1) At *Chichester*, where they had been ever since the Battle of *Bosworth*.
 (2) At *Worcester*. Hall, vol. 3. Stowe, p. 471.

those parts. He hoped that his presence, with some Acts of Grace and Favor he might have occasion to dispense, would be capable of producing a good effect. With this view, he departed towards the middle of the Spring, and kept his *Easter* at *Lincoln*. During his stay in that City, he heard, the Lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's Favorites, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, Brothers, who had refused to accept of the general pardon, were gone out of Sanctuary (1), but to what place was unknown. As he was ignorant what their design could be, he continued his Journey to York. Shortly after, he received more certain intelligence concerning the Fugitives. He was told, the Lord Lovel was advancing towards York at the head of three or four thousand men, and that the Staffords were in arms in *Worcestershire* before the City of *Worcester*. This news gave him no small uneasiness. He saw himself in that part of the Kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was not easy to raise forces. Besides, he had reason to fear the Lord Lovel had correspondents in York, and among the Nobility of the County; consequently there was no time to lose. He must speedily resolve either to quit York, or take some course to oppose the Rebels. In this strait, he chose to seem unconcerned, perceiving that flight could not but produce a very ill effect. So, without shewing any fear, he armed such of his Followers as were most proper to bear arms, and commissioned some trusty friends to raise Men in and about York with all possible diligence. He was so fortunate, and so faithfully served as to assemble in a short time three thousand Men, of whom he gave the Command to his Uncle the Duke of Bedford. But these Troops were so ill armed and in such disorder, that they were not much to be relied on. Besides, they were raised in a County where the Inhabitants were not well-affected to the King. For this reason, Henry expressly charged the Duke of Bedford to avoid fighting if possible, till reinforced, but however to shew no fear, and proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms. This precaution succeeded to his wish. The Duke of Bedford approaching the Malcontents, ordered the Proclamation to be published in terms denoting great superiority and confidence. It had however little effect on the Rebels. But the Lord Lovel their Commander, fearing they would accept of the pardon, forsook them first. He retired all alone, and hid himself in *Lancashire* at his friend Sir Thomas Broughton's, and shortly after passed into *Flanders* to the Dukes Dowager of Burgundy. His Army being without a Leader, submitted to the King's Mercy. The Staffords, who were besieging *Worcester*, hearing what passed in the North, raised the Siege, and abandoning their Troops, took Sanctuary in the Church of *Colham*, a little Village [near *Abington*.] But that Church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged in the King's Bench to be no sufficient Sanctuary for Traitors. So the two Brothers being taken thence by force, Humphrey the eldest was sent to London to be executed at *Tyburn*; but Thomas, as being seduced by his Brother, was pardoned. This Rebellion, the first in this Reign, was like a Blaze which lasted not long. It was quenched with the blood of one single Person. We shall see, hereafter, others which cost the King more to extinguish the Flames.

One of the
Staffords
executed.

On the 3d of July, the Scotch Ambassadors, who had been some time at London, concluded a Truce with Henry, which was to end that day three years.

Cardinal Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury died about this time. The King, designing to procure the Archbishopric for Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely, gave him the custody during the vacancy, thereby declaring his intention, that no other Bishop might make an interest for the nomination. Accordingly Morton was elected some time after, but received not the Pope's Bulls till December.

Death of
Cardinal
Bouchier.
Morton suc-
ceeds him.
p. 302, 317.

July the 22d, John de Bouteillier, Lord de Maupertuis, Ambassador of Francis II, Duke of Bretagne, concluded at London with the King, a Truce, or rather a prolongation of the Truce, which still subsisted between England and Bretagne, till the death of one of the two Princes. But the Trade between the two Nations, which was settled by several Articles of this Treaty, was to last till the death of the Survivor.

Truce pro-
longed with
Bretagne.
p. 303—
312.

September the 20th, the Queen was delivered (2) of a Prince, tho' she had been but eight Months with child. The King would have the new-born Prince called Arthur, in memory of the famous British Monarch, of whose race he desired to be thought. The Family of the Tudors being British or Welsh, it was not unlikely that Henry designed by naming his Son Arthur, to insinuate his being descended from that illustrious Monarch. It is certain however, this report was not spread, nor Genealogies forged to confirm it, till after the time we are speaking

Birth of
Prince
Arthur.
Hall.
Stowe.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

1486. of. These who governed the State during Henry the Sixth's Minority, were very far from this opinion, since, after the death of *Catherine of France*, the Prince's Mother, they ordered *Owen Tudor* Grandfather of *Henry VII* to be sent to the *Tower* for presuming to marry the Queen. Nay, some affirm, he was beheaded.

As much of the King's Proceedings to deprive the House of York of their rights, had very much dissatisfied the People, who expected quite another thing. They who had called in *Henry* had been in hopes, that the titles of the two Houses being confounded by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, there would be no more distinction between *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians*, but all might equally expect the Places in the King's disposal. These hopes were further confirmed by the Birth of Prince *Arthur*, in whose person were united the litigious rights of the two Houses. But it was seen with extreme concern, that the King still considered the House of York as Rivals and Enemies, and that his Jealousy reached to the Queen herself, whose interest should have been as dear to him as his own. For, not content to shew by his continual coldness, and by several mortifications he made her endure, the little kindness he had for her, he had given her a very sensible mark of it, in deferring her Coronation, as if she had been unworthy to sit on the Throne with him. Nay, after she had brought him a Son, her Coronation was no more talked of than when they were first married. This conduct plainly shewed, the House of York was still odious to him, and that he feared to take any step which might give the People occasion to believe she had some right to the Crown. It was impossible but this affectation should cause great concern in the *Yorkists*, who were much more numerous than the *Lancastrians*.

It is rumoured that the King desired to put Warwick to Death. Bacon. Hall. and that one of Edward's Sons was killed. This discontent being almost universal, some malicious persons spread a report, that the King intended to put to death the Earl of *Warwick*, Prisoner in the *Tower*, and the sole Male of the House of York. Their Design was, no doubt, to compare *Henry* with *Richard III*, who had taken away the lives of his two Nephews to secure the Crown, and intimate to the People, that in changing Kings, they had only received one Tyrant for another. Moreover, it was openly rumoured, that one of *Edward* the Fourth's Sons was still alive, having, as it were miraculously, escaped his Uncle's cruelty. All this plainly tended to found the People's inclinations. The King himself, whether he was the Author of this rumour, as his Historian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage (1), was not sorry the People ran after a Phantome, because it hindered them from too firmly adhering to the Persons of the House of York, which really existed. Mean while, as the eagerness wherewith the People swallowed this false report, was a clear evidence how ready they would be, if a favorable opportunity offered, to lift against the King, so it gave occasion to the Project I am going to speak of.

A certain Oxford Priest, one *Richard Simon*, perceiving the People's joy at the false report of one of *Edward* the Fourth's Sons being alive, took it into his head to put upon the World for *Richard*, Duke of York, Brother of *Edward V*, a young Man, named *Lambert Simnel*, a Baker's Son, whom he trained up in his house, and believed proper to play such a part. He was about the Duke of York's age (2), of good natural parts, and in all his behaviour had something grand, and above his birth. *Simon* had scarce begun instructing his Pupil, when another rumour was spread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his escape out of the *Tower*. This news, though false, caused among the People so general a joy, that the Priest thought fit to alter his Project, and make *Simnel* pass for the Earl of *Warwick*. *Simnel's* age agreed better with the Earl's, and the circumstance of his escape was suitable to the Plot. His Pupil was to be well instructed for this purpose, since he was not to personate a young Man taken out of his Cradle in his infancy, and concealed in some private place, but a Prince well known, and brought up in the Court of *Edward IV*. The Earl was about twelve years old when imprisoned by *Richard III*. *Simnel* therefore was to learn to talk pertinently of *Edward's* Court, and to know particularly the Lords and Ladies that frequented it, as well as the King and Queen. This gives occasion to presume, that the Priest was himself instructed by persons well-informed, and the Plot suggested to him. For, though he had the assurance to form such a design, it is not likely he could instruct his Pupil in many particulars, which he was necessarily to know. At least, it is certain, the King imagined, the Queen his Mother-in-law, and other friends of the House

of York, were the real Authors of this contrivance, and only made use of the Priest as an instrument to execute their Designs. The Queen-Dowager was extremely intriguing. It was she that had set on foot the Project in favour of the King when in *Bretagne*, and thereby shewn her credit with the *Yorkists*. Besides, she could not but be very much displeased with the King's coldness to her Daughter, and his refusing to have her crowned. This alone was sufficient to cause the King to suspect her. But it may be, there was more than bare suspicions.

Be this as it will, *Simon*, or those that employed him, not thinking proper to produce *Simnel* first in *England*, where he might be examined too closely, and by Persons too knowing, judged it convenient that he should act his first scene in *Ireland*, where *Simon* the Priest accompanied him. In all appearance, some measures had been taken for his reception in that Country. Since *Henry's* accession to the Throne, he had very much neglected the affairs of that Island, reckoning that being master in *England*, the *Irish* were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the Duke of *Bedford* Governor of *Ireland*, in the room of the Earl of *Lincoln*, Nephew of *Richard III*, but had continued the same Deputy, the same Chancellor, and all the rest of the officers placed there by *Richard*. So, the Duke of *Bedford* being still in *England*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* Earl of *Kildare* commanded in *Ireland* as Deputy, and his Brother was Chancellor (3).

It is more than probable, that the Earl of *Kildare* was in the Plot, and had even begun to take measures to cause *Lambert Simnel*, the pretended Earl of *Warwick*, to be acknowledged in *Ireland*. Ever since June last, *Henry* had received notice that something was contriving against his service in that Country, though he knew not the particulars. Upon this information, he sent for the Deputy to Court, but the Earl found means to cause the Council of *Ireland* to write to him, that the Deputy's presence was absolutely necessary in the Island. *Simnel* being arrived at *Dublin*, addressed himself to the Earl of *Kildare* as Earl of *Warwick*, and informed him how he escaped out of the *Tower*. If the Earl of *Kildare* had not been in the Plot, or at least, wished the thing to be as *Simnel* related it, he would doubtless have seized the Pretender. It was his duty, as he commanded in *Ireland* in the King's name. But instead of taking that course, he left him at liberty, and so ordered it, with his Brother the Chancellor's help, that the arrival of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was divulged, without their appearing to be concerned. They would first see how the People would be affected with the news. The Impression it made, was as great and as sudden, as the Authors of the Plot could desire. When it was known in *Dublin* that the Earl of *Warwick* was arrived, the People expressed so great joy, that the Deputy and Chancellor believed there was no danger in acknowledging the Pretender. So, after a conference with their friends and confidants, they solemnly waited upon him at his lodging, and conducted him with great pomp to the Castle, where he was treated like a Prince (4). *Simnel* received the respect that was paid him with a countenance and carriage that by no means favoured of the meanness of his Birth. In a few days he was proclaimed in *Dublin* King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the name of *Edward VI*. The *Irish* regarded not the attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* his pretended Father, having newly learnt by the example of *Henry* himself, that the advancement to the Throne takes away all defects.

The news of so unexpected an event made the King very uneasy, because it struck upon that string, which he ever most feared; namely, his Title, of the goodness whereof he was not himself thoroughly satisfied. Indeed, the victory of *Bosworth* had given him an opportunity to decide the question himself in his favour. But he was very sensible, that if the Titles of the two Houses came once more to be put in the balance, he should want a second victory to confirm his, and the House of York would have reasons more than sufficient, if their affairs grew prosperous. In the next place, *Ireland*, where the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was retired, was a Country wholly devoted to the House of York, and consequently it was not easy to attack the Rebels there. For that purpose, it would be necessary to lead thither a numerous Army, which could not be done without immense charge. In fine, it was to be feared, the flames which began to appear in *Ireland*, would reach *England*, and that there was a secret correspondence between the *Irish* and *English*. In this strait, he called a Council of his most inti-

(1) The Lord *Hume* only says, "Neither was the King's Nature and Customs greatly fit to disperse these Misses, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to cherish doubts than assurance," p. 683.
(2) At sixteen years old. *Bacon*, p. 683.
(3) *Simon* the Priest was, the Earl was called *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, and the Chancellor, *Thomas*.
(4) The first Missengers to *England*, to desire the most considerable Persons, whom they knew to be well affected to the House of York, to supply the King with Money. *Hall*, c. 7.

1486.

mate friends (1), privately to consult with them upon what was to be done in the present emergency. It is to be presumed, he told them, the Queen Dowager his Mother-in-law had raised this storm, whether he had any proof, or it was only a suspicion thought by him to be well grounded.

Henry confines his Mother-in-law to a Monastery, and seizes her Estate. Hall. Bacon. Holingsh.

Be this as it will, presently after holding this Council, he ordered his Mother-in-law to be confined in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey* [in *Southwark*.] Moreover he seized all her Estate, which was very considerable. But as he did not care to discover to the publick the reason of this rigorous usage, because he could not perhaps give sufficient proof of her crime, he caused it to be reported, that she was thus punished for delivering the Princesses her Daughters into the hands of *Richard III*. This pretence rendered his action still more enormous with the people. They could not help thinking it very strange, that the Queen Dowager should be so severely punished for a fault, which might rather be deemed a weakness than a premeditated malice. In the next place, it could not be conceived, why the King had so long neglected to inquire into this pretended crime. In the third place, since he had married her Daughter, he seemed to have owned that she was innocent, or at least had forgiven her. Lastly, all knowing her to have been one of the principal instruments of his advancement to the Throne, they could not but abhor his ingratitude. This severe usage was thought to be a plain indication of a settled design, to use all pretences to complete the ruin of the House of *York* and its adherents. But it was not only compassion for the Queen's sufferings, which gave rise to these reflections; her example struck terror into all the Kingdom, there being very few families but what were guilty, either of having assisted *Richard III*, or of not having opposed him. When it was considered therefore, that the King's Mother-in-law was reduced to this sad condition, for not having been willing or able to resist the Tyranny of the late King, every one was afraid of being called to account for the like crimes, which were supposed to be buried in oblivion. Notwithstanding all this, the Queen Dowager was confined to the day of her death, which happened not till some years after (2).

She dies in Confinement.

The Earl of Warwick is shown in publick. Hall. Bacon. Holingsh.

It was thought at first that the Queen Dowager's misfortune proceeded from the cause published by the King. But it was quickly perceived to be an effect of the decrees of the secret Council called by the King upon *Simmel's* affair. Shortly after, pursuant to another decree of the same Council, the King ordered the true Earl of *Warwick* to be shown in publick, who was led through the principal streets of *London*, and then conducted in solemn procession to *St. Paul's*, where multitudes were assembled to see him. There, all had time allowed them to view him attentively. Nay, he was made to talk with those that knew him best, and particularly with such as were known to be well affected to the House of *York*; after which, he was again conveyed to the Tower. But the *Irish* maintained, that the Earl of *Warwick*, shown at *London*, was an impostor, and their's at *Dublin* the true Earl. They even took occasion from hence to exclaim against the King, for prostituting the ceremony of a procession to such a cheat. The King fearing the mischief would gain ground, thought to stop it, by proclaiming a general pardon to all that should quit the Rebels, and by promising a reward to those that should discover the secret of the plot. At the same time he sent orders to guard the Ports, that the Male-contents of *England* might not pass over and join their friends in *Ireland*. But all this was not capable to break the measures of his enemies.

The Earl of Lincoln goes over to the Duchess of Burgundy. Hall. Stow. Holingsh. Bacon.

It was not only in *Ireland* that troubles were preparing for him. The readiness wherewith some *English* Lords and Gentlemen embraced this opportunity to endeavour his ruin, plainly showed, the conspiracy had been laid some time before in *England*. Indeed, it is not likely, a single Priest should have formed such a project, without imparting it to persons more able than himself to accomplish it. Be this as it will, *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, declared by *Richard III* his Uncle, presumptive Heir of the Crown, was the first that openly appeared to maintain the interest of the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. He was Son of *John de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister of *Edward IV*, and *Richard III*. This Earl however seemed to act contrary to his own interest in taking part with the Earl of *Warwick*, who was nearer the Throne than himself. But as, probably, he was not ignorant, the person in *Ireland* was a cheat, he did not ques-

tion that he should easily destroy him, when he had made him his instrument to dethrone *Henry*. So, upon the first news of *Simmel's* being received and proclaimed King at *Dublin*, he embarked for *Flanders*, to concert with the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, the means to accomplish this undertaking.

Since the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Margaret* of *York* his Widow, Sister of *Edward IV*, and *Richard III*, lived in *Flanders* where her Dower was assigned her. As she had no Children by the Duke her Husband, she carefully attended the education of the Archduke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy* her Daughter-in-law. She had with extreme concern, seen the revolution which restored the House of *LANCASTER* to the Throne, in prejudice of the House of *York*. She would however have been patient, if *Henry VII* in uniting the two Houses by his marriage with *Elizabeth*, had held the balance even, and dispensed his favours impartially to the friends of both parties. But she altered her mind, when she saw *Henry* delayed marrying her Niece till the Crown was adjudged to himself, without any mixture of the Title of the House of *York*. She could not see without trouble, that, even after his marriage, he refused to let *Elizabeth* be crowned, an honour no Queen of *England* had been debarr'd of since the conquest; and the birth of a Son had not induced him to do her that justice. So, perceiving his hatred of the whole House of *York* was implacable, she did not think herself obliged to have much regard for him. On the contrary, she believed, she might without scruple, labour his ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this Princess was concerned in the Priest's and *Simmel's* plot, before *Ireland* declared for him. It is however very likely, she had helped to manage, together with the Queen Dowager, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and some other friends of the House of *York*. For, the Earl of *Lincoln's* voyage into *Flanders*, upon the first news of *Simmel's* arrival in *Ireland*, gives occasion to presume, he held private intelligence with the Duchess of *Burgundy*, and from her expected the success of the enterprize. The Lord *Lowel*, who was in *Flanders* before him, was likewise in the Plot as well as *Sir Thomas Broughton*, who staid in *England* to send them notice of what was transacting there.

Whether the Duchess of *Burgundy* contrived this Plot herself, or was only informed of it by the Earl of *Lincoln*, she readily embraced this opportunity, which she believed sufficiently favorable to inspire her with hopes of defeating *Henry's* establishment. Having advised with the Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lowel*, and some other Fugitives, she promised to furnish them with two thousand veteran *German* Soldiers, under the command of *Martin Swart* an Officer of note, with whom they should pass into *Ireland*, to strengthen the new King's party. She did not at all doubt but these succours coming from a foreign Country would encourage the *Yorkists* to take Arms in *England*. In this situation were the King's affairs about the end of the year 1486. But before we proceed to the occurrences of the next year, we must briefly see what had passed in the neighbouring Countries, especially in *France* and *Bretagne* during the course of this year.

I left the Duke of *Orleans* in *Bretagne* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. These Princes were no sooner in that Country, but many of their friends came and joined them, and even brought them some Troops. The Duke of *Bretagne* was old and infirm both in body and mind. Since the death of *Landais* he did not know who to trust with the administration of his affairs, considering his Barons but as so many enemies, though he had granted them a pardon. The Duke of *Orleans* finding him thus embarrassed, gained such an ascendancy over him, that he governed *Bretagne* as if he had been the Sovereign. The advantages he enjoyed in that Country, where almost every thing was in his disposal, drew thither many *Frenchmen*, who came to offer him their service. Mean while, the Duke of *Bretagne* assembled the States, and caused his eldest Daughter *Ann* to be declared Heiress of the Duchy; and in case she died without issue, it was decreed, her younger Sister *Isabel* should succeed her.

The Lords of *Bretagne* newly reconciled to their Sovereign, perceiving, the Duke of *Orleans* ruled absolutely in the Duke's Name, and that the *French* flocked to him in Crowds, began to entertain Suspicions of their Prince. They were afraid, he had sent for all these Strangers to help him to be revenged of them for their outrage upon

Defence of the Duke of Burgundy. Hall. Bacon.

She promises to assist the Earl of Lincoln. Hall. Bacon.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argente.

(1) At the Charter House at *Shew*, now called *Richmond*. Hall, fol. 7. Bacon, p. 584.
(2) She was buried at *Windsor*, by her Husband King *Edward IV*. Margaret, King *Henry IV's* Queen. Hall, fol. 4. Bacon, p. 585.

She completed the founding of *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, begun by

1486. his Favorite In this belief, they assembled at Chateaubriant to consult what was to be done to prevent the danger with which they thought themselves threatened. They were headed by the Lord of Rieux Marshal of Bretagne. Charles VIII, who was apprehensive, the Duke of Orleans intended to make use of the Duke of Bretagne's Forces to raise fresh troubles in France, thought it his Interest to cherish the British Lords discontent. He hoped thereby to hinder the Duke of Bretagne from assisting the Duke of Orleans. To that end, he sent to the Barons assembled at Chateaubriant, Andrew d' Epinay commonly called the Cardinal of Bourdeaux, with an offer of his Protection. The offer was gladly received by many of them, some of whom perhaps were already gained by the Court of France. Others, foreseeing the Inconveniences that might follow, were for rejecting it. They alledged the several attempts of Charles's Predecessors to become masters of Bretagne, and how dangerous it was to admit the French into the Country. In fine, to prevent this mischief, it was agreed, that a Treaty should be made with the King of France, to determine the number of Men he was to find them, and to set bounds to his pretensions. Pursuant to this resolution, they signed with the Cardinal a Treaty, importing, that the King should send them an aid not exceeding four hundred Lances, and four thousand Foot; that he should not take or besiege any place, neither make any demands upon the Duchy before Duke Francis's death. Charles ratified the Treaty, but as he afterwards showed, not with design to oblige it.

The Cardinal of Bourdeaux being returned to the King, told him, that during his stay at Chateaubriant, he had learnt, that the Prince of Orange was secretly treating of a Marriage between Maximilian of Austria, and Ann, eldest Daughter and Heiress of the Duke of Bretagne. This discovery obliged King Charles to form the project of seizing Bretagne, if perhaps it was not quite formed already. The posture of the affairs of Europe was extremely favorable. Ferdinand and Isabella King and Queen of Arragon and Castile, little regarded the preservation of Bretagne. Besides, they were then employed in their wars with the Moors of Granada. But though Charles might have feared, that Ferdinand would enter into some League for the Duke of Bretagne's defense, he had an infallible way to prevent him: And that was, to restore him Roussillon, which was of much less consequence than Bretagne to the Crown of France. Henry VII, who had a manifest Interest to oppose this enterprize, was embarrassed with affairs that, probably, would hinder him from meddling with those of others. It was precisely at the time, when the pretended Earl of Warwick began to appear in Ireland. As for the Low-Countries, Charles had not much to fear from thence. Philip, the Sovereign, was still a Minor. Maximilian his Father and Guardian, who governed these Provinces in his name, was but little regarded. Though he had made Peace with the Flemings, there was however a mutual distrust, which would not suffer him to send his Forces out of the Country. Besides, the war with France was renewed this year, on account of Terouenne, surprized in full Peace by the Governor of Douay. In short, though Maximilian was the Emperor's Son, and chosen King of the Romans in February this year, he was ever in extreme want of Money, his new Dignity having made no addition to his power (1).

In the beginning of the year 1487, Henry concluded with Maximilian a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only provisional, till certain Articles could be settled, upon which the English and Flemings with difficulty agreed. The Trade between England and the Low-Countries was so necessary for the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being sufferers. But for that very reason each strove to reap some advantage from the situation of affairs, which rendered the Treaties very difficult.

The Bishop of Exeter being translated to Winchester, the King promoted to the vacant See, Richard Fox, who was already Keeper of the Privy Seal. Of all the Courtiers, he was the person in whom the King placed the most Confidence, next to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mean while, Henry was not easy, since the Earl of Lincoln's retiring into Flanders. He knew the Dukes of Burgundy to be haughty and enterprising (2), and powerful enough to assist such as would attempt to disturb him.

The Earl of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, presently after Simnel's arrival in Ireland, left him no room to question, there was a design formed between the Earl and the Dukes of Burgundy, to support the pretended Earl of Warwick. So, fearing the storm would divide and fall upon him both from Flanders and Ireland, he resolved to have two armies, under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford, to be ready at the same time to oppose the descent of the Flemings and Irish, if they should think of attacking England. Mean while, as he was not afraid of an Invasion before Summer, he resolved to improve the leisure the Winter Season afforded him, in taking a progress into the eastern Counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. There was most danger from those parts, by reason of the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. When he was come to St. Edmundsbury, he heard, the Marquis of Dorset was hastening to clear himself of some Imputations laid to his Charge, and to offer his service. But the King believing, that after what he had lately done to the Queen Dowager, the Marquis her Brother could have no great affection for him, refused to receive him, and sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, with orders to carry him to the Tower. He let him know however, that after the troubles were appeased he should willingly hear him, and if he caused him to be arrested, it was purely to provide for his own safety, by preventing his hearkening to those that might give him ill advice (3). Then, he came to Norwich (4), from whence he went in Pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham (5), after which he returned to London (6).

It was not till the beginning of May, that the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and Martin Stuart, sailed for Ireland, with the two thousand Germans raised by the Dukes of Burgundy, at her own expence. Presently after their arrival at Dublin, they proceeded to the Coronation of the pretended King, which was performed with great Solemnity, in the presence of the Earl of Kildare, the Chancellor, and the rest of the great Officers. He was crowned with a Crown taken from the head of the Virgin's Statue in St. Mary's Church. There were but two or three Bishops that refused to acknowledge the new King (7). The History of Ireland says, that the pretended Sovereign summoned a kind of Parliament, where the Clergy granted the Pope a Subsidy, for fear the Court of Rome should take occasion from these proceedings to trouble them.

The Coronation being over, a great Council was held to consult what was next to be done. Their success in Ireland, where not a Sword was drawn for Henry, made them expect great matters in England. The Leaders fancied, they were in a much better Condition to overthrow Henry, than Henry himself was when he passed into England, to overthrow Richard III. They scarce doubted of Success, being sure, as they imagined, the English for the most part would rise in their favour. However, some were for making Ireland the Seat of the war. They alledged, as the chief reason, that Henry would never venture to come over in person, or in case he quitted England, his absence would occasion in the Kingdom Insurrections which would greatly promote the Affairs of the new King. Had this advice been taken, Henry would have been very much embarrassed. In that case, he must have had two strong armies on foot, one to subdue Ireland, the other to keep all quiet in England. It is easy to see, that at such a juncture it would not have been prudent to leave England without Troops, both by reason of the Correspondents, the Rebels might have there, and the neighbourhood of the Dukes of Burgundy, who would have taken advantage of such a neglect. Accordingly, Henry, as I observed, had already resolved to have two armies. But others on the contrary represented, that Ireland was not able to pay the German Troops, much less maintain a long war. That besides, the standing upon the defensive in Ireland was not the way to dethrone Henry, but the attacking him in England, where it was likely, they should meet with many friends. This advice was strengthened by another reason, which was not alledged, but however was the real motive thereof, namely, that the Germans and Irish were in hopes of making their fortunes in England, whereas in Ireland, they had scarce wherewithal to subsist. So, it was resolved to pass immediately into England, in the same Vessels that had transported the Germans. Mean while, Henry hearing of the Earl of Lincoln's arrival in Ireland with the foreign

(1) This year, on Novemb. 27, King Henry granted Bernard Andrews, his Poet Laureat, an Annuity of ten Marks. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 317.

(2) The Lord Bacon observes, she had the Spirit of a Man, and the Malice of a Woman. p. 585.

(3) Adding, That he should always be able, (when he had cleared himself) to make him Reparation. Bacon, p. 586.

(4) Where he kept his Court. Hall, t. 1. p. 9.

(5) This place was once famous throughout England for Pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary. For in those days, whoever had not made a Visit and an Offering to our Lady of Walsingham, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. Camb. in Norfolk.

(6) By the way of Cambridge. Hist. p. 1430.

(7) Namely, the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishops of Clogher and Offory. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 332.

1487.
Henry of
fembles his
Army at
Coventry.
Hall.

Simnel ar-
rives in
England.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

Bacon.
Hall.
The Earl of
Lincoln re-
fuses to
fight.

The King
marches to
Nottingham.
Hall.
Bacon.

Battle of
Stoke.
June 6.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

The King
gets the
Victory.

Earl of
Lincoln
flames.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Simnel is
taken and
made the
King's Scul-
lion, torn
Faulconer.
Hall.

The Priest
is imprisoned.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

Troops, was no longer embarrassed, since he had only to defend himself from one quarter. So, giving orders, that all his Forces should assemble near *Coventry*, he repaired in person to that City, which lies in the Center of the Kingdom, till he had certain advice of the designs of his enemies.

Some time after, he heard that *Simnel* was landed in *Lancashire* (1), in Company with the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel* and the *German* General. Sir *Thomas Broughton* joining the Rebels with a small body of *English*, they all marched together towards *York*, without committing any Act of Hostility in their rout, in order to draw the People to their side. But they found themselves deceived in their expectation. Not a Man, except what *Broughton* had brought, took arms in their favour, the *English* not liking at all to receive a King at the hands of the *Irish* and *Germans*. The Earl of *Lincoln*, who commanded the Army, had resolved to avoid fighting, in expectation of being joined by great numbers of Male contents. But seeing the People's coldness, he thought he should come to a Battle as soon as possible, left his Army, which was but eight thousand strong, should diminish instead of increasing. So, changing his rout on a sudden, he marched towards *Newark*, in hopes to become master of that place before the King should arrive.

Mean while, *Henry* was advanced as far as *Nottingham*, where he held a Council of War. He had yet drawn together but six thousand Men, and for that reason several advised him to decline fighting till the rest of the Troops which were expected, had joined him. But he was of another opinion. As he could not believe that the Earl of *Lincoln* had formed such an enterprize, without assurances of being assisted, he judged it requisite to give him Battle without delay. Two days after he saw his Army reinforced with five or six thousand men (2), whereupon all the reasons against the resolution, he had taken, entirely vanished. As soon as he had reviewed these new Troops, he detached several parties of Light-Horse to discover the Earl of *Lincoln's* designs, and being informed, he was advancing towards *Newark*, resolved to prevent him. To that end he marched with such expedition, that he encamped between the Enemies Army and *Newark*. The Earl of *Lincoln* advanced that day to a little Village called *Stoke*, where he encamped on the side of a Hill. Next Morning being *June* the 6th (3), *Henry* offered him Battle, leaving only in the Plain a space to serve for the field. But he was debarred of one great advantage, in that the ground being narrow, would not allow him to extend the Front of his Army, which was more numerous than that of the Enemy. For which reason he was forced to draw up his Army into three lines, having taken care to place in the first all his best Troops to the number of six thousand Men. Probably the Earl of *Lincoln* had designedly chosen that ground, in hopes, that if he could defeat the King's first line, they would fall foul on the rest of the Army and put them in disorder, as it happened to *Richard III* in the Battle of *Bosworth*. In effect, it was the King's first line only that fought. They stood for three Hours the efforts of the *Germans*, who being used to War, and well disciplined, fought with great order, and inspired the *Irish* with Courage. At length the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare* (4), and *Martin Stuart* being slain on the place, and most of the *Germans* killed or wounded, the *Irish* took to flight, not being able alone to resist the *English*. It is said, there were at least four thousand killed on the side of the Rebels, and half of the King's first line. Which shows with what obstinacy it was fought on both sides (5).

Among the Prisoners were found the new King of *Ireland*, become *Lambert Simnel* as before, and the Priest his Companion and Instructor. *Henry*, either out of Generosity or Policy, was pleased to give *Simnel* his life, and to honour, with the office of Turn-spit in his Kitchen, the Person that had boldly aspired to the Throne, and even worn a Crown. Some time after he was preferred to be one of the King's Faulconers [in which office he died.] As for the Priest, he was immediately close Prisoner, and heard of no more. Some imagined he was privately put to death, others that the King was pleased to spare his life, in order to learn the most secret circumstances of the conspiracy, and it may be, to confront him with the guilty,

if there was occasion. However it does not appear in History, that *Henry* made any discovery by that means. At least, there was nothing divulged. If the Queen Dowager was in the Plot, she could not be more rigorously punished than she was already, unless she was brought to the Scaffold. As for the Duche's of *Burgundy*, she had no occasion to fear any Proceedings against her. It is said the King was extremely sorry for the death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, which robbed him of the satisfaction of knowing all the particulars of the Plot. As for the Lord *Lovel*, some say he was drowned in attempting to swim the *Trent*, others affirm, he was slain in the Battle. Some again report, that he spent the residue of his life in a Cave. Be this as it will, he appeared no more from that time.

Presently after the Battle, the King marched to *Lincoln*, where he made some stay, and then went to *York*. In his way, were tried many persons accused of holding intelligence with the late Rebels. It is true, most of them were punished only by Fines, the King's sole aim being to fill his Coffers. And therefore he chose rather that these Trials should be ended by Commissioners of his own appointing, or by a Court Martial, than by the usual course of Justice, which was not so favorable to his design. For, in accusations of this Nature, the Laws of *England* admit of no medium between death and absolute discharge, and the King would have neither. But Commissioners and Court Martials are not so strictly confined to the Letter of the Law (6), but judge in a more arbitrary manner. Therefore the frequent encroachment, of what is called in *England* the Martial Law, upon the privileges of the People, has been the cause of reducing it within just bounds, so that it cannot take place but by an Act of Parliament made for that purpose (7). As for administering justice by Commissioners, it is true the King has still that prerogative, but then he seldom uses it, and in certain cases only by Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* (8) as they are called. It is certain, *Henry* upon this occasion discovered his covetous and selfish Temper. He pretended to favour the guilty in sparing their lives: But this Clemency was more than balanced by his severity, in stripping them of their possessions. The crime they were charged with was not of having assisted the Rebels, but of having raised and dispersed a report some days before the Battle, that the Royal Army was cut in pieces. The King supposing that such a report was spread only to discourage his friends, and hinder them from bringing him Troops, made strict Inquiry after those that were suspected of this new sort of crime. As his sole aim was to make an advantage of the Fines and Confiscations, the persons commissioned for Judges were more ready and less scrupulous to favour his design, than if the lives of the parties accused had been at stake. It may be easily guessed the King made choice of the fittest persons for his purpose. His Historian says, that *Henry's* progress to *Lincoln* and *York*, was more like an itinerary Circuit of Justice, than a King's progress to visit his Counties.

When the King had drawn what he wanted from the guilty or suspected persons, he sent for a papal commission, to empower the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to absolve those that had incurred the Penalty of Excommunication decreed by the Bull before-mentioned. The Pope in this Commission took for granted, that they who had attempted to disturb *Henry* in the possession of the Crown, were struck with bitter remorse, and therefore he was willing, from a motive of charity, to ease their conscience. But it was evident, that this was only for a further Support of the King's title.

At the same time *Innocent VIII* sent a Bull to restrain a little the privileges of Sanctuary. It ran, That if Thieves, Murderers, Robbers, registered as Sanctuary-Men, should fall out and commit fresh offences, and enter again, in such case they might be taken out of their Sanctuaries by the King's Officers. That as for Debtors who had taken Sanctuary to defraud their Creditors, their persons only should be protected, but their goods out of Sanctuary should be liable to seizure. As for Traitors, the King was allowed to appoint them Keepers in their Sanctuaries to prevent their escape. Certainly it was a great abuse to make Churches serve to protect Villains. It had been long complained of in *England*, and probably the King had applied for a reformation, but could obtain

1487.

The Lord
Lovel ap-
pears no
more.
Hall.
Bacon.

See next
Subject: 4
Persons are
found
Bacon.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Bacon.

Bull in fa-
vour of the
Rebels.
Aug. 1.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 324.

Another con-
cerning
Sanctuaries.
Bacon.

(1) He landed at the Pyle of *Fleedrey* near *Lancaster*. Hall, fol. 9.

(2) With them came *George Talbot* Earl of *Sherburn*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheney*, and of other Knights and Gentlemen at least three-score and ten. Bacon, p. 587. *Peydore Virgil* hath a List of them. Vit. Hen. 7.

(3) Hall, *Stow* and *Hollinghead* say, it was the 16th; and Sir *J. Ware* the 20th.

(4) Sir *James Ware* says, it was *Thomas Fitzgerald*, who according to him is erroneously called the Earl, that was killed.

(5) In this Battle Sir *Thomas Broughton* is said by our Historians to fall also; but *Camden* says, it is a mistake, and that he escaped to *Wetherick*, a Manor of his in *Westmoreland*, where he lived a good while *incognito* among his Tenants, and where he died and was buried; his Grave being known, and to be seen at this day. *Camden*. *Lancash.*

(6) Martial Law depends upon the will but arbitrary Power and Pleasure of the King, or his Lieutenant. See *Joach* sub voce *Martial Law*.

(7) The putting any man to death by Martial Law, in time of Peace, was adjudged to be against *Magna Charta*, and Murder 3 *Instit.* 52.

But temporary Acts of Parliament have of late enabled our Kings to hold Courts Martial in time of Peace. See 4 and 5 *Will.* and *Ann.* c. 13.

(8) Two old French words, signifying to hear and determine.

1487. what we have just seen. *Alexander VI* confirmed the Bull in 1493.

In the King's progress to *Lincoln* and *York*, he had frequent occasion to perceive that his partiality to the House of *York*, and injurious Treatment of his Queen in refusing to have her crowned, were the main Springs of the People's discontent. So, contrary to his inclination, and with a sole view to prevent future troubles, he resolved at last to do her that Justice. He came to *London* the beginning of *November*, where he made a triumphant entry. Next day he went in Procession to *St. Paul's*, and had *Te Deum* sung for his victory over the Rebels. He was very glad to render it as conspicuous as possible, in order to strike terror into his Enemies. Then he commissioned the Duke of *Bedford* to execute the office of High-Steward at the Queen's Coronation, which was performed on the 25th of *November*, with the usual Solemnities. The Queen was then one and twenty years old, and had now been married two years. So the King's affected delay of her Coronation, could not but be deemed a consequence of a settled design to humble the House of *York*, and the Queen in particular, whom the King considered as his Rival. Accordingly, as it was easily perceived, that his resolution to have her crowned immediately after *Simnel's* Affair, was the effect of his fear, he was not thanked for it, because he was believed to do it with regret. He likewise released the Marquis of *Dorset* without examination, probably to give the People some satisfaction. He intended to have it thought an Act of Grace, and withal to leave the Marquis in the fear of being still called to an account. But it is to be presumed, that since he was so little inclined to show mercy to the *Yorkists*, he would not have discharged the Marquis so easily, had there been proofs to convict him.

Towards the end of the year, *Henry* sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope, wherein the Ambassador that was Spokesman distinguished himself by his excessive Encomiums of the King his Master. His praises would have passed for extravagant, if his commendations of the Pope had not made them seem very moderate.

During the King's stay at *York* (1), after the Battle of *Stoke*, publick disturbances in *Scotland* gave him an opportunity to enter into a Negotiation with *James III*, from which he hoped to reap some advantage. I have spoken of *James's* Character in the Reign of *Edward IV*, and shown how odious he had rendered himself to his great Men, even to their being forced to hang his Favorites. The War made upon him by *Edward IV*, and his danger of being dethroned, seemed to have something moderated his passions, or at least, obliged him to show them less. But the Death of Prince *Alexander* his Brother, and of *Edward IV*, and the troubles in *England* during the Reign of *Richard III*, giving room to believe he had nothing more to fear, he returned to his former courses. Without reflecting any more on the risk he had run, he entirely gave himself up to a new Set of Favorites, Men of mean Birth, and no less odious to the Nation than the former. But this was a trifle in comparison of the design he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his Breast a violent desire of revenge upon the great Men who had offended him, he resolved to dispatch at once all those whom he considered as his principal Enemies. To that end he caressed them exceedingly, and became very familiar with them, the better to surprize them. When by this dissimulation he had drawn almost all of them to Court, he communicated his design to the Earl of *Douglafs*, and told him, he did not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of destroying all his Enemies at once. *Douglafs* feigned to approve his resolution, but privately warned the Lords of their danger, and retired with them from Court. The King being disappointed, resolved to execute his design by open force, and levied Troops for that purpose, but the Lords likewise armed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was destroyed, and nothing to be expected from an agreement with such a Prince, they found means to gain his Son, by making him apprehensive, they were going to deliver *Scotland* to the King of *England*, if he would not put himself at their head. As soon as the Prince had joined the Lords, their party grew so powerful, that the King beginning to repent his enterprise, proposed an agreement. But he was told, there was no other way to a reconciliation than the King's resignation of the Crown to his Son. All hopes of Peace vanishing upon this proposal, *James* shut himself up in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, from whence he dispatched Ambassadors to the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *England*, to desire their assistance.

1487. It was in *September*, whilst *Henry* was at *York*, that the Ambassadors of *Scotland* came to him, under colour of treating of some differences concerning the Fishery of the river *Eske*. *Henry*, who had an admirable talent at turning all things to his advantage, thought this a good opportunity to be rid at once of the Queen his Mother-in-law, and her two Daughters, by marrying them in *Scotland*. For that purpose he sent to King *James*, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, who agreed with him (2) upon the following articles, with their Master's pleasure.

I. That pursuant to a former agreement, the Marquis of *Ormond*, a *Scotchman*, should marry *Catherine*, the third Daughter of *Edward IV*.

II. That King *James* should espouse *Elizabeth* Widow of *Edward IV*, and Mother to the Queen of *England*.

III. That *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son of the King of *Scotland*, should marry another of *Edward IV's* Daughters.

IV. That the King of *England* should resign for ever to the King of *Scotland*, the Town of *Berwick*.

V. That, in order to settle the Articles and Conditions of the three Marriages, Commissioners on both sides should meet at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *January* next, and another assembly be held upon the same subject in *May*.

VI. That the two Kings shall have an interview in *July*.

VII. Lastly, That the Truce concluded between the two Kingdoms, being to expire *July* the 3d, 1488, should be prolonged to the 1st of *September* 1489.

As for the succours which *James* expected from *Henry*, they were not mentioned in these Preliminaries. Probably, King *James's* Ambassadors were satisfied with a verbal promise.

Henry ratified these Articles, the 20th of *December*, but the King of *Scotland's* ratification is not with *Henry's* in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Perhaps *James* was prevented by the troubles in his Kingdom, which daily increased, and caused likewise this project to vanish into air, as will be seen under the next year.

The War continued all this time in the *Low-Countries*, between *Charles VIII* and *Maximilian*, to the advantage of the first, whose Troops surprized *St. Omer*, and *Tervuerne*. Some time after, *Maximilian* having caused the Lord *Ruffingheim* to be carried away and conducted to *Wilvorde*, the Prisoner found means to escape and retire to *Gaunt*. Upon his arrival, he stirred up the *Gantois* to revolt, and take arms against *Maximilian*. This war was of very great Consequence with regard to the affairs of *Bretagne*, of which it is necessary at present to give a particular, though brief account, because they are to be the subject of the History of the five following years.

The King of *France*, and the Lords of *Bretagne* had treated together with very different views. The Lords imagined, it was an excellent means to secure them from the designs of their Duke, and *Charles* perceived, it was an infallible way to conquer *Bretagne*.

In the beginning of the Spring 1487, *Charles* sent four armies into *Bretagne*, from four different quarters. The first alone was six thousand strong, which exceeded already the number he had promised to find by the Treaty. Upon news of this Invasion, the Duke of *Bretagne* seeing himself forsaken by almost all his Barons, retired into the Center of his Country, being accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and some other *French* Lords of the Duke of *Orleans's* Party. He staid some time at *Muletroit*, where he very hastily assembled an army of sixteen thousand Men, ill-armed, and undisciplined, by reason of the long Peace *Bretagne* had enjoyed.

The Duke's Court was in so great Consternation, that none knew what course to take to resist so formidable an Invasion. Indeed, means were found to engage the Lord d'Albret, then in *Navarre*, to take the Duke's part, on promise of a Marriage with the Princess *Ann*, Heiress of *Bretagne*. The Duke himself, and all the rest of the Lords, the Duke of *Orleans* excepted, gave it under their hands to procure him this Marriage, but without intention to perform their word. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not think him considerable enough for his Daughter. The Earl of *Dunois* designed to marry the young Princess to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange* was privately labouring to procure this rich match for the King of the *Romans*. Thus this engagement was only intended to perswade the Lord d'Albret to withdraw two

(1) Hall and Hollinghead say, That it was during his stay at *Newcastle*, where he spent the rest of the Summer. fol. 11. p. 1432. *Stow*, p. 472.

(2) On *Novemb. 28*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 329.*

1437. Troops of Men at Arms, which he had in the French Army, and send them into the Duke of Bretagne's Service. Poor refuge upon so pressing an occasion!

Mean while, the French being joined in one body, advanced into the Country, and laid Siege to Ploermel. The Duke of Bretagne immediately marched to the relief of that place, but had the mortification to see himself forsaken by his army, of which there remained not with him above four thousand Men. Surprized at this unexpected accident, he retired to Vannes. But the French, now masters of Ploermel, pursued him so briskly, that he was obliged to embark in great disorder, and shut himself up in Nantz. The French improving this Consternation, took Vannes and Dinant, and then besieged Nantz. Some time before, the Duke had sent the Earl of Dunois to England to desire assistance. But though the Earl had embarked four several times, contrary winds had still hindered him from pursuing his Voyage. Mean while, the Marshal de Rieux head of the Male-contents, perceiving King Charles so ill observed the Treaty, complained of it in strong terms. But instead of receiving any satisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldness.

Embassy of France to Henry about Bretagne. Bacon. Hall. Hollingsh.

Whilst Charles was employed in the Siege of Nantz, he heard, the King of England had obtained a signal Victory over his enemies, and the affair of the pretended Earl of Warwick was entirely ended. 'Till then he had believed him so embarrassed at home, that he had not vouchsafed to say any thing to him concerning the war with Bretagne. But when he knew him freed from his troubles, he sent Ambassadors to try to divert him from any design he might have to interpose in that affair.

The French Ambassadors discourse to the King.

The Ambassadors found the King at Leicester, where they had their Audience. They told him, that the King their master considering him as his best friend, had sent them to impart to him the Success of his arms in Flanders, and withal to congratulate him upon his Victory over his rebellious Subjects: That they were moreover charged to tell him, that the King their master was forced to enter into a just war with the Duke of Bretagne, who had received the Duke of Orleans, declared enemy of France, not to protect him, but solely with a view to aid him to raise Commotions in the Kingdom, by lending him the assistance of his arms: That the King of France could not omit taking proper measures to prevent his pernicious designs, and therefore his war with the Duke of Bretagne was properly defensive only, though he had caused an army to enter his Dominions: That he that gave the first blow, was not to be deemed the Aggressor, but he that gave the Provocation: That the Duke of Bretagne could not deny that he had harboured in his Dominions, nay, in his very Court, French Rebels, and formed plots with them very prejudicial to France, without being able to complain of any injury: That therefore the King their master hoped from his Wisdom and Justice, that before he concerned himself in the war, he would weigh the ill Consequences of a Protection given to rebellious Subjects, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the most solemn Treaties, particularly by a Homager: That if he was something obliged to the Duke of Bretagne, on the other hand, he had not, doubtless, forgot the aid he had received from the King of France, when the Duke of Bretagne had not only abandoned him, but was even going to deliver him to his enemy: That this aid was given contrary to the Interest of France, since it would be better for her, that a Tyrant, odious to all his Subjects, should reign in England, than such a Prince as himself: That therefore, the King their master hoped, he would not undertake the defence of the Duke of Bretagne in so ill-grounded a quarrel, but on the contrary, assist his real friend, or at least, stand neuter.

The King's Answer. Hall. Bacon.

The Ambassadors avoiding, as a rock, to speak of their master's design to conquer Bretagne, the King thought not proper to mention it in his answer, though it was not difficult to perceive it through all their disguises. He contented himself with telling them, that of all persons, he was most obliged to the King of France, and the Duke of Bretagne. For which reason he was extremely desirous to give them both real marks of his Gratitude. That therefore he would, on the present occasion, discharge the duty of a true friend, by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very speedily send them Ambassadors to offer his mediation.

The King has a wrong Notion of the War of Bretagne. Ibid.

Henry was not so blind, but he saw the King of France's intent. But unhappily for Bretagne, he was possessed with a notion, that Charles would never be able to execute his

designs. His belief was founded upon the Forces of Bretagne, which had hitherto successfully resisted France; upon the natural Levity of the French, who are easily discouraged by difficulties; upon the troubles the Duke of Orleans could raise in the Kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diversion, the King of the Romans could make in Flanders. Pursuant to this principle, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he resolved to become only Mediator, without sending any effective Supplies to the Duke of Bretagne. He did not doubt that King Charles would consent to an accommodation, for fear of drawing upon him the arms of England. Indeed, it was evidently the Interest of the English to prevent the ruin of Bretagne, and therefore Charles must have thought, they would use their utmost endeavours to oppose his design. Accordingly, Henry building upon this foundation, that Bretagne could not be subdued, if England seriously espoused her quarrel, and that Charles would not believe him so impolitic as to suffer that Duchy to become a Province of France, imagined he would readily accept of his mediation, and desist from his enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two considerable advantages. First, the reputation of making Peace between the two Princes, to whom he was equally obliged. The second was much more important to him. As he was naturally very covetous, and as the desire of heaping up riches was the chief end of all his projects, he perceived this affair would furnish an occasion to demand money of the Parliament, under colour of assisting Bretagne, and that he might keep this money without employing it (1).

Pursuant to this scheme, he sent Ambassadors (2) to King Charles to offer his mediation, and in case it was accepted, the Ambassadors had orders to make the same offer to the Duke of Bretagne. Charles was then employed in the Siege of Nantz, and as he hoped to be soon master of the place, saw nothing more after that, capable of hindering him from entirely conquering Bretagne. So, all his endeavours tended only to manage, that the King of England should not assist the Duke of Bretagne before the taking of Nantz. When the Ambassadors offered him the mediation of the King their master, he answered with great dissimulation, he willingly consented, that the King of England should act not only as mediator between him and the Duke of Bretagne, but also as judge, and absolute arbiter of the peace. He was in hopes, either the Duke of Bretagne would reject this proposal, or if he accepted it, he should possibly gain time till the taking of Nantz; after which, he considered himself as master of Bretagne.

The Ambassadors imagining they had surmounted the greatest difficulty, repaired to the Duke of Bretagne, who was shut up in Nantz, and made him the same offer from their master. The Duke of Orleans told them in the name of that Prince, that at a time when his Country was invaded, and ready to be swallowed up by the French, he expected rather an effective supply from the King of England, than a mediation, which must be fruitless, since nothing was more easy than to prolong the Negotiation till Bretagne was lost: That he intreated the King to remember the favours he had received in Bretagne, and consider of what consequence it was to England to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a Province of France. The Ambassadors returning with this answer to King Charles, he took occasion to tell them, that for his part, he was very desirous of Peace, as plainly appeared by his proposal, but was sorry to find that the Duke of Bretagne, beset by the Duke of Orleans, would never consent, without being forced by the continuation of the War. This he artfully instilled into the Ambassadors, who at their return into England, told the King, it was proper to leave the Duke of Bretagne in his present ill circumstances, that he might be induced of himself to desire the rejected Mediation.

Mean while, the Siege of Nantz was vigorously carried on (3). Charles, probably, would have at last taken the place, had not the Earl of Dunois been detained in lower Bretagne by contrary Winds. Whilst he was in those parts, the Inhabitants of the Country hearing their Duke was besieged in Nantz, assembled to the number of sixty thousand Men, with a resolution to relieve him. The Earl of Dunois perceiving them in this disposition, put himself at their head, and approached Nantz, the French not daring to attack the undisciplined multitude. On the contrary, they contracted their quarters for their

He offers it to Charles. Charles accepts of it. Bacon. Hall. Hollingsh.

The Duke rejects it. Hall.

Charles makes this Refusal turn to his advantage.

The Earl of Dunois takes the Siege of Nantz to be raised.

(1) Besides, he was possessed with many secret Fears touching his own People, and therefore was loth to put weapons into their hands. Bacon, p. 590.

(2) Christopher Urswick his Chaplain. Ibid.

(3) During this Siege, King Charles, the better to maintain his dissimulation, sent Bernard Lord D'aubigny to King Henry, earnestly desiring him, to make an end in some manner or other of this War and Controversy between him and the Duke of Bretagne. Accordingly, Henry dispatched the Abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Edgcombe, and Christopher Urswick to France. Hall, fol. 13. Bacon, p. 590. Hollingshead, p. 1432.

1487. better defence, and so left the Earl of *Dunois* free to throw succours into the Town. Which done, he suddenly retired, not desiring to fight the *French* Army with such Troops. This so seasonable a relief, obliged the *French* to retire, in despair of taking the place. The raising of the Siege confirmed *Henry* in his belief, that the conquest of *Bretagne* was too difficult for *France*. So, persisting still in his resolution to stand neuter, he had not even the thought of sending succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He pretended however, to have his interest at heart; but it was only to procure a Subsidy from the Parliament, which he had summoned for the 9th of November. Mean while, he sent again the same Ambassadors to King *Charles* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, under colour of being perfectly informed of the state of this affair, in order to lay it before the Parliament, though he knew beforehand what answer they were to bring back.

Woodville. About this time *Edward* Lord *Woodville*, the Queen's Uncle, desired the King's license to go and serve the Duke of *Bretagne* with a Troop of Volunteers. *Henry* denied his request, not thinking proper to aid one of the parties when he was offering them his mediation. Nevertheless *Woodville* sailed from the *Ile of Wight* [of which he was Governour,] with four hundred Men into *Bretagne*. This aid, though inconsiderable, made a great noise at the Court of *France*. *Charles* publicly complained of it; but as *Henry* denied that the Lord *Woodville* had carried these Troops to the Duke with his consent, was contented with that satisfaction. He was very careful, at such a juncture, not to quarrel with *Henry* for so small a matter.

Before the English Ambassadors arrived in *Bretagne*, there had been in that Country a revolution prejudicial to the King of *France's* affairs. The Lords of *Bretagne* who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his intention was to conquer the Duchy, made their peace with the Duke, and obtained a full pardon. The Marshal de *Rieux*, their head, was the last to comply. He would first be thoroughly convinced of the *French* King's designs, which yet he only suspected. For that purpose, after privately treating with the Duke of *Orleans*, he sent a messenger to the King to tell him, that the Duke of *Orleans* offered to quit *Bretagne* with all his followers; and therefore, since the *French* Troops had entered *Bretagne* only to expel that Prince, he most humbly besought him to recall them, pursuant to his Treaty with the Barons. *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the messenger, the King had gone too far to recede, and would see the issue of the affair. This answer obliged the Marshal to follow the example of the rest of the Barons, and be reconciled to the Duke, who gave him the command of his Army.

Though *Charles* had raised the Siege of *Nantz*, he continued his conquests elsewhere. Soon after his Troops took the Town of *Del* by storm; whereupon the Duke not thinking himself safe in *Nantz*, thought fit to retire to *Remes*. He saw himself extremely pressed, and yet did not hear that preparations were any where making for his relief. In this extremity, he was persuaded by the Prince of *Orange*, to promise *Ann* his eldest Daughter to the King of the *Romans*, though he had already promised her to the Lord d'*Albret*. The Prince of *Orange* made him believe that *Maximilian*, finding himself concerned to defend *Bretagne*, would not fail to come to his assistance with a powerful Army. But at this very time, the revolt of the *Gantois* disabled that Prince to do any thing for *Bretagne*.

Whilst these things passed, *Henry's* Ambassadors in *Bretagne* had frequent opportunities to be convinced that *Charles* was only amusing the King their master, and intended to conquer that Duchy. *Henry* knew this still better than they; but was willing, their report should

serve for foundation to demand a Subsidy for the defence of *Bretagne*, though he still believed the affair might be adjusted, without drawing the Sword. His sole aim was to make the Parliament apprehensive of the loss of *Bretagne*, that they might more readily supply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his Coffers.

The Parliament met the 9th of November, just after the return of the Ambassadors. Care had been taken to divulge the report they had brought to the King, to prepare the Commons to make a powerful effort in the defence of *Bretagne*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (1) as Lord Chancellor, opened the Session with a Speech to both Houses to this effect:

"That the King thanked his Parliament for the Acts passed in his favour at their last meeting: That he was so well satisfied of their affection, that he had made it a rule to himself to communicate to so good subjects all affairs, as well foreign as domestick, that might happen, and that one now occurred, concerning which he desired to have their advice.

"That the King of *France* (as no doubt they had heard) was making fierce War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*: That he alledged for reason the protection given by the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Duke of *Orleans*; but others guessed a very different motive: That both parties had applied to the King, one to pray him to stand neuter, the other to desire a powerful aid: That the King having offered his mediation, found the *French* King ready to treat, but without discontinuing the War: That the Duke on the contrary, though he was very desirous of peace, and most wanted it, was averse to a Negotiation, not upon confidence of his own strength, but upon distrust of the *French* Court's sincerity: That after sundry Embassies tending to an amicable determination of this affair, the King had desisted from his mediation, because he could neither remove the Duke of *Bretagne's* distrust, nor persuade the King of *France* to cease Hostilities during the Treaty: That this being the state of the case, he desired their advice, whether he should send succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and enter into a defensive league with him against *France*."

After thus stating the question, he alledged several arguments *pro* and *con*, his aim being, under colour of leaving the Parliament free to determine what they should judge proper, to make them sensible of the necessity of aiding *Bretagne*. This necessity was in effect so evident, that there was need but of a very moderate knowledge of the interests of the State, to see of what consequence it was to *England* to prevent the conquest of *Bretagne*. However, it is worth noting, that the King knowing how much it concerned the English to defend *Bretagne*, alledged these reasons by the mouth of his Chancellor, only to obtain a Subsidy, without intending however, to employ it in support of the oppressed Prince. This will plainly appear in his whole future conduct. The Parliament, according to the King's expectation, failed not to advise him to undertake the defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and granted him for that purpose as large a Subsidy as had ever been given to any former King (2) on account of a foreign War (3).

As soon as the Parliament broke up, *Henry* resumed the way of Negotiation with *Charles*, still fancying that the terror of his Arms would lead that Prince to an agreement. The only means however to save *Bretagne*, was to send thither a strong aid, and declare War with *France*, according to the Parliament's intention. But *Henry* had laid another plan, founded wholly upon his extreme desire that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was content therefore with sending Ambassadors to King *Charles*, to notify to him the Parliament's resolu-

(1) D. John Mort.

(2) *Provision* *For* *lay*, it was a Poll-Tax—Tributo in singula capita imposito—But, according to *Stow*, every Man was taxed to pay the tenth Penny of all Lands and Goods, p. 473. See also *Hall*, fol. 16. *Hillingfleet*, p. 1434.—In the first Parliament of this King, the Taxes granted were as follows: 1. *Aunage*, which was three Shillings on every Tun of Wine, of Denizens; and six Shillings of Aliens. 2. *Providence*, that is, one Shilling in the Pound of all Merchandizes imported or exported; except Tin, for which Aliens were to pay two Shillings. 3. *The Subsidy of Wool and Woolsells*, which was thirty three Shillings and Fourpence of Denizens, and of Aliens three Pounds six Shillings and Eightpence; for every Sack of Wool, and for two hundred and forty Woolsells. And for every Last of Hides, Denizens were to pay three Pounds six Shillings and Eightpence; and Aliens, three Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Fourpence. *Rymers Feud. Tom. XII. p. 333.* The Clergy granted then the King a Tenth. *Ibid. p. 323.*

(3) In this Parliament, the Authority of the *Justices*, which before subsisted by the ancient common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Cases by Act of Parliament. This Court consisted of Counsellors, Peers, Prelates, and chief Judges. It took cognizance of Forfeitures, Frauds, Advancements, honours or capital Crimes not already committed. The other remarkable Statutes now enacted were these: 1. That if any of the King's Servants, under the degree of a Lord, did commit the death of the King, or any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, or the Lord Steward, Treasurer, or Comptroller, it should be Felony. This Law was thought to be procured by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty Man, and finding he had many mortal enemies in Court, provided for his own safety. 2. The taking and carrying away Women, having Lands and Goods, (except Female wards, and Brethrens) forcibly, and against their will, and the abetting of it, was made Felony. 3. It was ordained, That Clerks convicted should be burned in the Hand. 4. That the Sheriff shall certify the names of all his Prisoners at the Goal-Delivery. 5. That all Deeds of Court made to defraud Creditors shall be void. 6. That Costs shall be awarded to the Plaintiff, where the Defendant such a Writ of Error before execution had. See *Statute 3 Henry VII*; and *Edw.*, p. 94.

1487. tion. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the War on the part of *England* should be only defensive, and solely with respect to *Bretagne*.

Charles's Army.

The Court of *France* easily perceived by these proceedings, that the King of *England* had no great desire vigorously to push this affair, since, when he should have been preparing for War, he contented himself with sending Ambassadors. So, *Charles* told the Ambassadors, that he was always ready to accept of the King of *England* for Arbitrer of the differences between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*; but did not intend to suffer himself to be amused with a Treaty, which would only serve to give the Duke time and opportunity to restore his affairs. That he should be always willing to treat, provided it was not meant to require a Truce destructive of his interests.

1488. The Duke of Bretagne made 1000 progress. August. Month.

The Winter procured the Duke of *Bretagne* a cessation of Arms, which all the instances of the King of *England* had not been able to obtain, as it obliged the King of *France* to put his Troops into quarters, and return to *Paris*. Moreover in *March* 1488, the Marshal de *Rieux* retook *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and garrisoned *Ancenis* and *Chateaubriant*. On the other hand, the Lord d'Albret's two Troops of Men at Arms deserted the *French* service, and joined the Duke's Army. But this little turn of fortune was of no long continuance. In *April* the King took the field again, and having retaken *Ancenis* and *Chateaubriant*, razed them to the ground. After that, he marched to *Fougères*, and belieged at once that place and *St. Aubin du Cormier*.

Charles's Army. St. Aubin.

Mean time, the Lord d'Albret having accepted the proposal made him in the beginning of the War, came into *Bretagne* to serve the Duke with a thousand Horse. Upon his arrival, he pressed the Duke to perform his promise concerning the marriage. The Duke, who had privately promised his Daughter to *Maximilian*, being greatly embarrassed, put the young Princess upon declaring, she would never espouse the Lord d'Albret, tho' she was not then above eleven years old. This opposition gave the Duke a pretence to elude d'Albret's pursuits, till the Princess's obstinacy could be conquered.

The Lord d'Albret arrives in Bretagne, and presses the Duke about his Marriage. The Duke evades his demand.

He sues for Peace to the King of France.

Mean while, the unfortunate Duke finding himself little able to resist the *French*, and receiving assistance neither from *Maximilian* nor the King of *England*, sent the Earl of *Dunois* to *Charles* to sue for peace. *Charles* did not think fit to return a positive answer. He was willing first to see the success of his two Sieges. On the other hand, he was in Treaty with *Henry* for a Truce which he expected shortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuse peace to the Duke, or enter into Treaty with him. So, keeping the Earl of *Dunois* still at Court, under divers pretences, he put him off from day to day, till he had received certain advice from *England*. Shortly after, he heard that *Henry* had signed at *Windfor* a Truce, to commence the 14th of *July* this year, and to end the 17th of *January* 1490. Thus having nothing to fear from *England*, he wholly applied himself to continue his conquests.

New Truce between France and England. Act. Pub. XII. p. 357.

344. Remark on Henry's Conduct.

Most certainly *Henry*, in leaving the Duke of *Bretagne* to the mercy of his Enemy, acted directly contrary to the Parliament's intention, which had granted him a Subsidy for the assistance of that Prince. This Truce, made without any necessity, when the Duke of *Bretagne* was most pressed, plainly shews, he suffered himself to be blinded by the Court of *France*, or rather by the desire of keeping the money granted by the Parliament for the aid of *Bretagne*. The Duke's occasion for a powerful assistance could not be more pressing. *Charles* was in the heart of his Country, at the head of a strong Army, taking his Towns one after another, and he not able to make any resistance. At the same time *Henry* was concluding with *France* a Truce which tied up his hands, and afforded King *Charles* time and facility to conquer *Bretagne*. Wherefore his Historian, prepossessed no doubt in his favor, and not imagining, he had thus causelessly forsaken the poor Duke in his distress, mentions not this Truce made with *France* at so unreasonable a time. Moreover, he makes the Succours sent by *Henry* into *Bretagne*, to arrive there the beginning of *August* this year, whereas it is very certain they came not till *March* seven months after. These affected delays, which surprized all the world, proceeded wholly from the King's wrong notion of this War, and his desire to end it, without being obliged to use the money given by Parliament.

and upon an opinion of his Historian. Bacon.

The Duke of Bretagne refuses to accept of the assistance.

Mean time, the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marshal de *Rieux*, were in the utmost confusion. The King of the *Romans*, the

King of *England*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, had seemed to espouse their quarrel; but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to assist them. In this extremity, a Council was held to consider what course was to be taken. Most were for marching to the relief of *Fougères*, and joining Battle rather than suffer that place to be lost. The Marshal de *Rieux* opposed in vain this dangerous advice, by representing that the loss of a Battle would infallibly be attended with the ruin of *Bretagne*. That it would be much wiser to delay the time till the neighbouring Princes should see their own interest, since it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to suffer *Bretagne* to be swallowed up by *France*. To this it was replied, that probably *Bretagne* would be lost before any Succours arrived, and therefore the only way to save it was a victory. The Duke of *Bretagne*'s understanding was so impaired, that he was little able to judge soundly of an Affair of such consequence. So suffering himself to be governed by the Counsels of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, he resolved to march to the relief of *Fougères*. But upon his approach, he found the Town had already capitulated. Then he determined to relieve *St. Aubin du Cormier*, but the Governor, for want of Provisions and Ammunition, had surrendered a few days before.

Whilst the Duke of *Bretagne* was marching to *St. Aubin*, all the Forces of *France* joined in one body, under the command of *Lewis de Trimouille*, for fear the Duke had intended to retake that place. In a few days, the two Armies were so near one another, that it was not possible to part without giving Battle. Whilst they were preparing on both sides, a rumour being spread among the *Bretons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were going to betray them, they were upon the point of disbanding. But the two Princes removed their fears, by going amongst them to charge on foot. The Battle was fought the 28th of *July*, with fatal success to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was defeated with the loss of his best Troops. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* being taken Prisoners, the King commanded the first to be confined in the Tower of *Bourges*, but set the other at liberty. The four hundred *English* brought over by the Lord *Woodville*, were almost all slain with their Leader (1). As the *English* were then distinguished by a Red-Cross, twelve hundred (2) *Bretons* were joined to them with the same Badge, to make the *French* believe, that fresh Succours were arrived from *England*. It may be, this gave occasion to some to affirm, that King *Henry* had already sent a fresh body of Troops to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Lord *Verulam*, who has writ the History of this Reign, does not say this, but assures us, that eight thousand *English* arrived within a few days, and offered the *French* Battle, who did not think proper to accept it. *Polydore Virgil* and several others say the same thing. But herein they are mistaken. *Henry* had not yet made any Treaty with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and it was not till after the Duke's death, and in *March* the next year, that he sent, as will be seen, six thousand Men to the Duchess his Daughter.

In a few days after the Battle of *St. Aubin*, *Lewis de Rennes la Trimouille* ordered the City of *Rennes*, Capital of *Bretagne*, to be summoned, but the Inhabitants continued firm in their Allegiance to their Sovereign.

Whilst these things passed in *Bretagne*, *Henry* was levying in *England* the money granted by Parliament. That was a principal Affair which he hastened extremely, on pretence of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s pressing occasion for a speedy assistance. All the Counties, except *Yorkshire*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, readily paid the Tax imposed by the Parliament. But in these parts, where the friends of the House of *York* were very numerous, it was not collected with the same ease. Some factious persons stirring up the People, the Commissioners for gathering the Subsidy met with so much opposition, that they were obliged to make application to the Earl of *Northumberland* (3), who immediately gave the Court notice [and desired the King's direction.] The King answered, he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by Parliament, both by reason of the urgent occasion, and because other Counties might be encouraged to desire the like mitigation. Upon this answer, the Earl of *Northumberland* assembled the principal Justices and Free-Holders of the County, and in very imperious Terms declared to them the King's intention. The rough manner in which he spoke to them, without shewing any regard for persons who were but too much incensed, gave them reason to think, he himself advised the King to such an an-

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The Duke of Orleans and Prince of Orange are taken.

Part of St. Aubin, wherein the Duke of Bretagne is defeated.

Mezmaur. Argentan. Woodville's slain, with his men.

Hall. Hollingh. Error of the English Historians.

Refuses to surrender.

1. Jefferson in the North of England. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingh.

(1) Besides them, there were six thousand *Bretons* slain; and twelve hundred of the *French*. Hall, fol. 15. Hollingh. p. 1433.

(2) Hall says, twelve hundred. fol. 15.

(3) Henry Percy, chief Ruler of the north parts. Hall, fol. 16.

1488. swer. This being rumoured in York, the Mob rose, and assaulting the Earl's house, forced it open, and murdered him with several of his Servants. But the Mutineers did not rest there. Presently after, being inflamed by one John a Chamber an Incendiary, they set Sir John Egremont at their head, and publickly declared they were marching to London to give the King battle.

Henry being informed of this Infurrection, sent into the North a body of Troops under the command of the Earl of Surrey (1), whom he had released out of the Tower, and received into favour, preparing to follow him in person with more considerable Forces. But whilst he was on his way, he heard that Surrey had beaten and dispersed the Rebels, and John a Chamber was taken Prisoner. As for Egremont, he had the good fortune to escape and retire into Flanders to the Dukes of Burgundy, whose Palace was a Sanctuary to all the King's Enemies. Though this Affair was ended, Henry however pursued his Journey to York, where he ordered John a Chamber to be hanged on a Gibbet raised in the midst of a square Gallows, on which twelve of his Accomplices were hanged round about him. After that, he returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surrey President of the North, and Sir Richard Tunstall his principal Commissioner, to levy the Subsidy, of which he would not remit a denier.

Mean time, the news of the Battle of St. Aubin being brought to the King, he seemed resolved to send a powerful aid to the Duke of Bretagne. But it was still in hopes that the terror of his Arms would oblige King Charles to consent to a Peace. This Artifice was not however capable of deceiving the Court of France, which plainly saw through all his designs.

The loss of a Battle had reduced the Duke of Bretagne to a State worthy of pity. He could no longer support himself with his own forces alone, and saw no preparations for his defence, either in Flanders or England. Henry had put him in hopes of assistance, but was not in haste to send him any. As for Maximilian, instead of being able to assist his future Father-in-law, he was himself detained Prisoner in a Sedition against him at Bruges, where several of his Officers were killed. His Captivity lasted from the beginning of January to the 15th of May, and his release then was owing to the Emperor Frederick his Father, who had marched into the Low-Countries at the head of an Army to his relief. So instead of thinking to assist Bretagne, he was himself seeking on all sides for foreign Succours against the Flemings. To that end, forgetting his engagements with the Duke of Bretagne, he sent this very year to the King and Queen of Spain, to demand in marriage Isabella their eldest Daughter, and at the same time Jane their second Daughter for his Son Philip. The first of these demands could not be granted, Isabella being already promised to the Prince of Portugal. But the other was effected in time. At last in September, Philip de Cleves Lord of Ravenstein, heading the Gantois and surprizing the City of Brussels, Maximilian retired into Germany, leaving in the Low-Countries, Albert Duke of Saxony to command in his place, in the name of the Archduke his Son.

There was therefore no appearance of aid for the Duke of Bretagne, either from England or the Low-Countries, or in short, from any other place. In this distress, the unfortunate Duke humbly sued to the King of France for peace, who very readily complied with his request, not from a motive of Generosity, but to put it entirely out of his power to defend himself, by causing him to lose the assistance of the King of England, whose interest it was to support him. Though Henry had agreed to a Truce with France, which was not to expire till January 1490, Charles was afraid however he would change his mind, and assist the Duke his Ally with all his Forces next Campaign. In order therefore to divert him from this thought, he very willingly concluded a Peace with the Duke of Bretagne, intending to keep it no farther than was consistent with his Interests. For in his whole Conduct, with regard to Bretagne, he did not seem more scrupulous than his Father King Lewis XI was in all his Negotiations.

The discussion of Charles's pretensions upon Bretagne, delayed for some time the conclusion of the Peace which was negotiating at Verger, a Seat belonging to the Marshal de Rieux, where the King then was. Charles pretending, that after the decease of the Duke of Bretagne, the Guardianship of his Daughters belonged to him as Sovereign Lord of the Duchy, this pretension was disputed by the Bretons, who affirmed the Dukes of Bretagne had never done Liege-Homage to the Kings of France, and consequently they had no right to claim the Guardianship in question. It was no favorable Juncture to decide, to

the advantage of the Bretons, this so long, and as yet undetermined dispute. But this pretension of Charles was a trifle, in comparison of another of much greater consequence. He maintained, that the Duchy itself belonged to him, by virtue of a certain Grant to King Lewis XI, from the Lady de la Brosse, Heiress of the House of Blois, who had formerly disputed Bretagne with the Ancestors of Francis II. This was renewing an old quarrel, which had been ended by several Treaties, and particularly by that of Guerande, whereby the House of Blois relinquished all claim. However, Charles insisted not obstinately upon these two Articles, contenting himself with having intimated his pretensions, in order to prosecute them in time and place. So, the Treaty was concluded about the end of August, importing, that Charles should remain with the places he had conquered, and withdraw his Forces out of the rest of Bretagne. But he did not intend to observe this last Article. The Duke ratified the Treaty at Coyron, where he then was, and therefore it is called by the Bretons, the Treaty of Coyron, and by the French, the Treaty of Verger, or Vergy.

A few days after, namely, on the 9th of September, died Francis II, Duke of Bretagne, in a very advanced age, and with his understanding so impaired, that for some years past, he had been incapable of governing the State. Ann his eldest Daughter, about twelve years old, succeeded him. The Duke her Father had appointed her for Guardian, the Marshal de Rieux, who was to be assisted by the Earl of Cominge. But Philip de Montauban Chancellor of Bretagne found means to carry away the young Dukes to Guerande, where under colour of giving her advice, he made her speak as he pleased. This occasioned between the Marshal and the Chancellor a quarrel, which proved extremely prejudicial to the Dukes, and to all the Bretons in general.

Henry hearing of the Duke of Bretagne's decease, openly declared, that he considered the Interest of the young Orphan Dukes as his own, and seemed to prepare in earnest to assist her. But as he knew likewise that, a few days before the Duke's death, a provisional Treaty had been concluded till all the King of France's pretensions were settled, he did not question that the affair would be ended by way of Negotiation. The Business was only to hinder King Charles from taking advantage of the present Consternation of the Bretons. This he imagined could be effected, by loudly proclaiming his concern for the Dukes's affairs. He still believed, Charles feared him, and rather than break with him, would resign much of his pretensions. So, his aim was to become arbiter of this difference, and avoid a war which would have forced him to empty his Coffers.

For this purpose it was that he sent Ambassadors to the King of the Romans, to the Archduke his Son, and to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, to make the King of France believe, he was labouring to form a League against him. He sent also an Embassy to Charles himself (2), to press him to end entirely the affair of Bretagne by a Treaty. At the same time, he sent Edgcomb and Ainselworth to offer his assistance to the Dukes, and empowered them to promise in his name, to find her such a number of Troops, upon sufficient Security for the re-payment of the Charges. We shall see under the next year, to what all these Embassies tended. But before we proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the revolution in Scotland.

The affair of Bretagne so employed the Kings of France and England, that James III could obtain no assistance from either, against the Lords who had the Prince his Son at their head. The Male-contents would have been very glad to decide the quarrel by a battle. But the King still kept in the Castle of Edinburgh, where it was not possible to force him. Though Charles and Henry had promised him aid, they were not very desirous to espouse his quarrel. Mean while, he was still in hopes, and therefore kept close, expecting the performance of their promise.

Whilst his affairs were in this situation, he was advised to quit the Castle of Edinburgh for Sterling as the more convenient place, and there expect the foreign succours. James taking this advice, began his march with his few Troops, and presently the Lords were close after him. He was however far enough before them to be secure, if the Governor of Sterling, bribed by his enemies, had not refused him admittance. So, not knowing where to go, he resolved to return to Edinburgh; but meeting the Army of the Male-contents, was forced to fight, though much inferior in number of Troops. He was killed in the Battle which was fought in the month of June. After his death, James IV, his eldest Son, about

(1) Thomas Howard.

(2) The Ambassadors were, Christopher Urjewyke, Thomas Wards, and Stephen Fryon. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 347.

1488. fifteen years old, was proclaimed in his room, by the Lords who had placed him at their head. But all the Scots were not satisfied with this change. There were many that refused to own the young Prince, whom they taxed with being the murderer of his Father, and gave him great disturbance for some time. In July the new King sent Ambassadors to Henry to notify his accession to the Crown (1).

Act. 10. c. 1.
 1489. p. 362.

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On the 10th of February 1489, the Ambassadors, sent into *Bretagne*, concluded a Treaty with the Dukes, of which the principal article was, that the King engaged to send into *Bretagne* an aid of six thousand Men. To consider this alone, one would be apt to imagine, Henry acted only from a principle of generosity, or at least for the interest of his Kingdom. But he had no such thought. His sole aim was first to hinder *Bretagne* from being overrun by a sudden invasion of the French, in order to give room for a Treaty. In the next place, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the succours, sent the Dukes, the expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be afterwards re-paid with usury. As this Treaty manifestly shows his interested views in this affair, it will not be improper to insert the substance of each article: Which added to what will be said hereafter, will serve in great measure to give a just idea of this Prince's character.

Treaty of
 Reims.
 Act. 10. c. 1.
 1489. p. 362.

I. The antient Treaties between *England* and *Bretagne* shall be observed.

II. There shall be a constant friendship and alliance between the King of *England* and the Dukes of *Bretagne*.

III. They shall mutually assist one another in case either is attacked.

IV. If the King shall carry War into *France* for the recovery of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, the Dukes shall find him Troops according to her power.

V. The King shall also aid the Dukes, if she carries the War into *France* for the recovery of her right, without prejudice however to the Truce concluded between *England* and *France*, which is not to expire till the 17th of January 1490.

VI. Neither of the two parties shall admit into his Dominions the rebellious Subjects of the other.

VII. The King shall send the Dukes at his own charge an aid of six thousand Men; upon condition, that a sufficient number of these Troops be allotted to guard the cautionary Towns hereafter mentioned, which shall be delivered to the King. But the number shall not exceed five hundred.

VIII. These six thousand Men shall serve the Dukes at the King's expence till the first of November.

IX. Immediately after that day the Dukes shall find Ships with all necessaries, to transport the Troops into *England*.

X. The six thousand Men shall be embarked at *Portsmouth* about the middle of this instant February, or at farthest, by the end of the said month, upon Vessels provided by the Dukes.

XI. The Dukes engages to repay the King all his expences, for the transportation of the Troops both out and home, and for their maintenance whilst in her service, as also for the defence of the cautionary Towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The Re-imbursment shall be made in *England*.

XIII. It may be made at several payments; the cautionary Towns remaining in the King's hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the six thousand Men in *Bretagne*, the Dukes shall deliver any two of the following places the King shall chuse, *Tonclarmeuau*, *Hennebond*, *Avray*, *Vannes*, *Guerande*, with all their revenues, to be kept till the King is fully repaid, without any deduction, and then only shall he be obliged to restore them.

XV. If the King carries War into *France* upon his own account, and the Dukes find him succours, her expences shall be deducted out of what she shall owe the King. In like manner if the King aid the Dukes in an offensive War with *France*, she shall re-pay his charges upon that occasion.

XVI. If any of the places now possessed by the King of *France* be re-taken, the King shall have liberty to chuse one or two of these places, in the room of one or two of those which shall then be in his hands. Upon condition however that he chuse not *Brest* and *Tonclarmeuau* at the same time.

XVII. Two Commissioners shall be appointed on each side, to settle the King's expences for the assistance of *Bretagne*.

XVIII. The Dukes shall swear before the English Ambassadors, that she will not demand again the cautionary Towns till the whole Debt be paid. The Marshal of *Bretagne* with three or four of the principal Lords shall take the same Oath.

XIX. Before the cautionary Towns shall be delivered to the King, they shall be furnished with a sufficient quantity of Artillery, and a fortnight's provisions.

XX. The Fairs and Markets shall be kept there as usual.

XXI. As soon as part of the King's Troops shall arrive in any Port of *Bretagne*, the Dukes shall send to the Ships sixteen Hostages; namely,-----or at least four of them to be detained till the cautionary Towns are delivered.

XXII. The Dukes, the Marshal, and three or four of the principal Lords shall swear upon the Holy Gospels, that she will not make a contract of marriage with any person whatever without the King's consent.

XXIII. She shall make no alliance, nor hold intelligence with any Prince, except the King of the *Romans* and the King of *Spain*, nor even with these without the King's consent (2).

XXIV. She shall conclude neither Peace nor Truce for above two months, nor even make a Truce for that time, without including the King.

XXV. The King promises the same thing on his part.

XXVI. The Treaty of Commerce between *England* and *Bretagne* of the 22d of July 1486, shall be renewed.

XXVII. The King and the Dukes shall give mutual security for the observance of the Treaty of Commerce.

XXVIII. English money shall pass in *Bretagne* after this manner,-----the King shall be obliged to receive the same Money in payment.

It is easy to perceive that in making this Treaty Henry had three different views. First, to prevent Charles VIII from becoming master of *Bretagne*, whilst the Dukes was so little able to resist him. If Charles should have finished the conquest of *Bretagne* next Campaign, as was very easy, Henry would have been blamed by all Europe. Particularly, he would have been inexcusable to the Parliament, who had granted him a very considerable subsidy for the defence of that Duchy. His second view was to frighten the King of *France*, by the sending of English Troops into a compliance to end the affair by way of Negotiation. This is manifest from his lending the six thousand Men for eight months only, and that too, when they were of no service but to prevent the Court of *France* from violating the Treaty of *Vergy* then in force. His third and chief aim was, to secure the reimbursement of what he was going to advance, for the maintenance of the six thousand Men for eight months. He had already projected the keeping for his own use the subsidy granted by Parliament for the defence of *Bretagne*, in the expectation of deciding the affair by his mediation. Mean while, he saw that the young Prince, in her circumstances, could not resist the King of *France*, if he thought of pursuing his conquests. So, to oblige King Charles to enter into Treaty, it was necessary to show him the Dukes would not want Protectors, if he pretended to continue to use the way of Arms. He could not help therefore advancing the money, since the Dukes was not able to do it. But withal he took so great care not to lose his money, that it is visible from the Treaty, his principal aim was the re-payment of his expences. There are two farther remarks to be made upon his conduct. First, 'tis probable, he would lend his Troops out but for eight months, least the sum should mount too high, and consequently become difficult to be repaid. Secondly, he was willing not only to secure the principal, but to receive it also with interest. For, after receiving places in mortgage for his security, he left the sum undetermined, in order to have it settled by Commissioners. He knew that when he had the Towns in his hands, Ann would one day be forced to submit to what he should prescribe, and it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his Troops as high as he pleased. What I am saying is not a bare conjecture, since we shall find in the sequel that he raised this expence to an exorbitant sum. Thus Ann was so bound by the Treaty, that this aid was no less expensive to her than

1489.

Remarks
 upon this
 Treaty.

(1) And at the same time, the Truce concluded between the two Crowns in 1486, was ratified and confirmed by Henry, on the 26th of July. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 345, 346. Commissioners had been appointed, in the former part of the year, to treat of a Peace or a Prolongation of the Truce between both Kingdoms. Ibid. p. 334, 339, 340, 343.

(2) Unless he is expressly included in the said Alliances. Rymer's Fœd.

1489. the French Army itself, which remained quiet without any attempt, though it still continued in the Country. Charles had fully designed to take advantage of the confederation of the Bretons after the death of their Duke. But in a Council held upon that occasion, the Chancellor de Rochefort was utterly against it, from motives of honour and equity. His opinion made the deeper impression upon the King, as he still feared, that, though the King of England acted but faintly, he would alter his mind. Besides Henry's Embassies to Spain, to the King of the Romans, and to the Archduke, gave the Court of France some uneasiness. They were afraid of a league which would have obstructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

*Dissent in
Bretagne.
Argentré.*

Whilst the Treaty was negotiating at Redon, the Duchess's affairs were in a deplorable state. She not only saw a French Army in the heart of her Country, and in possession of several Towns; but moreover, was destitute of Men and money. What was still more grievous at such a juncture, was the dissent among her principal Lords. The Marshal de Rieux pretended to govern her, as her guardian. But Philip de Montauban her Chancellor had such an ascendant over her, that he caused her to consider the Marshal as an enemy, so that she absolutely refused to be under his guardianship. Montauban's pretence to exasperate her was, that the Marshal would have married her to the Lord d'Albret. But the Chancellor represented to her that the Marshal intended to ruin her, by giving her a Husband unable to protect her. He even insinuated that the Marshal was bribed by the King of France, whose interest it was to marry her to a Lord not supported by any Prince in Europe. It may be the Chancellor was himself gained in favour of the King of the Romans. Be this as it will, their dissent was carried so far, that the Marshal de Rieux caused the Gates of Nantz to be shut upon the Duchess, and even threatened to besiege her in Rennes. It is not therefore surprising that Montauban, who managed the Duchess's affairs, should agree to the Treaty of Redon; since, by the arrival of the English Forces his party would be exceedingly strengthened.

*The English
arrive in
Bretagne.
Hall.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 355,
360, 373,
378, 380,
381, 394.*

The English Succours at last arrived in March, which with Henry's Embassies to several Courts, made King Charles imagine, he intended to act vigorously in defence of Bretagne (1). In this belief, finding he could not execute his designs by open force, without entering into war with the English, and drawing perhaps other enemies upon himself, he thought some other course should be taken. There was on foot a Treaty of Peace between him and Maximilian, and between Maximilian and the Gantois, by the mediation of the German Princes, assembled at Francfort. As this affair was in a good way, he did not question that a Peace would ensue. He had in his power, Margaret Daughter of the King of the Romans, in order to espouse her when marriageable, and was not ignorant of the late Duke of Bretagne's engagement with that Prince, concerning his Daughter's marriage. So, not at all doubting, that his future Father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a Peace, would be ready to favour him, he sent and offered the Duchess of Bretagne to make him Umpire of their differences. Ann gladly accepted the proposal, being almost sure of the favour of a Prince who expected to marry her, and Maximilian did not want much Intreaty to become arbiter of an affair, in which he himself was so much concerned. Thus Charles, Ann, and Maximilian, acted all three with Infincerity.

*Charles and
Ann take
Maximilian
for Umpire.
Argentré.*

*Treaty made
at Francfort.*

The Ambassadors of France and Bretagne being met at Francfort, concluded, by the mediation of the King of the Romans, a provisional Treaty, importing, that Charles should restore the places conquered upon Bretagne, except Dinant, St. Aubin, Fougeres, and St. Malo: That these four Towns should be committed in trust to Maximilian, and the Duke of Bourbon, and the French Troops march out of the rest of Bretagne: That on her part, the Duchess should send away the English: And in April next, a Congress be held at Tournay, to adjust all disputes: That, in the mean time, both parties should send their reasons to Avignon, to be examined and discussed by Civi-

lians, that their opinions might serve for the instruction of the mediators. 1489.

This Treaty was without effect, though both Parties seemed pleased with it. Ann was obliged by the Treaty of Redon, to deliver two places to the King of England, and these two places were to be kept by five hundred English. By the present Treaty, she promised to send away all the English. But as the five hundred Men which kept the two places were not excepted, Charles pretended, he was not bound to execute the Treaty of Francfort, till all the English were departed from Bretagne, to which Ann could not oblige them. So, though in November, pursuant to the Treaty of Redon, the English Forces returned into England, the five hundred Men however remained, and it was not in the Duchess's power to send them away, unless she repaid the King of England all his charges, which was impossible. The affair rested therefore in the same state it was before the Treaty of Francfort, and the two parties neither sent their reasons to Avignon, nor their Ambassadors to Tournay.

Mean time, Maximilian's marriage with Ann was negotiating with all possible secrecy. Maximilian's agents represented to the young Princess, the honour she would enjoy of being Queen of the Romans, and in time, Empress. But with this honour, she would have wanted a powerful assistance, which her Lover was not able to give her. He could not draw any Forces out of Flanders, and send them to Bretagne, without breaking with France, included in his late Peace with the Gantois. Besides, this Peace was so ill secured, that it did not last a whole year. Thus Maximilian, Son of an Emperor, himself King of the Romans, and Governor of the Low-Countries, had only empty Titles, which gave him little power. Nevertheless, the young Duchess was still made to expect a powerful aid from him, whether her advisers wilfully shut their Eyes, or because there was then no other Prince in Europe, from whom she could hope for any assistance. The King of England might have protected her, but had entertained so wrong a notion of the affair, that the Issue alone was capable to undeceive him.

At last, the Marriage was accomplished in November, with a Ceremony [then altogether new in those parts.] For the Prince of Nassau, Ambassador and Proxy of Maximilian, put his naked Leg into the bed where the Duchess was laid, as a sort of Consummation. This was done however with such secrecy, that neither Charles nor Henry appear to have known it, till March 1491. It is true, Argentré, Historian of Bretagne, says, that from the beginning of the year 1490, all the publick Acts ran in the name of Maximilian and Ann. If so, it would be hard to conceive how their marriage could be kept secret. But very probably, Argentré was mistaken one whole year. For we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts of England, several Commissions of the year 1490, in the name of the Duchess alone, and the first there with Maximilian's name, is dated in March 1491 (2).

Though the English Troops were returned, Charles renewed not Hostilities in Bretagne. This forbearance made Henry imagine he had attained his end, that is, had frightened Charles by the sole appearance of rupture. The truth is, Charles was greatly embarrassed. He could not think of letting go Bretagne, and on the other hand, perceived it would be very difficult to finish the Conquest, without drawing on himself a war from England, and perhaps from several other States.

Mean while, Ann seeing the war would infallibly be renewed, as soon as her marriage was divulged, used all her endeavours to convince Henry of the necessity of sending fresh Succours to Bretagne, without discovering however the true reason. For this purpose she sent to him in February 1490, Chancellor Montauban, and other Ambassadors, with orders to desire assistance, and an express power to promise in her name, that she would never marry without his consent (3). This shows, her marriage with Maximilian was still a secret, which she did not think fit to divulge. In their Instructions, the Ambassadors were ordered to acquaint the King with her protestation in form, against her Father's engagement with the Lord d'Albret, and with whatever d'Albret and de Rieux had done to compel her to ratify the same. This

*1490.
Charles is
put to a
band.*

*Embassy of
Ann to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 387.*

(1) He sent thither a Reinforcement sometime after, as appears by his Proclamation dated August 16. 1489. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 337.

(2) There was a Parliament held in the beginning of the year 1490, which met at Westminster, January 13, wherein the following Statutes were enacted: 1. That no finer of Gold or Silver, nor part of the same by Fire or Water, should assay any fine Silver or Gold, nor sell either of them to any Person, but only to the Officers of Mints, Changes, and Goldsmiths within the Realm. And that all Silver be made so fine, that it may bear Twelve-penny Weight of Allay in a Pound weight. 2. That no Butcher kill any manner of Beast within the Walls of London, upon pain of forfeiting for every Ox Twelve-pence, and for a Cow and every other Beast Eight-pence. This to extend to every City, Burrough, and Town, walled within the Realm of England; Berwick and Carlisle excepted. 3. That benefit of Clergy shall be allowed but once. And, that Persons convicted for Murder, shall be marked with an M, upon the brawn of the left Thumb; and other Felons with a T. 4. That no Person whatever shall hold more than one Farm in the Isle of Wight. There were some other Laws then made, which are either repealed, or of small consequence. See Statut. 4 Henry VII. c. 2, 3, 13, 16; and Bacon, p. 596, 597.

(3) In her Letters, she call King Henry, the most high, most puissant, and most excellent Prince, her most honoured Lord, Cousin, and Father. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 387.

1490. was an Infination of her wanting his assistance, as well against her own Subjects, as the King of *France*, and that *Bretagne* was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move *Henry*. Instead of treating with the Dukes about fresh Supplies, he sent Ambassadors to *France* (1), with power to treat with King *Charles* concerning all that Prince's differences with the Dukes of *Bretagne*. He was still of opinion, that *Charles* dreading the junction of *England* with *Bretagne*, wanted only a Peace. In this belief, he resolved to make him pay for it, insisting upon a fresh demand, hitherto unthought of, namely, the Arrears of the Pension which *Lewis XI* was bound to pay to *Edward IV*, by the Treaty of *Pequigny*, which by a subsequent Treaty, was to continue till the death of the survivor of the two Kings. These Arrears amounted to the Sum of one hundred twenty five thousand Crowns, which the Ambassadors had orders to demand. From that time, this Article was always inserted in the King's Commissions to treat with *France*. *Henry* imagined, that in *Charles's* Treaty with *Ann*, of which he thought himself almost sure, he would submit to this Article, least it should be an obstacle to the Peace.

Whilst his Ambassadors were in *France*, he could not dispense with appointing Commissioners to treat with those of *Bretagne*. But it was only to amuse them. The Negotiation solely tended to a Treaty, which still more strongly than the former, secured him the reimbursement of his Charges on the Dukes's account, without any mention of the desired assistance. The whole amounted to some verbal promises on the King's part, that he would never forsake the Dukes. He believed this assistance was entirely needless in the present situation of the affair, still imagining, King *Charles* was wholly inclined to a Peace. Mean while, *Charles* in his turn, amused the English Ambassadors, resolving to conclude nothing, till he could more plainly discover *Henry's* Intention. He had an army in the bowels of *Bretagne*, and several Towns in his possession, and *Ann* was little able to expel him with her own Forces alone. For this reason, he willingly waited for a favorable opportunity to end the affair, otherwise than by the King of *England's* mediation, of whom he was too jealous. *Henry* thinking him otherwise disposed, made it his chief business to secure the payment of what he had advanced for the assistance of *Bretagne*. And therefore, under colour that the City of *Nantz* was in danger of falling into the hands of the *French*, he demanded to have it in his power, promising to restore it whenever required. But presently after he heard, the Lord *d'Albret* had prevented him, and that despairing to marry the Dukes, he had joined with *France*, and taken that rich City, where he had made a great Booty.

During these Negotiations, fresh troubles arose in *Flanders*, very prejudicial to the affairs of the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Flanders* for *Maximilian*, having published an Edict concerning the Coin, the Inhabitants of *Bruges* refused to comply with it, and drew the *Gantois* into their revolt. The King of *France*, who desired nothing more than to see war kindled in *Flanders*, sent aid (2) to the rebels, under the Conduct of Marshal *Desquerdes* Governor of *Picardy* (3). On the other side, *Maximilian*, or the Duke of *Saxony* in his name, sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, to make a League with him against *France*.

With the aid arrived from *Picardy*, the rebels made great progress, and after taking *Ipre* and *Sluce*, besieged *Dixmude*. *Henry*, angry with *Charles* for delaying his answer so long, and moreover being concerned to support the Archduke, resolved to send him aid. To that purpose, he suddenly dispatched [the Lord *Morley* (4) with] a thousand Men to *Calais*, with orders to the Lord *D'Aubigny*, Governor of that place, to relieve *Dixmude*, if possible. *D'Aubigny* joining a thousand Men of his Garrison (5), to those come from *England*, marched directly to *Dixmude*, which was not well invested. He entered the Town by night without opposition, and at break of day falling out of the opposite gate, fell upon the Camp of the *French* and *Flemings*, and entirely routed them (6). This affair bred a great coldness between *Charles* and *Henry*. But *Charles* durst not complain, since he had no more right to assist rebellious Subjects, than had *Henry* to assist the Sovereign.

Mean time, the Ambassadors of *Bretagne* waited at

(1) *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Thomas Earl of Ormond* and Lord *Rockford*, and the Prior of *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*. *Rymer*, p. 449.

(2) Eight thousand Men. *Hollingsb.* p. 1435.

(3) He was so inveterate against the *English*, that he used to say, He would gladly lie in Hell seven years, so he might win *Calais* from the *English*. *Bacon*, p. 598. *Hollingsb.* p. 1436.

(4) And *Robert Lord Willoughby of Broke*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 455.

(5) Among whom were Sir *James Tyrrel* Captain of *Gujnes*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humphrey Talbot* Marshal of *Calais*, &c. *Hollingsb.* p. 1435.

(6) With the Slaughter, as is said, of eight thousand of the Enemy, and the loss only of a hundred of the *English*, among whom was the Lord *Morley*. *Bacon*. *Hollingsb.* *ibid.*

(7) The Prior of *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*, *John Guntorp* Dean of *Wells*, Sir *John Den*, Sir *John Tarbarayle* Treasurer of *Calais*, and *William Raffe* Victualler of the same. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 431.

(8) For instance, the Lord *Verulam* makes the Ambassador desire *Henry* that he may annul the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of which neither *Charles* nor *Henry* had yet any knowledge.

London to no manner of purpose. The King gave them however good words, which served only to engage them the more to do his, instead of the Dukes's Affairs. On the 26th of *July* he required of them, an Acknowledgment that he had punctually executed the Treaty of *Redon*; a fresh engagement to reimburse all his charges; and a promise to deliver to him *Morlaix* and *Concarneau*, upon the hopes of an aid which he never intended to give. However, it was necessary, in order to attain his ends, to make the King of *France* believe, he really designed to assist the Dukes of *Bretagne*, since it was the only means to stop his proceedings. *Charles* seemed to have some knowledge of *Henry's* thoughts, for he appeared more cold than ever, with respect to his agreement with the Dukes. He returned no direct answer, neither did he talk of restoring his Conquests upon *Bretagne*, or of paying the Arrears of the Pension due till the death of *Edward IV*. So, *Henry* thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that Monarch reason to fear not only the Arms of *England* but also of several other States. In the beginning of this year he had renewed the Treaties of Alliance with *Portugal* and *Denmark*. In *September* he concluded with *Maximilian* and his Son *Philip*, a League against *France* for their mutual defence, and for that of the Dukes of *Bretagne*. At the same time he published a Treaty made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* in *March* the last year. By this Treaty, the two Kings engaged to make war upon the King of *France*, unless he would restore *Roussillon* to *Ferdinand*, and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*. Moreover they agreed upon a Marriage between *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry's* Son, and *Catherine*, third Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, as soon as the Prince was fourteen, and the Princess twelve years of age. His Treaty with the King of the *Romans* had relation to this. The three Princes were to enter *France* at the same time, each at the head of an Army as well for their own, as for the Interests of the Dukes of *Bretagne*. But by secret Articles signed two days after, there were so many restrictions concerning the time, manner, and conditions of the War, that it plainly appears *Henry's* sole aim was to frighten the King of *France*. By one of the secret Articles, the time of this invasion was fixed to the 15th of *August*, 1492.

The 4th of *October*, *Henry* concluded with *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* a Treaty of Alliance, containing only general Articles of Amity and good understanding. Mean while, *Henry* failed not to reap this advantage, that these Negotiations, which were openly transacting, embarrassed the *French* King. Indeed, all these Treaties, the secret Articles whereof he knew not, gave him uneasiness. He had reason to fear, that a League was forming against him, which would obstruct not only the Conquest of *Bretagne*, but also that of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had been some time meditating. It was this that hindered his renewing the War in *Bretagne*, though the Dukes's circumstances were such, that it seemed easy to dispossess her entirely. Besides *Henry's* conduct appeared so extraordinary, that he knew not what to think. That Monarch made great noise about the League he was forming for the defence of *Bretagne*, and yet sent no aid. In this uncertainty, *Charles* resolved to send an Ambassador into *England*, under pretence of taking off *Henry* from the Dukes's party, but in reality to know by his answer what he was to hope or fear from him. He chose for this purpose *Francis de Luxembourg* Viscount of *Martignes*, *Waleran de Sams*, and *Robert Gaguin*, General of the Order of the Trinity. These Ambassadors being arrived at *London*, had their audience of the King, where nothing particular passed. Some days after, the King having nominated to treat with them *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Thomas Earl of Ormond*, and some others (7), in their first conference, the General of the Order of the Trinity being the Speaker, made the most submissive and cringing Speech that ever came out of the mouth of a *French* Ambassador to a foreign Prince, if after all the matter is to be referred to *Henry VII's* Historian. As I have several reasons to suspect this Speech to be rather the *Henrician's* than the Ambassador's, I shall only relate the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or mentioning certain Articles which seem to me altogether improbable (8).

The Ambassador began with saying, " Their master

1490.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 374
3-8, 385,
380-387.
Henry makes several Alliances.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 393
---410.
He publishes his Treaty with the King of Spain.
p. 411---
429.
Hall.

By the secret Articles the Alliance came to nothing.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 403,
413.

Alliance with the Duke of Milan.
p. 429.

Charles's Embassy to find Henry.
Dec. 10.
p. 432.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsb.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 431.

Bacon.

The Ambassador's Speech.
Bacon.
Hall.
Hollingsb.

1490.

"had sent them to pray a Peace with the King of England, and his respect for that great Prince induced him to pass by all formalities, and make advances unusual in such Sovereigns as he. He would not however conceal from him another motive which made him desirous of Peace. Having resolved to carry his Arms into remote Countries, it could not but be for his advantage, that all the World should know he was in friendship with all his Neighbours, and particularly with the King of England. Then the Ambassador himself took care to excuse Henry's sending aid into Bretagne and Flanders, though it was against France, and owned it to be no just cause of rupture between the two Crowns. As for Flanders, he justified the King his master's sending Troops thither, because it was his duty to protect the Flemings his Vassals (1), against the King of the Romans their Oppressor. After that, the Ambassador added, King Charles intended to make war upon the Kingdom of Naples, unjustly detained from him by a Bastard of the House of Arragon. That Kingdom belonging to him by undoubted right, he was bound in honour to try to recover it. But his thoughts did not rest there, his purpose being to make the Conquest of Naples serve as a Bridge to transport his Forces into the East, and overthrow the Empire of the Turks, to which he was invited, as by a Voice from Heaven, by a Rent in the Ottoman Family. This therefore being his resolution for a holy War, he was content for the honour and advantage of the Christian religion, to beg Peace at the hands of all the Princes of Europe, that he might not be diverted by any obstacle from them.

The Ambassador concluded with saying, "He had only another Affair to mention, not as a subject of Treaty, but as a mark of his Master's great desire to preserve a good understanding with the King of England, namely, Being Sovereign Lord of Bretagne, and as such Guardian of the Duchefs, he requested that with the King of England's consent, he might dispose of her marriage as he should think fit."

The Chancellor's Answer in the King's Name.
Bacon.

Some days after, the Ambassadors of France being sent for to the Council, the Chancellor returned them the following Answer from the King: "That the King his Master had not forgot his former love and friendship with the King of France. That if the friendship was still the same, there was no occasion to talk of it: But if not, it was not words but deeds that must renew it: That as for the Affair of Bretagne, he could not help thinking it strange that the King of France should make him his instrument to ruin one of his best Allies, and moreover pretend, he was very much obliged to him for it: As for the Duchefs's marriage, he meant not to meddle with it, provided the King of France would proceed by Law and not by the Sword: That however, what had passed in Bretagne as well as in Flanders did not make so deep an impression, as to refuse to treat of Peace, if all their other Affairs might be debated at the same time. That as for the War upon Naples, the King had but one thing to say, which was, as the King of France thought himself bound in honour to try to recover that Kingdom, so for the same reason the King thought himself obliged to exert his utmost for the recovery of Guienne, Normandy, and the Kingdom of France itself, which of right belonged to him."

He demands all France.

Motives of the Demand.

Charles discovers it.

Henry had easily discovered the design of this Embassy, and that, by a general proposal to live in peace with him, Charles had no other view than to found his intentions with respect to Bretagne. Wherefore, according to the maxim he had established, which was to frighten him, he threatened a War, not only for the interest of the Duchefs of Bretagne, but also for his own. Mean while, it is likely he spoiled his affairs by carrying the artifice too far, and that Charles was sensible, this answer was only bare words, which would not be followed by deeds. It was not at all probable, that in the then situation of France, Henry who tottered as it were in the Throne of a Kingdom full of Male-content, would renew a quarrel of that importance, of which he could not naturally expect to see a happy Issue. His reputation for being one of the most prudent Princes of his time, made it incredible that he would embark in such an undertaking. So Charles taking for granted, that he intended only to frighten him, still pursued his course, with respect

to Bretagne, and succeeded in the end, as will be seen under the next year. On the other hand, his Ambassadors, surprized at the Chancellor's Speech, answered with warmth, that the King their Sovereign feared not such threats, and was able to maintain his just rights against any person whatever (2). The Chancellor calmly replied, the King expected no other answer from them; but would forthwith send Ambassadors to the King of France, to acquaint him more fully with his intentions. Then he asked them whether the King of France would agree to have the disposal of the marriage of the Duchefs of Bretagne, with an exception that he should not marry her himself (3). The Ambassadors answered, the King their master was so far from any thoughts of marrying the Duchefs of Bretagne, that he had given them no instructions upon that head.

During all these Negotiations, Ann was extremely troubled to see no aid come either from Maximilian or the King of England. She had hitherto kept her marriage secret; but perceiving it could not be concealed any longer, and that it was not honorable to hide it from him whom she deemed her principal Protector, sent a solemn Embassy into England, consisting of the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Dunois, and the Chancellor. Their business was to desire aid, and probably, notify her marriage to the King. For, till after this Embassy which arrived in England the beginning of the next year, we do not find in the Publick Acts, Maximilian's name joined with her's.

In February 1491 Henry sent Ambassadors into France (4) according to his promise. Their Commission was, to treat of all his differences with King Charles, and in particular of a certain sum due to him from that Prince, as also of the affair between Charles and the Duchefs of Bretagne. These instructions alone are a clear evidence, that Henry designed not vigorously to push his pretensions to the Realm of France, or at least, to Guienne and Normandy. For, is it probable that he would have comprized under the general word Differences his claim to all France, or to two of the richest Provinces, and have specified a debt of a hundred and twenty-five thousand Crowns, if the first had been the principal? It is therefore manifest, he still persisted in his desire to end the affair of Bretagne without War, and to secure the sums he had advanced.

A few days after, he appointed Commissioners to treat with the Ambassadors that came last from Bretagne. Then it was probably, that the Duchefs's marriage with Maximilian was imparted to him (5). Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended ignorance, because it had not been notified to him in form.

Mean while, Charles having at last heard of this marriage, which had been made a great secret, resolved to use no more ceremony, but vigorously hasten the conquest of Bretagne. In all appearance, he plainly saw through all Henry's disguises, and perhaps believed the acquisition of Bretagne well worth the hazarding a rupture with England. As for Maximilian, he did not much fear him, and had an infallible expedient to pacify the King of Arragon, by restoring Roussillon, much less important to the Crown of France than Bretagne. So, without further consideration, he ordered Rennes, Capital of the Duchy, to be invested, where the Princess then was. During the Siege, which lasted some months, Ann sent into England, John Beuteiller Lord of Mauportuis, and Peter Cojalu, to desire Henry's assistance. Shortly after she sent also the Countess de la Val, and the Marshal de Rieux, and some others, to inform him of her condition, and demonstrate to him, that Bretagne was going to fall into the hands of France. This Embassy furnished the King with a pretence to borrow money of his Subjects, to enable him to make war upon France. And yet, though he seemed extremely in haste, he gave no orders for levying Troops, but was very intent upon collecting the Loans.

Not long after, the League between Henry and Ferdinand was renewed. They agreed once more, that in May, or at farthest in June the next year (6), each should enter France at the head of an army. Maximilian promised likewise to do the same, and sent an aid of two thousand Men to his Duchefs. But all this tended only to make a great noise, in order to deter the King of France from his design to conquer Bretagne. It was not the intention either of Henry, or Ferdinand, or Maximilian, to make war upon France. Ferdinand was then

1490.
The Ambassadors Reply.
Bacon.

Question put to the Ambassadors.

Ann notifies to Henry her Marriage.

1491.
Henry's Embassy to Charles.
A.C. Pub. XII. p. 435.
Bacon.

Ann's marriage is imparted to him.
p. 436, 438.

Charles besieges the Duchefs in Rennes.
Argenté.

Another Embassy from Ann to Henry
May 23.
p. 443.
Another.
June 3.
p. 444.
p. 446.
July 7.

League with Ferdinand and Maximilian confirmed.
p. 462.
Hall.
Hollingh.

Motives, the three Allies.

(1) In the Lord Bacon it is,---the Subjects of Burgundy----

(2) According to the Lord Verulam, their answer was, That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his scepter, p. 601.

(3) If Henry had known, Ann had espoused Maximilian, he would not have offered to leave to Charles the disposal of that Princess's Marriage. Rapin.

(4) Richard Fox, Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the Prior of Christ's-Church in Canterbury. Rymer's Fed. Tom. 12. p. 435.

(5) King Henry takes notice of it, in a Commission dated March 9. this year. Ibid. p. 438.

(6) About the 15th of May, or of June. Rymer's Fed. Tom. 12. p. 463.

1491. entirely employed in the War of *Granada*, and if he leagued with *Henry*, it was only to oblige King *Charles* by the terror of the League, to restore him *Rouffillon*, being very ready to defist the moment he should be possessed of that Province. *Maximilian's* aim, who had neither Men nor Money, was to ingage the Kings of *England* and *Spain* in a War with *France*, and reap all the fruit, by the possession of the Duches and Duchy of *Bretagne*. So, *Henry* not being able to depend in any measure upon such Allies, and seeing *Bretagne* almost lost, was unwilling to ingage alone in its defence. His sole aim was to secure by the dread of this League, the payment of what was owed him by *France* and *Bretagne*. Mean while, *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, in order to attain their ends, were to feign a real intention to make war upon *France*.

Charles VIII demands Ann in Marriage.
Argentrie.
P. Daniel.

He gains her Council.
Hall.

She refuses to comply.

Charles employs the Duke of Orleans;

who prevails with the Duches, and the marriage is concluded.
Argentrie.
Mezerai.

The Ambassadors of England withdraw.
Hall.

Henry prepares for War.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 463.
464, 471, 476.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Forces, and prepare Transports, intimating, he was going to undertake the most dreadful War that had ever been between *England* and *France* (1). He seemed to prepare to tread in the steps of *Edward III* and *Henry V*, and not think of resting till he had forced the Crown of *France* from the House of *Valois*. We shall see presently to what all this ardour tended.

Maximilian was enraged when he heard *Charles* had thus injuriously robbed him of his Wife. He threatened, like *Henry*, to carry Fire and Sword into the heart of *France*, in revenge of so deadly an affront. On the other hand, the Archduke *Philip* demanded his Sister *Margaret* who was at *Paris*, and affianced to King *Charles*. But the Court of *France* did not yet think fit to send back that Princess. They feared neither Father nor Son. Their whole attention was employed in laying the storm with which they were threatened from *England* and *Spain*, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be necessary briefly to mention the affairs of *Scotland*.

Since *James IV's* accession to the Crown of *Scotland*, he had found it very difficult to maintain himself in the Throne. The troubles which immediately broke out, still continued by the Policy of the King of *England*, who took care to foment them. He gave from time to time the *Scotch* Male-contents some little aids, which enabled them to support themselves, but not to make any great progress against their King. It is a Policy very usual with Princes, to cherish the troubles of their Neighbours, in a belief that it is a most effectual way to preserve Peace at home, though there are some who would scruple to use such means. But *Henry* was not of this number. He even seems to have been less scrupulous than many others, since we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Lord *Bothwell* and Sir *Thomas Tod*, both *Scots*, had engaged to deliver into his hands the Persons of the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Ross* his Brother, which could not be done without notorious treachery. It even appears by the Record, that he had lent the Earl of *Boghan* and Sir *Thomas Tod*, 266 l. 13 s. 4 d. *Sterling*, to enable them to execute this design, and that *Tod* left his Son in hostage for security. This Act is dated April the 17th, 1491.

This project miscarrying, *Henry* who was preparing for the war with *France*, would first be secured from the diversions the *Scots* might make in *England* during his absence. *James* for his part, desired nothing more than to deprive those of his Subjects that were in arms against him, of the protection ever afforded them by the King of *England*. So, the two Kings sending their Ambassadors to *Caldstream* upon *Tweed*, a Treaty of Truce was concluded, from the 21st of *December*, to that day five years 1496. By this Treaty, the City of *Berwick*, with its Territory, was to stand neuter, and the Lordship of *Lorn* in *Scotland*, with the little Island of *Lundey* belonging to *England*, were excepted out of the Truce. *Henry* ratified the Treaty January the 9th, 1492. But probably, the King of *Scotland*, whether bribed by *France*, or from some other motive, refused to confirm it. He agreed however, to a much shorter Truce, from the 20th of *February* 1492, to the 20th of *November* following.

France seemed to be threatened from all sides with a furious war. *Maximilian* pressed it to the utmost of his power, reckoning that his Son *Philip*, then twenty years old, would make a powerful diversion in *Flanders*, whilst the Allies acted in other places. *Henry* was openly preparing for war with great noise and boastings. In fine, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who had lately put a glorious period to the war with the *Moors*, by the taking of *Granada*, publicly threatened to invade *France*: *Charles* therefore would have been in great danger, had this powerful League been in reality, what it was in appearance. After taking possession of *Bretagne*, he thought of executing his grand project, concerning the Conquest of *Naples*. But he must first dispel the storm that was gathering in *Spain*, *England*, and *Flanders*. Whilst he was wholly employed in this affair, *Henry* was no less intent upon his own concerns.

In the beginning of the year 1492, he assembled a Parliament, and communicated to both Houses his design to carry war into *France*, not with intent to ask their advice, as in the case of *Bretagne*, but to acquaint them with his resolution to exert his utmost endeavours to recover the Kingdom of *France*, which he called the Inheritance of his Ancestors. To inflame them the more, he set before them the glorious Battles of *Crécy*, *Poitiers*, and *Azincourt*, where the *English* alone, with a small

1491.

The King of the Romans threatens high.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

Affairs of Scotland.
Buchanan.

Two Scotchmen threatened to deliver up the King to Henry.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 440.

Truce between England and Scotland in vain.

Ib. p. 465.

Another Truce.
p. 473.

1492.
France is threatened on all sides.

Henry acquaints the Parliament with his design to war upon France.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

(1) He retained several Persons by Indenture, to serve him in this War, who had the following allowance. For every Man at Arms, garnished with his Cuirrell [i. e. Servant] and Page, Eighteen-pence a day: For every half Lance, Nine-pence a day: And for every Archer, either on foot or horse-back, Six-pence a day. See *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. XII. p. 477—480.

1492. number of Troops, vanquished the strongest armies of France. He would thereby insinuate, that he was no less a Warrior than Edward III, the Prince of Wales his Son, and Henry V. In demanding an aid of Money proportionable to the greatness of the enterprize, he exhorted the Commons to spare the purses of the poor, and lay the Tax upon the rich, not at all questioning, whether what he required would be granted. Certainly great fault might have been found with his management of the former Subsidy. It was granted for the defence of Bretagne, and yet the Duchy was lost without his using the least endeavours to prevent it. But the Conquest of the Kingdom of France was a very proper decoy to draw in the Parliament. The truth is, the King had no desire to embark in so hazardous an undertaking. He knew that France being now at unity with itself, the Conquest of it would be too difficult a task. Of his two Allies, the one had Will but not Power, and the other had Power but not Will; Ferdinand's aim being, by shew of war to attain a Peace, which might procure him the restitution of Roussillon. Besides, as he had but newly ended his war with the Moors, he was not in condition to begin another with France. However, Henry expressed to his Parliament and Council, an ardent desire to render his name famous, by the Conquest of France, or at least of Normandy and Guienne. Herein he had a view to his profit two ways, upon his Subjects for a Subsidy for the War, and upon his Enemies for a Peace, which would secure him the payment of what was due to him. He easily foresaw, that the defection of the King of the Romans, and of Ferdinand, would afford him a plausible excuse to desist from a war he was undertaking with so much noise. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Exeter, were the only persons that knew his real Intentions. Shortly after, the last was removed to the See of Bath and Wells.

The King's private arm.

Bacon.

Ibid.

The Parliament grants a Benevolence. Hall. Bacon.

Embassy from France. Feb. 5. Act. Pub. XII. p. 470.

Bishop of Henry.

Success sent to the Archduke. Hall. Bacon. Hollingshead.

The warlike Preparations in London. Embassy to France. Jan. 12. p. 481.

ling to desist, without a seeming necessity. To that end he must act in concert with the King of France. At the same time, Henry sent Ambassadors (7) to the King of the Romans, and to Ferdinand, to summon them to take the Field and enter France according to their Treaty. But he knew they had neither Power nor Will to perform their engagements. Maximilian had no army, and Ferdinand was now in Treaty with Charles, for the restitution of Roussillon. And yet, Henry pretending Ignorance of these things, seemed to have great dependence upon them. In the beginning of August, he issued out orders for the levying a greater number of Forces, and on the 2d of the same month, appointed Commissioners to confer at Caldybream, with those of Scotland. All this afforded him pretences to delay his expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of October (8), he came to Dover in order to embark (9), having constituted by Patent his eldest Son Arthur Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm. Such of his Courtiers who were ignorant of his designs, could not forbear telling him, it was very late to begin a Campaign. But he answered, *That he intended not to make a Summer's Business of the war, and therefore it did not signify when it began. That he had Calais at his back, where he might winter, in order to be ready to open the Campaign early next Spring.* He arrived the same day at Calais, where his whole army being assembled, amounted to twenty five thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse (10).

1492. Henry calls upon Maximilian and Ferdinand to invade France. Hall. Bacon. Hollingshead.

He makes new Leases. Act. Pub. XII. p. 482.

He passes over to Calais. p. 487, 489. Bacon. Stow. Hollingshead.

Bacon.

Before he embarked, Henry received a Letter from the Marshal Desquerdes, offering a Negotiation of Peace in England (11). But he thought it more proper, in order to save appearances, to treat in France itself. He was scarce landed at Calais, when the Ambassadors sent to the King of the Romans arrived, and told him, that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France as he had promised. This news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his Ambassadors in Spain, Letters which were likewise made publick, importing, that Ferdinand had concluded a Peace with the King of France, upon promise to restore Roussillon, without demanding the three hundred thousand Crowns lent by Lewis XI upon that Country. Henry knew all this before, but had so ordered, that these advices came together after his arrival in France, that it might appear, he was forced to the Peace he intended to make. Upon these advices, at which he feigned to be very much surprized, he agreed, that Richard Fox Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Lord d'Aubeney Governor of Calais should enter into Conference at Estaples, with the Marshal Desquerdes. He marched however the 15th of October, to besiege Boulogne, and in four days appeared before the Place. It must be remarked, that King Charles was then at Tours, and though the warlike preparations in England had made great noise, there was no army in Picardy to oppose the Invasion of the English; at least History mentions no such thing. This is a clear evidence that all Henry's proceedings were concerted with the King of France, who was not so unprovided with Troops, but he could have sent an army sufficient to stop his progress. So, this pretended Siege of Boulogne was only an artifice to discourage the English, that by considering the difficulties of a Siege at such a Season, they might be the less surprized at a Peace. At the end of eight days, Henry received at the Camp before Boulogne, the Articles of Peace agreed by the Commissioners of both parties, with the approbation of the two Kings, the substance whereof was as follows:

He receives Advice, which gives him a handle to make Peace. Bacon. Act. Pub. XII. p. 492.

He appoints Commissioners to treat. p. 490, 491. Bacon.

Remark on the King's Conduct.

As the King had no Intention to push vigorously the war with France, he hastened not his preparations, being glad to begin the Campaign late, in order to end it the sooner. Mean while, he sent Ambassadors to France (6), to shew he was willing to try fair means before he proceeded to arms. But it is extremely probable, this Embassy was sent only to finish, with King Charles, the Terms of Peace. Moreover, the King's honour was to be secured, who after making so much noise, was unwilling

I. That the King of France should discharge the debt contracted by his Queen for the defence of Bretagne, which debt, according to the English Ambassadors account, amounted to six hundred and twenty thousand Crowns of Gold, French Money, which is 124,000 l. Sterling.

II. That the King of France should pay the King of England the Arrears of the yearly pension of fifty thou-

Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners of the two Kings. Act. Pub. XII. p. 499.

- (1) The Citizens of London paid 9682 l. 17 s. 4 d. Stow, p. 474.
- (2) Hall makes a pertinent Remark upon this occasion; namely, By this a Man may perceive, that what is once practised for the Utility of a Prince, and brought to a Precedent by matter of Record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the People, if rulers in authority will so adjudge and determine it. fol. 22.
- (3) Bishop Morton the Chancellor is said to make use of this Dilemma, in his Instructions to the Commissioners, which some called his Fork, others his Crotch. That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs Have, because they laid up; and if they were Spenders, they must needs Have, because it was visible in their manner of living. Bacon, p. 602.
- (4) The 22d, at Greenwich. Stow, p. 474. Sandford says, it was the 28th, p. 479.
- (5) Which were commanded by Sir Edward Poyning. Hall, fol. 23. Hollingshead, p. 1438.
- (6) Richard Fox Bishop of Bath and Wells, Sir Giles d'Aubeney Lieutenant of Calais, Sir John Kendale, Sir William Hufey Chief-Justice, Sir James Tyrrell, Captain of Guisnes, and Henry Aynesworth, Doctor of Laws. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 481.
- (7) Christopher Urswick, and Sir John Rifeley. Hall, fol. 26.
- (8) He set out from Greenwich, September 9. Bacon, p. 604.
- (9) Robert Lord Willoughby of Broke was Admiral of the Fleet, and Sir Robert Poyntez, Vice-Admiral. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 484.
- (10) There were with him, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, George Grey, Earl of Kent, Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, &c. Bacon, p. 604. Speed, p. 736.
- (11) The Lord Bacon observes, that for this reason he hovered so much the longer near the Sea-side, p. 604.

1492. land Crowns paid by *Lewis XI* to *Edward IV*, amounting in all to a hundred twenty-five thousand Crowns, which is 25,000 *l.* Sterling.

III. That the King of *France* should pay these two debts at several times, namely, fifty thousand Livres every year, every Livre at twenty Scutz, or Crowns, and to be paid half-yearly, till the whole was paid.

IV. Whereas in the obligation given by the Dukes of *Bretagne* to the King of *England*, there was no Sum specified, the King of *England* should be obliged to make proof of his debt before Commissioners of *Bretagne* or *France*, to be sent to *England* for that purpose.

V. That the two Kings should name such of their Allies as they meant to include in the Peace, who should be obliged to declare within four months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in case the King of the *Romans*, and the Archduke *Philip* his Son desired to be included in the Treaty, and if afterwards the King of *France* should, in any manner whatever, invade their Country, it should be lawful for the King of *England* to assist them. But if, on the contrary, they should attack the King of *France*, the King of *England* should give them no aid.

VII. That in case the two Kings approved of these Articles, they should give each other Hostages till the Treaty was drawn and signed in form.

Henry asks the opinion of his principal Officers, As these Articles exactly corresponded with Henry's intentions, from the beginning of the War of *Bretagne*, there is no question that they were framed by himself or his own Ambassadors. And yet, he would have them pass for Proposals from the *French* King, and feigned to doubt whether he should accept or reject them. For that purpose, he called a Council of all the Lords and general Officers, and sent them the Articles, with his orders to give him their real opinion. As probably this Council was managed by some person of great credit who was in the King's secret, all that were present unanimously agreed, he ought to accept of the Terms. They gave their reasons in a long memorial under all their hands, which in short, omitting the Exaggerations, were as follow:

Their reasons for so doing. P. 490. I. The first reason was taken from the length of the nights, the coldness of the Weather, the want of Provisions as they were to come by Sea, the fear of Distempers, and the like.

II. The second reason was founded upon the consideration of the Sum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by *France* to the King's Predecessors; and likewise, upon the apprehension of the Murmurs of the refusal of a Peace might occasion in *England* and in the Army.

III. They alledged as a third reason, the great advantage that would accrue by the Peace to the King of the *Romans* and the Archduke: The benefit they had already received in the restitution of *Sluce*: And lastly, the fruits which the *English* Merchants would reap, since the Peace would secure their Commerce with *Flanders*.

IV. They said, the King had honorably kept his word with his Allies, notwithstanding the instances of his Council, who solicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient Season, and till his Allies should be ready: That he had led his Army into *France*, put himself in condition to encounter alone all the Enemy's Forces, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers, at a time when his Allies disappointed him. That therefore, if the War was not continued, he might very justly cast the blame upon them.

V. That the King was far from being in the same situation with *Edward IV*, when he led an Army into *France*: That *Edward* was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy* with all his Forces, and by several *French* Lords who were in his interest: That he was in possession of all the Towns as far as the *Somme*, and began the War in the midst of Summer: That, on the contrary, the King was not assisted with any foreign Troops: That when he marched out of the Gates of *Calais*, he entered the Enemy's Country, and was advanced to *Boulogne*: That he had razed several Places, as *Ardes* and *Montory*, and had stood four and twenty Days ready for Battle, defying the Armies of *France*.

VI. That very likely, the People of *England* would thank the King for a Peace which would put an end to Taxes and Exactions, and restore the publick Tranquillity.

VII. They added once more, that the restoring the

Archduke to his Dominions, would redound to the King's honor, and the Nation's advantage, by reason of their Trade with his Subjects.

VIII. They said, that before the Siege of *Boulogne*, it was thought to be a weak Place and easy to be taken; but, on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, strongly garrisoned, and plentifully provided with Artillery and Provisions. That therefore, in all appearance, if the King continued the Siege, he would be forced to raise it with disgrace, whereas by making a Peace, he could retire with honor.

IX. Their last reason was, that it was impracticable to continue the War during the Winter, without utterly destroying the Army, which would extremely afflict the whole Kingdom.

If these reasons are never so little considered, they will be found to be all false and deceitful, except the Article of the money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I shall only observe, that of all the inconveniencies alledged by the Officers, there was not one but what the King might have foreseen, and actually did foresee. He could blame himself only for beginning the Campaign so late. All in the 5th Article concerning *Edward IV* is evidently false. As for the murmurs of the People, which were pretended to be feared in case the King rejected the Peace, it was much more probable, on the contrary, that the Nation would murmur to see the money given for a War with *France*, employed in making a dishonorable Peace, advantageous only to the King. In a word, the King's precaution to cause this Peace to be approved by the Officers of his Army was a clear evidence, he was himself convinced of the little advantage it would be to *England*.

Henry feigning to be determined by these reasons to accept of the Peace, the Treaty was drawn up in form, and signed at *Estaples* the 3d of November (1). *Charles* ratified it the 6th of the same month. He was then at *Tours*, unconcerned at the seemingly threatened invasion, though an *English* Army in *France* had ever made his Predecessors extremely uneasy. What was peculiar to this Treaty, was, that tho' it was called a Treaty of Peace, it was however to expire with the Lives of the two Kings. But the Successor of him that died first, was to ratify it within a year after his Accession to the Crown. I imagine this was an expedient devised to excuse the silence concerning the Kingdom of *France*, or at least, *Guienne* and *Normandy*, of which there was no mention; though the War was proclaimed solely upon that occasion. Mean while, this Treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the States of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*. This shews, it was not considered as a bare Truce, and indeed it was called a Treaty of Peace. But on the other hand, it is hard to conceive how a Treaty, wherein the principal difference was not settled, and which was to be in force but till the death of the two Kings, could be deemed a Treaty of Peace. Can any thing be more like a Truce? However this be, Henry took great care to see that the King of *France* ratified every particular Article of the Treaty, and especially those concerning the payment of the money. *Charles* was likewise, on his part, very punctual in paying the fifty thousand Livres every year (2), as was also *Lewis XII* his Successor.

After this manner ended the War of *Bretagne*, which had lasted since the year 1487. I say the War of *Bretagne*, because That I have been speaking of, was only a consequence thereof. Henry reaped the intended advantage, that is to say, large Sums of money which were not employed in the service of the publick. In the first place, he obtained of the Parliament a Tenth of all the personal Estates of his Subjects, of which he expended no more than was necessary for levying and maintaining fix thousand Men for eight months. But this expence was thus advanced the money being repaid him with interest. We have seen that he mounted his charges to fix hundred and twenty thousand Crowns of Gold, a prodigious Sum in those days, when money was much scarcer than at present (3). In the next place, he borrowed money throughout the whole Kingdom, which probably was never repaid. There was likewise granted him a Subsidy under the name of Benevolence, which amounted to a very great Sum, much beyond what was necessary for the maintenance of his Army, the two or three months it was on foot. Lastly, he received a hundred

(1) King Henry's Plenipotentiaries were, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Giles* Lord *D'Aulney*, *Clement* Bishop of *Exeter* [or *York*] Dean of *York*, *Henry* Aynsworth Doctor of Laws, and Sir *James* Tirrell. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 499.

(2) And moreover, assigned great Pensions to all the King's principal Counsellors. Bacon, p. 605.

(3) We may guess how far a Shilling went in those days, when a good while after, in King *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, a large House, within the Precincts of the Court, in *Channon-Road* in *Westminster*, was let to no less Petition than the Comptroller of the King's Household for thirty shillings a year. See *J. S. Life of Thomas Smith*, p. 226.

1492. and twenty-five thousand Crowns for the Arrears of the Pension due to *Edward IV.* But on the other hand, he suffered *Bretagne* to be lost, to the irreparable damage of *England*, since her Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne* gave her an advantage over *France* which she could never after recover. Besides, the recovery of the money advanced for *Bretagne*, is to be ascribed rather to his good fortune than policy. He was solely indebted for it to the King of *France's* design upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, which induced him to purchase a Peace with *England*. Otherwise, *Henry* would have found it very difficult to recover his money, and who knows what might have happened, had he been forced to obtain it by dint of sword? But the advantages *Charles* reaped by this Peace were much more considerable. For the Pension of fifty thousand Livres paid a few years, and which he received with interest from *Bretagne*, he annexed that Duchy to the Crown of *France*, and deprived the *English* of their most considerable Ally.

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumstances of this Affair, because they perfectly discover the Genius and Character of *Henry VII.* This Monarch, ever greedy of money, having always his interest in view, found means to make an advantage whether of War or of Peace, and turn every thing to his profit. It was he that by his Policy, wholly bent to his own private interest, gave the turn we have seen to the Affairs of *Bretagne*.

Truce with Scotland.
P. 495.
The same day the Peace of *Eftaples* was signed, the Ambassadors of *England* and *Scotland* concluded at *Caldstream* a Truce, from the 3d of *November* this year, to the 30th of *April* 1494.

The King returns to England.
Bacon.
Affairs of Flanders.
Henry having concluded a Peace with *France* according to his own Scheme, set out for *London*, where he arrived the 17th of *December*.

On the 5th of *November* the Archduke's Forces surprized *Arras*, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the *French*. *Philip* refusing to be included in the Peace of *Eftaples*, the War continued in *Flanders* till the next year.

Columbus's first Voyage.
In *August* this year 1492, *Christopher Columbus* sailed the first time from *Cadiz* with King *Ferdinand's* License, in quest of the new World (1).

1493. *Henry* imagined he might for the future hope for a peaceable Reign. He saw among his Subjects no appearance of revolt. Not a Prince or Princess of the House of *York* was in condition to give him any disturbance. He kept the Earl of *Warwick* Prisoner in the Tower. *Edward IV's* Daughters were in his power, and there was no Lord of the *York* party of sufficient credit to raise Commotions in the Kingdom. On the other hand, he was in Peace or Truce with his Neighbours, and in the seven years and a half that he had been on the Throne, had by his Economy heaped up such large Sums of money, as none of his Predecessors had ever been master of at once. And yet this State of prosperity was not capable of dismaying his Enemies. Whilst he was wholly employed in the Affairs I have been relating, the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy* was labouring to raise him troubles at home, so much the more dangerous as they were not suspected. This Princess was not ignorant how well disposed the *English* and *Irish* were to the House of *York*; and upon their affection she chiefly built her hopes of dethroning *Henry*. Though *Lambert Simnel's* Affair had miscarried, she did not ascribe the ill Success so much to the project it self, as to the managers. Besides, *Henry* was exposed to the hazard of a Battle, which he might have lost, and it was not impossible but he might be vanquished for the future, if he was in the same case. Thus she did not despair of wresting the Crown from the House of *Lancaster*, or rather of *Tudor*, after which, she reckoned it would be easy to restore the House of *York*.

She sets up one Perkin Warbeck to personate the Duke of York.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingh.
Stow.
Since *Simnel's* misfortune, she had never ceased to spread a report, either by herself or Emisaries, that *Richard Duke of York*, second Son of *Edward IV.*, had escaped the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard III.*, and was still alive. This she did to prepare people to receive a second Fantom, who was to personate the young Prince her Nephew, as *Lambert Simnel* had personated the Earl of *Warwick*. To this end, she looked out carefully for young Lads of the Duke of *York's* age, fit for her purpose. At length she met with one, in whom she fancied to see all the qualities requisite to represent that Prince. His name was *Perkin Warbeck*, Son of [*John Osbeck*] a Jewish Convert of *Tournay*, who had long lived at *London*. *Edward IV.* having occasion to know this Jew, and receive some Service from him, was pleased to do him the honour to stand Godfather to one of his Children, and

gave him the name of *Peter*, from whence was formed the diminutive *Peterkin*, or *Perkin*. Some years after, *Osbeck* being returned into *Flanders*, placed young *Perkin* with one of his relations at *Antwerp*, who kept him some time. This Boy was so handsome, and endowed with qualities so far above his birth, that many suspected *Edward IV.* to be his Father. And indeed it was something extraordinary, that *Edward* should stand Godfather to one of so mean Parentage. Be this as it will, *Perkin* going from *Antwerp*, lived in several Towns of *Flanders*, and shifted habitation so often, that when *Henry* afterwards would have traced him, in order to know the whole story of his Life, he found it very difficult. As *Perkin* generally conversed with the *English* settled in the Low-Countries, he was so perfect in the *English* Tongue, that he might easily be taken for an *Englishman*, especially as he had spent his Childhood at *London*.

This youth being mentioned to the Duchess of *Burgundy*, she commanded him to be privately brought to her Palace, and finding him fit for her design, took care to instruct him, with respect to the Person he was to represent. Hence we may guess, *Perkin* must have been a youth of great Wit and Sense, to enter into the Duchess's designs, otherwise it would have been fruitless to give him Instructions. Be this as it will, the so often described *Edward IV.*, his Queen, Prince *Edward* their eldest Son, and the Princesses their Daughters, that after several repetitions of her Lesson, he could talk very pertinently of the Court, of the King his pretended Father, at least as far as the Duke of *York* could be supposed to know. The natural way he had learnt of relating Circumstances fit for a Child's memory, and certain particulars of *Edward's* Court, made the Duchess believe, he would not fail to gain credit when he appeared in the World. Above all, she took care to make him perfect in what he was to frame, whilst in Sanctuary with the Queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of *Richard III.*, and particularly in the manner of his escaping the hands of the Executioners, who were ordered to murder him. These were particulars so much the easier to be counterfeited, as there were but few people who could contradict them. Moreover, she taught him to assume the Air and Character of a well-bred Prince. She found the youth so apt a Scholar, that she was herself surprized at it. In a short time, *Perkin* so used himself to talk and act like a Prince, that one would have sworn he had been born so, and educated in a Palace.

It is not known when the Duchess of *Burgundy* took *Perkin* home to instruct him. But very likely, it was not long after the battle of *Stoke*, where the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Lambert Simnel* were vanquished. However that be, the affair of *Bretagne* causing that Princess to think *Henry* would soon break with *France*, as himself would have had it believed, resolved *Perkin* should appear as Duke of *York*, so soon as the war was begun. Mean while, being very sensible, if he appeared first in *Flanders*, or in any Town in the Low-Countries, the world would not fail to suspect her, she sent him into *Portugal* (2), where he lived unknown for a year. At length, in 1492, the war between *England* and *France* seeming unavoidable, she dispatched orders to *Perkin* to repair into *Ireland*, where probably, she had already been tampering with several persons of note. *Perkin* instantly obeying, and arriving at *Cork*, called himself Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward IV.*, in which he was countenanced by the Mayor, who, it is likely, was in the plot. A few days after, he writ to the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, great Friends of the House of *York*, acquainting them with his arrival, and desiring them to come and join him.

Henry was then employed in his preparations for his Expedition into *France*. As the Duchess of *Burgundy* imagined he would depart early in the Spring, she expected, he would be embarked in the war with *France*, by the time *Perkin* appeared in *Ireland*, in which she was mistaken. The report that the Duke of *York* was come from *Portugal* into *Ireland*, caused no alteration in the King's measures. He believed it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his Enterprize. However, presently after he was told, the Duke of *York* who had appeared in *Ireland*, was gone into *France*, which made him very uneasy. And indeed the news was but too true. It happened some time before, that one *Frion* Secretary to the King for the French Tongue, had withdrawn from Court, and retired to *Paris*, where he was very well received. This *Frion*, who followed King *Charles's* Court, hearing the Duke of *York* was in *Ireland*, told that Monarch of it, intimating, he might make that affair turn to account.

(1) Columbus was the Son of a Wool-Comber, and he himself followed that business in his younger years. He set out from *Porto Palis de Mager* in *Andalucia*, August 3. 1492, and landed at *Guana Bay*, one of the *Lucay* islands. He returned to *Porto Palis* in May the next year, and died in 1506.

(2) With the Lady *Brampton*, an *English* Lady, and one to have an eye over him. Bacon, p. 606.

1493. Whatever *Charles* thought of this Pretender, he really believed that, though he was an Impostor, he might be serviceable to him in making a Peace with *Henry*. In this belief, he sent *Frión* into *Ireland*, to invite the Pretender in his name to come to him, with assurance of his protection and aid to recover the Crown of his Ancestors. *Perkin* seeing himself invited by a Prince so great and so capable to assist him, departed without a moment's consideration. When he was arrived in *France*, he waited upon the King, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him as Duke of *York*, lodged him in his Palace, and assigned him a Guard, under colour of doing him honor, but in reality to hinder the King of *England* from causing him to be seized. The Courtiers imitated their masters in striving to pay the same respects to *Perkin*, as they would have done to the Duke of *York*. Shortly after, above a hundred *Englishmen*, dissatisfied with the King, repaired to *Paris* with offers of their Service to the Pretender. But the honours *Perkin* received at the Court of *France* were of no long continuance. As soon as *Charles* was almost sure of a Peace, he dismissed him, for fear *Henry*, who had now demanded him, should make it one of the Articles of the Treaty. He was unwilling to be thought to surprize the young Man, in order to deliver him to his enemy; as on the other hand, he would not have the Peace miscarry for his sake.

He receives
him as Duke
of York,
Bacon.

Hall.

but dismiss
him when
sure of a
Peace.
Bacon.

Perkin goes
to the Duch-
ess of Bur-
gundy,
Hall,
Stow.
Hollingsh.
who feigns
to take him
for a Cheat,
Bacon.

He at last
owns him.
Hall.
Bacon.

He behaves
very pru-
dently.

Many in
England be-
lieve the Duke
of York to
be alive.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

The King's
Conduct.

he waited till they more plainly discovered their designs.

In the beginning of *March*, *Henry* sent (1) the Order of the Garter to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Alphonso* had been extremely desirous of this Honour, to insinuate to the Princes of *Italy*, that he had in the King of *England* a Protector who would not suffer him to be oppressed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the King his Father, against *Charles* VIII, who was going to undertake the conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

A few days after, *Henry* concluded at *London* a Treaty of perpetual peace and amity with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *León*. This Alliance, which was a reciprocal engagement of mutual assistance upon all occasions, was particular in that it extended not to all the Kings of *England* and *Spain* without distinction, but only to all their Successors descended from them (2). In this Treaty, the marriage-articles between Prince *Arthur* and *Catherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, were confirmed and renewed (3).

Mean while, the King's enemies, not content with countenancing the report concerning the Duke of *York*, were now labouring to form a conspiracy to dethrone him. His covetous temper had alienated several of the firmest friends to his person and the House of *Lancaster*. *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, Brother of the Earl of *Derby*, *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Barley*, were the chief heads of this conspiracy. The Lord Chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of *Bosworth*, by declaring for him in so critical a minute. The King owned it, but thought him well rewarded with the spoils of *Bosworth* Field, and the office of Lord Chamberlain. But *Stanley* thinking this too mean a recompence, was not satisfied. Sir *Robert Clifford* was Son of him that murdered the young Earl of *Rutland*, Brother of *Edward* IV, at the Battle of *Wakefield*; and afterwards lost his life in fighting for the House of *Lancaster*. Probably, *Henry* had forgot the constant attachment of that family to his House, and neglected to give him a share in his favors. *Clifford* and *Barley* were deputed by the conspirators to go into *Flanders*, and concert measures with the Duchess of *Burgundy* and the pretended Duke of *York*, for the accomplishment of their designs. The Duchess gave them a very civil reception, deeming it a good omen, that professed enemies of her House should be the first to offer their service. Shortly after their arrival, *Clifford* writ to his friends in *England*, that the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* IV, was in *Flanders*, and that he knew him perfectly well. This news inflamed the conspirators, and from that time they spared no pains to gain adherents to the pretended Duke of *York*.

Whilst the King's enemies were labouring to create him fresh troubles, he himself was no less intent upon devising means to prevent the impending storm. His principal business was to undeceive the people, and, to succeed, there was occasion for two sorts of proofs. First, it was necessary to shew that the Duke of *York* was dead; in the second place, that though he were alive, the person that borrowed his name was a counterfeit.

To prove the Duke of *York* was not living, it was necessary to produce the testimonies of those who had taken away his life, or seen him dead, and who were but four in all; namely, Sir *James Tyrrel*, ordered by *Richard* III to put that Prince to death; *John Dighton*, employed by *Tyrrel* to commit the fact; *Miles Forest* his servant, who assisted him, and the Priest who buried the two Princes. Of these four persons, the Priest and *Forest* were dead, and there remained only *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*. These were apprehended by the King's order and sent to Prison. Then, after a private examination, it was given out, that they agreed in their depositions; namely that *Dighton* and *Forest* smothered the two Princes in their Bed; and shewed their dead Bodies to *Tyrrel*, and that the Priest afterwards buried them under a stair-case. That soon after, *Richard* ordered them to be removed elsewhere, by the same Priest who was since dead, without discovering where he had laid them. It is likely however, that *Tyrrel's* deposition was not so favorable for the King's purpose as *Dighton's*, since he was detained in Prison, whereas *Dighton* was released, probably, that he might divulge his own evidence.

The publishing of these testimonies produced not the

Effect
against the
Depositions.
Bacon.

(1) By *Christopher Urquhaye* Dean of *York*, and Sir *Humphrey Talbot* Marshal of *Calais*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 517.

(2) Ex eorum Corporibus legitime procreatos. *Ibid.*

(3) About this time, viz. April 5, the King made his Son *Henry* Constable of *Dover* Castle, and Guardian of the Cinque Ports. *Ibid.* p. 525.

(4) He sent certain Knights, with a band of Soldiers into every Port, to keep the Shores and Seaways, that no one might come in, or go out of the Kingdom, without being searched and examined. *Hall*, fol. 32. *Bacon*, p. 608.

1493. effect the King expected. For, what proof could a confession form, taken at a private examination, and published by him whose interest it was to make it appear for his advantage? In the next place, the removal of the Bodies from the place where they were first interred, to another unknown, gave cause for strong suspicions. Had it not been for this removal, nothing would have been more easy than to prove the death of the two Princes, since the Bodies would have been still found under the Stair-case. So, people imagined, the King, wanting so natural a proof, had invented this removal, that his not making use of so convincing a proof might not be thought strange. Besides, the testimony of two villains who confessed themselves guilty of so black a crime, and whose evidence was so advantageous to the King, could not be of any great weight. Accordingly, the King, finding this method insufficient to undeceive the people, applied himself chiefly to discover who this impostor was, that pretended to be the Duke of York.

The King
sends Spies
into Flanders;
Hall.
Bacon.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

To succeed in this design, he found no better way than to bribe several persons, who repaired to the counterfeit Duke, under colour of offering him their service. He charged them to use all their endeavours to know who and whence he was, and to trace him from his birth to the day he came to the Duchefs of Burgundy. At the same time, he ordered them to make strict inquiry after his correspondents in England, and observe narrowly every thing that passed about him. Especially he enjoined some of the discreetest, to spare nothing to gain Sir Robert Clifford, much suspecting him to be concerned in the secret. It is said, that in order to make discoveries, he bribed the servants, and even the very confessors of the great Men he suspected. Moreover, to procure his spies in Flanders the greater credit, he used to have them pronounced excommunicate every Sunday at St. Paul's, by virtue of Pope Innocent VIII's Bull. He was so well served by these spies, that, in short, he came to know, the pretended Duke of York was no other than Perkin Warbeck. He had perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profession, and of all the places he had lived at from his Childhood; which was instantly divulged throughout the whole Kingdom. Mean while, as the particulars were published by the King, the principal party concerned, the generality of People did not think themselves obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Their prejudice made them require more convincing Proofs.

and under
them: he
excommunicate
every Sunday, the
better to con-
vince them.

He sends
the Spies
to trace
Perkin, and
publishes it.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 52.
53.

A Truce
was made
between
Scotland
and
France
June 25.
ib. p. 534.

p. 529.

He demands
the Pope's
Bull for the
Peace of
Flanders.
p. 531.
The Pope's
Bull is
p. 532.

Morton
made a
Cardinal.

The King
sends War-
beck to the
Archduke.
p. 544.
Bacon.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Whilst the King's spies were acting in Flanders and England, he had two affairs upon his hands from which he wanted to be disengaged, in case any troubles should arise in the Kingdom on account of the pretended Duke of York. The first was, to make Peace with Scotland; the second, to get the Peace of Estaples confirmed by the Pope, according to agreement with the King of France. For this purpose, he sent Ambassadors to Edinburgh and Rome. The former concluded with King James a Truce from April the 30th 1494, to that day seven years 1501, upon the same terms with that of Caldstream, which expired the day this was to commence. It appears by the Ambassadors instructions, that he desired to conclude a marriage between the King of Scotland and Catherine Daughter of the Countess of Wiltshire, and Grand-daughter of the Duke of Somerset. But this marriage was not proposed, or at least the Negotiation did not succeed (1).

As to the affair of Rome, the Ambassadors presented to Pope Alexander VI, a petition for a Bull of excommunication against whichever of the two Kings should not observe the Treaty of Estaples. The Pope owned it to be one of the articles of the Treaty, and answered, he was ready to grant such a Bull, provided the King of France did not oppose it, an instrument whereof he ordered to be given to the Ambassadors.

The Emperor Frederick dying in August this year, Maximilian his Son, King of the Romans, ascended the imperial Throne in his room.

The 21st of the same month, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was made Cardinal of St. Anastasius.

Henry having had perfect information of every thing relating to Perkin Warbeck, sent Ambassadors (2) to Archduke Philip to desire him to deliver him up. He represented, "That it was contrary to the law of Nations, and the alliance they had made together, to protect a counterfeit, who sought to rob him of the Crown by an evident imposture. That he was informed of all the circumstances of Perkin's life from his cradle, and

offered to produce authentick proofs of the cheat, as well as of the death of the Duke of York, whose name Warbeck borrowed. That Perkin being only a theatrical King formed by the Duchefs of Burgundy, he hoped the Archduke would not scruple to deliver him into his hands." Philip being still a minor, his Council told the Ambassadors, "That the Archduke's intention was, always to preserve a good understanding with the King of England, and therefore would give no manner of assistance to the pretended Duke of York. But the Duchefs of Burgundy being Sovereign in the lands of her Dowry, the Archduke could not meddle with her affairs, or hinder her from doing what she thought fit."

Philip believed he had then the less reason to regard the King of England, as he had made a Peace with Charles VIII, by a Treaty concluded at Senlis the 23d of May. Charles had restored to the Archduke his Sister Margaret, with the Earldoms of Artois and Burgundy; but kept some Towns on promise to deliver them as soon as Philip was of age.

The Ambassadors brought Philip's answer to the King, and withal told him, there was collusion between him and the Duchefs of Burgundy. Henry was so provoked at this proceeding, that he broke off all commerce with the Archduke, and banished all Flemings out of his Kingdom (3). The Archduke did the like by the English who were in Flanders. But the animosity between these two Princes went no farther, each fearing he might one day want the other's assistance.

Mean while, Henry having at length gained Sir Robert Clifford, who was intrusted with Warbeck's and the Duchefs's secrets, had exact information of their correspondents in England. As it could not but be dangerous to let the evil increase, he resolved to apply proper remedies. For that purpose, he caused to be arrested in one day, and almost at the same instant, John Ratcliff Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressener, and Thomas Astwood. All these were convicted and condemned for High-Treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. The Lord Fitz-Walter was sent Prisoner to Calais with some hope of obtaining his pardon. But his impatience causing him to attempt to make his escape, he was discovered and beheaded. Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Robert Ratcliff, and William D'Aubeney were executed immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, and those that were apprehended upon the same account, among whom were certain Dominican Friars, and [William Worsley] Dean of St. Paul's, were released. Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, whether he was not yet informed against, or the King had a mind to stay for stronger proofs to convict him, was not touched at that time.

On the 1st of November, Henry writ to the King of France, desiring to be included in the Peace of Senlis, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. The 17th of the same month, he notified to him the same thing from Ferdinand King of Naples, and Alphonso Duke of Calabria his Son, who were expressly included in the Peace of Senlis, on the part of the Emperor and Archduke. But however King Charles desisted not from his project of conquering Naples.

England was very quiet during the year 1494. Perkin Warbeck still remained in Flanders without offering to stir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, the King knew more of his affairs than he imagined. Mean time, Henry laboured underhand to inform himself more and more concerning the circumstances of the conspiracy, and what the Duchefs of Burgundy was contriving in England and elsewhere. In this Sir Robert Clifford whom he had gained, was very serviceable. He learnt by his means, that Perkin had still some dependence in Ireland, and had writ to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, when he landed there from Portugal. This discovery made him resolve to take care of the affairs of that Island, which had been hitherto much neglected. To that end, he made Henry his second Son, then but two years old, Lieutenant or Governor of Ireland; but appointed for Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, a Man versed in affairs, and employed in several Embassies. He gave him a very extensive power as well over the militia, as the civil Government, that he might put the Island upon a good foot (4).

Poynings, upon his arrival in Ireland, made strict enquiry after those that were suspected of disaffection to the

(1) King Henry paid the King of Scots a thousand Marks, by way of compensation for the Injuries one Nation had received from the other, before the conclusion of the Truce. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 547.

(2) Sir Edward Poynings, and William Warham, Doctor of Laws. Ibid. p. 544.

(3) Appointing Colet to be the Mart for all English Merchandizes. Hall, tel. 54.

(4) With him was sent Sir Henry Dean late Abbot of Langsey, a Man of great Wit and Diligence who was made Chancellor of Ireland. Hall, tel. 30. They carried with them about a thousand Men. J. Ware, c. 10.

1494. King particularly he vigorously attacked the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare* (1). The first took care of himself, and kept out of the reach of the Lord-Deputy: but the Earl of *Kildare* was sent Prisoner into *England*, from whence he was quickly sent back by the King with marks of esteem and good-will. As he dreaded fresh troubles in *Ireland*, where a Rebellion in his circumstances would have been very inconvenient, he thought he should prevent them by acts of Grace, rather than severity; and therefore sent a Commissioner (2) with a general Pardon in form, as well for the Earl of *Desmond*, as for all the *Irish* Rebels, to stifle if possible all the seeds of Rebellion in the Island, where the House of *York* had but too many friends.

A 9. Pub.
N. l. p. 567.
634.

A famous
Parliament
in Ireland.

Poyning's
Law.
Hist. of
Ireland.

Henry ex-
acts Money
by unlawful
ways.
Bacon.
Stow.

Whilst *Poyning's* was in *Ireland*, he held a Parliament famous for the Statutes enacted to the advantage of the Crown of *England*, and of the *English* settled in the Island. One of these Statutes, still called *Poyning's Law*, ran, that the Parliament of *Ireland* should not be assembled before the Lord Lieutenant and Council had acquainted the King with the reasons, and obtained the Royal Licence under the Great Seal. It was also enacted, that all the Statutes of *England* concerning the publick, should be observed in *Ireland*. These two Statutes are still in force to this day (3).

Though *Henry* had given several proofs of his self-interested and covetous Temper, they might be coloured with some pretence, because the secret Springs of his Policy were not yet fully known. But it was not the same with regard to his proceedings this year, which plainly discovered his nature. The pretence of foreign Affairs failing him, he extorted large Sums from private persons, by forfeitures upon penal Laws, on purpose to fill his Coffers. This proceeding was the more displeasing to the People, as they easily perceived it flowed from his natural disposition, since he was not obliged by any necessity to use such extraordinary methods. He was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*. He had drawn from the Parliament two very considerable Subsidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with interest. Moreover, besides divers Confiscations, he received every year fifty thousand Livres of the King of *France*. All this, added to the usual Revenues of the Crown, which were no less than in the foregoing Reigns, seemed to enable him to ease, instead of oppressing his Subjects with frivolous accusations to drain their Purses. The first he attacked in this manner was Sir *William Capel* Alderman of *London*, who was fined two thousand seven hundred pounds, and forced to compound with the King for sixteen hundred. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was taxed with being the Contriver of these methods to procure the King money. But whether *Henry's* Avarice daily increased, or the Ministers who succeeded that Prelate were still less scrupulous than he, People had but too much reason to lament him after his death.

Towards the end of this year, *Henry* gave a fresh instance of his desire of money, which proved very injurious to his good name, especially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of justice. By secret advices from Sir *Robert Clifford* he was informed, Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain, was one of *Perkin Warbeck's* Adherents. Tho' that Lord had done him the greatest Service imaginable, since he had procured him the Victory which raised him to the Throne, he resolved to sacrifice him to his Avarice, under colour of punishing his Crime. I say, to his Avarice, and not to Justice or Revenge. For if we may judge by his usual Conduct, with regard to the State-Criminals, of whom there was nothing to be got, he would, doubtless, have pardoned *Stanley*, if the desire of confiscating his Estate, had not rendered him inexorable.

To attain his ends, he ordered *Clifford*, who was still in *Flanders*, to repair privately into *England*. When he heard the Informer was arrived, he removed to the Tower (4), that the great ones who should be accused, might be arrested more conveniently, and without noise. *Clifford* being come to *London* without discovering himself, the King assembled the Council (5) in the Tower, and sent for Sir *Robert*, who falling down at his feet, craved his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the Con-

spiracy. The King immediately pardoned him, but on express condition, he would conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Whereupon *Clifford* impeached several persons, and among the rest the Lord Chamberlain. The King seeming extremely surprized, bid him take care what he said, since his Life lay at stake in case the Accusation was groundless. *Clifford* persisting, the Lord Chamberlain was presently apprehended. Next day he was examined by the Council, where he confessed enough to condemn him. The great Service he had done the King and the Interest of the Earl of *Derby* his Brother, made him hope he should not be treated with rigour. But two things rendered his Crime unpardonable. The first was his immense riches, which promised the King a plentiful Confiscation (6). The second, that he was accused, and probably, convicted of saying [to *Clifford*,] speaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, if he were sure that young Man were King Edward's Son, he would never bear arms against him. This was wounding the King in the most sensible part, since he seemed to acknowledge, the House of *York* had a better Title than the House of *Lancaster*. Had he been guilty only of this Crime, it is a question, whether the Judges would have sentenced him to die, but it is likely, he was convicted of acting more directly against the King, and holding Intelligence with *Warbeck*, and the Dukes of *Burgundy*. All the favour he could obtain, was a delay of some weeks, to prepare for death, which he suffered not till the beginning of the next year (7). The King's Severity on this occasion seemed excessive. All the World imagined he would pardon a Lord to whom he was so much obliged, and who had even enabled him to exercise Acts of Mercy, by procuring him the Crown. Besides, he was Brother to the Earl of *Derby*, a zealous Servant, and Father-in-law of the King.

Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

The execution of the Lord Chamberlain terrified the whole Kingdom. He was condemned for a Crime of which few *Englishmen* were innocent, namely, for preferring the Title of *York*, to that of *Lancaster*. But what caused still greater dread, was, that the King was perceived to have had Spies about the Lord Chamberlain to observe his Conduct, which might be every Man's case. The great Men durst not speak their thoughts to one another, for fear those whom they counted their best Friends, were the King's Spies. But this restraint was in some measure made up, by swarms of Libels against the Judges, the Council, and the King himself. This License so displeased the King, that he ordered five persons, convicted of dispersing these Libels, to be executed.

Great Terror
in England.
Bacon.

Libels
against the
King.
Hall.
Bacon.

Richard Fox, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, one of the King's Favorites, was translated this year to the See of *Durham*.

A 9. Pub.
XII. p. 566.

It was likewise this year, that *Henry* the King's second Son, two years old, was created Duke of *York* (8).

Bacon.
Stow.

Though there was a Truce concluded with *Scotland* to the 30th of *April* 1501, there still remained some differences between the *English* and *Scots*, concerning certain Lands on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, and the Fishery of the River *Eske*. *Henry* always dreading some Insurrection in the Kingdom, was extremely desirous to have no Contests with his Neighbours. For this reason, he had in *May* this year, moved, that the differences between *England* and *Scotland* might be adjusted. King *James* seeming to desire the same thing, they both sent Ambassadors to *Caldstream*, to agree upon some Expedient. *Richard Fox* was at the head of the *English* Ambassy (9). But with all his Address, he could not end an affair, which in itself seemed not very difficult. This caused *Henry* to suspect, that the King of *Scotland* reserved it for an occasion of quarrel, and to order the Earl of *Surrey* to be upon his guard in the North.

Negotiation
with Scot-
land.
A 9. Pub.
XII. p. 551.
554.

Charles VIII undertook this year the long meditated Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*. This affair is so well known, it would be needless to relate the particulars. It is necessary, however, briefly to mention the rise and principal events.

Charles VIII
undertakes
the Conquest
of Naples.
Commun.

The Posterity of *Charles of Anjou*, first King of *Sicily* of the House of *France*, was divided into two Branches, whereof one reigned in *Naples*, the other in *Hungary*.

Abstract of
the Succession
of the Kings
of Naples.
Colien.
Capac.
Summ.
&c.

(1) *Maurice*, and *Gerard Fitz-Gerard*.

(2) My Lord *Bacon* calls that *Poyning's Law*, whereby all the Statutes of *England* (to the 10th of *Henry VII.*) were made to be of force in *Ireland*; which before that time were not, nor are any since that time, but by a special Clause.

(3) *January* 7. *Hall*, fol. 35. *Stow*, p. 477.

(4) A selected Council, says Lord *Bacon*, p. 610.

(5) There was found in his Castle of *Hill* forty thousand Marks in Money and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuff, Stock upon his grounds, and other personal Estate, exceeding great. He had likewise in Land three thousand Pounds a year of old rent. *Bacon*, p. 610.

(6) He was beheaded on Tower-hill, Feb. 16. 1495. *Hall*, fol. 35. says, the Cause of his Discontent was, King *Henry's* refusing to create him Earl of *Cheshire*. He was succeeded in the Office of Lord-Chamberlain by *Giles Lord d'Aubigny*. *Id.* fol. 36. *Bacon*, p. 611. *London Journal*, p. 1444.

(7) On November 1. The Knights of the *Bath* made upon this occasion were these: The Lords *Harington*, *Clifford*, Duke of the South, and the Lord *Warren*; Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Walter Griffith*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, Sir *Robert Hancourt*, Sir *Edward Ingham*, Sir *Henry Manny*, Sir *Robert Newburgh*, Sir *Ralph Ryder*, Sir *John Sparke*, Sir *Humphrey Fulford*, Sir *Robert Litton*, Sir *Pierce Edgcombe*, Sir *Robert Cere*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *Richard Knightley*, Sir *John Cheke*. *Stow*, p. 477.

(8) The rest of the Ambassadors were, Sir *Thomas Dacre*, Sir *William Tyler*, *Christopher Marshey*, and *John Carington*. *Ryma's Fœd.* Tom. XII. p. 554.

1494. After sundry Revolutions, the Crown of Naples fell at length to *Joan* the first of that name. But in 1380 *Charles de Durazzo*, of the Branch of *Hungary*, pretending to the same Crown, and repairing into *Italy*, attacked Queen *Joan*, who finding herself pressed by this Enemy, adopted *Lewis I. Duke of Anjou*, Uncle of *Charles VI. King of France*. From that time there was a continual War between the two Houses of *Anjou*. At last, *Charles de Durazzo* remained in possession of *Naples*, and was succeeded by *Ladislaus* his Son, who dying in 1414, left the Crown of *Naples* to *Joan II* his Sister. Mean time, *Lewis I*, Duke of *Anjou*, and *Lewis II*, his Son, always stiled themselves Kings of *Sicily*, and preserved their pretensions to *Sicily* on this side the *Pharo*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis II*, who died in 1417, left three Sons, namely, *Lewis III*, *Renè*, and *Charles*.

In 1421, *Lewis III* led an army into *Naples* to dethrone *Joan II*, who, for support, adopted *Alphonso King of Arragon*. *Alphonso* arriving in the Kingdom of *Naples*, forced *Lewis III* to quit the Country, and retire into *France*. Shortly after, upon some quarrel between *Joan* and *Alphonso*, *Joan* revoking the adoption of *Alphonso*, adopted the same *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who would have deprived her of the Crown, and declared him her presumptive Heir and Successor; but *Lewis* died without Issue in 1431. *Joan* departed this Life the next year, having made a Will in favour of *Renè* of *Anjou*, Brother of *Lewis III*.

Renè made some attempts to take possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to no purpose. *Alphonso King of Arragon* kept the Crown till he died in 1458. He left the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *John* his lawful Son, and that of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his Bastard.

Mezerai.

In 1474 *Renè* made a Will, and appointed for his Heir *Charles Earl of Main* his Nephew, Son of *Charles* his younger Brother, to the prejudice of *Violante* his Daughter Duchess of *Lorrain*, and *Renè* Duke of *Lorrain* his Grandson.

Foundation of Charles VIII's Claim.

Charles Earl of Main, Nephew and Heir of King *Renè*, died in 1481, leaving *Lewis XI*, King of *France*, his sole Heir. By virtue of which Will, *Charles VIII*, Son of *Lewis XI*, pretended, the Kingdom of *Naples* was fallen to him.

If what has been said be never so little considered, it will doubtless be perceived, that *Charles's* title to the Kingdom of *Naples* was very disputable. To decide this case in a judicial way, it would have been necessary to examine two points of equal Importance in this affair. First, whether *Joan II* had power to revoke the adoption of *Alphonso King of Arragon*, and to adopt *Lewis* of *Anjou* in his room. It is true, the French Historians pretend, *Alphonso* would have dethroned his Benefactress, and upon that supposition, the reason of the revocation seems just. But the *Arragonians* grant not the fact. They ascribe it to *Joan's* Levity, who was inconstant and capricious. In the next place, supposing the House of *Anjou's* Title better than the House of *Arragon's*, this second point must have been examined, whether King *Renè* could set aside *Violante* his Daughter and her Heirs, and give the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles Earl of Main* his Nephew. It could not be alledged in favour of this Will, that the Kingdom of *Naples* was a masculine Fief, since the House of *Anjou's* Title was derived from a Daughter. So *Charles VIII* could pretend to that Kingdom, only upon supposition, that the Laws decided these two points in his favour, which was very doubtful, not to say worse. Besides, the House of *Arragon* had another Title founded upon a sixty years possession. But what rendered this affair very intricate was, that the Popes, as Sovereign Lords of *Naples*, seemed to have determined it in favour of the House of *Anjou*, by investing the Princes of that House with that Kingdom.

Case of the House of Naples. Mezerai.

But it was not so much his Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, that induced *Charles VIII* to this Conquest, as the Juncture of time, and the situation of the affairs of *Italy*. *Ferdinand King of Naples* had two Sons; namely, *Alphonso* who bore the Title of Duke of *Calabria*, and *Frederic*. *Alphonso* had a Son called *Ferdinand*, after his Grandfather. These *Arragonian* Princes were not beloved in *Naples*, nor in the rest of *Italy*. Besides, old King *Ferdinand* had banished the Prince of *Salerno*, with all the other Heads of the *Angevin* Faction. And these Exiles it was that excited *Charles* to the Conquest of *Naples*. But this alone would not have sufficed to determine him to this undertaking, had he not been encouraged by *Ludovico Sforza*, Uncle of the Duke of *Milan*. The occasion was this:

The Duchy of *Milan* was passed from the Family of *Visconti*, to that of *Sforza*; *Philippe Maria Visconti*, last Duke of that House, having adopted *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Blanch* his only Daughter.

Francis Sforza, becoming Duke of *Milan* after the death of his father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two

Sons, *Galeazzo*, who succeeded him, and *Ludovic*, surnamed the Black. *Galeazzo* being assassinated, *John Galeazzo* his Son succeeded him, under the Guardianship of his Mother, a Woman infamous for her Lewdness, and of *Ludovico* his Uncle. Some time after, the young Duke married *Isabella*, Daughter of *Alphonso Duke of Calabria*, eldest Son of *Ferdinand King of Naples*. *John Galeazzo* being a Prince of a narrow Genius, *Ludovico* his Uncle engrossed the whole power, leaving to his Nephew only the bare Title of Duke, without his being much concerned. But *Isabella* his Duchess, not bearing to see the Duke her Spouse without any Authority, complained to the Duke of *Calabria* her Father of this ill usage. Shortly after, the Duke persuaded *Ferdinand* his Father to proclaim War against *Ludovico*, to compel him to resign the Government to his Nephew.

To avoid this War it was that *Ludovico* excited *Charles VIII* to undertake the Conquest of *Naples*, by putting him in hopes, he would assist him with all his Forces. He had also a further design to make use of *Charles's* aid, to become master of the Duchy of *Milan*, and dispossess *John Galeazzo* his Nephew. He had now taken some private measures to that end with the Emperor *Maximilian*, to whom he had given *Blanch* his Niece in Marriage, with a Dowry of four hundred thousand Crowns, and *Maximilian* had privately invested him with the Duchy of *Milan* for him and his Heirs.

Upon the rumour of *Charles VIII's* preparations for the Conquest of *Naples*, old King *Ferdinand* offered him a yearly Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns; but the offer was rejected. *Ferdinand* died a little before *Charles's* Expedition, and was succeeded by *Alphonso* his eldest Son.

The war of *Naples* seems at first to be entirely foreign to the History of *England*. However, as it was the source and origia of many great Events in *Europe*, in the next Century, I thought it not improper to shew the occasion, and for the same reason it is necessary to relate the principal Events.

Charles VIII departed from *Paris* in July 1494, and came to *Asti* in *Piedmont*, where he fell sick of the Small-Pox. This distemper detaining him at *Asti*, he could not go from thence till the 6th of October, to *Turin*, where he was forced to borrow the Duchess of *Savoy's* Jewels, so ill provided was he of Money for an Enterprise of that consequence. *Ludovico Sforza* made haste to meet him, and accompanied him to *Pavia*, where they found Duke *John Galeazzo* out of order, upon eating something that his Uncle *Ludovico* had caused to be given him. When they came to *Placentia* they heard of *John Galeazzo's* death. Then *Ludovico* left the King, to go and take possession of the Duchy of *Milan*, though the late Duke his Nephew had left a Son. *Ludovico* having obtained what he wanted, had not the same attachment for the King of *France* as before. On the contrary, he thought only how to drive him out of *Italy*, by a League of which he was the principal promoter.

Charles's Departure and Journey to Rome. Comman.

Mean while, *Charles* pursuing his march, entered the State of *Florence*, and compelled *Peter de Medicis* the Duke, to deliver him four of his best Towns, and lend him Money. He made his Entry into the City of *Florence* the 17th of November, and published a Manifesto concerning the war of *Naples*. Then he took the rout to *Rome*, and all the places in the Ecclesiastical State readily brought him their Keys. *Alexander VI*, upon the King's approach, desired Prince *Ferdinand*, Son of the King of *Naples*, to depart from *Rome*, where he was received some time before. On the other hand, *Frederic* Brother of *Alphonso*, who was upon the Coast of *Genoa* with a Fleet, came to *Naples*, where all was in the utmost Consternation. Thus *Charles* having passed through *Italy* without the least opposition, entered *Rome* the 28th of December, whilst the Pope in a fright shut himself up in the Castle of *Angelo* for the Security of his person. It is time now to return to the affairs of *England*.

Henry perceiving the Negotiation with *Scotland* proceeded very slowly, without his being able to discover any visible reason, was apprehensive that King *James* would take occasion from their differences about the Fishery of the River *Eske*, to break the Peace. So, not to be surprized, he sent the Earl of *Surrey* orders to levy Troops for the defence of the North, against the attempts of the *Scots* and *Irish*. These attempts were pretended to fear, were only an excuse to put himself in a State of defence, in case the King of *Scotland* should attack him.

Shortly after, he made the Duke of *York* his second Son President of the northern Marches, though he was but three years old. He had made him last year Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and by that means kept in his own Coffers the Salaries of these two Posts, which must have been given to two several Lords. Never Prince better understood the Art of husbanding his Money, and making every thing turn to his profit.

The Duke of York made Governor of Ireland. Act. Pub. XII. p. 569.

Affairs of Milan. Comman. First of Milan.

1495.
Death of
the Duchess
of York.
Sandford.
The Pope's
Bull about
the Rebels.
A.C. Pub.
XII. p. 373.
Perkin's
Attempt
upon the
County of
Kent.
Hall.
Bacon.

The Duchess of York, Mother of Edward IV, and Richard III, died this year in a very advanced Age (1).

In July, Alexander VI sent into England a Bull, empowering all the Bishops of the Kingdom to absolve the Rebels, which by Innocent VIII's Bull was granted the Archbishop of Canterbury alone.

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the King was informed of all his Correspondents. But as the Duchess of Burgundy could not think, of relinquishing her hopes of gaining some advantage by the Idol formed by herself, she resolved at length to send him into England. She judged it necessary to found the People's Affection for the House of York, without waiting any longer for the Assistance of the great Men, who being narrowly watched were very cautious. Besides, she perceived, if the people seemed ready to rise, there would be no want of great Men to support and conduct them. Wherefore, she gave orders to draw together some Forces and Ships, and caused Perkin Warbeck to embark, and make a descent in the County of Kent. Mean while, Henry knowing nothing of these preparations in Flanders, resolved to go in progress to Yorkshire (2) to visit the Countess his Mother, which seemed to be a Juncture very favorable to Perkin's design. But as the projected descent miscarried, it was not doubted, that the King being informed of the pretended Duke of York's Intent, had taken that Journey on purpose to draw him into the Snare, so persuaded were people that Policy governed all his Actions.

Perkin, pursuant to the Duchess of Burgundy's directions, arrived upon the Coast of Kent (3), near Sandwich, and landed some Men to sound the Inclination of the Inhabitants. These Troops made great boasts of the powerful Armament the Duke of York had made in Flanders, pretending the Ships in sight were but a small part of the Fleet which would soon appear. But the people perceiving, these Men were almost all Foreigners, instead of joining them, advised with the Gentlemen of the County to know how they were to behave. And it was resolved, they should feign to be ready to assist Perkin, in order to allure him to land and take him prisoner. Pursuant to this resolution, the people took arms and appeared on the Coast, making signs to invite Perkin and his Men to land. But Perkin and his Counsellor Frien suspecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of some of their people, to inform them of what passed on shore. At last, the Kentishmen finding they could draw in no more, fell upon those that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the King's order. Perkin being Eye-witness of his people's misfortune, weighed Anchor and returned into Flanders. Henry, who was then on his progress, hearing of the descent, was about to turn back towards Kent; but presently after receiving news of what had passed, he continued his Journey (4), and spent some time with the Countess his Mother, at the Earl of Derby's House (5). His intent was thereby to make a sort of excuse to that Lord for putting his Brother to death, and give him withal, a proof of the continuance of his favour.

The 13th of October the King called a Parliament, where it was enacted, That no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the King for the time being. It is easy to see, the design of this Act was to hinder a close examination of the King's title to the Crown, since let what would be the consequence, those that served him would be always safe (6). Indeed, the precedent he had himself given, in causing those to be condemned that bore arms for Richard III, must have made his friends apprehensive of being in the same case, if the like Revolution should happen. But the Clause added in the body of the Statute, that if for the future, any Act of Attainder should pass against such as assisted the King for the time being, it should be of no force; this Clause I say, was void and of no effect. For how could an Act of this, limit the power of a future, Parliament, and cause an

Act, in its nature revocable, not to be so? Mean while, this Statute, which seemed to be made solely for the people's safety, but was however, only for the King's Security, discovered Henry's uneasiness and uncertainty concerning his title.

There was also an Act passed to oblige those who had not paid their quota of the Benevolence, to pay the Arrears by such a time. This Act brought in large Sums to the King, the Arrears of this Tax being very considerable, because the war with France not having lasted any time, many persons had declined to pay either in full or in part. It appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was indebted fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling (7).

Whilst the Parliament was yet assembled, the King received advice, that Perkin Warbeck was landed in Ireland. As this could not be but with some ill design, he gave order that the Coasts should be strictly guarded, to be ready to oppose a descent wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the Duchess of Burgundy had sent Perkin into Ireland to raise a Rebellion, and to that end, she had privately treated with the King of Scotland, who, it is likely, had promised to aid him. The common opinion is, that the Emperor, the Archduke Philip, and the King of France, were likewise in the plot: The two first, in revenge of Henry's prohibition to his Subjects of all Commerce with the Low Countries, and the other, to hinder his entering into a League that was forming in Italy, to which he was strongly solicited. Be this as it will, very probably, James, in promising to espouse the Interests of the pretended Duke of York, had been led thereto by some private view, or by the Solicitation of some other Prince.

Mean while, since Poynings had been in Ireland, the affairs of that Island were quite altered. So, Perkin not finding the Country inclined to favour his designs, departed for Scotland, where in all appearance, he knew he should be welcome. When he came to Edinburgh, he demanded an Audience of the King, by the name of the Duke of York. James feigning an extreme surprize, gave him a solemn reception in the presence of the whole Court. Perkin made a long Speech, recounting his pretended Adventures, and how he escaped the Cruelty of Richard III. Then, he inveighed against Henry Tudor, who had usurped the Crown of England, and unjustly detained it from the lawful Heirs of Edward IV. He enlarged upon the methods he had used to endeavour to recover his Kingdom. He concluded with saying, that sundry Accidents having prevented him from succeeding, he was come to put himself under his Protection, in hopes that with the assistance of so generous a Prince, he should expel the Usurper, and ascend the Throne of his Ancestors. That then he should always regard him as a Brother, and never miss an opportunity of showing his gratitude.

James seemed to be moved with Perkin's misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was, he should not repent of putting himself into his hands. However, he pretended still to have some doubt, to show it was upon mature examination that he was convinced of the truth. Shortly after, he publicly owned him for Duke of York, and gave him in marriage, Catherine Gordon Daughter of the Earl of Huntley, one of the handsomest and most accomplished Ladies in Scotland.

Henry whether he had received private notice of what was plotting against him, or it was a pure effect of his foresight, ardently wished to live in good understanding with the King of Scotland. To that end, he had empowered his Ambassadors (8), who were to repair to Calais, to treat of the marriage of Margaret his eldest Daughter with that Prince. This marriage was indeed accomplished some years after; but, in all likelihood, was not mentioned in this congress, the Ambassadors of England having doubtless perceived that such a proposal would be unseasonable.

The 28th of January 1495, Charles VIII departed from Rome, after receiving the strongest Towns of the

1495.

Warbeck
permitted
to land in
Ireland.A.C. Pub.
XII. p. 373.Warbeck
permitted
to land in
Ireland.

Bacon.

Warbeck
permitted
to land in
Ireland.Buchanan's
Hall.
Hollingh.Henry per-
mited to
marry the
Daughter of
the King of
Scotland.
A.C. Pub.
XII. p. 372.Continuance
of the War
of Naples.

Hall.
Bacon.
Stow.
Hollingh.

Remarkable
Statute.
Bacon.

(1) Cecily, youngest Daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland, and Relict of Richard Duke of York, died on May 31, in the Castle of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire; and was buried in Fotheringham College in Northamptonshire, by her Husband. She had lived to see three Princes of her Body crowned, and four murdered. See Sandford, p. 387.

(2) Or rather to Lancashire. He set out June 25. Hall fol. 27. Stow, p. 480.

(3) On July 3. Ibid.

(4) And sent Richard Guesford to thank the Inhabitants of Kent for their Fidelity. Hall, fol. 38. Stow, p. 480.

(5) At Latham.

(6) My Lord Bacon observes, that though this Law seemed to aim more at the People's Safety than the King's, yet did it take off from his Party that great Tie and Spur of Necessity, to fight and go Victors out of the Field, considering their Lives and Fortunes were in safety, whether they stood or run away.

(7) The other remarkable Statutes enacted in this Parliament were these: 1. That Vagabonds, idle, and suspected Persons, shall be set in the Stocks three days and three nights, and have no other Sustainance but Bread and Water, and then shall be put out of the Town. And whosoever shall give such persons more, shall forfeit Twelve-pence. This Act was afterwards explained, 39 Elizab. 2. That poor Persons, who are not able to sue according to the Laws of the Land, for the redress of Injuries and Wrongs to them done, shall be admitted in Forma Pauperis, without paying Fees to Counselor, Attorney, or Clerk. 3. That no manner of Person shall carry, or send any Horse or Mare, above the value of six Shillings and Eight-pence, out of the Realm, upon pain of forfeiting the same; except it is for their own use. 4. That no Person shall make, or put to sale any Feather-beds, Bolsters, or Pillows, but what are stuffed with dry pulled Feathers, or clean Down; and not with scaled Feathers, or Penn-down. See Statut. 11 Hen. 7.

(8) The Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Ralph Lord Nevill, Sir Thomas Dacre Lieutenant of the West marches, and Sir William Tyler Deputy-Governor of Berwick. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 572.

1495. ecclesiastical State, with Cardinal *Cæsar Borgia* natural Son of Pope *Alexander VI* in Hostage. Whilst he was upon the march, the Ambassador of *Ferdinand King of Spain* told him from his master, that when he promised not to molest him in the conquest of *Naples*, he did not mean that this conquest was to extend to all *Italy*. That notwithstanding, he saw him in possession of *Florence, Pisa, and all the Papal Dominions*. That therefore he declared, he did not think himself bound to the observance of their Treaty, and accordingly the Ambassador tore it in pieces before his face. *Charles* who was failing with a puerile gale, made a jest of these threats, and pursued his march.

Mean while *Alphonso*, the new King of *Naples*, finding himself attacked by a powerful King who was now upon the borders of his Dominions, was entirely discouraged. As he knew he was not beloved by his Subjects, he resigned his Crown to *Ferdinand* his Son, and retired to a Monastery, where he died this very year. The new King willing to defend his Kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers to endeavour to stop the King of *France*. But he saw himself suddenly deserted by his own Troops. In this extremity he would have retired to *Naples*, but found the Gates shut. In short, he was forced to seek a retreat in the little Isle of *Ischia*, having first garrisoned the Castles of his Metropolis, where he could enter without passing through the City.

In the mean time, *Charles* still continued his march. *Triulzi* a *Milanese*, who was in the service of the King of *Naples*, having surrendered *Capua*, all the rest of the Towns sent him Deputies with offers of submission. At last, he entered *Naples* the 22d of February, and within few days became master of the Castles.

Such a torrent of success so blinded the young Monarch and his Council, that they knew not how to take any just measures for the preservation of this Conquest. By degrees the Towns that had submitted, returned to their Sovereign; his Army, which was not very numerous, being unable to furnish Garrisons every where. Besides, the *French* made themselves so odious to the people of *Naples*, that they soon repented of receiving them.

Bentley.

But what most embroiled the Conqueror's affairs, was a League formed against him by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Archduke, the King of *Naples*, *Ludovico Sforza* new Duke of *Milan*, and the Republick of *Venice*. This League, which was for twenty-five years, was signed the 25th of March 1495, and at the same time the Confederates began to assemble their Forces.

Charles found then, it was time to think of his return. But he was resolved first to make a triumphant entry into *Naples*, from whence he departed the 20th of May in order for *France*, leaving but few Troops to defend his Conquest. But the Allies did not intend to suffer him to retire thus peaceably. They expected him upon his rout, with an Army of forty thousand Men, and posted themselves at *Ferrara* to oppose his passage. Though *Charles* was very inferior in number of Troops (1), he was determined to give them Battle, being sensible that he must either conquer or perish. The Battle was fought on the 6th of July, and the success was favorable to the King of *France*, who defeated that formidable Army and came to *Asti* the 25th of the same month (2).

Part of
Ferrovia.

Whilst he was retiring through *Italy*, *Naples* submitted again to *Ferdinand*, and almost all the rest of the Towns that were still in the *French* interest followed her example. The Duke of *Montpensier*, left by *Charles* at *Naples* with a few Troops, retired to the Castle of *le Ovo*, where after maintaining a Siege of three months, he was forced at last to capitulate. Thus *Charles* who had conquered the Kingdom of *Naples* in the space of three weeks, lost it with the same rapidity. He formed afterwards several projects to recover his Conquest, which, by the obstacles that occurred, came to nothing.

This year the Emperor *Maximilian* came into the *Low-Countries*, and resigned the Government to his Son *Philip*, though he still wanted some years of being of Age. After that, he returned into *Germany*. *Philip* being no longer under the Emperor's Guardianship, sent, about the end of the year, Ambassadors to *Henry* to desire the renewal of the Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

The Ambassadors found no great difficulty to succeed in their Negotiation. The renewal of the Commerce which they were come to desire, was no less necessary for the *English* than for the *Flemings*. So, the 24th of Febru-

ary 1496 was concluded at *London* a Treaty of Peace and perpetual amity between *Henry* and *Philip*, and the Trade between the two nations was settled to the satisfaction of both parties.

Among the Articles of this Treaty, there were two particularly remarkable. By the first, the two Princes engaged to give neither aid nor refuge to the rebellious Subjects of either. Particularly, *Philip* obliged himself expressly to hinder the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, from harbouring the King's rebellious Subjects in the Lands she possessed, by what title soever she held them, whether of Dower or otherwise. That in case she acted contrary to this prohibition, he promised to deprive her of all her possessions in the *Low-Countries*.

By another Article it was expressly agreed, that any Vessel suffering Shipwreck on the Coasts of either of the two Princes, should not be liable to confiscation, provided there was left alive a Man, Woman, or Child, a Dog, a Cat, or a Cock.

The *Flemings* called this Treaty [*Intercursus Magnus*] or the great Treaty of Commerce, not only by reason of the great number of Articles, but chiefly with respect to another, made afterwards, and which not being so much to their advantage, was termed [*Intercursus Malus*] or the bad Treaty.

We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that March the 5th this year, the King granted a Patent to *John Cabott* a *Venetian*, and to three of his Sons (3), to go in quest of new Lands with *English* Colours (4). The Terms were, that after all charges deducted, they should give the King a fifth of the Profit (5).

Patent to
John Cabott
1b. p. 595.

Mean while, the King of *Scotland*, not content with affording the pretended Duke of *York* a Sanctuary in his Dominions, would likewise undertake to place him on the Throne of *England*. He was told, that as soon as he appeared in that Kingdom at the head of an Army, all the *Yorkists* would rise in favour of the Pretender. To that end it was, that immediately after his arrival in *England* he took care to disperse the counterfeit Duke's Proclamation, wherein the King was termed Usurper, Tyrant, and Murderer. Moreover, he promised all sorts of favours to such as would join the lawful Heir, to destroy him that unjustly detained the Crown. But this Proclamation was so ineffectual, that not a Man offered to join the *Scots*. The truth is, *Henry* was not beloved, especially in those parts. But as, since *Perkin* had begun to appear by the name of Duke of *York*, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was not thought proper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater assurance that it was really for a Son of *Edward IV*. Besides, the execution of the Lord Chamberlain was a terror to all, as no Man could reasonably expect the King's pardon, since that Lord was not spared. At length, *James* seeing he waited in vain that the *English* would take arms in favour of his Duke of *York*, and being unwilling wholly to lose his labour, ravaged *Northumberland* and got a great booty. Then *Perkin* feigning to be extremely moved with the calamities of the *English*, conjured that Prince, before his whole Court, to spare his miserable Subjects. This was a very artful device to persuade the Publick he was really what he pretended to be. *James* replied with a smile, he thought him very generous to be so careful for what was none of his, in order to save it for his enemy's use. Mean while, the news that an *English* Army was advancing, made him resolve to return into his own Country, being unwilling to expose his great spoils to the hazard of a Battle. Thus the expedition, from which he expected so great effects, ended only in the ruin of the People of *Northumberland*.

The King of
Scotland and
Warbeck's
Invasion.
Buchanan.
Bacon.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 647.
Stow.
Proclamation
in the
name of the
Duke of
York.
Hall.
Bacon.
The English
d. not join
him.

James ra-
vages Nor-
thumberland
Warbeck's
Cunning.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, *Charles VIII* fearing *Henry* would enter into the league of *Italy*, took care to have the Peace of *Estaples* confirmed by the States, as he was bound by the Treaty, which he had hitherto neglected, though it was confirmed by the Parliament of *England* the last year. However, as he thought not proper to assemble the States General, he caused the Peace to be approved by the States of each Province, with which, in all appearance, *Henry* was satisfied. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, the approbations of the States of *Languesse, Normandy*, and several other Provinces, as likewise of particular Towns of little note, signed by great numbers of common people, as Tradersmen and Husbandmen.

Though the King of *Scotland's* Invasion had produced no great effect, *Henry* was however apprehensive of the

Charles VIII
causes the
Peace of
Estaples to
be confirmed
by the States
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 572.
592, 596,
597, 598,
---634.

Philip
assumes the
Government
of the Low
Countries.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 570.

1496.
Treaty be-
tween Eng-
land and
Flanders.
Feb. 24.
1b. p. 587.
Bacon.

(1) He had but nine thousand Men; whereas the Confederate Army consisted of twelve thousand Horse, and above the same number of Foot.

(2) This is the memorable Event related by the *French* Historians. But it appears from Cardinal *Bentley*, and other Italian Authors, that *Henry* did not enter into this Battle, in the utmost hurry; and that *Ludovico Sforza*, and *Francisco Gonzaga*, the *Italian* Generals, were much superior to those of the *French* King, they might easily have cut off his Retreat, if they had not been so much engaged as they did. See *Card. Bentley Hist. Secret.* p. 65. Edit. 1718; and *Paul* &c.

(3) *John Cabott*, and his Sons. *Rymer's Fed. Tom.* 12. p. 595.

(4) *Three* and five Ships. *Ibid.*

(5) They were bound and engaged to Give at *Least* 1 d.

Confederates.

1496. consequences. He knew his Subjects were not pleased ; that the *Yorkists* were very numerous ; that *Ireland* was not well-affected ; and that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Scotland* ready to take advantage of these dispositions. So, to prevent the danger which might arise from all these quarters, he granted first a general pardon to all the *Irish* Adherents of the pretended Duke of *York*, lest the dread of punishment should carry them to revolt. In the second place, he commissioned *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* to try, as of himself, to enter into Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, to treat of the marriage of his eldest Daughter *Margaret* with that Prince. Lastly, he sent Ambassadors (1) to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, to confirm his Alliance with them, and secure, by fresh engagements, the marriage of *Arthur* his eldest Son with *Catherine* their third Daughter.

Act. Pub.
XII. p. 634.

Ib. p. 635,
636.

Embassy to
Spain.
Sept. 22.
p. 636.

He enters in
to the League
of Italy.
p. 638.

Some time before, he had dispatched to *Rome* *Robert Sherburn*, who had in his name entered into the league of *Italy* (2) against *Charles VIII.*, and the 23d of *September* ratified what his Ambassador had done. He thereby thought himself sufficiently supported. For, he had nothing to fear from the King of *France*, who was elsewhere employed, and the most potent Princes of *Europe* were his Friends and Allies. As for the King of *Scotland*, he believed, he could easily resist him in case of attack. However, though he had now taken measures to make Peace with that Prince, and had reason to hope for success, he believed he ought not to lose this opportunity to command an aid of money of the Parliament, as well to put himself in a state of defence, as to revenge the insults of the *Scots*. For this purpose, he called a Parliament the 16th of *January* following. It was however easy to foresee, the King of *Scotland* being supported neither by *France*, nor the Archduke, nor the Dukes of *Burgundy*, would not undertake to maintain alone a War for the sake of *Perkin Warbeck*, though he was so blind as to believe him the real Duke of *York*.

Marriage of
the Arch-
duke with
Jane of Ar-
ragon.
and of Mar-
garet of
Austria with
the Prince of
Spain.

1497.
The Parliam-
ent meets.
Bacon.
Subsidy gi-
ven for the
Scotch War.
Hollingsh.

The King
hastens the
levying the
Subsidy.

Rebellion in
Cornwall.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

In *October* this year, *Jane* second Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, came into the *Low-Countries* to marry the Archduke *Philip*, to whom she had been contracted. *Isabella* her eldest Sister had been married in 1490, to *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, who died shortly after. The same Ships that brought *Jane* into the *Low-Countries*, served to carry *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Philip's* Sister, into *Spain*, to consummate her marriage with Prince *John*, Heir-apparent of *Castile* and *Aragon* (3).

The Parliament being assembled the beginning of the year 1497 (4), the King made a Speech to both Houses, highly aggravating the affront received from the King of *Scotland*. He represented very pathetically, the calamities endured by his northern Subjects, at a time when the Truce should have secured them from such insults. In short, he told them, his honour and the protection he owed his People, would not suffer him to let these wrongs pass unrevenged. The Parliament understanding him well, gave him a Subsidy (5), after which, they were instantly dissolved, as having been called purposely for that affair.

Though *Henry* hoped much from his Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, he perceived it necessary to prepare for War. Otherwise Negotiations generally prove fruitless. The levy of the Subsidy granted by the Parliament was the first and principal preparation. The necessity of a War with *Scotland* afforded the King a pretence to hasten that affair, from which he expected the same advantage as from that of *Bretagne*; that is to say, to put the entire Subsidy into his Coffers. To that end, it was necessary the whole should be levied before the Peace was concluded with *Scotland*, else the People would pay their money with reluctance. As the King set his heart upon this business, he gave very strict orders to the Commissioners, who were to gather the Subsidy in the several Counties.

The Commissioners proceeding with great rigour, met in the County of *Cornwall* with unexpected opposition. The *Cornishmen* being less tractable than those of other Counties, loudly complained, that for some petty damage done to the other end of the Kingdom, they were robbed of their necessary subsistence. These murmurs were encouraged by one *Michael Joseph*, a Farrier of *Bodmin*, and *Thomas Flamock*, a Lawyer. *Flamock* affirmed, that subsidies were not to be granted or levied for the War of *Scotland*, (the Law having provided for it

by *Escauge*) much less when the *Scotch* Invasion was made a pretence to fleece the whole Kingdom: That it would be a shame to submit to such an oppression, and all the mischief solely proceeded from the King's Ministers, who made their Court at the poor people's cost: That to free themselves from these grievance, it was proper to take arms, and without injuring any person, go and present a Petition to the King, to pray him to desist from this Tax, and punish his evil Counsellors, for a warning to others how they gave him such advice for the future: That a greater service could not be done to the Kingdom, than to deliver it from such Harpies, who ruined it under colour of procuring the King's good. *Flamock's* chief aim was at [*Morton*] Archbishop of *Hall*. *Canterbury*, and *Reginald Bray*, because they were generally the King's instruments in affairs of this nature.

Flamock and *Joseph* perceiving the people began to take fire, offered to lead them, till some Person of quality should head them, which, as they said, would soon be. And indeed, it appeared afterwards, they were encouraged by Persons of greater consideration. This was sufficient to excite all the rabble of the Country to an insurrection; and arming themselves in the best manner they could, they marched under the conduct of these two Incendiaries into *Devonshire*, and from thence into *Somersetshire*. The number of the rebels daily increased, by many People of the places where they passed, who had nothing to lose, and were inflamed by the King's secret enemies. At *Taunton*, they killed a Commissioner (6), who had signalized himself by his rigour, in levying the Subsidy. This was all the mischief they did in their march. Then they proceeded to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley* (7), a Nobleman of a restless and discontented Spirit came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their General. *Audley* putting himself at their head, led them directly to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, without suffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be satisfied with a bare subsistence. When they came to *Winchester*, instead of marching to *London*, as was intended at first, they forced their General to lead them into *Kent*. *Flamock* having told them, the People of that County were very fond of liberty, they fancied they should be immediately joined by them, in defence of the rights and privileges of the Nation. But when they came there, they were greatly disappointed. By the diligence of some *Kentish* Lords (8), not a Man offered to take arms in their favour. This coldness discouraged many of the rebels, who foreseeing their enterprize would not be successful, returned quietly to their homes. But those that remained, being encouraged by the King's remissness, who had suffered them to proceed so far unmolested, insolently boasted, they would give him Battle, or take *London* before his face. In this resolution they went and encamped (9) between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, within a few miles of *London*.

When the King first heard of this Insurrection, he was under some Consternation. A war with *Scotland*, a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and a Pretender to the Crown, seemed to him to be three affairs of the last Importance, especially as they came upon him at once. Beside, his inward uneasiness concerning the doubtfulness of his title, helped to magnify objects. He was apprehensive that the *Cornish* Rebellion was the beginning of a general Conspiracy, whereof *Perkin* was waiting the issue in *Scotland*. Happily for him, this Rebellion was at a time when he had an army in readiness, which was to march into the North, under the Command of the Lord *d'Aubigny*. But the news of the Insurrection made him keep his Forces about *London*, not thinking fit to send them into the North at such a juncture. He contented himself therefore with detaching the Earl of *Surrey*, and sending him towards the borders of *Scotland* to oppose King *James*, in case he thought of making a second Inroad into *England*. Mean while, the Rebels traversed the Counties, and the King made no motion to stop them. This Conduct surprized all the World, considering it was his Custom speedily to march to the place where danger began to appear. But upon this occasion he thought best to act otherwise for several reasons. First, he was very glad the Rebels were so far from their homes, and harassed themselves with long marches. In the second place, he did not see any

1497.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Rebels
march to
wards Lon-
don.

Hall.

Hall.
Stow.
Bacon.

The Lord
Audley
leads them.

They march
into Kent,
where no
body joins
them.

Hollingsh.
Bacon.

They march
to London.

The King's
army dis-
persed the
Rebels.
Ibid.

Hall.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

(1) Thomas Bishop of London. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 12. p. 636.

(2) This League consisted of Pope Alexander VI, the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand and Elizabeth King and Queen of Spain, Augustin Barchino Doge of Venice, Lewis Maria Sforza Duke of Milan, and King Henry. Ibid. p. 639.

(3) This year, on December 18, died Jasper Tudor Duke of Bedford, and was buried in the Abbey of Keynsham in Gloucestershire. Stow, p. 479.

(4) On January 16. See Statut.

(5) Limited to the Sum of a hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two Fifteens. Bacon observes upon this occasion, that his Wars were always to him a Mine of Treasure of a strange Ore, Iron at the top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom. p. 617.

(6) The Provost of *Perin*. Hollingsh. p. 781. last Edit.

(7) James Tucket.

(8) George Grey Earl of Kent, George Nevill Lord Abergavenny, John Brooke Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poyninge, Sir Richard Guilford, and Thomas Beuchier, John Peebe, William Scot, &c. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingsh. p. 782.

(9) On Black heath. Ibid.

1495. necessity to hasten him to attack them, since they committed no outrages. Besides, he could not find that their numbers increased. But the chief reason of his slowness was, that he would see if they had any Correspondents in other Counties, in order to divide his army, if necessary, or hasten to the relief of the weakest. In fine, Age, and the continued enjoyment of a Crown, had, doubtless, rendered him less in love with dangers. Any other way seemed to him less hazardous than a battle, to remedy Evils of this nature.

The King resolves to give them battle. Hall. Bacon.

Disposition of his troops. Hollingh. Bacon.

But when the Rebels were encamped on *Black-Heath*, from whence they might have a prospect of *London*, the King could no longer delay to attack them. He would have given occasion to believe his coldness proceeded from fear, which might have produced very ill effects among the people. However, as he was much superior to the Male-contents, both in number of Troops and Military knowledge, he resolved so to dispose all things, as to leave little to Hazard or Fortune. To that end, he divided his army into three Bodies, the first whereof, commanded by the Earl of *Oxford* (1), was ordered behind the hill, where the Rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and, if necessary, attack them in the rear. The second, led by the Lord *d'Aubeny*, was appointed to charge them in the front. The King retained the third about his own person, and encamped in *St. George's Fields*, that in case of ill Success he might be ready to renew the fight, or throw himself into *London* and secure the City as he should think proper. Besides, he was not so far off, but he could succour his people during the battle.

Battle of Black-Heath, where the Rebels are routed. June 22. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

Hall. Hollingh.

The Lord Audley and two others executed. Hall. Stow. The King's Moderation.

Every thing succeeded as the King expected. The Rebels suffered themselves to be deceived by a report he had caused to be spread, that he intended to give them battle on the *Monday* following, whereas he attacked them on the *Saturday*, which of all the days of the week he fancied to be the most fortunate. As they expected it not, they were so surprized that they had scarce time to draw up. On the other hand, for want of Intelligence, they suffered themselves to be surrounded by the Earl of *Oxford*, who being posted behind them, hindered their retreat. So, of six thousand (2), which was their number, two thousand were slain on the spot, and the rest forced to surrender at discretion, there being no way to escape. The King for this once, caused to be executed only the Lord *Audley* (3), *Flammock* and the *Farrier* (4), who were taken alive, but gave the prisoners to the Captors, with leave to compound with them for their ransoms as they should judge fit. It is not unlikely, that the moderation of the Rebels in their march from *Cornwall* to *London*, tempered also the King's Severity; especially as they had not asserted the title of the House of *York*, a Crime he never forgave. Be this as it will, he was satisfied with these three Victims, for the expiation of this great Rebellion.

New Treaty of the Archduke. July 7. Act. Pub. XII. p. 648, 654.

Shortly after the Battle, the Archduke's Ambassadors signed at *London* Articles of Agreement, whereby, in explaining the late Treaty of Commerce, the Archduke desisted from the duty of a *Florin*, which he before exacted upon every piece of *English* Cloth that came into his Dominions.

p. 658.

The 18th of *July*, *Henry* ratified the Marriage-Articles between *Arthur* his eldest Son, and *Catherine of Aragon*. This Marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed *October* 1. 1496.

p. 667. Aug. 28.

About the same time *Charles VIII* sent an Embassy into *England* on purpose to confirm the Peace of *Estaples*, by the reparation of certain outrages committed on both Sides.

Buchanan. Hollingh. Bacon.

But whilst *Henry* was employed against the *Cornish* Rebels, the King of *Scotland* thinking it a favorable Juncture, made a second Irruption into *England*, and appeared before the Castle of *Norham*. But the Earl of *Surrey*, then in *Yorkshire*, hastening to its relief (5), *James* raised the Siege and retired into his own Kingdom. The Earl of *Surrey*, not satisfied with driving him out of *England*, pursued him into *Scotland*, and took the little Town of *Aton*. This war was inconvenient to the King upon several accounts. First, he could not continue it, without using all the Money given by the Parliament, which he

would have gladly avoided. Besides, *Perkin Warbeck* 1497. made him uneasy, and he perceived it would be easier to remove him from *Scotland* by Treaty, than by Arms. He would not however make the first advances, but wished the proposal of peace to come from another, to avoid the disgrace of a refusal, in case the King of *Scotland* was disinclined.

Act. Pub. XII. p. 663.

Whilst he was in this perplexity, he bethought himself that *Don Pedro d' Ayala*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, would be a proper Instrument to accomplish this affair. *Ayala* willingly undertook to go to the King of *Scotland*, and propose, as of himself, an agreement with the King of *England*. He used for pretence, that King *Ferdinand* his master, could receive no greater satisfaction, than to see the two Kings his Friends and Allies, live in peace and good neighbourhood. This expedient succeeded according to *Henry's* expectation. The Ambassador found the King of *Scotland* so well inclined, that he writ to the King, if he would enter into Negotiation, he did not question the success. Whereupon the two Kings sent their Ambassadors (6) to *Aton* to treat of a Peace, *Ayala* performing the office of mediator. The greatest difficulty that occurred in this Negotiation, was concerning *Perkin Warbeck*, whom *Henry* demanded, and the King of *Scotland* would not deliver. The Bishop of *Durham* (7) perceiving he could not gain that point, proposed an Interview of the two Kings at *Newcastle*. But when it was mentioned to the King of *Scotland*, he said, though he was very desirous of Peace, he would not go and beg it of his enemy. At length, an expedient was found agreeable to both parties. And that was, the King of *Scotland* should honorably dismiss the pretended Duke of *York*, before the Negotiation of a Peace was carried any farther, lest he should be thought to be forced to it; that afterwards they should treat as if *Perkin* had never been in *Scotland*.

Henry employs the Spanish Ambassador to make peace with Scotland. lb. p. 670. 671. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Difficulty on account of Perkin. Hall. Hollingh. Bacon.

Expedient to remove it.

Pursuant to this agreement, *James* told the pretended Duke, he had done for him all that lay in his power: That he had twice entered *England* at the head of an Army, to try the disposition of the *English*: That not having found what was expected, there was no likelihood that with his forces alone, he could place him on the Throne, and dispossess a King so firmly established: That his misfortune proceeded solely from the *English* refusing to espouse his quarrel, and his being forsaken by those who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilst the *Scots* exposed their Lives for his sake: That therefore he advised him to seek his fortune elsewhere; but nevertheless, he would make good what he told him at first, That he should not repent of putting himself into his hands. *Perkin* seeing the King of *Scotland* bent to dismiss him, thanked him for the protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other favours, entreating him to convey him into *Ireland* with his Wife, which the King immediately granted.

James sends away Perkin to Ireland. Hall. Stow. Hollingh. Bacon.

As soon as *Perkin Warbeck* was removed from *Scotland*, there were no farther obstacles to a Peace. The Ambassadors, assembled at *Aton*, signed a Truce for seven years, commencing the 30th of *September*, the day of signing the Treaty. It was expressly agreed, that neither of the two Kings should make war upon the other, by himself or Subjects, or by any other Person, whereby *Perkin Warbeck* was sufficiently understood without naming him: That with respect to certain points not settled by the Ambassadors, the two Kings referred them to the decision of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Afterwards this Truce, limited to seven years, was prolonged till a year after the death of the Survivor of the two Princes. In fine, each of the two Kings gave Letters Patents to the Mediator, desiring him to report to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* the differences yet undecided, promising to stand to their determination. These Letters were full of marks of esteem and acknowledgment for the Ambassador, and the two Kings showed how well pleased they were with his equity, wisdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honorable for *Ayala*, whom the *English* and *Scotch* Writers call *Hialas* or *Elias*, than the perfect confidence placed in him by these two Monarchs. But then, it may be said, he had the

A Truce of seven years between Scotland and England. Act. Pub. XII. p. 673.

The two Kings make Ferdinand and Isabella Umpires.

(1) John de Vere, who had with him *Henry Bourcier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and *Sir Humphrey Stanley*. Hollingh. p. 782.

(2) Bacon says, sixteen thousand. p. 619.

(3) He was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Paper-Coat torn and painted with his own Arms reversed, where he was beheaded, *June* 28. Hall, fol. 43.

(4) He is said to please himself with the notion that he should be famous in after-ages. He with *Flammock* was drawn, hanged, and quartered at *Tyburn*. The *Cornishmen* are said to shoot Arrows of a Yard long. *Ibid*.

(5) Together with *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmoreland*, *Thomas Lord Dacres*, *Ralph Lord Nevill*, *George Lord Strange*, *Richard Lord Latmer*, *George Lord Lumley*, *John Lord Scrope*, *Henry Lord Clifford*, *George Lord Ogle*, *William Lord Conyers*, *Thomas Lord Darcy*, *Thomas Baron of Hales*, *Sir William Percy*, *Sir William Bulmer*, *Sir William Galswoigne*, *Sir Ralph Bigod*, *Sir Ralph Bowes*, *Sir Thomas Parr*, *Sir Ralph Ellender*, *Sir John Constable*, *Sir John Ratcliffe*, *Sir John Savill*, *Sir Thomas Strangeways*; the whole Army amounting to little less than twenty thousand Men, besides the Navy. Hollingh. p. 783.

(6) The *English* Ambassadors were, *William Warham* Master of the Rolls, and *John Cartington*. *Rymer's Fied. Tom.* 12. p. 6-3.

(7) The King directed *Bishop Fox*, who was then at his Castle of *Norham*, to confer with *d'Ayala*, and both to treat with the *Scotch* Commissioners. Hollingh. p. 783.

1497. good fortune to find them equally inclined to a Peace so necessary for both.

First Proposal of the Marriage of Margaret with the King of Scotland.
I observed that in 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his Ambassadors to treat of a Marriage between Margaret his Daughter and the King of Scotland. But it does not appear, this affair was mentioned in any of the former Negotiations, or even in this I have been speaking of. It is however very probable, that Henry, who desired this Marriage, did not fail to insinuate the Proposal by the Spanish Ambassador, who was in his interest and confidence. It was a very proper occasion, since Ayala might make the overture as from himself, without engaging Henry in case of refusal. It went no farther for this time, but we shall see presently the happy effects of this Overture, which gave Birth to the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Death of the Prince of Spain.
In the beginning of the year, Margaret of Austria, Sister of the Archduke, went into Spain to Don John her Husband. The nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity and magnificence. But in a few months after, Don John died, leaving the Princess with Child, who was delivered of a still-born Infant.

Marriage of Isabella his Sister with the King of Portugal.
By the death of Don John, his Sister Isabella, Widow of Prince Alphonso of Portugal, became Heir-apparent of the Kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. Since the death of the Prince her Spouse, she had been contracted to Don Manuel new King of Portugal, who hearing of Don John's Sickness, so pressed his marriage that it was consummated before that Prince expired.

Affairs of France.
The last year, as was related, Charles VIII lost the Kingdom of Naples. Though the divisions among the Princes of Italy, seemed to invite him to this Conquest, he could never resolve, because he had turned all his thoughts to love and pleasure. He duly paid Henry twenty five thousand Livres every half year, as he was bound by the Treaty of Estaples, for fear of drawing upon himself new troubles from England.

1498. After the Treaty of Estaples, there was neither War nor Difference between France and England during the rest of Henry VII's reign. Charles and Henry stood in awe of each other. Charles, who at first had formed vast projects, perceived, the King of England was the only Prince that could lay obstacles in his way. Afterwards, when he desisted from the War of Italy, and indulged his pleasures, he always feared that a War with Henry would disturb his tranquillity. Henry on his part dreaded all foreign Wars, and particularly with France, by reason of his domestick enemies. Thus the two Monarchs having the same interest, lived in Peace till Charles's death, on the 6th of April 1498. The Duke of Orleans, who succeeded him by the name of Lewis XII, was no less careful to preserve a good understanding with England (1). As he turned all his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diversion in Picardy. As soon as Lewis was on the Throne, he caused his marriage with Jane Daughter of Lewis XI to be annulled, in order to espouse Ann of Bretagne his predecessor's Widow. Otherwise he would have run the risk of seeing Bretagne once more severed from France, and in the hands of a foreign House.

Death of Charles VIII Lewis succeeds him. Mezerai.
Though Henry had nothing to fear from abroad, since he was in Peace with all the Princes of Europe, it was not the same with regard to his own Subjects. Before he could acquire that perfect tranquillity, he so earnestly longed for, he had a fresh attack to maintain from the Cornishmen. Perkin Warbeck himself, who having learnt to live like a Prince, could not resolve to return to his primitive state, and seized this opportunity to create him new troubles.

Disposition of Charles and Henry to one another.
The Cornish Rebels had been treated more gently than they had reason to expect, considering the nature of their crime, which Sovereigns never willingly pardon. Most of them had compounded for two or three shillings a Man, so miserable were they. These being returned home, publicly said, if the King had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but because he was sensible if he punished all that were of their mind, he must hang up three parts in four of his Subjects. These discourses making their friends and neighbours believe, the whole Kingdom was ready to rise, they began to flock together, and shew they were not discouraged by the Battle of Black-Heath. At last some of the most fiery hearing Perkin Warbeck was in Ireland, proposed to send for him and set him at their head. The proposal meeting

with applause, they sent to Warbeck, that if he would come among them, he should find no contemptible aid, and that with the assistance of other good Englishmen, they hoped to place him on the Throne.

Perkin being without any refuge in Ireland, and expecting nothing more either from Scotland, or France, or the Low-Countries, gladly accepted the invitation. He had with him for Counsellors, Hern a broken Mercer, Skelton a Taylor, and Atley a Scrivener, who persuaded him to take that course. They told him, he had committed a great error in relying on the Dukes of Burgundy, and the Kings of France and Scotland, who without regarding his, had only their own interests in view: That he had been ill advised when he landed in Kent, which was too near London; but if he had been so fortunate as to have been in Cornwall when the Cornishmen took arms, he had been crowned at Westminster before now. That the Scots were not proper instruments to place him on the Throne, by reason of the aversion the English had for them; but, he must wholly depend upon the People of England, who alone were capable of procuring him the Crown: That therefore they advised him to repair into Cornwall where he was expected.

Pursuant to this advice, Perkin embarked for Cornwall, having with him about seventy Men (2) on four small Vessels, and arrived in September (3) at Whitland-Bay. As soon as he had landed his little Troop, he came to Bodmin, the Farrier's Town, who was hanged after the Battle of Black-Heath. There assembling about three thousand Men, he issued out a Proclamation assuming the title of King of England, and the name of Richard IV. He was very free of his reproaches and invectives against Henry and his Government, with magnificent promises to such as should take arms to dethrone the Usurper. After publishing his Proclamation, he formed a design to become master of Exeter, as well to make it serve for a magazine, as a retreat in case of need. At first, he tried to bribe the Inhabitants, with promising them the preservation and augmentation of their privileges. But finding they would not hearken to him, he resolved to storm the City. As he had no Artillery, he was forced to scale the Walls, and at the same time attempted to fire one of the Gates. But the attempt miscarried, and he lost two hundred Men in the assault.

Henry hearing that Perkin had joined the Cornish Rebels, and was before Exeter, said merrily, he hoped now to have the honour to see him which he could never yet do. He intimated withal, he should receive with pleasure and thankfulness, the services the Nobility should do him upon this occasion. Whereupon, several Lords and Gentlemen of Devonshire, and the neighbouring parts, uncalled from Court, drew some forces together, and put themselves under arms (4). On the other hand, the King ordered the Lord d'Aubigny to march to the relief of Exeter, spreading a report of his following in person with a numerous Army.

Perkin, upon news of these preparations against him, raised the Siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton (5), where he prepared all things as if he intended to fight. But that very night he fled to Bewley Monastery in the New Forest, where he and several of his company registered themselves Sanctuary-Men. The Lord d'Aubigny hearing, Perkin had forsaken his Army, detached three hundred Horse (6) to pursue him, and prevent his escaping by Sea. The pursuers arriving too late at Bewley, contented themselves with besetting the Sanctuary till further orders. Mean while, Perkin's Troops, which were increased to six thousand, being destitute of their head, submitted to the King's mercy, who pardoned them all except a few ring-leaders who were hanged for an example. Presently after he sent a detachment of Horse to St. Michael's Mount, to bring away Perkin's Wife who was retired thither, lest, if she was with Child and escaped, the business should not end in the Person of Perkin. This virtuous Lady, who loved her Husband entirely though unworthy of her, so gained the King's favour by her modesty, that he gave her a very gracious reception. He comforted her himself in a very affectionate manner, had her conducted to the Queen, and assigned her an honorable allowance, which she enjoyed during the King's life and many years after. She was called the white Rose, as well on account of her beauty, as because of the name given by the Dukes of Burgundy to her Husband.

Though Perkin was in a place from whence he could not escape, the King however came to Exeter, to inquire

1498.

He comes and sends them.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

He takes the title of King.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

and takes Exeter.
Hall.
Bacon.

The King orders his Troops against them.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Perkin flies to Sanctuary.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

His Army submits.
Hall.
Bacon.

Henry seizes his Wife, and sends her well.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

He goes to Exeter.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

(1) He ratified the late Treaties concluded with King Henry by Charles VI. his Predecessor, and engaged to continue the payment of the yearly sum of fifty thousand Livres. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 681—690.

(2) Bacon says a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty fighting Men, p. 622.

(3) On the 15th. Stow, p. 480.

(4) As Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire, and William his Son, with Sir Edmund Carew, and Sir Thomas Fulford, and likewise Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, with many brave Gentlemen, namely, Sir Thomas Trenbald, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Haleswell, Sir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgcombe, William St. Maur, or Seymour, &c. Bacon, Hall, fol. 46, Hollingshead, p. 784.

(5) September 20. Hall, fol. 46.

(6) Five hundred, says Hollingshead, p. 784; and Bacon, p. 622.

498. more closely into the causes and origin of the Rebellion. As he entered the City, he took his Sword from his side and gave it to the Mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring by that mark of distinction the zeal shewn by the Citizens for his service. On the morrow, he caused some of the Rebels to be executed in sacrifice to the Inhabitants of *Exeter*, and as a sort of satisfaction for what they had suffered. For the rest who had submitted to his mercy, he gave them indeed their lives; but withal appointed Commissioners (1) to punish them by fines. He proceeded on this occasion, with excessive severity. One would have thought he repented of giving them their lives, and designed to starve the miserable wretches after freeing them from the Gallows.

Some of the
Rebels are
executed, and
others fined.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 69.

Perkin
Warbeck
Hall.
Stow.
H. Hunting.
Bacon.

This done, he advised with his Council, upon what should be done with *Perkin*, who was still invested in his Sanctuary. Some were for taking him out by force and putting him to death, not at all questioning, that after the execution, the King might easily agree with the Pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the License granted by *Innocent VIII's* Bull, it sufficed to have him narrowly watched, and that, without necessity, such an advantage should not be given to the Pope. Moreover, that the King ought carefully to avoid being deemed a violator of Sanctuaries, of which his Enemies would not fail to take the advantage. In short, some there were who plainly told the King, he would never satisfy the people, that *Perkin Warbeck* was an Impostor, unless *Warbeck* himself freely undeceived those that were seduced by his artifices: That therefore the best method that could be taken, was, to ingage him by a pardon to make himself a confession of his Crime. The King following this advice, sent to offer *Perkin* his Life, if he would voluntarily surrender himself. *Perkin* readily accepted the offer. He saw himself so strictly watched and guarded, that he despaired to make his escape. Besides, supposing he could have escaped, he was destitute of all hopes, after an unsuccessful Trial of so many different means.

He is carried
to the
King's
Hall.
Hollingsh.

He is carried
to London,
and confined
in the Tower.

Shortly after, the King ordered *Perkin* to be brought to Court, as if he was entirely at liberty, but however, attended by several persons who were commanded to guard him with all care, lest he made his escape. Every one might see and talk with him; but he could never obtain leave to throw himself at the King's Feet, though the King, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him without being seen. After that, *Perkin* was conducted to *London*. He was all the way exposed to the insults and derision of the people; but seemed to bear all with great courage and constancy. Never did he act the Prince better than upon this occasion, without affecting too great an Insensibility, or shewing too much dejection. When he was come to *London*, he was made to ride twice through the City, that people might have time and opportunity to view him well, after which, he was confined in the *Tower* (2). A few days after was executed one of his chief Confidants, who not caring to take Sanctuary with him in *Bewley*, chose rather to wander about the Country in a *Hermit's* dress (3). This execution being over, *Perkin Warbeck* was privately examined, and his Confession published, giving an exact account of all his actions, and the places where he had lived ever since he was born. But all were surprized to find no particulars of the Conspiracy or the Authors. The Duchess of *Burgundy* herself was not so much as named. Some took occasion from thence to confirm themselves in the belief, that the person called *Perkin Warbeck* was the true Duke of *York*. They were persuaded, that this affected Silence was not without mystery, and that the King durst not insert in *Perkin's* pretended Confession, any of the circumstances relating to foreign Princes, for fear of being publicly contradicted by persons who would not have for him the same regard as his own Subjects. As for what was published concerning *Perkin's* Life and Kindred, nothing, as they said, was easier than to invent such Stories. Some however believed the King was thus silent, out of complaisance to the King of *France*, the Emperor, Archduke, Duchess of *Burgundy*, and King of *Scotland*: And that there were even *English* Lords engaged in the plot, against whom he did not think fit to proceed.

Bacon.

Shene Palace
built,
Bacon.
Stow.

The year 1498, ended with an accident which gave

the King no small concern. Whilst he was at his Palace of *Shene*, a fire broke out the 21st of *December* with that violence, that in few hours the building was entirely consumed, with all the rich Furniture. As *Henry* was very fond of that Palace, he caused it, soon after, to be rebuilt from the ground, calling it *Richmond*, which name it retains to this day (4).

The same year *Isabella* Queen of *Portugal* was solemnly acknowledged presumptive Heir of *Castile* and *Aragon*, by the States of these two Kingdoms. But shortly after she died in Childbed at *Saragossa*, having been delivered of a Prince, who was named *Michael*, and proclaimed presumptive Successor of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Death of
Isabella
Queen of
Portugal.
Michael her
son Heir of
Spain.

Since *Lewis XII* ascended the Throne of *France*, he had been employed in contriving how to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, which he claimed in right of *Valentina* of *Milan* his Grandmother.

The Truce between *England* and *Scotland* being concluded, as I said, to the satisfaction of both Kingdoms, the *Scots* conversed familiarly with their neighbours the *English*, particularly with the Inhabitants of *Norham*. This Town, which was fortified with a good Castle and a strong Garrison, is situated on the little River *Tweed*, which parts the two Kingdoms. It happened one day, some *Scotchmen* walking out of the Town, stood looking attentively upon the Castle, which breeding suspicion in the Soldiers of the Garrison, they sent to them to retire. The *Scots* taking it ill to be suspected, returned an angry answer, and in short, falling from words to blows, some of them were killed. The affair being brought before the Wardens of the *Marches*, was neglected, so that after many delays, the King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors (5) into *England* to demand speedy satisfaction. *Henry*, who had no mind to quarrel with *James*, replied, that what had been done was a mere chance and without his privacy: but however, he was ready to make all convenient satisfaction, and to that end would send Ambassadors to the King of *Scotland*. *Buchanan*, and the Lord *Bacon*, *Henry the Seventh's* Historian, affirm, the first overture of the Marriage between King *James* and the Princess *Margaret* was made during this Negotiation, and that *James* himself proposed it to *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*. Whereas it appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that, above four years before, *Henry* had projected this Marriage, and probably, caused it, as I said, to be suggested to the King of *Scotland*, by some indirect means. As the Bishop of *Durham* could not be ignorant of the King's intention, since he had been twice commissioned to treat of this Marriage, he failed not to inspire King *James* with hopes, that the Business would be ended to his satisfaction. Shortly after, the Ambassadors of the two Kings (6) meeting at *Sterling* to decide the *Norham* affair, renewed the former Truce, adding certain Articles to prevent the like Accidents. After that, *Henry* appointed the Bishop of *Durham* to settle with the King of *Scotland* the Articles of the intended Marriage. This affair was not however finished till *January* 1502.

1499.
Quarrel be-
tween the
English and
Scots.
Bacon.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

The King of
Scotland de-
mands
Satisfaction.

Treaty of
Marriage of
Margaret
with
James IV.
Act. Pub.
XII. p. 722,
729.

Perkin Warbeck, accustomed to live like a Prince, was heartily tired of the *Tower*, where doubtless he was not treated as such. Though according to appearance, the King had ordered him to be strictly guarded, he found means to escape, and take the road into *Kent*, where he hoped to meet with some Ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that orders were every where sent to apprehend him, he thought proper to fly to the Monastery of *Bethlehem* (7), which enjoyed the Privilege of Sanctuary (8). It was difficult for the Prior to protect such a Person, and yet he could not either to let him go elsewhere, or violate the Sanctuary of the House, in delivering him to the King. In this perplexity, he chose to wait upon the King, and acquainting him that *Perkin Warbeck* was in his hands, petitioned for his Life, leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion. The King readily saw, it would not be possible to draw *Perkin* out of the Monastery to put him to death, without making great noise. So, on pretence of his great respect for the Prior, who was a person very much revered, he granted the prisoner his Life, but ordered him to be set in the Stocks a whole day, in the Palace Court at *Westminster*, and next day at the Cross in *Cheapside* (9), from whence he was conveyed to the *Tower* (10). Such a pri-

Perkin
escapes out of
the Tower,
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.
and flies re-
Sanctuary.

He is par-
doned and
sent to the
Tower.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Bacon.

(1) Thomas Hattys, William Hattys, and Roger Holand. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 696.

(2) It does not appear that he was committed to the Tower till after he had attempted to escape. See *H. Hunting.* p. 784.

(3) He was carried to the King's Stables, and accompanied *Perkin* in his Procession through the City, bound hand and foot upon a Horse. Bacon, p. 623.

(4) He gave it that name from his having been Earl of *Richmond*. Camden.

(5) The account in *Herald's* Hall, fol. 48. Buchanan.

(6) The English Ambassadors were, William Bishop of *Carlisle*, Richard Hutton, Doctor of Laws, Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Richard Cholmely, and J. K. *Camden's* Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 721.

(7) Built by Henry V. at *Shene* in *Stony*, and was called the Priory of *Shene*. Hall, fol. 49.

(8) And desired the Prior, for God's sake, to petition the King to grant him his Life, and a Pardon. Hall, fol. 49. *Hollingsh.* p. 786.

(9) In both which places he read his Contention, of which the Reader may see a Copy in Hall, fol. 49; and in *H. Hunting.* p. 786.

(10) On the 15th of June. Hall, fol. 50.

1499. soner naturally should have been thrown into some Dungeon, and yet his Confinement was not the most rigorous, since he had the Liberty to converse with the rest of the Prisoners.

Perkin's and the Earl of Warwick's Plot discovered. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon. After he had remained some time in this state, he found means to gain four Servants of Sir John Digby, Lieutenant of the Tower, with whom he plotted to kill their master, seize the Keys of the Tower, and escape with the Earl of Warwick, who had been also persuaded to come into the plot, out of hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been so long unjustly debarred. But unhappily for them, the affair was discovered before it could be executed. It was scarce doubted, that the King himself was the contriver of this plot, and that his aim was to draw at once Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick into the snare, in order to put them both to death. Indeed several reasons rendered it credible. First, it was very surprising, that Perkin was not more closely confined, after his attempt to make his escape. Secondly, it was not likely, that in his Circumstances, unable to reward Sir John Digby's Servants, they should expose themselves to such danger for his sake. In the third place, Perkin was too cunning to join with the Earl of Warwick, who would have hurted him only, though they had been so happy as to escape. Lastly, supposing they had killed the Governor without being discovered, and got the Keys of the Tower, how could they expect that the Guards would have opened the gate, or suffered it to be opened in the night, without examining the Persons that went out, or without the Governor's express order. But what farther confirms this suspicion of the King, was, that about the same time a young Man, one Wilford a Shoemaker's Son, pretended to be the Earl of Warwick. He was accompanied, or rather guided and directed, by an Augustin Frier called Patrick, who had the boldness to preach publicly in some Town in Kent, that Wilford was the Earl of Warwick, and exhort the people to take arms in his favour. They were both apprehended, and Wilford was hanged, but the Frier pardoned (1). This gave occasion to believe, Wilford had been seduced by the Frier, and by the King's particular direction, that it might be thought less strange, that he put him to death, under colour of causing fresh troubles.

One pretending to be the Earl of Warwick is hanged. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

However this be, it is certain the King was resolved to free himself at once from all his uneasinesses occasioned by Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick. Though it cannot positively be said, that he laid a snare for them, at least this Plot furnished him with a plausible reason to deliver them over to Justice. Perkin was condemned (2) by Commissioners [of Oyer and Terminer] to be hanged, and was executed with the Mayor of Cork (3) and his Son, who had been his constant companions in all his adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir John Digby's four Servants, there were but two executed. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged for lawful King in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland, and made Henry shake in his Throne. Perhaps he would have succeeded in his designs, had he been to deal with a less politick Prince. However, it is certain the King was not enough careful to undeceive the publick, and that the proofs produced to shew Perkin was an Impostor, being taken only from a private examination, seemed not sufficiently evident.

Perkin is condemned to be hanged. Hall. Bacon.

In a few days after Perkin's death (4), the Earl of Warwick was brought before the House of Peers, the Earl of Oxford exercising, by Commission, the office of High-Steward. He was arraigned, not for attempting to escape, which could not be deemed High-Treason, since he was not imprisoned for any such crime, nor even for any other, but for conspiring the King's death jointly with Perkin Warbeck. The poor Prince confessing that he gave his consent to the project laid by Perkin and Digby's Servants, was condemned to lose his head, and the sentence was executed on Tower-hill (5). He was the last Male-Heir of the House of York, which in truth was the Crime that cost him his life, the King chusing rather to sacrifice his own reputation, than be disappointed of securing the Crown both to himself and his Heirs. To lessen in some measure People's horror of this Cruelty, the King caused it to be published, that King Ferdinand had positively declared, he would never consent to marry his Daughter Catherine to Prince Arthur, so long as the

The Earl of Warwick is condemned and beheaded. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Earl of Warwick was alive. Strange sort of Apology tending to insinuate, that the Marriage of the Princess of Spain was so necessary for England, that it must be purchased with Blood! But if this marriage was not requisite for the State, it was at least very beneficial to the King, who was to receive two hundred thousand Crowns of Gold for Catherine's Dowry. This alone would have induced him to sacrifice the Earl of Warwick, though he had no other advantage by his death. From a like motive he had beheaded the Lord Chamberlain. Mean while, very probably, what was published concerning King Ferdinand, was only a mere pretence to excuse Henry, since Arthur's Marriage with Catherine was solemnized by Proxy the 19th of May this very year, before the Earl of Warwick's death (6).

Lewis XII had solemnly ratified and sworn the Peace of Estaples, a little after his accession to the Crown. But being desirous to shew Henry, he really intended to keep it, he caused it to be approved and ratified by the States General, assembled at Nantz in the beginning of the year. Then he sent Ambassadors to the Pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The Pope seeing no farther obstacle from France, issued out a Bull of excommunication against whoever of the two Kings should not observe the Treaty.

It was not without reason that Lewis desired to preserve the Peace made by his predecessor with England. He had formed a design to seize the Duchy of Milan, and to that end made a league with the Venetians, who were to have for their share all that part of the Milanese situate beyond the Adda. This same year the confederates attacked the Duchy of Milan, and Ludovico Sforza, the most perfidious of Men, being forsaken by all the World, was forced to fly to the Emperor, having lost all his places, except the Castle of Milan. Genoa, of which he was possessed, followed the example of the Milanese, in voluntarily surrendering to the King of France.

Frederick King of Naples, who had succeeded Ferdinand his Nephew, fearing the preparations in France were designed against him, gave Henry speedy notice that he desired to be included in the Peace he had lately renewed with France. But it was not with him that Lewis intended to deal this year. He reserved the War of Naples after the Conquest of the Milanese.

Alexander VI having published a Jubilee for the year 1500, the last of the Century, had granted by his Bull to all Christians at a distance from Rome, the privilege of the Jubilee without being obliged to visit the Churches of that City; but on condition of paying such a sum for the favour. This was an infallible way to draw money from all the States of Christendom, where he had sent Commissioners to levy it. The Commissioner appointed for England was Jasper Pons a Spaniard, who wisely discharged his Commission without noise or scandal, and carried a good sum of money to his master (7).

Besides this affair, he was charged with another which seemed of great moment, but tended, like the first, only to fill the Pope's Coffers. He had orders to acquaint the King, that the Pope was resolved to publish a Crusade against the Turks: That therefore it was agreed with the Ambassadors of several Potentates, that the Hungarians, Poles, and Bohemians should make War upon the Turks in Thrace; the French and Spaniards in Greece; and himself, with the King of England, the Venetians, and Princes of Italy, who were most powerful at Sea, should attack Constantinople: That in consequence of this resolution, he had sent Nuncios to all the Courts, to exhort the Sovereigns amicably to end their private quarrels, that all the Forces of Christendom might be united together for so pious an undertaking. Alexander VI was too well known to be thought to act upon this occasion from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God. Consequently, it was easy to see that the sole design of this Crusade was to heap up money by voluntary contributions, as well from private Persons as Sovereigns. However, as Henry was unwilling to shew his dislike of this project, which probably would meet with obstacles enough elsewhere, he told the Nuncio, "That no Prince in all Christendom should be more zealous than himself, to promote this affair, to the glory of God and the good of the Church: but as his

1499.

Ad. Pa.

XII. p. 74.

The Peace of

Estaples

being confirmed by the

States of

France.

p. 726.

p. 736.

p. 736.

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p. 736.

(1) Wilford was hanged on Shrove-Tuesday; and the Frier was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. Bacon, p. 625. Hall, fol. 49. Hollingsh. p. 787.

(2) On Novemb. 16, and executed the 23d of the same Month. Hall, fol. 50. Stow, p. 481.

(3) John Atwater. His Son was pardoned. J. Ware, c. 15.

(4) Novemb. 21, and consequently two days before Perkin's death. Hall, fol. 51. Hollingsh. p. 787.

(5) He was four and twenty years old, and had been a Prisoner fifteen years, and kept so from the Company of Men and Beasts, that he is said not to know a Goose from a Capon. He was beheaded November 28, and buried at Bisham. Hall, fol. 50, 51. Stow's Ann. p. 481.

(6) It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, should say, That she had not offended; but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood. Meaning the Earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 626.

(7) This was done after the King's Return from Calais, which was about the end of June. Hall, fol. 52.

1500. "Dominions were so remote from *Constantinople*, as he had no Gallies, and as his Mariners were not sufficiently acquainted with the *Mediterranean Sea*, he judged it more proper that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should accompany his Holiness by Sea; whereby, not only all things would be sooner ready, but the jealousy wisely avoided, which would infallibly arise between these two Monarchs, in case they should march together by land, without a Superior: That for his part, he would freely contribute both Men and money towards the undertaking. But if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should refuse to accompany the Pope, he would go himself and command under him, provided all differences between the *Christian* Princes were first appeased, (which he should not obstruct, since he was in Peace with all the World,) and some good Towns on the Coast of *Italy* put into his hands, to serve for retreat in case of necessity."

The Project comes to nothing.

Henry is chosen Protector of the Order of St. John. Act. Pub. XII. p. 747. He goes to Calais because of the Plague. Hall. Interview between Henry and the Archduke. Bacon. Hollingsh.

The Pope easily perceived the meaning of this answer, and as probably the rest of the Princes would return the like, the *Crusade* vanished into air. Mean while *Henry*, to display his zeal, appointed Ambassadors to go to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning that affair. But I do not know whether these Ambassadors ever went from *London*. *Henry's* answer being made publick, the Knights of *Rhodes* elected him for Protector of their Order, imagining there was no Prince in *Christendom* more zealous than himself for Religion.

The Plague having for some time raged in *England* (1), the King, after frequent change of places, resolved to go and make some stay at *Calais* with his Family, till the danger was over. Upon his arrival (2), the Archduke *Philip* sent Ambassadors to welcome him into those parts, and express his desire of paying him a visit. But withal, prayed him to appoint for their interview, some place that was not a walled Town, not but that he had a perfect confidence in him, but because he had already refused to confer with the King of *France* in a fortified place. *Henry* very civilly accepted this compliment, and appointed the place to be at *St. Peter's Church* without the Gates of *Calais*. Then he sent Ambassadors to *Philip* to return his compliment, and tell him with what impatience he expected him. Some days after, being informed that the Archduke was near *Calais*, he rid out of the Town to receive him. When *Philip* saw him, he alighted and offered to hold the King's stirrup. But *Henry* not permitting him, they embraced, and withdrawing into the Church, had a long conference. The Archduke, willing to efface the impression which his protection of *Perkin* might have made in the King's mind, shewed an ardent desire to live in a good understanding with him, calling him his Patron and Father; as appears in the King's letter to the Mayor of *London*, acquainting him with what passed at the interview. It is said also, that overtures were made of cross marriages between *Henry* Duke of *York* the King's second Son, and *Margaret* Sister of *Philip*, and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, and between *Charles* Son of *Philip* and *Mary* the King's second Daughter. *Charles* was born the 24th of *February* this year, and by the death of Prince *Michael* of *Portugal*, about the same time, was become presumptive Heir of the Crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

Project of Marriages. Bacon.

Bull upon the Peace of Estaples. June 12. Act. Pub. VII. p. 765. Disposition for the Succession.

This year, the Pope, at the request of *Lewis XII* himself, gave a Bull, whereby that Prince was declared excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the Treaty of *Estaples*.

The Ambassadors of *England* and *Scotland*, being at length agreed upon the terms of the marriage between King *James* and *Margaret*, the Pope granted a dispensation. But as the Prince's was only between ten and eleven years old, it was not consummated till three years after.

Warbeck's Adherents. p. 766.

Henry was then in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and there was no appearance of any troubles in his Kingdom. Consequently he had no sort of pretence to demand of his Parliament new Subsidies. This way of raising money, of which he was so greedy, failing him, other methods were to be devised. *Perkin Warbeck's* affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhausted. The Commission he had established whilst at *Exeter*, regarded properly such only as had actually taken arms against him. But though that Commission had brought him in very large sums, he was not yet satisfied. Under colour, that those who had any way adhered to *Warbeck's*

party, were still liable to the rigour of the Law, he was ready to grant them a pardon unasked; but it was on condition, they paid the fines laid upon them. For that purpose he appointed new Commissioners (3) to make inquest of those that assisted *Michael* the Farrier, author of the first *Cornish* Rebellion, and *Perkin Warbeck* the impostor, with power to pardon them upon their paying fines at the Commissioners discretion. He ordered likewise the estates of such as were dead to be seized and sold, if the Heirs refused to make a reasonable composition. It is easy to see from hence, that if the King had been favorable to the Rebels during the troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to despair, whilst they were yet heated, since he spared them not, as soon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous.

Cardinal *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was accused of being the author of these oppressions. But it was afterwards perceived, they sprung from the King himself. The Archbishop died the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year (4), little regretted by the *English*, who were greatly prejudiced against him. *Henry* Dean Bishop of *Salisbury* succeeded him, but had not possession till the *August* following (5). Before we close this year, XII. p. 772, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed in 773.

Death of Cardinal Morton. Hall. Stow.

Dean succeeds him. Act. Pub. XII. p. 772.

After *Lewis XII* was become master of the Duchy of *Milan*, he turned his thoughts to the Conquest of *Naples*. Though, probably, he might alone have conquered that Kingdom, he made however an Alliance with the King of *Arragon*, whereby they agreed to join their Forces, and share the conquest between them. *Ferdinand* was to have *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis* the City of *Naples*, *Abruzzo* and *Terra di Lavaro*. This Treaty being signed, *Ferdinand* sent an Army into *Italy* under the command of the famous *Gonzolvo*, commonly called the great Captain. *Lewis* gave the conduct of his Army to *d'Aubigni*, to the Earl of *Gaiazzo* and *Cesar Borgia* the Pope's Bastard, who having quitted the *Cardinalate*, was become Duke of *Valentinois*. The French Fleet was commanded by *Philip* of *Cleves* Lord of *Ravenstein*. In a very short space, each of the two Kings became master of the portion assigned him by the Treaty, and the unfortunate *Frederick* King of *Naples* was forced to cast himself upon the mercy of *Lewis XII*, who sent him to live in *France* with a pension of thirty thousand Crowns.

Lewis XII and Ferdinand share the Kingdom of Naples. Mezerlaiz.

The King of Naples gives himself up to Lewis.

Henry having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in great Tranquillity, and the more, as he saw in *England* no Lord in condition to create him uneasiness. The ability he had shewn in several affairs, as well foreign as domestick, which had unexpectedly come upon him, kept his neighbours in awe, and his Subjects in obedience. So, which way soever he turned his eyes, he saw nothing capable of disturbing his quiet. Mean while, when he least expected it, he thought a new storm was gathering against him, but he was more afraid than hurt. The Earl of *Suffolk* (6), Nephew of *Edward IV*, and *Richard III*, and Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, slain at *Stokefield*, quarrelling with a Man, had the misfortune to kill him. This accident might have given the King a pretence to free himself from the Earl, who could not but be odious to him, since he was, by his Mother, of the House of *York*. However, whether the action in itself was not ill, or for some other reason, the King was pleased to forgive him, on condition he openly pleaded his pardon. The Earl, more offended at this Ignominy, than grateful for the favour granted him, retired shortly after into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Duchess of *Burgundy*. *Henry* was startled at his retreat, imagining he was gone into the Low-Countries, to contrive some plot against him. His constant uneasiness, with respect to his Crown, made him apprehensive, that the least beginnings would be attended with sad consequences. And therefore, not to give the Earl of *Suffolk* time to concert new Projects with the Duchess of *Burgundy*, he so wrought with him by Messages, that he returned into *England*, where he was very readily pardoned. The Duchess of *Burgundy* was grown old, and tired with so many fruitless attempts to dethrone *Henry*. Besides, she could expect no farther assistance from the Archduke, who was willing to live in a good understanding with him.

The Earl of Suffolk with his own Flanours. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Bacon.

The King sends means to make him return.

This year abounded in Marriages, and Projects of Marriages of consequence. The Archduke going into *Spain* by land, had an opportunity to confer with *Lewis XII*, and offered with him a Marriage between his

(1) There died of it thirty thousand in *London*. Hall, fol. 51. Stow, p. 481.

(2) Which was the eighth of May. Ibid.

(3) Robert Skirborn Dean of *St. Paul's*, and Sir *Amias Paulet*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 766.

(4) Stow says, he died in October at his Manor of *Knole*. p. 482.

(5) This year also died *Thomas Reubenham* Archbishop of *York*; in whose place was chosen *Thomas Savage* Bishop of *London*, who was succeeded by *William Warham*. About the same time died *Thomas Langton* Bishop of *Winchester*, and was succeeded by *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*. Hall, fol. 52. Stow, p. 481, 482. Hollingsh. p. 788. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 767, 771.

(6) Edmund de la Pole, Son of *Elizabeth*, *Edward's* eldest Sister by *Jean de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, her second Husband.

1501. Son *Charles* with *Claude* eldest Daughter of that Monarch.

On the other hand, *Margaret* of *Austria*, the Archduke's Sister, and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, espoused *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*.

In fine, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, coming into *England* in *October* (1), her Marriage with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* was solemnized the 14th of *November*. Though the Prince was but in the sixteenth year of his Age (2), it was not questioned whether the Marriage was consummated. The Prince himself next morning said several things which left no room to doubt it. And yet, there were afterwards very warm disputes upon it, *Catherine*, or her Council affirming, there was no Consummation. But it is not yet time to speak of this matter.

Thomas Wolsey, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and Cardinal, who made so great a figure in *England*, was now Rector of the Parish-Church of *Lymington* in the Diocese of *Bath* and *Wells*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *November* this year, the Pope, in consideration of his distinguished Merit, granted him a Dispensation to hold two Benefices that were inconsistent.

Though the Dispensation for the King of *Scotland's* Marriage was come, *Henry* made no great haste to finish that affair, by reason of his Daughter's tender age. At length, the Princess being entered upon her thirteenth year the 29th of *November* 1501, *James* sent Ambassadors to *London*, where every thing concerning the Marriage was settled, and the Contract drawn in form the 24th of *January* 1502. *Henry* gave with his Daughter thirty thousand Angel Nobles of Gold (3), [each Noble worth twenty Groshes, or Groats] payable in three years. *James* settled upon the Princess his Spouse, a Jointure of two thousand pounds Sterling a year in Land, of which however, he was to receive the Income during his Life, and allow her only a thousand pounds a year at her own disposal. It was farther agreed, that she might have twenty four *English* Servants, and when one died, she might appoint another in his room: That the Marriage should be performed *per verba de Presenti*, about the Feast of *Purification*; but the King of *Scotland* should not think of having *Margaret* in his hands till *September* the 1st, 1503. That then *Henry* should cause her to be conducted, at his expence, to the borders of the two Kingdoms. Before this Contract was signed, a Privy Counsellor represented to the King, that it was not impossible but this Marriage might one day give *England* a *Scotch* Sovereign (4). Whereupon the King replied, supposing that should be, the strongest would carry it from the weakest, and *Scotland* be annexed to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, which fell out accordingly.

The same day were signed also two other Treaties, one of perpetual Peace and Amity between *Scotland* and *England*, and the other concerning the outrages that might be committed on both Sides contrary to the Peace.

Whilst the Court was rejoicing for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland*, Prince *Arthur* her Brother was seized with a Distemper which laid him in his Grave. He died the 2d of *April*, about five months after his Marriage, and in the seventeenth year of his age (5). As the Princess's Widow might be with Child, the King delayed two or three months to create *Henry* his second Son, Prince of *Wales*. The Lord *Bacon* says in his History, that *Henry* was not made Prince of *Wales* till *February* 1503 (6). But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, Letters Patents of the 22d of *June* 1502, wherein he is stiled Prince of *Wales*, a clear Evidence that he was now invested with that Principality.

Shortly after, *Henry* received an Embassy from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to propose a League against the *Turks*. This Embassy was properly only a pretence to demand of the King an aid of Money, which the Emperor promised punctually to repay. But the King knowing *Maximilian* to be always in want, chose rather to make him a present of ten thousand pounds, than to lend

him the Sum he desired. As for the League proposed by the Emperor, *Henry* did not think fit to engage in it, contenting himself with stipulating, that the ten thousand pounds should be employed in the war against the *Infidels*. He concluded with him however a Treaty of Commerce, and another of Friendship and Alliance, which was to last one year after the death of the Survivor. Moreover it was agreed, that *Maximilian*, and his Son the Archduke, should be admitted into the Order of the Garter, and *Henry* into that of the *Golden Fleece*. Pursuant to this agreement, *Henry* sent Ambassadors (7) to *Maximilian*, with the Order of the Garter, and to see him swear to the Treaties.

About the same time *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, finding himself pressed by the *Turks*, and desiring the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, *Henry* sent Ambassadors to treat with him. But their power was limited to the promise, in his name, of a Sum of Money to be employed against the *Infidels*.

During the rest of the year nothing extraordinary passed in *England*. *James* and *Henry* were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying their three late Treaties, and swearing to observe them. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Ambassadors of the King of *England* (8) having delivered to King *James* a writing, containing the Oath he was to take, and he reading it as it was, inadvertently gave *Henry* the Title of King of *France*. But afterwards perceiving his error, he took publicly another Oath, wherein the words, *and of France*, were omitted, and made that his authentick act. He was afraid, no doubt, the King of *France* would be displeased with his giving *Henry* that Title, though it was of no great Importance.

We see likewise in the *Collection*, that on the 9th of *December*, *Henry* gave a Patent to *James Elliot* and *Thomas Ashurst* Merchants of *Bristol*, to *John Gonzalez* and *Francis Fernandez*, Natives of *Portugal*, to go with *English* Colours in quest of unknown Countries, upon certain terms expressed in the Patent (9).

Elizabeth, *Henry's* Queen, died the 11th of *February* 1503, without being much lamented by the King, who never loved her (10). On the contrary, he had given her sensible mortifications. His hatred to the House of *York*, was extended to his own Wife, especially as he always deemed her a dangerous Rival. The concern he gave her by confining the Queen her Mother in a Convent, and confiscating all her Estate, plainly showed his little regard for her (11).

At this time, the King's affairs were so prosperous, that he seemed to have all he could desire. He was in peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and without troubles at home, or the appearance of any thing to vex or embarrass him. But his Subjects were not the happier. As his Avarice was insatiable, he was continually seeking new ways to heap up Riches, which he wanted not, since it was not to use them, and since never Prince was a greater Oeconomist than himself. His Instruments for this purpose were two infamous Ministers, Sir *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, who regardless of their own and the King's reputation, fought only to gratify his humour, and devise new means to fill his Coffers. *Dudley* was of a good Family, well skilled in the Laws of the Land, and able to give a favorable turn to the most odious actions. *Empson* was sprung from the dregs of the people (12), impudent to the last degree, and so little ashamed of the injustices he committed, that he used to glory in them. These are some of the means they used to draw Money from the people, into the King's Treasury, besides numberless others too long to be recounted.

In the first place, they caused such as were reputed rich, to be indicted of sundry Crimes, and when the Bills were found by the Grand-Jury, committed them, without bringing them to their Tryal, till of themselves they desired to compound with the King. If they delayed too long, the Ministers found means to terrify them by Emissaries, who made them believe their Lives were

(1) She arrived at *Plymouth*, *Octob.* 2. *Hall*, fol. 52. *Stow*, p. 482.

(2) He was born *September* 20. 1486. See above, p. 655.

(3) Ten thousand Pounds.

(4) In case *Arthur* and *Henry* died without Issue.

(5) He died at *Ludlow* Castle, where he was sent to keep his Residence as Prince of *Wales*, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. *Hall*, fol. 55. *Sandford*, p. 475, 476.

(6) *Bacon* says, it was half a year's time between *Henry's* Creation and *Arthur's* Death. And just after he says, the *February* following (that is, ten months) *Henry* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chesler* and *Flint*, p. 629. *Hall* relates, that upon suspicion of his Brother's Wife being with Child, he was by a month and more delayed of his Title, fol. 55. *Hollingsh.* p. 790.

(7) Sir *Thomas Brandon*, and *Nicolas West*, Doctor of Laws. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 12. p. 35.

(8) Sir *Thomas Darcy* Captain of *Berwick*, and *Henry Babington*. *Ibid.* p. 43.

(9) About this time were brought to Court three Men taken in the new found Islands by *Sebastian Cabott*. They were clothed in Beasts Skins, and spoke a Language unknown. Two of them were seen two years after at the King's Court at *Westminster*, dressed like *Englishmen*, neither could they be discerned from such. *Stow's Ann.* p. 483.

(10) She died in Childhood, having been delivered of a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, in the Tower, who died soon after her Mother. The Queen was buried at *Westminster*. *Stow's Ann.* p. 484. *Hall*, fol. 55. *Sandford*, p. 469, &c.

(11) On *Aug.* 5, died Sir *Reginald Bray*, Knight of the Garter, often mentioned in this Reign; of whom *Hall* gives this Character, That he was a very Father of his Country, a sage and grave Person, and a fervent Lover of Justice; who would often admonish the King when he did any thing contrary to Justice or Equity, fol. 56. About the same time also died *Henry Dean* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and was succeeded by *William Warham* Bishop of *London*. *Ibid.* *Stow*, p. 484.

(12) He was a Sieve-maker's Son. *Bacon*, p. 629.

in danger. By this means the parties were forced at length to come to a Composition, which tore from them the best part of their Estates, and which the Ministers termed however Mitigations, as if the King had done them a favour in allaying the too great rigour of the Law.

2. They came at last to that point, that they proceeded without observing any form of Justice. They sent forth their Precepts to attach and cite people before themselves, at their own private Houses, in a Court of Commission, and there, after a summary proceeding by examination, without proofs or witnesses, passed Sentence, and condemned them in large Fines to the King's use. Thus without vouchsafing to make use of Juries, and the methods prescribed by the Law, they assumed themselves to deal as well in Controversies Civil, as in Pleas of the Crown. One would have thought, all Criminal Causes had belonged to that kind of Jurisdiction, which having been very rare in the foregoing Reigns, was grown common in this.

3. They charged the Subjects Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding false Offices (1), refusing upon divers pretences and delays to admit people to traverse those false Offices according to Law. Hence they formed variety of Processes, whereof they themselves were the Judges, and which were always decided in favour of the Crown.

4. When the King's Wards had accomplished their full Age, they could never have Livery of their Lands without paying excessive Fines, contrary to the express Tenor of *Magna Charta* (2).

5. When Men were out-lawed in personal actions, the Ministers would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, unless they paid great and intolerable Sums; standing upon the rigour of the Law, which upon Out-lawries gives forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Men's Lands and Rents during two whole years.

6. They would also threaten the Jurors, and force them to find as they should direct; and if they refused to act so unjustly, they were cited, imprisoned, and fined (3).

It is needless to repeat any more of their courses. These I have mentioned are sufficient to show, that Men of this character scrupled not to commit the most enormous Injustices, provided it was for the King's advantage. Herein less blameable than the King himself, who suffered them to abuse thus his Name and Authority.

We do not find in the Life of this Monarch, that he ever exercised one act of Grace in point of Fines or Confiscations. On the contrary, he was always inflexible, even with regard to his most faithful Servants. His Historian relates a very remarkable particular, which serves to discover plainly the Character of this Prince. Of all the Lords of the Kingdom, he had the most confidence in the Earl of *Oxford*, who had indeed done him the greatest Services, as well in war as in peace. One day, the King went to visit him at his Castle [at *Henningham*] and was entertained with all possible Magnificence. When the King was ready to depart, he saw a great number of men drest in rich Liveries, and ranged on both Sides to make him a lane. The Earl it seems had forgot, that it was forbid by several Acts of Parliament, to give Liveries, as was observed, to any but menial Servants, but the King remembered it. Wherefore turning to the Earl, he said, *My Lord, I have heard much of your Magnificence and Hospitality; but I find they exceed all report. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen I see on both Sides of me, are sure your menial Servants.* The Earl, not perceiving the King's aim, smiled and answered, he did not keep so many Domesticks, but these people were only his Retainers, come to do him Service on such extraordinary occasions. The King startled a little, and said, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for your good Cheer; but I must not suffer to have my Laws broken before my face. My Attorney must talk with you.* The Historian adds, this Trespass cost the Earl fifteen thousand Marks (4).

The same Historian says, he had seen a Book of Accounts of *Empson's*, with the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of Signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the King's hand likewise, where among many others was this Memorandum:

Item, Received of such a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon do not pass, the Money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied. And over against this memorandum of the King's own hand, was written by him in the Margin, *Otherways Satisfied.* He was unwilling to pardon the Man, and yet could not resolve to restore the five Marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect small profits.

It is easy to guess, the King's and the Ministry's Conduct bred great discontent and murmurs among the people. The great Men themselves meeting with no better quarter than the meanest, groaned under the oppression of *Empson* and *Dudley*, two Leaches, who spared neither friend nor foe. The Earl of *Suffolk* whom the King had lately pardoned, fancied, these discontents would raise in the end some violent storm against the King, if the people could find a person of distinction to head them. As he was of the House of *York* by his Mother, he imagined, the time was come to prosecute his Rights, and the people would not fail to declare for him. In this belief he persuaded several Lords and Gentlemen to promise to support him at a proper Season, and then retired into *Flanders*, from whence he made his Friends expect a powerful aid by means of the Dukes of *Burgundy* (5).

The King, surprized at the Earl of *Suffolk's* retreat, did not question that he had contrived some plot in *England* before his departure, and had his Accomplices. To be fully informed, he believed the best way was to recur to the same arts, he had used with respect to *Perkin Warbeck*. To that end, he sent orders to *Sir Robert Curson* Governor of the Castle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, whom he knew to be fit for his purpose, and entirely at his devotion. Pursuant to his Instructions, *Curson* relinquishing his Government, under colour of some affront designedly put upon him by the King, came to the Earl of *Suffolk* with offers of his Service. He played his part so well, that the Earl imparted to him all his Secrets. By this means the King came to know, that *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire* (6), married to *Catherine*, *Edward the Fourth's* Daughter, *William de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir James Tyrrel*, *Sir John Windham*, and several other meaner persons, were concerned in the plot. They were all apprehended in one day (7). But as probably, there was not sufficient Evidence against the two first, the King was contented with detaining them in prison. This gave occasion to think they were not guilty, but that the King used this pretence to secure them, because their relation to the House of *York* made him uneasy. As for *Tyrrel*, against whom the Blood of *Edward V.* and the Duke of *York* cried for vengeance, he was beheaded (8) with *Windham* his Accomplice. The rest of inferior rank suffered the punishment of Traitors.

Mean while, *Henry* desiring to be better informed of the Earl of *Suffolk's* Secrets, took care to preserve *Curson's* credit, by an extraordinary method. He caused *Innocent VIII's* Bull of Excommunication, to be published at *Paul's-Cross*, against all persons that should interfere him in the possession of the Throne, and particularly against the Earl of *Suffolk* and *Sir Robert Curson*. But when he had drawn from the Earl all his Secrets, he returned into *England*, where he was graciously received by the King, but the people looking upon him with horror, loaded him with curses. The Earl of *Suffolk* being confounded by *Curson's* flight, roved about for some time in *Germany*, and at length returned into *Flanders*, where the Archduke, notwithstanding his Treaties with *Henry*, took him into his protection.

The King knowing the Earl had not in *England* a party capable to support him, showed no farther uneasiness. Another affair troubled him much more. He had now received a hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, in part of the portion of the Princess of *Wales* his Daughter-in-law, *Arthur's* Widow. As that Prince died without Issue, he must either send back the Widow to *Spain*, and consequently return the hundred thousand Crowns, or if he kept her in *England*, give her the third part of the Principality of *Wales* (9), which was settled upon her. Both were equally grievous to a Prince of *Henry's* Temper. However, he could not dispense with one or other, without breaking with *Ferdinand*, which did not agree with

Remarkable
Instance of
the King's
Rogery.
Bacon.

The Earl of
Suffolk's
Conspiracy.
Hall.
Bacon.

He withdraws into
Flanders.

Henry discovers his
Secrets.
Bacon.

His Accomplices are
apprehended.
Hall.
Stow.
Bacon.

The King
uses an extraordinary
method to
discover him.
Hall.
Bacon.

Hall.
Stow.

Project of
marriage
between
the Princess
of Wales
and Prince
Henry.

(1) And suing them for Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seisines, Alienations, &c. Bacon, p. 630.

(2) They exacted Money with Informations of Intrusion upon scarce colourable Titles. Ibid.

(3) The Lord Bacon observes, that their principal working was upon penal Laws, wherein they spared neither great nor small, nor considered whether the Law was possible or impossible, in use, or obsolete: And had ever a Rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at command, so as they could have any thing found as they pleased. See Hall, fol. 57.

(4) It is said in the Original fifteen hundred, but I suppose it is an error of the Printer, for the Lord Bacon says, fifteen thousand.

(5) Hall says, that the Earl having made a very great appearance at Prince Arthur's Marriage Solemnity, had thereby won himself enemies: 1140b. which was the occasion of his retiring now into *Flanders*. fol. 54.

(6) He was not yet Earl of *Devonshire*, for his Father lived till 1510. See Dugdale's Baron, Vol. I. p. 640.

(7) At the same time were taken up *George Lord Abergavenny*, and *Sir Thomas Green*, but upon less suspicion, and therefore were soon set at liberty. Bacon, p. 630. Hall, fol. 59.

(8) On May the 6th. Hall, fol. 55. Stow, p. 483.

(9) And likewise of the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and Earldom of *Chester*, for a third of all three was settled upon her. Bacon. Ryme's Ed. Tom. 12. p. 664, and Tom. 13. p. 84.

1503. his present circumstances. For indeed, the deference paid him by all the other Princes, and particularly by the King of France, was properly owing to his strict Alliance with the Spanish Monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very proper expedient to preserve the friendship of Ferdinand, with the Sum already received, and procure him the other hundred thousand Crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry Catherine to his Son Henry, now Prince of Wales, by the death of his elder Brother. The proposal being made to the King and Queen of Spain, they agreed to it, on condition the Pope's Dispensation was first obtained. This was the subject of an agreement between the two Crowns, the 23d of June, without a particular mention of the Articles of the intended Marriage. It must be observed, that in this agreement, it was alledged, as a necessary reason for demanding the Dispensation, not only that Arthur and Henry were Brothers, but moreover that Arthur's Marriage with Catherine was duly solemnized and consummated.

Agreement
between
Henry and
Ferdinand.
June 23.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 76.

Pope Ju-
lius's Dis-
pensation for
the Mar-
riage.
Dec. 26.
p. 89.

Alexander VI dying in the mean time, Pius III succeeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of October, it was to Julius II, elected the 1st of November, that the two Kings applied for the dispensation. The new Pope granted a Bull for that purpose, where he said, that in the petition lately presented to him, Henry and Catherine declared, that Catherine was married *per verba de Præsenti*, to the late Prince Arthur, and that the marriage was solemnized in form, and perhaps consummated (1). Upon the word *perhaps*, it must be remarked, that, on this occasion, it cannot be a Term denoting a Doubt, since it is not the Pope that speaks in the Petition, but Catherine, who must know whether the Marriage was consummated or not. It is only a term which gives more strength to the dispensation, as obviating all the objections that might be made. This evidently appears in the sequel of the Bull, where the Pope permits Henry and Catherine to remain in the state of matrimony, though they were married before, publicly or privately, and had perhaps consummated their marriage by carnal copulation. It is easy to see, the word *perhaps*, is inserted only to give the more force to the dispensation, by preventing all cases that might render it invalid. It was necessary to make these observations, by reason of the important consequences of this affair in the following reign.

Margaret is
conducted to
Scotland.
Hall.

The Arch-
duke returns
to the Low-
Countries.
Mezerai.

The King of Scotland's marriage was consummated in September (2) according to agreement, Henry having conducted the Queen his Daughter to York, from whence she pursued her journey into Scotland (3).

The Archduke Philip returned this year into Flanders, having staid about a year in Spain. As he passed through France, he endeavoured to adjust a difference between King Ferdinand his Father-in-law, and Lewis XII, concerning the Kingdom of Naples. He even took upon him to conclude in Ferdinand's name, a Treaty which was afterwards disclaimed. Had he been concerned with a Prince of less goodness and equity than Lewis XII, that disclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble. But Lewis was so generous as not to take the advantage. The occasion, in short, of the rupture between the two Monarchs was this:

Rupture be-
tween
Lewis XII
and Ferdi-
nand.

They had, as I have observed, divided the Kingdom of Naples after conquering it. It was hardly possible that these two Princes should long possess the portion fallen to each, without some occasion of quarrel. Accordingly a dispute arose concerning the Province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his division. Whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At first the French had the advantage, but afterwards lost two Battles, one near St. Severina in Calabria the 21st of April, the other on the 28th of the same month at Gerignoles, where the Duke of Nemours their General was slain. After these two victories Gonzales, who commanded Ferdinand's Troops, became master of the whole Kingdom of Naples. Lewis desirous to repair his losses, sent a powerful Army into Italy, which was by sundry unexpected accidents rendered unserviceable.

The French
are driven
out of Na-
ples.

1504. The 16th of January 1504, the King assembled the Parliament on pretence of the necessity of reviving certain Statutes, and making some new ones. But the real mo-

Subsidy gi-
ven the King
for the Mar-
riage of his
Daughter.
Hall.

(1) Cum alide Tu Catharina, & tunc in Humanis agens quendam Arthurus, --- Matrimonium per Verba legitimè de Præsenti contraxisset, illudque Carnali Copulâ forsan consummasset. --- Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 15. p. 89.

(2) Stow says, it was the 8th of August, at Edinburgh. p. 484.

(3) Being attended by Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland. Hall. Hollingb. p. 701.

(4) Rymer calls them Crowns. But Rymer, Tom. 15. p. 118, says, thirty thousand Angel Nobles, the value of each Noble being *Figura Grana*. See above, p. 683.

(5) Hollingb. says, that there was a Parliament in 1503, in which a Subsidy was granted by the Lords and Clergy; and another on Jan. 25. 1504, of which latter Dudley was chosen Speaker, p. 701.

(6) The like Act had been made before, (in the 11th of this King's) for Offices, and by this Statute it was extended to Land. Stat. p. 631.

(7) The other Statutes made in this Parliament were these: 1. That no Pewterers and Brasiers sell, or change, any Pewter or Brass, new or old, at any place within the Realm, but in open Fairs or Markets, or in their dwelling Houses. What gave occasion to this Law, was, that many Persons went about the Kingdom privately, buying Pewter and Brass, which encouraged wicked People to steal Drifts, Plates, &c. knowing they had Receivers for them. 2. It was ordained, That no Bodies corporate make any Acts or Ordinances, but what are examined and approved by the Chancellor, Treasurer of England, Chief Justices of either Bench, or Justices of Assize, upon pain of forfeiting forty Pounds. 3. That Persons concerned in a Riot, shall forfeit twenty Pounds, and be imprisoned. 4. That no Person bring, or cause to be brought into the Realm, to be sold, any manner of live wrought by itself, or with any other stuff, upon pain of forfeiting the same. See Statut. 19 Hen. VII.

(8) At the same time the Pope sent a Bull, wherein he ordered, That Traytors and Robbers, &c. who had taken Sanctuary, should be carefully watched, so as not to be suffered to escape; and if they did, they should be then delivered to justice. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 15. p. 104.

tive was to demand a Subsidy for his eldest Daughter's Dowry. The Custom of demanding money on such occasions was too advantageous to the King to suffer it to be abolished. The Queen of Scotland's portion was but thirty thousand Nobles (4), but this Subsidy granted by the Parliament may well be thought to be much more considerable, besides a handsome present made him by the Clergy on the same account. So, instead of emptying his Coffers by the marriage of his Daughter, he filled them the fuller. Nothing shows more the almost absolute power of the King, than the choice of Dudley for Speaker of the House of Commons (5). He was the most generally hated person in the Kingdom, except Empson his associate, who was as odious as himself. Wherefore it must be that the fear of displeasing the King, by rejecting the Person he recommended, led the Commons to that choice.

House
of
Commons
chose
Dudley
Speaker.

The Subsidy was not the only thing, the King politically turned to his advantage in this Parliament. He found means to obtain Acts which seemed to aim wholly at the good of the publick, but in reality tended only to procure him money. For instance, all Patents of Lease or Grant were disannulled to such as came not [upon lawful Summons] to serve the King against the Rebels (6). As the number of Delinquents in this respect was very great, this act was a fertile source of treasure to the King, by reason they were obliged to renew their Leases and Grants, which could be done only upon very hard terms.

Advantage
taken
by the King
in this
Parliament.

Another Statute made all sorts of clipped or impaired Coins of Silver not to be current in payments, without suffering them even to pass for the value of their weight. As there were scarce any other in the Kingdom, every one was forced to bring in his ready money to the Mint, in order to be new coined, by which the King was a very considerable gainer.

The Statute against giving Liveries to any but menial Servants, was also revived, from whence Empson and Dudley had an opportunity to attack many Persons (7).

Thus the King continually amassing without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expences were very moderate, and husbanded in the best manner possible, could not but be extremely rich in ready money. But then he doubly ruined his Subjects; first by draining their purses; and secondly by hindering the coin, of which he had great quantities in his Coffers, from circulating in Trade. On the other hand, Empson and Dudley continued their extortions without any reserve, and with a rigor unexperienced by the English, under any of their former Kings.

About this time Henry had thoughts of canonizing Henry VI, the last King of the House of Lancaster. But there were two grand obstacles. The first, that the Miracles ascribed to that Prince since his death were not well attested, and the actions of his life, which were ostentatiously displayed, showed rather his weakness than sanctity. But the second difficulty, that is the necessary charges of this canonization quite frustrated the project. As this is an act of grace and favour, the Pope generally proportions the expences not to the Person of the Saint himself, but to the riches of him that solicits the canonization. The King even perceived, that the Court of Rome's questioning Henry the Sixth's sanctity, tended only to magnify the favour, and enhance the price accordingly. This was sufficient to cause him to desist from his intention. So avaricious a Prince could hardly resolve to empty his Coffers for so needless a thing, and which, at most, would have procured him only the praises of the Lancastrians. He was contented therefore to obtain a Bull for the removal of Henry VI's Body to Westminster among his Ancestors (8). He was obscurely buried at first in Chertsey Monastery near London, from whence he was removed to Windsor.

The King
thinks of ca-
nonizing
Henry VI.
but desists.

The 19th of August, Henry issued out a Proclamation, giving notice that he had appointed Commissioners to whom his creditors, and such as had any demands upon him, might apply for the space of two years, to commence the 19th of August, and to continue till Michaelmas come two years. It is hard to judge whether he did this from a principle of equity, and with intent to satisfy those he

Bull for re-
moving the
Body of
Henry VI.
from Chertsey
Monastery
to Windsor.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 104.
May 20.
The translation
of the body of
Henry VI.
Aug. 19.
p. 106.

1504. had injured, or designed only to blind People's eyes by this act of justice. The first would be most probable, if from this time he had put a stop to the exactions of *Empson* and *Dudley*. But it is difficult to believe that, whilst he suffered his Subjects to be oppressed by these Ministers, he really intended to do justice to all the World.

Death of the
Queen of
Castile.
p. 112.
Hall.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

Isabella Queen of *Castile* dying the 26th of November, *Ferdinand* her Spouse writ the same day to *Henry* to give him notice thereof. He told him in his Letter, that the deceased Queen had appointed him in her Will Administrator of the Kingdom of *Castile*, for *Jane* their Daughter, Wife of the Archduke of *Austria*, and who by the death of the Queen her Mother was become Queen of *Castile*.

Dispute be-
tween Fer-
dinand and
the Arch-
duke his
Son-in-law.

When the Archduke received the news of *Isabella's* death, he was employed in making War upon the Duke of *Gueldres*. This War preventing him from repairing into *Spain* so soon as he could have wished, he was obliged to leave to *King Ferdinand* his Father-in-law the Government of *Castile*, fully bent however to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other hand, *Ferdinand*, improving *Isabella's* Will, pretended to keep the Administration of that Kingdom during his life, probably, because the deceased Queen had not limited the continuance.

Henry's un-
easiness at it.
Bacon.

This dispute bred some uneasiness in *Henry*, whose case was the same with *Ferdinand's*, in the opinion of many people. He was not ignorant that most of his Subjects were persuaded, *Elizabeth* his Spouse had been of right the true Queen of *England*, and consequently the Crown was fallen after her decease to *Henry* her Son and lawful Successor. Though he affected to hold for certain, that the House of *York* had never any right to the Crown, he was however very uneasy, because in general the *English* were of another opinion. It is true, that besides his descent from the House of *Lancaster*, he founded his right upon two other titles; namely, Conquest, and the approbation of Parliament. But he perceived how weak these two foundations would prove, should the House of *York*, by some revolution come to gain ground. Upon this account, he was very attentive to what passed in *Spain*, looking upon the decision of this contest as a precedent for or against him. On the other hand, he was afraid that *Philip*, who had appeared for some time closely united with *Lewis XII.*, would join in a League with that Monarch and the Emperor, to oblige *Ferdinand* to resign him *Castile*. In that case he foresaw, he should be forced either to abandon *Ferdinand* to these three potent enemies, or enter into a War with them to support him. Both were equally opposite to his interests. In fine, he had cast his eyes upon the Queen Dowager of *Naples*, Widow of *King Ferdinand*, for a Wife, in order to enjoy the large Dower assigned her in that Kingdom. Perhaps he hoped by marrying that Queen, to render himself umpire of the differences between *Lewis XII.* and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Kingdom of *Naples*.

1505.

He projects
to marry the
Queen-
Dowager of
Naples.
Bacon.

To be fully informed therefore of the disposition of the *Castilians*, and the qualities of the Queen of *Naples*, he sent three Persons into *Italy* and *Spain*, not as Ambassadors, but as travellers for their pleasure (1). However, to procure them access to the Queen of *Naples* and *Ferdinand*, he so ordered, that the Princess of *Wales* gave them Letters both for the King her Father and the young Queen. These Gentlemen's private instructions, with respect to the Queen, were very particular. The King wanted to be exactly informed of her age, complexion, stature, health, temper, inclinations, behaviour and estate. This shows he was not willing lightly to resolve. But the project vanished when the King heard from his Envoys, that indeed the Queen's jointure was very considerable; but had been changed by *Ferdinand*, since he was possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples* into a pension for life.

Affairs of
Ferdinand
and Philip.

When the Gentlemen arrived in *Spain*, the contest between *Ferdinand* and *Philip* his Son-in-law was still in the same state. They therefore acquainted the King, that *Ferdinand* continued to govern *Castile* as Administrator; and even hoped to persuade *Philip* to leave him the Administration freely during life, both by means of some of his Council whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and so give an Heir to the Kingdom of *Arragon*: That therefore, there was a pro-

ject of marriage between *Ferdinand* and *Germaine de Foix*, 1505. which would be certainly accomplished, in case *Philip* molested the King his Father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that *Ferdinand's* Secretary had discovered to them, as a great secret, that the marriage of Prince *Charles* of *Austria* with *Claude* of *France* would not take effect, because *Lewis XII.* was resolved to give his Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his presumptive Heir. That then, on supposition that *Philip* would remain in the Low-Countries with his Queen, *Ferdinand* intended to demand *Mary* the King's second Daughter for the young Prince of *Austria*. These informations containing nothing certain, *Henry* could take no measures, till he saw the course of the *Spanish* affairs.

Whilst *Ferdinand* and *Philip* were in Treaty concerning their difference, *Philip* and *Jane* were proclaimed King and Queen of *Castile* at *Brussels*; which showed, they intended not to resign for ever the Administration of *Castile* to *Ferdinand*, as he had flattered himself. Mean while, the War of *Gueldres*, and Queen *Jane's* being near her time, hindered them from executing their resolution of going to *Castile*. They knew, the *Castilians* were not pleased with *Ferdinand*, and did not doubt that as soon as they appeared, all would declare for them. For the same reason, *Ferdinand* used all sorts of artifices to dissuade them from this Voyage.

In the mean while, *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Philip's* Sister, lost her Spouse the Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 10th of September. Some days after the new Queen of *Castile* was delivered of a Princess who was called *Mary*, and was afterwards Queen of *Hungary*.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to *England*. Besides what has been related, we find only a Treaty of Alliance between *Henry* and *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Hereditary Governour of *Frisé*, to whom *Henry* had sent Ambassadors (2) ever since February. This Treaty was concluded the 30th of December.

The War of *Gueldres* being ended, and Queen *Jane* able to travel, *Philip* resolved to carry her into *Castile*, knowing it to be the only way to secure the Government of that Kingdom. Though they intended to go by Sea, they chose the Winter, it seems, to surprise *Ferdinand*, who probably, would not expect them at that Season. They departed the 10th of January under a strong Convoy prepared for that purpose. But before they got out of the Channel, a terrible storm (3) dispersed their Fleet, and the Ship on which they were, with much difficulty ran into *Weymouth* (4) in *England*, having been in great danger. The King and Queen were so fatigued and sick, that contrary to the opinion of their Council they would land to refresh their Spirits.

Mean while the People of the Country seeing a numerous Fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their Arms, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* at the head of some Troops marched to *Weymouth* (5), to concert measures with the Inhabitants in case of an Invasion. When he heard, the King and Queen of *Castile* were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his House, till the King was informed of their arrival. *Philip* would have gladly re-imbarked, but perceived he should not be suffered till the King's orders were received, to whom an express was dispatched. So, without much intreaty he consented to stay till that time.

As soon as *Henry* had notice of the King and Queen of *Castile's* arrival, he sent the Earl of *Arundel* (6) with his Compliments, and to tell them, he would make all possible haste to come and embrace them. The Earl withal assured them from the King, that they were as much master in his Dominions as himself. *Philip* finding there was no avoiding the King's visit, believed he should gain time by going to him. To that end, he posted to *Windfor* (7), whilst his Queen followed by easy Journeys. *Henry* received them both with all imaginable marks of Friendship, but however, ruminating all the while, how to reap some advantage from the accident which had thrown them into his Dominions (8).

Some days after, he insinuated to *Philip*, that as his condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their Treaty of Commerce, to which *Philip* agreed, though the reason alledged by *Henry* was of no force. For *Philip*, by being King of *Castile*, was not less Sovereign of

Philip and
Jane take
the Title of
King and
Queen of
Castile.

Death of
the Duke of
Savoy.

Henry's
Alliance
with the
Duke of
Saxony.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 114,
120.

1506.
Philip and
Jane set out
for Spain.
Hall.

A Storm
drives them
into Eng-
land.
They land at
Weymouth.
Hall.
Stow.
Bacon.
Hollingsh.

The King
sends his
Compliments
to them.
Hall.

They go to
the King at
Windfor.
Hall.

Treaty of
Commerce
renewed in
favour of
the English.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 123,
124.

(1) They were *Francis Marfin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Style*. Bacon, p. 632.

(2) *Richard Nanfan* Deputy of *Calais*, *Nicolas West* Doctor of Laws, and *Hugh Crenory* Treasurer of *Calais*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 13. p. 114.

(3) This Storm lasted from the 15th to the 26th of January. Stow, p. 484.

(4) *Weymouth*, says *Stow*, ibid.

(5) And soon after was joined by Sir *John Carew*, with a choice Body of Men. Hall, fol. 58. Hollingsh. p. 792.

(6) *Thomas Fitz-Alan*. The Earl came to King *Philip* in great magnificence, with a brave Troop of three hundred Horse, and (for the mere State) by Torch-light. Bacon, p. 633. Hall, fol. 58.

(7) He was received five miles from *Windfor*, in a very splendid manner by the Prince of *Wales*, who was accompanied with five Earls, and several Lords, Knights, and others, to the number of five hundred Persons; and about a mile from *Windfor*, he was met by the King himself, and most of the Nobility of the Realm, who went out to welcome him. Hall, fol. 58.

(8) *Philip* at their first meeting told the King, That he was now punished for his refusing to come within his walled Town of *Calais* when they first laid siege to it. The King replied, That Walls and Town were nothing, where Houses were open; and that he was here only to be served. Bacon, p. 633.

1506. the *Low-Countries*, the first Dignity causing no alteration in the last. But *Henry* had his aim, and *Philip* plainly perceived, that being in his power, he ought carefully to avoid all occasions of offending him, lest he should find some pretence to detain him in *England*. He was not ignorant of the strict Union between *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, and was under some apprehensions, that *Henry* would think of obstructing his Voyage, to oblige his Father-in-law. However this be, the Treaty was renewed, but with some alterations to the advantage of the *English*. Amongst other things, an Article of the old Treaty was suppressed, which permitted *Philip's* Subjects to fish on the Coasts of *England*. This made the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* call it [*Intercursus Malus*, or] the bad Treaty.

This affair being finished, *Henry* opened his mind to *Philip* concerning his design to marry *Margaret* his Sister, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy* (1). *Philip* seemed very well pleased with the proposal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his advantage than to make *Henry* his friend by this Alliance, lest he should openly espouse the King of *Arragon's* quarrel. So, the Marriage was concluded at *Windsor*, the 20th of *March* (2). By the Articles signed by both, *Philip* promised to give the Dukes his Sister, three hundred thousand Crowns [of *French Gold*] (3), with a yearly pension of three thousand eight hundred and fifty. Mean while, *Henry* fearing *Philip* would go from his word, when he was out of his power, caused to be inserted in the Treaty, that the principal Lords of the *Low-Countries* should swear, they would use their utmost endeavours to procure the accomplishment of this Marriage. The Oaths of several of the Lords, in pursuance of this Article, are to be seen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of *Philip*, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to caress him. And that was, to deliver to him the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was then in *Flanders*. But at the first overture, *Philip* told him plainly, he could not comply with his request, being bound in honour not to sacrifice a Lord whom he had taken under his protection; that besides, it would be dishonourable to himself, since the World would not fail to say, he was used as a prisoner. *Henry*, who little regarded what the World said, provided he obtained his ends, replied, he would take all the dishonour upon himself. This answer threw *Philip* into great Perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the Earl of *Suffolk*, after promise to protect him. But on the other hand, he perceived *Henry* was bent upon having that Lord at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means to obtain him. Besides, in the present posture of his affairs, not being yet certain, whether he should not be forced to go to war with his Father-in-law, it was easy to foresee, he might stand in need of the King of *England*, and consequently it would be very wrong to disoblige him. Wherefore, he suddenly came to a resolution, and with an air of Confidence spoke in this manner: Sir, since you are pleased to give Law to me, permit me to do the same by you. I will deliver the Earl, but you shall give me your honour not to touch his Life. *Henry* agreeing to this condition, *Philip* desired the thing might be done in a manner honourable for both. I will so order it, added he, that the Earl shall come to *England* of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have solicited and obtained his Pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it. *Henry* approving the expedient, the Earl of *Suffolk* willingly accepted the offer made him (4). Mean while, *Henry* being desirous to have the Earl in his power before *Philip's* departure, continued his entertainments and diversions, on pretence of doing honour to the King and Queen of *Castile*, but in reality, to gain time till the Earl's arrival. He admitted *Philip* to the Order of the Garter, and *Philip* made the Prince of *Wales*, Knight of the Golden-Fleece. After that, *Henry* carried his Guests to *London*, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after, the Earl of *Suffolk* came from *Flanders*, and was conveyed to the Tower. Thus, *Henry* under colour of doing him honour, kept *Philip* in *England* above three months, till he had obtained his desires (5). In all appearance, *Philip*

saw plainly, through all the Caresses he received, that it was not in his power to depart when he pleased. Else, it is not likely, as he intended to sail into *Spain* in *January*, he would have willingly staid in *England* till the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*.

When *Philip* and *Jane* were in *Castile*, the people shewed so great affection for them, that *Ferdinand* could easily see, his endeavours to keep the Government of the Kingdom would be vain. Accordingly, without insinuating any more upon his Administratorship, which could take place only in the Queen his Daughter's absence, he withdrew into his own Realm of *Arragon*. Afterwards, he made a Voyage to *Naples*, where *Gonzolvo* his General began to make him uneasy, and thereby *Philip* and *Jane* remained, though not long, in possession of *Castile*. Within a few months, *Philip* was seized with a Distemper, of which he died the 25th of *September*. He left the Guardianship of his Son *Charles* to *Lewis XII*, who appointed the Lord de *Chievres* for his Governor. This choice, which was generally approved, and was a clear evidence of *Lewis's* Sincerity and Disinterestedness, proved fatal to *France*, as the Governor made his Pupil more able than was necessary for the good of the Kingdom.

The death of *Philip* so affected his Queen, that she lost her reason, and became entirely incapable of governing the State. Whereupon *Ferdinand* her Father resumed the administration of affairs, which he had been deprived of but five months. He is said to take no great care of the Queen's cure, left recovering her Senses, she should send him back again to *Arragon*.

The disinterestedness shewn by *Lewis XII*, with respect to the young Archduke Prince of *Spain*, did not hold long. He had promised to give him *Claude* his eldest Daughter in Marriage, but thought it more proper to marry her to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his presumptive Successor. Moreover, being apprehensive of a League against him, between the Emperor, the Archduke, and *Ferdinand*, and that the King of *England* might come into it also, he endeavoured to embroil young *Charles's* affairs, by exciting the Duke of *Gueldres* to renew the war.

The Archduke being too young to govern, the *Flemings* prayed the Emperor his Grandfather to take the Administration in his Grandson's name. *Maximilian* granted their request, and till he could come himself, sent them *Margaret* his Daughter, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Upon that Princess's arrival at *Brussels*, she concluded with *Henry* a provisional Treaty of Commerce, till some differences caused by the late Treaty between the Merchants of both Nations could be adjusted. This Treaty was signed at *Bruges*, the 5th of *June*.

The same Ambassadors that were assembled at *Calais*, spent there the rest of the year, in treating of the Marriage of *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and Prince of *Castile*, with *Mary*, *Henry's* second Daughter (6). At length, on the 21st of *December*, they signed a Treaty, that *Charles* should marry the Princess *Mary*, as soon as he was fourteen years old, and that her portion should be two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns of Gold (7). The young Prince ran the hazard of losing the Kingdom of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Granada*, and the Principality of *Catalonia*, his Grandfather *Ferdinand* having married *Germine de Foix*. But happily for him, they had no Children.

Though *Henry's* Coffers were full, he was not weary of heaping up Money. We have seen, that in the year 1504, the Parliament gave him a Subsidy for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* his Daughter. But the year was not expired before he issued out a Proclamation to levy a Benevolence, by his own Authority, and without any apparent necessity; so that this Conduct could be ascribed only to his insatiable desire of hoarding up Money (8). He was grown so absolute in his Kingdom, that no Man durst oppose his will, or even shew the least discontent. Mean while, *Empson* and *Dudley* continued their Extortions and Oppressions with all imaginable rigour. This very year 1507, they sharply prosecuted the Mayor of *London* (9), for neglecting to bring to justice a

(1) The famous *Thomas Wolsey*, being then the King's Chaplain, was employed in managing this affair. Bacon, p. 634.

(2) This Treaty of Marriage is not found in the *Feudera*, but is supposed and referred to by the Acts which follow the Treaty of Alliance or Commerce, dated Feb. 9. See Tom. XIII. p. 127, 129, 151, &c.

(3) Each Crown worth four Shillings Sterling. Ibid. p. 130.

(4) The two Kings sent severally for him. He landed at *Dover*, and with a sufficient Guard was conveyed to the Tower of *London*. Bacon, p. 633.

(5) King *Philip* went by land to *Falmouth*, where he embarked April 23. Hall, fol. 58. Haræus.

(6) She was his third Daughter. See *Sandford and Speed*.

(7) At the same time the Treaty of perpetual Peace, Amity, and Alliance was renewed between the Emperor *Maximilian*, and King *Henry*. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 189—212.

(8) Besides what he got by the Recoinage of Groats and half Groats, now Shillings and Six-pences; and the five thousand Marks which he made the City of *London* pay for the Confirmation of their Liberties in 1504, &c. Bacon, p. 631.

(9) Sir *William Capel*. He was not Mayor this year; but was now fined two thousand Pounds, for having, in the time of his Mayoralty (which was in the year 1503,) received false Money, and not indicted due Punishment upon the Person that was accused of having coined it. Stowe, p. 425.

1507. Coiner of false Money, and because he would not, or could not pay an exorbitant Fine, sent him to the Tower. The Sheriffs, Aldermen, and all that had borne any office in the City, were questioned and prosecuted with the same rigour, and compelled to pay to the King Fines, proportioned not to their Abilities, but to the King's and his Ministers rapaciousness (1).

While the King was wholly intent upon heaping up riches, he found himself frequently seized with the Gout. At first he disregarded it, as not believing it dangerous. But by degrees the humour falling upon his Lungs, it turned to a *Pittick*, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He suffered however his two Ministers to continue their exactions without any respect of persons. He was so charmed to see his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, that he could not resolve to put a stop to the shameful proceedings which daily brought him in fresh Sums. He is said to have amassed eighteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling. This Sum will appear prodigious, if it is considered that Money was then much scarcer in Europe than at present. He laid up his Treasures under his own key and keeping, in secret places at Richmond (2).

1508. As the Marriage of the Princess Mary with the Archduke was then the only considerable affair Henry was employed in, he spent the whole year 1508 in taking measures to secure its accomplishment. The Acts of this year, in the Collection, scarce regard any other affair. At length, on the 1st of December, the Marriage was accomplished *per verba de Presenti*, the Lord de Berges being the young Prince's Proxy. As such, he espoused the Princess, gave her a Ring, and saluted her publicly in the name of the Prince her Spouse (3).

About the same time, the Archduke pawned to the King a Jewel called the *rich Flower-de-luce* (4), for the Sum of fifty thousand Crowns. The Emperor as Grandfather and Guardian of Charles, approved of the Marriage and Loan. In all likelihood, the Money was borrowed for him. He had occasion for it to make a figure in the League of Cambray, which he had concluded this year, with the Pope and the King of France, against the Venetians, who were become formidable to all Italy.

As to Henry's Marriage with Margaret of Austria, tho' it was concluded in 1506, it was no more thought of, after that Monarch, fallen into a *Pittick*, perceived he was fitter to think of death than a wife.

The King finding he daily grew worse was pleased to prepare for death, by granting a general Pardon. He discharged likewise, with his own Money, all Prisoners about London that lay for Fees or Debts, under forty Shillings. Then he made his Will, ordering that his Heir should make Restitution of whatever his Officers and Ministers had unjustly taken from his Subjects. But this remorse came too late. As he could not resolve to make this restitution in his Life-time, the Prince his Son thought not proper to part with the Money amassed by the King his Father. He died at Richmond the 22^d of April 1509, having lived two and fifty years, and reigned three and twenty and eight months. His death is said to happen very seasonably, for had he lived much longer, the Prince his Son, now in his seventeenth year, might not have had patience to wait till his Father's death put him in possession of the Throne. In that case, he might have supported himself with the Queen his Mother's Title, Heiress of the House of York, and pretended that the King his Father reigned only in right of his Queen. This pretension would have been capable of reviving the old quarrel, and rekindling a Civil War in the Kingdom. But the King's death removed the fears of the English.

Henry VII had three Sons (5) and four Daughters. Arthur his eldest, as was observed, died in his seventeenth year. Henry his second, succeeded him, and Edmund his third died at the age of five years. Of his four Daughters, two died in their childhood (6), and the other two, Margaret and Mary, are sufficiently known by what has been said.

If the History of this reign be read with never so little attention, it will easily be perceived, that Henry's views were but two. The first was to keep the Crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and perhaps un-

thought of, before he was invited into England by the Duke of Buckingham. The other was, to accumulate riches. As he never suffered himself to be diverted by other thoughts, his whole application centered upon one single object, namely, upon thoroughly examining every thing that could have any relation to the two ends he had proposed. Ambition, Honour, Glory, Love, Pleasures, and all the other passions which generally disquiet the hearts of Princes, made but little Impression upon his. Content with enjoying his Crown, he thought neither of new acquisitions, nor of rendering his name illustrious by great actions. All his thoughts were confined to prevent or defeat the designs of his domestick Enemies, or to well fill his Coffers. He had a wonderful Sagacity, to discover in the affairs that occurred, the side from whence some advantage could be drawn. This is what he plainly shewed in the affair of Bretagne, in his pretended wars with France and Scotland, and even in his domestick troubles, which by his address, turned all to his profit (7).

Though he was sometimes forced to take arms, never Prince loved peace more than he (8). As he had no ambition, he saw no advantage for him in War. On the contrary, he considered that all the events of a War, whether foreign or domestick, were against him. The former could at most but procure him some glory and acquisitions abroad, of which he was not very fond; and by the latter he might be a great loser. Besides, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches. So, laying down this fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any War without an absolute necessity, he never swerved from it. It is this that made him unconcernedly behold the loss of Bretagne, and without resentment suffer the insults of the King of Scotland, because it was not from the War that he intended to reap any advantage, but only from the preparations that were to be made to support it. However, this policy would have been unseasonable when he was attacked by domestick enemies, whose aim was to rob him of his Crown. As his all was then at stake, he cheerfully faced the danger, though with all the precautions possible not to run any hazard. He won two Battles upon the Rebels, one at Stoke, the other at Black-Heath. But in both he was very superior in number of Troops, and fought against Persons ill-armed and unskilled in the art of War. So, it cannot be said what he would have done, had he been opposed with equal Forces. It is no less difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage that he headed his Armies in Person, or to his distrust of those that served him. However this be, he was always fortunate in his domestick Wars, and thereby gained so great a reputation, that all the Princes of Europe earnestly courted his Alliance. On the other hand, the esteem Foreigners expressed for him, did not a little contribute to render him formidable to his Subjects. I say, formidable, for it is certain, he was never beloved. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, especially towards the end of his reign, his insatiable avarice, his haughtiness, his pride, and his dark and reserved temper, were no proper qualities to win the affection of his People.

He never opened his mind to any man, except perhaps to one or two of his Ministers. As for the rest, he set them to work without their knowing themselves the motives of their own proceedings. The World was so persuaded, he had always some hidden design even in his most indifferent actions, that what was only a pure effect of chance, was often ascribed to his policy.

His Spies in foreign Courts gave him an extensive knowledge of all that passed there. On the other hand, his Ambassadors were always charged to inform themselves by all sorts of ways, of the secrets of the Princes to whom they were sent. Very often this was the principal article of their instructions. By this means he made such discoveries as enabled him to convince the foreign Ministers residing at his Court, of his great insight into their Master's affairs. Hence he reaped many considerable advantages, chiefly in that the Princes of Europe fearing his abilities, were very forward to live in good understanding with him. His strict friendship with Ferdinand King of

(1) Sir Thomas Newforth, Mayor in 1505, and both his Sheriffs, were imprisoned for abuses committed in the Execution of their Offices; and not released, but upon paying fourteen hundred Pounds. Sir Laurence Aylmer, Mayor in 1507, and both his Sheriffs, were fined a thousand Pounds, and Sir Laurence imprisoned for refusing to pay his Fine. Alderman Hawis was put to trouble, and died with vexation, before his business was decided. Stow, p. 483. Bacon, p. 635.

(2) This year the Sweating Sickness raged again in England. Hill, fol. 50. And also this year died Giles Lord d'Aubigny. Hollingshead, p. 795.

(3) Henry was pleased with this Alliance, that in a Letter to the City of London, he expresses himself as if he thought he had built a Wall of Brass.

(4) King Henry, in having for his Sons-in-law a King of Scotland, and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy. Bacon, p. 635.

(5) There is in the *Federa* the Inventory of the Jewels contained in the rich *Flower-de-luce*, which weighed, in Gold and precious Stones, 211 Ounces and a half. Tom. XII. p. 241.

(6) He had four Sons. The fourth, born in February 1500, was named Edouard. Hollingshead, p. 788.

(7) Their Names were Elizabeth and Catherine. Sandford, p. 477. 478.

(8) How great was his instance of his Generosity, That he lent Merchants a great deal of Money, without gain or profit, in order to encourage Trade.

(9) In a small Preface to his Treaties was, *That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeathed.* Bacon, p. 435.

1509. *Arragon*, a Prince of much the same character, was extremely useful to him. Probably, it hindered the Court of *France* from interposing more in the affairs of *England*, and was one of the principal causes of his constant Peace with his Neighbours.

Instead of increasing the credit of the Nobility, he took all possible care to lessen it. His Council was almost wholly composed of Churchmen and Lawyers, who being devoted to him, and aiming only to please him, never opposed his Will. This unlimited compliance of his Council, was the cause of his entirely addicting himself to his natural passion of heaping up money, there being no Person about him, that had boldness or conscience enough to give him good advice upon that head. This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the *English*, which at first made him something uneasy, but when he had surmounted all his troubles, he regarded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an absolute power, making of his Council a Court of Justice, where all the Pleas of the Crown were decided, which had never been seen before.

He has been extremely praised for the good Laws made in his reign, as if he had been the sole Legislator, and his Parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps was given him the glorious name of the *Solomon of England*, though he much more resembled that Prince in the heavy yoke he laid on his People. But if these Laws are carefully examined, it will doubtless be found that the King's interest was the true motive, tho' in appearance they seemed to be made for the good of the People. Thus did *William the Conqueror* formerly act, whom our *Henry* resembled in so many things, that they may be very justly compared. In short, *Henry's* most distinguishing character was, that he lived entirely for himself, considered things only with respect to his own private interest, and regarded not any affairs where that was not concerned. Indeed, such a character is not uncommon among Princes. But he had this in particular, that whereas the interest of other Princes is usually divided into several branches, *Henry's* was in a manner contained in one single branch, namely, to have always full Coffers.

He was extremely suspicious, as are generally those who act by secret ways, because they think all the World like themselves. The House of *York's* title, and the People's opinion concerning it, filled his mind with fears and suspicions, with which he was continually racked. It is true he took great care to conceal his uneasiness. But his conduct and precautions plainly demonstrated, his mind was not as he would have had it thought to be, at rest. This perpetual distrust led him incessantly to seek means to prevent the dangers, in which he was not always successful. Witness the report he caused to be spread that the Duke of *York* was alive, which had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but mean. He saw better near than at a distance, and his wisdom consisted more in extricating himself out of difficulties, than in finding means to avoid them. The chief troubles of his reign may be said to happen by his fault. However, he acquired, by a long experience, qualities which by nature he had not.

It is not surprizing that a Prince always intent upon preventing the Rebellion of his Subjects, and continually employed in heaping up money, should have performed nothing glorious for himself or the Kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greatest Kings. On the contrary, Peace would have been very advantageous to the

English, had it rendered them happy. But it was still more fatal to them than War it self, since the King's insatiable avarice incessantly carried him to devise means to accumulate riches, which could be done only at their expence. There are Princes that heap up money solely to disperse it; but *Henry* kept it carefully in his Coffers, without any communication. Liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to. If he made any presents, it was only to Spies or Informers.

As for his Religion and Morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, by reason of the contrarieties which met in him. He was chaste, temperate, an enemy to open and scandalous vices, constant in the exercises of devotion, and observing strict justice where his interest was not concerned. But on the other hand, his extreme avarice made him commit many injustices, and the fear of losing his Crown, caused him to consider as lawful, all means which could free him from that danger, how unjust soever they might be in other respects. The Earl of *Warwick's* death will be an everlasting stain to his memory. His making a jest of Religion, in causing a solemn procession to be made on purpose to shew that Prince to the People, and the Excommunications he ordered to be pronounced against his own Spies, are clear evidences that his Religion was not proof against his interest.

In general, it cannot be denied, this Prince had great abilities. But as these abilities centered only in himself, they would have been more valuable in a private Person than a great Monarch. Though all his projects were crowned with success, his reign cannot be said to be happy, either for himself or for *England*. He lived under continual fears and suspicions, and his Subjects were always exposed either to domestick troubles or oppression. One thing rendered this reign remarkable, namely, that by *Henry's* abilities, the Civil Wars, which had so long afflicted *England*, were at length happily ended. I say happily, since it was very indifferent, with respect to the welfare of the *English*, whether the Kingdom was governed by a Prince of the House of *Lancaster*, or a Prince of the House of *York*.

Henry VII was of a serious temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleasures, to which he was little addicted. He had a Book wherein he marked down with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the Persons he knew, in order to employ them upon occasion. A Monkey (1) that he kept in his Chamber, having one day tore this Note-Book all to pieces, he appeared grieved as at some very great loss.

He was of stature taller than the common sort. His face was long, thin, and lean, like the rest of his Body, but withal very grave, which made people speak to him with fear. He could however be affable when his affairs required it. He was rather studious than learned. What he read in his leisure hours was generally in *French*, tho' he understood *Latin* too.

He founded a Chapel at *Windfor*, for which he obtained of the Pope privileges and indulgences. He turned into an Hospital the Palace of the *Savoy*, built [by *Peter Earl of Savoy*] in the reign of *Henry III*. He founded likewise several Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* (2). But of all his Structures, that which did and still does him the greatest honour, is his Chapel in *Westminster-Abbey*, which gives not place in any respect to the most stately Chapels in *Christendom* (3). There he was buried (4), and there the Bodies of his Successors lie with his (5).

1509.

A. A. Pub.
XII. p. 565,
591, 644,
672.
XIII. p. 60.
Stow.
Hollingh.
A. A. Pub.
XIII. p. 100,
102.

The

(1) Set on, as it was thought, by one of his Chamberlains. *Bacon*, p. 637.

(2) He built three Houses for *Franciscans* called *Observants*, at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, and *Newark*; and three others for *Franciscans*, called *Conventuals*, at *Canterbury*, *Newcastle*, and *Southampton*. *Stow*, p. 486. He also new built *Baynard's Castle*, and enlarged *Greenwich*, calling it *Piacenza*. *Hollinghead*, p. 796.

(3) In the 18th year of his Reign, the Chapel of our Lady above the East side of the High-Altar at *Westminster Abbey Church*, with a Tavern near adjoining, called the *White Rose*, were taken down, and in their room was built King *Henry VIII's* famous Chapel. *Stow*, p. 484. *Hollinghead*, p. 790, 797.

(4) *White 11*. *Stow*, p. 486.

(5) In the fifth year of King *Henry VII* it was ordained, That the Mayors of *London* shall have Conservation of the River *Thames*, from *Staines-Bridge* to the Waters of *Tenfold* and *Medway*. In his eighteenth year, King *Henry* being himself a Brother of the *Taylor's Company*, as several Kings had been before him, namely, *Richard III*, *Edward IV*, *Henry IV*, *V*, *VI*, and *Richard II*, besides Dukes eleven, Earls twenty eight, Lords forty eight, he gave them the name of *Mercant-Tailors*. *Hollinghead*, p. 790. In his thirteenth year, was the Passage to the *East-Indies* round the *Cape of Good Hope* discovered, by *Vasco de Gama a Portuguese*. In his tenth year, the Body of *Alice Hackney* is said to be found, in the Church of *St. Mary-Hill*, *London*, where of Skin, and the Joins of the Arms phable, after having been buried a hundred and seventy five years. In this Reign *John Collet* Dean of *St. Paul's* founded *Paul's School* in the Church-yard. The Colleges founded in the two Universities in this King's Reign, were, *Christ's College*, and *St. John's* in *Cambridge*, by *Margaret Countess of Richmond*, the King's Mother. *Jesus College* in the same University, by *John Alcock*, Bishop of *Ely*; *Corpus Christi* in *Oxford*, by *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Brazen-Nose College*, by *William Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 653*. *Stow*, p. 482.



H 7

It appears by an Indenture of the 9th of *Henry VII*, that a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into as many, and the same Pieces, as in the 5th of *Edward IV*. (See the Coin-Note, at the end of that King's Reign.) The Gold Coins of *Henry VII* were a Sovereign, half Sovereign; Ryal, half Ryal, and quarter Ryal; Angel, and half Angel. His Silver Money was, Groats, half Groats or Two-Penny Pieces, Pennies,

The STATE of the CHURCH of the Fifteenth Century.

State of the
Affairs of
the Church
in the xvth
Century.

THE Christian Church had never been in so deplorable a state as in the XVth Century. God's Justice and Mercy, and Christ's meritorious death, were scarce any more the object of a Christian's Faith. Most people's religion consisted in Pilgrimages, and the worship of the blessed Virgin, Saints and Relicks. As for the Clergy, their whole care was confined to the supporting themselves in that height of Grandeur and Power they had enjoyed for several Centuries, and to the seeing that no Man presumed to dispute their Immunities. Discipline was never more remiss. The Clergy seemed to look upon their Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their Temporal Privileges. Provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what seemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the Church was become the capital point of Religion.

The Papal power had strangely increased every Century, each Pope having made it his business to enlarge it as much as possible. They were come at length to dispose of all the Church-Preferments in *Christendom*, and to be the supreme Judges in all Causes Ecclesiastical. National Synods were no longer held. And indeed, of what use would they have been, since the Court of *Rome* claimed the Cognizance of all Church-matters? In a word, the Pope was become the Centre of Religion, to which every thing was to tend. The privileges of Churches, the prerogatives of Sovereigns, were all annulled by the *Non-obstante* Clause, usually inserted in every Bull. But it was not only over Spirituals that the Popes had stretched their authority; they pretended also to extend it over Temporals, under colour that Religion was concerned in all affairs. Kings themselves were not out of their reach. In all the Marriages of Princes there was occasion for the Pope's Dispensation: Neither Peace nor Truce of any moment was concluded without the Pope's mediation or guaranty. Some Popes were seen to carry their pretensions so far, as to enjoin Peaces or Truces without the consent of the parties. In short, it is extremely probable, they would have wholly engrossed the Temporal Power as well as the Spiritual, if the Schisms of the XVth Century had not caused them to lose ground. The Revolutions of the following Century made them lose still more. However this be, the Popes were become real Sovereigns, not only with respect to the power they had assumed, but also with regard to the immense riches, which through numberless Channels flowed into the vast Ocean of the Apostolick Chamber. Tithes, First-fruits, Taxes for the service of the Chamber, Dispensations for all sorts of Cases, as well contrary to the Law of God, as to the Canons of the Church, Subsidies exacted from time to time from the Clergy, for the occasions of the Holy See, Crusades, Benefices which are seldom bestowed without a previous bargain with the Apostolick Chamber; in a word, Simony openly practised by many Popes, some of whom were accused and convicted, were inexhaustible Fountains which maintained the Affluence and Luxury of the Court of *Rome*. It was almost impossible, that purity of Life and true religious Principles should be preserved undefiled, amidst so much Grandeur and Riches. On the contrary, the Popes were the more liable to make an ill use of their power, as most of them were not born for so high a Station. Accordingly we find in History, that *Rome* and *Avignon* were the Centre of Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Sensuality, and all the most scandalous Vices. The Popes were neither learned nor religious. Hardly was there one to be found that might pass for an

honest Man, even according to the maxims of the world. And yet, all the preambles of their Bulls were only expressions of their Zeal, their Charity, their Humility, their Justice; whilst for the most part what they enjoined was an authentick proof of their Pride and Tyranny. This is no aggravation, for the Authors who writ before the Reformation, have said a hundred times more. Nay, it has even been publicly preached before the Councils.

It may be easily imagined, that such Popes did not take much care to fill, what they called the sacred College, with persons truly pious and devout. It is true, during this Century, there were Cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their Wit, their Eloquence, their political Virtues, and their capacity for temporal Affairs. But these, for the most part, were men governed by the maxims of the world, and who considered Religion but as a means to establish their fortune. The Legates, sent to the several States of *Christendom*, were so many Incendiaries, who sought only to sow discord and division among Princes, or excite them to shed the blood of their own Subjects. In a word, they regarded only the Interest of their master and the *Roman* See, making no Conscience to violate all the rules of Religion and Equity, to accomplish their ends.

The rest of the Clergy in general were not better. Most of the Bishops were promoted to the Episcopacy, purely for having rendered themselves commendable by their attachment to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*, or for their services to Princes in their temporal concerns. They were persons educated at Court, and instructed in the maxims of the world. Cruelty, Injustice, Dishonesty, were but too common among them. Nay, they were considered as so many Virtues, when employed in the persecution of such as were termed *Hereticks*, especially of those that dared to contest any of the Pope's or the Clergy's pretended rights.

As for real Learning, it was scarce heard of in this Century. School-Divinity, and the knowledge of the Canon-Law made the whole merit of the Ecclesiasticks. It was the only thing by which they could hope to arrive at Church-Dignities. On the other hand, the Monks, who were crept into most of the Professorships in the Universities, had overwhelmed Divinity and Philosophy with such a heap of Jargon, as served only to give their Disciples false notions of Learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the state of the Church in the Century we are speaking of. As for the Civil Affairs of *Europe*, they were in this and the following Centuries, as in the foregoing. The Sovereigns divided among themselves by their different Interests, thought only of supplanting one another, and making their neighbour's loss turn to their own gain. This drew them into bloody wars, which rendered their people miserable, and suffered neither Princes nor Subjects to attend to the breaches in the Church, or think of means to heal them. Corruption was so great in the world, and in the Church, that God seemed to have abandoned Men to a reprobate Sense, so blind and insensible were they grown. We may add, for the farther representation of the sad estate of the Church, the great progress of the *Turks* in *Europe*, during this unfortunate Century. The *Greek* Empire entirely destroyed, and several other Christian States over-run by the *Infidels*, were plain tokens of the divine wrath against Christians, to move them to search after the Cause. But instead of seeking the Lord, they persecuted with fire

Pennies, Half-pence, and Farthings. Those old Pennies that bore divers Spurs, or the Mullet betwixt the Bars of the Cross, were to go only for Half-pennies. To avoid confusion in the future, the King caused new Groats and Two-pences to be coined, having a circle round the outer part; and ordered, that the Goldsmiths should have the whole Scripture, or Inscription, about every Piece. See *Statute* 19 Hen. VII. c. 5. He was the first that after Henry III. added the Number to his Name. He left off the Rose that used to surround the King's Head, and instead thereof, gives his Head with a Side Face, which was used before only on the Coins of William Rufus; but was continued by all his Successors, except on the bad Money of Henry VIII. and that of Edward VI. and likewise crowned with an arched Crown; having this Inscription, HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. Z. FR. Issued out on the smaller Monies the Title of France. On the Reverse, instead of the inner Circle with the place of Coinage and the Pellets, he placed the Arms of France and England quartered, which he the first of our English Monarchs used constantly, but retained the outer Circle and Margin. POSVI DEV. ADIVTORE MEV. except on the small Coins, whereon sometimes is the Place of Coinage. On these, the Pennies exhibit the King in his Robes upon the Throne, with Crown, Sceptre, and Ball: Reverse, the Keys, which discover it to be of the Archbishop's coining. These are the only Pieces that have not the Number, and are intcribed HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. In his 26th year, there were some few Shilling coins, and they, (being only forty in a Pound of Silver) were fair and large Pieces, a full third heavier than ours at this day. They are now choice Pieces in the Cabinets of the Curious. He likewise laid to have coined small Pieces, called *Daisy-Pennies*, but of what Metal, Value, or Fashion, is unknown. *New Edit. H.*

and sword such as fought God alone, and refused to pay divine worship to Creatures.

To accomplish a Reformation in the Church, which was so much wanted, all, or at least the chief Princes of Europe, should have joined their endeavours to promote such a project. But how was it possible, that so many Sovereigns who had Religion so little at heart, should sacrifice their passions to so great a good? Or how could so many different Interests be reconciled? All Europe passionately wished that the Church were reformed. Several Bishops appeared to have the same desire. Nothing was talked of in the Councils, but the Necessity of executing so noble a design. Nay, it seemed, that the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* intended to set about it effectually. But the well-inclined had neither prudence nor resolution enough, to oppose the artifices and violence of the contrary party. We shall see hereafter, that it was the Popes, the Cardinals, and the principal Clergy who opposed, to their utmost, the projected Reformation, because they were sensible it would prove prejudicial to their temporal Interests. On the other hand, when 'tis considered, with what eagerness and animosity they laboured to root out the pretended Heresies, which combated the temporal Grandeur of the Clergy, no other Inference can be made, than that they themselves perceived the necessity of a Reformation which they would not admit, and that the Fountain of Corruption was in the principal Members of the Clergy, from whence it had but too great an Influence upon the rest.

To represent to the Life the state of the Church of the XVth Century, and let it in its true Light, it would be necessary to give a particular account of what passed at the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*. But this detail would lead me too far. Besides, the History of the first of these Councils is lately published, and writ with that plainness, circumspection, and impartiality, that there is no room to suspect that the Author (1) has suffered himself to be biased by passion or prejudice. The History of the Council of *Basil* by the same hand, is soon to appear (2). So, referring the Reader to these two Histories, I shall only relate in few words, the most remarkable passages of these Councils. This knowledge will be of use to understand the state of the Church of *England*, which I shall presently speak of.

A brief account of the Council of *Constance*.
L'Enfant.

The Schism, begun in 1378 by *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* was continued to the beginning of the xvth Century, by *Boniface IX.* and *Benedict XIII.* their Successors. *Boniface* succeeding *Urban VI.* resided at *Rome*, and *Benedict*, Successor of *Clement VII.* remained at *Avignon*, where he was kept by the King of *France*, for fear he should escape before the Schism was ended.

The University of *Paris* had proposed a method to end this Schism, namely, that the two Popes should resign the Pontificate, which was called the method of *Cession*. *Boniface IX.* and *Benedict XIII.* pretended both to be willing to take this method, for restoring Peace to the Church. But withal, they used so many evasions, that it was easy to see, they had no such desire. And therefore the King of *France* had thought fit to secure the person of *Benedict*. This Monarch's illness afterwards placing the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother at the head of affairs, the young Prince was a great favourer of *Benedict XIII.* and in 1404, gave him an opportunity to make his escape. This same year *Boniface IX.* died, and the Cardinals of his party chose *Innocent VII.* who behaved like his Predecessor, with respect to the *Cession*. To *Innocent*, who sat in the Papal Chair but two years, succeeded *Angelo Corario*, who assumed the name of *Gregory XII.* Thus the Schism still continued between *Gregory* and *Benedict*. These two Popes pretending a desire to end it by the method of *Cession*, long amused the world with their dissimulation and artifices. In short, the Schism having now lasted thirty years, without any appearance that the two Popes would perform their promise, *Gregory XII.* saw himself deserted on a sudden by his Cardinals, who retired to *Pisa*. There remained but four with him. On the other side, *France*, which was the principal support of *Benedict XIII.* being tired with his evasions, withdrew from his obedience, and the Pope having lost that protection, went and resided in *Spain*. But his Cardinals, refusing to follow him, chose to join *Gregory's*. Presently after, the Cardinals of both parties, with one consent, called a General Council at *Pisa*, to which most of the Princes of *Europe* sent their Ambassadors and Prelates.

This Council, held in 1409, deposed the two Popes, and gave the Cardinals leave to choose a new one, who assumed the name of *Alexander V.* But as *Gregory* and *Benedict* did not think themselves lawfully deposed, it happened, that instead of the two Popes before the Council, there were now three.

Alexander V. dying in 1410, *John XXIII.* was elected in his room, who called a General Council to meet at *Constance* in November 1414 (3). This Council found no better way to end the Schism, than by removing the three Popes. *John XXIII.* and *Benedict XIII.* were deposed, and *Gregory XII.* voluntarily resigned the Pontificate. After that, the Council elected Cardinal *Odo Colonna*, who took the name of *Martin V.* *John XXIII.* who was committed to the Custody of the Emperor *Sigismund*, having made his escape, submitted to *Martin V.* who honoured him with a Cardinalship. As for *Benedict XIII.* he still kept the title of Pope, and retiring to the Castle of *Re-niscola*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was suffered by the King of *Arragon* to live there in quiet. After his death, which happened not till 1424, his Cardinals chose a Canon of *Barcelona*, who took the name of *Clement VIII.* But in 1429 he quitted his Dignity in favour of *Martin V.* Thus ended the Schism at length, after a one and fifty years continuance.

This abstract, though short, will enable us to judge of the character of the Popes, who governed the Church during these fifty years. They were Men who sacrificed the peace and tranquillity of the Church to their own private interests, and damned without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were not of their party. They would without scruple have engaged all *Christendom* in a bloody War for their interests, if the Sovereign Princes had not been wiser than they. Surely, one cannot but form a very melancholy idea of the State of the Church of those days, when it is considered that the Christians, of both sides acknowledged for *Christ's* Vicars, Popes whom they abhorred, and who indeed were so little worthy of the station they enjoyed, that several were deposed for Heresy, Simony, and Perjury.

But I have still one important reflection to make upon the conduct of the Council of *Constance*, the motive whereof is at first hard to be conceived. If the Council of *Pisa* was general and lawful, as that of *Constance* could not forbear owning, why were her decisions not observed? Why was *Gregory XII's* resignation accepted, a resignation which supposed him still to be Pope notwithstanding his being deposed? Why were terms offered him to induce him to quit the Pontificate? Why was *Benedict XIII.* once more deposed, when he had been already deposed by a general Council? In short, why was *John XXIII.* deprived of his dignity, for not keeping his promise to resign the *Papacy*, since it could not be questioned that he was really Pope and his mission lawful? Was not the authority of the Council of *Pisa* sacrificed by these proceedings?

Let it not be objected that *John XXIII.* was not deposed for any defect in his mission, but for his crimes. It is certain, when his promise to resign the Pontificate was required, it was solely with a view to put an end to the Schism. Had he resigned with a good grace, he would never have been accused, much less condemned for the crime for which he was afterwards deposed. It will be said perhaps, that this inconvenience was not so great as that of perpetuating the Schism. But should the striking at the authority of a general Council be deemed a slight inconvenience? Did not the Council of *Constance* give occasion to have her own authority disputed? For, there is no reason why the deposing of *Benedict XIII.* and of *John XXIII.* by the Council of *Constance* should be more valid, than the deposing the same *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XII.* by the Council of *Pisa*.

However, through all this intricacy, the motive of the Council of *Constance's* proceedings is discoverable. The Schism manifestly tended to the dissolution of the *Papal* dignity, which served for basis and foundation to most of the Clergy's privileges, and to the Hierarchy itself. *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, had been neutral some years, without owning any of the contending Popes. *France* had withdrawn her obedience from *Benedict XIII.* without transferring it to *Gregory XII.* In a word, the whole World in general began to condemn their excommunications, which they so visibly abused. There was danger therefore that by degrees a Pope would be thought useless, and thereby the foundation of the Hierarchy would

(1) Mr. L'Enfant, late Minister at Berlin.

(2) It was published in 1724.

(3) The Deputies to this Council from England were, first the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Buckley*, and Prior of *Worcester*. But upon the death of the Bishop of *Salisbury* and *Hereford*, the English Prelates understanding that other Churches were represented by a more numerous Delegation, sent *Clifford* Bishop of *London*, the Chancellors of both Universities, with twelve Doctors, to this Council. *Thurston*, p. 380. The Deputies mentioned in *Rymer's Fœdera* are these, *Nicholas* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Robert* of *Saxham*, *John* of *St. Dunstons*, *William* Abbot of *Westminster*, *John* Prior of *Worcester*, *Thomas* Spofford, Abbot of *St. Mary's* at *York*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *Henry* First High Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *Ralph Roche*, *John* Honyngbam, Doctor of Laws. *Torn. IX.* p. 162, 167, 169.

have been undermined, and perhaps a new form of Government introduced into the Church. The Cardinals and Prelates of whom the Council of *Constance* was composed, were so highly concerned to avoid this inconvenience, that they sacrificing all to that end, is not surprizing. This is the true reason of their conduct. But they took care to proceed very differently with regard to the pretended Hereticks, who openly contested the privileges of the Clergy. To extirpate a Heresy so prejudicial to them, they made use of Fire and Sword, rather than sacrifice the least of their interests. This is what we are going to see in the manner they went to work in this respect.

All the World knows that *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague* were burnt alive at *Constance*. But every one has not been at the pains to examine, for what errors they suffered that rigorous punishment. They were then, and still are to this day, charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable Tenets. They were condemned as seditious, obstinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of *Wickliff*; hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted Hereticks. Had there been yet stronger terms to express the abhorrence of these Heresies, they would have been used without scruple. But, wherein consisted these Heresies? In their being Disciples of *Wickliff*? If the authors who speak of their sentence be consulted, scarce one will be found that says more. *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague* were followers of *Wickliff*, and consequently abominable wretches, deserving to be burnt. In the opinions of *Wickliff* then we are to search for their errors. Now herein is an ambiguity, which has been constantly used to justify the condemnation of these two Doctors. It is hardly to be questioned, that the Council of *Constance* had that same ambiguity in view, when she caused the errors and memory of *Wickliff* to be first stigmatized, before *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague* were brought upon their Trial.

Wickliff's opinions were of two kinds. Some concerned the principal Doctrines of Faith. Others related to the Hierarchy, the Clergy, their Jurisdiction, Power, and Riches. *Wickliff* did not believe Transubstantiation. He rejected the invocation of *Saints*, the adoration of the Crofs and Images, Pilgrimages, and Relicks. On the other hand, he thought the Hierarchy had no foundation in *Scripture*. From whence he drew several conclusions against the excessive authority usurped by the Popes, the Cardinals, the Bishops. Moreover, he taxed the Clergy with leading very immoral and dissolute lives, and maintained that the revenues of the Church were greatly misapplied. From these principles his enemies inferred numberless consequences, some whereof had never perhaps entered into his thoughts. There were at last found in his writings two hundred and sixty capital errors. His followers added many more which he had never taught, and the whole was imputed to him, as if he had maintained them all in express terms.

However it be, *John Hufs* embraced *Wickliff's* opinions, but it was only in what concerned the Hierarchy and Clergy. It is certain, he believed Transubstantiation, and died in that belief. As for Images, his opinion was that a man might honour them, kneel to them, light up Wax-tapers before them, kiss them, because the intention referred that worship to the originals. So, it is a thing out of doubt, that he was not burnt for maintaining errors in the principal Doctrines of Faith, but for opinions which combated the exorbitant power and riches of the Church, that is to say, of the Clergy. All possible endeavours were used to make him confess, he believed not Transubstantiation; but he could never be brought to such a confession. And yet, by the advice of the Cardinal of *Florence*, the Council condemned him upon the deposition of the Witnesses, who accused him of rejecting that Doctrine, without regarding his own express declaration to the contrary. It is not very difficult to conceive the Council's aim, in causing that Article to be inserted in *Hufs's* sentence. The Council was sensible, it must have appeared very strange, that a Person should be burnt, whose Principles tended to a reformation, in the head and in the members of the Church, which all *Christendom* required, and which the Council it self feigned to believe necessary. It was requisite therefore to justify the sentence, by rendering this Man odious, as rejecting a fundamental Article of Faith. For this reason, without distinguishing *Wickliff's* errors, *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague* were condemned as followers of that Arch-Heretic. It was thereby insinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their master.

But to shew, by an unexceptionable testimony, that these two Men were burnt for their opinions concerning the Clergy, I need only quote what *Aeneas Sylvius*, alias Pope *Pius II*, says in his History of *Bohemia*. The Deputies of the Council having admonished the accused to forsake their errors, and conform to the Church's sentiments, they answered, *That they were indeed lovers of the Holy Gospel, and true Disciples of Christ; That the Church of Rome, and all the other Churches in the World were far swerved from the Apostolical Traditions: That the Clergy ran after pleasures and riches: That they lorded it over the People, affected the highest seats at entertainments, and bred Horses and Dogs: That the revenues of the Church, which belonged to the poor Members of Christ, were consumed in vanity and wantonness: That the Priests were ignorant of the Commandments of God, or if they did know them, lightly regarded them.*

The Fathers of the Council, continues the Historian, perceiving and knowing the invincible obstinacy of these People, judged that the corrupted Members of the Church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the Body. Accordingly sentence was passed upon them, all the Fathers unanimously agreeing, that Persons who rejected sound Doctrine, approved by the Church, deserved to be burnt.

This account most evidently shews, wherein consisted the Heresy of *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague*; namely, in their accusing the Clergy of Corruption. It was therefore, to destroy these enemies of the Clergy, that the Council made no scruple to violate the Safe-conduct given by the Emperor *Sigismund* to *John Hufs*, or at least to allow him to violate it himself. Moreover the Council had no regard to the promise they had publicly given to *Jerome of Prague*, in order to draw him to *Constance*. It is true, the Council had inserted these words in their engagement, *Without prejudice to justice, and as far as the Catholick Faith requires it*, a captious Clause, if ever there was one. For was not the Catholick Faith the very point in question; and of what use could the Council's promise be to *Jerome of Prague*, unless against justice? Did he run any hazard, or stand in need of such a promise, if he had not held the Tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the decree of this Council, against Communion in both kinds. We shall see in this, as well as in the foregoing Article, that the authority of the Church or the Clergy was the sole point in question. The Fathers of *Constance* condemned not Communion in both kinds as sinful in itself. On the contrary, they owned, it was practised in the primitive Church, and that the Church had power to grant it to the Laity, if she thought proper. But they anathematized such as maintained, the Church had not a right to abolish this practice. What did they mean then by the Church? Did they not mean the Councils composed of the several Members of the Clergy? It is so true, that, in this decree, the Council's sole view was to support the authority of the Church Representative, that, some years after, another General Council made no scruple to allow the *Hussites* the liberty of communicating in both kinds, without any apprehension that the Faith was therein concerned, when they were willing to receive that liberty as a favour from the Church.

As to other opinions which appeared at the same time, but which attacked not the Clergy, the Council of *Constance* behaved with an astonishing coldness. *John Petir*, advocate of the Duke of *Burgundy*, maintained, it was lawful for any private Person to kill a Tyrant, even by surprize. This Tenet being brought before the Council, how did they proceed? After much sollicitation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the Author, or coming upon his Person, though they had ordered *Wickliff's* Bones to be dug up thirty years after his burial. The Sect of the Scourgers (1) broached several capital errors. But the Council was content with the bare proposal of finding some gentle means to restore them to the unity of the Church.

What reformation could be expected from a Council, which so rigorously prosecuted such as contested the privileges of the Pope, the Cardinals and the Clergy? The reformation must have begun with the suppression of most of these Prerogatives. Indeed, before *Martin V's* election, the reforming of the Court of *Rome* was talked of in the Council; and a list of the abuses to be redressed, was drawn up. But by the artifices of some, and particularly of the Cardinals, this noble design came to nothing. A Pope was elected, and the Pope elect found means to have this Article deferred to a more convenient Season.

(1) Otherwise called *Flagellantes*. This Sect first appeared at *Perouza* in 1260, having for its Author a Hermit named *Rainerius*. They carried a Crofs in their hands, wore a Cowl on their heads, and went naked to the waist. Twice a day, and once in the night, they lashed themselves with knotted Cords stuck with Points or Pins, which gave occasion to their name. They affirmed, That their Blood united in such a manner with Christ's, that it had the same virtue. They persuaded the People, that the Gospel had ceased, and sufficed all sort of Perjuries.

This is the sum of the most remarkable Transactions in the Council of *Constance*. A very full account of these things will be found in the fore-mentioned new History, to which the Reader is referred. Let us see now what the Council of *Basil* acted with respect to the *Hussites*, and the quarrel of Pope *Eugenius IV*, with the same Council. Nothing is more proper to shew the State of the Church of those days.

History of the
Council of
Basil.

The *Bohemians*, who for the most part had embraced the opinions of *John Huss*, highly resented the usage he had met with. This severity serving only to confirm them in their Tenets, they resolved to maintain them in spite of the Council's decrees. Communion in both kinds was the principal Doctrine. This occasioned terrible commotions in *Bohemia*, which *Martin V* greatly inflamed by his haughty treatment of the *Hussites*. In the midst of these troubles, *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia* dying, *Sigismund* his Brother, who was Emperor, pretended to the succession. But the *Bohemians* rejected him, because he would not consent, they should live in the Faith they professed. *Martin V* supporting *Sigismund*, published a *Crusade* against the *Hussites*, and thereby obliged them to arm in defence of their lives. It is needless to inquire here, whether *Sigismund* had any right to mount the Throne of *Bohemia* without the consent of the States. This is a query which would lead me too far. However that be, *Ziska* a *Bohemian*, heading the *Hussites*, defeated *Sigismund* several times, and made him as well as the Pope despair of extirpating these pretended Hereticks by arms. This War lasted till the Council of *Basil*, without *Sigismund's* being able to take peaceable possession of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Council of *Basil*, which met in 1431, finding that the Arms of *Sigismund* and the *Croisés* had not the success that was expected, resolved to make Peace with the *Hussites*. Probably, their aim was to set *Sigismund* at any rate on the Throne of *Bohemia*, in order to inable him the better to take proper measures to extirpate these People. For that purpose, they sent Deputies into *Bohemia*, to invite the *Hussites* to come and produce their reasons before the Council. They agreed to it, and their Deputies being arrived at *Basil*, required these four things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the Church.

First, That Communion in both kinds should be administered to the *Bohemian* Laity.

Secondly, That offenders should be punished according to the Law of God, and by those whose proper business it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God should be preached by able Priests.

Fourthly, That the Clergy should have no Temporal Jurisdiction.

These were the sentiments of the *Hussites*, for which so bloody a War had been made upon them, even to the exciting all *Europe* against them. But it was not so much for their Doctrines that they were thus cruelly persecuted, but for their obstinate refusal to submit to the decisions of the Church, and for their contempt of the Clergy. The Council used all possible endeavours to persuade the *Bohemian* Deputies to an unconditional submission to the Church. But at last, perceiving they insisted upon the four Articles, the Council thought fit to grant them upon this condition, that they should be first explained, because being couched in general terms they might give occasion to fresh disputes. The *Hussites* consenting, the Council explained the four Articles as they judged convenient. After that, an agreement was drawn conformable to the four Articles and their explication.

This affair being thus settled, *Sigismund* demanded to be received for King of *Bohemia*, and was so accordingly, after signing certain conditions; namely, the approbation of the agreement, and some others relating thereto. It seemed that the persecution against the *Hussites* was thereby to cease. But *Sigismund* was no sooner on the Throne of *Bohemia*, but he disappointed them. On the other hand, the Pope pretending, they observed not the conditions on which the four Articles were granted, positively refused to approve of the agreement. This occasioned in *Bohemia* fresh troubles, which were always fomented by the Court of *Rome*, and which properly ended not till the middle of the last Century, in the utter ruin of the *Hussites*.

Before we leave this subject, let us make one reflection. Let the *Hussites* be inveighed against as much as you please: Let them be accused of holding impious and detestable errors, yet these same errors must be reduced to the four Articles exhibited by themselves to the Council of *Basil*. For this, *Crusades* were published against them, and *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*

were burnt. But a general Council, owned by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged, these Articles might be suffered without prejudice to the Catholic Faith. It follows therefore, that war was made upon them solely for the support of the Church's authority. That was the main point of Religion. But why were they persecuted afterwards? It was because the Popes would never stand to the agreement, though the *Hussites* frequently offered to submit to the Church upon that condition. It is therefore evident, that the War from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded upon this Principle, That the Church has a despotick power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what Church is this, invested with so high a Privilege? It cannot be a General Council, since such a Council has not judged that Article unquestionable. It is therefore the Pope alone which must be meant by the Church. It will be said, perhaps, that the authority of the Council of *Basil* is not acknowledged by a great part of the Church; but this will be groundless. For, the agreement with the *Hussites* was made before the Council was removed to *Ferrara*, and the Council of *Basil* is owned by all the world for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to see a quarrel of another nature, not of the Church with her heretical enemies, but of the Church with herself, of the Members with the Head. Till the Council of *Basil*, the Popes and the Councils were very well agreed to improve the Church's authority, and cause it to be absolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word Church, an entire submission was required of Christians, sometimes to the Pope as the head, sometimes to the Councils as representatives of the Body, according as occasion offered to improve that Term, for the benefit of either. As for the Christian Laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word Church. However, though in confining the signification of the word Church to the Clergy alone, there still remained some ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding whether the authority of the Church was lodged in the body of the Clergy, or in the Pope as head. The Councils of *Pisa* and *Constance* had taken some steps towards assuming this Authority, in deposing the Popes themselves. But *Martin V*, after his Election, had artfully evaded the decision of this important Point, either by breaking up the Council, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the Doctrines, without meddling with any of the other Articles. He knew, it would be very prejudicial for him, if the question was decided by the Council, as it would be for the Council the moment they broke up. At length, the Council of *Basil* had occasion to take this Question into consideration.

The Council had been called by *Martin V*, who had now appointed Cardinal *Julian Caesarini* to preside as Legate. *Martin* dying in 1431, before the Council was assembled, *Eugenius IV* was chosen in his room. The new Pope opposed not the opening of the Council, but intended it should not continue long. For some time, the necessity of reforming the Church both in the Head and Members, had been every where talked of. Now as such a Reformation must have been made by a General Council, such a Council could not but terrify a Pope, who had not yet had time to taste the sweets of the Pontificate. The Council of *Basil* was no sooner assembled, but *Eugenius* sought means to dissolve it. He found a pretence in the Council's Invitation of the *Hussites* to *Basil*, during the first Session. He affirmed, these Hereticks having been condemned in the Council of *Constance*, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing. Upon this frivolous pretence he published a Bull for dissolving the Council.

Instead of submitting to the Pope's pleasure, the Council resolved to continue their Sessions. Hence sprung a quarrel, which produced a real Schism, some maintaining the authority of the Council, and others remaining attached to the Pope. The Council made several Decrees, which placed the authority of a General Council above that of the Pope, and the Pope annulled these Decrees, affirming, the body could act but by the directions of the head. The Emperor, the King of *France*, and most of the other Princes declaring immediately for the Council, *Eugenius* saw himself under a necessity to approve the Council, and consent that the Sessions should be continued. But having sent other Legates to preside in his name, the Council refused to receive them as Presidents. This was a fresh occasion of dissension. The Pope threatened to dissolve the Council, and the Council threatened to suspend the Pope. Accordingly, they made some advances to accomplish it. Whereupon *Eugenius* finding himself the weakest, was obliged once more to approve and confirm the Council.

The

The forced compliance of the Pope appeased the quarrel for some time. But in 1435, the Council having shewn, they would seriously endeavour a reformation of the Church in the Head and Members, and made, for that purpose, Decrees to abolish the First-fruits, and settle the rights of the Apostolick Chamber, the Pope saw himself ruined, unless he found some way to stop their proceedings. On the other hand, the Cardinals easily perceived, that since the Pope was begun with, their turn would soon come. There were Bishops too, who were sorry to see a Reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice in many things, tho' they might hope to be gainers by it in some respects. This occasioned the forming of two opposite parties in the Council; but however, the reformers had the majority. Mean while, the Pope continued to gain ground, since the Cardinals, and several Bishops thought it for their Interest to support him.

Another thing helped likewise to set the Pope's affairs upon a good foot. Some time since, [*John Emanuel Palaeologus*] Emperor of *Constantinople*, had been vigorously attacked by the *Turks*. As he wanted assistance, he imagined, if he could unite the *Greek Church* with the *Latin*, the Pope and Princes of *Europe* would assist him with all their Forces, in defence of his Empire. This affair had been already proposed to *Martin V*, and it was chiefly with design to accomplish this Union, that Pope *Martin* had called the Council of *Basil*, where the *Greek Emperor* was to come in person, with the Bishops of his Church. *Eugenius IV* failed not to improve this opportunity to strengthen his party. He sent Nuntios to this Emperor, to acquaint him, that the time was come to perform his promise; but, as it might be inconvenient for him and his Attendants to repair to *Basil*, he promised to remove the Council to some good Town in *Italy*, provided he would ingage to be present. On the other hand, the Council sent likewise Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to dissuade the Emperor from coming to any other place than *Basil*. But the Emperor had already resolved to repair wherever the Pope should appoint. The Fathers of *Basil* plainly perceiving, the Pope intended to remove the Council elsewhere, made haste and passed several Decrees, which very much lessened the Papal Authority, and at length cited the Pope before them.

Eugenius little regarded the proceedings against him at *Basil*. When he heard the *Greeks* were arrived at *Venice*, he published a Bull for translating the Council of *Basil* to *Ferrara*. The Council refused to comply with the Bull, and by a majority of Votes suspended the Pope till he should come in person and make his defence. Mean while, Cardinal *Julian* President of the Council, and the rest of the Cardinals, except one, left *Basil*, carrying with them a good number of Bishops, and repaired to *Ferrara*, where the Pope opened his Council the 10th of *February* 1438. Thus arose a new sort of Schism between the Councils, which both called themselves General, and mutually condemned each other. But the Pope's had soon a considerable advantage of the other, by the arrival of the *Greek Emperor* at *Ferrara*, with a great many Prelates of his Nation. The next year *Eugenius* translated the Council to *Florence*, where a sort of Union was made between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which lasted not long (1).

Mean time, the Council of *Basil* still continuing their proceedings against *Eugenius IV*, came at last to depose him, and elect another Pope in his room, namely, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who having resigned the Government of his Dominions, was retired to the solitudes of *Ripaille*. The new Pope assumed the name of *Felix V*. Hence was formed in the Church a double Schism, between two General Councils, and two Popes, who thundered their *Anathemas* against one another, to the great scandal of *Christendom*. It was no small embarrassment to most people, to see thus two Popes and two Councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the Adherents of the other party, without sparing even those who thought to escape by standing neutral.

Charles VII, who then reigned in *France*, caused a Synod to be held on this occasion, in which it was resolved, that *France* should own the Council of *Basil* for lawful, but should remain however in the obedience of Pope *Eugenius*. Another embarrassment to the *French*. Indeed, it is pretty hard to conceive, how two such opposite things could be reconciled.

In 1441 was held in *Germany* another such Assembly,

where no better expedient was found, than the calling a new Council somewhere else than at *Basil* and *Florence*; and that *Germany* should remain neuter till this new Council was assembled. A Diet held at *Frankfort*, in 1442, approved of this expedient, and the Council of *Basil* consented to it, though with reluctance. But obstacles occurred, that prevented the execution of this design.

Mean while, *Felix V*, not being pleased with the Council of *Basil* for taking so much upon them, resolved to withdraw to *Lausanne*, on pretence that *Basil* Air did not agree with him. On the other hand, *Eugenius* translated the Council of *Florence* to *Rome*, in the Church of *St. John of Lateran*, where they began their Sessions in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the Princes of *Germany*, assembled at *Frankfort*, unanimously resolved, that if *Eugenius* would not redress the Grievances complained of, they would all recognize Pope *Felix*. *Eugenius* demurred at first. But the Emperor telling him, he must comply, or resolve to lose all *Germany*, he granted whatever the *Germans* desired, whereupon an Agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the Council of *Basil*, who had now lost *Italy*, *Aragon*, and several other States. As for *France*, they could not much rely upon her, since the still continued in obedience to Pope *Eugenius*. *England* had likewise so far declared for that Pope, as that we find, in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Henry VI* sent an Embassy to make a league with him.

Eugenius IV died whilst these things were transacting, and had for Successor *Nicholas V*.

The Council of *Basil* losing great part of their Authority, and *Felix V* having but very few friends, the King of *France* held a Synod at *Lyons*, to seek means to put an end to the Schism. *Felix V* sending Legates thither, it was resolved, with his consent, that if *Nicholas V* would grant him certain conditions, he would resign the Pontificate. This was the subject of a Negotiation, which lasted the whole year 1448. Mean while, the Council of *Basil*, finding themselves forsaken by almost all the world, and despairing of farther protection at *Basil*, since the Emperor and *Germany* had declared for *Eugenius*, resolved to remove to *Lausanne*.

At last, *Felix* having obtained most of his desires, resigned the Papal Dignity in 1449. But it was with the consent of his Council, who found means to preserve still some remains of Authority. By their last Decree, they approved of *Felix's* resignation, created him Cardinal and Legate a latere (2) in *Savoy* and the *Tarentaise*, and allowed him to wear the papal Habit all his Life. *Nicholas V* confirmed this Decree according to Agreement. Thus ended at length the Schism, in which there was a complication of three Schisms: First, between *Eugenius IV*, and the Council of *Basil*; then between two General Councils; and lastly, between two Popes. The first may be said not to be yet ended, since the dispute which occasioned it, still subsists. The Court of *Rome's* Adherents perpetually inveigh against the Council of *Basil*, for decreeing, that a General Council is above the Pope. On the other hand, their opposers rest upon the Decrees of this Council to support their opinion. Very probably, this question will remain long undecided.

I have a little enlarged upon what passed in the two famous Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, because nothing, in my opinion, is more proper to discover the wretched state of the Church of those days. From the close of the last Schism, to the end of the XVth Century, the papal Chair was filled with Popes cruelly bent upon the destruction of the *Hussites*, contrary to the Faith of the Agreement, or wholly employed in maintaining the exorbitant power usurped by their Predecessors, and generally to have an opportunity to satisfy their Avarice.

Calixtus III, Successor of *Nicholas V*, so oppressed the *Germans*, that they were forced at length to break the Concordat (3) made with *Eugenius IV*, plainly perceiving it was entirely useless.

Pius II, lately canonized, was so far from consenting to a reformation in the Head of the Church, that he excommunicated by a Bull, all persons that should dare to appeal from the Pope to a General Council.

Paul II was no sooner chosen, than he broke the Oath taken before his Election, concerning the redress of certain abuses, which himself, with the rest of the Cardinals, had deemed necessary. Never were the *Gratie Expectativæ* [or Bulls for Church-Preferrments before they become void] more frequent, than whilst he sat in the

(1) The Emperor, in order to compass his end, compelled the *Greek Fathers* to assent to the four Articles: 1. That there is a Purgatory. 2. That the Pope is Head of the Church. 3. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. 4. That unleavened Bread may be used in the Eucharist. But when they came home, they declared against the Council, and recanted their Subscriptions.

(2) Legatus a latere are properly the Pope's extraordinary Ambassadors to Emperors and Kings.

(3) On Agreements. Whereby the Pope reserved to himself the Collation of all Benefices in *Rome*, and two days Journey from it: The Confirmation of Metropolitans, Bishops, &c. The Disposal of certain Benefices; and the Annates.

Papal Chair. He spent the whole time of his Pontificate in striving to abolish the *pragmatick Sædion* (1) in France, which debarred him of the liberty of doing there whatever he pleased.

1471. Sixtus IV, raised, by one of his Bulls, the Hierarchy to the highest degree it could be carried, at a time when the excessive power usurped by the Clergy was generally complained of.

1484. Innocent VIII, quarrelled with Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples, and by his Sollicitations inclined Charles VIII, to carry his Arms into Italy.

1492. Alexander VI, was one of the most corrupt Men of his age. Mezerai. 'Tis of him a famous Roman Catholick writer gives this fine Character, that he would have been the wickedest Man in the world, if his Bastard Son (2) had not been more wicked than himself.

I pass over in silence the cruel eagerness of all these Popes, to persecute the *Bohemians*, contrary to the Faith of their *Concordat*. The *Crusades* against the *Turks*, in which they would have engaged all the Princes of Europe, appeared very specious; but Sovereigns were so well fastidied, that in publishing *Crusades*, the Popes had only their own private Interest in view, that they could never confide in them.

Such in general was the state of the Christian Church in the xvth Century, upon which I shall make but one single remark, leaving my Readers at liberty to add as many as they please. What I would observe is, that the abstract I have given, evidently shows, how trifling their opinion is, who say, it is not the business of private persons to endeavour a reformation of the Church, but it must be left to the care of the Church herself. What then is this Church, from which we are to expect this happy Reformation? Doubtless, this is not what is meant by the word Church. It is the Pope with his Cardinals? But these are the very Men who have all along hindered it, and very probably, will, to the utmost of their power hinder it for ever. Shall a General Council undertake this Reformation? But what has hitherto passed in these Assemblies, affords no room to expect so great a benefit. Besides, who shall call this General Council? of whom shall it be composed? who shall preside? Can the Pope be persuaded to convene a General Council to reform the Church? will he give the Precedency to another, that himself and Court may be with more freedom reformed? In a word, will it not be the Pope, the Cardinals, the Prelates, that will have the deliberative vote in this Council? but these are so many persons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be said with some, that the Church has no need of reformation? that she is innocent and pure, without spot or wrinkle, or any thing like it? that all the Privileges enjoyed by the Popes, the Cardinals, the Bishops, belong to them by divine Right? that the Pope exercises only the power committed to him by Christ? that his decisions are infallible, as well in point of fact, as of right; and the same obedience must be paid to his Decrees, as to those of God himself? but if, pursuant to this principle, the Popes should unhappily enlarge their *Phylacteries*, and every day form new pretensions, as it has but too frequently happened, how shall they be stopped, if 'tis confessed, the Church has no need of reformation, or must be left to reform herself?

State of the Church of England. After viewing the state of the Church in general, it is time to proceed to that of the Church of England in particular. England, with regard to Religion, was in the same condition with the rest of Europe. The people passionately wished for a reformation of sundry abuses crept into the Church. The Clergy strenuously opposed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the Kings, they made Religion subservient to their Interest. When they imagined they wanted the Clergy, they found ways enough to evade the people's desires. But when the Parliament's favour was requisite, they assented to the Statutes, by which the Incroachments of the Pope and Clergy were restrained.

In the beginning of the Century, Henry IV, whose chief aim was to fix himself in the Throne, and who thought he could not effect it without the Clergy, seemed throughout his whole Reign to have a great deference for them. Hence proceeded all the Statutes passed in those days against the *Lollards*. Henry V, showed at first great inclination to strip the Clergy of their riches, according to the Parliament's desire; but afterwards, turning his thoughts to the Conquest of France, carefully avoided that Religion should cause any troubles in his Kingdom. It was highly necessary, in order to execute his grand pro-

jects, that his Subjects should be ready to assist him with their purses. But on the other hand, he was no less concerned to live in a good understanding with the Court of Rome, lest she should hinder his enterprize. He knew what she was capable of, when she thought herself injured. So, artfully managing both the Pope and his Subjects, he prevented the first from abusing his power too much, without depriving him, however, of what he possessed. By this prudent conduct, he made his Reign peaceable, with respect to Religion. We must except, however, what he did in the beginning against the *Lollards*. He had suffered himself to be prepossessed, that they had conspired against his life; and that belief made him at first a little severe. But as he was endowed with an excellent judgement, he soon discerned the interests of the Clergy from those of Religion, and put a stop to the persecutions of the unhappy *Lollards*. Henry VI, was a weak Man, ever ready to receive the impressions that were given him. Had he held the reigns of the Government himself, very probably the Clergy would have gained much ground in his Reign. But the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority, as after, were Men of a very different character. Besides, the French War, the disturbances at Court after the King's marriage, and the Civil Wars which quickly followed, gave those at the Helm no time to think much of Religious affairs. For the same reason, the Reign of Edward IV, was not disturbed either by the *Lollards*, or their adversaries. It is true, Edward showed a great condescension for the Clergy, in granting them a favour constantly denied by the former Kings. But his complaisance did not go so far as to indulge persecution. The Reigns of Edward V, and Richard III, were wholly spent in domestick troubles, which had no influence upon the affairs of the Church. As for Henry VII, he made it a rule, to keep the Church upon the same foot he found it when he mounted the Throne. He ever avoided, as a Rock, all innovations which might obstruct the execution of his two sole designs; namely, to secure the Crown to himself and his Heirs, and to heap up Money. Such was, with regard to Religion, the disposition of the Kings that reigned in England during the Fifteenth Century.

As for the English Nation, it is certain, it was generally *Wickliffite* in some respects. *Wickliff's* opinions manifestly tended to these two principal ends: First, to reform the Government of the Church, and to set bounds to the power of the Pope and Clergy. Secondly, to alter the Church's Creed concerning some Doctrines long since received, and which he thought contrary to Scripture. Now as he found it almost impossible, that Christians should return to what he believed the antient Faith of the Church, because the Clergy were concerned to maintain the established errors, he strongly insisted upon the first point, as being absolutely necessary to the attainment of the second. It is certain, that with respect to his general aim, in the first of these two Articles, not only his professed Followers, but all the rest of the People did, as it were, join with him. For many Ages the English had felt the oppression wherein the Pope and Clergy had kept them. In all *Christendom* no Nation had more experienced the rigour of this Dominion. The History of England shows it so manifestly, that a Man would be blind not to see it. But though the History were suspected, the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, so frequently revived, leave no room to question, that the English thought themselves oppressed. So, it may be said, that in general the English Nation was *Wickliffite* as to the first point, though many believed, *Wickliff* would have carried the reformation a little too far, and, to correct the abuses of the Hierarchy, had run into the contrary extreme. But the nation was not generally *Wickliffite*, with respect to the second Article; namely, the alteration of belief concerning the Doctrines. Indeed, *Wickliff* had in this respect many Followers, but they were not the Majority. Thus the name of *Wickliffite*, or *Lollard*, was an equivocal term, capable of being understood in two different senses. Sometimes it signified a Man, who separating from the Church, embraced all *Wickliff's* opinions. It might likewise be understood of one, who remaining in the Church, as it was then, and adhering to the received Doctrines, was, however, of *Wickliff's* opinion concerning the temporal and spiritual Jurisdiction of the Clergy. In this last sense there were more *Lollards* in England than can be imagined. This distinction may serve to account for divers proceedings of the Parliaments in the beginning of the XVth Century, which seem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were seen to speak and act like *Lollards*,

1. This is an Edict passed in the Council of *Burges* in the Reign of Charles VII. It was levelled against Papal Provisions, the payment of *Annatim*, and other incroachments of the Court of Rome. In a word, it contains the Privileges of the *Gallikan* Church, and was taken out of the Act of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*.

2. *Cæsar Borgia*. See the History of them lately published by Mr. Gordon.

earnestly demanding, that the Clergy should be strip of their riches, and sometimes to condemn these same *Lollards* to the flames, when they considered them in the first sense before-mentioned. The Clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term. When a Man was so hardy as to show that it were to be wished, some alteration were made in the Government of the Church, he was infallibly accused of being a *Lollard*, and charged with all *Wickliff's* opinions. Hence he became odious, because the true *Lollards* maintained Doctrines repugnant to the Faith of those days. The first Parliament which petitioned *Henry IV.* to seize the Church-Lands, could not escape that imputation, which made a deep impression in the King's mind. Thus it often happened, that People did not dare openly to approve *Wickliff's* first opinions, for fear of being taxed also with holding the others, and exposed to suffer for Tenets they received not, as it happened to *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague*. It was not without cause that the Clergy prosecuted the *Lollards* with such animosity, since their Principles tended to no less than to deprive them of all their Prerogatives. At this very day, the Church of *England*, though embracing *Wickliff's* opinions, concerning the Doctrines, cannot forbear expressing very little esteem for that Doctor, because he has combated the Hierarchy, which she has thought proper to retain.

The *Lollards* were persecuted, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the character of the Kings, the Archbishops, and the rest of the Prelates, but chiefly according to the circumstances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the XVth Century was much more severe for them, than the middle or the end. The reason is evident. For as their number continually increased, their enemies found much less support, and themselves more protection. In the beginning of the XVth Century, which was the most troublesome time for them, there were, however, but very few burnt; of which three principal reasons may be given: First, as the Statutes did not enact that all in general should be burnt, who held the Tenets of *Wickliff*, but only such as preached or taught them publicly, the number of the guilty was not very great. These Statutes were not observed after the manner of the Inquisition, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the *English* Nation. In the next place, the Idea which the Clergy were pleased to give of the *Lollards*, was, that they entirely subverted Religion. But often, in the examination of the parties accused as such, it appeared that they only believed, the Pope and Clergy abused their power too much, which was the general opinion of the Kingdom. It was well known, the Parliament had not that in view, in their Statute against the *Lollards*. Lastly, the Judges themselves sometimes happened to be of the Sect, and this was the occasion of the Statute in the Reign of *Henry V.* obliging all Magistrates, at their entrance into Office, to swear to the execution of the Laws against the *Lollards*. But I do not know whether that Statute was ever punctually observed. If we believe *Walsingham* the Monk, the Judges and several Bishops themselves were very remiss in the prosecution of the *Lollards*. This he ascribes to the general corruption which reigned in *England*. But this corruption was nothing else but the inclination of the *English* for *Wickliff's* opinions; or, at least, their scruple to put People to death on account of Religion. The most remarkable thing in *England*, concerning the *Lollards*, is the trial and punishment of Sir *John Oldcastle*, otherwise called Lord *Cobham*, of whom I have spoken in the Reign of *Henry V.* We must now proceed to another Subject; namely, the contests which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* during the XVth Century.

Notwithstanding all the complaints frequently carried to the Court of *Rome*, concerning her continual incroachments, and the precautions taken by several Parliaments to screen themselves from the same, the Popes did not abate their pretensions. The Acts of Parliament were to them but like Thunders without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occasion, they made no scruple to act contrary to these Statutes, as if they had not been made; and assert their Apostolick power, without troubling themselves whether they prejudiced the King or his Subjects. The Parliament, willing to remedy the abuses flowing from the continual dispensations granted by the Pope without hearing the cause, passed in 1400 an Act, That all Persons who purchased or executed any Bulls to be discharged from the payment of Tythes, should incur the penalties contained in the Statute of Provisors. It was enacted by another Statute passed at the same time, That if any Person should procure a Provision to be exempt of the jurisdiction of the Bishops, he should incur the same Penalties. These Acts being made chiefly with a view to the Monks, were not capable of producing the intended effect, because the Pope, by the fulness of his Apostolick authority, ex-

empted the Monks from the observance of these Parliamentary Statutes. The Bishops, whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to dispute the power assumed by the Pope, it was the Parliament's business to defend their cause, as well as their own. To that purpose, the Statutes upon this Subject were revived, with an additional Clause, prohibiting the Monks in particular, to purchase or execute any such exemptions, upon the penalty comprised in the Statute of *Præmunire*.

This Statute, which I have mentioned upon several occasions, was a terrible fence against the Court of *Rome's* Usurpations. Indeed, it did not directly attack the Pope, since the Parliament had no Jurisdiction over him. But as it hindered the *English* from applying to the Court of *Rome* for things contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, it abridged the Pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap, from his Apostolick power. It will perhaps be thought strange that the Popes should be silent, when, and long after, this Statute was passed. But it is easy to discover the reason. The Schism which began in 1378, and lasted till 1409, hindered them from stirring. The Popes received by *England*, took care to give no offence at such a juncture. It is true, there was an interval of some years, during which *Alexander V.* and *John XXIII.* might have made some attempt against that Law. But *Alexander's* Pontificate was very short, and *John* was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. *Martin V.* considered not this affair with the same indifference. In 1426, he writ a thundering Letter to *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upbraiding him for his remissness, and enjoining him to exert his utmost that this Statute might be repealed. *Henry VI.* who then reigned, not being above five years old, the Pope thought it a favorable juncture to compass his ends. It will not be perhaps unacceptable, to insert part of this Letter, which shows the Pope's sentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his See.

M A R T I N,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,

To his Reverend Brother, the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, Greeting, and Apostolical Benediction.

"HAD you considered what a strict account you must give to Almighty God for the Flock committed to your care: Had you called to mind the obligations of your Office, and how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the Roman Church, of whom you hold your Dignity: Had you, I say, duly recollected these things, you would never have suffered your self to be seized with such a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty long since; you would have endeavoured to set right the misled, and opposed with all your power those who had sacrilegiously invaded the privileges granted by our Saviour to the Church. Was the authority of your Character bestowed upon you only to enrich your self, and give you opportunity of seeking your own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's? If this be your opinion, you greatly mistake the instructions of our blessed Saviour, who, when he committed his Sheep to St. Peter's care, only commanded him to feed them; neither received he this command, till he had given his Master repeated assurances of his love. Is this then your manner of shewing your love to Christ? Is this feeding and taking care of the Flock? Will such conduct as this discharge your duty to the Holy See? Alas! your Flock are running down a precipice before your eyes, and you are regardless of their danger, and make no attempt to save them: You suffer them to feed in dangerous pastures without warning them; and, which is horrible, you seem to put poison in their mouths with your own hands: You see the Wolves scatter and tear them in pieces, and like a dumb Dog, vouchsafe not so much as to bark. You can behold the authority of our Blessed Saviour and the Holy See despised and trampled on, without dropping one word of Remembrance. One would have thought, you might at least, have whispered your dislike, though you had been so very prudent as not to have declared it publicly. Are you not sensible, you must one day account to the utmost Farthing for all omissions and prevarications of this kind? Do not you think, if any of your Flock are lost by your neglect, (and, alas! there are a great many,) that

Martin V's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Burnet's Hist. Ref. T. I. Col. p. 95.

" blood will be required at your hands? Consider and tremble what vengeance God denounces by his Prophet Ezekiel: Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; if thou seest the sword come, and dost not blow the trumpet, and any person is taken away, his blood will I require at thy hands."

To see this beginning, would not one think the point in question was some new Heresy, tending to subvert the foundations of Religion? At least, one should believe, the Pope had the *Wickliffites* in view. But it was not so: We shall see in the sequel of the Letter what the affair was; namely, the Statute of *Præmunire*, which the Archbishop had not caused to be repealed, the Pope groundlessly supposing, it was in that Prelate's Power to annul the Laws of the Realm. He continued in this manner:

" I leave it to your self to consider, what abominable violence has been committed upon your Province. Pray read that Royal Law, if there's any thing in it that is either Law or Royal. For how can that be called a Statute, which repeals the Laws of God and the Church? Or how can it deserve the name of Royal, when it destroys the ancient customs of the Realm; and it is so contrary to these words of Scripture, *The King leaveth judgment*? Tell me then, Reverend Brother, whether you, who are a Catholick Bishop, can think it reasonable such an Act as this should be in force in a Christian Country?"

" In the first place, under colour of this execrable Statute, the King of England grasps at the Spiritual Jurisdiction, and governs so absolutely in Ecclesiastical matters, as if our Saviour had appointed him his Vicar. He makes Laws for the Church and Clergy. In short, he makes so many Provisions about Clerks, Benefices, and the concerns of the Hierarchy, that one would think the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* were put into his hands, and the Superintendency of these affairs had been intrusted with him, and not with St. Peter."

" Besides these hideous Usurpations, he has enacted several penalties against the Clergy. Such a rigor is the more unjustifiable, as the English Government does not treat *Turks* and *Jews* with so great severity. People of all Countries and Persuasions have the liberty of coming into England. Only those who have Cures bestowed upon them by Christ's Vicar are excluded: Only those, I say, are banished, seized, imprisoned, stripped of their fortunes. If any ecclesiastical Person, charged with the execution of the Mandates and Censures of the Holy See, happens to set foot on English ground, and proceed in the business of his Commission, he is treated like an enemy, thrown out of the King's protection, and exposed moreover to still greater hardships. Was ever such Iniquity as this passed into a Law? Pray consider whether such Statutes as these are for the honour of the Kingdom; and whether it becomes you to be silent under all this outrage. Is this an instance of filial Obedience? Is this the English People's way of showing their regards to their Mother Church and the Holy See? Can that be called a Catholick Kingdom, where such profane Laws are practised; where application to Christ's Vicar is prohibited; where St. Peter's Successor is not allowed to execute our Saviour's Commission? Christ said to St. Peter, and in him to his Successors, *feed my Sheep*. But this Statute will not suffer him to feed them, but transfers that office upon the King, and pretends in several cases to give him Apostolical Authority. Christ built his Church upon St. Peter; but this Act of Parliament hinders the effect of this disposition, not permitting St. Peter's See to proceed in the functions of Government, or to make Provisions suitable to the necessities of the Church. Our Lord has ordered, that whatever his High-Priest shall bind or loose in Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven: But this Statute over-rules the divine command: For if the immediate representative of our Saviour thinks fit to delegate any Priest to execute the Power of the Keys, contrary to the intent of the Statute, he is refused admittance, forced out of the Kingdom, stripped of his Effects, and made liable to farther Penalties. If any Discipline, if any Apostolick Censure, appear against this usage, it is punished as a capital offence."

" And what does your prudence think of all this? Is this a Catholick Statute? Can it be suffered upon our dishonour to our Saviour, without a breach upon the Laws of the Gospel, and the ruin of people's Souls? Why therefore did you not cry aloud? Why did you not lift up your voice like a Trumpet? Show your people their Transgression, and the Iniquity of Jacob their Sins, that their blood may not be required at your hands? Will persons who have the cure of Souls, are bound

" to this duty, how much more are you, who have both the Priests and People committed to your care by the Holy See, by whose favour you enjoy the privilege of Primacy and Legate for the Church of England, and have the honour of being Successor to that glorious Martyr St. Thomas, who, to remove the oppression of such Statutes, scrupled not to sacrifice himself for the Interest of the Church."

" These things considered, you, who ought to have set up the Church's Standard, been most forward in the defence of Religion, and animated your fellow Bishops to a noble Contelt, are the first that turn your back, and decline the service. Thus, either by your great cowardice, or, as it is generally believed, by your downright prevarication, you discourage those who offer to make a stand. If therefore the Church complain of your conduct; if the whole be laid to your charge, be not surprized, but troubled at the Imputation. Let this reproach serve to put you upon reforming your conduct, and make you boldly perform the duties of your Office; which, were you but inclined to make the most of your power, would not be very difficult. Exert therefore your Character among the Laity; inform their understandings in this point, and endeavour to reclaim them. Shew them what a snare this Statute will prove, and how much guilt it will draw upon their Consciences. Let your Admonitions be pressing and sharp, and then the cracked will be made strait, and the rough ways straight."

After so severe a reprimand, the Pope continued to tell the Archbishop, that he thought himself bound in Conscience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him, upon pain of Excommunication, to go immediately to the Privy-Council, and make what Interest he could, for repealing the Statute of *Præmunire*, to apply to both Houses of Parliament for the same purpose, and let them know, that all those who obey that Statute were under Excommunication. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the Clergy to preach publicly, and every where, the same Doctrine; to take with him two grave persons to attest his diligence, and to certify him of the result of the affair.

If it be inquired what made *Martin V.* so very angry with *Chicheley*, who was not concerned in the Statute of *Præmunire*, passed long before he was Archbishop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reason is this. *Chicheley* had opposed to his utmost, the Papal Exemptions. He had dissuaded *Henry V.* from consenting, that *Henry Beaufort* his Uncle should be made Cardinal, Legate a latere for Life, and hold the Bishoprick of *Winchester* in Commendam. Moreover, he had said publicly, that all the Pope's proceedings tended only to drain England continually.

The Archbishop willing to justify himself, did not do it to the Pope's Satisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himself a still more thundering Letter, and after that a third, directed to the two Archbishops, wherein, to mortify *Canterbury*, *York* is named first. *Chicheley* fearing the Pope's threats, got some Bishops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him. At length, he sent him a Letter himself, telling him, he heard by common report, that his Holiness had proceeded to a Sentence against him, which had never happened to any Archbishop of *Canterbury* since the days of St. *Augustin*. That however, he was not certain of the thing, because he was commanded by the King to bring all the Instruments, received from Rome, with the Seals whole, and lodge them in the Paper-Office till the Parliament fate.

Mean while, *Martin V.* resolving to push this affair, writ to the King and Parliament in a more haughty strain than had ever been used by any Pope. He admonishes, or rather commands them to repeal the Statute of *Præmunire*, otherwise he assures them they cannot be saved.

At last, the Archbishop, seeing the Pope thus obstinate, and not daring any longer to disobey him, went with several other Bishops to the House of Commons, where he made a long Speech, tending to persuade the House to repeal the Statute, and put them in mind of the danger of an Interdict upon the whole Kingdom. But neither his arguments nor threats, were capable of inducing the Commons to repeal, or even explain the Act. On the contrary, they addressed the King to take the Archbishop into his protection, and to write to the Pope in his behalf.

Pope *Martin's* Letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the Statute of *Præmunire*, afford matter for three remarks. The first is, this Letter is a demonstration, that the main of Religion was then made to consist in the Pope's Prerogatives, and the Clergy's Immunities. Hence it also appears, how averse *Martin* was to consent

Reasons of
the Pope's
Conduct.

Burnet's
H. R. Ref.
T. 4. p. 111.

to the least diminution of his pretended Rights, and consequently to a reformation in the Head and Members of the Church, demanded with so much earnestness at the Council of *Constance*, where he was present himself.

The second remark is, that at all times the Popes, in their Contentments with the several States of *Christendom*, have always had great advantages. These advantages consisted, in that, by the threats of Excommunication and Interdict, they pushed matters so far, that there was need of great resolution not to be over-awed, and lose ground, either by agreement, or otherwise. But if this resolution was proof against all attempts, and the circumstances of affairs were not favorable to the Court of *Rome*, she had the power to stop when she pleased, in expectation of a better opportunity. They who had the misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned it a great Victory not to be vanquished, being satisfied if she would but suffer them to live in peace.

Conjecture
upon this
Matter.

The third remark, is a Conjecture which I shall leave to the Reader's Judgment. Though *Henry VI.* was then but five years old, and his minority seemed to countenance the Pope's design, it is certain however, *England* had never been in a more prosperous condition. The *English* were quiet, and pleased with the Government, and the Victories of *Crevaent* and *Verneuil* had put their affairs in *France* upon a very good foot. On the other hand, the affairs of *Charles VII.* were in such disorder, that there was no appearance of their being ever restored; and therefore *Martin V.* could not deem it a proper time for him. Besides, the King's two Uncles were not disposed to suffer the Prerogatives Royal, and the People's Rights, to be trampled upon, when their affairs were in so flourishing a condition. It is therefore something probable, that *Martin V.* who was much more inclined to *France* than to *England*, made then all that stir, only to excite troubles in *England*, which would be of service to King *Charles*, and give him time to breathe. If the Archbishop had punctually obeyed him, and the Clergy every were preached against the Statute of *Præmunire*, pursuant to the Pope's express orders, the Parliament would have been forced to support their Act, and punish the Clergy's presumption. Then the Pope would have had a pretence to put the Kingdom under an Interdict, which would have greatly embroiled the affairs of the *English* in *France*. But *Chicheley's* prudence prevented the mischief which might have sprung from *Martin's* haughty proceedings. In short, *Martin* perceiving, he was supported neither by the King's Council, nor the Clergy, nor the People, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expose his authority any farther. This conjecture is built upon *Martin's* continual partiality to *France*, whether out of Inclination, or because, indeed, it was not for the Interest of the Court of *Rome*, that *France* should be subject to *England*.

Before I leave the *Præmunire*, it will not be improper to observe, that this Statute had two principal Clauses. The first, containing the Statute of *Provisors*, made in the reign of *Edward I.* prohibiting to sollicite and procure Benefices from the Court of *Rome* by way of Provision, contrary to the rights of the Crown or the Patrons. The second forbid to carry to the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, Causes belonging to the King's Courts. The Clergy complained that by these words, or elsewhere, the King's Judges pretended to deprive the Ecclesiastical Courts of numberless Causes, which before they had the Cognizance of. They maintained, that these words, or elsewhere, inserted in the Act, had no relation to the Ecclesiastical Courts, but only to the several places where the Pope might reside. That nevertheless the Judges understood them in the first sense, and if there was in a process the least point belonging to the royal Jurisdiction, took occasion, from these two words, to remove it from the Ecclesiastical Court, as well as from the Court of *Rome*. In 1439, the Convocation complained to the King of the explanation of these terms by the Lay Judges, pretending it was contrary to the intent of the Law, for several reasons alledged in their address. For that time, the Clergy had no answer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But in the Reign of *Edward IV.* they obtained the King's Charter, prohibiting his Judges to meddle with criminal matters where the Clergy were concerned. I do not know whether *Edward* granted this Charter out of policy, to gain the Clergy's protection, or was convinced that the words, or elsewhere, were explained contrary to the Parliament's intention.

Pat. 2.
Edw. IV.
P. 2. m. 3.

Origin
of the
Contest
between
the
Parliament
and
the
Pope.

Besides the contests occasioned by the Statute of *Præmunire* between *England* and the Court of *Rome*, there were also others which I shall but just mention. In 1403, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* the Parliament passed an Act, forbidding all Persons that should have Provision of any Benefice, to pay into the Apostolick Chamber more than was paid in old time. The penalty for offenders was,

that they should forfeit to the King the same sum they paid the Pope. The occasion of this Statute was a Grievance introduced some time before by the Court of *Rome*: Which was, that no Person should have Provision of any Benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the Apostolick Chamber, as well for the First-Fruits, as for other lesser services in that Court, and paid, beforehand, the sum agreed upon.

But the greatest dispute between *England* and the Popes, was concerning the collation of the Bishopricks. Though the Popes, when the first *Anglo-Saxons* were converted, had sent *Italian* or other foreign Bishops into *England*, it is certain that towards the latter-end of the *Saxon* Monarchy, the Bishops were chosen by the Chapters. The same privilege was continued to them after the *Norman* Conquest, and confirmed by King *John's* Charter. Mean while, the Popes having gradually extended their authority, assumed the power of bestowing Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, by way of Provision, sometimes on one, sometimes on another pretence. This is what I have had frequent occasion to remark. They would have at once established this rule, that the disposal of all the Bishopricks belonged to them by Divine Right; but meeting with obstacles, bethought themselves of another expedient; and that was, to get possession by degrees, in order afterwards to plead prescription. Thus being content at first with maintaining, that on certain occasions they had a power to fill the vacant Sees, they afterwards framed these occasions whenever they pleased. In short, they multiplied them so very fast, that hardly was there a vacant Bishoprick but what they filled by way of Provision. Time and favorable junctures confirming them in this Prerogative, there was no possibility to wrest it from them. Thus the Privilege of the Chapters was entirely destroyed.

Arundel, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying in 1413, the Monks of *St. Augustin* chose *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. David's*. But Pope *John XXIII.* annulled the election, declaring, that, for this turn, he had resolved to dispose of the Archbishoprick by way of Provision. However, to avoid disputes, he made choice of the same *Chicheley*; preserving thereby his pretended right, without detriment to the Person elected.

But *Martin V.* dealt not so gently with *England*. He was no sooner seated in the *Papal* Chair, than he boldly disposed of all the vacant Sees, without any regard to the privilege of the Chapters. In two years only he filled, by way of Provision, thirteen Bishopricks in the Province of *Canterbury*. It was, not only with respect to the Sees that *England* had cause to complain of the Pope; he disposed likewise of all the other Benefices of the Kingdom, without troubling himself about the right of the Patrons, or the instruction of the People. The best preferments were generally conferred upon Foreigners, who understood not a word of *English*, or resided not in *England*, and sometimes even upon Children. For instance, he made *Prosper Colonna*, his Nephew, who was but fourteen years old, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. *Henry V.* a high-spirited Prince, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to complain both of these, and other grievances. But *Martin V.* delayed his answer so long, that the Ambassadors told him, the King their master, purely out of respect to the Holy See, had proceeded by way of request, to which he was not obliged; but for the future, he would use his Prerogative: That accordingly they had instructions to make a solemn protestation before himself and the Conclave, if his Holiness would not give them immediate satisfaction. I know not what answer the Pope returned; but not long after *Martin* having translated the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the See of *York*, by way of Provision, the Chapter refused to admit him, and the Pope was forced to revoke his Bull.

In 1438, the University of *Oxford* complained, that Church-Preferments were bestowed without any regard to learning or merit: That the Colleges were thereby become empty, because there was no need of study or learning, to be qualified for a Benefice. Whereupon the Convocation, to whom this complaint was addressed, passed a Canon, That none but Graduates in the Universities should be capable of Benefices. But this was a weak fence against the *Papal* power.

Mean while, though the Court of *Rome* made the Apostolick authority sound very high, the Popes now and then met with mortifications. For example, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* the Parliament ordered, that the Peter-Pence should be deposited in the King's hands till the Schism was closed.

In the Reign of *Henry V.* the Alien Priories were suppressed without asking the Pope's consent.

Under *Henry VI.* Pope *Nicholas V.* demanding an extraordinary Subsidy of the Clergy of *England*, for the occasions of the Holy See, the King forbid the Clergy to grant it.

See Spelman
Conc. T. II.
P. 675-677.

The like demand, made some years after by *Vicentini*, a Nuntio, was sharply denied by the Clergy. The *Papal* power, formerly so dreadful to the whole Church, and particularly to *England*, began to be less feared. The Schisms did the Pope irreparable damage.

During the whole XVth Century, it does not appear that any National Councils were held in *England*, but only Convocations of the Clergy, in the two Ecclesiastical Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*. The condemnation of the *Lollards* was almost the sole business of these Convocations. As for National Synods, they were become useless, since the Popes had engrossed the Cognizance of all Ecclesiastical Affairs. Besides, the least appeal to the Pope was sufficient to annul all the Canons of a Council. On the other hand, the Popes had so managed, that no National Synods could be held without their Licence. Now, as in these Synods there was but too frequent occasion to inquire into the extent of the *Papal* authority, they were grown so odious to the Court of *Rome*, that the use of them was insensibly laid aside. At this very day, in the States which have not yet received the Reformation, National Councils are no more talked of, or, at least, so very rarely, that it is plain the Popes allow them with reluctance and very great difficulties. Of this we have in *France* a late remarkable instance, in the transactions concerning the famous Constitution *Unigenitus* of *Clement XI*. King *Lewis XIV*, though powerful and formidable, could never obtain the Pope's leave to call a National Council, except on such terms as rendered the thing impracticable, though that Monarch's sole

Aim was to cause the Constitution to be approved.

The Article of the eminent Men, who flourished in the Church of *England* during this Century, will not long detain us. Indeed, there were Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety nor learning. Their parts at Court, their Embassies, intrigues of the Cabinet, and share in the Revolutions in the Court and Kingdom, were the only things by which they were distinguished. *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* was one of the best. For which reason he obtained not the honour of the *Cardinalate*, lavishly bestowed upon *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, upon *Kemp*, *Bourchier*, *Morton*, who were less worthy of it than he, if true merit had been regarded. But *Chicheley* wanted one indispensable quality of a Cardinal; namely, to be entirely devoted to the Holy See (1).

If there were any learned Men besides, they were so with respect to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be very needless to speak of each in particular, since their fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great animosity against the *Lollards*, and amongst the rest, *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, in his Funeral Sermon for *Ann of Luxemburgh*, *Richard* the second's Queen, highly commends her for spending her time in reading the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: And yet, some years after, in the Reign of *Henry IV*, he condemned in Convocation the translations of the Bible, as very pernicious (2).

(1) In 1439, he ordained, That Vicarages should not be endowed with a less Sum than twelve Marks a year. *Spelman Conc. Tom. II. p. 689.*

(2) As there was a scarcity of Persons eminent in other parts of Learning in this rude and illiterate Century, so was there likewise of History. The most noted were:

Sir JOHN FROISSART, who wrote a General History of the Affairs of *France*, *Spain*, &c. but chiefly of *England*. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his Youth in the Court of *Edward III*, and familiarly conversant in that of *Richard II*. He wrote in his own Tongue, which was then the Court Language of *England*. In the *English* Edition, published by Sir *John Bourchier*, at the command of *Henry VIII*, the mistakes that had crept into the French Copies are corrected. His account of matters seems to be plain and honest; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of *Edward III* and *Richard II*. *Rapin* has made good use of him.

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET, and PHILIP DE COMMINES, may not improperly be called *Froissart's* Continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the Affairs of *England*, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to those of *France*, *Burgundy*, &c.

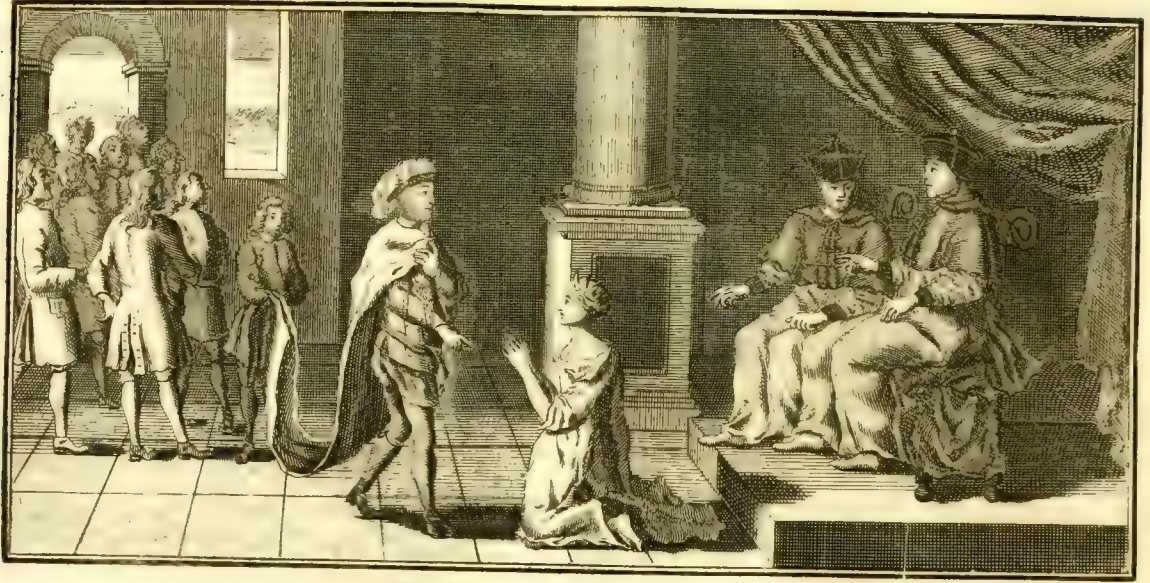
THOMAS WALSHINGHAM, a Benedictine Monk of *St. Albans*. His *Historia Brevis* [or short History] begins at the Conclusion of *Henry III's* Reign, where *Matthew Paris* ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other Writer of those times. His *Ypodigma Neustrie* (as he calls it) gives an account of *Normandy*, from the time it came first into the hands of *Rollo* and his *Danes*, down to the sixth year of *Henry V*, wherein the Readers will find many occurrences not elsewhere to be met with. Both these Works were published by Archbishop *Park*, in 1574, and reprinted at *Frankfort* in 1603.

JOHN HARDING comes next, a northern Englishman, and an inveterate Enemy to the *Scots*. He collected whatever might tend to the Proof of the ancient Vassalage of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*; and hearing of an old Record in that Kingdom which put the Matter past dispute, he went in disguise, with much ado brought it away, and shewed it to *Henry V*, *Henry VI*, and *Edward IV*. To the last of these he dedicated his two Books of *Chronicles* in *English* Rhime. Printed at *London*, 1543.

WILLIAM CAXTON was a menial Servant for thirty years together to *Margaret*, Duchess of *Burgundy*, (Sister to *Edward IV*.) in *Flanders*. Finding, as he says, after his return to *England*, an imperfect History, he continued it in *English*, under the *Latin* Title of *Fructus Temporum*. It begins with the first inhabiting of this Island, and ends (the last year of *Edward IV*.) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

JOHN ROSSE, or ROUS, travelled over the greatest part of *England*; and having made large Collections out of the Libraries where he came, he wrote the History of our Kings, which is still extant in MS in the Cottonian Library. He died in 1491.





THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

The Reign of HENRY VIII; Containing the Space of Thirty Seven Years and Nine Months.

20. HENRY VIII.

HENRY
VIII.
1509.



HENRY VIII, Son and Successor of Henry VII, came to the Crown at the age of eighteen years, wanting a few months (1). The Lord Herbert, his Historian, says, the King his Father designed him at first for the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, because having an elder Son, there was no likelihood that

the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, which alone was in vogue in those days. But he applied himself chiefly to the study of Divinity, as it was then taught in the Universities, all stuffed with useless questions. *Thomas Aquinas's Summary* was his favorite book. 1509.

This knowledge, which was considered as a great accomplishment, even in ordinary Persons, had upon the young Prince an effect which is not unusual. It gave him a good opinion of himself, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his Life. The excessive commendations bestowed upon him by all, helped to confirm him in this conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the affairs of the State, he fancied himself very able; and this presumption was the cause of his being often the Dupe of those Princes with whom he was concerned, as will more amply appear in the sequel of his Reign. *Henry has good Conceits of himself.*

But in remarking that this Prince had a great deal of self-conceit, I don't pretend to rob him of, or any ways lessen the noble qualities he had from Nature or Education. In his youth he was very handsome, and expert in all bodily exercises, as much as, or more than any Prince of his time. Accordingly, he was passionately fond of all those diversions which gave him an opportunity to shew his activity. He was courageous without Ostentation, of a free and open Temper, an enemy to Fraud and Insincerity, scornful to use indirect means to compass his ends. His Liberality perhaps was as much too great, as the King his Father's Avarice. Henry VII seemed to have been solicitous to accumulate riches, only to afford his Son the pleasure to squander them away without any discretion. *He is often imposed upon.*

As Henry VIII, when he mounted the Throne, was little experienced in the affairs of the Government, he made use at first of the King his Father's Ministers and Counsellors. The principal were, *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury, [and Lord Chancellor of England] of whom honorable mention is made by *Erasmus* (2) somewhere in

This would ascend the Throne. And therefore, continues he, care was taken to instruct him in all the parts of Learning necessary for a Prince that was one day to be a Churchman. He would have spoken more justly, if he had only said, that Henry VII had such a design when he first put him upon his Studies. But as the young Prince was become his Heir-apparent at the age of eleven years, it could not be with the same view, that he caused him to pursue the Study of such parts of Learning as were proper for a Clergyman. It is more likely therefore, that the King his Father kept him to his Studies, for fear his active and fiery Spirit should carry him to more dangerous employments. He was only Son of Queen Elizabeth, Heiress of the House of York. Consequently he might have given the King his Father some trouble, had he thought of asserting his right as Heir to his Mother. However this be, Henry having taken a relish for Learning in his younger years, preserved it ever after. He always delighted in perusing good Books, and conversing with the Learned, even when the multitude of his affairs seemed to divert him from such kind of employments. By this means he made advances in the Sciences very uncommon to great Princes. Francis I, his Cotemporary, styled by the French Historians, *the Father of the Muses*, was in learning much his inferior. He spoke French and Latin very well and readily. He was perfectly skilled in Musick, as two entire Masses composed by himself, and often sung in his Chapel, do abundantly witness. He was exercised in the most abstruse points of

(1) He was born June 28. 1491, and came to the Crown April 22. 1509.

(2) Erasmus of Rotterdam came over into England in 1498, and it did some time in Oxford and Cambridge. II. Instructions mightily promoted the new Learning, and particularly the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue.

1509. his Writings; *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, [Secretary and Lord Privy-Seal,] who had been employed, in the late Reign, in the nicest affairs; *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, [Lord-Treasurer of *England*] Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, slain at *Bosworth Field*, fighting for *Richard III*; *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the King's Household; *Thomas Ruthal*, Doctor of Law; *Sir Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, [Controller,] whose name is still famous for a Statute enacted in *Ireland* in the former Reign, whilst he had the Government of that Island; *Sir Charles Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, [of *Gower*, *Chepflow* and *Ragland*,] Lord Chamberlain (1).

Henry VII's Funeral. *Hall.* *Hollingsh.* *Stow.* *Herbert.*
Henry VII's Funeral was celebrated with great magnificence a few days after his death. His body was interred at *Westminster* in the Chapel built by himself, and for the adorning whereof he had spared no cost. This Chapel passed then for one of the stateliest in *Christendom*. *Henry VII*, covetous as he was, laid out thirteen thousand, some say, twenty thousand pounds Sterling, a very considerable Sum in those days, when Money was much scarcer in *Europe* than at present (2).

Herbert.
 While the obsequies were preparing, the new King privately retired from his Palace of *Richmond*, to the Tower of *London* (3), under colour of withdrawing on account of the King his Father's death. But it was rather to settle with his Ministers some affairs which would not admit of delay. Whilst he was thought in his retirement to be employed in devotion, he ordered *Henry Lord Stafford*, Brother of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to be apprehended, probably, upon some groundless Suspicion, which soon vanished, since, shortly after, he was created Earl of *Wiltshire*.

The Lord Stafford sent to the Tower. *Hall.*
 The See of *Durham*, vacant by the Translation of *Christopher Bambridge*, to the Archbishoprick of *York*, was conferred on *Thomas Ruthal*, Doctor of Law, and one of the Privy-Council (4).

Ruthal is made Bishop of Durham. *Act. Par.* *XIII. p. 256, 258.* *General Pardon.* *Proclamation to encourage the People to complain.* *Stow.* *Hollingsh.* *Herbert.* *Pol. Virg.*
 A few days after (5), the King confirmed his Father's General Pardon granted before his death (6). But all offenders had not the benefit thereof. A Proclamation quickly appeared, wherein the King said, that being informed, his good Subjects had been oppressed under the specious pretence of preserving the Prerogatives of the Crown, he gave them leave to bring their Complaints, and promised them satisfaction. The design of this Proclamation, was not to restore to his Subjects the Sums unjustly extorted by the late King, but only to encourage them to exhibit their Complaints against *Empson* and *Dudley*, the Instruments made use of by *Henry VII*, and to give them some sort of satisfaction, by punishing these two Ministers.

Empson and Dudley are called before the Council. *Empson's Defence.* *Herbert.* *Hall.* *Hollingsh.* *Pol. Virg.*
 When this Proclamation was published, numberless Petitions were presented against them. This was what the Court wanted, not only because these Men were odious to the whole Nation, but moreover to shew the people, the new King intended to rule in a very different manner from the King his Father. Upon all these Petitions, *Empson* and *Dudley* were called before the Council, where they were briefly told the principal Articles alledged against them (7). *Empson* answered for both, "That the Accusation was of a very new and strange nature: That usually Men were prosecuted for acting against the Laws, or disobeying their Sovereign; but for their part, they were accused by the people of executing the Laws of which they themselves were the Authors: That on the other hand, the King called them to an account for obeying his Father's express orders, unheard of Crime, the punishment whereof would be apt to throw all his Subjects into rebellion: That if they must be punished for such offences, he desired it might not be divulged to foreign Nations, lest they should infer, that the final dissolution of the English Government was approaching." To this it was briefly replied, "That he had spoke with great freedom; but his Eloquence was fruitless and unseasonable: That

1509. "they were not accused of executing the Laws, or of obeying the King, but of stretching the Laws beyond their due bounds, and exceeding their Sovereign's Commission, which Accusations they had reason to fear were too well proved." Then they were both committed to the Tower (8). The King was resolved to make them an example, in order to content the people who were extremely incensed against them. Thus their condemnation was resolved before their appearance, though it was not yet known on what to ground their process. In any other Country, an act of Sovereignty to send these two Men to the Gallows, would have been seen with joy. But it is not the same in *England*, where the greatest Criminals have privileges of which they cannot be deprived, without giving the people occasion to think, the Court is forming designs against Liberty. It was necessary therefore to search for some express Law to condemn them. But upon examining the Accusation already brought against them great difficulties occurred. It appeared, that though they were accused of numberless offences, nothing could be proved but their merciless execution of the Laws. But notwithstanding they had stretched these same Laws as far as the words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a Crime, since they had the King's Warrant, in whom the execution of the Laws is lodged. It is true, *Henry VII*, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, had acted according to the utmost rigour of the Statutes. But he might do it, and if the former Kings had done otherwise, it was more out of Condescension than Justice. These two Ministers therefore could not be tried for obeying him. Besides, to condemn them for executing their master's orders, was publicly to dishonour that Prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his Severities upon his Subjects. It was resolved therefore to put them to death upon a false Accusation, of intending to withdraw their Allegiance from the King since his Accession to the Throne. It is evident, this Accusation was entirely groundless. For how could two persons so odious to the whole Nation, and deprived of all Credit by the death of *Henry VII*, think of such a design, and still less put it in execution (9). Mean while, it was not scrupled to take away their Lives for a forged Crime, because they were believed worthy of death, though not condemned by the Letter of the Law. Upon this frivolous Accusation, they were brought before their proper Judges, and found guilty, whether false Witnesses were suborned against them, or by a mental reservation hitherto unknown in *England*, in Judgments of this nature. *Dudley* was tried at *London* the 16th of *July*, but *Empson* was not condemned till the 14th of *October* (9) at *Northampton*. *Henry*, either out of scruple, or some other motive, suspended their execution till the next year (11).

Debate about the King's Marriage with Catherine of Arragon. *Herbert.*
 Whilst means were contriving to dispatch these two Ministers, the King and his Council had a much more important affair to take into consideration. We have seen, in the former reign, Prince *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catherine of Arragon*; that Prince's death without Issue; the reasons inducing King *Henry VII* to desire, that Prince *Henry*, become his Heir Apparent, should marry his Brother's Widow; the consent of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, Father and Mother of the Princess; and Pope *Julius's* Dispensation for the Marriage. The true reason why *Henry VII* proposed this match, was, his unwillingness to restore the hundred thousand Crowns received in part of *Catherine's* Dower. He was also afraid of losing the other half, which remained to be paid. In short, he foresaw, that after the receipt of the whole, the Princess his Daughter-in-law would indispensably enjoy her Settlement of the third part of the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, and the County of *Cornwall*. However, as it was not decent to urge such a motive to the Pope, to obtain a Dispensation for so strange a Marriage, which could not but be deemed scandalous, it was pretended to be necessary to preserve the Peace between *Henry VII* and the King and Queen of *Spain*. That was the mo-

(1) To these the Lord *Herbert* adds, *Sir Thomas Lovel*, Master of the *Works*, and Constable of the *Tower*, *Sir Henry Mount*, *Sir Henry Marney*, afterwards (1532) Lord *Marney*, *Sir Thomas Darcy*, afterwards (1521) Lord *Darcy*. Their names were collected out of that *John* most trusted, by the Councils of *Richmond*, his Granameter, and farther observe, that this Council was of Scholars, clerics and of Soldiers, with not so much as one Lawyer, which he wonders at, p. 2.

(2) His Tomb, performed by his Executors 1519, cost a thousand Pounds, which, as Money went then, might be thought a sumptuous Monument. *Herbert*, p. 2.

(3) And Pope *Julius* sent him the Form of the Oath he was to take to the Holy See, of which, the curious Reader may see a Copy in *Rush's Ford*, Tom. XIII. p. 26.

(4) About this time, the King confirmed to *John* Earl of *Oxford* the possession of the Castle of *Stoke Newington*, granted to him by *Amos de Vere*, by the Empress *Maud*; and appointed *Sir Edward Howard* Standard-bearer, with a Salary of 100 Pounds a year; and *Sir Thomas Darcy*, Warden of the Exchange at *Caen*, with a Salary of thirty Pounds six Shillings and Eight pence. *Ibid.* p. 251, 252.

(5) April 25. *Hall*, fol. 1. *Stow*, p. 486. *Hollingsh.*, p. 799.

(6) Out of which were exempted all Persons guilty of Murder, Felony, and Treason. In the same Pardon, all Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars were ordered to depart out of *London*, and repair to the several places where they were born. *Stow*, p. 486.

(7) See them in *Hollingsh.*, p. 804.

(8) Their Promoters and Instruments were also apprehended, and put in the Pillory. *Hall* fol. 1. *Stow*, p. 487.

(9) They were accused, as appears in their Indictment upon Record, of a Conspiracy against the King and State, of summoning, during the late King's Sickness, certain of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's warning; and upon the King's death to hatch to *London*, from whence it was inferred by the Jury, that they intended either to seize the King's Person, or to destroy him. *Herbert*, p. 4.

(10) October 1, says *Stow*, p. 487.

(11) King *Henry* the VIIIth's Executors made Restitution this year, of great Sums of Money extorted from many Persons by these two oppressors. *Hall* fol. 7.

1509. tive alledged to the Pope, which he readily considered as sufficient, though there was but too much reason to question whether it was the true one.

In consequence of the Pope's Dispensation, *Henry* and *Catherine* were solemnly affianced. Nevertheless, whether *Henry VII* intended only to deceive *Ferdinand*, and get the remaining hundred thousand Crowns, or was moved by the Remonstrances of *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* concerning this Marriage, he so ordered it, that the Prince his Son on the very day he was fourteen years of age, made in the presence of certain Witnesses, a Protestation in form against the consent he had given. But this Protestation was kept so secret, that it came not to the knowledge of the publick till it was necessary, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of *Henry VII*'s death, *Ferdinand* sent to the Earl of *Fuenfalida* his Ambassador in *England*, a very ample power to renew the Treaty of Alliance made with the deceased King, ordering him withal, to demand the Confirmation and Execution of that which was concluded for *Catherine*'s second Marriage with Prince *Henry*, now become King of *England*.

The *Spanish* Ambassador having presented a Memorial upon this occasion, it was deliberated in Council, whether the King should consummate his Marriage with *Catherine*. This affair was debated with great attention. Against the Marriage it was alledged, that for a Man to marry his Brother's Widow was a thing unheard of among Christians: That such a Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore it was a question, whether the Pope had power to dispense with it. This was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s opinion, who could not forbear considering the Marriage as really incestuous. But *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* was of another mind. He strenuously insisted upon the Pope's Dispensation, and the unlimited power of Christ's Vicar. He affirmed, "That the Pope's granting a Dispensation, was a certain proof that he had the power, and was sufficient to satisfy the King's Conscience: That no person upon earth could limit, or so much as inquire into the Papal Authority; and though such a power should be ascribed to a General Council, at least the Council of *England* could not pretend to it." To these Arguments concerning Conscience, the Bishop added others drawn from reasons of State, and the King's particular Interest. He said, "That probably, the King would have, during the course of his reign, many disputes with *France*, *England*'s old Enemy, and whether he would attack, or only defend, the Alliance with *Spain* was absolutely necessary: That in sending back the Princess *Catherine* after having affianced her, he would affront King *Ferdinand*, which he would certainly revenge by leaguings with *France*, and such a League could not but endanger *England*, or at least be extremely expensive to the Nation: That moreover, if the King refused to consummate his Marriage with *Catherine*, he must resolve either to restore her Dower, or suffer her to enjoy her Settlement: But by marrying her he would save the hundred thousand Crowns received by the King his Father, gain another hundred thousand, which the King of *Aragon* was to pay, and avoid the great charge he should be at, in marrying another Princess, and conducting her into *England*. In fine, he enlarged upon the sweet and virtuous Temper of the Princess of *Wales*, capable of making a Husband perfectly happy." Adding, "there was no room to doubt, that the Princess was still a Virgin, since she herself affirmed it, offering even to be tried by Matrons, to shew that she spoke the truth."

All these arguments, except the first concerning the dispensation, were very strong. As to that, it was so dangerous for a Churchman to dispute the Pope's authority, especially such a Pope's as *Julius II*, who was still in his vigour, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* durst not persist openly in his opinion. So, the King closing with the Bishop of *Winchester*'s and almost the whole Council's sentiments, it was resolved he should consummate his Marriage. But first he required of the Princess that she should renounce by a solemn Act her Dower of two hundred thousand Crowns, and consent that the

sum should belong to the King her Spouse, to be claimed again neither by herself nor Heirs, nor by King *Ferdinand* her Father, nor Queen *Joan* her Sister, nor any Person living, on any pretence whatsoever. Two days after, the Earl of *Fuenfalida* made the like renunciation in the name of King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Joan*. *Catherine*'s Letters Patents, wherein she stiles herself only Princess of *Wales*, bearing date June the 7th, it is evident, the King married her not on the third of that month, as Historians affirm, nor sooner than the day these Letters were signed. Their Coronation was solemnized on the 24th of the same month, and five days after died *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother (1).

In the beginning of his Reign, *Henry* willingly left to his Council and Ministers the care and management of his affairs. As he was in Peace with all his Neighbours, what passed in the Kingdom, could not keep him much employed. He thought only of such pleasures and diversions, as were more suitable to his years, than application to business. But as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments at Court were very expensive. The ancient Bishop of *Winchester*, *Henry VII*'s old Minister, could not help murmuring to see the Money lavished away without any necessity, which his deceased Master had amassed with so much care, pains and injustice, in which he had himself been employed. He threw all the blame upon the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Treasurer, who was his rival in favour under the late King, and continued to be so still under the present, by gaining the affection of his new Master by a blind compliance to his Will. During *Henry VII*'s life he was more close, and harder to part with Money than the King himself. How express soever the Orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his Court admirably to his Master. Being continued in his post in the present Reign, he became quite another Man. He not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but also put the King upon spending extravagantly. This gained him the favour of the young Prince, who was naturally addicted to prodigality. The Bishop of *Winchester* openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the King's interest. But he was little regarded, in a Court where every one was striving to make an advantage of the Sovereign's liberal temper. Mean while, his discourses exasperated more and more the Earl of *Surrey* and the young Courtiers against him, who never ceased to do him ill Offices with the King. Thus the Bishop who was in so great credit in the late Reign, gradually lost it in this. His disgrace, which sat heavy upon his mind, threw him upon devising means to supplant his rival, by introducing at Court *Thomas Wolsey*, whose qualifications he was no stranger to. *Wolsey* was a Clergyman, already eminent for his merit, though he was but a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*. The Bishop of *Winchester* easily foresaw, the King would soon be in want of Persons about him, fit and able to ease him; and as he knew *Wolsey*'s genius, did not question that when he was at Court, he would render himself necessary to the King. To that end, he procured him the place of Almoner. We shall see presently that the Bishop was not mistaken in his Judgment, or rather that his foresight was far short of *Wolsey*'s fortune (2).

About the middle of the year, the Treaties concluded between *Henry VII* and the King of *Scotland*, were confirmed or renewed by the Bishop of *Murray*, who was sent into *England* to congratulate *Henry* upon his accession to the Crown.

The Emperor *Maximilian* sent also an Embassy to *Henry*, to congratulate him, and confirm the Treaties made with *Henry VII* in the year 1502.

Christopher Bambridge Archbishop of *York*, being at *Rome*, where he was gone to have his Election confirmed, received a Commission from the new King to act as his Ambassador. We shall see presently the reason, why the Pope wanted to have an *English* Ambassador reside at his Court, and why the King was desirous to be particularly informed of what passed at *Rome*, and in all *Italy*.

These were the most remarkable occurrences in *England*, from the death of *Henry VII* to the accession of *Henry VIII*.

(1) She was buried at *Windsor*. *Stow*, p. 487.

(2) *Thomas Wolsey* was born at *Ipswich* in March 1471. He was sent so early to *Oxford*, that he was Bachelor of Arts at fourteen years of age, and from thence called the *Boy Bachelor*. Soon after he was elected Fellow of *Magdalen* College, and when Master of Arts, had the care of the School adjoining to that College committed to him. Being charged with the Education of the Marquis of *Dorset*'s three Sons, his Lordship presented him to the Rectory of *Lymington* in *Dorsetshire*, October 10. 1500. He had not long resided at his Living, before Sir *Amias Poulet*, a Justice of Peace put him in the Stocks for being drunk (as is said), and raising disturbance at a Fair in the Neighbourhood. By the Recommendation of Sir *John Nafant* he was made one of the King's Chaplains. In 1506, he was instituted to the Rectory of *Badgrave* in the Diocese of *Norwich*; having then, besides the Rectory of *Lymington*, the Vicarage of *Lyde* in *Kent*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 217. Whilst he was King's Chaplain, he intimated himself into the favour of *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and of Sir *Thomas Lovel*, who recommended him to the King as a fit Person to be employed in negotiating the Marriage between *Henry VII* and *Margaret* Duchess of *Savoy*. He was dispatched to the Emperor her Father, and returned with such speed, that the King seeing him supposed he had not been gone. Having reported his Embassy, he was made Dean of *Lincoln*, February 8. 1508, and on the 20th of the same Month Preliminary of *Walsden* Brethold in that Church. In these Circumstances he was when he was introduced at Court by Bishop *Fox* after *Henry VII*'s death, where he soon found means to ingratiate himself into the favour of his Son and Successor, *Barnard's Hist. Ref. Fiddes*.

1509. *land*, during the first eight months of the Reign of *Henry VIII.* They were for the most part domestick affairs of little importance, except the King's Marriage, which was attended with very great consequences. But there passed abroad matters of great moment, which became as it were the source of the troubles wherewith almost all *Christendom* was agitated for above fifty years, and wherein *England* was but too much engaged. For some time, the affairs of *Europe* had begun to have a new face, and what happened this year in *Italy* put them upon such a foot, as obliged almost every Sovereign to be concerned therein. *Henry VIII* unhappily intangled himself in the troubles of that Country, which seem to have had no relation to him. This makes the knowledge of the affairs of *Italy* so absolutely necessary, that without it neither the events of this Reign can be understood, nor the King's character fully known. It will therefore be proper to enlarge upon this Subject, which concerns not only the History of *England*, but also those of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*; the principal events whereof, for a long space of time, flowed properly from the affairs of *Italy*. It is true, most of the authors who have writ the Histories of these States, supposed their readers to be acquainted with what passed in *Italy* at the same time. They have thereby much shortened their Works; but withal rendered them very obscure to those who were not so fully instructed as they have supposed. For my part I intend another course. Since the affairs of *Italy* are the foundation of most of the occurrences in *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, during almost one half of the sixteenth Century, I think they ought to be spoken of something largely, which alone can clear the particular Histories proceeding from thence. But to avoid tedious digressions which would be indispensable in the sequel, it is necessary to give first a distinct idea of the state of *Italy*, as well as of the character and interests of the several Princes.

State of
Italy, Mil-
lan, and
Naples.

I have already related in the foregoing Reign how *Lewis XII*, assisted by the *Venetians*, conquered the Duchy of *Milan* upon *Ludovico Sforza*, pretending a right to it as Grandson to *Valentina Visconti*, Daughter of *John Galeazzo I*, Duke of *Milan*. I have likewise had occasion to speak of the Conquest of *Naples* by the united arms of *Lewis XII* and *Ferdinand*, and of the means used by the last to remain sole Master of that Kingdom. It will suffice therefore to add here, that though *Lewis XII* lost his portion of that Conquest, he desisted not from his pretensions, but was waiting for a favorable opportunity to assert them. I must now briefly speak of the other States of *Italy*, and first of the Ecclesiastical State.

Ecclesiasti-
cal State.

Before the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had set foot in *Italy*, the Popes were as Sovereign arbiters of that Country. But it was not so much by their Temporal arms as their Spiritual, of which they made frequent use. For some Centuries past they had lost great part of the *Demefns* formerly belonging to the Church. About the end of the Reign of *Otho I*, the Ecclesiastical State consisted of the City of *Rome* and its Territory, with *Tuscany*, the *Marquisate of Ancona*, the Duchy of *Spoletto*, *Ravenna*, all *La Romagna*, and the whole Country in general comprized formerly under the *Exarchate* (1). But afterwards, during the Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* (2), the Emperors wrested from the Popes all *Tuscany* and several Towns in other parts. Some of these Towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the Church, and the Popes themselves had been forced to grant others in Fee to Lords who served them, or from whom they expected assistance. At length, the Emperor *Rodolphus I*, having sold liberty to as many Cities of *Italy* as would purchase it, there were several formerly belonging to the Church that embraced the opportunity, to shake off, at the same time both the Emperor's and the Pope's yoke (3). Hence there were quickly in *Italy* almost as many Sovereignities as Cities. The strongest subdued the weakest, and fell at last themselves under the Dominion, or rather the Tyranny of some of their own Citizens, who found means to seize the whole power. In this manner were formed in *Italy* several petty States, out of the ruins of what the ancient Kings of *Italy*, the Emperors, and the Popes had formerly possessed.

In the Pontificate of *Alexander VI*, the Ecclesiastical State was reduced within narrower bounds than before, though the Popes had preserved the Sovereignty of several Cities, of which they were no longer Proprietors. Of this number were *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Urbino*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzano*, *Imola*, *Cesena*, *Perusa*. Not-

withstanding all these losses, they were still very powerful, because their spiritual arms gave them great advantages over their Neighbours. Moreover, besides the revenues of the Ecclesiastical State, they had very considerable incomes from all *Christendom*.

But when *Lewis XII* took possession of the Duchy of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the affairs of *Italy* had quite another face. Then the temporal power of the Popes was nothing in comparison of that of these two Monarchs, who besides their Dominions in *Italy*, had moreover at their command the Forces of two large Kingdoms. On the other hand, the *Roman Pontiffs* met with much more opposition, when they had a mind to brandish their spiritual weapons, whose force was in proportion to the weakness of those against whom they were darted. For this reason they sought all sorts of means to drive the Foreigners out of *Italy*. But as they could not by their own strength execute such a design, they were forced to make use of one of these Kings to destroy the other, in which their policy was often deceived. For, they could not humble one, without giving the other a superiority more destructive of their interests, than the equality which was between them before. This for many years was the occasion of all the Pope's intrigues, and withal an incumbrance they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; sometimes setting them at variance, they remained bare Spectators of the Battle; and sometimes they called in Foreigners to make the balance incline to the side they intended to favour. But whatever was the success of these Wars, the Conqueror ever became very formidable to the Pope and all *Italy*. It is certain therefore that the Conquests of *Naples* and *Milan* gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the Popes, and were also very prejudicial to their spiritual authority. As the Popes from thenceforward had frequent occasions of quarrel with the Kings of *France*, now become their Neighbours, they sometimes made use of their spiritual arms, but not with the same success as formerly against the Sovereigns of *Italy*. As they had to deal with Princes who did not easily bend, they only gave them occasion to examine the grounds of the Papal authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the Popes.

Besides the interest of their See, the *Roman Pontiffs* had also that of their Family, of which they were no less mindful. Every one of them seeking to raise his Nephews or other Relations; all the Cities formerly belonging to the Church were so many objects that inflamed their desires. *Alexander VI*, who of all the Popes his Predecessors was the least scrupulous, had formed the design of making *Cæsar Borgia* his Bastard a great Prince, by erecting him a State out of several Cities or States of *la Romagna*, which still owned the Pope's Sovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this design it was that *Cæsar Borgia*, either by fraud or force, became master of *Perusa*, *Urbino*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Pezzano*, *Cesena*, under colour that the Possessors had not been punctual in paying the tribute or annual relief to the Holy See. But *Alexander VI* dying before his Son was well settled in his Conquests, it happened, during the short Pontificate of *Pius III*, and the interval between his death and the election of *Julius II*, that the former owners of these Cities found means to recover them. This was chiefly by the assistance of the *Venetians*, who, for their pains, kept *Faenza* and *Rimini*.

Julius II, who succeeded *Pius III*, formed for the House of *la Rovere*, of which he was, the same projects as *Alexander VI* had formed for that of *Borgia*. He was no sooner in the Papal Chair, but he began the execution of his designs, with imperiously acquainting the *Venetians*, that his intention was to re-annex to the Church whatever had been alienated, and therefore they must restore *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Upon their refusal, he demanded aid of the Emperor *Maximilian*. This was properly the first rise of the League of *Cambray*, mentioned in the foregoing Reign, and of which I shall be obliged to speak more fully hereafter.

The Senate of *Venice* had long passed for the wisest and most politic assembly in the World. By their prudence and abilities they had by degrees formed in *Terra firma* (4), a State, which, being supported by a very strong naval Force, was inferior to none in *Italy*. This State consisted of *Friuli*, *Treviſi*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Cronona*, *Novara*, and the whole *Polesin*, *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*. Most of these Cities with their Territories were formerly part of the King-

Chances
and Design
of Julius II.
Gonsalves.

The Republic
of Venice
consisted of
Padua,
Digheni
Sabellico
Bembo, &c.

(1) So was this District formerly called, because it was governed by the Emperor of *Constantinople's* General in the West, named his *Exarch*, who resided at *Ravenna*. The first *Exarch* was under *Justin* the young, in 567, after *Belisarius* and *Narsus* had driven the Barbarians out of *Italy*. The last was *Eutychius*, defeated by *Astolphus* King of the *Lombards* in 751. *Pepin*, King of *France*, turned him out of the *Exarchate*, and made a Present of it to the Pope.

(2) See above, p. 362. Note (1).

(3) As *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Bologna*, &c.

(4) The Towns belonging to the Republick of *Venice* are of two sorts: Those in *Lombardy*, that comprise *Terra firma*, or the firm Land State; the rest are maritime, and called the Sea-State.

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dom of *Italy*. After that, they fell under the Dominion of the *German* Emperors, who governed them by their Vicars. At length, either these Vicars were become Sovereigns, or, being expelled, the Cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again afterwards under the Tyranny of some private Persons, who had usurped an absolute power. Of these the *Venetians* had acquired them, either by Money or force of arms. But however it be, when they had made these acquisitions, it is certain, the authority of the Emperors was seldom acknowledged. Mean while the Emperors still preserved their pretensions to all these Cities, as having been formerly parts of the Empire, or rather of the Kingdom of *Italy*, enjoyed by some of their predecessors. *Friuli* was conquered upon the Church of *Aquila*, to whom it was presented by *Otho* I; *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, formerly belonged to the See of *Rome*. *Rovigo* and the *Polesin* were conquered upon the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Cremona*, and *Gierradadda*, appertained to the Duchy of *Milan*, having been resigned by *Lewis* XII. *Brescia* was taken from the Dukes of *Milan*, and *Crema* freely given up by Duke *Francis Sforza*. They had still in the Kingdom of *Naples* five Maritime places, mortgaged to them by one of the Kings.

Bologna.
Gh. rad.
Alber 1.

Bologna (1) was a rich and powerful City; but not so considerable as formerly. Civil discords had at length compelled her upon certain terms to submit to the Church. After that, the City was governed by the Pope's Legates, sent thither from time to time. But their Dominion suffered frequent interruptions. The Legates oppressing the People, forced them often to shake off their yoke and expel them the City. But it was only to fall again under the Tyranny of the heads of Faction, who by their oppressions forced them to have recourse to the Pope and receive his Legates again. This is what happened several times. In the year 1440, *Hannibal Bentivoglio* became so powerful, that he was little less than a Sovereign. From that time to 1506 some one of the Family of *Bentivoglio* held the Government, though the Pope's Legates were still admitted and honoured, but without having any real power. At last *Julius* II, not content with this shadow of authority, demanded in 1506, aid of *Lewis* XII, to make himself master of *Bologna*. Though *France* had hitherto protected the *Bentivoglio's*, *Lewis* however ordered the Governour of *Milan* to send the Pope Troops. Whereupon *John Bentivoglio*, head of that House, seeing himself forsaken by the King of *France*, quitted *Bologna* with all his Family, and retired to *Milan*, leaving the City to the Pope.

Ferrara.
Sard.

The Duchy of *Ferrara* (2) was a Fief of the Church, long possessed by the Family of *Este*, who were invested by the Pope, and paid an yearly relief in Money. This petty State bordering upon the Pope and the *Venetians*, and being very convenient for both, preserved itself by their mutual Jealousy; but however, the *Venetians* had taken from them *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*. But *Julius* II had greater views, and thought seriously of annexing the whole Duchy to the Church.

Modena and
Reggio.
G. Batt.
Pigna.

Modena and *Reggio* were likewise under the Dominion of the Family of *Este*, not as belonging to the Duchy of *Ferrara*, but as a distinct State acquired by that Family after being possessed of *Ferrara*. *Julius* II, had also pretensions to these two Cities, as having been formerly given to the Church by *Charlemain*, and perhaps on the sole pretence, that they belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara* his Vassal.

Urbino.
Cimarelli.

Urbino (3) had formerly been of the Church's demean. But the Popes had not for many years challenged more than the right of Sovereignty. *Cæsar Borgia* had seized this City, and expelled Duke *Guidobaldi Ubaldini*, who recovered it after the death of *Alexander* VI. As *Guidobaldi* had no Children, *Julius* II persuaded him to adopt *Francis Maria de la Rovere*, Nephew to both, Son of the Pope's Brother and the Duke's Sister. Shortly after, *la Rovere* became Duke of *Urbino*, by the death of *Guidobaldi* his adoptive Father.

Parma and
Placentia.
Alberti.

Parma and *Placentia* had been under the dominion of several Lords or Tyrants, till at last they became subject to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Lewis* XII took possession of them after his Conquest of the *Milanese*.

Florence.
Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent City, and the chief of *Tuscany*, was fallen at length under the Dominion of the Family of *Medici*. But afterwards an opposite Faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in exile, attempting however from time to time to be restored to their Country.

Pisa.
Alberti.

Pisa had been formerly a very considerable City by reason of her naval Forces; but at length becoming subject to the Dukes of *Milan*, a Bastard of that Family, to

whom it was given, sold it to the *Florentines*. The *Pisani* were against the Sale, and would have recovered their Liberty, but were overcome. After that, *Charles* VIII, in his way to *Naples*, restored *Pisa* to her Liberty; but as soon as the *Florentines* had nothing more to fear from him, they besieged *Pisa*, though assisted by the *Venetians*, and the Siege was still carrying on at the time of the League of *Cambray*.

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The City of *Genoa*, after sundry Revolutions caused by the Factions of the *Fregossa's*, and the *Adorno's*, was at length fallen into the hands of the *French*, in the reign of *Charles* VII. After that, *Lewis* XI resigned it to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Lewis* XII seized it after his Conquest of the *Milanese*.

Genoa.
Pizarro.

This Survey of the States of *Italy* shows, that it was then divided between six Powers, namely, Pope *Julius* II, *Lewis* XII King of *France* and Duke of *Milan*, *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon* and *Naples*, the Republicks of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*. To these six may be added, the Emperor *Maximilian*, who without possessing a foot of land in *Italy*, had however pretensions to whatever was formerly enjoyed by the Emperors, and particularly to the firm Land State of the *Venetians*, whose ruin the other six were equally concerned to procure. The Emperor pretended, that all the *Venetian* Dominions belonged to the Empire; he passionately desired to wrest some place from them that would give him entrance into *Italy*, and an opportunity to re-establish the Imperial power in that Country. *Julius* II, as I said, had formed a project to annex to the Church, whatever had been alienated, and especially the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and the Towns of *la Romagna*. This design could be effected only by the destruction of the *Venetians*, ever attentive to oppose the growth of their Neighbours. Besides, the Pope had a mind to begin with them, and wrest from them *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*. *Lewis* XII repented of yielding to them *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. He wanted to dispossess them, and under that pretence, to get possession also of *Crema*, *Bergamo*, and *Brescia*, and in general of whatever had belonged to the Dukes of *Milan*. *Ferdinand* was desirous to recover without Money, the five maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Naples* which had been mortgaged to them. Moreover, his Interest required, that there should be always troubles in *Italy*, to hinder *Lewis* XII from thinking of the Conquest of *Naples*. The Duke of *Ferrara* wished to recover *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*. Lastly, the *Florentines*, obstinately bent upon the Siege of *Pisa*, protected and defended by the *Venetians*, could desire nothing more advantageous than to see that Republick unable to assist the *Pisani*.

Motives of
the League
of Cambray
against the
Venetians.

Hist. della
Legha di
Cambray.

Such were the motives of the League formed against *Venice*, of which the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *France* were the chief promoters. For the greater Secrecy, they spread a report, that the Emperor, as Guardian to *Charles* of *Austria* his Grandson, had agreed, that his differences with the Duke of *Gueldres* should be amicably adjusted. To that purpose, the City of *Cambray* was appointed for the place of Congress, thereby to intimate, that the affairs only of *Flanders* would be considered. Here the famous League against the Republick of *Venice* was concluded; and the better to deceive the Spies, was signed at first a Treaty of perpetual Peace between the Pope, the Emperor, *Lewis* XII, and *Ferdinand*, which was indeed made publick. But a second Treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a League offensive and defensive against the *Venetians*, the principal Articles whereof were as follows:

League of
Cambray.

Hist. della
Legha di
Cambray.

In the first place it was set forth in the Preamble, that the *Turks* having begun to make great progress in *Europe*, it was absolutely necessary for the Christian Princes to join their Forces against them, but that the *Venetians*, by their continual Incroachments, greatly obstructed this Union. From thence it was concluded, that they were to be dispossessed of what they had usurped. This was the pious motive of the League. And therefore it was agreed, that of their spoils, the Pope should have *Ravenna*, *Faenza* and *Rimini*; the Emperor, as such, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Padua*, and as Duke of *Austria*, *Treviso*, and *Friuli*: *Lewis* XII, as Duke of *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Gierradadda*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, and *Bergamo*: The King of *Aragon*, *Manfredonia*, *Trani*, *Monopoli*, *Brindisi*, and *Ostia* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; that the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Savoy*, and the Marquis of *Montma* should be admitted into the League if they desired it; the first to recover *Rovigo*, and the *Polesin*; the second, to get the Kingdom of *Cyprus* out of the hands of the *Moors*; and the third, to obtain satisfaction concerning certain Pretensions he had

Treaty of
the Allies
against
Venice.
Bembo.

1 The second City of the Ecclesiastical State, and the third of the four most considerable Universities in the West. *P. 1. c. 1. p. 1.*

2 The Birth Place of the Poet *Ariosto*, who has a Tomb and Epitaph in the *Benedictine* Church.

3 The Birth Place of the famous Painter *Raphael*, and *Polidoro Veronese*, who wrote the *English* History.

1509. upon Venice. Lastly, that all who had any claim upon the Venetians, should be received into the League as principals, if they declared themselves within three months. Thus, in order to wage war against the Turks, no other means were found, than to strip the Venetians of all their firm Land State, and leave them only the single City of Venice.

Projects of the Allies. Guicciard. Mezera. To accomplish this design, it was agreed, that the King of France in person should enter the Territories of the Venetians, the first of April, in the year 1509, with an army of forty thousand Men: That the Pope should send an army into la Romagna; and Ferdinand have one in Lombardy, with a Fleet in the Gulf; and the Emperor attack the Venetians from the side of Germany. But as he had lately made a three years Truce with them, an admirable expedient was devised to furnish him with a pretence to break it, which was, that the Pope should summon him as the Church's Advocate, to come and defend the Patrimony. In fine, Julius II engaged to thunder out all the Ecclesiastical Censures against Venice. This League was signed at Cambray, December 10th, 1508.

Campaign of the Allies. 1509. Mezera. Bembo. The time of executing the projects of the League being come, Lewis XII departed from Milan the beginning of April 1509, at the head of forty thousand Men, whilst the Pope's army entered la Romagna under the Conduct of Francis Maria de la Rovere Duke of Urbino, and Raymond of Cardona threw himself into Lombardy with the King of Arragon's Troops. At the same time, the Duke of Ferrara took the Field in the Polessin. But the Emperor contented himself with keeping at Trent, and seeing the rest of the Allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruit of their labours. Mean while, the Venetians, having first provided their Towns with Ammunition, raised an army, under the command of Count Pitigliano their General, whose Lieutenant was Bartholomew d'Alviano.

Battle of Agnadell. Bembo. The Van of the French army commanded by Chaumont, passed the Adda the 15th of April, and at the same time the Pope excommunicated the Venetians, and put the City of Venice under an Interdict. On the 14th of May was fought the Battle of Gierradadda or Agnadell (1), between the French and Venetians, contrary to the opinion of Count Pitigliano, though General in chief of the Venetians, and to all reason. For the Venetians having no refuge but their army, it was by no means proper to hazard a Battle. But the heat of Bartholomew d'Alviano prevailed over his General's Prudence. The Venetian army was entirely routed, and Alviano taken Prisoner. Whereupon the Venetians being no longer able to resist their Enemies, Lewis in less than a Fortnight became master of Cremona, Peschiera, Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, and of all the places in general, formerly belonging to the Milanese. Moreover Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, sent him their Keys. But as by the Treaty of Cambray, these places were in the Emperor's division, he sent their Deputies to him. Maximilian was then at Trent expecting the Success of the confederate Arms. Upon the arrival of the Deputies, he ordered his Troops to advance towards the State of Venice, and as these Cities freely opened their Gates, had only to garrison them. Treviso alone refused him admittance, and remained firm to the Venetians, though reduced to the last extremity. Friuli and the Towns of Istria followed the stream, and submitted to the Emperor. On the other hand, the Duke of Urbino, with the Pope's army, took Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, whilst the Duke of Ferrara became master of Rovigo, and the Marquis of Mantua of some Castles which were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the Venetians saw all their Dominions reduced to the single City of Venice, with five places in the Kingdom of Naples, which could not be of great Service to them. Mean while, they were not entirely discouraged amidst so many Calamities, though the Senate and People were under the greatest Consternation. Their chief care was to draw together their scattered Troops, and use their endeavours to break so destructive a League.

Paris surrenders to the Florentines. Guicciard. The misfortune befalling the Venetians occasioned the loss of Pisa. This City despairing of being relieved by Venice, or the King of France, who had deserted her at last, surrendered to the Florentines, after having endured a long Siege.

Lewis XII returns to France. Mezera. Guicciard. Lewis XII having compassed his ends, returned into France, after he had detached a Body of his Troops, under the Command of la Palisse to join the Emperor, who

probably, had not Men enough to supply his Garrisons, and to keep an army in the Field against the Venetians, who were drawing together again. Upon the King of France's departure, affairs began to have a new face. The Venetians took Padua by surprize, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found means to send into Friuli an army which employed the greatest part of the Emperor's Troops. In short, they appeased the Pope by their humble Submission, and obtained his positive promise to give them Absolution, and take off the Interdict upon certain Conditions which they could not refuse him. On the other hand, Ferdinand, who had not yet reaped any benefit by the League, was easily gained by the offer of the five Cities held by the French in the Kingdom of Naples.

The Emperor's design to besiege Padua. Whilst the Senate was laboring to draw off the Pope and King of Arragon from the League, Maximilian with his own and la Palisse's Forces, laid Siege to Padua, but after an unsuccessful Assault, raised it, and retired into Germany. At the same time the French General also returned to Milan. By which means the Venetians had time to breathe a little, and continue with the Pope Negotiations, which made them hope the issue of the war would not be so fatal as they had hitherto apprehended.

The Pope's Uneasiness. Mezera. Guicciard. The Union of the King of France with the Emperor, made Julius II extremely uneasy. He beheld the French King so firmly settled in the Duchy of Milan, that it seemed impossible to dislodge him. On the other hand, the Emperor could not but be formidable to him, since he had an entrance into Italy, by means of Verona and Vicenza. He did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that Prince by Lewis XII, to compleat the ruin of the Venetians, and he was not without fear, that these two Monarchs had made a private Treaty together to share all Italy. Mean while, he hardly saw how these two formidable Potentates could well be withstood. Venice was come to nothing. The Florentines were drained by the long Pisan War. As for the King of Arragon it was almost impossible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived. He knew how to improve all the Treaties, and scrupled not to forsake his Allies, when it was for his Interest. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Pope formed the project of putting the affairs of Italy upon another foot, in order to execute his first designs. He resolved therefore to agree and league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand from the league of Cambray, by investing him with Naples; to use his endeavours to set the Emperor and King of France at variance; to bring a Swiss Army into the Milanese; in a word, to perfwade the new King of England to make a diversion in France. These were the Pope's projects, the Success whereof we shall see hereafter. He began with making peace with the Venetians, upon three Conditions. First, that they should desist from all their pretensions to the Cities of la Romagna, lately taken from them. Secondly, that they should renounce the right of placing in Ferrara a certain Magistrate called Bisdolina. Thirdly, that they should leave the Navigation of the Gulf free to all the Subjects of the Church. In the present circumstances of Venice, there were no other Conditions to be imposed upon her.

He forms new Projects. After so long a digression concerning the affairs of Italy, which however is not useless, as will appear in the Sequel, we must return to the affairs of England.

He makes Peace with the Venetians. Bembo. The Parliament being assembled the 21st of January 1510, the Commons represented to the King, that certain Statutes made in the former Parliaments, had given occasion to the King his Father's Ministers, to oppress the people, by putting forced Interpretations upon them, contrary to the natural meaning of the words: That therefore it was necessary to soften, or so explain them, as to prevent such abuses for the future (2). Henry readily agreed to what was proposed by the Commons, not only because the thing was just in itself, but chiefly because it naturally led to his design of having Empson and Dudley attained by the Parliament. Though these Men had been already condemned by their proper Judges, the King had deferred the execution of the Sentence. He could not help having some scruple, for causing them to be accused of a Crime of which he knew them not to be guilty. Nevertheless he wanted to sacrifice them to the people, without incurring the Imputation of a false Accusation, and withal to vindicate his Father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders. To recon-

(1) Cf. also the Battle of Ravenna.

(2) The benefit of Fortifications for penal Laws was also reduced to the Term of three years next preceding. There was likewise a Summary Law against exiles in Apparel repealed, and a more decent one substituted. Herbert, p. 61. --- It having been enacted in the 3d of Henry VII, That a Coroner should have for his Fee, upon every Inquisition taken upon view of the body slain and murdered, thirteen Shillings and Four pence or the Goods and Chattels of the Murderer; since the enacting of which, Coroners would not perform their Office without receiving one and 3d of thirteen Shillings and Four pence; which was contrary to the common Law, and the intent of the same Statute of Henry VII. It was therefore now enacted, That upon a Request made to a Coroner, to come and inquire upon the view of any Person slain, drowned, or otherwise dead by misadventure, the said Coroner doth verify that on his Office upon the view of the body of every such Person or Persons, without taking any thing for it, upon pain, to every Coroner that will not endeavour himself to do his Office, or that taketh any thing for the doing of it, for every time, to forfeit forty Shillings. Statute 1 Hen. 8. c. 7.

1509.
The Venetians retake Padua.
Bembo.

The Emperor's design to besiege Padua.

The Pope's Uneasiness. Mezera. Guicciard.

He forms new Projects.

He makes Peace with the Venetians. Bembo.

1510.
The Parliament meets. Herbert. Statutes justified.

Att of Attainder against Empson and Dudley. Hall. Stow.

1510

cile these two things, he so managed it, that the Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against them; that is, they were condemned to dye by the Authority of the King and Parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs upon which their Sentence was founded. This method, which till then had been seldom practised, was but too frequently used in the Sequel of this Reign; so dangerous is it to establish such Precedents. Mean while, Henry having still some difficulty to overcome his scruples, delayed their execution till the following August (1).

New Treaty of Alliance between Lewis XII and Henry VIII. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 270. March 25. Du Tillet, Herbert, Stow.

Whilst the Parliament was thus employed, Lewis XII, sent Ambassadors to England to renew with the King the Treaties made with Henry VII. As by the Peace of Estaples, after the death of one of the two Kings of France or England, his Successor was to signify to the Survivor, whether he would continue the Alliance, it was Henry's Business to inform Lewis XII of his Intention. However, he had done nothing towards it. But as he was a lively young Prince, and abounding in riches, Lewis thought doubtless it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might engage in designs destructive of the welfare of France. His Ambassadors therefore concluded with Henry a new Treaty of Alliance, wherein the former Treaties were not mentioned. By this it was agreed, that the Peace between the two Kings should last till the death of the shortest liver: That it should be confirmed by the States-General of France, and the Parliament of England: That each of the two Kings should take care to obtain the Pope's approbation, with a previous Sentence of Excommunication against the first Violator.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 277. --- 280. 28---290.

There was nothing said in this new Treaty of the 745000 Crowns that Charles VIII had promised to pay to Henry VII, or his Successors, and for which Lewis XII himself was engaged by a subsequent Treaty, because the Business was only to renew the Peace between the two present Kings. However, Henry forgot not to secure the debt, by requiring of Lewis Letters Patents, wherein he promised to pay the Arrears by means of twenty-five thousand Livres every six months, till the whole was discharged. After which the Peace was ratified and sworn by both the Kings.

The Pope sends Henry a consecrated Ring.

Julius II was meditating great designs against Lewis XII. The Success of the League of Cambray, though he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneasy. He saw the French more firmly settled in Italy than ever, and Lewis XII better able to protect the Duke of Ferrara. To accomplish his projects against France, he doubtless wanted assistance; and to that end, tried to excite all the States of Europe against that Kingdom, as will be seen presently. So, to insinuate himself into the King of England's favour, he sent him this year the Golden Rose, which the Popes, after solemnly consecrating it, were wont to present to some Prince (2). Probably also, the King of Arragon, in concert with the Pope, began now to take measures to engage Henry his Son-in-law in a League against France.

1511. April 9. Burnet.

The success of the last Campaign made the King of Arragon no less uneasy than the Pope. He was sensible, Lewis never loved him, nor had any reason to love him, and saw this enemy, since the ruin of the Venetians, in a condition to disturb him in the possession of Naples. On the other hand, the League of Cambray could not procure him any further advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it were very considerable. The Venetians agreed to restore him the Cities they possessed in the Kingdom of Naples, and the Pope was willing to depart from his claim of forty thousand crowns, and give him the investiture of that Kingdom for a Spanish Genet only. This was sufficient to induce him to break his engagements at Cambray. In all appearance, ever since the end of the last year, he had taken measures with the Pope to form a new League against France. But as he never acted openly, he desired these measures to be kept private, in order to attack Lewis the more irresistibly. To that purpose, on the 6th of January this year 1510, he commissioned Lewis de Caroz of Villaragud, his Ambas-

Ferdinand falls off from the League.

sador at London, to treat with Henry VIII about a stricter Alliance than had yet been concluded between the Crowns of England and Spain.

Whether Henry could not so soon resolve to conclude this new Alliance with Ferdinand, or was willing first to finish his affairs with Lewis XII, it was not till the 24th of May that the new Treaty was signed. It was only a defensive Alliance between the two Kings, with a promise of mutual aid upon occasion. But Ferdinand, who had his views, caused these words to be inserted: That in case one of the two Kings was attacked by any Prince whatsoever, the other should be obliged to proclaim and wage War against the aggressor, though he should be his Ally: That if one was attacked by the King of France, the other should be obliged to go against him in person with a powerful Army. This Treaty secured to Ferdinand the Kingdom of Naples, because if Lewis XII had intended to undertake the Conquest, the diversion, he would have been threatened with from England, would have infallibly kept him from his purpose. But it is hard to conceive what advantage Henry could reap from such a Treaty, since it was not likely, Lewis designed to attack him; so that all the advantage was on Ferdinand's side. It must be either that Henry's Ministers were not very clear-sighted, or he, from a motive of generosity for a Father-in-law, whom he did not yet sufficiently know, was imprudently perfwaded to this proceeding, the more strange, as he had lately renewed the Peace with France.

New Treaty of Alliance between Henry and Ferdinand. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 284.

Remark on that Treaty.

But it must not be thought that Henry was then a complete Politician. He was yet young, and minded his diversions more than the publick affairs. There was nothing every day but Turnaments, Balls, Entertainments, Conforts of Musick, which consumed by degrees the eighteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling, found in the King his Father's Coffers (3). He used likewise to play at Tennis and Dice with certain strangers who cheated him of his Money, which he discovered at last, and though a little too late, shamefully chafed them from Court. He was so passionately fond of Musick, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he spent in his Studies and other diversions, left him but little leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the Government, the management whereof he willingly left to his Ministers. And therefore it may be affirmed, that in matter of Policy, never Prince committed grosser faults, or was more imposed upon than himself, especially in the first years of his Reign.

Henry minds only his Diversions. Herbert. Hall.

Whilst Henry was wholly addicted to his pleasures, there was a Person gradually rising at Court, who was one day to have an absolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs as well foreign as domestick. I mean Thomas Wolsey, who was made the King's Almoner last year, and in the beginning of this Dean of Lincoln (4). It appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that on the 30th of January the King gave him a House in London (5) formerly Empson's, no inconsiderable present, since the Patent mentions thirteen Gardens belonging thereto. We must now return to the affairs of Italy, which will afford us farther matter for several years.

Wolsey rises at Court.

Julius II had two grand designs in his head. The first was to seize the Duchy of Ferrara; the second to expel the French and Germans out of Italy. His Forces alone not being capable to execute these projects, it was necessary to use the assistance of some other Princes, and try to engage them in his designs. His scheme was to league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand and Maximilian from the interests of France; to break the League of Cambray; to perfwade the King of England to make a diversion in France; to excite the Switzers to invade the Duchy of Milan. He executed all these projects, but not without encountering such difficulties as would have discouraged any Man less resolute than himself. First, he made a private League with the Venetians, after which, he solemnly gave them Absolution the 24th of January. Then, he secretly agreed with Ferdinand by promising him the Investiture of Naples. That done, he quarrelled with Lewis XII, by filling a Bishoprick in Provence, with-

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 267, 269.

The Pope's Designs.

He allies himself with the Venetians. He quarrels with Lewis XI. Bembo.

(1) They were both beheaded on Tower hill, August 17. Hall, fol. 8. Dudley had, at the time of his Death, in Lands, Fees, and Offices, to the yearly value of eight hundred Pounds, and twenty thousand Pounds in ready Money, besides Jewels, Plate, and rich Furniture, &c. During his Imprisonment in the Tower, he writ a Book called *Arbor Reipublicæ*, dedicated to King Henry. By Elizabeth his Wife, one of the Daughters and Coheirs of Edward Grey Viscount Lips, he left issue three Sons and one Daughter. Stow, p. 487, 488. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 217.

(2) It was dipped in Christm and perfumed with Musk, and so lent to Archbishop Warham with Instructions to present it to the King at high Mass, with the Pope's Benediction. Julius's Letter to Warham in Burnet's Collection is dated April. 5. 1510.

(3) The Reader may see a large account of the King's Jests, Pageants, and other costly devices in Hall and Holingshead, who have many particulars worth perusing, by such as delight in such matters.

(4) Burnet says, he not only served the King in all his secret Pleasures, but was leud and vicious himself; so that his having the French Pox caught in those days was a matter of great Infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Parliament when he fell into disgrace. He lost all the Art of attaching to himself those to his Interests, in whose company the King did most delight, that they were always ready to toward his Views. Being of a gay, facetious, and open Temper, he would divert himself with them in such Exercises (says Polydore Virgil) as were most agreeable to the Levity and Passions of Youth, and which did not perfectly suit with the Character of a Dean in the Church. He would descend to sing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as if for the time he had quite laid aside that Severity of Behaviour which became his Station. Hall Rel. Vol. I. p. 8.

(5) A Methage, called the Parsonage, lying in the Parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street; which Empson held by Lease from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 13. p. 269. The King gave him also in February the next year, a Prebend of Windsor. Ibid. p. 293.

1510. out asking his consent, contrary to his own promise. *Lewis* complained of it; the Pope denied he had promised any such thing; and in short, they came at last to give one another the lie in form. This was precisely what the Pope wanted, in order to have occasion to break with him.

and with the Duke of Ferrara, Sardi. Mezerai. His League with the *Venetians* being publickly known, he imperiously commanded the Duke of *Ferrara* to renounce the League of *Cambray*, and join his Arms with those of the Church. The Duke not believing, his being Vassal to the Holy See obliged him to be thus blindly devoted to the Pope's humours, refused to break his Alliance with *France*, and so gave his Holiness the pretence he had long been seeking. When the Duke offered to pay him the Tribute due to the Church for the Fief of *Ferrara*, the Pope refused it, plainly intimating by that refusal, he intended to confiscate the Duchy.

Ferdinand acts under-hand to gain Henry. Herbert. Mean while, *Ferdinand* was privately acting with *Henry VIII* his Son-in-law, to draw him into the Pope's interest, which was become his own, in consequence of the Projects they had formed in common. But his practices were so secret, that *Lewis XII* never mistrusted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the assurances given him by his Ambassador, that his design was to continue firmly attached to the League of *Cambray*.

The Pope sets the Switzers at variance with France. Guicciard. Mezerai. On the other hand, *Julius II* gained the Bishop of *Sion* (1), who having great credit among the *Switzers* found means to set them at variance with *France*, by persuading them to demand an augmentation of their pensions. Their Alliance with that Crown being about to expire, they required to renew it, that their pensions might be increased. *Lewis* refusing it, the Bishop of *Sion* effectually used that refusal to stir them up against *France*, to which the King himself also contributed by making an Alliance with the *Grisons*. He thereby so provoked the *Switzers*, that in a Diet at *Lucern* they declared for the Pope, and resolved to send an Army into the Duchy of *Milan*.

He tries to reconcile the Venetians to the Emperor. Mezerai. In fine, the Pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of persuading the *Venetians* to agree with the Emperor at any rate, even to the advising them to deliver him *Trevise* and *Padua*. He intimated to them, that the most effectual means to drive the *French* out of the *Milanese*, was to disengage the Emperor from their interests; and when once they were out of *Italy*, it would be easy to wrest from the Emperor not only *Trevise* and *Padua*, but all his other Conquests too. But the *Venetians* durst not run such a hazard.

Lewis XII begins to suspect the Pope. Mezerai. Guicciard. Such were the vast projects of the Pope. He was so private in his Negotiations, that *Lewis XII* imagining he had no other design than to seize *Ferrara*, contented himself with ordering *Chaumont*, Governor of *Milan*, to aid the Duke in case he was attacked. But shortly after, a *Venetian* Fleet, and *Papal* Army commanded by *Fabricius Colonna* attempting, though unsuccessfully, to surprize *Genoa*, *Lewis* had but too much reason to suspect, there was some grand design formed against him; and therefore, sent *Chaumont* orders to have an eye to the Pope's proceedings.

Julius II is like to be surprized at Bologna. These orders came to *Milan* very seasonably. *Julius II* really intended to besiege *Ferrara*, and for that purpose was come to *Bologna*, till an Army, prepared on some pretence by *Raymond of Cardona* at *Naples* was ready to join his and the *Venetian* Troops. But *Chaumont* did not allow him time to execute his projects. Hearing the Pope was arrived at *Bologna*, he departed from *Milan* at the head of an Army, and made such speed that he would have surprized the Pope there, had he not suffered himself to be amused with parleys. Whilst he was treating with the Pope's Envoys, some *Venetian* Troops in the Neighbourhood entering the City, secured it from the danger of being insulted. Whereupon *Chaumont*, being wholly unprepared for so important a Siege was obliged to retire.

He excommunicates the French Generals, and tries to surprize Genoa. Bizarro. Mezerai. *Julius II* made great noise at this insult of the *French*, and filled all *Europe*, and particularly the Court of *England*, with his clamours. He excommunicated all the Generals of the *French* Army, and presently after, his and the *Venetian* Gallies made a second attempt upon *Genoa*, but with no better success than before.

The Switzers cannot enter the Milanese. At the same time, twelve thousand *Switzers* began their march in order to enter the *Milanese*, under the conduct of the Bishop of *Sion*. But he found the passages so well guarded, that they despaired of succeeding in their design. So, not receiving besides from the Pope the Money promised them, they returned into their own Country.

Lewis XII joins in a League with the Emperor. War being thus proclaimed between *Lewis XII* and the Pope, *Lewis* thought himself under no farther restraint.

1510: He had done his utmost to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. But the Pope, depending upon *Ferdinand*, and expecting great assistance from *England*, had evaded all his proposals. Wherefore, to stop the fury of this impetuous old Man, *Lewis* made a new League with the Emperor, promising to put him in possession of all *Italy*, except *Genoa* and *Florence*. *Maximilian* had the good fortune, that in all his Leagues he had ever great advantages, though he contributed the least. On this occasion, *Lewis XII* could hardly proceed without him, because it was absolutely necessary to continue the War in the State of *Venice*, otherwise the *Venetians* would have been able to give the Pope too great an assistance. The League being concluded at *Blois* in August, *Lewis* called a Synod at *Tours*, to consult how he ought to behave to the Pope. The Synod were of opinion, that the King should once more offer the Pope a reasonable agreement; and in case of refusal, might with a safe conscience wage even an offensive War with him. *Lewis* wanted no more to justify his intended proceedings. Presently after, he concluded with *Maximilian* a new Treaty, whereby they agreed to cause a General Council to be summoned to *Pisa*, to depose *Julius II*. To that end, they gained nine Cardinals, who readily undertook to call the Council in their own name. Some of these Cardinals were now with the Pope, but found means to leave him under divers pretences, and, when he would have recalled them, refused to obey.

Such was the situation of the affairs of *Italy* during the year 1510. I have said nothing of the events of the War which continued all this while between the Emperor, assisted by the *French* King, and the *Venetians*, because these particulars are of little service to this History. It will suffice to observe, that *Chaumont* seeing *Genoa* and *Milan* in danger, had withdrawn the *French* Troops from the Emperor's Army to keep them at *Milan*. The departure of these Troops gave the *Venetians* some respite, who thereby were enabled to repair some losses sustained in the beginning of the Campaign, and to assist the Pope who still designed to besiege *Ferrara*.

Chaumont's attempt to surprize the Pope in *Bologna*, afforded *Raymond of Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, a pretence to march to the relief of his Holiness. The Pope's Troops and the *Venetians* were, in *December*, joined by the *Spanish* Army near *Modena*, which *Fabricius Colonna* had taken in his return from his *Genoa* expedition. Though the season was not very proper to enter upon action, the Pope was absolutely bent to besiege *Mirandola*. This Town belonged to the Heirs of *Joannes Pius* of *Miranda*, with whom he had no quarrel. But as it lay convenient to favour the Siege of *Ferrara*, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorously attacked. In spite of his age, and the rigour of the Season, he came himself to the Siege, to animate the Troops by his presence; and the Town surrendering at last on the 20th of *January*, was pleased to enter through the breach.

Lewis XII complained to *Ferdinand* of his assisting the Pope. But *Ferdinand* calling that a trifle, replied, that as Vassal of the Holy See he could not help defending his Holiness's Person and State: That besides, he was not concerned in the quarrels of the Pope and the King of *France*, but his intention was to keep to the Articles of the League of *Cambray*.

Hitherto *Henry* does not seem to be concerned with the affairs of *Italy*, though the Pope, *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians* had formed a design to engage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleasure, without much regarding what passed abroad. On the 1st of *January* 1511, he had the satisfaction to see his Queen delivered of a Prince, at whose birth there was great rejoicing over all the Kingdom. But the joy lasted not long, since the young Prince died before the end of *February* (2).

Mean while, *Ferdinand* was seeking means to engage *Henry* in the League he intended to make with the Pope against *France*. *Henry* was rich and powerful, and consequently his junction to the League would be of great weight, and extremely incommode *France*. On the other hand, his youth and small experience made his Father-in-law hope, it would not be impracticable to engage him by degrees, and insensibly, into projects which a King of *England* ought not to concern himself with. It is certain, *Ferdinand* was now in agreement with the Pope. All his proceedings, and the several circumstances of History, render it so evident that it cannot be doubted. However, he used a profound dissimulation in this respect. He feigned to intend only the peace of *Europe*, that all the Princes of *Christendom* might join together in

(1) Or *Valais*, lying betwixt *Switzerland*, the *Milanese*, the Valley of *Ast* and *Savoy*.

(2) He was born at *Richmond*, and christened *Henry*. He was presented to the King by his Queen as a New-year's Gift, but died this same year, on *February* 22, and was buried at *Westminster*. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, Vol. 11.

1511. a War against the *Infidels*. But as he wanted an Army and Fleet to execute his designs, he pretended to have very much at heart the continuance of the War he had undertaken against the *Moors*. He had sent last year upon the Coasts of *Africa*, a Fleet commanded by *Peter of Navarre*. Shortly after, he reinforced it with some Troops under the conduct of a Son of the Duke of *Alva*, who attempting to land at *Gelves*, was slain, and all his Men cut in pieces. *Ferdinand* made use of this ill success to cover his preparations against *France*. Under colour of being revenged on the *Moors*, he assembled an Army, and equipped a Fleet, which he pretended to send into *Africa*, but was however designed for *Italy*. As it was not yet time to discover his intentions, he carried his dissimulation so far, as to demand of the King his Son-in-law a thousand *English* Archers to serve in this pretended expedition. Weak aid! to be sent for so far and at so great charge, if he had really intended to use them. *Henry*, not perceiving his designs, readily complied with his request, and appointed Sir *Thomas Darcy*, on whom, at the same time, he conferred the title of Baron (1), to command that small body (2). We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Ferdinand's* Letter of thanks to *Henry* (3) for this aid, and for his advice not to hazard his Person in the undertaking: Advice, continued he, that he could not follow, because Religion was concerned. And yet, it soon appeared, he had never intended any such thing, since he employed against *France* the very Forces which seemed to be designed against the *Moors* (4).

H. Darcy and Henry try to get Henry into the League against France.

ib. p. 297. June. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

They try to get Henry into the League against France.

Bambridge made Cardinal. Herbert.

Henry engages with the Allies.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 300.

the grounds against Scotland.

Nothing more was wanting to conclude the projected League against *Lewis XII*, but to gain the King of *England*. This was strenuously endeavoured during the beginning of the Year 1511. The *Venetians* sent him an Ambassador, under colour of thanking him for his care to reconcile them to the Pope, desiring him withal, in their Credentials dated the 2d of *March*, to give credit to what their Ambassador should impart to him, which could relate only to the intended League. About the same time it was, that the Pope conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Christopher Bambridge* Archbishop of *York*, and Ambassador at *Rome*, in a Promotion the 11th of *March* at *Ravenna*. All the Historians unanimously affirm, *Bambridge* was made Cardinal, purely for labouring to set *Henry* at variance with *France*. *Matthew Skinner* Bishop of *Sion*, was promoted to the same honour for his past and future Services of the like nature. In those days, it was neither Learning nor Virtue that raised Clergymen to the Cardinalate, but solely their Abilities in temporal Affairs, joined to an entire Submission to the Pope.

The endeavours that were used to engage *Henry* in the *Italian* League, had at length the expected Success. In all appearance, it was represented to him, that he was highly concerned to oppose the progress of the King of *France*, who was already become too powerful by the Conquest of the Duchy of *Milan*, and the ruin of the *Venetians*. However this be, it appears that about the middle of the year, *Henry* was now determined to follow the Suggestions of the Pope and *Ferdinand*. For in *June* he appointed Commissioners, to take care that the Militia of the Kingdom were provided with good Arms, and ready to serve upon the first notice, which it was customary to order only when a war was foreseen. The reason alledged by the King for these orders, plainly shew what was his design. He said, though the Kingdom was in perfect Tranquillity, nevertheless, as the Arms were commonly suffered to rust in time of Peace, he wished that his Subjects would be in a readiness to serve him, as well against Invasions, if any were intended, as in defence of his Allies. These last words could respect only the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*; from whence it may be inferred, that the King had now given his word. But the Sequel will shew it still more clearly.

The antient and strict Union between *France* and *Scotland*, gave *Henry* just cause to fear, that as soon as the war with *France* was begun, the King of *Scotland*, as Ally

of *Lewis XII*, would interpose in the quarrel. And therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint Commissioners (5) with power, to repair all the outrages committed since the late Peace. But his precautions proved ineffectual. An accident this year, afforded the King of *Scotland* afterwards that pretence of Breach which *Henry* would have prevented.

Andrew Breton, a *Scotch* Merchant, complaining to the King of *Scotland*, that the *Portuguese* had killed his Father, and seized his Ship, the King gave him Letters of Mart, after having in vain sought redress from the Court of *Portugal*. Whereupon, *Breton* equipped two stout Ships, and found means to make himself ample amends for his losses, by falling upon all the *Portugal* Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*. The *Portugal* Ambassador residing at *London*, complained to the Council, and represented, that since the King of *England* pretended to the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, it was but reasonable he should protect the foreign Ships that came into the Channel. Upon this Complaint, the King equipped two large Men of War, and appointed the two Sons of the Earl of *Surrey* (6) to command them, with orders to take the *Scotch* Pirate. These two Lords watched him so narrowly, that they met with him at last, as he was returning from *Flanders* to *Scotland*. *Breton* fought desperately, but was killed in the fight, and his two Ships taken and brought into *England* (7). The King of *Scotland* hearing of this, sent and demanded the two Ships, with speedy reparation of the outrage committed against the Peace. The Ambassadors were told, that Pirates were not included in the Peace, and that to punish such people according to their deserts was no breach of Treaty. Probably, *Breton* had made himself more than amends for the damage he had sustained, as it too frequently happens on such occasions. But however King *James* not being able to obtain any thing from the Court of *England*, protested against the Injustice, being determined to resent it the first opportunity.

I left *Julius II*, after the taking of *Mirandola*, bent upon the Siege of *Ferrara*, and only waiting the return of good Weather. Though *Lewis XII* was in good measure ignorant of what passed in *Spain* and *England*, he knew however enough not to doubt that the Pope was endeavouring to raise him enemies on all sides. He was even satisfied, that though he seemed to have no other design than to become master of *Ferrara*, yet that was only the first Step to some greater project. Mean while, he was very much embarrassed. He had properly nothing to gain upon the Pope, unless he would seize the Church's Patrimony. But he had a great deal to lose, besides the troubles which the obstinate and haughty Temper of the Pope might create him. Wherefore he resolved to try all possible ways to be reconciled with him. To that end, whilst the Pope was employed in the Siege of *Mirandola*, he made him some overtures by *Chaumont*; but it was to no purpose. The Pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the Siege till he forced the Town to capitulate. At last, *Lewis* seeing there was no hopes of a reconciliation, ordered *Chaumont* to regard him no longer, and at any rate support the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Chaumont* receiving these orders, takes the Field in the midst of winter. His army, joined by the Duke of *Ferrara*, was not so numerous as the Forces of the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*; but composed of so good Troops, that the Allies durst never hazard a Battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while, the Pope was greatly embarrassed. Instead of quietly preparing for the Siege of *Ferrara*, he was forced to keep the Field during the winter, without knowing even how to save *Modena*, which was in danger of a Siege. *Ferdinand*, who foresaw what trouble that place would give the Pope, had advised him to resign it to the Emperor. Nay, that affair had been negotiated, but without Success, because *Maximilian* would receive it only as a place held of the Empire, to which the Pope would not consent. At last, upon *Chaumont's* approach to besiege it, the Pope was willing to deliver it as the Emperor desired, because it was not to be saved without venturing a Battle. The Terms of this bargain are not precisely known.

The Pope rejects the French King's offers. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Lewis resolves to regard the Pope no longer. Sardi.

Julius II gives up Modena to the Emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

(1) He was Captain of the Town and Castle of *Berwick*. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 294. — *Dugdale* says, the Title of Baron, which had ceased (6 Hen. V.) in the Daughters and Heirs of *Philip Lord Darcy*, was revived to this Sir *Thomas* by writ of Summons to Parliament. (1 Hen. VIII.) *Baron*. Vol. I. p. 374.

(2) There went over with him the Lord *Anthony Grey*, Brother of the Marquiss of *Dorset*; *Henry Guildford*, *Wesley*, *Brown*, *William Sydney*, Esquires; Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Roger Hattings*, Sir *Ralph Eldonkire*, &c. They embarked at *Plymouth* about the middle of *May*, and landed at *Caliz*, *June* 1. *Hall*, fol. 11, 12. Sir *Henry Guildford*, and *Wesley*, and *Brown*, Knights, were knighted by King *Ferdinand*, who gave Sir *H. Guildford* a Canton of *Granada*, and *Wesley*, and *Brown*, an Eagle of *Sicily*, for the augmentation of their Arms. This Body of Troops returned to *England* about *August*. *Idem*, fol. 13. *Stow*, p. 488.

(3) By this Letter, (writ in a most religious Strain) it appears that all our Historians, and *Dugdale* himself, is mistaken in the number of the Archers sent into *Spain*, *Ferdinand's* Letter calling them a thousand, whereas they are said to be in our Histories fifteen hundred. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 297.

(4) King *Henry* sent also, in *July* this year, fifteen hundred Men into *Flanders*, under the command of Sir *Edward Peynings*, to assist the Duke of *Burgundy* against the Duke of *Guelders*. *Ibid.* p. 302. *Hall*, fol. 13, 14.

(5) Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Robert Drury*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 301.

(6) *Thomas* and *Edward*, which last was Lord Admiral. *Herbert*, p. 7. *Hall*, fol. 15.

(7) Though he was grievously wounded, he encouraged his Men, with his whistle, even to his last breath. The King pardoned the Men, and sent them out of the Kingdom. *Herbert*, *ibid.*

1511. But from thenceforward all the Emperor's proceedings gave occasion to suspect, *Modena* was acquired upon Conditions very prejudicial to the King of *France* his Ally.

Ferdinand's Diffimulation The King of *Arragon* pretended to be in Alliance with *France*. He would not declare against her till he had secured the King of *England*, with whom he was privately negotiating a Treaty which required a long discussion. Indeed, his Troops which were to serve the Pope but three months, according to the terms of the Investiture of *Naples*, were still joined with those of the Allies. But he pretended, the Viceroy of *Naples* acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the Pope's army longer than he was commanded. Mean while, the Army was pressed by *Chaumont* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, who followed them close, and endeavoured to provoke them to a Battle. So, to gain time, *Ferdinand*, who would still pass for a neutral Prince, and well affected to the repose of *Italy*, proposed a Congress at *Mantua* for a Peace. The Pope immediately accepted the overture. The Emperor agreed to it likewise, and *Lewis XII* durst not reject it, lest he should be charged with being the sole Author of the troubles of *Italy*. It is certain, if, at this juncture, instead of suffering himself to be amused by a Negotiation, the sole aim whereof was to rob him of the opportunity of pushing his enemies, he had ordered his Troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole Ecclesiastical State; with so great a Terror had his arms inspired the Allies. But he had to manage his Subjects as well as his Queen, who considered a war with the head of the Church as a Crime, though there was but too much provocation. He had himself likewise scruples upon that account, which he could not easily surmount. But however, he was willing to try once more, whether the proposed Congress of *Mantua* would produce some good effect. He hoped at least, that the breaking off the Negotiation, in case it was not successful, would fully justify him. The Congress produced the effect expected by the Allies, that is, it caused the *French* to lose a great deal of time to no purpose.

The Emperor sides privately with the Pope. A few days before the Congress of *Mantua*, the Bishop of *Gurck*, who was to be there from the Emperor, had a Conference at *Bologna* with the Pope, after which they pretended to part in great discontent. But what followed plainly shewed the contrary, since the Emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his Alliance with *Lewis XII*. He consented however, that the Council of *Pisa* should be called in his name, and the Summons set up at *Modena*, and several other places belonging to him, because it was not yet time to declare himself. The Summons ran, That *Julius II* having refused to call a Council, pursuant to the Decree of *Constance*, the Cardinals were empowered by the same Decree to summon a Council in their own name. And therefore with the consent of the Emperor and the King of *France*, they ordered the Council to meet on the 1st of *September*, in the City of *Pisa*, to endeavour the Reformation of the Church, in the Head and Members.

Lewis supports the Emperor and King of Arragon. The Bishop of *Gurck's* Conference with the Pope, and the breaking up of the Congress of *Mantua*, made the King of *France* greatly suspect the Emperor. On the other hand, he could not help fearing the King of *Arragon*, knowing by experience what was to be expected from him. He saw him making great preparations under colour of the *African War*, and knew withal, that notwithstanding his daily assurances that he would not concern himself with the troubles of *Italy*, he was using his utmost endeavours to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. That is, properly speaking, he was labouring to disengage *Maximilian* from the Interest of *France*. In short, *Ferdinand* sent him brotherly Admonitions to make his Peace with the Pope, and not draw on himself the just reproach of waging an unnatural war with the common Father of Christians. *Lewis* could not but consider these Remonstrances as a sort of Protestation to assist the Pope in case of need. At the same time, he could not believe he would engage in such an undertaking without being secure of the Emperor. These things made him uneasy, and apprehensive that he should at last be the dupe of the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*. So, for fear of being prevented, he gave express orders to *Triulzi*, who commanded his army in the room of *Chaumont* lately deceased, to take all the advantages of the Allies that lay in his power.

He orders Triulzi to push the War vigorously. *Triulzi* upon this order assaulted and took *Concordia* in the beginning of *May*, at the time the calling of the Council of *Pisa* was every where posted up. Then he endeavoured by several marches to oblige the Allies to a Battle, without being able to succeed. At last, he resolved to approach *Bologna*; not that he believed himself in condition to besiege the City, but to draw the Allies from their advantageous Posts, and give the *Bolonnais* op-

portunity to rise in favour of the *Bentivoglio's* whom he brought with him. The Pope had now done his utmost to persuade the Generals of the Allies to hazard a Battle, without being able to prevail, so much did they dread engaging with the *French*. Wherefore, knowing how the army stood disposed, and distrusting the *Bolonnais*, who loved him not, he retired to *Ravenna*, leaving in *Bologna* the Cardinal of *Pavia* his prime Minister. He was no sooner gone, but a Tumult arose in the City, during which the Inhabitants called in their old masters the *Bentivoglio's*, and put them in possession of the Government. The Cardinal of *Pavia* had taken to flight the moment he perceived their resolution. On the other hand, the army of the Allies advancing to one of the gates of *Bologna*, and hearing the *Bentivoglio's* were admitted, and the Legate withdrawn, ran away in confusion, leaving in the Camp their Artillery, Baggage, and Ammunition. Whereupon the Inhabitants falling out, and joining with the Peasants, completely stripped the scattered army, and rendered it entirely unserviceable for several months. The Duke of *Ferrara* improving this opportunity, very easily recovered the places lately taken from him by the Allies.

Amidst all these mortifications, the Pope still met with another which sensibly touched him. The Cardinal of *Pavia* was stabbed by the Duke of *Urbino*, who taxed him with being the cause of the loss of *Bologna*. The Pope's concern was the greater as he durst not punish, in the person of his Nephew, a Crime he would have thought worthy of the severest treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being dispersed, and his designs upon *Ferrara* vanished, he quitted *Ravenna* and retired to *Rome*. In his way, he had the frequent mortification to see the Papers posted up for the calling of the Council of *Pisa*, wherein he was himself summoned to appear in person.

It was universally expected that *Lewis XII* would pursue his Successes, and certainly in the then situation of *Italy*, it was his own fault that he was not master of *Rome*. The Pope had no remedy speedy enough to free himself from his sad condition. The King of *Arragon* was too remote. The *Venetians* were unable to lend him a sufficient assistance, and the Emperor was not powerful enough to save him, had he been willing to attempt it. *Genoa*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Milan*, were in the hands of his enemies. But *Lewis*, either through scruple, or some other motive, instead of pushing his point, ordered *Triulzi* to retire to *Milan* with the army, and even disband part of the Troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the Pope of the pretence of exciting all *Christendom* against him, and publishing, that he intended to seize *Rome* and all *Italy*. He was very justly apprehensive of this from the Pope, since it was in effect the foundation, or rather the pretence of the League formed some months after against *France*. *Triulzi* was no sooner at *Milan*, but *Ferdinand's* Fleet arrived at *Naples*, with about three thousand Men, who were soon to be followed by a more considerable Body.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the King of *Arragon* had sent his Fleet to *Naples* to support the Pope's Interests, and give jealousy to the King of *France*. *Julius II*, who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he well judged that *Ferdinand* would not have been altogether assured of the King of *England*. Since the loss of *Bologna*, and the rout of his army, he had seemed willing to consent to an agreement with *France*, and though he had made overtures more like a Conqueror than one conquered, *Lewis* had accepted them on condition they were approved by the Emperor. But when the Pope found, the *Spanish Fleet* was at *Naples*, and *Ferdinand* began to declare himself, he added new Terms to those he had already proposed, and plainly shewed he was no longer for Peace. This Conduct put *Lewis XII* beyond all patience. So, despairing to agree with so obstinate an enemy, he ordered *Triulzi* to send Supplies to *Bentivoglio* to guard *Bologna*, and some time after, took *Bologna* and the *Bentivoglio's* under his protection. On the other hand, though he was not obliged to assist the Emperor, unless he came into *Italy* in person, he added however to the *German Troops* in the State of *Venice* a strong re-inforcement commanded by *la Palisse*. Mean while, the Pope having certain advice of the good Inclination of the Kings of *Arragon* and *England* in his favour, resolved to summon a General Council in opposition to that of *Pisa*. To that end, he published a Bull, wherein, having first excused the neglect the Schismatic Cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed against their Insolence, he called a Council to be held at the *Lateran* in *Rome*, the 19th of *April* 1512.

Since the Bishop of *Gurck's* Conference with the Pope *Maximilian's* Conduct was so doubtful, that it was difficult to judge certainly of it. He had agreed to the calling of the Council of *Pisa*, which was done with his express consent.

1511.

The Army of the Allies takes flight from Concordia.

The Cardinal of Pavia stabbed by the Duke of Urbino.

The Pope retires to Rome.

Lewis orders his army to retire to Milan.

Julius II offers to agree with Lewis XII.

He calls us again.

Lewis takes Bologna under his Protection. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 303. June 30. He aids the Emperor. The Pope calls a Council at the Lateran Church. Guicciard.

Doubtful Behaviour of the Emperor.

1511. But he had not yet appointed Ambassadors, neither was it known that any *German* Bishop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promised to command in person in *Italy*, and lead thither a strong reinforcement. But he remained immoveable. And yet he continued at *Innsbruck*, without shewing any thoughts either of the Council of *Pisa*, or the War with *Italy*. Mean while, the Conquests that were expected to be made upon the *Venetians* were to be all his. Thus, in the present posture of the affairs of *Italy*, *Lewis XII* saw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring almost to complain to the Emperor, for fear he should join with his enemies. And indeed, *Maximilian* was strongly solicited by the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* themselves, who offered him a good Sum to induce him to desist from his pretensions to their Dominions. Very probably, he was yet unresolved, and knowing the League that was forming against *France*, was willing, according to Custom, to let the two Parties proceed, in order to take afterwards that Side which best suited with his Interest. This doubtless was the reason of his preserving a good understanding with *Lewis XII*, in consenting to the calling of the Council of *Pisa*, and withal, of reserving a means to be reconciled to the Pope, in sending neither Bishops nor Ambassadors to the Council. Thus remaining almost equally suspected by both Parties, he waited till the Success of the War, or the offers from both Sides, should engage him to declare for one or other.

*Uncertainty
of the affairs
of Italy.*

Guicciard.

Ferdinand
founds an Ar-
my at Naples.

Opening of
the Council
of Pisa.
Guicciard.

*The Pope
puts Pisa and
Florence un-
der an Inter-
dict.
Guicciard.
The Floren-
tines make a
Jest of it.*

Henry pro-
mises to enter
into the
League.
Herbert.
Pop. Viug.

Mean while, affairs continued still in the same situation. The Pope and the *Venetians* were alone in open War with *France*. The Emperor seemed to float between both sides. The King of *Arragon* had hitherto done nothing more than afforded hopes that he would join the League when concluded. But it was not so yet, even one fearing to engage in it unseasonably. *Julius II* and *Ferdinand* knew one another too well to confide in each other. Each strove to make the other subservient to his designs, and was afraid at the same time of being deceived. *Ferdinand* had still in *France* an Ambassador, who endeavoured to persuade the King, that the preparations in *Spain* concerned only the *Moors*. On the other hand, the Pope had not so quarrelled with *Lewis XII*, but that he had still left him some hopes, and continued a sort of Negotiation with him, by means of the Bishop of *Murray* the *Scotch* Ambassador, who did the office of mediator. *Ferdinand* was afraid, in case the Pope made a separate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* would be in danger. The Pope had no less reason to fear, that to secure the quiet possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* would forsake the interests of the Church, and leave him exposed to the mercy of the King of *France*. In that case, the Pope would have nothing to expect from *England*. Thus, affairs were come to that pass, that it was necessary, either that each should quickly make a separate Treaty, or both jointly declare themselves, not to remain in this state of uncertainty. And therefore, *Ferdinand* began at last to pull off the mask a little more, by sending to *Naples*, the Troops he pretended to design for *Africa*, in order to hinder the Pope from thinking of a separate agreement with *France*.

Whilst the Pope and the King of *Aragon* were thus founding each other, the Cardinals, who had summoned the Council to *Pisa* and were come to *Milan*, thought fit to open it by Commissioners. But this was only for form's sake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was General Council so thin. The Bishops of *France* were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from *Germany*. The Pope was enraged when he heard the Council was opened at *Pisa*. In his passion with the *Florentines*, for suffering the Council to meet in one of their Towns, he excommunicated them as well as the *Pisans*, and put both the Cities under an Interdict. But the *Florentines* forced the Priests to celebrate Divine Service, leaving to private Persons the liberty to observe or reject the Interdict.

It was difficult for *Julius II* and *Ferdinand*, to continue long in their present situation, without causing mutual suspicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reason which had hitherto with-held *Ferdinand*, namely, his uncertainty with respect to the King of *England*, was now vanished. *Henry*, after long suspense, had at last positively promised to enter into the League against *France*. Whereupon the Negotiation of the League advanced more in one month than in a whole year before. It was a constant rule with *Ferdinand*, to cover all his designs with the cloke of Religion, little

caring, that after the execution, his artifices were discovered. The Fleet and Army he had prepared in *Spain*, had for pretence, a War with the *Infidels*. When he was going to declare openly against *France*, he failed not to use the pretence of protecting the Church against the outrages of *Lewis*. As soon as he had gained the King of *England*, they jointly sent Ambassadors to *Lewis*, to require him to leave the Pope unmolested, intimating, that as Christian Princes they could not dispense with protecting the Church, disturbed by his ambition. *Lewis* saw plainly, that their measures being now taken, it would be too late to justify his conduct; and therefore, chose to return a haughty answer, which was precisely what his enemies wanted.

Shortly after, on the 4th of *October*, the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* concluded a League at *Rome*, leaving a place for the King of *England*, who had shewn his desire to be included. Indeed, Cardinal *Bambridge* was concerned in the Negotiation as Ambassador of *England*. But he was ordered not to sign the Treaty, because *Henry* expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the interests of *England* than that which concerned *Italy* only. By this Treaty the Pope promised to find for the service of the League six hundred Men at Arms, five hundred Light Horfe, six thousand Foot (1), and twenty thousand Ducats a month. The *Venetians* were to furnish eight hundred Men at Arms, a thousand Light Horfe, eight thousand Foot, and to pay monthly twenty thousand Ducats. *Ferdinand* was to provide twelve hundred Men at Arms, a thousand Light Horfe, ten thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Ducats a month. It is true, neither the King of *France*, nor the Duke of *Ferrara*, were named in the Treaty as enemies of the Allies. But it was easy to perceive it, since the intent of the League was to restore to the Pope the City of *Bologna*, and whatever belonged to the Holy See, and to make War upon all Persons that should offer to hinder it. A place was left for the Emperor in case he would enter into it; and *Raymond of Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, was declared General of the League.

Whilst the World was in expectation of the effect of this League, the Council of *Pisa* was solemnly opened in that City, by the Cardinals who had convened it, and some Bishops of *France* and *Milan*. The first Session was held the 4th of *November*, though the Pope had excommunicated the Cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity. The second was held the 11th of the same month. But because there was a commotion that day in the City, the Cardinals and Bishops were so terrified, that on the morrow they removed the Council to *Milan*, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed, the Inhabitants of *Pisa* could not look with a good eye upon a Council, which exposed them to an excommunication and interdict, though it was not in their power to oppose the orders of the *Florentines* their Sovereigns.

I observed that the *Switzers* were at variance with *Lewis XII*, by the practices of the Cardinal of *Sion*, or rather of the Pope himself, who set him to work. Their first attempt to enter the *Milanese* proving unsuccessful, they resolved this year to levy sixteen thousand Men, the Cardinal of *Sion* having positively promised them Money at their entrance into *Italy*, and that the Army of the Allies would employ the *French* in *la Romagna*. As this levy could not be ready till the beginning of the Winter, they began their march in *November*, and penetrated as far as *Varese*. *Gaston de Foix*, Nephew of *Lewis XII*, Governor of *Milan*, was so destitute of Troops, that he knew not how to oppose their passage. However, with the few Men he had, he took the Field, to annoy them and obstruct their march. But it was not possible for him to hinder them from coming to the very Gates of *Milan*. The *French* had now begun to furnish the Castle with Ammunition in order to quit the City, when suddenly the *Switzers* hearing no news of the Pope, nor the Army of the Allies which they thought to be assembled in *la Romagna*, retired to their own Country, after burning some Villages. If the Pope had not disappointed them of the Money he had promised them, and if the Army of the Allies had acted in *la Romagna*, *Milan*, *Bologna*, and *Ferrara*, would have been in great danger, since the *French* were at that time very weak in those parts. *La Palisse* was then in the Emperor's Army with a large detachment of the King's best Troops.

Nothing could be more advantageous to *England*, than to see the Forces of *France* turned against *Italy*. The Conquest of the Duchy of *Milan* was less beneficial to

(1) In the Treaty, as it stands in *Rymer*, it is only said, that the Pope was to furnish six hundred Men at Arms, without any mention of Light-Horse and Foot: Neither is the number of Troops that was to be sent by the *Venetians* specified, but it is said, they were to find a Fleet strong enough to beat the Enemy's: And on the day of the Publication of the League, the Pope and the *Venetians* were to pay eighty thousand Ducats of Gold for two months wages for their Forces. *Ibid.* Tom. XIII. p. 307. See *Guiccardini*, l. 10.

1511.

Henry's and
Ferdinand's
reigns
1494-1516
L. 10.11.11

League against France
concluded at
Rome.
Guicciard.

*Articles of
the League.*
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 747.
Guicciard.

A more solemn opening
of the Council of Pisa.
Guicciardi.

*The Council
removes to
Milan.*

The Swit-
zers march
into the
Milanese.
Guicciardi.

They retire suddenly.

*False Policy
of Henry
VIII to med-
dle with the
Affairs of
Italy.*

Lewis

1511. *Lewis XII* than to *England*. For it procured *England* a settled Tranquillity, whereas it exposed *France* to perpetual troubles, and an immense expence. It was therefore policy in *Henry* to suffer the *French*, *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards* to battle it in *Italy*, without involving himself in a War which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am speaking of, the Kings of *England* had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, if we except *Henry III.*, who being unfortunately desirous of making his second Son King of *Sicily*, ruined his own Kingdom to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a Prince to be imitated by his Successors. The advantages of this policy were so manifest to all the *English*, that it required no less than a *Ferdinand*, the ablest and most subtle Prince of his age, to make them swerve from it.

This Prince had joined with the Pope ever since the beginning of the year 1510, or perhaps the end of the foregoing, and yet had been near two years without declaring himself. This delay proceeded only from his desire to secure *England* first, that *Henry* might make a diversion in *France*, which would oblige *Lewis XII* to neglect the affairs of *Italy*. This diversion must have been advantageous to the King of *Aragon*, since it would remove from *Italy*, or at least, weaken, a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be serviceable to *England*. On the contrary, there seemed to be several very strong reasons to divert *Henry* from such a design, without mentioning the Peace he had lately renewed with *France*, and confirmed by a solemn Oath. This probably was the cause of his so long deferring the conclusion of the League I shall speak of hereafter. Indeed it was not possible, but that some of the King's Council were clear-sighted enough to see that this League was no ways advantageous to *England*, what colour soever was given thereto.

The Pope excommunicates all the Abbots, Priests, and Clergy of Pisa.

The King of Navarre is of the number. Ferdinand opposes to Lewis XII.

He makes a cautious Proposal to Henry.

Henry resolves upon carrying over into Guienne. Herbert Hall.

Whilst this Negotiation languished in *England*, new occurrences put *Ferdinand* upon taking fresh measures, and contriving all sorts of ways to succeed with *Henry*. *Lewis XII* persisted in his design to hold the Council of *Pisa*, as was said, and that caused *Julius II* to convene another at the *Lateran*, and excommunicate by the same Bull all Princes and others who adhered to the first. Among these Princes, was *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, who being allied to *Lewis XII*, blindly followed the directions of the Court of *France*. The King of *Navarre* had no sooner declared for the Council of *Pisa*, but *Ferdinand* upon that pretence, formed the design to seize his whole Kingdom, and make *Henry* his Son-in-law the instrument to execute it. To that end he gave *Henry* to understand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover *Guienne*, taken by *France* from one of his predecessors, since the League that was going to be concluded in *Italy* would find *Lewis XII* so much employment, that probably, he would not be able to defend his own Country. But as the distance of *Guienne* might deter *Henry* from attempting this Conquest, *Ferdinand*, out of affection, very willingly promised to supply him with Troops, Transport-Ships, Artillery, Provisions, Ammunition, without stipulating any thing for himself, but the sole pleasure of procuring his Son-in-law so great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of *Henry* and his Council (1). The acquisition of *Guienne* seemed to them a thing so advantageous, and withal, so glorious in the beginning of this Reign, that the King, without any farther difficulty, entered into the League proposed by the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*. Such was the real motive (2) that induced the Court of *England* to break the Peace lately renewed with *France*, without alledging other reason than the protection granted by *Lewis* to the *Bentivoglio's*, and the calling of the unlawful assembly of *Pisa*. As if *England* was concerned to help the Pope to *Bologna*, and oppose with Arms a Council, consisting of a score of *French* Bishops, without power and credit even in the very place where they were assembled. We shall see presently, how *Henry* was the Dupe of his affectionate Father-in-law, and how *Ferdinand* politically made use of him to serve his own ends, without giving himself the least trouble about his Son-in-law's affairs.

When *Ferdinand* had gained *Henry*, he concluded at *Rome*, with the Pope and the *Venetians*, the fore-mentioned League. In this Treaty of *Rome*, it was expressly said, that all the Articles were negotiated and settled with the King of *England's* knowledge, the Cardinal of *York* act-

ing for him, and daily expecting orders to sign it; but that for certain reasons the conclusion of it could be no longer delayed.

About six weeks after, *Henry* and *Ferdinand* concluded at *London*, a private League for the Conquest of *Guienne* (3). This was a consequence of the first, on the supposition that the depriving the King of *France* of that Province was a good means to serve and protect the Church of God, the great and principal aim of the Allies. If ever God's holy name was so deeply and shamelessly taken in vain, it is in the preamble of these two Treaties. In the first, the Pope protested that his sole aim in desiring *Bologna*, and the other Cities which belonged to the Church, was to restore *Italy* to her former Tranquillity, that all Christians might join their Forces against the *Infidels*, as he had ever wished, and still did with all his heart. Thus, to make War upon the *Infidels*, it was necessary that *Italy* should be free from troubles, which could not be hoped till the Pope had executed his ambitious projects, without which *Italy* was not to expect to enjoy any quiet.

In the second Treaty, *Henry* and *Ferdinand* set forth, "That they had made Alliances with all Christian Princes, solely to be enabled to wage War with the enemies of Christ; and for that purpose, were now employed in preparing powerful Armies by Land and Sea; but that suddenly, when they least expected it, they were told, the King of *France's* Troops were besieging *Bologna*, where the Pope, old and infirm, lay seized with a grievous distemper, and attended by all his Cardinals: That being extremely afflicted at this news, they had befought the King of *France* by Letters and Ambassadors, to give over his design: That the Pope had offered him the pardon of all his Sins, provided only he would abstain from the patrimony of the Church, cease to inflame the Schism, and adhere to the Council of *Lateran*: But that all this had been to no purpose. On the contrary, he had made himself master of *Bologna*, by the treachery of some of the Inhabitants; twice routed the Army of the Holy Church of *Rome*, and in contempt of the Holy See, called a Council, after having bribed some of the Cardinals. That since, the Pope had sent a Legate to him to demand only that he would forbear to attack the Church. That the Legate not prevailing, the two Kings of *England* and *Spain* had sent Ambassadors to advise him amicably to desist from his attempts, and be reconciled with the Pope, or else they could do no less than undertake the protection of the Church; but that their advice had been slighted. That upon all these considerations, the two Kings perfectly knowing how detrimental such an ambition might prove to the Catholick Faith, the Church of God, and the welfare of *Christendom*, had thought proper to agree upon the following Articles, to the praise and glory of Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the whole triumphant Court of Heaven, for the defence, exaltation, increase of the Catholick Faith, the Christian Religion, the Holy Roman Church, which was unjustly oppressed, and upon the frequent instances, exhortations, and admonitions of the Pope, the head thereof." The substance of this pious Treaty was as follows:

I. The two Kings took upon them the defence and protection of the Holy Roman Church, against all Persons that should attack her (4).

II. *Ferdinand*, as Catholick King, and to discharge his duty to God and the Church, promised to take Arms in her defence in *Italy*.

In the IIIrd Article it was said, that the Pope and the sacred College of Cardinals had judged, that in order to deliver the Church from the oppression she groaned under, it was necessary to wage War upon the King of *France*, not only in *Italy*, but in such of his Provinces also as bordered upon the two Allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they should carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that Province for the Crown of *England*, and that *Henry*, in assisting the Church, might at the same time recover what belonged to him. To that purpose, as soon as *Ferdinand* should have actually declared against the Kingdom of *France*, and taken arms in defence of the Church, *Henry*, at a proper season, should proclaim war against the same Prince in defence of the same Church.

(1) The Lord Herbert says, some of the Council who more seriously weighed the Business, were against a War with *France*, and more particularly for a Reason which *England* should never forget. Let us therefore (says one of the Council) leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. The natural situation of *Islands* seems not to justify Conquests in that kind. *England* alone is a just Empire: Or when we would enlarge our selves, let it be that way we can, and to subvert it from the eternal Providence hath designed us; and that is by SEA. Herbert, p. 8.

(2) Another Inducement to *Henry* was the Pope's Promise to take away the Title of Most Christian from the King of *France*, and confer it on him. *Ibid*.

(3) The English Commissioners were, Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 312.

(4) ——— Contra omnes illam Invasores seu Oppugnantes. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 313.

1511. To perform this Article, *Henry* promised to send into *Guienne* some time in *April* 1512, a body of six thousand Foot (1) commanded by a good General; to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them without the consent of the King of *Arragon*. *Ferdinand* bound himself, on his part, to find five hundred Men at Arms, fifteen hundred Light-Horse, and four thousand Foot, on the same terms. Moreover, he engaged to furnish the *English* Troops with provisions and ammunition at a moderate price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two Kings should send a Fleet to Sea with three thousand good Soldiers, for six months, besides the Mariners, and that neither should recall his Fleet without the other's consent.

IV. That *Ferdinand* should find forty Ships, at a reasonable rate, to transport the *English* Forces.

V. That in case the Allies should take any places in *Guienne* and elsewhere, they should be delivered to him of the two Kings, who had a prior title to the same.

VI. That if either of the two Kings should be attacked out of *Guienne*, they should jointly take care of the defence of the Country of him who wanted assistance, sincerely and with all their power.

VII. That the two Kings considering that the Pope had called at *Rome* a Council, which all Christian Princes ought to obey, and send Ambassadors to, and it was affirmed that the King of *France* persisted in his design to continue the Council summoned to *Pisa*, they agreed to adhere to whatever should be decreed by the Council of *Lateran*, and oppose that of *Pisa*, with all its Favorers and Adherents.

VIII. That neither of the two Kings should make Peace or Truce without a mutual consent.

IX. That by this, the former Treaties should not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it should be ratified within four months, by *Henry*, and *Ferdinand*, in his own and the name of *Queen Jane* his Daughter.

Impudence of
Henry and
his Council.

Henry and his Council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous Treaty, since it was to procure them the Duchy of *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himself, as if he had acted purely from a motive of Religion, and out of affection to his Son-in-law, though, in reality, he had consulted only his own interest. As for the Pope's affairs, about which both Kings seemed to be so greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not so much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared. But they wanted that pretence to dazzle the publick, though, in all appearance, the world was not so blind, as to imagine that two great Kings should take arms on purpose to dissolve a Council which called itself General, composed of a small number of Bishops, of one Nation only, and so little regarded, that even at *Milan*, where it was removed, the Government was forced to make use of their whole Authority to procure its reception.

Lewis's
Suf-
pitions of the
Emperor.
Guicciard.

During these Transactions, the Emperor gave the King of *France* so much cause to suspect his Sincerity, that necessity only obliged him to feign any further confidence in him. There was no *German* Bishop come to the Council; and when the Emperor was pressed upon that subject, he replied, It was necessary first to have the approbation of the Diet of the Empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining: That though he should send Bishops from his hereditary Dominions to *Pisa*, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to the Council, since it would give occasion to imagine, he despaired to obtain the Diet's consent. On the other hand, instead of commanding in person his Army in the state of *Venice*, as he had promised, he left all to the *French* Troops, who were come to his aid. In short, whilst he listened to the offers of the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*, he told the *French* Ambassador, he was ready to march to *Rome* at the head of an Army, provided his master would send him a strong Re-inforcement, and a sum of Money, proportionable to the greatness of the Undertaking. Amidst these uncertainties, *Lewis* knew not what to trust to.

He could look upon *Maximilian* but as an ally ready to abandon him, if he found it more for his interest to join with his enemies. In that case, all the Emperor's conquests upon the *Venetians* would be so many losses to *France*. Mean while, the Supplies he lent him were very expensive, and yet, he durst not afford him a pretence to change sides. Thus *Lewis* saw himself upon the point of being attacked by all the forces of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, without any hope of assistance from the Emperor. As for *England*, though he was yet ignorant of the Treaty of *London*, and *Henry's* Ambassador positively denied that his Master intended to be concerned, all *Henry's* Proceedings were plain indications that he would soon declare against him.

Lewis's
F. f.
f. d. Henry.

Mean while, the Pope, who had ever in view the taking of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, was very pressing with the Viceroy of *Naples* to advance with his Troops, and take the command of the confederate Army. But notwithstanding all his solicitations, the Junction could not be till the middle of *December*, and even then, the *Naples* Artillery not being yet arrived, the Army could be only employed in some trifling Expeditions in *la Romagna*, with which ended the year 1511. It is time now to return to the affairs of *England*.

The King of
Arragon's
Army joins
the Pope and
Vene-ians
Guicciard.

Though *Henry* had not yet proclaimed war with *France*, *Lewis* XII knew what he was to expect. He had good intelligence by means of one *Buonviso* a Merchant of *Lucca*, who being a Bankrupt, was retired into *England*, where he had obtained so much favour from the Pope as to be made a kind of Agent (2). This Man being corrupted by *France*, discovered to *Lewis* the secrets, the Pope was sometimes forced to trust him with; and hence it was that the Court of *France* was informed of many things which the *English* would have concealed from them. It was probably by this means that the King of *France* had the first notice of the League concluded at *London*, though it was made a great Secret. But shortly after, he had no more occasion for spies to know *Henry's* Intentions.

Hall.
Herbert.
Hollingb.

Lewis's
notice of the
League of
London.

The Parliament being met the fourth of *February* (3), 1512. the King communicated his design of making War upon *France*. He protested, his sole aim was to free the Pope from the King of *France's* oppression, and especially to cause the Schismatical Council of *Pisa*, now removed to *Milan*, to be dissolved. Though this War undertaken, as the King himself affirmed, solely to oblige the Pope, was little agreeable to the interest of *England*, the Parliament however gave the King a large Subsidy (4). In all appearance, the leading Members of the House of Commons being informed of the true reasons, so ordered it, that the rest came into their opinion. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to make them perceive the necessity of *England's* engaging in a War with *France*, to restore *Bologna* to the Pope, and dissolve a Council so inconsiderable as that of *Pisa*. Before the Parliament broke up, the King was pleased to restore *John Dudley*, Son of *Edmund Dudley*, to the rank and honours his Family had been deprived of by the Father's Attainder. From that time, he had always an affection for him, and at length, towards the end of his Reign, made him Lord Admiral of *England*.

sign, and
contains an
add.
of Henry.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingb.

John Dudley
Son of Ed-
mund Dud-
ley restored.
Herbert.

The War *Henry* intended to undertake against *France*, having for pretence the dissolving of the Council of *Pisa*, he could not dispense with acknowledging that of *Lateran*, and sending thither Ambassadors. He made choice of *Silvester* Bishop of *Worcester*, with *Sir Robert Wingfield*, and commissioned them to agree in his name to whatever should be deemed necessary for the reformation of the Church, as well in the Head as in the Members. This Clause was only to cast a mist before People's eyes, since nothing certainly was farther from the Pope's thoughts, than to endeavour in this Council, either his own or the Church's reformation.

Henry sends
Ambassadors
to the Council
of Lateran.
A. f. Pub.
XIII. p. 325.
February 9.
Herbert.

The Time being come to execute the projects agreed by *Henry* and *Ferdinand* in the Treaty of *London*, *Henry* gave the command of his Fleet to *Sir Edward Howard* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey* (5), and of his Army, which was to act on Land, to *Thomas Grey* Mar-quis of *Dorset* (6). All the Troops that were to serve

The Marquis
of Dorset
leads an
Army into
Spain.
A. f. Pub.
XIII. p. 329.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingb.

(1) By an additional Article, dated *March* 16, it was agreed, That *Henry* should send five hundred Men more; and *Ferdinand* find in all two thousand Men at Arms, and three thousand Light Horse. *Rymor's F. d. Tom. XIII. p. 324.*

(2) His Collector and Pretor in *England*, says *Hall*, fol. 16.

(3) *Hall* says, it met *January* 15. fol. 16; and *Hollinghead*, the 25th, p. 812.

(4) Two Fifteenthths from the Commons, and two Tenthths from the Clergy. *Hall*, fol. 16. *Stow*, p. 490.—The most remarkable Statutes enacted in this Parliament were these: 1. That every Captain shall have his whole and perfect number of Men and Soldiers, and give them their full Wages, upon pain of Imprisonment, and forfeiting all his Goods and Chattels. 2. That no Cloth shall be exported out of the Realm, till it is barbed, rowed, and shorn, upon pain of forfeiting the same. 3. Several ignorant Pretenders and Quacks having taken upon them to practise Physick, it was now ordained, That no Person should take upon him to exercise the Profession of a Physician and Surgeon, unless he is first examined and approved by the Bishop of the Diocese where he resides, or his Vicar-General, upon pain of forfeiting six Pounds a month. See *Statut.*

(5) The King, by an Indenture dated *April* 8, granted *Sir Edward* the following allowance. For his own Maintenance, Diet, Wages, and Rewards, ten Shillings a day. For each of the Captains, for their Diet, Wages, and Rewards, Eighteen-pence a day. For every Soldier, Mariner, and Gunner, five Shillings a month for his Wages, and five Shillings for his Victuals, reckoning twenty eight days in the month. See *Rymor's F. d. Tom. XIII. p. 327.*

(6) He was accompanied by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*; and by the Lords *Brooke*, *Willoughby*, *Ferrers*, the Baron of *Burford*, *Sir Richard Cornwall*, *Sir Maurice Berkeley*, *Sir William Sandes*, &c. *Hall*, fol. 17.

1512. in the *Guienne* expedition, being embarked about the end of *May* (1), in *Spanish* Vessels, arrived the 8th of *June* at *Passage*, in the Province of *Guipuscoa*, where the Marquiss of *Dorset* landed those he was to command. The Lord *Herbert* says, these Troops consisted of ten thousand Men, but probably, he included in that number the three thousand that were to serve at Sea according to the Treaty (2).

Hall.
How.
Hollingsh.
Pol. Vurg.

The Admiral having convoyed the Marquiss of *Dorset* to *Spain*, put to Sea again, and arriving on the Coast of *Bretagne*, landed some Troops, and plundered the Country (3). *Henry* hearing, the King of *France* was preparing a great naval Armament, sent a reinforcement (4) to his Admiral, which enabled him to make head against the *French*. The two Fleets meeting the 10th of *August*, came to a furious engagement, which ended in great loss on both sides. The Regent, a first rate Ship (5), and the *Cordeliere*, commanded by *Primauguet* (6), being grappled, were both blown up, with loss of all their Men. This accident happened by the desperate courage of *Primauguet*, who finding he could not save his Ship, set fire to the powder (7).

Ferdinand's
private de-
sign to con-
quer Na-
varre.

The Treaty of League concluded at *London*, seemed to be made only to pave the way for *Henry* to the Conquest of *Guienne*. But *Ferdinand* had never any such thought. His sole aim was to conquer *Navarre* for himself, and employ to that end the *English* Troops he had sent for into *Spain*. But as it was by no means proper to inform *Henry* of such a project, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering *Guienne*, in order to induce him to send his Troops. This is the true reason why *Ferdinand* shewed in the Treaty so much disinterestedness, that all the advantage seemed to be on the side of *England*. But the performance was very far from answering the engagement.

His many
Artifices to
compass his
ends.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Marquiss of *Dorset* being arrived in *Guipuscoa*, found a Commissioner of the King, who paid him great respect, and told him, the Duke d'Alva was taking the Field, in order to join him. And indeed, the Duke immediately put himself at the head of the *Spanish* Army. But instead of joining the *English* who were encamped near *Fontarabia* with design to besiege with him the City of *Bayonne*, as was resolved, he kept at *Logroño* on the borders of *Navarre*. He intimated to the *English* General, that the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be very dangerous to attack *Bayonne* with *Navarre* behind them: That whilst they should be employed in the Siege, the King of *Navarre* might introduce the *French* into his Dominions, join with them, and by encamping between the Mountains of *Navarre* and the Sea, cut off the Provisions which should be brought to the Camp before *Bayonne*, without being obliged to give Battle, if he thought proper: That therefore it was necessary, before they engaged in the Siege, to try to gain the King of *Navarre* to the Interests of their masters.

These reasons were so plausible, that the Marquiss of *Dorset* was easily persuaded to send an *English* Officer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to join with the Allies. *Ferdinand* summoned him likewise, but more haughtily, to forsake the King of *France*, and come into the League (8). The King of *Navarre* replied, he was resolved to stand neutral. But the *English* and *Spaniards* not being satisfied with this answer, jointly pressed him to declare himself, or deliver four of his Towns for their Security, which that Prince would not grant. During these Negotiations, a *French* Army commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached the Frontiers of *Bearn*. Whereupon the Marquiss of *Dorset* complained to *Ferdinand*, that the time lost in soliciting the King of *Navarre*, had served only to give the *French* opportunity to come and defend their Borders, and withal pressed him to declare, whether he would attack *Guienne*, pursuant to the Treaty of *London*. *Ferdinand* answered, Prudence would not suffer him to send his army to *Fontarabia* to besiege *Bayonne*, and leave his Dominions exposed to the Invasions of the *French* and *Navarrois*: That it was much more convenient to pass through *Navarre*, and secure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making use of that Kingdom against him: That therefore he wished the *English* would join the Duke of *Alva*, and his army should make the Vanguard, to be exposed to the

first dangers: That however the Siege of *Bayonne* would not be retarded, because there was no question, the King of *Navarre* would be glad to be something pressed, in order to justify himself to the King of *France*, when he should enter into the League. The Marquiss of *Dorset*, who did not yet see into his designs, having held a Council of War, replied, That by his Instructions he could undertake nothing against the King of *Navarre*; but if the Duke of *Alva* would pass thro' that Kingdom, he might if he pleased; but for his part, being already near *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking so great a compass to join him.

Ferdinand was not content with this answer. He strongly insisted upon what he had proposed, that the *English* Troops should come and join his army, and in the mean while, gave orders to the Duke of *Alva* to besiege *Pampeluna*, Metropolis of *Navarre*. During the Siege, he continually amused the Marquiss of *Dorset* with positive promises, that immediately after the taking of *Pampeluna*, the Duke of *Alva* should join him to besiege *Bayonne*. Mean while, the King of *Navarre* being unable to defend himself, was retired into *France*, where he made a Treaty with *Lewis* XII, for their common defence. But it cost him the Town of *Salvatierra*, and all *Bearn*, which he was forced to deliver to the *French*.

Pampeluna having surrendered by capitulation the 25th of *July*, *Ferdinand*, according to his promise, should have ordered the Duke of *Alva* to join the *English*. But the rest of the fortified Towns in *Navarre* served him for pretence to delay the Junction. So the Duke of *Alva* continued his Conquests, whilst the *English* Troops, tho' without stirring from their Camp, served as a countenance to his designs. And indeed, though the *French*, who daily received fresh Supplies, saw themselves sufficiently strong to withstand the Duke of *Alva*, they never dared to enter *Navarre*, for fear of coming between the *English* and *Spaniards*. Wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, they gave the Duke of *Alva* all the leisure he wanted to subdue almost all *Navarre*.

Then it was that the Marquiss of *Dorset* plainly perceived the King of *Aragon* acted with insincerity, and that his design from the very first was not to invade *Guienne*, but conquer *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* was very sensible, his Artifice would at last be discovered. So, to prevent the complaints the *English* General might make to the King his master, he sends an Express to *England*, to give *Henry* an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that Country, and to desire him to order his General to act in concert with him. *Henry*, who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquiss, readily sent *Windfor* Herald with the desired orders to the General.

Whilst the Herald was on his journey, the Duke of *Alva* became master of *St. Juan de Pie del Puerto*. Presently after the taking of that place, *Ferdinand* acquainted the Marquiss of *Dorset*, that his army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and desired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay. But the Marquiss was no longer willing to be deceived. He knew, the *French* army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Bidasoa* in front, which must be passed within view, and besides *Bayonne* was so well provided, that there was no likelihood of besieging it. What *Ferdinand* therefore proposed was impracticable, and only a continuation of his Artifices. From *St. Juan de Pie del Puerto*, the right-hand Road led into *Bearn*, and the left to *Bayonne*, so the Duke of *Alva*'s intent was to engage the *English* to enter *Bearn* with him, under colour there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantageous Post, or at least, to besiege *Salvatierra*. But the *English* General having no orders to make War upon the King of *Navarre*, either in *Bearn* or elsewhere, refused to join the *Spaniards*. *Ferdinand* reaped this advantage from his refusal, that he cast the whole blame upon him, of their not invading *Guienne* according to the Treaty. After that, the Duke of *Alva* turning back, laid Siege to *Estella*, the only place that remained to the King of *Navarre*.

The Marquiss of *Dorset*, full of Indignation at these proceedings, and considering that his army was daily weakened by Sickness and want of Provisions, which were grown scarce since the war in *Navarre*, desired *Ferdi-*

1512.

The Duke of
Alva besieges
Pampeluna.
Guicciard.
Hall.
Herbert.

The King of
Navarre
retires to
France.

Pampeluna
taken.

Ferdinand
goes on with
his artifices.

The Duke of
Alva over-
runs Na-
varre.

The Mar-
quiss of Dor-
set perceives
Ferdinand's
Artifices.
Ferdinand
gets an Or-
der for the
Marquiss to
obey him.
Hall.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

He has a
mind to at-
tack Bearn.
Herbert.

The Mar-
quiss refuses
to obey him.

He prepares
to return to
England.
Hall.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

(1) The sixteenth. Hall, fol. 17.

(2) He says farther, that it appears by the *Spanish* History, that there were among them five thousand Archers, who carried, besides their Bows, Halberds, which they pitched in the Ground till their Arrows were shot, and then took up again to do execution on the Enemy. An excellent part (says he) of military Discipline, and yet not remarked by our *English* Chronicles. p. 9.

(3) About Conquest and Brift. Hall, fol. 20.

(4) Of twenty five Ships which the King came and view'd at *Portsmouth*. Idem. fol. 27.

(5) Commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet Master of the King's Horse. The other Captains of note were, Sir John Carew, Sir Charles Brandon, Sir

Henry Gaultsford. This Engagement happened in *August*. Ibid.

(6) Barbarously called by our Chronicles, Sir Piers Morgan, says my Lord Herbert, p. 11. In this Sea-Fight the *English* had forty-five, and the *French* thirty-nine Ships. Hall and Hollingshead give a large Description of the Battle. fol. 21, 22. p. 815.

(7) Upon the loss of the Regent, the King built a Ship the greatest ever known before, and called it *Henry grace de Dieu*. Hall, fol. 22. Tho' Buchanan and Leslie say, he imitated James IV King of Scotland in one he had made, but built it so, that they could not make it faster. Herbert, p. 11.

(8) It was called the Holy League. Herbert, p. 9.

1512. *nand* to furnish him with Ships for his return. It was with great difficulty that he obtained his request, *Ferdinand* still protesting against his departure, as directly contrary to the Treaty. Mean while, he was not sorry for it, since the *English* were almost become useless, after the Conquest of *Navarre*. In the mean while, the Marquis of *Dorset* falling sick, the Lord *Thomas Howard* took the Command of the army. At the same time, as the Troops were going to embark, the Herald arrived from *England*, with positive orders to the General, to obey the Commands of King *Ferdinand* (1). But the army mutinying it was impossible to detain the Soldiers any longer in *Spain*, and the Embarkation being made, they arrived in *England* in *November* (2). *Henry* was at first very angry with his General; but being informed of all particulars during the Campaign, plainly saw, *Ferdinand* had deceived him, and that his affected disinterestedness in the Treaty of League, was only to draw him more easily into the Snare. He thought proper however to dissemble, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a pretence to join with *France*, and leave him in fraits.

He returns in England.

Henry perceives he is deceived, and is angry.

Ferdinand keeps Navarre.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Bembo.

Siege of Bologna.

raised by Gaston de Foix. Bembo.

He meets the Allies, but is killed by him.

La Palisse is Master of all la Romagna. Guicciard.

The Pope tries to gain time.

Lewis XII. The Swiss march to Milan. L. Pautie. Guicciard.

The Pope refuses Peace. Opening of the Council of Lateran.

Lewis XII. is excommunicated. Bembo. Guicciard.

Before the year was expired, *Ferdinand* saw himself in full possession of *Navarre*, though the King of *France* had used some endeavours to wrest that Conquest out of his hands. In *December*, the King of *Navarre*, and *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* besieged *Pampeluna*; but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the rest of the Kingdom to the *Spaniards*. After *Ferdinand* was in possession of *Navarre*, he fought pretences to keep it, but found no better than a Bull of Pope *Julius II*, who excommunicated *John d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, and gave his Kingdom in prey to the Conqueror. *Mezerai* affirms, this Bull never appeared; but the Lord *Herbert* says, it was dated *March 1. 1512*.

We must now see what passed in *Italy* whilst *Ferdinand* was conquering *Navarre*. The confederate army of the Pope, the King of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, under the command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, taking the Field in *December*, the Pope caused the Viceroy to be continually pressed by Cardinal *John de Medici*, his Legate, to besiege *Bologna*. At length, notwithstanding the opposition of the Viceroy, and the *Venetian* General, who foresaw great difficulties in the execution of that design, the Pope's Instances were to be complied with, and the Siege of *Bologna* being resolved, the army of the Allies (3) appeared before the City. But *Gaston de Foix* Duke of *Nemours*, and Governor of *Milan*, coming to its relief, compelled the Allies to raise the Siege. Some days after, he defeated a *Venetian* Army at *Brescia*, and slew eight thousand Men. At last, on the 11th of *April*, finding means to give the Allies battle near *Ravenna*, he put them to rout, and took the Legate prisoner; but was himself slain after the Battle, in too warmly pursuing a body of *Spaniards*, who were retreating in good order. After that Prince's death, *la Palisse* took the Command of the army, and the next day became master of *Ravenna*. Whereupon all the Towns of *la Romagna*, taken by the Pope after the Battle of *Agnadel*, voluntarily surrendered to the Cardinal of *St. Severin*, who was in the *French* Army as Legate of the Council of *Pisa*, transferred to *Milan*.

The Consecration at *Rome* was so great, that the Cardinals went in a Body to petition the Pope to make Peace with *France*. But *Julius II* had resources unknown perhaps to the Cardinals. So, all they could obtain was to engage him to make some feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the *French* from marching to *Rome*, as they might easily have done, without fear of meeting any obstacle.

Whilst *Lewis's* affairs seemed to be in the most flourishing condition, they were in reality going to decay. The *Switzers*, encouraged by the Cardinal of *Sion*, preparing to exert their utmost to invade the Duchy of *Milan*, *la Palisse* thought it more proper for his Master's Interest, to relieve that Country which was destitute of Troops, than make Conquests in the Ecclesiastical State. So, leaving the Cardinal of *St. Severin* in *la Romagna*, with five or six thousand Men, he hastily marched into *Milan*. The retreat of the *French*, when it lay in their power to march to *Rome*, inspired *Julius II* with fresh Courage. From thenceforward he would no more hear of Peace, though *Lewis XII* offered him the same Terms as before his Victory. At this juncture it was that the Council of *Lateran* was opened the 3d of *May*, which had been delayed by reason of the battle of *Ravenna*.

All hope of Peace vanishing, the Pope excommunicated *Lewis XII*, and put *France* under an Interdict (4). He

used for pretence the captivity of his Legate, who was detained at *Milan*, where, tho' a prisoner, he performed however the Functions of the Pope's Legate, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refusing to own the Authority of the Council held in their City. It was a great mortification to *Lewis*, to see his Council contemned by his own Subjects; but this was only a small part of the misfortunes to which he was exposed this same year. After *la Palisse* had quitted *la Romagna*, all the Towns of that Country submitted to the Pope. At the same time, *Ferdinand* became master of *Navarre*, and *Lewis* was forced to send an army into *Bearn* to hinder the *English* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*. On the other hand, the Emperor concluded a Truce with *Venice*, and secretly promised to withdraw from the *French* Army a body of *German* Troops, lent the King for the defence of the *Milanese*. And yet upon the assurance of this aid it was that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* part of his own Troops, not doubting that with those he left there, and the *Germans* sent him by the Emperor, he should be able to resist his Enemies. Thus, the *French* finding themselves weak in the Duchy of *Milan*, *la Palisse* was obliged to recall the Cardinal of *St. Severin*, with his Troops, which was the cause of the loss of *la Romagna*.

Mean while, the *Switzers*, to the number of sixteen thousand, began their march about the end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*. But instead of taking the direct road to the *Milanese*, the passes whereof, they did not question, were strongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, with *Maximilian's* permission. Though this, if any, was an Enemy's act, he was still desirous to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambassador, that his Alliance with the *Switzers* suffered him not to refuse them a passage through his Dominions; as if his Treaty with *Lewis XII* was to be less observed. The *Switzers* having passed unmolested through *Trent*, proceeded to *Verona*, and joining the *Venetians*, they marched together towards *Milan*. Whereupon the *French* entirely disconcerted, and not having above ten thousand Men, resolved to retire into the fortified Towns, in order to waste the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King sent them Supplies, or the approaching Winter stopped the progress of the Allies. But they were soon deprived of this refuge, by the Emperor's orders for his Troops to retire immediately. These orders being punctually obeyed, *la Palisse* found himself so weak, that despairing to save the *Milanese*, he resolved to repass the Mountains, and return into *France*. The Prelates of the Council seeing *Milan* was going to be abandoned, by a sudden Decree, removed the Council to *Lyons*, and followed the *French* Troops. They would have carried the Cardinal *de Medici* with them; but went away in such confusion, that his Friends found means to secure him. After the *French* were retired, all the Towns of the Duchy readily surrendered to the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, except *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, which submitted to the Pope. On the other hand, *Alexander Bentivoglio*, not thinking himself safe in *Bologna*, departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy. Thus *Julius II*, who, about a month before, saw himself in a very ill situation, was arrived at the height of his wishes by this surprizing revolution, which restored him *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, and drove the *French* out of *Italy*.

There remained still four things to do to complete the Pope's happiness, namely, to dispossess the Duke of *Ferrara*, to restore the *Sforza's* to *Milan*, and the *Medici* to *Florence*; and lastly, to expel the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, he voluntarily delivered himself to the Pope, upon the faith of a Safe-Conduct. An Imprudence which would have cost him dear, had he not been freed by *Fabrizius Colonna* his Friend, who forced the Guard set at the gates of *Rome*, to hinder his departure.

The *French* were no sooner out of *Italy*, than the Allies began to discover their different ends in acting against *France*. Upon this occasion they judged proper to meet at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles, namely, that *Maximilian Sforza* eldest Son of *Lodovico the Moor*, should be restored to *Milan*, and the House of *de Medici* to *Florence*. In consequence of this last resolution, the army of the Allies approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to consent to a Treaty, whereby the *Medici* were restored to their Country as Citizens only, and not as Governors. But the Cardinal *de Medici* entering the City by virtue of the Treaty, whilst the army of the Allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many Officers and Soldiers, and raise

1512.

The Council is convened at Milan.

La Romagna returns to the Pope.

The Emperor sends troops into the Venetians. Bembo.

The Emperor lets the Switzers pass thro' Trent. Guicciard.

They approach Milan.

The Emperor withdraws his Troops from the French. Guicciard. who return home.

The Council removed to Lyons. Cardinal de Medici makes his escape.

Bologna left to the Pope's Mercy. Guicciard.

The Duke of Ferrara goes to Rome, and escapes. Guicciard.

Congress of Mantua between the Allies. Ibid.

Florence submits to the Medici. Guicciard.

(1) King *Henry* promised at the same time to send a new Supply of Troops, under the Command of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. *Hall*, fol. 20.

(2) It consisted of eighteen hundred Men at Arms, and about ten thousand Foot. *Guicciard*, l. 10.

(3) It is said that *Lewis* caused several Medals to be coined with this Inscription, *Ferdum Babyloneum, I. uel de. by Babylon*. Which if true, shews that *Rome* was not called *Babylon* first by Protestants.

1512. a Sedition which made him master of the City. Whereupon, the Government was settled upon the same foot, it was before the banishment of the *Medici*.

Another
Censure at
Rome.
Guicciard.

It was a great step for the Pope to have restored the *Medici* to *Florence*, and *Sforza* to *Milan*. But this did not suffice to content him. The Duke of *Ferrara* was still master of his Duchy, and the Council of *Pisa* sitting at *Lyons*. The Allies therefore must be brought to turn their arms against *Ferrara*, and procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, that the Emperor might without difficulty abandon his Council. To that purpose, the Pope obtained a second meeting at *Rome*, where he could gain nothing with respect to *Ferrara*, because the Duke was protected by the King of *Arragon*. Besides, the *Venetians* could not agree to find Men and Money to render the Pope master of that Duchy. As for the Peace between the Emperor and *Venice*, he found still greater difficulties, though he passionately wished to accomplish that Project, for fear one or other of the two Powers should recall the *French* into *Italy*. But the intolerable Terms proposed by the Emperor to the *Venetians*, hindered him from succeeding. In short, the Pope seeing his labour was in vain, and desiring, at any rate, to dissolve the Council of *Pisa*, and prevent the return of the *French* into *Italy*, concluded with the Emperor a League offensive and defensive against *Venice*. By this Treaty, the Emperor engaged to become a principal Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed, that the Pope should keep *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, saving however the Rights of the Empire. He promised to renounce the Council of *Pisa*, and forfake the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivoglio's*. The Pope engaged on his part, to aid the Emperor with all his power, thunder his Censures against the *Venetians*, declare them excluded out of the League of *Rome*, and drop the prosecution of the *Colonna's*, for aiding the Duke of *Ferrara* to make his escape. The Treaty being signed and ratified, the Bishop of *Gurck* as the Emperor's Lieutenant, renounced in the next Session of the Council of *Lateran*, the Assembly of *Pisa*, and revoked whatever had been done by the Emperor towards the calling and supporting it.

The Pope's
League with
the Emperor
against Ve-
nice.
Guicciard.

Articles of
the League.

The Empe-
ror renounces
the Council
of Pisa.
Guicciard.

Sforza is put
in possession
of Milan.

Remarks on
the year
1512.

About the end of *December*, *Maximilian Sforza*, eldest Son of *Lodovico the Moor* was put in possession of the Duchy of *Milan*, pursuant to the agreement of the Allies at *Mantua*.

I have now run over the occurrences of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the several changes in the affairs of *Italy*, and still more, for the conduct of the Princes concerned, which discovers their different characters. *Lewis XII* was the dupe of his scruples, which made him lose the opportunity of disabling the Pope to hurt him, and in the end occasioned the loss of the *Milanese*. *Julius II* made Religion subservient to his immoderate ambition, by using the glory of God and the good of the Church, for a cloak to gratify his passions. Having formed a League to restore the *Venetians* to their Dominions, to the glory of God and exaltation of the Christian Faith, he concluded another, on the same pretence, to dispossess them of all they had recovered. *Ferdinand* drew *Henry VIII* into a War for the Pope's defence, and to procure *Guienne* for the Crown of *England*; but artfully made it subservient to the Conquest of *Navarre* for himself. The Emperour *Maximilian* acted with no more sincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was solely indebted to *Lewis XII* for all he had conquered in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*. Nay, the very preservation of his Conquests was wholly owing to that Prince's continual supplies. And yet, he no sooner saw him upon the decline, but he most ungratefully helped to hurl him down the precipice. It is said he had a Book wherein he marked in red Letters, the injuries received from the King of *France*. But I do not know in what colour *Lewis XII* should have writ in his Book the wrong done him by *Maximilian* on this occasion. As for *Henry VIII*, he was certainly the dupe of the King of *Arragon* and the Pope. But what is more strange, after *Ferdinand* and *Julius II*, by their artifices, had engaged that Prince in a League against *France*, as soon as affairs had taken such a turn that they no longer wanted his assistance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no such Person in the World. In all the Negotiations between the Allies,

whether at *Mantua* or *Rome*, after the retreat of the *French*, Cardinal *Bambridge* was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the King of *England*. The Pope and the King of *Arragon*, satisfied with expelling the *French*, forsook *Henry*, without troubling themselves about his concerns. It even appears that he was not informed of these Negotiations. We see in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that the 10th of November, he still gave full powers to his Ambassadors (1) at several Courts, to treat of a League in favour of the Pope, at the very time, the Pope was entirely neglecting the interests of *England*. About the same time, *Henry* signed Letters Patents, declaring he entered into the League concluded at *Rome* a year before, though, since that, *Julius II* was in possession of *Ravenna*, all *la Romagna*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Reggio*, and his desires had been accomplished by *Lewis's* loss of *Genoa* and *Milan*, and by the Emperor's renouncing the Assembly of *Pisa*. Thus, he was evidently the dupe of all these intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his Troops to *Ferdinand* to conquer *Navarre*. On the other hand, the Terror of his Arms was greatly subservient to the Pope's designs, as it hindered *Lewis XII* from keeping in *Italy* Troops, which he believed necessary for the defence of his Kingdom against the *English*. This was the real aim of *Julius* and *Ferdinand*, and *Henry* was so blind as to engage, without necessity, in a War with *France* for their interest, imagining he was acting for his own.

Who would not have thought that *Henry's* experience should have rendered him wiser and more circumspect? And yet, he was farther amused by these very Princes, who told him that having nothing more to fear in *Italy*, they were going to join all their Forces to invade *France*, and if he would act likewise, he might easily recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. *Henry* being persuaded of their sincerity, immediately sent Ambassadors to *Brussels* (2), to conclude a League against *France* with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, *Charles of Austria* Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and *Margaret* Duche's Dowager of *Savoy* his Aunt, who governed his Dominions during his Minority. *Henry* reckoned that the execution of the Treaty would immediately follow the conclusion. But it will hereafter be seen, that if they concluded the League, it was only to draw Money from him, and leave him to make War all alone. He was young and unexperienced, but withal so self-conceited as to think himself wiser than his Council. Besides, he had plenty of ready Money in his Coffers. What could Persons so subtle as *Julius*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, desire better than to have to deal with such a Prince as *Henry*? We have already seen this year 1512, how artfully they improved so favorable a disposition, and we shall see in the following years, how very little he himself profited by what he might have learnt by experience, during the course of the present. However this be, being resolved to carry War into *France*, he assembled a Parliament the 4th of November, to demand an aid of Money. Shortly after, the Commons, without examining too closely the reasons which induced him to take arms, granted him a Subsidy (3), and a Poll-Tax (4) upon all his Subjects, for the expences of the War (5).

Henry sur-
fers himself
to be farther
imposed upon

ib. p. 344.

During the Session of the Parliament, *Henry* received a Bull from the Pope, who to encourage him to push the War vigorously against *France*, granted a plenary indulgence to all his Subjects that should aid him with their Person or purses. This was all the assistance he had from the Pope for a War, the sole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the Church.

The Parlia-
ment gives
the King
Money.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Bull in fa-
vour of the
King.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 343.

Nothing more remains to finish the account of the occurrences of this year, but briefly to mention the measures taken by *Henry* with regard to *Scotland*.

Whilst *Henry* resolved to carry War into *France*, he used his utmost endeavours to preserve a good understanding with the King of *Scotland*. But it was almost impossible that *England* should be in War with *France*, and *Scotland* not interpose. However, *Henry* imagined that by the assurances he gave the King of *Scotland*, of his intention to observe punctually the Treaty of Peace, he should prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. *James* suffered him to think what he pleased, and in the mean time was preparing to assist *France* by a

Henry tries
in vain to
prevent a
Rupture
with Scot-
land.
Herbert.

(1) Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 13. p. 341.

(2) Sir Edward Poynings Controller of the Household, Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir Richard Wyngfeld, and John Yonge, Doctor of Laws, and Master of the Rolls. Ibid. p. 344.

(3) Two Fifteenths and four Denies. A Fifteenth or Quinzime, is a Tax of Money laid upon a City, Burrough, or other Town through the Realm, and so called, because it amounted to a fifteenth Part of that which the City or Town had been valued at or sold; and therefore every Town knew what a Fifteenth for themselves did amount to, which was in proportion to the Land or Circuit belonging to it. Thus Camden says of Bath, Goldstat pro viginti bidis. Whereas a Subsidy was raised upon every particular Man's Goods or Lands, and therefore was uncertain, because the Estate of every particular Man is uncertain. Council's Diet.

(4) Every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five Pounds, a Lord four Pounds, a Knight four Marks; every Man valued at eight hundred Pounds in Goods, four Marks; and after that rate down to him who had forty shillings in Wages, who paid Twelve-pence; after which every one above fifteen Years of Age, paid Four-pence. Herbert, p. 12.

(5) In this Parliament, the Benefit of Clergy was taken away from Persons committing Murder or Felony in any Church, Chapel, or hallowed Place; and from those that rob or murder any Persons in the King's Highway, or in their Houses. See Statute.

Henry VIII.

powerful diversion, in case that Kingdom was attacked. Upon the first report that the King of England was going to quarrel with Lewis XII, James took care to be provided with pretences to break with him. The affair of *Bretm* furnished him with one, and he moreover sought others. But the true reason of his acting was, that, for some ages past, the Kings of England were grown so powerful, and had shown so great a desire to unite all *Great-Britain* under their Dominion, that the Scots could little expect to resist them but by the assistance of France, which had ever protected them. It was therefore more necessary than just, for Scotland to continue firm to the interests of France, and not suffer that Crown to be disabled to assist her Allies. So, not to swerve from this maxim, James IV, who had determined to go to Jerusalem, laid aside his design when he heard there was like to be a rupture between France and England. He equipped a Fleet, which he intended to send into France, under colour of presenting it to Queen *Ann*, Wife of Lewis XII. But this Fleet, in which was the largest Ship that had yet been seen on the Sea, was lost or disabled by a storm and the Admiral's ill conduct.

The King of Scotland pretends to aid France.

James concludes a League with Lewis XII.

A^d. Pub. XIII. p. 337. 338. 339.

Herbert. Pol. Vag.

A^d. Pub. XIII. p. 339. Herbert.

1513. Views and Interests of the Princes. Of James II.

Of Ferdinand.

Of the Emperor.

Of the Venetians.

At last, Henry having proclaimed War with Lewis XII, James concluded a League against him with France the 2d of May this year. Shortly after, he prepared an Army, but without divulging for what it was designed. His intent was to make an inroad into England, as soon as Henry had sent his Forces into France. Henry having notice of this armament, sent two Ambassadors (1) into Scotland, under colour of adjusting some little differences, but in reality to sound the King's intentions. The Ambassadors acquainting King James that their master was something jealous of this Armament, as if it was made in favour of France, James replied, That being equally an ally of both Crowns, his design was to observe an exact neutrality. The Ambassadors prayed him to give that answer in writing; but he refused, on pretence it would breed a suspicion in the King of France. Shortly after, Henry learnt by his Spies that a League was concluded between France and Scotland, and he even procured a copy of the Treaty (2). So, perceiving that a War with Scotland was unavoidable, he sent the Earl of Surrey into the northern parts with power to levy an Army, and act against Scotland in case of necessity (3).

The occurrences of the year 1512 made great alterations in the interests of the Princes concerned, and consequently in their designs and measures.

Julius II, pleased with having expelled the French out of Italy, and so greatly increased his power, by the acquisition of so many places, was thinking however of seizing Ferrara. After that, he hoped, with the assistance of the Venetians and Florentines to be able to drive the Emperor out of Venice, though he had lately leagued with him. As for the rest, he had no thought of making Conquests in France; his sole aim was to find Lewis XII employment at home, and entirely dissolve the remains of the Council of Pisa, which however was not very formidable to him, since the Emperor's disingagement.

The King of Arragon's sole view was to preserve his late Conquest of Navarre. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep Lewis XII elsewhere employed, or prevail with him not to disturb him. To that purpose it was necessary to use the terror of the Arms of the Allies, and particularly of the King of England, that the King of France being attacked from several quarters, might be induced of himself to desire a Peace, and leave him in possession of Navarre. Ferdinand would not have scrupled to abandon his Allies, provided he could obtain at that rate such a Peace as he wanted.

The Emperor fought only to draw Money both from his Friends and Enemies. He was very sensible, that with his own Forces alone, it would be difficult to make Conquests upon the Venetians; and that the Pope, though his Ally, did not wish it. But he was extremely reserved to them, to procure the larger sums in making a Peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as possible, and make new Leagues, because in all the Treaties of that kind, Money was still given him to maintain imaginary Troops, which he never raised, at least not so many as he promised.

The Venetians were extremely desirous to end a destructive War, by which they were drained. Their sole aim was to induce the Emperor to be satisfied with a good sum of Money, for the restitution of their Towns, and thereby put their State upon the same foot it was before the League of Cambrai. But as the Emperor could not think of depriving himself of an entrance into

Italy by the restitution of these places, it was their business to compel him in some measure, by new Leagues which might make him apprehensive of losing them without any advantage. But as this was the Senate's sole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as soon as the Emperor would hearken to reason.

The Switzers thought only of supporting Sforza at Milan, to have always in that Duchy a Prince who should rely on their assistance. Consequently, it was their interest to keep the King of France at a distance, and oppose all his attempts to recover it.

Lewis XII, extremely mortified at the good success of his Enemies in Italy, ardently desired to recover Genoa and Milan. To succeed, the aid of the Venetians, the Emperor, or the Switzers was necessary. It was also requisite so to hasten the conclusion with one or other of the two last Powers, that the expedition of the Milanese might be made in the Spring, for fear it should be prevented by the War, the King of England was preparing against him in Picardy.

Of all Lewis's Enemies Henry was the only one who thought of making Conquests in France, preposterously imagining, his Allies would make diversions in several places, to facilitate the execution of his designs. But he did not yet sufficiently know them. The Venetians had been excluded out of the late league. The Pope and King of Arragon had no desire to attack France, but only to create Lewis troubles, which might hinder him from thinking of Italy. It was solely with this view that they feigned a willingness to second the King of England. As for Maximilian, Henry and his Council must have voluntarily deceived themselves, to hope for any assistance from him.

James IV King of Scotland, seeing France upon the point of being attacked by the King of England, was preparing to assist her, deeming his own and that Kingdom's interests to be inseparable. He easily perceived, Henry courted him only to hinder his interposing in the quarrel, and was willing to feed him with hopes of succeeding in his design. But he was however determined to break the Peace, rather than leave a Kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a speedy and powerful protection in case of need. It is true, he had made a Peace with Henry VII, and renewed it with Henry VIII. But it was when these Princes had no quarrel with France, his antient and constant Ally. In his opinion, Henry by wantonly attacking France on frivolous pretences, violated indirectly the Peace made with Scotland. At least, James pretended that in signing a Peace with England, he was not bound to forsake France whenever the King of England should think of attacking her.

Such were the dispositions of all these Potentates in the beginning of the year 1513. We must see now by what means each endeavoured to attain his ends. This new Scene will discover to us no less variety, artful managements, devices and artifices, than the former, since the Actors and Personages will still be the same.

Whilst Henry was seriously preparing for the War he was to carry into France, his pretended Allies were minding their own affairs, without regarding his interests. Since he had entered into the League of Rome, the Allies, it seemed, should have done nothing without his knowledge. And yet Julius II had leagued with Maximilian, and excluded the Venetians, without informing him of it.

In the beginning of the year 1513, the Emperor had no farther regard for his new Allies, since he sent and proposed a fresh League to Lewis XII upon new Terms. He offered to assist him in recovering the Milanese, provided Lewis in return would aid him against the Venetians. Moreover, he demanded Renée, Lewis's second Daughter, for Charles of Austria his Grandson, and that for her Dower Lewis should assign him all his pretensions to Milan and the Kingdom of Naples. But that the performance of the Treaty might not entirely depend upon the Faith of the King of France, he required that the Princess should be immediately sent to him, and Cremona, and all Gierradadda delivered to him as soon as the Duchy of Milan was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the Emperor's assurance in making these proposals. He had not hitherto been able to continue the war against Venice, without the assistance of Lewis XII, nay, he thought he still wanted it, and yet made him an offer of his aid to recover the Milanese. Put upon what Terms? Why, after Lewis should have been at a vast expence to recover that Duchy, he was to resign it to the Emperor's Grandson, with his pretensions to Naples. This is called using people like true dopes. But after

(1) Thomas Lord Dacre of Galloway, and Dr. Nicholas West Dean of Windsor. Rymer's Fed. Tom. 13. p. 332. 337.

(2) See the Article in my *Lib. Hist.* p. 12, of the *Compl. Hist.*

(3) Amongst a great part of the King's Palace at Westminster, and the Chapel in the Tower of London were burnt. Stray, c. 222.

1513. the ill turn *Maximilian* had lately served *Louis XII.* it is not very likely, that he believed his proposals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder *Louis* from joining with the *Venetians*. At the same time he intended to inspire these last with jealousy, and a fear of his uniting with *France*, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantageous Conditions.

Louis XII.
French King
in the
Switzer.
Guicciard.

Louis XII. hearkened to these proposals, as if he had some design to accept them, because he thereby hoped to create suspicions in the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and incline them the sooner to join with him. As for the *Venetians*, they desired nothing more than a strict Union with *France*, and if any thing retarded the Negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the Emperor, in which case they would have gladly renounced all sorts of League. As for the *Switzers*, it was not possible for *Louis XII.* to gain them to his side, though he offered them more than at first was demanded. Besides their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, since the restoration of *Sforza* to *Milan*. Whilst that Prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether in good policy they ought to engage in a war with *France* for his sake. But since he was by their assistance in possession of the Duchy, their Honour and Interest required them utmost endeavours to support him (1). However this be, *Louis's* Negotiation with the *Switzers* not succeeding, he was under a necessity to join in a League either with the Emperor or with *Venice*, otherwise he could little expect to recover *Milan*.

Proposals of
 the Venetians
 to Lewis X.

In the mean time, the *Venetians* sent and proposed a League to him upon the same Terms with that of the year 1498, namely, that they would assist him to recover the *Lombardy*, provided he would resign *Cremona* and *Gierradadda*. *Louis* readily listened to their offers; but the *Venetians* themselves did not hasten the conclusion, by reason of their Circumstances presently alter.

Guicciard.

The King of *Aragon* having good Intelligence of what passed between *Louis XII.* and the *Venetians*, informed the Emperor, and advised him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a sum of Money. This was the subject of a long, though fruitless Negotiation.

Death of
 Julius II.
 Guicciard.

Whilst the affairs of *Italy* were in this state of uncertainty, *Julius II.* who was preparing to besiege *Ferrara* in the beginning of the Spring, died the 20th of *February*, having kindled a flame which his death was not capable of extinguishing (2). As soon as the news reached the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was still with his army in *Lombardy*, he approached *Placentia*, and entering without opposition, restored that place to the Duke of *Milan*. *Parma* quickly followed the example of *Placentia*, and was likewise delivered to the same Prince. No one was in haste to send assistance to the future Pope to preserve these places for him. On the contrary, the Princes of *Italy* could not see without uneasiness, that the Popes had footing in *Lombardy*, under a pretence which might, upon occasion, be used against most of them.

Parma and
 Placentia
 submitted to the
 Duke of
 Milan.

Leo X. Pope.
 Aet. Pub.
 XIII. p. 349.
 Guicciard.

On the 11th of *March*, Cardinal *John de Medici*, who eleven months before was taken prisoner at the Battle of *Ravenna*, was elected Pope, and assumed the name of *Leo X.* He was but thirty seven years old, but had however great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs in the late Pontificate. He was neither so hot nor so haughty as *Julius II.* his Predecessor, but was much more artful and politick. I shall have occasion hereafter to add to his Portraiture some Strokes, which will more fully show his Genius and Character.

Truce for one
 year between
 Lewis and
 Ferdinand.
 Guicciard.

Before the death of *Julius II.* *Ferdinand* was employed in framing a plot perfectly answering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year he had sent two Monks into *France* to make some overtures to *Louis XII.* by means of Queen *Ann*, to whom they had access. But as *Louis* perceived it was not possible to make a Peace, or even a Truce with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in possession of *Navarre*, he had appeared at first very cold. But at length, considering that he could hardly expect to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, whilst the King of *Aragon* was his enemy, because it was he that excited the King of *England* his Son-in-law, he determined, though unwillingly, to conclude with him a Truce, for a year, on condition the King of *England* was included, and *Italy* excepted. He reckoned, that during this Truce he should with ease be able to re-conquer the Duchy of *Milan*, after which, he should be sufficiently strong to defend his own Kingdom against the *English*. Nothing was farther from *Henry's* thoughts than such a Truce, which would have broke all his measures, and yet, *Ferdinand* doubted not to act in his name, as if he were sure of his consent. This affair was began in

January, and the 8th of *February*, *Louis* empowered *Odet de Foix* Lord of *Laurie*, to treat with the French Commissioners. In short, the Truce was concluded at *Orthez* in *Bearn* the 11th of *April*. The Treaty was, That there should be a Truce for a year, not of *Italy*, between the King of *France*, the King of *Aragon*, the Duke of *Guelders* on the one part; and on the other the Emperor, the King of *Aragon*, the Queen of *Cyprus*, and the King of *England*. *Louis XII.* undertook to procure the King of *England* and the Duke of *Guelders* consent, and *Ferdinand* engaged for the King of *England*. But as *Ferdinand* knew he could not easily obtain *Henry's* consent, he caused it to be inserted in the Treaty, that it should be ratified within a month by himself and *Louis XII.* but that the other parties should be allowed two months; with express limitation, that with regard to the Emperor, the King of *England*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelders*, the Truce should take place, but from the day of the exchange of their ratifications. Never perhaps was seen any thing so bold as what *Ferdinand* did on this occasion. He perfectly knew that *Henry* would never agree to the Truce, and yet took upon him to procure his consent, as if he had been fully empowered to that end. The last Article, concerning the ratification, plainly discovers his thought. But it is still more visible, in that he not only took no step to persuade *Henry* to do what he seemed to desire, but even concealed from him the Truce as far as possible.

As soon as the Treaty was signed, *Ferdinand* took care to publish his complaints, that he had been very ill used by the Allies of the League; that the Pope and *Henry* had acquired many places, but that he put he had gained nothing at all, and yet the Allies refused to continue the Supply to which they were bound, though the King of *France* still possessed several Towns in *Italy*, and the Spanish Army was still in the service of the League. But this was only to prepare people to see with less surprise and indignation, the private Truce he had just made with *France*, without the participation of his Allies.

The Eyes of the publick were fixed upon the new Pope, to see what course he would take. But he did not long leave the Politicians in suspense. Though whilst a Cardinal, he did not entirely approve of *Julius II's* Conduct, he pursued however his plan as soon as he was in his place. He was doubly concerned to keep the French out of *Italy*: First, as Pope, since Neighbours so powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as head of the House of the *Medici*, he had cause to fear, that if *Louis XII.* recovered the *Milanese*, he would undertake to restore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. In a word, he wished to put an end to the Council of *Pisa*, which could be done only by engaging *Louis XII.* in wars, which should compel him to make his Peace with the Church. *Ferdinand* had likewise the same view, to keep the King of *France* at a distance from *Navarre*, *Roussillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As for the Emperor, it was his Interest to disable *France* to assist the *Venetians*. But they had, none of them, any desire to carry war into *France*, but only so to manage, that this diversion might be made at another's expence.

To that purpose they unanimously cast their Eye upon *Henry VIII.* as a Prince extremely proper to execute their designs. He had ready Money, warlike Subjects, and could with ease transport Troops into some part of *France* remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*. In fine, he was exceeding desirous to signalize himself by illustrious Actions, and scrupled not to show it publicly. So, each of them laboured with all his power to confirm him in his design, to wage war with *France*, by putting him in hopes of being vigorously supported, though nothing was farther from their thoughts. *Leo X.* was no sooner in the papal Chair, but under colour of notifying his Promotion, sent him a Letter, assuring him, that he was fully determined to adhere to the League formed by *Julius II.* his Predecessor, and even to conclude a new one with *England*. But at the same time, he pressed the Emperor to make a Peace with *Venice*, and negotiated with the *Venetians* to hinder their Union with *France*, promising to use all his Interest with the Emperor to procure them an honorable and advantageous Peace. All these practices could not be managed so privately but the King of *France* had some Intelligence of them, so that he soon grew very jealous of the new Pope.

Henry did not want much Solicitation to carry his Arms into *France*. His thoughts were already bent upon a war. So, finding, the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Aragon* promised him to act vigorously, he did not que-

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 the Duke of

1511.

tion the favorableness of the opportunity to recover good part of what his Predecessors had formerly lost. And therefore, he readily agreed to form a new League with them, not for the affairs of *Italy*, with which he was probably disgusted, but to attack *France* from several quarters. And that the League might be the more secret, it was agreed, that it should be negotiated at *Mechlin*, between *Margaret of Ayria* Governess of the *Low-Countries*, authorized by the Emperor her Father, and the Ambassadors of *England* (1), and that afterwards it should be approved and ratified by the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*. This was another snare laid for *Henry*, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though *Ferdinand* was then upon the point of concluding the Truce with the King of *France*, he made himself however one of the principal Parties in this League, as repugnant as it was to the Truce. The Substance of the new League concluded at *Mechlin* the 5th of *April*, about the same time the Truce was signed at *Orthez*, was as follows.

Ast. Pub.
XIII.p.354.
Sec.

The Terms
of the
League.

That within thirty days after the date of this Treaty, each of the Confederates should proclaim War with the King of *France*, and within two months invade him, viz. the Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphiné*: The Emperor in some place out of *Italy*: The King of *Aragon* in *Bearn*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*: The King of *England* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*, and that their Armies should be strong and well provided with all things.

That the Emperor (if he had not yet done it) should revoke all his proceedings in favor of the Council of *Pisa*. This shows how little *Henry* or his Plenipotentiaries knew of what passed at *Rome*, since it was now three months or more that the Emperor had abandoned that Council.

That the Pope should thunder his Censures against all the opposers of this League and abettors of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the War, the King of *England* should give the Emperor a hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, at three payments; thirty-five thousand presently after the declaration of the War, as much more when the War was begun, and thirty thousand within three months after.

That the Emperor meant not to enter into this League as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandson.

That the Emperor and King of *England* should ratify the Treaty within a month, and the Pope and King of *Aragon* within two months; with this express declaration, that in case the Pope and the King of *Aragon* should not ratify the Treaty by the time appointed, it should however be in force between the Emperor and the King of *England*.

Lastly, The Confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's stipulating for them.

Never perhaps was seen more insincerity than in this whole Negotiation, since of all the Confederates *Henry* alone intended to keep his word. *Leo X* ratified not the Treaty; *Ferdinand*, as will be seen presently, disowned his Ambassador: As for the Emperor, he received the Money from the King without troubling himself to perform his engagements. Thus *Henry* was the constant dupe of these Princes, who were a little too politick for him.

The Treaty being brought to *London*, *Lewis Carroz de Villaragud*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassador, approved and ratified it by Letters Patents of *April* 18th. He declared in these Letters, that though he had a sufficient power from the King his master, to conclude the League with the Plenipotentiaries of the confederate Princes, he had not been able, for certain weighty reasons, to be present at the signing at *Mechlin*. But being very sure, the Treaty contained only what was agreeable to the King his Master, who desired nothing more earnestly than it's execution, he approved and ratified, in the said King's name, all the Articles of the Treaty. And to remove all occasion of disputing the validity of his ratification, he inserted the Treaty word for word, in his Letters of ratification, and concluded it again with the Earl of *Surrey* the King of *England's* Commissioner, by virtue of a full power received for that purpose. Afterwards, the 25th of the same month, he swore to the observance of the Articles upon the Souls of *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, and *Jane* Queen of *Castile*. It is uncertain whether the Ambassador was himself deceived, or whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impose upon *Henry*. All that can

Ferdinand's
Ambassador
at London
ratifies and
swears to
the League
of Mechlin.
Ast. Pub.
XIII.p.358.

p. 363.

be said is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being suspected of insincerity, are not very common with those who intend to act fairly.

It must doubtless be thought strange, that a Pope, an Emperor, and a King of *Spain* should thus join, to lay such a snare for a young Prince of twenty-one years of age, and who was even Son-in-law to one of them. And yet it is scarce to be doubted, that the League concluded at *Mechlin*, in the absence of the Pope's and King of *Aragon's* Ambassadors, was thus projected to entangle *Henry*, under colour of keeping it the more secret. They succeeded so well, that *Henry* relying upon the diversions, his pretended Allies would make in *Guienne*, *Bearn*, *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, *Burgundy*, flattered himself that he might easily extend his Conquests in *Picardy*. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by Sea and Land, which put him to a vast expence. But whilst we leave him employed in preparing for the next Campaign, it will be necessary to relate what passed in *Italy*.

Henry is
imposed upon.

Ast. Pub.
XIII.p.364.
Hall.

The *Venetians* not being able to obtain a Peace from the Emperor, who pretended to subject them to very unreasonable terms, solicited afresh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*. On the other hand, *Lewis XII*, to whom time was precious, readily accepted their proposals. Thus the League between that Monarch and the *Venetians* was quickly concluded (2), upon the same foot as that of the year 1498. This was transacted by *Andrew Gritti*, who being then Prisoner in *France*, was commissioned to conclude it in the Senate's name. Presently after he was released, as well as *Alviano*, who returning to *Venice*, was made General of the Forces of the Republick.

League between
Lewis XII
and the Venetians.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.

Guicciard.

When *Lewis XII* had concluded his Treaty with the *Venetians*, he ordered his Troops to march into *Italy*, where they arrived in *June*. As, by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*, *Henry* was allowed two months to send his pretended ratification, and as that term was not yet expired, very probably *Lewis* still flattered himself that *Henry* would perform what the King of *Aragon* had promised for him; otherwise he would not doubtless have sent his best Troops into *Italy*. Mean while, the preparations which were continuing in *England*, and the Hostilities, already begun at Sea since *April*, between the *French* and *English*, should have convinced him that *Ferdinand* had deceived him. However this be, the *French* Army commanded by *la Trimouille* being arrived upon the borders of the *Milanese*, *Maximilian Sforza* quitted his capital, and retired among the *Switzers*, who were to the number of seven or eight thousand Men, at *Como* and *Novarra*, where they expected supplies from their own Country.

Lewis sends
Trimouille
into Italy
with an
Army.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

Upon the approach of the *French*, *Raymund de Cardona*, who was still in *Lombardy* with the *Spanish* Army, retired without making the least motion to assist the Duke of *Milan*, though *Italy* was not included in the Truce of *Orthez*. Very likely *Ferdinand* was not displeased, that the *French* should make some progress in the *Milanese*, to keep them employed there, whilst *Henry* carried War into *Picardy*. At least, any other reason of his General's conduct can scarce be imagined. The Duke of *Milan* having no other Forces but the *Switzers* to oppose to the *French*, *Milan* and the rest of the Towns of the Duchy, except *Como* and *Novarra*, submitted to *la Trimouille* without offering to resist, whilst the *Switzers*, who were not strong enough to take the Field, remained immured within the Walls of these two places. Whilst the *French* were making these Conquests, *Alviano* took for the *Venetians*, *Peschiera*, *Brescia*, *Valeggio*, and at last *Cremona*, after a fruitless attempt to become master of *Verona* by intelligence.

Ferdinand's
General goes
from Milan.

Sforza loses
all Milan
except Como
and Novarra.
Guicciard.

About this time the Faction of the *Adorno's*, who in *Genoa* sided with *France*, found means to become superior, and put the City again under the Dominion of the King (3).

Genoa is
restored to
France.
Guicciard.

Lewis XII was now in possession of the whole *Milanese*, except *Como* and *Novarra*. *La Trimouille* knowing, the *Switzers* expected a strong reinforcement from their own Country, thought he should make haste and besiege *Novarra*, before the arrival of these Troops. He marched therefore to the Town, and in the expectation of taking it immediately, furiously stormed it. But whatever bravery the *French* showed upon this occasion, they were repulsed with a very great loss, which even obliged the General to retire to *Riotta*, a village about two miles from *Novarra*. Mean while, the *Switzers* proud of repulsing so terrible an assault, and beginning to despise the *French*, before whom they had not yet dared to appear in the Field, suddenly resolved to fall out of *Novarra*, and attack the enemy in their Camp. This resolution was imme-

La Trimouille is repulsed by the Switzers at Novarra.

The French Army defeated by the Switzers.
Guicciard.

(1) Which were Sir Edward Poyner, Controller of the Household, John Young Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Beelyn, and Sir Richard Wyngfeld. Rymer's Iud. Tom. 3. p. 354.

(2) At Bliss, March 14. P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 305.

(3) About the end of June. Rapin.

1513.

The French
retire home.
Genoa is
left;

and Sforza
is ejected
to Milan.

Alviano
retires.
Guicciard.

He is defeat-
ed by the
Spaniards.

The Veneti-
ans make the
Pope Em-
pire.

Thomas
Wolsey be-
comes Prime
Minister.
Cavendish,
Fiddes,
Burnet,
Pol. Virg.
Stow.

diately executed, to the great astonishment of the *French*, who not being able to resist this unexpected attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all. Their consternation after the defeat was so great, that they thought it their only safety to repass the mountains, and with all possible diligence return into *France*. The news of their flight reaching *Genoa*, the *Adorno's* quitted the City to the *Fregosa's* their enemies, who chose for Doge *Ottaviano Fregosa* head of their Family and Faction. Thus, within the space of a month, *Lewis XII* got and lost *Genoa* and *Milan*, and *Maximilian Sforza*, who had been expelled out of his Duchy, took possession again. But it was the latter end of the year before he recovered the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, kept by the *French* and *Venetians*.

The revolution in the King of *France's* affairs, occasioned much the same to those of the *Venetians*. *Alviano* their General no sooner heard of the *French Army's* misfortune, but he hastily retired into the territories of *Venice*, and besieged *Verona*. But *Raimund de Cardona*, who had affected a sort of neutrality whilst the *French* were in the *Milanese*, knowing they were out of *Italy*, turned his Forces against *Alviano*. He not only forced him to raise the Siege of *Verona*, but even pursuing him from place to place, obtained over him a signal Victory, which obliged the *Venetians* to refer their differences to the Pope, tho' he had declared against them by assisting the Emperor. The necessity of their affairs compelled them to take that step in order to gain time. They had lost all their Towns in the *Milanese*, and their own Country had been horribly ravaged by the *Spanish Troops*, even within sight of *Venice*.

Whilst these things were acting in *Italy*, *Henry* was preparing to pass into *France* with a numerous Army. But before I speak of the success of his first Campaign, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed at his own Court, and which it will be worth while to insist upon a moment. *Thomas Wolsey* had been introduced to Court by the Bishop of *Winchester*. Presently after, he was made Privy-Counsellor, and as such, had opportunity to make himself better known to the King, and gain his esteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the interest of the Bishop his Benefactor, who ceased not to cause the King to admire the strength of his genius, and observe how fit he was for the greatest affairs. *Wolsey* on his part neglected not what he thought capable of increasing the King's good opinion of him. To an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence in all the affairs he was charged with, he added a blind condescension for all his Master's passions. The King was highly pleased to see in his Court and Council a Churchman, less rigid and scrupulous than the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the old Bishop of *Winchester*. *Wolsey* danced, sung, laughed, and played with the young Courtiers who were most in favour; and if *Polydore Virgil* is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reason to love him, he carried his complaisance so far as to lend the King his house for his most secret pleasures. However this be, his condescension, joined to his Talents for business, and a pretty extensive knowledge in Divinity which he had acquired, as well as the King, by reading the works of *Thomas Aquinas*, soon gave him the advantage over all the other Courtiers. When he saw himself well fixed, he made it his particular business to shew the King his errors since his accession to the Throne, and how his youth had been abused. By this method he insinuated to him by degrees, that he was ill-served, and wanted an able Minister, capable of easing him in the Administration of the most weighty affairs, and of shewing him the consequences. In a word, he so managed, that he became himself that Minister which he advised the King to seek, and by degrees was intrusted with the care and conduct of the King's principal affairs. His credit rendered him haughty, proud, insolent, and ungrateful to his old Friends. In short, he was taxed with all the failings of this nature, which Favorites are usually charged with, and which indeed few Favorites can avoid. *Wolsey*, like most others, grew extremely odious, chiefly because his Counsels were always self-interested, which the event discovered to all but the King, who was blind in that respect. His favor and credit, caused the most potent Princes of *Europe*, to strive to gain him to their interests, and glory, at least outwardly, in being of the number of his Friends. The

reason is, because during this Reign, the affairs of *Europe* were in such a situation, that *England* was capable of making the balance incline to the side she espoused. *Wolsey* knew how to improve this advantage, to render himself the richest and most powerful Subject that ever was; but laboured not with the same ardour for his Master's honour, as for his own interest. After he was declared Prime Minister, he managed, during the space of seventeen years, all the King's affairs both Foreign and Domestick (1).

Before the King was ready to pass into *France*, the War was already begun at Sea. In April, Admiral *Howard* had put to Sea with thirty-two Ships of War (2), whilst the *French Fleet* remained at *Brest*, expecting six Gallies, which *Pregent* (3) was to bring from *Marjilles*. The *English Admiral* approaching *Brest*, resolved to attack the *French Ships* as they lay at Anchor. But upon notice that *Pregent* was arrived at *Conquet*, he failed that way, to endeavour to take the six Gallies, and attacked them indeed with great bravery (4). But during the fight, his Ship being grappled with *Pregent's* Galley, he entered it sword in hand, and at first caused great disorder. Unhappily, the Galley being afterwards disengaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants, and, being unknown, was knocked over-board with a half-pike. The loss of the Admiral caused such a consternation in the *English Fleet*, that they durst not continue the fight (5). The news being carried to Court, the King conferred the Office of Lord Admiral upon *Thomas Howard*, Brother of the deceased. Mean while, as the *French Fleet*, by receiving a strong reinforcement, was become superior to the *English*, the last returned to some Port in *England*, expecting the arrival of the new Admiral. The *French*, encouraged by the retreat of the *English*, failed to the Coast of *England*, and even made a descent in *Sussex*, and carried away some booty.

Mean time, *Henry* was preparing to carry War into *France*, tho' none of his pretended Allies had yet made the least step towards performing the Treaty of *Mechlin*. *Leo X* had not ratified the Treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the sending of an Army into *Provence* or *Dauphiné*. The Emperor began to seek excuses not to enter *Burgundy* with an Army, though he had positively promised it. As for the King of *Arragon*, he had not only concealed from *Henry* his one year's Truce with *France*, but was even trying to amuse him with hopes, that he was instantly going to make a powerful diversion in *Guienne*. He so artfully acted his part, that it was June before *Henry* was fully informed of the Truce of *Orthez*. Provoked at such a Fraud, he dispatched an Ambassador to the King his Father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of Faith, and summon him to execute the Treaty of *Mechlin*, or rather, that signed by his Ambassador in his name at *London*. Whereupon *Ferdinand*, seeing he could no longer wear the mask, disowned his Ambassador, and said, he had exceeded his Instructions. He confessed however, he had concluded a Truce for a year with *Lewis XII*, being forced by the necessity of his affairs, but promised to do wonders when it was expired, and advised his Son-in-law to accept of the Truce, that they might afterwards unite their Forces, and jointly attack the common Enemy. But *Henry* could no longer rely upon such promises. Thus, by the Artifices of the Pope, the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*, he saw himself engaged to carry War alone into the Enemy's Country, which was to have been invaded in four several quarters. He was not convinced of their insincerity till it was almost too late to recede, the greatest part of his Army having already passed the Sea, and just entering upon action. Happily for him, *Lewis XII*, deceived by the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Orthez*, had now sent his best Troops into *Italy*, imagining *Henry* would accept of the Truce according to the King of *Arragon's* Engagement.

Shortly after *Henry* received a Letter from the Emperor, with many excuses, that it was impossible for him this year to lead an Army into *Burgundy*, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year. Mean while, to shew, he meant not to forsake him, he said, he would come and serve as Volunteer in his Army. Thus, of the four Allies who were to act at once against *France*, *Henry* alone was charged with the burden of the

(1) In the present War, the King committed to him the direction of the Supplies and Provisions to be made for the Army; which *Wolsey* took care not to neglect the Advantages of. The victualling of his Army was not, without a Sarcasm to his Birth, recommended to *Wolsey*, says the Lord *Herbert*, p. 15.

(2) *Hail* and the Lord *Howard* say, forty two. fol. 22. p. 13. The Admiral was accompanied by *Walter Deneux* Lord *Forbes*, Sir *Mollan Bruce*, Sir *Edward Lhyrgham*, Sir *Anthony Poyntz*, Sir *John Walslop*, Sir *Thomas Wyndham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-William*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, Sir *William Sidney*, Esquires, &c. *Hail*, fol. 22. *Stow*, p. 491.

(3) Called by our Histories, *Prior Job*.

(4) This Sir *Edward Howard* was not eldest, but second Son of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*. slain at *Barnet*-field, and attainted in the Parliament of *Hen. VII*. The said *Thomas* was restored (4 *Hen. VII*) to the Title of Earl of *Surrey*, and to the Land, which were his Wives Inheritance. Sir *Edward* was constituted Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Newmanly*, *Gascogne*, and *Algarve*; 4 *Hen. VIII*. *March* 19. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 267, 271.

1513. War. Edward IV his Grandfather had been formerly in much the same case, and thought it no dishonour to make a speedy Peace with *Lewis XI*, when disappointed by his Allies. If *Henry* had followed his example, he would have terribly embarrassed those by whom he was deceived, but being greedy of Glory, would shew he had no occasion for them. He had so relied on the sincerity of his Allies, that though the Treaty of *Mechlin* was not to be ratified by the Pope and the King of *Arragon*, till the 5th of *June*, he had caused the best part of his Army to pass over to *Calais* in the middle of *May*. It is evident, the ratification of the Treaty of *Mechlin* had been so long retarded, only to engage *Henry* beyond a possibility of receding.

He passes his Army over to Calais.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

Before the departure of the first Troops (1), *Henry* had beheaded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Prisoner in the Tower ever since the reign of *Henry VII*, who gave *Philip I*, King of *Castile*, a positive promise to spare that Lord's life. But probably, he gave the Prince his Son orders like those given by King *David* to *Solomon* his Successor, with respect to *Joab*. The Historians have endeavoured to discover *Henry's* Inducement at such a Juncture, to put the Earl of *Suffolk* to death, who was not in condition to hurt him. But they have said nothing satisfactory (2).

The two Bodies of Troops transported to *Calais* departed thence the 17th of *June* (3), under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (4), and the Lord *Herbert* (5), in order to march to *Terouenne*, to which they laid Siege (6). But the King departed not from *England* till the 30th of the same month, having constituted Queen *Catherine* Regent (7). He arrived the same day at *Calais*, being attended by *Thomas Wolsey* his Prime Minister, *Charles Brandon* another Favorite lately made Viscount *l'Isle* (8), with many other Lords (9). Whilst the Troops continued the Siege of *Terouenne*, he remained at *Calais* with a body of nine thousand Men, ready to march upon the first occasion. At last, having certain advice that the Duke of *Longueville* was approaching to relieve the Town, he halted from *Calais* to the Siege, where he arrived the 4th of *August*. On the 9th, the Emperor came and conferred with him between *Aire* and *Terouenne*, and three days after repaired to the Camp and served as Volunteer under the King, making no scruple to receive a hundred Crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of esteem, and the imaginary honour he did the King, he meant to make amends for his Breach of Faith, and the hundred thousand Crowns received for an Expedition which he had never intended to make.

Henry comes to the Siege.

The Emperor serves in the English Army.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

Mean time, the Duke of *Longueville* who commanded the *French* Army, approaching *Terouenne*, *Henry* passed the *Lys* with the greatest part of his Troops, in order to meet him. The two Armies engaged, but not long. For the fight was hardly begun, when the *French*, by what accident is unknown, ran away in confusion without any possibility of their being rallied. But the principal Officers chose rather to be taken prisoners than follow so dishonorable an example. The Duke of *Longueville* was of the number, with Chevalier *Bayard*, *la Fayette*,

Buffi d'Amboise, and some others of the greatest Distinction. This Battle, if such a rout may be so termed, was called, *The Battle of Guinegate*, and by some, *The Battle of Spurs*, because the *French* made more use of their Spurs than their Swords. Whilst the two Armies were in view, before the Engagement, a body of *French* attempted to introduce a Convoy of Provisions into the Town, but were repulsed by the Lord *Herbert*, who was left to guard the Trenches. After the Battle, the besieged despairing of relief, surrendered the City the 22d of *August*, and the King, in company with the Emperor, entered on the 24th.

Terouenne surrenders.
Hall.
Stow.

It seemed to be *Henry's* destiny to be always the Emperor's dupe. After the taking of *Terouenne*, *Maximilian*, who had only served at the Siege as Volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and immediately ordered it to be demolished. It is hard to conceive what induced *Henry* to this condescension. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the Capitulation, some Article against the razing of the place, but that altering his mind, he was willing to save his honour by delivering it to the Emperor. Though this were the case, there would be no less reason to be surprized at his management. 'Tis easy to perceive it was very advantageous to *Charles of Austria*, Grandson of *Maximilian*, that *Terouenne* belonged neither to the *French* nor the *English*. But what Interest could *Henry* have to lose so many Men, and so much time, to take a place in order to have it razed in favour of *Maximilian*, who had not merited such a Condescension (10)?

As the Season was not yet far advanced, *Henry* resolved, before the end of the Campaign, to besiege *Tournay*, whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the Emperor's Intrigues had again influenced his Council. For, the Conquest of *Tournay*, which lies at some distance from *Calais*, was much less advantageous to *Henry* than to the Archduke *Charles*, whose Dominions it secured; whereas *Boulogne* would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the King, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Calais*. Nevertheless the Siege of *Tournay* was resolved, probably, because the Emperor hoped the King would give him that place as he had done *Terouenne*. But he found against him Interests stronger than those of the King himself, which opposed his designs.

Whilst preparations were making for the Siege, *Henry* paid a visit to *Margaret* Governess of the *Low-Countries*, who was at *Lille*, and staid three days with her. Then he returned to his Army which was marching to *Tournay* (11), but the Emperor left the King upon some disgust, the reason whereof is unknown. Next day, the 15th of *September*, the army arrived before *Tournay*, which held out but seven or eight days (12). *Henry* entered the City on the 24th (13), a month after his Entry into *Terouenne*. By the Capitulation, the Inhabitants were to have their antient Privileges, upon paying to *Henry* a small annual acknowledgment of four thousand Livres *Tournois*, for ten years only (14).

Henry visits Margaret of Austria.
Hall.
Herbert.

Tournay taken.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 377.
Sept. 23.
Herbert.
Hall.

After the taking of *Tournay*, the King calling a Coun-

Henry keeps Tournay.
Herbert.

(1) On April 30. Stow, p. 491.

(2) The chief Reason, as my Lord Herbert and others say, was his fear, in case of the King's death in France, the People being well-affected to the House of York, should take him out of the Tower and make him King. *Edward de la Pole* was Son of *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Elizabeth* Sister of *Edward IV*. But this reason seems weak, since *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, the King's Sister, was the undoubted Heir of the House of York, in case the King died with an Issue. The French Writers say, *Richard* his younger Brother commanded six thousand *French* at the Siege of *Terouenne*, which some have thought hastened his Brother's death. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 190. Hall, fol. 26.

(3) *Thomas Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, was General of all the King's Forces both by Sea and Land, and *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Admiral. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 367, 366.

(4) *George* Talbot High-Steward of the King's Household, accompanied with *Thomas* Stanley Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas* Docwra Lord Prior of the Order of St. *John*, Sir *Robert* Ratcliff, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice* ap *Thomas* Captain of the Light-Horse, Sir *Thomas* Blount, Sir *Richard* Sackville, Sir *John* Digby, Sir *John* Akeley, Sir *Lewis* Bagot, Sir *Thomas* Cornwall, &c. This Body consisted of above eight thousand. Herbert, p. 15. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 372. Stow, p. 491.

(5) *Charles* Somerset, natural Son by *Joan* Hill of *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* (who lost his Life in 3 *Edward IV*.) married *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Herbert Earl of *Huntington*, by reason whereof he bore the Title of Lord Herbert, and as such had Summons to Parliament, 1 *Henry VIII*, 3 *Henry VIII*. He was Lord Chamberlain to *Henry VII*, and continued in the same Office to King *Henry VIII*. From him are descended the present *Somersets*, Duke of *Beaufort*. He was attended by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley*, and *De la Ware*, the Barons *Cavendish*, and *Guyon*, Sir *Thomas* West, Sir *Edward* Hoey, Sir *Robert* Timothee, Sir *David* Owen, &c. He commanded six thousand Men. The Baron of *Carosse*, Master of the Ordnance, was killed the first night before *Terouenne* in the Lord Herbert's Tent, which came so near him, that the *French* writ he was slain there. Herbert, p. 15. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 372.

(6) June 22. There were within the Town six hundred Horse, and two thousand five hundred Foot, besides the Inhabitants. Hall, fol. 24. *Herbert*, p. 817.

(7) He was also General of all the Forces in *England*, and had Power, with five noble Personages, to take up Money upon Loan, as occasion should require, and to give Security of the Sums for maintaining and raising of Forces, if need should require; as it is more particularly set forth in the Patent Rolls of these times. Bacon, p. 145.

(8) May 15th, 1513. His Uncle *William* Brandon, Standard-Bearer to *Henry VII* at *Bosworth-Field*, was slain by King *Richard III* himself. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 299.

(9) The King divided his own Forces into three Bodies. The Vanguard, consisting of three thousand Men, was commanded by *Charles* Brandon, Viscount *Lisle*; the right Wing by Sir *Richard* Carew, and the left by *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*; *Henry* Bouchier Earl of *Essex* was Lieutenant-General of the Spears, and Sir *John* Peck commanded the Horse. *Edward* Stafford Duke of *Buckingham*, with six hundred Men, was on the King's left hand; and on the right, Sir *Edward* Poynings with the same number. *George* Nevill, Lord *Abergavenny*, followed with eight hundred Men; and Sir *William* Compton, with the retinue of *Fox* Bishop of *Wimborster*, and of *Wesley*, which amounted to eight hundred Men, brought up the Rear. The King's Forces were in all eleven thousand three hundred Men. Stow, p. 491.

(10) It bordered, it seems, upon his Territories, which had been much infested by Irruptions from thence, and therefore by his Intreaty, it was razed, save only the Cathedral and religious Houses. But the *French* repaired it soon after. This could not but seem strange, since it cost so much, as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it *Incalculable* and *Infinite* Expence. Herbert, p. 16.

(11) The King, about a Mile or two from *Lisle*, lost himself in a great Mist, neither could he nor any of his Train resolve which way to turn, till a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both informed him where his Army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great Joy of them all. Herbert, p. 16. Hall, fol. 35.

(12) Though the Gates bore this Inscription, *Thou* Last never lost thy *Virginity*. Hall, fol. 44.

(13) Hall says, it was the 2d of *October*. The King knighted upon this occasion, *Edward* Guildford, *William* Fitz-William, *John* Dauncy, *William* Tiler, *John* Sharpe, *William* Hoey, *John* Savage, *Christopher* Garnyshe, &c. The number of Inhabitants in that City was eighty thousand. Hall, fol. 45.

(14) And present payment of fifty thousand Crowns de *faulx*, (or ten thousand Pounds Sterling. Hall, fol. 44.) The City surrendered to the King by the Name of *Roy* *Tra-Cherquis*, [*Most Christian King*.] Herbert, p. 17.

1513. cil of War, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which seemed to be difficult, by reason of its distance from *Calais*. But after a long debate, it was resolved to keep it, and leave for Governor Sir *Edward Poynings*, with a strong Garrison. The contrariety of the two resolutions with respect to *Terouenne* and *Tournay* will, perhaps, appear strange. The first of these places which was nearest *Calais*, and secured the road from *Calais* to *Tournay*, was demolished. The second, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed necessary to be kept. This contrariety could proceed only from *Wolsey's* Interest, who influenced the Council as he pleased. He had cast his Eyes on the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, as a thing very convenient for him, whereas that of *Terouenne* was nothing in comparison. Accordingly, he afterwards found means to obtain the administration of this See, under colour, that the Bishop refused to swear Fealty to the King. This is the true reason why it was resolved to keep *Tournay*, and perhaps of undertaking the Siege (1).

Next day after the King's Entry into *Tournay*, the Princess *Margaret* Duchess Dowager of *Savoy*, and the Archduke *Charles* her Nephew, came to congratulate him upon his new Conquest. The fortnight they staid with him, he took care to entertain them with all sorts of Diversions, as Jests, Turnaments, running at the Ring, Balls, Masquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidst all these Diversions, the Ministers of the two Courts began a Treaty, which was concluded a few days after.

Margaret and *Charles* being returned to *Lisle*, *Henry* repaid their visit (2), and was received with all imaginable respect and civility. Some days after, on the 15th of *October*, they signed a Treaty, importing, That though *Henry* had bound himself not to repass into *England* till the war was ended, he should however, have liberty to return thither with his army.

That during the Winter, the Emperor should keep in *Artois* and *Hainault* a body of four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, for the Defence as well of *Tournay* and the *Tournaisis*, as of the Archduke's Dominions.

That for the maintenance of these Troops, *Henry* should pay the Emperor two hundred thousand Crowns at several payments.

That before the 1st of *June* next year, *Henry* should carry war into *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*, and the Emperor into some other Province of *France*.

That before the 15th of *May*, the Emperor, the Duchess *Margaret*, the Archduke *Charles*, the King of *England*, Queen *Catherine*, the Princess *Mary*, should meet all together at *Calais* to celebrate the Archduke's Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, pursuant to the Treaty concluded between the Emperor and the late King *Henry VII.*

Whatever was to be done, *Henry* must always find Money. *Maximilian* had already received a hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, without having executed any of his Engagements entered into by the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and found means to procure two hundred thousand more by the present Treaty, besides the advantage of razing *Terouenne*, which very much annoyed his Grandson the Archduke's Dominions. Nay, it is very probable, the disgust which made him quit the King's Army, proceeded from his not being able to persuade him to promise him *Tournay* also when taken. This manifestly shews, he looked upon *Henry* as a novice, easily to be insnared. Certainly *Henry's* many false steps in the beginning of his reign can only be excused by his little knowledge of the Character of the Princes with whom he treated.

It cannot be doubted, that the King of *Arragon* was of the same opinion concerning *Henry* his Son-in-law. Notwithstanding the ill turn he had served him last year, he had still the assurance to send him an Ambassador at *Lisle* to propose a new League, as if his word had been more to be relied on than some months before. But it does not appear that *Henry* was then inclined to trust to his promises.

Henry departed from *Lisle* the 17th of *October*, and on the 24th arrived at his Palace at *Richmond*, after a glorious Campaign. I call it glorious, if the Success of his Arms be only considered. But in another respect it was not very honorable, since he had been the dupe of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the War, which should have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken *Terouenne* and *Tournay*. But the first of these

places being given to the Emperor, and razed, was to him of no benefit. As for *Tournay*, he never reaped any considerable advantage from it, by reason of its distance from *Calais*. *Wolsey* was the only gainer by it, the Bishoprick of that City, which he obtained in the end, together with the Abby of *St. Amand*, being of a much greater Revenue than what the King himself received from *Tournay* and its Territory.

The ill Success of the *Italian* Campaign had put *Lewis XII's* affairs in a bad situation, and the loss of the battle of *Guinegatte*, with the taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, had entirely disordered them. But this was a title in comparison of the danger *France* was in, by a Swiss Invasion, after the *French* were driven out of the *Albanje*. The warlike *Switzers*, excited against *Lewis* by the Pope and the Emperor, not being furnished with their advantages over him in *Italy*, resolved to attack him in his own Kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reason of the several forementioned Junctures. To improve this opportunity therefore, the *Switzers* levied fifteen thousand Men (3), to whom the Emperor joined all the Nobility of *Franch-Comté*, and some *German* Horse, under the Command of *Ulrich Duke of Wirtemberg*. This army entering the Duchy of *Burgundy*, encamped before *Dijon*, where *la Trimouille*, lately returned from *Italy*, had shut himself up with some Troops (4); but that place was so weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it. He defended it however six weeks. But at last, seeing that by the loss of *Dijon*, not only *Burgundy*, but all the rest of *France* would be in great danger, he thought he should prevent it without waiting the King's order, which might come too late. By a Capitulation with the *Switzers*, he bound himself to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns (5), of which he paid down twenty thousand, and promised in the King's name, that he would desist from all his pretensions to the Duchy of *Milan*. The *Switzers*, pleased with their Expedition, retired into their own Country, carrying with them four Hostages, who found means to escape when they knew the King refused to ratify the Capitulation.

Lewis XII finding himself attacked in so many places, and not doubting that the Pope and the King of *Arragon* created him all these Troubles, resolved at last to be reconciled with the Pope. This agreement was the more easy, as *Leo X* had not, like *Julius II*, a personal enmity against him. Since the *French* were out of *Italy*, he had nothing to demand of the King, but the dissolving of the Council of *Pisa*, without which indeed he could not consent to a Peace. The Council was grown so thin, that *Lewis*, in forsaking it, made no great sacrifice to the Pope. It is true, the submitting in a point he had hitherto openly maintained, seemed to be something dishonorable. But as the Council of *Pisa* had been properly summoned against *Julius II*, he thought he might without reproach yield to another Pope. However, *Lewis* perceiving, that by his reconciliation with *Leo X*, he should take from the Kings of *England* and *Arragon* the pretence they used to make War upon him, was at length induced to renounce his Council, and acknowledge that of *Lateran*. This renunciation was solemnly made in the tenth Session, held about the end of *December*.

Leo X, in the beginning of his Pontificate, wrote to *Henry*, as to all the rest of the Princes, earnestly exhorting him to Peace. In this manner he was to talk, in order to discharge the duty of the common Father of Christians. *Henry*, who saw plainly, and was afterwards more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, replied, he could not make Peace without his Allies, and that a separate Peace would be directly contrary to all his Engagements. This answer displeased not the Pope, who then sought only to raise Enemies to *France*. But when he was sure of his agreement with *Lewis XII*, he took occasion to send another Letter to *Henry*, telling him, he never intended to persuade him to make a separate Peace, but as he had taken Arms solely for the defence of the Church and the Holy See, and had, by his late Victories, attained the end he had proposed, it was reasonable he should lay them down, since the Prince, who oppressed the Church, was returned to his obedience. The Letter was dated *December* the 17th, about the time of the tenth Session of the Council of *Lateran*, wherein the *French* Ambassadors made a solemn Submission in their Master's name.

Nothing contributed more to open *Henry's* eyes, than this second Letter. He imagined, when he perceived that he took arms in defence of the Church, his Allies

(1) *Wolsey* represented to the King, that it was fit *Tournay* should be kept as a Trophy of his Victories, and the rather as Cardinal in his Commemorative acknowledges he no where met with so brave a Resistance. However, it cost *Wolsey* no small trouble and opposition before he could obtain the possession of this Bishoprick. *Herbert*, p. 17. *Strey's Mem. Eccl. Henry VIII.* p. 15.

(2) *October* 11. *Hall*, fol. 45.

(3) Twenty five thousand, says *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 320. — *Guicciardin* says, they had twenty thousand Foot, and that the Emperor sent them a thousand Horse and Artillery, l. 12.

(4) A thousand Lance, and six thousand Foot. *Guicciardin*.

(5) Six hundred thousand. *Hall*.

1513. knew, he did not mean, for all that, to neglect his own Interest, that Language being properly only to amuse the publick. He had the more reason to believe it, as, even in the Treaty of League, each of the Allies had evidently proposed to himself temporal advantages. And yet, he saw, the Pope had no sooner obtained his desire, but he took the words of the Preamble of the Treaty in the literal Sense, as if there had been indeed no other design than to labour for the Church, and under that colour, pretended to dissolve a League formed by himself. This convinced him, that the Pope, in drawing him into a war with France, had only his own Interest in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleased with the King of Arragon, nor had reason to be so. As for the Emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promised. All these Considerations having at last opened his Eyes, produced a Peace with France, which was concluded the next year. But before we close this, it will be necessary to relate what passed during the Campaign, between the English and Scots.

Here follows to
make Peace
with France.

War between
England and
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

James IV seeing Henry ready to carry War into France, called his Parliament, and represented to them the indignities Scotland had suffered from the English, since the last Peace. Breton's affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the best reason, he alledged to induce the Scots to a War, was, that France, the ancient and faithful Ally of Scotland, being about to be invaded by the King of England, he could not dispense with assisting her. This reason, though very plausible, was not however universally approved. Many thought it strange that the King should thus wantonly, and without an urgent necessity, break a Peace advantageous to Scotland, solemnly sworn to, and even lately renewed. But the King's Creatures and the Pensioners of France, whom Lamotte, the French Ambassador, had now prepared to serve the King his Master upon this occasion, carried it by a great majority, so that War was resolved.

James IV
enters Eng-
land.
He sends a
challenge to
Henry.
Hall.

Henry's
Answer.

Henry was in France, when James assembled his Army to invade England, pursuant to the foregoing resolution. But to keep some sort of formality, James writ him a Letter, and sent it by a Herald, who found him at the Siege of Tournay. This Letter, dated the 26th of July, contained the Grievances, James believed to have cause to complain of, and a declaration of War in case he desisted not from his Invasion of France. Henry could not send his answer till the 12th of August, the substance whereof was, "That he was not at all surprized to see him break the Peace upon frivolous pretences, since he therein only imitated the insincerity of his Ancestors and Progenitors. Then he upbraided him, that whilst he knew him to be in England, he never shewed, either by Letter or Ambassador, that he intended to espouse the King of France's quarrel, but waited for his departure to execute his unjust designs. He added, that knowing him perfectly, he had foreseen his breach of Faith, and for that reason, before he passed into France, had taken such a course, and so well provided for the defence of his Kingdom, that he did not question, by God's help, to frustrate all the endeavours of Schismatics, excommunicated by the Pope and Council of Lateran. That besides, he hoped to have it very soon in his power to requite him, and in the mean time, would not fail to take the most effectual methods, to deprive him and his posterity of all hopes of ever inheriting the Kingdom, he was going so perfidiously to invade. After that, he set before his eyes the example of the King of Navarre, who for taking part with France, was dispossessed of his Kingdom, without hopes of being ever restored. As for the pretended grievances alledged in his Letter, he said, they had been so often answered, that all farther mention of them was entirely needless. But for the King of Scotland's summoning him to desist from the War with France, he told him, he did not acknowledge him for competent judge in his affairs with Lewis XII, and notwithstanding his threats, would continue the War. He concluded with saying, that he might be assured he would omit no opportunity to be

"revenged, wherein he hoped to succeed, with the help of God and St. George."

1513.

James stayed not for an answer to his Letter, to take the Field. On the 22d of August, he enter Northumberland, and took several places, particularly Norham Castle (1). The English Writers affirm his Army to be sixty thousand strong. Nay, some mount the number to a hundred thousand, which is hardly credible. It cannot however be doubted it was very numerous, considering the care Buchanan takes to shew, it was extremely lessened by desertions, and by being kept unemployed for some time. The Earl of Surrey was then in Yorkshire (2), with twenty six thousand Men. But at the first news of the Scots entering England, he marched directly towards them, and the 4th of September came near enough to send and offer them Battle, by a Herald, who reported that the King of Scotland accepted it for the Friday following. James was then encamped on the edge of mount Cheviot, where it was difficult to attack him (3). And therefore, the Earl of Surrey, seeing the Scots would fight only in so advantageous a Post, resolved to stay till they descended on the plain. The English not appearing on the day appointed, an old Scotch Lord (4) took occasion to represent to the King, that he had done enough to save his honour: That it was not prudent to fight the English in their own Country, but the best way would be to retire with his booty into Scotland, where it would be in his power to fight or avoid a Battle as he pleased: That as he had taken Arms only to make a diversion in favour of France, he no less employed the English Forces, without fighting, than by hazarding a Battle: That upon this occasion he ought not to listen to the interested Counsels of the French Ambassador, who only wanted to hazard some great action at another's expence, in order to free the King his Master from his present streights: But in serving France, Scotland was likewise to be regarded. This advice seemed too cautious to the King. As he had determined to give Battle, he fiercely answered, he would fight the English were they a hundred thousand. Mean while, the Earl of Surrey to draw him from his Post, marched along a River (5) which parted the two Armies, as if he intended to enter Scotland thro' Carlisle, the road to which place he seemed to take. James having notice of it, set fire to his Camp, and marched along the same River on the opposite side. But unhappily for him, the smoke of his own Camp hindered him from seeing the English, who forded the River unperceived. Then James halting about Flodden, drew up his Army. Here it was the Earl of Surrey attacked him, having passed with difficulty a sort of morass between the two Armies. The particulars of this Battle are so variously related by the Historians of both Nations, that the one cannot be followed without departing from the other. But as to the success it is not the same. They all agree, the Scots lost the day, after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the Combatants. The two Armies retiring, the English knew not they were victorious, till the morning, when they saw, their enemies had quitted the Field of Battle with all their Artillery. The English own, they lost five thousand Men in this Battle, which was fought the 9th of September. But they say the Scots lost ten thousand (6). The Scots pretend, there were but five thousand slain on each side, but confess their loss was very considerable by the great number of Lords and Officers of their nation killed in the Battle; whereas the English lost not one Person of distinction (7). King James was never more seen after the Battle. The English imagined they found his Body wounded in two places, upon a heap of dead, and ordered it to be put into a Leaden-Coffin, without daring however to bury it, because he died excommunicate. But the Scots affirmed it was not the Body of their King. They said that before the Battle, he had caused five Men of his own Stature to wear the same Arms with himself, and that the Body which the English took for the King's was one Elphinstone's who greatly resembled him. However, they could not tell what was become of the King. One said

James takes
Norham.
Herbert,
&c.

Hall.

The Earl of
Surrey
marches to-
wards him,
and offers
him Battle.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

It is endeavoured to
dissuade James
from fighting.
Buchanan.

Hall.

Battle of
Flodden,
where James
is defeated
and slain.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

The English
believe they
had found his
Body.
Buchanan.
Hall.

(1) Which yielded after a six days Siege. Hall, fol. 38.

(2) The King had, at his departure, appointed him his Lieutenant in the North of England; with Orders, if the Scots made any Incursions, to raise the Militia of the Counties of Cestrie, Lancashire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Hall, fol. 37. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 375.

(3) There was but one narrow Field to get up to him, and at the bottom of the Hill was placed all his Ordnance. On one side of his Army was a great Marsh, and the other parts of it were encamped with Cheviot Hills. Hall, fol. 40.

(4) Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. Buchanan.

(5) The River Tyne, or else Sandwyke. Hall, fol. 41.

(6) Hall says, there were fifteen hundred English, and twelve thousand Scots slain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thousand Scots.

(7) In this Battle the Vanguard was led by the Lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the Lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Norpe, or Upate, Lumley, Ogley, Sir Nicolas Fitzjard, Sir William Sidney, Sir William Gascoyne, Sir Stephen Bull, Sir Henry Sherburne, &c. The right Wing was commanded by Sir Edmund Howard, and the left by Sir Marmaduke Costantine. The Rear was brought up by the Earl of Surrey himself, who was attended by the Lord Scroppe, Sir Philip Threy, Sir George Darcy, Sir Thomas Barkley, Sir John Stanley, Sir John Willoughby, &c.; the Lord Dacres and Sir Edward Stanley, with their Horse, being appointed as a Reserve. On the Scotch side there fell one Archbishop, two Bishops, four Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Barons, with eight or ten thousand common Soldiers. See a Description of the Battle in my Lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38, &c. Stow, p. 492.

1513.

Buchanan.

Henry &
Pope's
to bury the
Corps.
The Pope's
Answer.
Arch. Pub.
XIII p. 385.
Nov. 29.

indeed he saw him ride over the *Tweed* after the Battle. But as the Fight lasted till night, this evidence is not much to be relied on. It was however the foundation of the report of his not being dead. Some suspected, he was killed in retiring out of the Battle by the Lord *Alexander Humes*, or his Vassals. But this Fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known for certain, whether the Body found by the *English* on the Field of Battle, was the King's or not (1). Mean while, *Henry* supposing it to be the very Corpse of *James IV.*, writ to the Pope for a dispensation to inter it in *St. Paul's Church* (2). *Leo X.*, answered by a Brief, signifying, "That it was set forth to him from the King of *England*, that in a Treaty concluded between the late King of *Scotland* and *Henry VII.*, and renewed by *Henry VIII.*, the first had submitted to an excommunication in case he acted in breach of it, and yet had broken the Peace: That therefore he had been pronounced excommunicate by the Cardinal Archbishop of *York*, by virtue of a power granted by *Julius II.*: That he died in a Battle, without having been absolved; but in consideration of his Royal dignity and nearness of blood, the King of *England* desired permission to bury him in consecrated ground. Upon these accounts, the Pope was pleased to grant his request, considering, as he was told and ought to believe, *James* in his last moments showed some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit. That therefore he appointed the Bishop of *London*, or any other Bishop the King should please to nominate, to inquire into the matter; and if it was found, *James* had shown any signs of repentance before his death, he gave him power to absolve him: That however the absolution should serve for no other purpose than his interment in Holy Ground. Moreover, he ordered the Bishop to injoin the King of *England* to undergo some convenient or suitable penance in the name of the deceased King."

Remark
upon this
Brief.

Among many remarks that might be made on this Brief, I shall confine myself to this one. There was no declaration of War between *James* and *Henry* before *James's* Letter dated the 16th of *July*, and received the 12th of *August*, nor any hostility committed before the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*. So the King of *Scotland* cannot be said to have violated the Truce till that time. Now, he died the 9th of *September* excommunicated by the Cardinal of *York*, who was then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hence I think it may be inferred, that the Cardinal had excommunicated *James* without knowing the cause, or hearing his reasons, and probably upon a bare Letter sent him by *Henry*, that the King of *Scotland* intended to break the Peace; I say, he only intended to break the Peace, since there is no likelihood that from the 22d of *August*, when *James* entered *England*, to the 9th of *September*, the day of his death, the Cardinal, who was at *Rome*, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an Excommunication. I say nothing of the supposition that *James*, slain on the spot, showed any signs of contrition, especially as it was even uncertain whether the Body they would have interred, was the King of *Scotland's*. I pass over likewise the limitation set to the absolution, that it should serve only for burying the dead Prince in Holy Ground, and the Penance enjoined a living Person in the name of a dead one. Every Reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on these things.

1514.
Interests and
Views of
the Princes
of Europe.

Lewis XII.

Such being the situation of the affairs of *Europe* at the end of the year 1513, it is not surprising that the designs and interests of the Princes should be different from what they were in the beginning of the same year. It is therefore necessary, before we enter upon the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief Sovereigns stood affected.

Lewis XII. burned with desire to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. But he perceived, that to succeed in that design, the Allies must be divided, otherwise there was not even a possibility of undertaking it. The Pope, Emperor, King of *Aragon*, and *Switzers*, were equally concerned to oppose it. And yet, as they had also their separate interests, he thought it would not be impossible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or at least to some of them, advantages as great as those they could naturally expect from their Union. Besides, he hoped, in treating with each in particular, to breed jealousies and suspicions among them, which would induce them to make haste and treat with him for fear of being deserted. He had the more hopes of succeeding this way, as most of the Princes with whom he was in War, were not over scrupulous, but rather very ready to sacrifice their Allies to

their own private interest. To this artifice therefore *Lewis* resorted to free himself from his present embarrassment. At the beginning of the year 1514 he took care to renew the Negotiation concerning the marriage of the Princess *Renée* his second Daughter with *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, knowing, *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* were equally desirous of it, especially upon the terms proposed by themselves. He started however difficulties capable of continuing the Negotiation without entirely breaking it off. The Pope could not look upon this project without uneasiness. He was as much afraid of *Milan's* being in the hands of a Grandson of the Emperor and King of *Aragon*, as of seeing the *French* King restored. His interest required that *Milan* should remain in the Family of the *Sforza's*. The *Switzers* passionately wished it also. The *Venetians* too would have therein found a great advantage, if another interest had not prevailed. And that was, to oblige the Emperor to make Peace with them on reasonable Terms. But this they could not hope without the assistance of *France*; and this assistance could not be obtained without aiding *Lewis XII.* to recover the *Milanese*.

Maximilian found his account in his War with *Italy*, because it cost him little. Since the League of *Cambrai*, he had always been powerfully aided by *France*, or *Spain*, or rather, had never made War but at another's expence. His Allies were necessarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwise they might be sure he would quickly change sides. Since he had left *France*, the *Spanish* Troops had done all in the War with *Venice*, and the King of *Aragon*, with all his policy, was not able to dispense with acting for him. It is not therefore surprising that he was so difficult, when a Peace was on foot, or used his endeavours to inflame the divisions among the Princes.

As for King *Ferdinand*, since he was become master of *Navarre*, it was his interest to imbroil affairs, and cherish in *Italy*, the hopes and fears of the several Parties, to make himself necessary, and that a Peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder *Lewis* from thinking of *Navarre*, and hoped at last to come to a Treaty which should leave him in quiet possession of his Conquest. For that reason, he acted all sorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while, he assisted the Emperor against the *Venetians*, another while, he solicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the Pope and *Switzers* not to suffer the King of *France* to become master of *Milan*; and sometimes he offered to assist the same Prince to conquer that Duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preserve a dissention so advantageous to him. However, his policy began to fail him. He had so forfeited his reputation with respect to sincerity, that he was no longer trusted. It was merely out of necessity, or from a desire to breed suspicion in their enemies, that the rest of the Sovereigns made any Treaties with him, which, they were sensible, they could not rely on.

Henry VIII. had with glory got clear of his first Campaign, but plainly saw himself indebted for his good success to *Lewis's* passion, who had neglected the defence of his own Kingdom, by sending his best Troops to recover *Milan*. The truth is, *Henry*, depending upon the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and the diversions, his Allies were to make in several Provinces of *France*, had led into that Kingdom not above five and twenty thousand Men; too weak an Army to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the Forces of his enemy. Forfeaken as he was by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Aragon*, how would he have disingaged himself, if *Lewis XII.* had resolved to defer his *Milan* expedition to another time, and march all his Troops into *Picardy*? Thus *Henry* should have considered, and in effect did consider, that he was more indebted for the Victory of *Guinegate*, and the taking of *Terouenne* and *Tournay*, to the circumstances of the time than to his prudence or valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiscreetly embarked in; without flattering himself any longer with the imaginary assistance of his Allies. It was necessary however to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from *France* advantageous conditions in a Treaty. Such was the posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I speak of those of *England* in particular, it is requisite to show what steps were taken by the Princes concerned in the troubles of *Italy*, because that was then the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend.

Leo X., being alarmed at the Negotiation, *Lewis XII.* had renewed with the Emperor, concerning the marriage

(1) *Hall* affirms, that it was found by the Lord *Dacres*, and showed to Sir *William Scott*, King *James's* Chancellor, and to Sir *John Forster* his Secretary-Printer, who knew him at first sight. fol. 43.

(2) *Leo* says, it was conveyed to *Stene* Monastery in *Surrey*; and further adds, that he had seen it there, after the Dissolution of that Monastery, wrapped in Lead, thrown into a large room, amongst old Timber, Stone, Lead, and other rubbish. p. 494.

1514.

of *René* his second Daughter, used all possible endeavours to reconcile the *Switzers* to *France*, that *Lewis* might be the less inclined to treat with the Emperor and the King of *Arragon*. But he wished that *Lewis* would ratify the capitulation of *Dijon* as to what concerned the Duchy of *Milan*; and on the other hand, exhorted the *Switzers* to be satisfied with a less sum than was promised by *la Trimouille*. This was the plan he had formed for that reconciliation. In short, he had so far gained his point, that the King of *France* had offered a Truce for three years, without however departing from his pretensions to *Milan*, and many of the principal *Switzers* were satisfied with it. But it was not possible to persuade that People to abate any thing of the Capitulation of *Dijon*. They even debated whether they should make a second incursion into *France*, to revenge the breach of that Treaty. Thus the Pope's pains were fruitless, and the *Switzers* still remained mortal enemies to *France*.

Ferdinand
prolongs the
Truce with
Lewis XII.
G. Wood.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 39.

Ferdinand having advice of what was transacting in *Switzerland*, was afraid of being deserted, whether *Lewis* gave up his claim to *Milan*, or the *Switzers* accepted the Truce he offered them. So, without communicating any thing to his Allies, he speedily sent *Quintana* his Secretary to *Paris*, who renewed for a year the Truce with *France* upon the same foot with the former. Only by a secret Article, *Lewis* promised not to invade the *Milanese* this year. In the publication of the Truce in *France*, there was no mention of *Milan*. But *Ferdinand* published it in *Spain* with that Article; so that the World was at a loss to know what to think of the matter. *Lewis* made no scruple to prolong the Truce, because he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*. Besides, he was very glad the World should think, the Truce, he had prolonged with the King of *Arragon*, would be followed by a Peace.

The Pope
seems to
make Peace
between the
Emperor and
Venetians,
who make
him Unpopu-
lar of their dis-
fiances.
Guicciard.

This was a very natural Consequence, and probably, it inclined *Henry* seriously to think of a Peace. But on the other hand, *Lewis* was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the Pope to break his measures with respect to *Milan*, laboured with all his power to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He desired above all things, for the good of his See, of all *Italy*, and of himself, that the *French* should never more set foot in *Italy*. Whilst the *French* were in possession of the *Milanese*, *Italy* had never been free from troubles, the Popes had been less regarded than before, and the *Florentines* had preserved their Liberty. These were sufficient reasons to make the Pope wish, they might never return. Besides, he had formed projects for raising his Family, which their neighbourhood might obstruct. One great means to attain his ends, was, to deprive *Lewis XII* of the assistance of the *Venetians*, which would infallibly happen, if it was possible to find some Expedient to make their Peace with the Emperor. Last year the *Venetians*, pressed by the *Spanish* Army, had agreed to make the Pope Umpire, and the Emperor had accepted him. But the affair had lain dormant ever since. Presently after *Ferdinand's* renewing of the Truce with *Lewis XII*, the Pope fearing a Peace would be concluded between the two Monarchs, at the expence of the Duchy of *Milan*, strove to renew the Negotiation between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He knew, if it succeeded, the King of *France* would in vain expect the assistance of the Republick to conquer *Milan*. In short, with much Sollicitation, he obtained from both Parties an engagement to stand to his arbitration, and to give him power to settle the Terms of the Peace as he should think fit. However, by a writing under his own hand, he promised not to pronounce Sentence without both their consents.

Difficulties
of the Peace.

It was very difficult to make this Peace, because the War still continuing in the State of *Venice* and *Friuli*, the least Success was sufficient to cause the Parties to rise or fall in their demands. When the *Venetians* found themselves pressed, they very willingly agreed, that the Emperor should keep *Verona*; but then *Maximilian* would have also *Vicenza*, *Padua*, and *Treviſo*. When his affairs were not prosperous, he was ready to leave them these three places, but then they could not think of making Peace without *Verona*. Thus the Pope, finding the various Suc-

The Pope's
provisional
Sentence.
Guicciard.

(1) In this Parliament it was enacted, That Surgeons should be discharged of Constableness, Ward, bearing of Arms, and of all Enquests and Juries; by reason of the continual Service and Attendance they give day and night, and at all hours, to their Patients.

(2) For his memorable Victory over the Scots at *Flodden*, he had a special Grant from the King to himself and the Heirs male of his Body, of an honorable Augmentation to his Arms; namely, to bear on the Bend thereof the upper half of a Red Lyon, (painted as the Arm, or *Sword* are) pierced through the mouth with an Arrow. He was created Duke of *Norfolk*, Feb. 1. 1513-14. His Father derived his Descent (by the Heir female of *Montbray* and *Seagrave*) from *Thomas Brotherton*, Son to King *Edward I*. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 268.

(3) She was Wife of Sir *Richard Pole*, descended from an ancient Stock of that name somewhere in *Wales*. This Sir *Richard* was made chief Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to Prince *Arthur*, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. He had four Sons by the Lady *Margaret*; *Henry*, afterwards Lord *Montague*, *Geffrey*, *Arthur*, and *Reginald* the famous Cardinal *Pole* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and one of the three that presided at the Council of *Trent*. *Margaret* petitioned to be Countess of *Salisbury*, from her Grandfather *Richard Neuil* Earl of *Salisbury*, for all whose Castles, Manors and Lands, she obtained a Grant dated Oct. 14, which came to the Crown by the Attainder of her Brother *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*. *Idem*. p. 292.

(4) This year *Prent* landed on the Coast of *Suffex*, and burnt *Brightelmston*; whereupon Sir *John Wallp* was sent to revenge this Affront, who landed in *Normandy*, and burnt twenty one Villages and Towns. *Stow*. p. 495.

1514.

cess of the War was a perpetual obstacle to his projected agreement, passed a provisional Sentence, ordering that both Parties should lay down their arms: That the Emperor should deposit in his hands, *Vicenza*, and whatever was possessed by the *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Padua*, and *Treviſo*: That the *Venetians* should do the like with regard to *Crema*, and pay down to the Emperor fifty thousand Ducats: But that this provisional agreement should be deemed void, if the two Parties should not think proper to ratify it; but in case they approved of it, he promised to pronounce a definitive Sentence within a year. The *Venetians* did not think proper to ratify the Sentence, being persuaded that, in their present Circumstances, a Truce was much more prejudicial than the continuation of the War. Thus the Pope's pains were ineffectual. Such was the situation of the affairs of *Italy* during the year 1514. We must see now what passed in *England*.

rejected by
the Vene-
tians.

Henry, at his return from his glorious Campaign, thought only of Mirth and Diversions. The Parliament however met the 3d of *January*, but there was nothing done of any moment with respect to the publick affairs (1). Before the end of the Session, the King gave the Earl of *Surrey*, the title of Duke of *Norfolk*, which his Father had enjoyed, and lost with his Life at *Bosworth-field*, fighting for *Richard III* (2). By this change, *Thomas Howard* Son and Heir of the new Duke, became Earl of *Surrey*. *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, one of the King's Favorites, was also created Duke of *Suffolk*; and *Charles Somerset*, Earl of *Worcester*. *Margaret of York*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward IV*, obtained likewise the title of Countess of *Salisbury*, as Heir to the Earl of *Warwick* her Brother, beheaded by *Henry VII* (3).

Parliament
in England.
Herbert.

The Earl of
Surrey created
Duke of
Norfolk.
Charles
Brandon
Duke of
Suffolk.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 389.
Feb. 1.
Margaret of
Clarence
Countess of
Salisbury.

Thomas Wolsey had now been some months Prime Minister, without receiving other particular marks of his master's favour. But *Wolsey* was not forgetful of himself. The Bishoprick of *Lincoln* being vacant, he so ordered, that the King demanded it for him of the Pope, who had ingrossed the Collations of all the Sees, by anticipated reservations. Shortly after, *Lewis Guillard* Bishop of *Tournay*, neglecting to repair to his Bishoprick, since the City was in the hands of the King of *England*, the Pope readily supposed he had quitted his See, and gave the Administration thereof to *Thomas Wolsey*, both in Temporals and Spirituals. This was suddenly and almost at once a great addition to the new Favourite's Income. *Leo X*, not expecting much, either from the Emperor, or the King of *Arragon*, easily perceived, he might want the King of *England*. In order to gain his protection, he had disposed of the Sees of *Lincoln* and *Tournay* in favour of *Wolsey*, to win him to his Interest, by presents which cost him nothing. But after having satisfied the Favourite, he must testify by some mark of distinction, his esteem for the master. To that purpose, he sent him a Sword and a Hat, consecrated on *Christmas-day*, which the Popes were wont to present to Princes or Generals who had obtained some signal Victory over the Enemies of the Church.

Thomas
Wolsey is
made Bishop
of Lincoln,
p. 390---

and Admi-
nistrator of
the See of
the See of
Tournay.
p. 384.

The Pope
sends Henry
a consecrated
Sword and
Hat.
p. 393.

Lewis XII
makes an
offer of Peace
to Henry.
Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.

Whilst the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Arragon*, were labouring to accomplish their projects, *Lewis XII* was not unmindful of his own affairs (4). Among all his enemies, none gave him so much uneasiness as the King of *England*, chiefly for two reasons. First, *Henry* was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready Money, and more over always sure of Supplies from his Parliament, especially in case of a war with *France*. Secondly, the Diversion he could and did make in *Picardy*, by means of *Calais*, rendered all *Lewis's* future projects in *Italy* abortive. He thereby kept the Forces of *France* so divided, that it was almost impossible to assist one another in case of Accident. Thus, it was the King of *France's* great Interest to remove this Thorn from his Side, otherwise he could not undertake to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. Accordingly, he had been very seriously endeavouring it, ever since the end of the last Campaign, by the Ministry of *Lewis* of *Orleans* Duke of *Longueville*, taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Guinegate*. It was this private Ambassador who, in his frequent Conversations with *Henry*, laboured by degrees to open his Eyes, by showing him how little he

Hollingsh.

1514. could depend upon his Allies, and clearly discovering their artifices to draw him into their Snares. Henry was convinced, but, in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, these Conversations had such an effect, that Henry told the Duke he was inclined to a Peace, provided it was upon reasonable Terms. Lewis XII having notice thereof, ordered the Duke of Longueville privately to negotiate the affair, and try to discover the King of England's real Intentions. Probably, Henry insisted some time upon his Claim to the whole Kingdom of France, and particularly to Guienne and Normandy, which made the Duke apprehensive, his Negotiation would not be successful. However, to induce Henry to abate something of his pretensions, the Duke had orders to demand the Princess Mary his Sister for the King his master, who had lost Ann of Bretagne his Queen, the beginning of the year. This private Negotiation, to which only Thomas Wolsey Bishop of Lincoln was admitted, continued some time without making great progress, by reason of Henry's excessive demands. At last, at a secret Conference which the King himself had with the Duke of Longueville, he suddenly desisted from the hardest of his demands, and plainly told him, on what Conditions the Peace might be concluded, adding, he was fully resolved not to take less. Here is a Letter from the King to Wolsey, under his own hand, after the Conference, wherein appears what was his last resolution (1).

The King's
Letter to
Wolsey a-
bout the
Peace.
Act. 1. ub.
XIII. p. 403.
June.

"MY Lorde of Lynkecolne, I recomande me unto
"yow. And lette yow wyte that I have spokyne
"with the Duke; whyche in the begynnyng was as
"yll afraide as ever he was in his Lyffe lest no good
"effecte shulde comme to pas. Nevertheles, in farther
"communyng, we wente more rondly to oure matters;
"in so moche that I sayde to hym, feinge that the
"Kyng yowr master hathe fought so gently unto us for
"bothe Amyte and Maryage, I aswre yow (oure hon-
"our favyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne
"thereto, and yff the offers wer resonable agre upon thos
"same; but thes be nott resonable, excepte the Amyte
"shulde no lenger contynw then the payment off Mo-
"ney: And yett natt so, excepte ther wer a resonable
"Summe of Mony to be payd in hand by and by:

"Yff his master wyll have the Maryage, I can natt
"see how itt can be conveniently, exceptte the Amyte
"be made duryng our Lyffes and on yer after, to the
"intente that all supcyon off bothe fydes may be sett
"apart:

"Whyche Maryage and Amyte your master may
"have wnder thys maner; that is to say, paynge erly
"on hundred thousand Crownes and att hys request I
"natt to styke for no redy Mony in hande, but I to
"stande contente therwith for recompense off all thyngs.

"Whyche, yff your master confidere what herytaunce
"he holdyth from me, and what good my Amyte may
"do to helpe forth hys mater in Italy, I thinke he wyll
"natt grettly styke at:

"Thys further more I sayde to the Duke, furly I can
"natt see how the Amyte made for yers can any longer
"indure then the payment, whyche expyryde shulde be
"occasion off new Breche and Demans, wherby noder
"he nor we shulde lyff quietly, whiche, yff ther fall
"Alyance, I wholde be lothe to see; wherfor I see no
"way to eschewe all dangers and parrayles, and to re-
"compense me for witholdyng off myne Inheritance
"(whyche yff I wolde be slake in, my Subiectes wolde
"murmure att) but to make thys Amyte duryng oure
"Lyffys and on yere after, paynge yerly as above re-
"herfed; whyche Amyte wons grantyd the Alyance
"shulde natt be refusyde, nor non other thyng whyche
"with my honour favyd I might do:

"Saying further more to hyme that, yff I might de-
"mande with my honour any lesse, or take any lesse
"offere (seyng hys master is so well mynded to the
"forfayd Alyance and Amyte) I wolde be glad to do
"that att hys request, but less then thys hit can nott
"fonde with my honour, nor my Subiectes wyll nat be
"content that I shulde take.

"My Lord, I shuyd him furthermore that, yff he
"thought we myght trust to have thys ende, I wolde be
"content that yow and they shulde commune on all
"other Artcyllles, concernyng the Amyte and Maryage,
"tyll we myght have absolute assurance in that behalfe
"for lyfying off time.

"To whyche he answerde, that he colde natt assure
"me theroff; but that he trustyde, seyng my De-
"mans wer so resonable, that hys master wholde agre
"thereto.

"On trust hereto we wold that shoulde be to pome
"the refydue off the Amyte as I have now sayd,
"And thus fare yow well.

Wrytten with the hande off your loyng master,

HENRY R.

Though this Letter has no date, it may, by several Circumstances be conjectured to be written in June 1514.

Lewis XII being informed of the King of England's last resolution, entertained great hopes of a Peace. There were however two Articles which troubled him. The first was to pay annually a hundred thousand Crowns, as a compensation for Henry's Claim to the Kingdom of France. This was in some measure to quit the Justice of his Title, and pay him a sort of Tribute, which he could not resolve. The other Article related to Tournay, which he desired to recover, and which however, was not mentioned in the King's proposals. But as to this Article, there was an obstacle which was not easily to be surmounted, and that was, Wolsey was concerned. It was not sufficient to gain Henry by Flatteries, or by giving him a Sum of Money in lieu of Tournay; the Favourite must also be made amends for the loss of a See which brought him a considerable Income. To endeavour therefore to agree upon these two Articles, Lewis sent Ambassadors to England. He chose for this purpose, Lewis d'Orleans Duke of Longueville, John de Selve first President of Roan; and Thomas Bobier, to whom Du Bellai gives the title of General of Normandy, and the King, in his Commission, that of Chevalier General of France. Mean while, the two Kings agreed upon a Cessation of Arms during the Treaty.

He sends
Ambassadors
to England.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 405.
406.
July 29.

It was easier for the French Ambassadors to cause Henry to alter his last resolution concerning the first Article, than to obtain the restitution of Tournay. The reason is evident. In the first Article, the King alone was concerned, whereas in the second, the Minister's Interest was properly in question. Mean while, since Henry was determined to make Peace with France, Tournay could be of no farther use, and a Sum of Money would have been doubtless more advantageous than the preservation of that place. But Wolsey perceived when Tournay should be in the hands of the King of France, he would infallibly lose the Administration of the See. So, the Negotiation of the Ambassadors upon that Article was entirely fruitless. It was not the same with respect to the pension of the hundred thousand Crowns demanded by Henry. They found means to persuade him to be satisfied with a Million of Crowns, in which were included the seven hundred forty-five thousand, contained in the Treaty of Estaples; but whereof, indeed, an inconsiderable part had been paid. The Spanish Ambassador residing at London, used all possible endeavours to intervene in the Negotiation. But Henry would never suffer him, well knowing, he only intended to obstruct it. The Commissioners of the two Kings (2) having settled all the Articles, the Treaties were signed the 7th of August.

A Truce a-
greed upon.

Henry re-
solved to re-
store
Tournay.

There were three separate Treaties. The first concerned only the renewing of the Alliance between France and England. The second was about the Marriage of the Princess Mary with Lewis XII. The third, related to the payment of the Million of Crowns. As these Treaties served for foundation to many others hereafter concluded, it is necessary to insert the Substance, at least, of the most material Articles.

Henry
would not
suffer the
Spanish Am-
bassador to
have to do
in the
Treaty.

Three seve-
ral Treaties
signed at
London.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 413.

I. TREATY,

Of Peace and Amity between LEWIS XII
and HENRY VIII, concluded at London,
August 7. 1514.

THAT the Amity between the two Kings should last till a year after the death of the shortest liver. That the Successor of him that died first, should give notice within the year to the other, whether he would prolong this, or make a new Treaty.

That all Impositions laid, within fifty-two years last past, by one King on the Subjects of the other, should be abolished.

That the Peace should not be deemed violated by the outrages committed on either side.

That neither of the two Kings should afford protection or refuge to the Rebels of the other.

(1) The Translator has thought fit to insert the Original Letter in the very words of King Henry, as it is to be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*; and intends to do the same by all the Original Papers, which Rapin hath translated word for word, as he has done this.

(2) The English Commissioners were, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Bishop of Winchester. Rymer, Tom. 13. p. 422.

1514.

By the 15th, and 16th Articles, the two Kings bound themselves to mutual assistance in three Cases : 1. For defence of one another's Dominions : 2. For recovery of the Territories withheld by other Princes : 3. In case one of the two Kings should be attacked on account of the present Treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cause. In each of these cases the conditions were different (1). But in the last, they promised mutual Aid, though the Assailant should be Relation, Friend, or Ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the Treaty, as his Allies, the Pope, the *Switzers*, and the King of *Scotland* (2). On *Henry's* part, were named the Pope, *Bologna*, all the Towns of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, the Archduke of *Austria*, and the *Switzers* (3).

Scotland was included in the Treaty, but on condition that the *Scots* should commit no Hostilities against *England*, after the 25th of *November*.

That the Treaty should be ratified and sworn by the two Kings, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General of *France*.

That each of the two Kings should endeavour to obtain of the Pope a Sentence of Excommunication against the infractor of the Peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the Marriage of LEWIS XII with the Princess MARY.

A.G. Pub.
XIII. p. 423.

THAT Matrimony should be contracted by Proxies, and *per verba de presenti*, within ten days after the date of this Treaty.

That the King of *England*, [within two months after the Contract,] should convey at his own charge, the Princess his Sister to *Abbeville*, where within four days after her arrival, the King of *France* should solemnly marry her.

That *Mary* should have in Dower four hundred thousand Crowns, two hundred thousand whereof should be reckoned for Jewels, &c. and in case of recovery, *Lewis* should be obliged to restore only the Jewels, &c. which should be valued at the sum of two hundred thousand Crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thousand Crowns, *Henry* should pay, by deducting the sum out of the million the King of *France* was bound to pay by a late Treaty.

That the future Queen's Jointure should be as great as that assigned to *Ann of Bretagne*, or any other Queen of *France*.

That in case of *Lewis's* death, *Mary* should enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether she resided in *France* or *England*.

III. TREATY,

For the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

P. 428, 439.

BY this Treaty *Lewis XII* acknowledged, that by the Treaty of *Estaples*, *Charles VIII* was bound to pay *Henry VII*, or his Successors, the sum of 745,000 Crowns, and that himself was obliged to pay the Arrears of the same.

Moreover, that *Charles Duke of Orleans* his Father, by an Obligation dated *March* the 7th, 1444, had owned himself debtor in a certain sum to *Margaret of Somerset* Grandmother of *Henry VIII*.

That these two sums not being yet paid, *Lewis* bound himself to pay to the King of *England*, or his Successors, a million of Crowns, as well for the Arrears of the said two sums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more lasting.

That this million should be paid by *Lewis* to the King of *England*, by half-yearly payments of fifty thousand *Livres Tournois*, till the whole was discharged.

Thus the War, which had been undertaken on pretence of Religion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a

Treaty, which mentions neither Religion, nor the Pope, 1514, nor the Church.

On the other hand, though the Princess *Mary* had been solemnly affianced to *Charles of Austria*, *Lewis XII* and *Henry VIII*, made no difficulty concerning this second marriage, neither did they so much as vouchsafe to demand the Pope's dispensation, to absolve *Mary* from her first contract. Only, a few days before the signing of the Treaty, *Mary* declared in the presence of a Notary Publick, and other Witnesses, that she had been forced to plight her Faith to the Prince of *Castile*, Archduke of *Austria*. That moreover the Archduke having promised to espouse her by Proxy and *per verba de presenti*, as soon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that she was creditably informed, the Counsellors and Confidants of the Prince of *Castile* were instilling into him, to the utmost of their power, an aversion for the King of *England* her Brother. Upon these Allegations, the two Kings making themselves judges in a cause which doubtless belonged to the Pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage should be consummated.

I have still to remark upon the third Treaty, That, though *Henry* had declared to the Duke of *Longueville*, as appears in his Letter to *Wolsey*, that he could not make Peace unless the King of *France* would pay him a yearly pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, as a compensation for the inheritance he withheld from him, an expedient was found to satisfy him with much less. The whole was reduced to *Lewis's* bond to pay him a million of Crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the Treaty. Besides, that this Bond might not be considered as a compensation of the King of *England's* title to *France*, according to *Henry's* intentions, it was expressly said in the Treaty, to be in payment of the arrears of the seven hundred forty five thousand Crowns, due to the King of *England* by the Treaty of *Estaples*, of another sum due from the late Duke of *Orleans* to *Margaret* the King's Grandmother, and lastly, for *Lewis's* good affection to *Henry*. Hereby was caused to vanish the principal foundation, on which *Henry* had built his demand of a pension of a hundred thousand Crowns; a demand considered by him at first as the basis of the Treaty, according to his Letter to *Wolsey*. It may therefore be affirmed, that *Henry* was no less over-reached by the King of *France* in the Treaty of Peace, than he had been by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, in that which had engaged him in the War. This proceeded not from his misunderstanding his own interests, since it appears in his Letter, that he was very sensible of the consequence of his demand. To what then can his easiness be ascribed but to the insinuations of his Prime Minister, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably, *Lewis XII* found means to make *Wolsey* his Friend. We shall see still more plainly hereafter, that this Minister was much more mindful of his own than his Master's advantages, when they came in competition, and that he lost no opportunity of enriching himself.

Whilst *Wolsey* was employed with the French Ambassadors in negotiating the Peace, Cardinal *Bambridge*, Archbishop of *York*, died at *Rome* the 14th of *July* (4). The same day Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, afterwards Pope by the name of *Clement VII*, sent the King notice, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the Pope, not to dispose of the See of *York* before his pleasure was known. Whereupon the King demanded the Archbishoprick for *Thomas Wolsey*, which was immediately granted. This Minister was then in so great favour, that he absolutely directed all the King's affairs, who had for him a very great esteem and affection. It may be presumed that he was now doing *Lewis XII* some good Services, since there are in the Collection of the Publick Acts, several Letters from that Monarch to him, beginning with these kind words, *My Lord of York, and very good Friend*.

August and *September* were spent in preparations for the new Queen of *France's* journey, in the celebration of the marriage by Proxies, in *France* and *England*, and in the ratifications of the Treaties. After which, *Mary* was conducted to *Abbeville* with a numerous train of Lords and Ladies, where the marriage was consummated the 9th of *October* (5).

Whilst

(1) In the first Case, *Lewis* was to furnish twelve hundred Lances by Land, and five thousand Men by Sea, with convenient Shipping; and *Henry* ten thousand Archers by Land, and five thousand Men at Sea, with Shipping. In the second, *Lewis* was to lend *Henry* six hundred Lances only, and *Henry* him but five thousand Archers, with the same Sea-Forces on both Sides as before-mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his Charge that was invaded.

(2) And the Kings of *Hungary*, *Portugal*, *Denmark*, and *Nawarre*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Gueldres*, and *Lorrain*; *Venice*, *Florence*; the Bishop of *Lige*; the Marquises of *Mantua*, *Monterrat*, and *Saluzzo*; and the Lord of *Sedan*. *Rymer*, Tom. 13. p. 419.

(3) As also the Dukes of *Cleves*, and *Faliers*; the *Hanse-Towns*; and the Lord of *Ligny*. *Ibid*.

(4) He was poisoned by *Rinaldo de Medici* his Steward, or Chaplain, an Italian Priest, to revenge a Blow his master gave him, as *Rinaldo* confessed at his execution. *Wood*, p. 104. *Stow*, p. 496. There is a Letter writ by one *Pace* from *Rome*, charging *Sylvestre* (an Italian Bishop of *Worcester*, with having a hand in his death. *Fiddes*.

(5) The King and Queen conducted her to *Dover*, and then recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolk's* Care, who attended her to *Abbeville*. The other Persons of note that attended her, were, *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorset*, *Thomas Bishop of Durham*, *Thomas Hezekiah Earl of Suffolk*, &c.

The Princess Mary protests against her Contract with Charles of Austria. A.G. Pub. XIII. p. 424. July 30. Herbert.

Remark on the third Treaty.

Death of Cardinal Bambridge. Herbert. A.G. Pub. XIII. p. 427.

Wolsey is made Archbishop of York. P. 412, 450-455.

P. 439, 445.

Lewis's Marriage with Mary consummated. P. 448. Hall's Story.

1514. **Leo X** proposes a new League to the King of France. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Whilst the Peace between *France* and *England* was treating at *London*, the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Arragon* omitted nothing, that they imagined would obstruct it. They plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and that the burden of the *War* would fall upon them. They were even afraid that *Henry* would join against them with *France*. *Leo X* had sent to *Henry* to persuade him to a Peace, and yet, when he saw it upon the point of conclusion, would have been glad, his exhortations had not been regarded. So, to cross the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he proposed a new League with the King of *France*, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerness for a Peace with *England*. But as *Lewis* took a fortnight to give him his answer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reason, made haste and concluded a defensive League with the King of *Arragon* for a year only.

On the other hand, *Ferdinand* fearing, *Lewis*, after making a Peace with *England*, would invade *Navarre*, offered him his assistance to conquer *Milan*. But *Lewis* knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In short, the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, desiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with *England*, sent him their consent in form, for the marriage of *Renée* his second Daughter with *Charles* of *Austria* their Grandson. At the same time, *Maximilian* ratified the one year's Truce made by *Ferdinand* with *France*. But all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the Treaty of *London*; a clear evidence how little *Henry* valued their friendship. Notwithstanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleased with the Peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

The Pope tries to amuse Lewis XII. Guicciard.

It was expected that the King of *France* being freed from the War with *England*, would infallibly recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. The Pope was so persuaded of it, that he writ to exhort him to that expedition, though at the same time he used all his endeavours to break his measures, by an agreement between the Emperor and the *Venetians*. He even dispatched to *Venice*, *Peter Bembo*, afterwards Cardinal, to incline the *Venetians* to Peace. But these fearing the Pope was laying a snare for them, to take off the King from their Alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his Holiness.

He forms craft Projects for his House. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X was forming at that time grand projects in favour of *Julian de Medici* his Brother. His design was to become master of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, and to join these two States to *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Reggio*, and the City of *Modena*, lately purchased of the Emperor, in order to cast them into one State for this Brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great Prince. Nay, it is said, he intended to add the Kingdom of *Naples*; and to make that Conquest, had joined in a League with the *Venetians*. But as he saw the King of *France* would quickly invade the *Milanese*, he shewed great regard for him, lest he should make an enemy of a Prince, who, if he came to be possessed of *Milan*, would have it in his power to obstruct his designs. Mean while, *Lewis* not being pleased with the Pope, pressed him to declare himself, resolving to know for certain whether he was to consider him as a friend, or an enemy. *Leo*, who perceived his intent, amused him with fair words, without however being determined, because his purpose was to regulate his conduct by the events of the War, he foresaw. This did not hinder *Lewis* from vigorously continuing the necessary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, where he intended to go in Person the next spring. But whilst he was thinking of means to relieve the *Lanthorn-Tower*, which he still held at *Genoa*, and by the help whereof, hoped to become master of the City, he received the news that it was surrendered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the *Genoese*. However, this was not capable to deter him from his designs upon *Italy*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Before I close the year 1514, it will not be unserviceable briefly to relate what passed in *Scotland* this year. *James IV* left two Sons, of whom the eldest, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a Will, made before he took the Field, he left the Regency of the Kingdom after his death to his Queen, Sister of

Henry VIII, during her Widowhood. The States being met the beginning of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for King, *James V*, Son and Heir to the deceased. As for the Regency, there would doubtless have been great debates, if the loss of the Battle of *Floddon* had not made the *Scots* apprehensive, that the King of *England* would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in *Scotland* a Queen-Regent, and that would have been sufficient to reject the Clause of the late King's Will. But it was hoped, the Queen would prevail with the King her Brother, to leave in Peace a Country whereof she had the Government. This expectation was not disappointed. The Queen being declared Regent, and writing to the King her Brother, to entreat him not to disturb the minority of the young King his Nephew, *Henry* generously answered, he was equally inclined to Peace or War, and left it to the *Scots* to chuse which they pleased.

After this declaration, probably, *Scotland* would have remained in quiet under the Regency of the Queen, if that Princess had not married again some months after. She chose for her consort *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, one of the greatest Lords in *Scotland*, and by this second marriage filled the Kingdom with confusion and trouble. As by the late King's Will she was to be Regent only during her Widowhood, the question was to appoint another in her room. *Douglas* her Husband used all his endeavours to have her continued in the Regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preserve Peace with *England*; and besides, *Henry* would be obliged to support the Queen his Sister in case any one should pretend to disturb her. But this last consideration had a quite contrary effect to what the Earl expected, upon those who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew, that being Husband to the Regent, he would always be countenanced by the King of *England*, and by his assistance, enabled to ingross more authority than they wished him. *Alexander Hume* Governor of all the Country North of the *Frith*, was the head of those that opposed the Queen's Regency. He was a proud and haughty Man, who could not indure a superior. During the late King's life, he had been President of the *Marches* bordering upon *England*, where he had committed such outrages, that as some say, for fear of being called to an account, he killed or caused to be killed *James IV*, when he was retiring out of the Battle of *Floddon*. However this be, *Hume* used all his interest to break *Douglas*'s and the Queen's measures, and proposed *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany* for Regent. This Duke was Son of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother of *James III*, who to avoid the Persecutions of the King his Brother, was forced to fly into *France*, where he died. He left there this Son, who being married, and adhering to the Service of *Lewis XII* (1), had received many favours from that Monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in *Scotland*, he was however the young King's nearest Relation, and *Hume* had interest enough to have him declared Regent. Whereupon the States sent Deputies to offer him the Regency, and to pray him to come instantly and govern the Realm in the King's name. *Lewis XII* dying whilst these things were in agitation, *Francis I*, his Successor, having great reasons not to displease the King of *England*, would not suffer the Duke of *Albany* to depart till he had finished his affairs with *Henry*. For this cause the Regent arrived not in *Scotland* before May 1515. During this interval, *Scotland* being without a Governor, the Diffensions among the great Men much increased, every one having time to form his Cabals against the Regent's Arrival.

The first day of the year 1515 was the last of *Lewis XII*'s life (2). But the death of that Prince made no alteration in the situation of the affairs of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Valois*, who succeeded him by the name of *Francis I*, plainly discovered, by adding the title of Duke of *Milan* to that of King of *France*, that he intended to pursue his Predecessor's designs. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had settled his affairs both abroad and at home.

By the death of *Lewis XII*, Queen *Mary* his Widow was at liberty to dispose of herself, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politick views of the King her

and Admiral, *Charles Semblat* Earl of *Worcester*, *Thomas Dacres* Prior of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem*, *Dr. Nicolas West*, Dean of *Windser*; the Lords *Delawar*, *Hall*, *Barrow*, *Montagu*; Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Sir *John Peck*, Sir *William Sandes*, Sir *Thomas Bullyn*, &c. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 449. *Hall*, fol. 48. She embarked Oct. 2. After the Ceremony was over, all her Retinue were dismissed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom, says the Lord *Herbert*, was Mrs. *Ann Bullyn*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bullyn*. *Burnet's Ref.* Tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the Coronation was over, there were solemn Jufts and Tournaments held at *Paris*, by *Francis de Valois*, Heir to the Crown, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Marquis of *Desfer* came off with Honour. The King and Queen of *France* were Spectators; but the King was so old and infirm, that he lay on a Couch. The Duke of *Valois* out of envy, caused, it seems, a *German* of prodigious strength and size, to be privately introduced into the Field, in order to oppose the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the *German*. *Herbert*, p. 21. *Hall*, fol. 48, 49. *Stow*, p. 495.

(1) *Lewis*, when Duke of *Orleans*, killed the Duke his Father at a Tournament. *Rapin*.
(2) He died (says the Lord *Herbert*) after eighty days possession rather than enjoying of his Queen, leaving behind him no Issue male, though otherwise of that Esteem among his Subjects, for his care not to oppress them with Impositions longer than his Necessities required, that he was called Father of his People, p. 22. *Stow*, p. 496.

1515. Brother. Before her Marriage, she had conceived an affection for *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk*, a most accomplished Lord. It is even said, the King had promised to marry her to him. But *Lewis XII* coming in the way, and her Marriage with that Prince being to make the Seal of the Peace between *France* and *England*, she was under a necessity to sacrifice her love to the good of the two Kingdoms. The Duke of *Suffolk* however waited upon her into *France*, though he was not of the number of those who were appointed to conduct her. *Mezzerai* says, the Duke of *Valois*, presumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*, caused that English Lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he should give the King a Successor. This shews that the Queen's inclination was no secret. The death of *Lewis XII* happening within three months after his Marriage, the Queen Dowager was not willing to run a second hazard, of being given to another Husband not of her own chusing. *Henry* suspecting her design, writ to her the beginning of *February*, desiring her not to marry again without his participation. But the Queen believed it would be easier to obtain the King's pardon when the thing was done, than his permission to do it (1). So, in *March*, about two months after the death of *Lewis XII*, she was privately married to the Duke of *Suffolk*. Next day, she sent word of it in a Letter to the King her Brother, and taking the whole blame upon herself, intimated to him that she had in some measure forced the Duke to this rash action. *Henry* seemed at first very angry, but his anger was soon over. Their Peace being made, they returned to *Henry*, and were very well received (2).

Parliament
in England.

Dominion
Sovereign.
Herbert.

The Parliament was then sitting (3), and as *England* was in profound Tranquillity, the Houses were only employed in domestick affairs, which are of little or no consequence to Foreigners. There were however three Statutes passed this Session which deserve notice. It was provided by the first, That unwrought Wool should not be exported out of the Kingdom, for the encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture. This Act has been often revived by reason of its importance, and yet even now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandestine exportation of Wool. The second Statute declared all the King's second Letters Patents to be void, unless mention was made of the first. This was to prevent the King from being surprized. The third was no less necessary. It frequently happened that towards the end of a Session several Members went home, imagining, there was nothing more of moment to be done. Then the Faction took advantage of their absence, to propose and pass such Bills as probably would have been thrown out, had the House been more numerous. It was therefore enacted, That the Members who absented themselves before the end of the Session, without the Speaker's and Commons leave, to be entred in the Clerk of the Parliament's Book, should lose their Wages (4). I must now interrupt for some time the recital of domestick, to speak of foreign affairs, which are to serve for foundation to what will hereafter be said with respect to *England*.

Alliance
between
France and
England re-
newed.

Du Bellai.
Guicciard.
Act Pub.
XIII. p. 473.
— 476.

p. 476.

Ferdinand
Joins Henry's
Friendship.
p. 494.

Francis I was too much concerned to renew the Alliance between *France* and *England*, to fail of performing the Article of the Treaty, whereby the Successor of him that died first, was to acquaint the other whether he designed to prolong the time of the Alliance. As he intended to pass into *Italy* to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, it was absolutely necessary to secure the King of *England*. To that purpose, about the middle of *March*, he sent to the first President of *Roan*, his Ambassador at *London*, a Commission to renew the Alliance with *Henry*, as well as the bond for the payment of the Million, to which *Lewis XII* was obliged. This was done by a new Treaty, signed the 5th of *April*, and exactly like the former.

After all the frauds used by the King of *Arragon* to *Henry*, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendship between them. However, *Ferdinand*, who was not easily discouraged, sent to the King his Son-in-law a new

Ambassador, to propose the renewing of their Alliance. 1515. It is likely, he did not believe, *Henry* had so soon forgot his deceits, but it was for his interest that he should be known to have an Ambassador in *England*. This Ambassador arrived in *May*, but was suffered to wait in vain till *October* without being dispatched: Nay, very probably he would never have succeeded in his Negotiation, if *Wolsey's* interests had not caused the King to alter his resolution, never to have any thing to do with the King his Father-in-law. I shall speak more fully of this affair in another place.

Whilst the Spanish Ambassador was waiting in vain at *London*, *Henry* had two at *Brussels*, who made no greater progress. He had not dealt very gallantly with the young Archduke, in giving the Princess his Bride to *Lewis XII*, without any Ceremony. Indeed, *Charles* had not repaired to *Calais* the 5th of *May* last year, as he was bound by the Treaty of *Lisle*: but it could not thence be inferred, he had renounced his Marriage, at least before he was asked, whether he intended to consummate it. *Henry* was afraid therefore, the Archduke, having lately assumed the Government of the *Low-Countries*, and made a Treaty with *France*, would think of revenging the Affront put upon him. So, in order to found him, or prevent the effects of his resentment, he sent two Ambassadors (5) to propose the renewing of the former Alliance between *Henry VII*, and *Philip I*, their Fathers. But these Ambassadors were suffered to wait a good while at *Brussels*, without being much regarded, or receiving any answer.

The affairs of *Europe* were then in a situation, which would not allow the young Archduke to ingage in any Party. It was necessary, in order to take just measures, to wait the Success of the war, *Francis I* was preparing to carry into *Italy*. In all appearance, it would produce Events capable of altering the Interests and Projects of most of the Sovereigns. Since *Francis's* Accession to the Crown, he had sufficiently shewn that he intended not to suffer *Maximilian Sforza* peaceably to enjoy the Duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, the King of *Arragon* was under apprehensions for *Naples* and *Navarre*. *Francis I* was a young Prince, full of Courage and Ambition, and it could not be doubted that he had formed great projects. So the Eyes of all were upon him, to see in what manner he would begin his Reign. He was making preparations, which discovered he had some great design in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal that he had *Milan* in view. Mean while, he used for pretence of his Armament, the Invasion *Burgundy* was threatened with by the *Switzers*. But the League he had lately renewed with *Venice*, and his offer to *Ferdinand* to prolong the Truce, provided the secret Article concerning the *Milanese* was annulled, were plain Indications of his designs.

All this was not sufficient to make *Ferdinand* perfectly easy. He was afraid of being deceived by *Francis*, and that his preparations were intended for *Navarre*. To prevent this danger, he rejected *Francis's* offer, and withal made use of it to induce the Emperor and *Switzers* to join with him for the defence of the *Milanese*, intimating there was no room to question, that the King of *France* would turn his Arms that way. As for the Emperor, he did not want much Solicitation. He readily entered into all sorts of Leagues, because he ever found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the *Switzers*, because *Francis* had among them Adherents, who endeavoured to dissuade them from the League. But his Enemies prevailed in the end (6), and the League was concluded between the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Switzers*. *Ferdinand* played one of his usual artifices upon this occasion. He persuaded the *Switzers*, that to defend the *Milanese*, the shortest way was to attack the King of *France* in his own Kingdom. For that purpose, he engaged to make a powerful diversion on the side of *Fontarabia*, whilst the *Switzers* should invade *Burgundy*, and the Emperor, by continuing the war in the State of

(1) The Lord *Herbert* says, she writ before her Marriage to the King her Brother, protesting, that if he would have her married in any place, save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious House. She let the Duke of *Suffolk* but the space of four days to obtain her good-will, and told him, if he could not do it in that time, he should be out of all hopes of enjoying her, p. 22.

(2) He, with Sir *Richard Wingfield* and Dr. *Wyl*, were deputed to carry over *Henry's* Letters of Condolance to the Queen, and had not been long at *Paris*, before he made his Address to her. They arrived the second of *May*, and were publicly married on the thirteenth at *Greenwich*. The Queen (say the *French*) earned with her in Jewels, Plate, and Tapistry of *Lewis XII*, to the value of two hundred thousand Crowns: Amongst which was a great Diamond called *le Mezerai de Naples*, which *Francis* would soon have redeemed at a great Price. Mrs. *Ann Balfour* staid behind in the *French* Court. *Herbert*, p. 22.

(3) It met *February* 5. See *Statute-Book*.

(4) These Wages were levied by the Sheriffs, and the most ancient Writs for Knights Wages extant are those of 28, 29, 32 of *Edward I*. The first Statute concerning them is, that of 12 *Richard II*; namely, That the levying of the Expenses of Knights shall be, as hath been used before this time. The Wages in this Reign were four Shillings a day for Knights of the Shire, and two Shillings at least for Burgeises, besides the Charges of going and coming, and Fees for Writs, &c. In this Parliament there was also another Statute made, importing, That whereas divers Felons and Murderers did, upon tainted and untrue Surmises, get themselves removed into the King's Bench, and could not by order of Law be remitted and sent down to the Justices of Goal-delivery: That therefore for the future, the Justices of the King's Bench shall have full power and authority, to remand and send down the Bodies or Indictments of all Felons and Murderers, into the Counties, where the Murderer or Felony was committed. Stat. 6 *Henry VIII*. c. 6.

(5) Sir *Edmund Poyning*, and Dr. *William Knight*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 496.

(6) The rest of the Confederates engaged to pay them thirty thousand Ducats a Month. *Guicciard.* l. 12.

1515. *Venice*, hinder the *Venetians* from assisting the common Enemy. His chief aim was to defend *Navarre*, in case *Francis I* had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that Prince from becoming master of the Duchy of *Milan*. His League with the *Switzers* was equally subservient to both these ends. For if *Francis I* invaded *Navarre*, the *Switzers* would divert him from his purpose, by making an inroad into *Burgundy*. But if he really intended to conquer *Milan*, the *Switzers*, as next Neighbours, and most concerned, could not dispense with assisting that Duchy. What *Ferdinand* had foreseen, came to pass. *Francis* having ordered his Forces to file off towards the *Alps*, the *Switzers* sent their Troops into *Italy*, where they seized the two Passes, through which only it was thought possible to enter the *Milanese*. When *Ferdinand* was assured the King of *France* was marching towards *Milan*, he disbanded the Army levied for the defence of *Navarre*, leaving the *Milanese* to be taken care of by the *Switzers*. The very army *Ferdinand* had in *Italy*, under the Command of the Viceroy of *Naples*, made no motion to join them. The Emperor remained without acting at *Innsbruck*. *Leo X*, who had also entered into the League, gave them no sort of Assistance. Thus the whole burden of the War fell upon the *Switzers*, without even the other Allies sending a penny of the Money that was promised them. But this was not strange. The *Switzers* were no more exempted than the King of *England*, and so many other Princes whom *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had served in the same manner.

Mean while, *Francis I*, having found means to march his Army through a place which seemed impracticable (1), the *Switzers* who guarded the Passes retired to *Milan*, and *Francis* advanced also towards the same City. When he approached, he offered the *Switzers* a Sum of Money to return home. This Negotiation was now in great forwardness, when they received a Supply of fifteen thousand Men of their Nation. This aid rendering them more stout, they resolved, by the Suggestions of the Cardinal of *Sion*, immediately to attack *Francis*, who lay encamped at *Marignano*, little expecting their coming. They were defeated, and ten thousand slain on the spot. After which, they retired into their Country, leaving *Francis* master of all the *Milanese*. *Maximilian Sforza*, who had shut himself up in the Castle of *Milan*, surrendered it by Capitulation, and was sent into *France*, to live as a private person.

Before *Francis I* began his Expedition, *Ottavian Fregosa* had brought *Genoa* under the Dominion of *France*, and instead of *Doge*, stiled himself Governor for the King.

Leo X had been in hopes that *Francis* would never be able to enter *Italy*. He had joined in the League against him, but so privately, that *Francis* knew nothing of it till he came to *Vercell*. During the time between the King's arrival in *Italy*, and the battle of *Marignano*, the Pope was under great perplexities. He had sent an Army into *Lombardy*, to support the Duke of *Milan*. But when he heard *Francis* had surmounted the difficulties of the Passage, he sent orders to *Lorenzo de Medici* who commanded his army, to commit no Hostilities against the *French*. At the same time, he told the King, his army was there only to guard *Parma* and *Placentia*. Mean while, as the affair of *Milan* was not yet decided, he durst not make too many advances to the King, for fear of displeasing the Allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the King happened to be vanquished. But, after the battle of *Marignano*, he was immediately reconciled with him, and though he had grievously offended him, obtained however advantages which he could scarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The Popes make Leagues, and undertake Wars as temporal Princes, and when their affairs do not prosper, disintangle themselves as Heads of the Church, and Vicars of *Jesus Christ*. Though *Leo X*'s behaviour to *Francis* was such, that he deserved no favour from that victorious Prince, he obtained however whatever he pleased, and among other things, the abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which the Popes his Predecessors had hitherto in vain demanded of the King of *France* (2).

Though *Henry* had not been able entirely to avoid the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*, he had happily got clear, but with a firm resolution never more to be thus over-reached. His affect-

ing not to mention them in his Treaty with *France*, 1515, plainly shewed he did not much value their friendship. But he was not so fortunate as to persist in this resolution, since it was his own fault that he engaged in a fresh War with *France*, not so much for his own, as the Interest of others. His change may be ascribed to three several causes. The first is, his Jealousy of the glorious Success of *Francis's* arms in *Italy*. The second, to prevent the growing power of that Neighbour. The third and principal, *Wolsey* his Favorite's Interest, who thinking to have reason to complain of the King of *France* would be revenged. The two first need no farther Explanation. 'Tis well known, that Princes are subject to Passions like other Men, and that Jealousy may induce them to run counter to their Interest. 'Tis known likewise, that policy is as it were the hinge on which almost all their Actions turn. But on this occasion, *Henry* proceeded upon a very wrong policy, since nothing was more capable of securing the Peace of *England*, than the King of *France's* Acquisitions in *Italy*. The third cause requires a more particular Explanation.

Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of *York*, was Prime Minister, and chief Favorite. But this does not fully express the thing. It must be added, that he so absolutely governed the King, that he turned him which way he pleased. But he managed so artfully, that the King always fancied he took his own course, when he only followed the Suggestions of his Minister. *Wolsey* had great Talents for a person of his birth; but he had also great failings. He was excessively revengeful, greedy of Possessions and Honours, and intolerably proud. He no sooner saw himself fixed in his master's favour, but he sought means to remove from Court all those that gave him any Jealousy by the King's esteem for them. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who had been most in favour, received so many mortifications from this imperious Prelate, that at length they quitted the Court, not to be exposed to his Insults. *Fox* withdrew to his Diocese the beginning of this year (3). The two Dukes quickly followed (4), and *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* retired also at the end of the same year. These old Ministers being thus removed, *Wolsey* became still more absolute over the King, who had only him to advise with in his most important affairs. The rest of the Privy-Council were all the Favorite's Creatures. The Historians unanimously agree, that *Wolsey's* Interest was the sole rule of the Counsels he gave the King, and as this Interest answered his reigning Passions, Revenge, Greediness, Ambition, and Pride, the Reader must not be surprized when he sees him hereafter inducing the King to make so many false Steps.

Ever since *Francis I* came to the Crown, he had been thinking of recovering *Tournay* out of the hands of the *English*. There had even passed in the beginning of the year a Treaty upon that subject, but to no purpose, because *Henry* demanded in exchange of *Tournay*, some places in the neighbourhood of *Calais* (5), which *Francis* did not think proper to grant him (6). But the greatest difficulty came from *Wolsey*, who was far from advising the King his master to resign *Tournay*, because himself would have lost the Administration of that Bishoprick and the Abby of *St. Amand*, which brought him a great Revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with *Francis I*, to bestow some good Benefice on *Lewis Guillard* Bishop of *Tournay*, that he might suffer him peaceably to enjoy his Administration. *Francis* had promised him, but without intending to keep his word. Instead of assisting him to keep the Administration, he secretly persuaded the Bishop to sue to the Pope for his restoration, and seconded his petition to the utmost of his power. He was of opinion, that when *Wolsey* ceased to be Administrator, the restitution of *Tournay* would become much easier.

Whilst *Francis* was still in *France*, employed in preparing for his *Italian* Expedition, the Pope, yet uncertain of the Success of that Enterprize, did not much regard the Bishop's Solicitations. But when he saw that Prince master of *Genoa*, and entered the *Milanese* at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a Bull to *Guillard*, restoring him to his Bishoprick, and even allowing him to make use of the secular Arm to obtain possession. This Bull, which sacrificed the King of *England's* and his Minister's Interest, to those of the *French* King and the Bi-

(1) Between Mount *Vise*, and Mount *Cenis*. Guicciard. l. 12. Through the Valley of *Barcelonnate*, *Roque Sparviere*, *St. Pol*, *Argentiere*, &c. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VI. p. 351.

(2) See a full Account of these Transactions in Bishop *Burnet's* Hist. Ref. Tom. III. p. 8, &c.

(3) Upon his going away, he desired this only of the King, That he would not suffer the Servant to be greater than the Master. To which the King answered presently, That it should be his care, that those who were his Subjects should obey, and not command. Herbert, p. 24.

(4) The Duke of *Suffolk* had borrowed large Sums of Money of the King, which he hoped would have been forgiven him; but upon *Wolsey's* calling those that were indebted to the Crown to an account, the Duke withdrew from Court. Hall, Hollingsh. p. 839.

(5) The County of *Guines* or *Ardes*. Herbert, p. 23.

(6) In May this year, King *Henry* sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, and three hundred Labourers, to build a Castle for the Defence of *Tournay*. Stow, p. 497.

1515. shop of *Tournay*, would seem very strange, if the consideration of the time and circumstances did not make the wonder cease. *Leo X* had given just cause to *Francis* to complain of his Conduct, and saw that Monarch ready to take possession again of the *Milanese*, and conclude a Treaty with the *Switzers* in order to send them back into their own Country. It was therefore his Interest to appease him, by granting a favour he so eagerly desired. Mean while, *Henry* was extremely offended at this Bull, which restored to the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, a Prelate who refused to swear Fealty to him, and on which the King of *France* and the Bishop of *Tournay* might proceed to raise a Sedition in the City. He therefore gave orders to his Ambassador at *Rome*, to expostulate with the Pope, and represent to him the consequences of his partiality. *Leo X* could not help owning it. But at that very time *Francis* gaining the battle of *Marignano*, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his resentment, it was no proper Season to incense him farther by revoking the Bull. This convinced *Wolsey* that *Francis* was the real Author of the Bishop's restoration. Mean while, the Pope, being embarrassed, chose, upon the King of *England's* opposition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two Cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to hasten the conclusion. In the mean time, *Wolsey* was uncertain whether he should keep the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. And that was precisely what the King of *France* wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the selfish Minister to find some Expedient to make himself amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppose the restitution of *Tournay*. At the same time, to preserve his friendship, which was very necessary, by reason of his Credit with the King his master, he promised to assist him in procuring a Cardinal's Cap. *Wolsey* was extremely ambitious of that Dignity. After the death of Cardinal *Bambridge*, he was in hopes of succeeding him in the Cardinalate, as well as in the Archbishoprick of *York*. He had even employed to sollicite it in his name, Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto* (1), the Pope's Collector in *England*, under whom *Polydore Virgil* served as Sub-Collector. But Cardinal *Adrian*, instead of serving him as he had promised, had done him ill offices. *Wolsey* being informed of it, was so incensed, that on some slight pretence, he committed *Polydore* to the Tower. Then he caused the King to write to the Pope with his own hand, to desire him to appoint another Collector in Cardinal *Adrian's* room. The King's Letter was so strong and passionate, that the Pope thought fit to comply with his request. However in his Brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger against Cardinal *Adrian* was intilled into him by *Wolsey*. Mean while, *Polydore Virgil* continued in the Tower, till at length Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, and the Pope himself interceded for him, by Letters of *August* the 30th, and *September* the 3d. As this was at the very time that *Francis* was solliciting a Cardinal's Cap for *Wolsey*, *Wolsey* did not think proper to refuse the Pope a thing of so little consequence. So *Polydore* came out of the Tower, where he had been about a year. This ill Treatment was, doubtless, one of the reasons that induced him to remember all the ill-qualities of Cardinal *Wolsey*, in his History of *England*.

Wolsey having at length obtained a Cardinal's Cap, was transported with joy when he received the news by an Express sent by the King of *France* (2). But though he was highly obliged to that Monarch, this favour begat in his breast much less Gratitude, than the injury he imagined to have received in the affair of *Tournay*, had caused Resentment. He resolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to set the King his master at variance with *Francis*, and cause him to enter into a new League against *France*. Herein he gratified three of his predominant passions; his Pride, in letting *Europe* see, that Sovereigns themselves offended him not with impunity; his Revenge, in creating *Francis* great troubles; and his own Interest, in securing the administration of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. Indeed, a rupture between the two Kings was an effectual means to hinder *Guillard's* restoration to his See. This is observed by Historians as the principal Cause of the alteration we are going to behold in *Henry's* Conduct. Jealousy and Policy may have had some influence too, but less as true causes, than as motives used by *Wolsey* to inflame the King's mind.

Probably, under colour that his honour was concerned, he represented to him the necessity of humbling the pride of the *French* King, and insinuated, how dangerous it was for *England* that *France* should grow too powerful. When he had prepared *Henry*, he privately sent word to the Emperor, that it would not be impossible to disengage the King his master from the interests of *France*. It may easily be guessed, *Maximilian* received this Overture with joy. Besides that, being without aid and allies, he saw himself little able to preserve his Conquests in *Italy*, he knew, which way soever he was treated with, he should always be furnished with Money. Whilst *Wolsey* was projecting to negotiate with the Emperor, the *Spanish* Ambassador, who had heavily passed some Months at *London*, was looked upon at Court with a much more favorable Eye. Nay, a Treaty was begun with him about renewing the alliance between *England* and *Spain*, which being ended the 19th of *October*, contained however only a confirmation of the antient Treaties of Amity.

Mean while, the Emperor, willing to improve the present opportunity, sent to the King a *Milanese* Ambassador, to desire aid in the name of *Francesco Sforza*, who was in *Germany*, and had assumed the title of Duke of *Milan*, ever since *Maximilian* his Brother had resigned his right to the King of *France*. Though *Wolsey* had taken care to dispose *Henry* to a rupture with *France*, he was not, it seems, fully determined. *Francesco Sforza's* request, or rather the Emperor's, seemed to him so important, that he desired to have the opinions of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who to that intent were sent for to Court. The Council being met to debate upon this affair, Cardinal *Wolsey* speaking first, made a long Speech full of Repentment against *France*, labouring to demonstrate how much it was for the interest of *England* to oppose her growing power (3). The Bishop of *Durham* and all the new Counsellors strenuously supported the Cardinal's opinion. But the old ones endeavoured to dissuade the King from breaking the Peace lately concluded with *France*, since the new King had given him no cause, and advised him rather to turn his arms against *Scotland*. *Henry*, who was already prepossessed, took a middle way, insinuated, doubtless, by his Minister. And that was, privately to assist the Emperor and *Francesco Sforza* (4). Whereupon, he sent orders to *Pace* (5), his Ambassador to *Maximilian*, to treat with them, and, to promote the Treaty, returned him large sums of Money (6). Thus was he gradually engaged, without foreseeing that these steps must necessarily end in an open War, as *Wolsey* desired.

There is in the Collection of the Publick Acts, a Paper, shewing that the Cardinal did not forget himself in his Negotiations. It is a promise from the Duke of *Milan's* Secretary, who, by virtue of an express power from the Duke his Master, engaged to pay the Cardinal a yearly Pension of ten thousand Ducats, to commence from the Day of his Master's restoration. It is true, this Paper being neither dated nor signed, may be considered only as a draught of this Contract; but it is however a proof of the Cardinal's selfish temper. The Emperor no sooner heard that *Henry* was inclined to assist him against *France*, than he dispatched to *England* *Matthew Skinner* Cardinal of *Sion*, to negotiate a League with him. This is the same Prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the *Switzers* to give Battle to *Francis* I.

The Parliament met again the 12th of *November*. But as it was not yet time to lay before the Houses the King's resolution with regard to *France*, there was no mention of War, or any foreign affair. The Clergy in a Synod held at the same time, returned an answer to the Pope concerning his demand of an extraordinary Subsidy, on pretence of an apparent War with the *Turks*. They alledged, that they were so exhausted by the late War with *France*, undertaken at the instance of *Julius II*, for the defence of the Church, that they were not in condition to grant a new Subsidy: That besides, by a decree of the Council of *Constance*, the Pope could lay no imposition on the Clergy without the consent of a General Council.

Whilst the *English* were thus endeavouring to skreen themselves from the oppressions of the Court of *Rome*, they beheld one rising in their own Body, like a new

(1) Called by our Historians *de Castello*—Bishop of *Bath*, and the King's Orator at *Rome*.

(2) In *September*. *Hall*, fol. 57. He was Cardinal by the Title of *Sanctæ Cæcilie trans Tiberim*; or, *Sancti Ciriaci in Tormis*. *Rymer's Fæd.* Tom. XIII. p. 529, 530.

(3) He likewise alledged, That *Francis* had broken the Treaty by favoring *Richard de la Pole*, Brother of the late Duke of *Suffolk*, a Fugitive and Traitor; in assisting those *Swiss* which opposed his Sister *Queen Margaret*. Besides that, *Francis* with-held some Goods and Jewels of *Queen Mary*. Lastly, he said, *France* might be hindered from growing more powerful, without Effusion of *English* Blood, only by privately assisting *Maximilian*. *Herbert*, p. 24. *Pol. Virg.*

(4) The Lord *Herbert* says, the King, after the Debate was over, being inclined to the Cardinal, said, He would binder the Designs of *Francis* without coming yet to an open Rupture, p. 25.

(5) Late Servant to Cardinal *Bambridge*, who wrote the Letter mentioned before, concerning *Silvester's* having a hand in poisoning his Master.

(6) They were put into the Hands of some *Genoa* Merchants, who breaking, a great part of the Money was lost. *Hall*, fol. 59.

1515,

Wolsey
treats pri-
vately with
the Emperor.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

Henry re-
news his Al-
liance with
Ferdinand.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 520
— 528.
Guicciard.

Embassy of
Francis
Sforza to
Henry.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

Henry calls
a great Coun-
cil upon it.
Pol. Virg.
Herbert.

Henry re-
solves to aid
the Emperor
privately.
Pol. Virg.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Duke
of *Milan's*
promise to
Wolsey.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 525.
Pol. Virg.
Herbert.

The Empe-
ror's Embas-
sy to *Henry*.
Hall.
Stow.

Parliament
meets.
Herbert.

The Clergy
refuse the
Pope a
Subsidy.
Hall.

Cardinal
Wolsey's
Pride.
Herbert.
Hall.
Pol. Virg.

1515. Pope, whom they foresaw, it would be more difficult to resist than him at Rome, because he was supported by the King: I mean *Wolsey*. Since that Prelate was promoted to the Cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. He never stirred without a Prince's retinue, always attended by a crowd of Domesticks, causing the Cardinal's Hat to be carried before him like a sort of Trophy, and having it placed on the Altar when he went to the King's Chapel (1). He was the first Clergyman in England that wore Silk in his Vestments, and used Gold in his Saddles. In a word, he devised all sorts of ways to distinguish himself. Every one took such offence at his pride, that it was incessantly talked of with indignation. But no Man durst open his Mouth before the King, since the old Bishop of *Winchester* for only glancing upon it, was so ill received, that shortly after he withdrew to his Diocese. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no less offended than the rest, to see the Archbishop of *York* affect thus so great a distinction. But what gave him most offence was, to see the Cross of *York* carried before the Cardinal, though he was in the Province of *Canterbury*. I have spoken elsewhere of this contest between the two Archbishops, which, after having caused violent quarrels, could be decided but by the King's express commands to the Archbishops of *York*, not to have the Cross carried before them in the other Province. But *Wolsey*, who thought himself much above his Predecessors, prepared to revive the contest, in contempt of these Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable temper, easily perceived, that though he should attempt to hinder it, he should not succeed, because *Wolsey* had an absolute sway over the King. So, not to have continually this object before his Eyes, he desired the King's leave to resign the Chancellorship, and retire to his Palace. His request was immediately granted; and the same day the King gave the Seals to Cardinal *Wolsey*. In all appearance, he had created *Warham* so many mortifications only to oblige him to quit his Office, with which he desired to be invested himself. To support the splendour of his dignity with more State than any other before him, the King loaded him every day with fresh favours, Prebends, Wardships, and the like, which continually increased his Revenues. Besides the Archbishoprick of *York* and the Chancellorship, he had in Farm, upon easy terms, the Bishopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford* (2), held by *Italians* residing at Rome. But this was not sufficient to satisfy him. I must now, before I close the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of *Scotland*, the Knowledge whereof is requisite for the better understanding the events related hereafter.

Alexander Duke of Albany, who had been declared Regent in 1513, arrived not in *Scotland* till May 1515. He found the Kingdom full of Factions and Divisions, which made him sensible, the Administration committed to him would prove very troublesome. But what gave him most uneasiness was, that the King of *England* was but too much concerned in what passed in *Scotland*, and fomented these dissensions to the utmost of his power. Under colour that *Scotland* had been sometime without a Regent, *Henry VIII.*, as Uncle of the young King, had taken the Title of Protector of *Scotland*, and by virtue thereof, his Ambassadors at Rome demanded of the Pope the Ecclesiastical Preferments of that Kingdom, which he bestowed on his Creatures. But as soon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived, he writ to the Pope, in the young King's name, sharply complaining of the King of *England's* Incroachments, and the Court of Rome's condescension. He even threatened the Pope in his Letter, not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatsoever, if this Grievance were not speedily redressed (3).

The Duke of *Albany*, though of *Scotch* Extraction, was a stranger to *Scotland* (4), from whence the Duke his Father had retired in 1483. As he desired, in the beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unhappily applied to *Hepburne* Bishop

of *Murray*, a hot and revengeful Man, who took this occasion to be revenged on his Enemies. The Bishop, being Prior of *St. Andrew's*, had been elected Archbishop of that Church in the beginning of the present Reign. But he was forced to resign the Archbishoprick to *Forman* Bishop of *Murray*, who was armed with the Pope's Bull. However, *Forman* would never have ventured to make use of this Bull, had he not been supported by *Alexander Hume* a potent Lord before-mentioned. By his credit and authority, *Forman* was installed in *St. Andrew's*, having resigned the Bishoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and promised to pay him a certain Pension. *Hepburne* finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the Regent such a Character of *Hume*, that when he came to Court he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Hume* being naturally very proud and high-spirited, resolving to let the Regent see, no Man should slight him with impunity, went over to the Queen Dowager, and persuading her that the King her Son was in danger, advised her to carry him into *England*. The Regent hearing of this plot, suddenly went to *Sterling* Castle and secured the young King's Person. But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill construction on this action, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the care of his education to three Persons of great credit.

Alexander Hume and his Brother *William* seeing their Plot was discovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouse the Earl of *Angus*. Whereupon, the Regent sent Ambassadors to *Henry* to justify his conduct, and at the same time so artfully treated with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into *Scotland*. But the Queen being big with Child, was forced to stay at *Harbottle* Castle in *Northumberland*, where she was delivered (5) of a Daughter, called *Margaret* (6). The sequel of this affair shall be related in another place.

The death of King *Ferdinand* (7), in February 1516, broke the measures taken by Cardinal *Wolsey*, to engage all *Europe* in a War with *France*. Thus, notwithstanding the Cardinal's projects, *Henry* was forced to remain in peace, because the interests of the rest of the Princes were not agreeable to his, or rather to the passions of his Minister. But though *Europe* was peaceable for some time, it will be however necessary to relate in each year of this Peace, the situation of the affairs of the principal States, in order to shew the occasion of the following Wars.

Nothing remarkable passed in *England* in the beginning of the year 1516, except the Birth of a Princess, whom the Queen brought into the World the eighteenth of February, and called *Mary* (8). Cardinal *Wolsey* commonly called the Cardinal of *York*, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, caused those who had managed the King's Money, to be called to a strict account. The most part however were spared. But those were severely punished who had not the address to make the Minister their Friend (9).

After *Ferdinand's* decease, the Kingdom of *Arragon* came of course to *Joanna* his eldest Daughter, already Queen of *Castile*. But that Princess was incapable of governing her Dominions by reason of her defect of understanding, which had obliged the King her Father to keep her confined. So the Administration of these two Kingdoms with all their dependencies, could not be disputed with *Charles of Austria*, *Joanna's* eldest Son, and Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*. But as that Prince lived in *Flanders*, *Ferdinand* had left by his Will the Regency of *Arragon* to *Alphonso* his natural Son Bishop of *Saragossa*, and that of *Castile* to Cardinal *Ximenes*, till *Charles* should come himself and assume the Government. Mean while, when *Ximenes* would have taken possession of the Regency of *Castile*, *Adrian Florentio*, Doctor in Divinity, who managed the Prince of *Austria's* affairs in *Spain*, produced Letters Patents from his Master, constituting him

(1) He is said by *Cavendish*, to keep eight hundred Servants, among which were nine or ten Lords, fifteen Knights, and sixty Squires. The Hat was born by some principal Person before him on a great height. He had besides, his Sergeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlemen, carrying two Pillars of Silver, besides his Cross-bearer. *Herbert*, p. 24. *Pel. Vng.* See *Stow*, p. 601. *Burnet's Ref.* Tom. III. p. 21.

(2) The Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Winchester*, and *Hereford*, the Incumbents whereof, *Adrian de Coneto*, *Silvester Gyles*, &c. being Strangers, who had been sent here upon Legations, King *Henry VIII.*, a frugal Prince, chose rather to reward them upon their return with Preferments that cost him nothing, than to impair his Treasure by making them Presents in Money. And now living abroad, to save the Charge of Agents, and Trouble of making Returns by them, were willing to let the Cardinal have the Revenues at easy Rates, with the Disposal of the Ecclesiastical Preferments annexed to them.

(3) He also writ to the King of *France*, desiring to be included in the Treaty concluded at *London*, April 5. 1516. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIII. p. 508, 511.

(4) He was born in the time of his Father's Banishment, and such a Stranger, that he could not speak the Country Language. *Herbert*, p. 29.

(5) October 7.

(6) Her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, left her, and returned into *Scotland*. She staid about a Year in *England*. *Hall*, fol. 58.

(7) In the sixty third year of his age. He left the title of Catholic to his Successors. Though he had vast possessions, was much enriched from the *Indies*, prosperous in almost all his attempts, and of a frugal disposition, yet there was hardly found in his Coffers Money enough to discharge his interring, though not very sumptuous. *Herbert*, p. 26.

(8) She was born at *Greenwich* 1515-16.

(9) He so severely punished Perjury, that in his time it was little practised: He also called to account Persons guilty of Riots, Vexing, Oppression, and the like; and erected four Under-Courts to hear Complaints by Bill of poor People: Whereof the first was kept in *Wetmore*; the second before Dr. *Stokely*, the King's Almoner; the third in the Lord-Treasurer's Chamber; and the fourth at the Rolls. *Hall*, fol. 59. *Hollingshead*, p. 338.

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Regent of that Kingdom. But *Ximenes* refused to acknowledge him as such, pretending that *Charles* had not power to appoint a Regent before he was received for Governor. The contest was however adjusted by this expedient, that the Orders should be signed by both. But the Cardinal left the Duke the bare name of Regent only, and enlarged all the Functions himself. Mean while, *Charles* took the Title of King of *Castile*, with the consent of the States of that Realm. But the *Aragonians*, most jealous of their Privileges than the *Castilians*, refused to give him the Title of King of *Aragon*, whilst his Mother *Isabella* was alive. Nay, there was a party in the Kingdom who maintained, that *Isabella* herself could not pretend to the Crown of *Aragon*, because the Daughters were excluded by the Laws of the Realm, and therefore *Isabella* could not derive from her Mother a right she never had. But others affirmed, that the exclusion of the Females extended not to their Male-Issue. This was much the same case as happened formerly in *France*, in the dispute between *Edward III.* and *Philip of France*. I shall enter no farther into the affairs of *Spain*. What I have said is sufficient to shew the necessity *Charles* was under, of going further, and how dangerous it would have been for him, to engage in a War against *France*, in the beginning of so unfortified a Reign. Accordingly, he neglected nothing to renew the Treaties of Peace and Alliance as well with *France* as *England*, but with liberty to take other measures when his Affairs should be in another situation. Just before the King of *Aragon's* death, he had, as Sovereign of the Low-Countries, renewed the Alliance with *England*, by a new Treaty concluded at *Brighton* the 24th of February this year 1518. About a month after, *Henry*, who was continuing to form a League against *France*, received his Ambassador to treat with *Charles* upon that point. But *Ferdinand's* death so changed the face of affairs, that *Henry* was forced to be satisfied with a bare defensive League, which I shall presently mention, having first related the success of an expedition made by the Emperor into *Italy*.

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XVII. p. 111
— 112.

p. 143.

To Henry
the Duke
was against
Spain.
Charles
Marian
but Henry
hesitated.

It was not without reason that *Maximilian* had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by Cardinal *Wolsey*, of making War upon *France*. There was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his Conquests in the State of *Italy*, since *Francis I.* was become master of the *Milanese*, and had joined Forces with the *Venetians*. Besides, he could expect no farther assistance from the Pope, who had lately agreed with *Francis*. As for the Spanish Army, which was retired to *Naples*, it was not easy to could them to return, since they were necessarily to march through the Ecclesiastical State. On the other hand, King *Ferdinand's* death had changed the posture of affairs, and quite destroyed the Emperor's hopes. So far was the new King of *Castile* from having any thoughts of a War with *France*, that it highly concerned him to keep Peace with that Kingdom, in order to have time to settle his affairs in *Spain*. Thus the Emperor, contrary to his usual method, was forced to act alone, during this year, in the expectation of so embroiling affairs, that other Powers should at length be constrained to join with him. He had already received some of the King of *England's* Money, and Cardinal *Wolsey* put him in hopes of still larger sums. With this aid, he assembled an Army of about twenty thousand Men, *German* and *Swiss*, and in March entered the State of *Venice*, which the *Venetians*, assisted by a Body of French Troops commanded by *Lorraine*, were besieging *Brescia*. Upon his approach, the French and *Venetians* raised the Siege, and after making a shew of opposing his progress of the *Riviera*, retired to *Milan* to avoid a Battle. Thus the Emperor approached *Milan* without much difficulty.

The French were in so great Confirmation that they were not to abandon both the City and Duchy, and retire into *France*. If the Emperor had made all the haste he could, he would have doubtless constrained them to execute that resolution. But having spent two or three days to no purpose, on the time he came before *Milan* the French had received news, that ten thousand *Swissers* of the Canton in Alliance with *France* were coming to their assistance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of this ten thousand *Swissers* at *Milan*, threw both sides into a great Confirmation. The French, who considered those Troops as a sure aid, were struck with consternation when they heard that they actually retired to fight against the *Swissers* on the Emperor's Army. There left, on their part, demanding their pay with such boisterous clamour, *Maximilian* was afraid, it was a pretence not to join battle with their Countrymen newly arrived

at *Milan*. He had no Money for them, and was apprehensive the French had but too much to corrupt them. So, when it was least expected, he suddenly retired, after which, having no Money to pay them, the Army disbanded of themselves.

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Having thus missed his aim, the Emperor was forced upon new Trials to engage the Pope, the King of *England*, the young King of *Castile* his Grandson, in a League against *France*. But this project was not easy to be executed. The Pope had his private views, which suffered him not to break openly with *Francis*. *Charles's* Council were better advised than to agree, that their master should engage to gratify his Grandfather's passion at a time when he was necessarily obliged to go into *Spain*, and take possession of his Kingdoms. Thus the Emperor's whole refuge lay in the assistance he could expect from *England*. But as there was no likelihood, that *Henry* would undertake a War of which he was to bear all the expence, *Maximilian* contrived himself of a Device to preserve his good disposition towards him, or at least to draw Money from him; and that was, to declare to *Rosert Wingfield* the English Ambassador at his Court, that he was tired with the burden of the Empire, and having a particular esteem for the King his master, intended to resign it to him. For that purpose, he charged him to write to the King, that if he would come to *Torino*, he would call a Diet and settle that grand affair, after which, he offered to wait upon him to *Rome*, to see him receive the Imperial Crown. Moreover, he put him in hopes, he would resign of him his right to the Duchy of *Milan*, and assist him to conquer it. *Henry* easily perceived *Maximilian's* aim in making such an offer, and therefore writ to his Ambassador to thank the Emperor for his good Intention, desiring him to defer the execution of this project to a more convenient Season, when the French should be expelled out of *Italy*. Mean while, in return for his goodwill, he sent him some Money, excusing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a *Genoa* Banker 1518.

Whilst the Emperor was endeavouring to imbrail the French affairs, *Francis* was forming new projects. He had good reason to be pleased with his glorious Campaign, when, in a short time, had regained him the Duchy of *Milan*. Mean while, *Ferdinand's* death inspiring him with fresh hopes, he formed the design of seizing the Kingdom of *Naples*, imagining, the new King of *Spain* would be unable to defend it, before he was thoroughly settled in his Kingdoms. Besides, he believed he had so attached the Pope to his Interests, by the Treaty of *Bologna*, that he did not doubt to find in him all the assistance necessary to his undertaking, looking upon him as his best Friend. But he did not know *Leo X.* That Pontiff did by no means desire, the French should become more powerful in *Italy*, and if he testified to the King, that he was in his Interests, it was only to prevent his opposing the projects he had himself formed in favour of his own House. The Emperor's Invasion of the *Milanese* this year, interrupted the execution of *Francis's* design upon *Naples*, and what afterwards happened, caused him to lay aside all thoughts of it. However, his desire to conquer that Kingdom occasioned a defensive League against him towards the end of the year, as will be related, after a word or two more of the *Italian* affairs.

Leo X. was no sooner reconciled with *Francis I.*, than he deprived, upon a frivolous pretence, the Duke of *Urbino* of his Duchy, and invested *Lorenzo de Medici*, who assumed from thenceforward, the title of Duke of *Urbino*, and the old dispossessed Duke retired to *Mantua*.

It was in order to accomplish this design, that the Pope had flattered *Francis* with the hopes of assisting him in the Conquest of *Naples*. But after he was become master of *Urbino*, by that *Medarch's* Conveyance, instead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the French out of the Duchy of *Milan*. To that end, he held secret Intelligence with the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, and used his utmost endeavours, by the help of his Embassies, to persuade the *Swissers* to break their Alliance with *France*. Though he acted with all possible precaution, he could not treat so privately but that his secret practices came to the King's knowledge, who pretended however to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the Pope in reality to his Interest, otherwise he was sensible his attempt upon *Naples* would never succeed. *Leo X.* desired nothing better than to amuse him, whilst he was secretly acting against him. But at length, *Francis's* perceiving more and more his Insincerity, left all thoughts of the Conquest of *Naples*, and resolved to treat with the

Francis I.
the Duke
of Urbino
invested
Naples, and
the Duke of
Mantua.
Guiccard.

The Pope
deprived
the Duke of
Urbino.
Guiccard.

He endeavoured
to drive the
French out
of Italy.

The French
were
in vain.

1. The French Government sent Cardinal Radford, and William Rogers, Doctors of Law, to Henry VIII. in 1517.

2. The Emperor, and a part of Germany, that Milan, on the 24th of February, 1518, was the first time.

1516.

King of Spain, who in the present situation of his affairs, could not but wish to live in a good understanding with him. Thus the two Kings being equally inclined to a Peace, sent their Plenipotentiaries to Nijmegen to conclude it. The Treaty was signed the 26th of August, the Substance whereof was, That *Charles* should espouse *Louisa*, *Francis's* Daughter, then about a year old. That he should have with her the King of *France's* pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and till the Marriage should be consummated, he (1) should give for the young Prince's maintenance, a hundred thousand Crowns a year. That within six months he should resign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albret* Son of *John d'Albret*, and *Catherine*, King and Queen of *Navarre*, who were dispossessed by *Ferdinand*, and in case *Charles* should not perform this Article, *Francis* should be allowed to assist the King of *Navarre*. Lastly, That the Emperor should restore *Vincennes* to the *Frentians*, who in return should pay him two hundred thousand Crowns, and give him a full exchange for the Sum of three hundred thousand Crowns lent him by King *Leopold* XII, to maintain the war against *France*. It is very visible, that in a Treaty so advantageous to *France*, *Charles* meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could desire, for fear of being hindered from going to take possession of his Kingdoms. Accordingly, this Treaty was afterwards very ill observed.

Index of
the Poems.

The Peace of *Nijmegen* was directly contrary to the designs of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*. The Pope was extremely desirous the French should be expelled out of *Italy*. Maximilian was wholly intent upon raising enemies to *France*, to hinder his assisting the *Vermans*. He saw, he must resolve either to ratify the Treaty of *Nijmegen*, and consequently restore *Vermans*, or defend his Conquest without the assistance of any Ally. To avoid both these extremes, he tried all possible ways to embroil affairs, and kindle a new war which might occasion a League against *France*. He hoped thereby to be able to reject without danger the Treaty of *Nijmegen*, which he believed very prejudicial to his Interests. It is true, the restitution of *Vermans* would be worth to him five hundred thousand Crowns. But out of that Sum were deducted the three hundred thousand, he owed the King of *France*, but never intended to pay him. So for the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns, he was bound to restore *Vermans*, that is to say, he was to be shut out of *Italy*, the only thing that made him considerable in the present situation of the affairs of *Europe*. *Henry VIII* was no less desirous of a war with *France*, being prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolsey*, or by his Jealousy of *France*. But it was not the same with the Archduke, to whom a Peace for some time was very advantageous.

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This was the subject of the several Negotiations, set on foot from the Conclusion of the Treaty of Nijmegen, to the end of *October*. The chief aim of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of England, was to engage the eight *Swiss Cantons* in Alliance with France, from the Interest of that Crown, that their Troops might serve to invade the *Milanese*. Mean while, they were labouring to form a League, wherein they passionately desired to engage the new King of Spain. But all they could obtain was, his consent to a defensive League, in case France attacked any of the Confederates. *Leo X* according to his usual Custom, would not openly declare himself, but intimated, he would freely join in the League when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the *Swissers*, it was resolved to include them, though they desired it not, upon the hopes of engaging them by means of some of their Nation, who had been aimed.

1. *Adiantum*
 2. *Lycopodium*
 3. *Marchantia*
 4. *Funaria*

This League was therefore concluded at *London* the 29th of *October*, about two months after the Treaty of *Nyon*. It ran, that the Emperor, the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, engaged to defend one another against any Prince that should attack one of the three, and the number of Troops, each was to find, was settled. That all Princes, Potentates, Republicks, and States, which desired to enter into the League, should be admitted: That as the Confederates had reason to hope the Pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the League. Finally, That all the *Swiss Cantons* should be deemed included in the League, provided they ratified it, and to that end the *Peninsulars*, which should be agreed upon with them, should be allowed them. By a private Art

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nale, signed two days after, it was agreed what each of the Allies was to pay towards the Penfins, which should be distributed to the Government, or used to the purchase of private property, i. e. houses and the very means to induce them to come into the League. The first there was no certainty of gaining them, and that the cost of raising was upon the tables of some private person of their Nation.

To this League, *Emperor Lewis* in 1435, joined all the monarchs of the *Pope*, the *Emperor*, and the *King of England*, during the month of that year. The *Emperor* had been in hopes of obtaining much, and thought by this Treaty the *Alles* were, in some measure, bound to assist him, if the *King of France* continued to aid the *Protestants*; he soon discovered a League which procured him no Money. Before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*. At the same time, he concluded with the *Protestants* a Truce for some months, and with one consent they put the rest of their Differences to arbitration. The *Emperor's* resolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as will be seen the next year. We find in the *Collection of the Peace of Aix*, that previous to the League was signed, *Henry* sent *Richard Peck* to the *Swissers*, to persuade them to come into the League; but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, the *Emperor* resolving to make Peace with the *Protestants*, agreed, that the five *Cantons* who had refused to join with *France* should come into the Treaty made by the other eight with that Crown.

Before I end the occurrences of the year 1716, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed at Cardinal *Henry* having formed great projects against *France*, and knowing how much the Duke of *Albany* had at heart the good of that Kingdom, resolved to compel the King to remove him from the Regency. To that purpose, he desired them to send Ambassadors, to whom he might impart certain matters so antaginous to both Kingdoms. This Negotiation tended only to prove the great Man of Scotland to expel the Duke of *Albany*. He even went to the Parliament of Scotland, that the best way to procure Peace between the two Nations, was to send back the Regent into *France*. Under colour that it was dangerous to trust the presumptive Heir to the Crown, with the Guardianship of the young King; intimating moreover, that in case of refusal, he should be obliged to take care himself by proper methods, of the safety of the King his Nephew. He also gave to understand, that he claimed the Regency as Uncle to the young King. But the Parliament returned such an answer, so fully convinced him, the Scots were by no means inclined to comply with his will &c).

Whether *Henry* was concerned in the King of England's proceedings, or was only suspected, the Parliament summoned him to come and answer to the accusations brought against him. *Henry* not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon this Sentence as unjust, and in revenge committed *Henry* to some some of his enemies. Whereupon the Parliament granted to the Vicar, a Levy of ten thousand Men to chastise the Rebel. But his friends advising him to submit, he cast himself upon the Regent's mercy, who sent him to *Edw. IV.*, and committed him to the Custody of *James Hastings* (s) his Brother-in-law. Shortly after, *Henry* persuaded the Lord *Hastings* to escape with him, and claim the Regency. As Son of *James* the first's Sister (s), and consequently a nearly related to the King as the Duke of *Albany*. He said, if the Duke could be ledge, he was descended from the Male-line, it might be objected, he was Son of a Fugitive, born out of the Kingdom, and hardly able to speak the Country Language. The Regent hearing of their Flight and Conspiracies, marched against *Hastings* Came and took them in a few days. Then *Henry* perceiving it was time to throw off the mask, raised Troops, and taking *Dunbar*, strongly fortified the Town.

Mean while, the Antislavery Societies by the Regent and England in May, had obtained a Truce for the first of June. But as Henry had granted the Truce only to hasten the execution of his designs, he appeared well disposed to observe it, after receiving the late-nominations. But to avoid a War which must have been ruinous to England, the Regent lost heart. Francis in February, 1831,

17:5.

1. *Thymus* *Chamaecrista*

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) converge to the solutions of the system (2) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. The asymptotic expansion of the solutions of the system (1) is obtained. The asymptotic expansion of the solutions of the system (1) is obtained. The asymptotic expansion of the solutions of the system (1) is obtained.

— *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1914, 23: 1000.

Source: *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 1990, Vol. 85, No. 412, pp. 1039-1047. Reprinted by permission of the American Statistical Association.

... ..

1. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the City of New York, for the year 1901:

1. The following information is for the year ended 31/12/2019:

... ..

tain Articles, desiring his approbation, for which he offered to come in person and pay him his respects. At that time the affairs of the rest of *Europe* having, as hath been said, taken a new turn, *Henry* agreed to prolong the Truce to the end of the year 1517.

prolonged.
p. 57.

The Council
of Lateran
for about
the
Council.

These are the most considerable events which passed in the several States of *Europe* during the year 1516. I shall only add a word concerning the Council of *Lateran*, which still continued its Sessions without having much to do. As the Council meddled neither with the Reformation of the Church, though they seemed to be called for that very purpose, nor with the extirpation of *Heresy*, they resolved, in order to keep themselves employed, to reform the Calendar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the Pope causing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the Christian Princes, inviting them to send their best Astronomers to *Rome*, or at least order them to examine what had been proposed upon that subject. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Brief addressed to *Henry VIII*, where the Pope says he had adjourned the next Session to *December*, to give the Mathematicians time to send in their opinions.

p. 57.
J. 1. 10.

1517.
The Emperor
renews the
Treaty of
the
Treaty for
five years.
Guicciard.

The Emperor having ratified the Treaty of *Noyon* as far as it concerned him, restored *Verona* to the *Venetians*, the 15th of *January* 1517, having received two hundred thousand Crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the King of *France*. Moreover, to give the Arbitrators time to adjust the differences he still had with *Venice*, he agreed that the Truce should be prolonged for five years; but on condition that, during the Truce, the *Venetians* should pay him yearly twenty thousand Crowns. It was almost impossible to make a Treaty with him, and Money not accrue to him from it. Thus ended at length a War which may be deemed a consequence of the League of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were engaged in it from the beginning to the end, and expended no less than five millions of Ducats of the publick Treasure, besides the infinite damages sustained by the Subjects.

He concludes
the Treaty
of the
League
against the
Turks.
Heber.
Leo X
ex-
pects the
Christian
Princes to
war upon
the Turks.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 78.
J. 1. 10.
Guicciard.

Maximilian having thus desisted from his designs upon *Italy*, went into the *Low-Countries* to see his Grandson *Charles* before he departed for *Spain*. During his stay there, he concluded with him and the King of *France* a League against the *Turks*, wherein a place was reserved for the King of *England*. The Pope and the Council of *Lateran* earnestly pressed all the Princes of *Christendom* to join in this League, on pretence of the progress the *Turks* were making in *Egypt* against the *Mamelucks* (1), after which, he pretended, their design was to attack the Christians. But what followed shewed the Pope's sole view was to heap up Money for his own use, and to enrich his Family.

Charles
enters the
London
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 77.
He arrives
in Spain,
and dismisses
Ximenes.

Mean while, *Charles*, the new King of *Spain*, thought only of speedily going to take possession of his Kingdoms. He had just made with *Francis I* a Peace so advantageous to *France*, that he did not fear, that Prince would break it, because it would not be for his interest. So, when the *English* Ambassador pressed him to ratify the *London* League, he deferred it some time on divers pretences, because, deeming it needless, he was afraid of offending the King of *France*. He ratified it however after some alterations, and at length in *August* departed for *Spain*, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Upon his Arrival, he dismissed Cardinal *Ximenes*, who died with grief. After that, he so gave himself up to the *Flemings*, whom he had brought with him, that the *Spaniards* conceived such a jealousy as carried them afterwards to great extremities.

The Pope and
Francis dis-
semble their
friendship.

The Pope, as I have observed, continually amused *Francis* with the hopes of a strict Alliance with him, at the very time he was raising him Enemies on all sides. *Francis* was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all. So, in expectation of really attaching him in the end to his interests, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his best Friend, when he most suspected him. But as the Pope knew in his conscience, he had not deserved *Francis*'s Friendship, he could not believe his advances sincere. Mean while, it was for his interest that *Francis* should publicly appear to be his Friend, and therefore he kept

very fair with him, and not without cause. In the beginning of the year 1517, *Francisco Maria della Rovere*, who had been dispossessed of the Duchy of *Urbino*, prepared to recover his Dominions. When by the Truce concluded between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, the *Spanish* Troops in the State of *Venice* were become useless, *la Rovere* found means to gain and employ them in his service. With these supplies he took *Urbino*, and carried terror into *Tuscany* and the Ecclesiastical State. *Lorenzo de Medici*, the new Duke of *Urbino*, or rather the Pope his Uncle, being then unable to recover that Duchy, he was forced to have recourse to the assistance of the Christian Princes, under colour that the Church was grievously oppressed, the interest of the House of the *Medici* being then the same with those of the Church. *Francis I*, who had the gaining of the Pope ever in view, made use of this opportunity to do him a signal service, in sending him a good Body of Troops, under the command of *Lescun* Brother of *Lautrec*. This War however lasted seven or eight months, during which the Pope never ceased to press all the Christian Princes to contribute to the charges of a War, which, according to him, ought to have affected all the World. *Henry VIII* being solicited like the rest, refused to interpose. But the Pope found means to ingage his Subjects, by levying a Tenth upon the Clergy, of which Cardinal *Wolsey* was appointed Collector. The War of *Urbino* ended in a way *la Rovere* did not expect. The Pope bribed the *Spaniards* in his Service, who came to an Agreement for him, which he was obliged to accept. Thus being once more constrained to relinquish his Dominions, he retired to *Mantua*.

1517.
La Rovere
recovers possession
of Urbino.
Guicciard.

Francis I.
aids the
Pope.
Mezerai.

The Pope
levies a
Tenth upon
the Clergy.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 59.
June 10.
p. 196, 93.
La Rovere
is driven
from Urbino.

Whilst the Pope was employed in the War of *Urbino*, he discovered a Plot against his Person, contrived by the Cardinal of *Sienna*, who had bribed a Surgeon to poison him. The Cardinal being absent from *Rome* when the discovery was made, the Pope, who passionately desired to have him in his power, scrupled not to use fraud to compass his ends. He sent him a Safe-Conduct, and moreover, promised the *Spanish* Ambassador that he would do him no hurt. The Cardinal being so weak as to come to *Rome* upon the faith of the Safe-Conduct, was immediately confined in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and afterwards strangled in Prison. The *Spanish* Ambassador complained of this breach of faith; but was told by the Pope, a Safe-Conduct was never reckoned to extend to High-Treason, without express mention of the case. Some other Cardinals accused or suspected of being concerned in the Plot, were deposed, imprisoned, or severely fined.

Conspiracy
against the
Pope.
p. 589.
Guicciard.

Francis I never ceased courting the Pope to gain his Friendship, fearing that by his secret practices he would re-ignite the War, to deprive him of *Milan*. He imagined to have found at last an infallible means to attach him to his interests, in procuring *Lorenzo de Medici* a very advantageous marriage, with *Magdalen* Heiress of the House of *Boulogne*. This proposal was gladly accepted, and *Lorenzo* repairing to *Paris* for that purpose, stood Godfather in the Pope's name, to the *French* Dauphin, born the beginning of this year. In acknowledgment for the King's favour to *Lorenzo*, the Pope granted him Tenths upon the Clergy, under colour of the War to be waged with the *Turks*. But he took care to assign fifty thousand Livres for the charges of the Wedding, which was to be solemnized at *Paris*.

Marriage of
Lorenzo de
Medici with
the Heiress of
Boulogne.
Guicciard.

The pretended War *Christendom* was to undertake against the *Turks*, seemed to the Pope to be a fair opportunity to enrich himself by the contributions of the Christians. To that end, he granted plenary Indulgences to all that would contribute, and caused them to be publicly sold at so moderate a price, that a Man must have been very careless of his Salvation not to purchase them. But it was this that made the Pope expect to reap an immense profit, for, probably, there would not be a Christian without them. Mean while, that the Money arising from the Sale might be regularly collected, all *Christendom* was parted into so many divisions, and in each were appointed Collectors to receive the Money, and Preachers to extol the Benefit of Indulgences (2).

Sale of In-
dulgences on
pretence of
the War
with the
Turks.
Guicciard.
Sleidan.

But,

(1) The Word *Mameluck* signifies in *Syrian*, a hired Soldier. *Jordan* says, they were *Circassian* Slaves sold by the *Tartars* and *Persians* to the Merchants, and being trained up at *Cairo* in military Exercises, were picked out for the *Sultan's* Guard, and preferred to the highest Posts, who in 1255 received the Kingdom of *Egypt* for themselves. The Government was elective, and the Son could claim no Inheritance but his Father's personal Estate. Every *Mameluck*, whose Number in an was about sixteen or eighteen thousand, had a Vote in the Election, and received a Gold Ducat of the *Sultan* as soon as chosen. There were in all of this Race sixteen Kings, from the year before mentioned, to the present year 1517, when *Timur-Lex* II, their last King, was conquered in the first year of his Reign by *Selimus I*. Thus *Egypt* became a Province of the *Turkish* Empire, as it still continues. *Hayden*, &c. *Guicciard*.

(2) It had been well taught and believed for a good while, that the Pope, out of the inexhaustible Treasure of the Church, arising from the Merits of *Christ*, and Works of Supererogation of the Saints, had a power of distributing Indulgences on certain Conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most prodigious Sinners for a plenary Remission of Sin, as it is pointed out this day in *Portugal*, &c. These Indulgences are supplied at first to reach only to relaxation of Penances or Ecclesiastical Discipline. Under II, in the beginning of the Xth Century, was the first that granted a full Remission of all Sins to those who should take up Arms for the recovery of the *Holy-Land* from the Infidels. Which Custom was kept up by his Successors, some of whom extended the Benefit of their Indulgences to such Persons who being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a Soldier in their room. At length these Spiritual Favours were distributed to those who took the Field against the Enemies of Holy Church or Heretics.

1517. But, by an accident which at first seemed of no consequence, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who was commissioned to appoint the preachers in *Germany*, happened to assign *Saxony* to the *Jacobins*, whereas in the former *Crusades*, the *Augustines* had been employed in that Office. The injury done to these last, roused their jealousy. They narrowly examined the Behaviour of the Preachers as well as Collectors, ridiculed them, and afterwards publicly complained of them. At length, *Martin Luther*, an *Augustine* Fryar and Professor in Divinity in the new University of *Wirttemberg*, published some Writings against them, not without satyrical remarks upon the Indulgences themselves. This boldness drew upon him Enemies, who, by their opposition, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the grounds of those Indulgences. In short, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the Holy Scriptures. From thenceforward, he used his utmost endeavours to undeceive the Publick concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal Power. Hence sprung the Reformation which spread it self afterwards through *Germany*, and several other States of *Europe*.

Martin Luther begins to appear. Sleidan.

The Pope continues to follow a Crusade.

The Pope at first did not much regard *Luther's* representations. He never imagined that the papal power, which seemed to stand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a single Fryar. So despising this inconsiderable opposition, he continued without interruption to sell his Indulgences. He every where published, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the Infidels, and exhorted all Christians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards so necessary a War, which would procure them, besides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of Purgatory, provided they would qualify themselves for the Indulgences. There was however one thing which very much cooled the zeal of many Christians for the *Crusade*. It was discovered that the Pope had beforehand disposed, for his temporal concerns, of the Money which was to arise from the sale of the Indulgences. For instance, he had assigned to *Magdalen de Medici* his Sister, Wife to *Francisco Cibo*, natural Son of *Innocent VIII.*, part of the Money to be raised in *Germany*. Mean while, he continued his Sollicitations in all the States of *Europe*. He forgot not to write to *Henry VIII.*, exhorting him to join his Forces with those of the other Christian Princes, and to excite him to this good Work, by great commendations of his constant zeal for the defence of the Holy See, and the exaltation of the Faith. All these encomiums ended in demanding two hundred thousand Ducats for the pretended War against the Infidels. But it does not appear, the King complied with his request. The *Turks* were then employed in *Egypt* and *Perfia*, and the *Crusade* was founded only upon a bare conjecture that after ending these Wars, they would invade *Christendom*. A Man must have wilfully shut his Eyes, not to see, it was but a pretence to fill the Pope's Coffers. Besides, in the present situation of the affairs of *Europe*, *Henry* had no great occasion for the Pope.

Æt. Pub. XIII. p. 592.

He demands Money of Henry, who denies him.

Wolsey is uneasy about the Bishoprick of Tournay.

Id. p. 591.

He begins to treat with Francis about restoring that Place.

Mean time, Cardinal *Wolsey* perceiving, the League of *London* would come to nothing, because *Francis* was not disposed to commence a new War with any of the Confederates, dreaded his making use of this time of Peace to move the affair of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. On the other hand, he plainly saw by the time, passed since that business had been put into the hands of the Commissioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an absolute sway over the King his Master. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the King but through his means, and for that reason all the Princes studiously made their Court to him, to gain him to their interests. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that *Charles* King of *Spain* assigned him this year an annual Pension of three thousand Livres, though he had yet received no Services from him. And therefore it was for those he hoped to receive for the future. Mean while, *Wolsey* was uneasy about *Tournay*. As the Pope and the King of *France* regarded him only for the sake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of losing the respect they showed for him, in case they should ever come to stand no longer in need of him. He began therefore privately to intimate to *Francis I.*, that it would not be impossible to persuade *Henry* to restore *Tournay* for a

sum which should be agreed upon, provided he himself was recompensed for the Administration of the Bishoprick. I shall relate next year the success of this Negotiation.

Henry enjoying this year great Tranquillity, resolved to see what the Emperor intended with respect to the resignation of the Empire, which he had caused to be mentioned to him. *Maximilian* being in *Flanders* with the King of *Castile* his Grandson, *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Winchester*, with Doctor *Cuthbert Tunstall*, to renew the Negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him in person. The Emperor, who had never intended to resign the Empire to him, and still left at that time, very civilly answered, that to save the King the trouble of crossing the Sea, he would come himself and confer with him in *England*. But when the Ambassadors pressed him upon the affair they were charged with, they found he fought only to evade his own offer. One while he said, he would resign the Empire to *Henry*, but first would try to obtain of the Diet, that himself and Posterity might preserve the title of King of the *Romans*. Another while, he talked of making *Charles* his Grandson Emperor, *Henry* King of the *Romans*, *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles*, King of *Austria*, and himself only Marshal of the Empire. These Alterations convinced the Ambassadors, nothing was to be expected from the Negotiation; and acquainting the King, he was satisfied *Maximilian* had no other design than to draw Money from him.

Negotiation of Henry with the Emperor about the Cession of the Empire, to Henry. Herbert.

There was this year an Insurrection of the London Apprentices against foreign Tradersmen, wherein some persons lost their Lives. But it was appeased by the punishment of some of the Seditious, who were hanged in the principal Streets of the City (1).

Insurrection of Londoners. Hall. Stow. Holingshead.

This same year the Sweating Sickness made great ravages in the Kingdom, and especially at *London*. Most of those that were seized with it, died within three hours, and no cure could be found. As this Distemper was peculiar to *England*, it was called *Sudor Anglicus*, or the *English Sweat* (2).

The Sweating Sickness. Hall. Stow.

The affairs of *Scotland* were still in great disorder, by reason of the Factions in the Kingdom. *Alexander Hume* and his Brother *William*, after several Pardons, were at last beheaded (3). After the death of the two Brothers, the Duke of *Albany*, hoping *Scotland* would be in perfect Tranquillity, resolved to take a Journey into *France*, promising to return in few Months. But being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of *Scotland* fell into very great confusion, because of the Dissensions of the great Men, which were inflamed by those who designed to take advantage of them.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Mean while, the Pope earnestly pushed the affair of the pretended War, contriving, with the Ambassadors residing at his Court, projects which would have required more Zeal than Princes usually have, and greater Union among them. To execute his designs, he should have amassed vast Sums of Money, and that was the secret intent of the League proposed by the Pope, of which he was to be Head and Director. To that end, he exhausted, if I may so say, the Church's Treasures, to encourage the Faithful to exchange their perishing riches for everlasting advantages. This affair was carried so far, that he sent Legates to all the Courts, to excite the Sovereigns to join their Forces together, for the Destruction of the Infidels. There was not one but what outwardly showed an extreme desire to apply himself to so holy a work, provided he could be secured from being disturbed by his Neighbours. But that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, because they had no Confidence in one another. They had no more for the Pope himself, who, since the beginning of his Pontificate, had but too plainly discovered, that the concerns of Religion were not what affected him most. So, in seeing him act with that Zeal, they could not help suspecting, that the desire of enriching himself by the voluntary Contributions of Christians, by the sale of the Indulgences, by the Tenths of the Clergy, and by the Bounties of the Sovereigns, was what most fired his Zeal. Nevertheless, not one of them showed any aversion to the

1518. Leo X. sends Legates to France, to promote the Crusade. Guescard. Holingshead.

reticels. Great Sums were raised by this means, but seldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. Leo X. resolving to follow so good Precedents, opened a General Mart for Indulgences, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the Dead, whose Souls, upon payment of so much Money, were immediately redeemed out of Purgatory. People had likewise the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Fast Days, and of choosing their Confessor, and the like. *Guescardini* says, That the Powers for releasing Souls out of Purgatory were openly played for in Taverns. B. 143.

(1) The chief Author of this Insurrection (which began April 28.) was one *John Little*, a Broker. He drew up a Paper full of Complaints against the foreign Merchants, which he got Doctor *Bele*, a noted Preacher, to read in his Pulpit on *Easter Tuesday*; whereupon the Mob assembled, and committed several Outrages. The Reader may see a full account of this Insurrection in *Hall*, fol. 19.--67. *Holingshead*, p. 840. &c.

(2) This Distemper continued from July till the middle of December. Many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of the King's Court died thereof, as the Lord *Cimenes*, Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and of the common sort of People so many, as in some Towns it swept away half, in others a third of the Inhabitants. *Hall*, fol. 63. *Herbert*, p. 28. There was also so great a Drought this year, that it did not rain from the beginning of September, till the May following. And the Frost was so hard in the Winter, that Houses and Carts could pass over the *Thames* on the Ice between *Westminster* and *Lambeth*. *Stow*, p. 505.

(3) On the 10th of October, 1516. *Herbert*, p. 27. The 11th, says *Buchanan*.

Pol. Virg.
Hall, fol. 65.
Herbert.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 608.
611.

defence, lest he should be taxed with not having a due regard for Religion. But they gave only Words, whereas the Pope wanted Deeds. Hence the Pope's project of an universal League had not, as will hereafter be seen, the Success he expected. However, the project, though chimerical, served for pretence and a cloak to many other designs. The Emperor, desiring to have one of his Grandsons chosen King of the Romans, used the pretence of the imaginary War Christendom was in danger of from the Turks, to show the necessity of continuing the Imperial Dignity in the House of Austria, there being no other in Germany, able by its own strength to withstand their Arms. Charles King of Spain made use of the same pretence for the same purpose. Besides that, as he wanted some years of Peace, he strenuously insisted upon the project of a general Truce, that the Christian Princes might be free to unite their Forces against the Turks. Francis I. plainly saw, by the defensive League made against him, that a pretence was only sought to invade him, and take away the Duchy of Milan. So, a general Truce could not but be advantageous to him in his present Circumstances. Besides, he had in view the recovery of Tournay, which could be accomplished but during a Peace. Henry VIII, knowing that the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain had joined in a League against the Turks, was apprehensive that League covered some design against him. For that reason, he would not refuse to enter into the same engagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus the chief Potentates of Europe being concerned to improve the Crusade, or at least, not to reject it, the lesser Powers were also obliged to follow the Torrent. This gave the Pope great hopes he should at last effect his designs. But as in truth, not one of the Princes thought the thing practicable, the project was still very far from being executed.

Negotiation
about Tournay.
Herbert.
Stow.
Pol. Virg.

Whilst Leo X. fed himself with these hopes, Francis was thinking much more seriously of means to recover Tournay, than of the affairs of the Crusade. On the other hand, Cardinal Wolsey was afraid of losing the Administration of the Bishoprick, because he saw no likelihood of fowing discord between France and England, at a time when all the Princes of Europe showed a desire to live in Peace. He could not therefore keep the Administration, if Guillard, the true Bishop, would take the Oath to the King, to which he seemed inclined. This made him embrace the secret offers of Francis, to make him ample amends, if he could induce the King his master to restore that place to France. Francis was very sensible, that before all things the Cardinal was to be satisfied, not only in order to recover Tournay, but to procure it as cheap as possible. This was the subject of a private Negotiation between them, before Henry was informed of it. To succeed, Francis spared neither Flatteries nor Promises, nor Presents. If Polydore Virgil may be credited, these Presents were very considerable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the Cardinal should be recompensed for the loss of the Administration, with an annual Pension. That the King of France should give Henry six hundred thousand Crowns for Tournay. But as this Sum was a little too large, an Expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it to a much less. Upon these two Conditions, the Cardinal undertook to obtain his master's Consent to the King of France's desires. One of less Assurance than the Cardinal, and not so secure of the King's Confidence, would doubtless, have been greatly embarrassed, since the Business was to convince the King of the contrary, to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to make him believe, namely, that Tournay was no longer necessary. When Francis I. would have treated of the restitution of Tournay, Wolsey had represented to the King, that both for his own and England's Interest, it was of very great consequence to keep that place, which was moreover a perpetual Monument of his Victories, whilst it should be in his hands. Now altering his Tone, he undertakes to persuade, and indeed does persuade, him, that the place is of no use, and the maintainance of the Garrison far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence. That it was better to yield it to the King of France, who earnestly sued for it, and, to obtain it, scrupled not to condescend to make Presents to a Minister. That nothing could be more honorable for the King, than to see that Monarch make the first advances to procure his Friend-

ship, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the Dauphin with the Princess Mary, which also he proposed. That therefore the present opportunity should be improved to receive a good Sum of Money in lieu of Tournay, which being so remote from Calais, would infallibly be lost upon the first rupture between the two Crowns. That hereby the King of France would be obliged to be his Friend, and their Union would render them Umpires of Europe. That this Union was the more necessary, as it was time to think of opposing the growing power of the House of Austria, who possessing the Empire, Spain, the Low-Countries, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, were infallibly going to render themselves very formidable to all the Sovereigns. The strength of these reasons was too manifest for Henry to resist them. All he could think strange was, that the Cardinal had not sooner proposed them, but till then had rather used directly contrary arguments, to hinder the restitution of Tournay. But, as it has been remarked, Wolsey had such an ascendant over him, that he could persuade him Pro and Con as he pleased (1).

Henry having agreed to what the Cardinal proposed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As soon as Francis I. was informed of it, he sent a solemn Embassy to England, consisting of Admiral Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher Bishop of Paris, and M. de Villeroy Secretary of State (2). For form's sake, some time must be spent in this Negotiation, though the King of France and the Cardinal had already agreed upon the chief Articles, by the mediation of Villeroy, who had been in London ever since the beginning of July, whereas his Collegues arrived not till two months after. The French Ambassadors had full Powers to treat of the renewing of Friendship between the two Kings; of a League with the Pope and all Christian Princes who desired to be included in it, for the defence of Religion and the Church; of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary Daughter of Henry; of the Restitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne; and of an Interview of the two Kings. Moreover, they brought Francis's Letters Patents, whereby he promised to pay to his good Friend the Cardinal of York, an annual Pension of twelve thousand Livres, in consideration of his relinquishing the Administration of the Bishoprick of Tournay. As the Treaties concluded upon these Articles were not ready till the beginning of October, I shall briefly mention another affair, transacted about the same time.

The Pope was ever intent upon the Business of the Crusade, from whence he hoped to draw great Sums. He writ last year to all Christian Princes, to notify the Victory of Selim Emperor of the Turks, over the Mamalacks of Egypt, whose Empire he had utterly destroyed. The beginning of this year, he caused the College of Cardinals to send a Letter to Henry, representing to him, the danger Christendom was in, after the Victory by the Ottoman Emperor over the Soldan of Egypt, who, according to the best advices, was slain in battle. The Cardinals exhorted the King to undertake the defence of Religion jointly with all the other Christian Sovereigns, with the Pope and sacred College, who were ready to sacrifice to that end, their own, as well as the Church's Treasure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the King ought to contribute largely towards the Crusade, his Country being too remote from Turkey to send Forces thither.

Some time after, the Pope sent Legates a Latere (3) to several Courts (4), with orders to exhort the Sovereigns to accept and preserve a five years Truce, enjoined by his Apostolick power. They were likewise to use their endeavours to persuade them to unite all their Forces, and make war upon the Turk. Cardinal Laurentius Campejus was appointed for England, and already departed from Rome in the beginning of May, to go and execute his Commission. But Wolsey deemed it a very great affront, that the Pope had not thought of him for this Legateship. So, whilst Campejus was on the road, he sent a trusty Messenger to Rome, to represent to the Pope, that by showing so little regard for a Cardinal, actually in England, and the King's Prime Minister, he put it out of his power to do him any service: That whatever he should say to support what the Pope required, would be of no weight, since he should be considered as one whom the Court of Rome durst not trust with the Legateship: That it was rather the Pope's Interest to make use of him to

(1) Polydore Virgil observes, how artfully the Cardinal managed this Affair: He began with making the King a Present of some part of what Francis had given him, that he might thereby incite the King to accept of the friendly Overtures of the French King. Having thus prepared the way, he used the Arguments above-mentioned for the Restitution of Tournay. Whereupon the King said, He saw plainly now Wolsey would govern both himself and the King of France. Pol. Virg.

(2) And Francis de Rochefort. With no less than twelve hundred Persons in their Train. Sprenb. 30. Herbert. p. 51. Hall, fol. 65.

(3) There are four sorts of Legates. 1. They whom the Pope sends to preside at General Councils. 2. The Pope's personal Vicars in Countries remote from Rome; thus before the Reformation, the Archbishop of Canterbury was Legatus totius Angliæ fidei. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene Synods for restoring Church-discipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of Legate is given to the Pope's extraordinary Ambassadors, to Emperors and Kings who are called Legati a latere. At present here but Campejus has this Character.

(4) To England, France, Spain, and Germany. Hall, fol. 64.

1518. obtain his desires, considering the Confidence the King honoured him with, and that, without his assistance, the present affair would be in danger of miscarrying. *Leo X*, easily perceived by this representation that *Wolsey* must be contented. So by a Bull of the 17th of May, he joined him with *Campejus* in the same Commission (1), giving them both an equal authority, *knowing*, (says he in the Bull directed to *Wolsey*) *your great Credit with the King, and how easily you can persuade or dissuade him*. Mean while, *Campejus* arriving at *Boulogne*, *Wolsey* found means to detain him there till he had received the Pope's answer. For which reason it was the 29th of July before the Italian Legate made his Entry into London. As he had but a very poor train, *Wolsey* sent him twelve Mules with Coffers richly covered. But some of these Coffers happening to fall, during the Procession, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty (2), to the great Sport and Laughter of the people, who derided this external Pageantry. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Bull of *Leo X*, with extraordinary powers to the two Legates, authorizing them to grant a plenary Indulgence to the faithful of both Sexes, who should be present at the Mass, which either of the Legates should celebrate in the presence of the King and Queen, or at least at the Benediction, provided they confessed their Sins, or desired to confess, and were penitent.

The Legates Commission consisted of two points. The first was, to try to obtain of the Clergy an Aid of Money for the War against the *Turk*. But the Clergy stood their ground against all their attempts. The second was, to persuade *Henry* to join in the projected League with all the Christian Princes for the defence of Religion and the Church. The Pope's design was not to undertake a War against the *Turk*, but only to heap up Money on that pretence. Thus the League he was meditating, was solely to make the world believe he really intended to war against the Infidels. After which, he had a very plausible excuse to lay Impositions upon all the Clergy, and draw Money from the Sovereigns, and their Subjects, to bear the Charges of this pretended war. With this League therefore he was to begin, and upon that the Legates were commissioned to treat with the King, who seemed inclined to agree to it, though he might easily foresee the League would signify nothing.

As Cardinal *Wolsey's* Credit increased in England, it became likewise greater at the Court of Rome. He had caused, as was before observed, Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto* to be removed from the Office of the Pope's Collector in England. But this slight punishment not sufficing to satisfy his revenge, he had so ordered it, that the King writ to the Pope, desiring him to deprive *Adrian* of the Cardinalate, and of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him. *Leo X* could not help thinking it very strange, that the King should make such a request, without alledging any reason. However, without giving him a positive denial, he contented himself with saying, he would give him satisfaction at a more proper Season. In 1517, there was a Conspiracy against the Pope, wherein Cardinal *Adrian* being concerned, was committed to Prison. *Guicciardini* affirms, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him (3). But there is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter of Cardinal *Julius de Medici*, dated the 5th of July 1518, notifying to the King, that in a Consistory held that day, Cardinal *Adrian* was deposed and stripped of all his Preferments, intimating withal to the King, that it was on his account. But it is more probable, he was punished for his Crime against the Pope. However this be, a few days after, the Pope gave Cardinal *Wolsey* the Administration of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, supposing he wanted it to maintain the Dignity of Cardinal.

The Negotiation of the two Cardinals proceeded very slowly, since it was not sufficient to incline *Henry* to the League, but the rest of the Sovereigns were also to give their consent. Accordingly, the Pope solicited to the utmost of his power all the Potentates, magnifying the danger to which the Christian Religion was going to be infallibly exposed. In short, every Prince returning him the same answer, namely, that it was necessary all the Sovereigns should unite in this affair, he sent a Bull to his Legates in England, empowering them to conclude between the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain,

a League against the *Turk*. His intent was, that the League should be offensive, else it would be of no advantage to him, unless the *Turk* really intended to invade Christendom, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But *Leo* was too well known, for the Princes to be thus taken in a Snare which tended only to render the Pope master of their own, and their people's Money. So, pretending zealously to enter into his project, they contented themselves with concluding to that a defensive League for the protection of the Pope, the Holy See, and their respective Dominions, against all Invaders, and particularly against the Emperor of the *Turks*. The Pope was declared Head of the League, provided he ratified it within such a time. But, the Treaty made no mention of what each of the Allies was to furnish. All which shows, this League, according to the Intention of the Parties, was only to cast a mist before people's eyes, to give the Pope some satisfaction, and perhaps to frighten the *Turks*.

This was not what the Pope desired. He could have wished, all the Princes of Christendom had joined together in an offensive League against the *Turk*, and engaged to send their Forces to *Constantinople*, to attack the *Ottoman* Emperor in his Metropolis. In that case, he knew, the most remote would have been easily induced to furnish their quota in Money. Since the *French* Zeal for *Crusades* was over, the Popes had lost no occasion to rekindle the same zeal, which had formerly procured so many advantages to their Predecessors. But the People as well as the Princes were entirely discouraged, because it was too visible that the *Crusades* had been profitable to none but the Popes. So, for once, the Christian Princes were contented to make a defensive League, to show only, they were ready to defend Christendom against the attacks of the Infidels, deferring to take other measures till they should be obliged. *Leo X* seeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the League the 31st of December, after which it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the *Turks* to fall upon the Christians, as was affirmed, entirely vanished, as soon as the Pope found, his Artifices could not produce the effect he expected.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Cardinal *Wolsey*, jointly with the *French* Ambassadors, was employed in preparing the Treaties, agreed upon, to be signed.

The first related to the marriage between the Princess *Mary* and the Dauphin, which was to be solemnized as soon as the young Prince should be full fourteen years old, each of the two Kings promising to pay five hundred thousand Crowns, in case it was his fault that the Marriage was not completed. *Mary's* Dower was to be three hundred thirty three thousand Crowns of Gold, one half to be paid on the day of Marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been assigned to any Queen of France, and particularly to *Ann of Bretagne*, and *Mary of England*, Wives to *Lewis XII*.

The second Treaty was upon the restitution of *Tournay*, for which *Francis I*, engaged to pay *Henry* six hundred thousand Crowns of thirty-five-pence *Tournois* each, besides fifty thousand Livres *Tournois* due to him from the Inhabitants (5). But out of these two sums *Francis* was to keep back the Princess *Mary's* Dower. As to the payments, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand Livres upon taking possession of the place, and then twenty-five thousand Livres every six months till the whole sum was paid (6).

The third Treaty concerned the Outrages which might be committed for the future against the Peace, by the Subjects of either King, and contained certain regulations to procure speedy reparation.

By the fourth, the two Monarchs agreed upon an interview in the Village of *Sandinfelt*, between *Ardres* and *Guines*.

These Treaties being signed the 14th of October, the *French* Ambassadors gave Cardinal *Wolsey* their Master's Letters Patents, whereby he bound himself to pay him an annual Pension of twelve thousand Livres *Tournois*, to satisfy him for the loss of the Bishoprick of *Tour-nay*.

(1) At the request of King *Henry*, and the King of France. *Hall's* p. 845.

(2) In *Cheapside* one of the Mules broke loose from her Leader, and overturned her own and two or three of the other Mules Carriage; which fell with such violence, that several of them unlocked, and there fell out of them old Hote, torn Shoes, pieces of roasted Mear, bits of Bread, Eggs, and such vile Baggage. *Hall*, fol. 64.

(3) *Polydore Virgil* says, *Adrian* bequeathed a magnificent Palace in Rome, to the King of England his Patron, which was called the *English* Palace, and is now possessed by the Family of *Colonna*.

(4) Lord *Herbert* says, this Treaty is singular in its kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to future Ages; and therefore recites it in a large Volume, because (as he says) it seems to have been the Rule by which *Henry* framed his Actions many years after. See p. 31, of the *Comp. Hist.* Vol. II.

(5) The whole was but fifty thousand, whereof part was paid. See *Rymer*, p. 642. Our Historians say, the Arrears that remained due were twenty three thousand Livres. *Hall*, fol. 65; and *Stow*, p. 807.

(6) *Tournay* was delivered up to the King of France on Febr. 5. 1519. *Hall*, fol. 67.

1518. As soon as the two Kings had ratified the Treaties, and solemnly swore to the Peace at London and Paris, the King and Queen of France, acting in the name of the Dauphin their Son, affianced the Princess Mary, represented by the Earl of Worcester (1) her Proxy. This Ceremony was performed at Paris the 21st of December (2).

Europe enjoyed then a profound Tranquillity. But upon the death of the Emperor Maximilian (3), the 12th of January 1519, new troubles arose. By his death, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low-Countries, were engaged in Wars no less fatal to them than the former. As soon as Maximilian was in his Grave, the Kings of France and Spain openly declared themselves Candidates for the Empire, and began to cabal among the Electors to obtain their desires. This threw the Electors into great perplexity. On which side soever they turned, they saw for themselves, for Germany, for all Europe, advantages and inconveniencies which deserved their whole attention. It would have been the interest of Germany to keep the balance even between the two Monarchs who aspired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both. But by chusing one of the Competitors, such superiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all Europe, and particularly to Germany. I shall not farther insist upon the reasons which the Electors had to chuse one or reject both. It is well known, on these occasions, the publick good does not always serve for rule and foundation to form decisions of this nature.

Leo X wished, as it was indeed his interest, the Electors would agree to chuse one of their own Body. Charles being possessed of the Kingdom of Naples, and Francis of the Duchy of Milan, the election of one of these Monarchs could not but one day disturb the peace of Italy, and prove destructive to the papal power. Accordingly the Pope used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Electors to take that course. But however, he was forced to act privately for fear of making the two Candidates his Enemies, by openly declaring against them.

Whilst the resolution of the Electors was impatiently expected, Lorenzo de Medici the Pope's Nephew, was seized with a distemper that laid him in his Grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the Family of Medici was reduced to the Person of the Pope, sole lawful descendent of Cosmo the Great, who first acquired the Sovereignty of Florence. Some endeavours were used to persuade the Pope to restore his Country to liberty; but he did not love the Florentines well enough to suffer them to enjoy so valuable a blessing, of which he had taken so much pains to deprive them. Resolving therefore to keep that State, he sent Cardinal Julius de Medici natural Son of Julian his Uncle, to govern in his name. Shortly after, he annexed the Duchy of Urbino to the Church, and razed the Walls of the Capital, for fear la Rovere should think of recovering it.

The Electors being assembled to proceed to the Election of an Emperor, Francis and Charles sent Ambassadors to the Assembly to manage their concerns. The Pope would have a Nuntio there too, who had orders privately to endeavour to cause them both to be rejected; but however, to conform himself outwardly to the disposition of the Electors. Henry VIII perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the Candidates, sent Richard Pace to the Diet to try whether there was any thing to be expected for him. But as he thought of it too late, his Ambassador found the affair so advanced, that he did not think fit to expose the King's honour. He writ to him therefore, that indeed some of the Electors (4) showed an inclination to favour him: That the Pope would have likewise supported him to the utmost of his power, had he declared sooner; but that matters were so ordered, that the Election would infallibly be over before proper measures could be taken to accomplish his project. And indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of June, Charles King of Spain was declared Emperor, by the name of Charles V, or rather of Charles Quint, as he was then, and still is called to this day (5).

Henry aspires to the Empire. Herbert.

Charles King of Spain is elected. Guicciard.

The Election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis I. All the World immediately thought, the jealousy between these two potent Princes would infallibly occasion bloody Wars; and this opinion was but too well confirmed by experience. Besides the King of France's jealousy, which was, doubtless, one of the chief causes of the following rupture, there were differences between them of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjust. Francis I, had pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples. Moreover by the Treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to restore Navarre to Henry d'Albret, within four months after signing the Treaty, and this Article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, Charles, as Heir of the House of Burgundy, believed he had a lawful title to the Duchy of that name. He pretended that after the death of the last Duke his Great-Grandfather, Lewis XI had unjustly seized it, upon a bare Allegation that it was a Male Fee, though the contrary was evident. He had suffered his title to lie dormant during his Minority. But after he was of Age he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial Dignity lately obtained, helped very much to confirm him in that resolution. The Duchy of Milan was another cause of dispute, which would naturally beget a War between these two Monarchs. It could not be denied that it was a Fief of the Empire, and yet Lewis XII had seized it, and Francis I, re-conquered it, and was now in possession, without either's being invested by the Emperor Maximilian, or so much as desiring it. Charles therefore could alledge it was his duty to maintain the rights of the Empire, and endeavour to dispossess the King of France of that Duchy. The Duke of Gueldres afforded another occasion of quarrel between these two Monarchs. He was a professed Enemy to the Emperor, and France protected him openly. Finally, the Treaty of Noyon gave Charles another cause of complaint. He pretended, Francis had extorted from him so disadvantageous a Treaty, by threatening War when his affairs necessarily required his presence in Spain, to take possession of his Kingdoms: That therefore the Resignation of the Kingdom of Navarre, and the Pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, to which he had been engaged, under the specious pretence of a maintenance for the Princess his future Spouse, were nothing else but the price of a Peace he had been made to purchase.

But though these two Monarchs looked upon each other with a jealous and envious Eye, and wanted not pretences for a War, neither of them durst however begin before he had founded the rest of the Sovereigns. And how they stood affected will also be necessary to know, for the better understanding the Sequel, the interests of Princes giving to History a perspicuity, which without that assistance is sought for in vain.

Leo X was equally afraid of the two Monarchs, being sensible, to which side soever the Balance inclined, Italy must be in danger. If he could have set them at variance without making Italy the seat of the War, he would freely have done it. But that was not possible. Much less was it in his power to stand Neuter. The reason is, because he could not hinder the contests about Naples and Milan from being decided by Arms, and therefore could not avoid interposing in a quarrel, which would so nearly concern him. He took therefore the course which best agreed with his temper, and that was to be reserved and manage both the Monarchs, till he found it his interest to declare himself. But through all his disguises, he discovered however some partiality to the Emperor, in the grant of a dispensation to hold the Empire with the Kingdom of Naples, though that was directly contrary to the Terms on which he had given him the investiture of that Kingdom. Francis complained of it, but the Pope excused it as not having in his power to refuse, without involving himself in troubles from which it would not have been easy for him to be delivered.

As for Henry VIII, the posture of affairs between Charles and Francis might have rendered his Reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himself up to the interested Counsels of Cardinal Wolsey. He had it in his

(1) Rapin mistaking the Name for the Title says Somerset.---- He was accompanied in his Embassy to France by Nicolas West Bishop of Ely, the Lord St. John, Sir Nicolas Paux, Sir John Pecby, and Sir Thomas Bulleyn. Hall, fol. 66.

(2) This year was instituted the College of Physicians in London. King Henry's Charter for that purpose bears date October 23. By the Appointment, in this Corporation, or College, are included the Physicians in London, and seven sailers round that City. The Physicians named in the Charter, are, John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernand de Victoria, Nicolas Halsewell, John Francis, and Robert Taxley. Rymer's Fied. Tom. 13. p. 654.

(3) He was King of the Romans, and called Emperor, though never crowned by that Title. Some say, the reason was because he declined the Charge and Hazard of going into Italy to receive the Imperial Crown at the Pope's hands. He spent his leisure-hours in Poetry, writing the History of his Life in Dutch Verse. As Knight of the Garter, his Obsequy was solemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our King and the Knights of that Order. Herbert, p. 34.

(4) The Electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, stood so affected, that Pace thought if our King had put in sooner, he would have carried it. Herbert, p. 33.

(5) Instead of spending his Money in bribing the Electors, as Francis did, particularly the Marquis of Brandenburg, he laid it out in raising numerous Forces, which he brought to Frankfurt. Whereupon the Majority of the Electors (viz. the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, the Count Palatine, and the Duke of Saxony,) being thereby terrified and over-awed, agreed to chuse him. There were then but seven Electors, which, together with the four just now mentioned, were the Archbishop of Treves or Triers, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. See Guicciard. l. 13. The Electorate of Bavaria was appointed in 1648, and that of Brunswick-Lunenburgh-Hanover, in 1693.

1519. power to preserve the peace of *Europe*, by keeping the Ballance even between the two Rivals, without suffering it to incline too much to either side. This was his grand interest as well as the Kingdom's, and accordingly this was his resolution. Hence it was that he frequently engaged in one or other side, but not always as the interest of *Europe*, the welfare of his Realm, and his own Glory required. Thus whilst he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he served, without perceiving it, to gratify the passions of his Minister, as will be seen hereafter.

Both Monarchs try to gain Henry by means of Wolsey. Herbert.
The Cardinal's extreme Pride.
Their Causes increase Wolsey's Credit.
The Cardinal's Pre-ferment.
AA. Pub. XIII. p. 69.
Henry is Godfather to Francis's second Son. Herbert.
Cardinal Wolsey's extreme Pride.
AA. Pub. XIII. p. 734. Pol. Virg. Burnet.

Charles and Francis were so convinced of the advantages to be reaped from the King of *England's* Friendship, that they neglected nothing which they thought would procure it. The best or rather the only means to that end was to gain Cardinal *Wolsey* to their interests. And therefore, they spared neither Flatteries nor Promises, nor Presents, to make him their Friend. They took occasion sometimes to write to him, on purpose to stile him *Their Friend, Their Father*. In their Letters they extolled his Virtue, his Prudence, his Capacity, in such affected Terms, that he must have been blind not to see, they had farther views than to express their esteem for him. *Wolsey* made good use of these Testimonies of their Friendship, to observe to his Master how formidable he was to these two Monarchs, since they did not disdain even to care for his Minister. But withal, it served him to insinuate how far his own merit excelled that of other Ministers, since it was universally known. All this produced the effect he expected. *Henry* deemed himself the Arbiter of *Europe*, and remained so persuaded of his Favorite's Capacity, that he no longer saw but with his Eyes, or acted but by his advice.

Thus *Wolsey* was then at the top of the Wheel. He was Favorite, Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Administrator of the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, Archbishop of *York*, sole Legate à Latere, *Campejus* his Colleague being recalled. He had a Pension from the Emperor, and the King of *France*, and received an immense profit from his Chancellorship, by the Privileges annexed thereto by the King. Besides this, the King never ceased making him Presents, and giving him continual occasions of increasing his Incomes. On the other hand, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the Republick of *Venice*, strove with emulation to gain his Good-Will, and seemed, as I may say, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, *Francis I* sent him Letters Patents, whereby he consented, that he should alone regulate the Ceremonies of his Interview with *Henry*, giving him thereby an authentick Testimony of his confidence in his probity, upon a point of which Kings are commonly very jealous. Mean while, the advances such great Princes made the Cardinal, did not argue so much their esteem for him, as their fear of losing the Friendship of the King his Master. *Francis I*, to give *Henry* a fresh mark of his respect, desired him to stand Godfather to his second Son, afterwards King of *France* by the name of *Henry II*. These things demonstrate *Henry's* happy situation, and how glorious his Reign might have been, had he wisely improved these Advantages. But unfortunately for him, instead of acting for himself and his own Glory, he laboured in effect for his Favorite's interests.

It would have been hard to conceive to what height the Cardinal's Pride was carried, if all the Historians had not taken care to describe it, and all in the same Colours. The Legateship of *Campejus* setting that Cardinal upon a level with him, he could not long bear that equality. By his credit at *Rome* he had caused him to be recalled (1), and himself appointed sole Legate, with power to visit the Monasteries, and all the rest of the Clergy (2). To obtain this Commission, he had taken care to defame to the Pope all the Clergy of the Kingdom, intimating, how necessary it was to commit

the reforming of them to his care (3). But this was only to increase his Authority, and subject the whole Church of *England* to his Orders. When he saw himself invested alone with the Dignity of Legate, he let loose, if I may so say, the Reins to his Vanity. He said Mass after the manner of the Pope himself, not only Bishops serving him therein, but Earls and Dukes giving him Water and the Towel. When he walked into the City, two Crosses were carried before him by two of the tallest Priests that could be found, mounted on the highest Horses. One of these Crosses was that of Legate, and the other that of *York*. At first these things served only for diversion to the People, who passed their jefts upon this external Pomp (4). But presently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the Power assumed by the Legate. A new Court of justice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience; that is, properly speaking, to all the actions of Life, since there is scarce any but where Conscience may be some way concerned. One *John Allen*, being made Judge of this new Court, committed numberless Rapines and Extortions, under colour of reforming the Manners of the People, though he was himself a Person of an infamous Character (5). Strict enquiry was made into the Life and Manners of every Body, which gave occasion to the new Judge to oppress all that obstinately refused to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that his Jurisdiction reached to all Suits arising from Wills or Marriage-Contracts, and drew to his Court numberless Causes, without the King's Judges daring to oppose it (6). On the other hand, the Legate treated the Clergy with inconceivable rigour, and conferred all the Benefices of the Kingdom on his Creatures, without troubling himself about the Rights of the Churches, the Monasteries, or the Patrons. This is what had ever occasioned violent quarrels between the Kings of *England* and the Court of *Rome*, and given birth to the famous Statute of *Præmunire*, daily violated by the Legate, the King suffering in him things which he would not doubtless have allowed in the Pope himself, and being informed no farther than the Cardinal pleased. At last, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, seeing so many oppressions, thought it his duty to acquaint the King, who seemed surprized, and charged the Archbishop to tell the Cardinal, that it was his pleasure he should amend whatever was amiss (7). The effect of this Remonstrance was, that the Cardinal still more hated the Archbishop for whom he had already conceived an aversion, for subscribing himself in one of his Letters, *Your Brother of Canterbury* (8). But shortly after, one *John London* a Priest (9), boldly accusing the Judge of the Legate's Court, it was not possible to hinder the affair from coming to the King's knowledge. As the Judge was convicted of numberless Misdemeanours, the King so reprimanded the Cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at last.

The Grandeur, Riches, Power, and Authority enjoyed by *Wolsey* in *England*, were not capable of satisfying his Ambition, whilst there was still one step higher to which a Churchman could ascend. He had begun some time since to take measures to become Pope, when the See should be vacant, and the King of *France* had now offered him the Votes of fourteen Cardinals. But since *Charles* was elected Emperor, *Wolsey* thought him most capable to procure him the Papacy, and probably, continued a private Negotiation with him. For that purpose, he gradually disengaged the King his master from the Interest of *France*, to turn him to the Emperor. Mean while, he believed he could not, without too much discovering himself, hinder the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry*, which had been deferred till the year 1520 (10). But he well knew how to prevent the ill-effects this Interview might produce against the Emperor his new friend. Besides, he could not think of losing the pleasure of ap-

(1) *John Clarke*, Doctor of Law, was sent to *Rome* for this purpose. The Pope's Commission to *Wolsey* is dated June 10. 1519. *Herbert*, p. 32.

(2) By Virtue of his Legatine Commission, he might summon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops within the King's Dominions, to assemble at his Convocation. He might superintend and correct what he thought irregular within their Jurisdictions; appoint all Officers in the Spiritual Courts, and present to all Ecclesiastical Benefices; constitute Masters of Faculties and Masters of Ceremonies, to advance his Dignity, and exercise a visitatorial Power over Monasteries and Colleges; and all the Clergy, exempt and not exempt; and this for one whole year, from the date of the Bull. *Frederick's Life of Wolsey*, p. 100. *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 734.

(3) The Clergy were so defamed by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed, *Dati in reprobam famam, given up to reprobate Sense*, and the like, in the original Bull among our Records, which Lord *Herbert* says, he should have inserted at large, but that it is too long and irrelevant to the Hierarchy and all religious Persons, p. 32. *Compl. Hist.*—The Cardinal intended to visit all the Monasteries in *England*, that discovered their corruptions, he might the better justify the Design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and Colleges; but was diverted from his Design. However, he led the way, to the total Suppression of them that followed afterwards. *Burnet's Ref.* Tom. I. p. 20.

(4) Inasmuch that *Polydore Virgil* says, it grew to a Jest, as if one Cross did not suffice for the expiation of his Sins.

(5) He was thought to be guilty of Perjury. *Herbert*, p. 33. *Pol. Virg.*

(6) He had a great number of Spies and Informers dispersed every where, to let him know what Livings became vacant, that he might fill them up immediately; and what Persons of note died in every Town or Parish, that he might cite their Executors to prove the Wills in his Court. *Herb.*

(7) *Polydore Virgil* says, the King replied to the Archbishop, *That he should not have heard of these things but by him; asking, that no Man is so blind any where as in his own House; therefore, I pray you, (says he) Father, go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing he can, that he amend it.* *Herbert*, p. 33.

(8) When the Bearer of the Letter informed the Archbishop what offence the Cardinal had taken at his Subscription, he said, with some shew of Resentment, *Peace, knowst thou not that the Man is inebriated with Prosperity.* *Hollingb.* p. 848.

(9) *Rapin*, by mistake, calls him a Priest of *London*. See *Herbert*, p. 33.

(10) Both Kings in the mean while agreeing, not to cut off their Beards till they saw one another. *Herbert*, p. 34.

1519. peering before the Court of *France* with a magnificence little inferior to that of a King, and of seeing himself, in the presence of the *English*, honoured and caressed by the King of *France*, and his whole Court, as he would probably be. This was an opportunity which a person so fond of pageantry and ostentation could not neglect.

Affairs of Spain.

The Emperor had reason to care for Cardinal *Wolsey*. He had met in *Spain* with unexpected difficulties. The *Castilians* and *Aragonians* were bent to preserve their Privileges, which were continually attacked by the Emperor's *Flemish* Counsellors. On the other hand, the Emperor, on pretence of the *Crusade* published by the Pope, having demanded a Tenth of the Clergy, that demand had caused throughout *Spain* Troubles which very much embarrassed that Prince. There had been also an Insurrection in *Austria* which was not appeased without difficulty. In short, the King of *France* was privately labouring to raise the Emperor troubles in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and to withdraw his Allies from him. All this made *Henry's* Friendship so necessary to him, that it is no wonder he should endeavour to win the Cardinal to his side, since the Minister's Credit was the only way to gain the master. The King of *France* used the same method, which exceedingly increased the Cardinal's pride; who seeing himself courted by these two Monarchs, had it in his power, if I may so say, to set what price he pleased upon his Services.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilst all the World was impatiently expecting the effect of the Jealousy between the Emperor and King of *France*, the affairs of *Scotland* still remained in the same situation, that is, in extreme disorder because of the Regent's absence. When he went from *Scotland* he hoped to return in few Months, but was not suffered to follow his Inclination. *Francis I.*, foreseeing the want he might have of *England*, had made a private Treaty with *Henry*, promising to detain the Duke of *Albany* in *France*. Thus *Henry* obtained by another way, what the Parliament of *Scotland* had plainly refused him. It was very easy to conceive, why he opposed the Duke of *Albany's* return. His design was to throw *Scotland* into trouble and confusion, to have an opportunity to interpose in the affairs of that Kingdom, under colour of supporting the Interests of the young King his Nephew. He could not therefore execute it better, than by fomenting Discord among the Nobility, which the Regent's presence might have remedied. But the War which afterwards broke out between *Charles* and *Francis*, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the prosecution of his designs against *Scotland*. Probably this saved the Kingdom, which otherwise was in great danger of being conquered by the *English*.

Discovery of Mexico and New-Spain.

Before I close the year 1519, I must not forget to remark, that this year the Emperor received the news of the discovery, and beginning of the Conquest of *Mexico* and *New-Spain*. The mention of this particular is the more necessary, though it seems foreign to our History, as it was the Gold and Silver wherewith the new World furnished *Spain*, that contributed most to render *Charles V.* so powerful as he will hereafter appear. Besides, Money growing more plenty, by the Trade carried on by other Countries with *Spain*, the Reader must not be surprized to find hereafter more numerous Armies, greater magnificence in Princes Courts, and the Dowries of Princesses much larger than before. But *Spain* first improved the Gold and Silver of the new World, and was thereby enabled, in the Reigns of *Charles Vth.* and *Philip IId.*, to aspire to Universal Monarchy (1).

1520. The Regulation of the Interview between the two Kings by Wolsey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 714. March 12. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

The Confidence placed by *Francis I.* in Cardinal *Wolsey*, in giving him power to regulate his Interview with *Henry*, would have been very honourable for that Minister, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not shewn his little esteem for him, as believing him liable to Corruption. Be this as it will, *Wolsey*, by virtue of Powers received from the two Kings, made the 12th of *March* 1520, a Regulation, importing, among other things, "that the Interview should be on the 4th of *June* (2) between *Ardres* and *Guines*; That the King of *England* should go towards *Ardres*, as far as conveniently he could (3), without passing however the *English* Pale,

"and the King of *France* should meet him at the place where he should stop." Hence, he so ordered it, that *Francis* paid the first Visit to *Henry*. But he assigned for reason, that the King his matter having crossed the Seas, on purpose to do his Friend honour, it was very just, *Francis* should in some measure make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the Limits of his own Territories in some open place appointed by Deputies on either side. The rest of the regulation concerned the safety of the two Monarchs, their Queens, the Queen Dowager of *France*, Sister of *Henry*, *Louisa* of *Savoy* Duchess of *Angoulême*, Mother to *Francis I.*, the Trains of the Princes and Princesses who were to assist at the Interview, the place where the two Kings were to meet and confer together, and lastly, the Diversions which the two Courts were to take.

During the time between the Regulation and the Interview, *Francis* caused the Cardinal to be founded, to know whether, by his means, he could not prevail with *Henry* to restore *Calais* for a Sum of Money. This proposal was, doubtless, attended with secret promises to the Cardinal, answerable to so great a Service, since he did not think fit to reject it. He durst not however speak of it directly to the King; but tried so to manage, that others should inspire him with the thought, that in case the King advised with him upon it, he might give his opinion more freely. To that end, in his Conversation he would frequently turn the Discourse upon *Calais*, and say, as it were accidentally, *What have we to do with this Calais, that [lies on the Continent and] costs us so much? It were to be wished we were honestly rid of it!* This artifice failing, he never ventured to make the King so extraordinary a proposal, and the rather as, being resolved to engage with the Emperor, he was not so desirous to oblige the King of *France*.

The time of the Interview approaching, *Henry* (4) came to *Canterbury* the 25th of *May*, in order to pass his *Whitsuntide* there, and then proceed to *Calais*. But next day news was brought him, that the Emperor was landed at *Dover*. This arrival surprized the whole Court, and perhaps the King himself. But the Cardinal had no reason to be surprized, since the Emperor had the 29th of *March* last, promised by Letters Patents dated from *Compostella*, to give or cause to be given him by the Pope, the Bishoprick of *Badajos* (5), within two months after the Conference he was to have in person with the King of *England*, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. Hence it is plain, the Emperor's Journey to *England* had been resolved ever since *March*, at least between the Emperor and the Cardinal. But it is uncertain whether the King was informed of it. However this be, the Cardinal was commissioned to go and welcome the Emperor at *Dover*, where the King came also on the morrow. Then the two Monarchs went together to *Canterbury*, where *Henry* sent for his Queen, who was extremely glad to see her Nephew the Emperor, having never seen him before (6). The Emperor's aim in this visit was to dissuade the King from the Interview with *Francis*; but he could not succeed, *Henry* making him sensible, he could not recede with honour. But very likely he had also in view, the securing of Cardinal *Wolsey*, in order to gain, by his means, the King to his Interest. It is the common opinion, his Journey was not fruitless, but that he could obtain the Cardinal's favour, only by promising to use all his Credit to raise him to the Papacy, in case *Leo X.* died before him. Though the Emperor had not obtained all his desires, he departed however very well satisfied with his visit. *Henry* having promised not to enter into any Engagement with the King of *France* to his prejudice (7). On the 30th of *May*, *Charles* proceeded to *Flanders*, and *Henry* to *Calais* (8).

I shall not stay to describe the Interview of the two Monarchs between *Ardres* and *Guines*, as regulated by the Cardinal. Whilst it lasted, there was nothing but Entertainments, Tournaments, Balls, Masquerades, and other Diversions, wherein the two Courts mixed to their mutual satisfaction. Every thing on both sides was so magnificent, that the Assembly was called, *the Camp of the Cloth of Gold* (9). But amidst all the pleasures which

(1) *Hernando Cortes*, Undertaker of the Expedition to *America*, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred Foot, and fifteen Horse, and seven little Field pieces, into many populous but diversely affected Kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Soldier, he prevailed himself of all. And in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition of his Countrymen and Enemies, laid a Foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. *Herbert*, p. 34. See *Don Ant. de Solis Hist. of Mexico*.

(2) Within four days after the end of *May*. *Rymer*, p. 707.

(3) He set out from *Greenwich*. *May* 21. *Stow*, p. 508.

(4) In *February*; worth five thousand Ducats yearly. The Town of *Badajos* is deemed one of the Bulwarks of *Spain*. The Earl of *Galloway*, who commanded the *British* Troops in these parts, had his right hand shot off here.

(5) The Emperor saw likewise the Queen Dowager of *France*, *Henry's* Sister, once proposed for his Wife, at the sight of whom (says *Polydore*) he was so sad, (she being a celebrated Beauty) that he could not be persuaded to dance. *Herbert*, p. 36.

(6) The Treaty of Commerce made between *England* and *Germany* in 1506, was also now confirmed. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 714, &c.*

(7) See the Lists of the Noblemen and others that attended the King and Queen, in *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 710, 711.*

(8) The King caused a Building 328 Foot square to be erected, from which a private Gallery reached to the Castle of *Guines*. The parts of this great Building were originally framed in *England*, and afterwards taken asunder and brought home. The Model whereof, Lord *Herbert* says, was at *Greenwich* in his time. The two Kings met, on the 7th of *June*, in the Vale of *Andren*, and alighting, walked hand in hand to a Tent of

1520.

Francis gains Wolsey to get Calais given up. Herbert.

But he dares not propose it to the King.

Henry sets out for the Interview. The Emperor arrives at Dover. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 714.

Hollingh. Pol. Virg.

He promises the Pontificate to Wolsey.

The Interview of Francis and Henry. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingh.

1520.
Treaty be-
tween them.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 719.
June 6.

the two Courts took together, the affairs however were not neglected. The following Articles were agreed upon by the two Kings at their Conferences: That after *Francis* should have paid the million of Crowns, according to the late Treaty, he should give *Henry* an annual pension, for life, of a hundred thousand Livres *Tournois* (1); That in case the Dauphin should become King of England by his marriage with the Princess *Mary*, the pension should be continued to *Mary* and her Heirs for ever; That the differences between the Kings of England and Scotland, should be referred to the arbitration of *Louisa of Savoy* the King of France's Mother, and the Cardinal of York. The two Kings parted not till the 24th of June, after passing about three weeks together, in continual Diversions.

Henry goes
to see the
Emperor at
Graveling.

Henry being returned to *Calais*, was pleased before he repassed into England, to repay the visit received from the Emperor at *Canterbury*. To that end, he came to *Graveling* the 10th of July, and returned the same day to *Calais*. On the morrow, the Emperor, with the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, Governess of the Low-Countries, came to see *Henry* at *Calais*, and stayed three days with him. These mutual visits made *Francis* extremely jealous, and not without reason. Probably, in these Conferences were laid the first foundations of the Alliance afterwards concluded between the Emperor and *Henry*. In a few days after, *Henry* returned into England.

The Emperor
returns his
Visit.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The greatest Princes very justly courted Cardinal *Wolsey*. He absolutely governed his matter, and in the present situation of his affairs, could make the ballance incline to which side he pleased. The Senate of *Venice* foreseeing that a War would soon break out in *Italy*, endeavoured beforehand to make *Wolsey* their Friend, by shewing a great esteem for him. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, a Letter from the Doge to the Cardinal, to congratulate him upon the Interview of the two Kings, as a work of his consummate Wisdom (2).

Letter of the
Doge of Ve-
nice to the
Cardinal.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 724.
July 6.

But this was only words, whereas the Pope, who found he should quickly want the Cardinal, thought he must gain him by something more substantial. He granted him, as appears in the *Collection*, on the 29th of July, as pension of two thousand Ducats upon the Bishoprick of *Palencia* in *Spain*, and constituted him perpetual Administrator of the See of *Badajos*, without prejudice to the Benefices he had or should have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the Emperor's Consent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain so powerful a Minister, whose Credit was very necessary in the present situation of his affairs. He had left *Spain* full of troubles, occasioned by the greediness of the *Flemings*, who only fought to enrich themselves at the expence of the *Spaniards*. This had even obliged him to depart with some precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs which might have prevented his going to receive the Imperial Crown. He had left for Governors in *Spain*, *Adrian Florentio* Bishop of *Tortosa*, and the Constable of *Castile*. But he was no sooner gone, than several Lords, and some Cities of *Castile* joined in a League for the defence of their Liberties, and expulsion of the *Flemings*. This League was followed by an open Rebellion, which very much embarrassed the two Governors. Mean while, having drawn together a body of Troops, consisting partly of the Garrisons left in *Navarre*, they formed a good Army, and at length defeated and reduced the Male-contentants to obedience.

The Pope
grants the
Cardinal
Pensions upon
Spanish See.
P. 724, 725.

Troubles in
Spain.

Whilst these things passed in *Spain*, the Emperor was preparing for his Coronation, which was solemnized the 21st of October (3).

The Emperor
is crowned.

Luther's defection made then great noise in Germany. *Leo X* endeavoured to excite all the Princes of the Empire against the Doctor, who had boldly appealed to a General Council, notwithstanding Pope *Pius the Second's* Bull. In short, after fruitless trials to win him by pro-

The Pope
solicits the
Elector of
Saxony
against
Luther.

mises, or frighten him by threats, he published a Bull of Excommunication against him and his Followers. But *Luther*, regardless of these Thunder, renewed his Appeal to a Council in very harsh Terms. The Pope exasperated that a single Monk should thus dare to brave him, desired the Elector of *Saxony*, then at *Cologne*, to put him to death, or send him to *Rome*. The Elector refusing, the Pope's Nuncio ordered *Luther's* Books to be publicly burnt at *Cologne*, and *Luther*, in revenge, caused the [Pope's Bull and the] Decretals to be openly burnt at *Wirttemberg*, and published a Manifesto in defence of his proceedings. He found himself supported by the Elector his Sovereign, who earnestly desired to see a Reformation in the Church.

1520.

Mean while, the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, who at the Instance of *Francis I*, had forsaken the League of *Swabia*, was driven out of his Dominions, and the Emperor purchased them. As the King of France was not then in condition to protect him, he was forced to submit to the Emperor's Terms, without hopes of being restored.

7. Dec. 1.
Wirttemberg
sold to the Em-
peror.

The troubles still continued among the *Swiss*, who were divided into two Factions, whereof *Andrew Hamilton*, and *George Douglas* (4) Earl of *Arran* were the Head. During the year 1520, the *Hamiltonians* found means to constrain *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, one of those left by the Regent to govern in his absence, to relinquish his Post. After which they would have taken away his Life. But with fourscore Men he beat, in the Streets of *Edinburgh*, above a thousand of his Enemies, and drove them out of the City. All this served only to exasperate more and more the Factions against one another, so that at last *Douglas* received into his Party all the friends of the two *Humes*, beheaded by the Regent, in order with their assistance to withstand his Enemies. These were the first troubles caused by the Regent's absence, whom the King of England hindered from returning into Scotland. Mean while, the Truce between the two Kingdoms was further prolonged to the 9th of April next year, by the King of France's mediation, and the Council of Scotland positively promised to send an honourable Embassy to the King of England to desire a Peace (5).

7. Dec. 1.
Scotland
B. 1520.

The posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promise the long continuance of the Peace of Europe. Four Sovereigns enjoyed almost the whole, and had a great Influence upon the Dominions they were not possessed of. They were all four young, able and ambitious enough to form vast projects, which could not be executed without putting all Europe in combustion.

Francis I, secretly envying *Charles V*, fought occasion to shew his concern at seeing him on the Imperial Throne, and was thinking to use the pretence of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples* for himself, and *Navarre* for *Henry d'Albret*. But his design of attacking the Emperor was founded upon another and more powerful motive, namely, Policy, which required his utmost endeavours to humble this formidable Rival, otherwise France might be in great danger. To execute this grand project, it would have been necessary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good Oeconomist, in order to support the expence in which he was going to engage. But unhappily for him, he was too much addicted to his pleasures, and very often applied to other uses, the Money designed for the War. Moreover, he was too easily governed by his Ministers, and still more by the Ducheis of *Angoulême* his Mother, whose interests were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affairs in such a posture, as promised a happy Success of his undertakings. *Spain* was disaffected and agitated with intestine troubles, which probably would greatly embarrass the Emperor. On the other hand, the *Turks* threatened *Hungary*, which the Emperor could not abandon without endangering his *Austrian* Dominions. In the next place, *Francis* flattered himself with having in the King of England a faithful friend, who would not forsake him, and who seemed to

1521.

of Cloth of Gold. On the 9th, they came and view'd the Camp or Place of Exercise, 300 yards long, and 106 broad, with Scaffolds on the Side for the Beholders. There were also set up two artificial Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their Assistants, on which were affixed the Arrows of the *Justs*, &c. June 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, the two Kings, with seven Assistants each, encountered and combated, and came off with Arrows. June 16th, was spent in feasting and dancing with the Queens and other Ladies. June 17th, being Sunday, and the 18th, being full week-day, were proposed. The 19th they continued their Courses. On the 20th the Tourney began, where our King particularly got that Honour, that a brave French Nobleman, with whom he fought, presented him with his Horse, as a Gage of his being overcome. On the 21st, the Sport was so rough, that many of the Assistants were hurt. On the 22d the Barriers began. The 23d, our King, with his Sister Queen *Mary*, went in making Habits to the French Queen at *Arras*, *Francis* likewise going to the English Queen. On the 24th, after many Complements, Embraces, and rich Presents, they took leave of one another. *Habert*, p. 37. See *Hall*, who seems to have been an eye-witness, fol. 73, &c.

(1) This Sum was to be paid till the Marriage was solemnized, *per verba de presenti*, between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary*, and then, every year afterwards to King *Henry* during his life. See *Rymer*, Tom. XIII. p. 719, 720.

(2) In this Letter the Doge compliments him in the strongest Terms, and styles him all along *Dominatus vestra Reverentissima*, and in one place, *Majestatis ejus pars altera*. But it seems the University of *Oxford* was wont to ridicule the Doge, and not scruple to bestow ironically on the Cardinal the Title of Majesty, as appears from several Letters to him from that University. But it seems that Appellation was not then appropriated to Kings. See *Fiddes*, p. 178.

(3) At *Arras*, the same day that *Solyman* was crowned at *Constantinople*; and it is observable, that as *Charles* was the XIth from *Albion*, in whose time the House of the *Osmanli* began, so *Solyman* was the XIth Prince of his Race.

(4) *Rapen* by mistake calls him Earl of *Arran*; whereas at this time the Earl of *Arran* was *James Hamilton*. See above, p. 735. Note (5).

(5) This year the Earl of *Kildare* was discharged from the Office of Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was conferred on *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Lord Admiral. He went over to his Government in the beginning of April, with about a thousand Men, and remained there two years, in which time he had many Engagements with the Natives, and reduced the Earl of *Desmond* to reason. *Hall*, fol. 70. *Stow*, p. 508.

1521. be almost equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the House of *Austria*. In a word, he imagined to have reason to expect that the Pope, with whom he was in Treaty for the Conquest of *Naples*, instead of helping to increase the Emperor's power, would use his utmost endeavours to humble a Neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him. All this was strengthened with *Francis's* Alliances with the *Venetians* and *Switzers*, who joining with the Pope and the King of *England*, would of course render him superior to his Enemy, whose Kingdoms remote from each other, were less capable of giving mutual assistance. Thus *Francis*, flattered by these appearances, formed extraordinary projects suitable to his Ambition and Age, being then but twenty seven years old.

Of Charles V. As for *Charles V.*, he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous Idea of him. His youth had been spent under the Guardianship of the Emperor *Maximilian* his Grandfather, or of *Margaret of Austria* his Aunt, and since he had assumed the Administration of the *Low-Countries*, his Governor *Chievres* did all in the name of the Prince. His first proceedings, after the death of King *Ferdinand*, begot no great opinion of him, for he had scarce set foot in *Spain*, before the Country was all in commotion. His advancement to the Empire was owing, perhaps, to the little esteem the World had for him. However, he was then the most potent Prince in *Europe*. Besides the imperial Dignity, he possessed all *Spain*, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the *Low-Countries*, the Archduchy of *Austria*, and many other Provinces and Lordships in *Germany*. So, with his own Forces alone, he was able to withstand *Francis I.* assisted by all his Allies. *Henry VIII.* was the only Sovereign that had at first embarrassed him, by reason of his Union with *France*. But he had artfully drawn that Thorn out of his side, by means of Cardinal *Wolsey*. With this he began, as I may say, to discover his Ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that, he diligently applied himself to gain the Pope, and succeeded to his wish. Thus at the time I am now speaking of, he was become very formidable not only by his Forces, but also by the proofs he had given of his Capacity. As soon as he was raised to the Empire, he rightly judged he should find in *Francis I.* an Enemy that would spare nothing to make him feel the effect of his envy. For that reason he thought early of means to screen himself from his attempts, not only by a just defence, but even by attacking him first. He had two plausible reasons: One was, that the Crown of *France* withheld from him the Duchy of *Burgundy*, since the death of his Great Grandfather *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundy*. The other concerned the Duchy of *Milan*, whereof *Francis* ought to have received the Investiture from the Emperor, since it was a Fief of the Empire, and yet he had never vouchsafed to ask it. He believed moreover to have cause of complaint for *Francis's* extorting from him the Treaty of *Noyon* as was before related.

In vain therefore do the Historians of both sides strive to cast the blame of the Rupture upon one or other of the two Monarchs. It is certain, both thought at the same time of making War, and took measures beforehand to execute their designs, though each privately endeavoured to engage his Rival in something that should make him be deemed the Aggressor. So, as the beginning of a Rupture is not to be judged of by the first Act of Hostility, but rather by the Cause, one can hardly be mistaken in affirming *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* to be equally Authors of a War which set all *Europe* in a flame. *Charles* was not above one and twenty years of Age, but of a very different Character from that of his Enemy. *Francis* was too much addicted to his Pleasures, whereas *Charles* was too intent upon his affairs, having been used to it from his youth. *Francis* was of a free and open Temper, but *Charles* was much more reserved. He maturely thought of what he had to say or do, and readily made use of artifice and evasion to accomplish his ends, framing his conduct by that of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* his Grandfathers.

Of Leo X. *Leo X.* had reason to be satisfied with his lot, could he have resolved to live in quiet. He was absolute master of the whole Ecclesiastical State, to which he had lately added all *la Romagna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and the Duchy of *Urbino*. His own, the Church's, and all *Italy's* grand Interest, was therefore to endeavour by all sorts of means to keep the Balance even between the Emperor and King of *France*, and to manage so, that neither of these two Monarchs should become too powerful in *Italy*. This was very practicable, since his Dominions being situated between those belonging to these two Princes in *Italy*, they

necessarily wanted him, in order to invade *Naples* or *Milan*. Thus, by keeping a strict Neutrality, he would have probably freed *Italy* from a War, and preserved the papal Power in its full lustre. But he was of too active a Spirit to remain in Peace. As he had a great opinion of his address, he ventured to engage in all sorts of affairs, how difficult soever they appeared, because, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by some artifice. Besides, he had this in common with all the Popes his Predecessors, that the respect for his Character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in case his undertakings were not crowned with success. As to the rest, he was entirely addicted to his Pleasures, spending most of his time with Musicians and Buffoons, and in some still less innocent Diversions. This, added to his liberal Temper, threw him into such excessive expences, that he was poor amidst his vast incomes, and always contriving means to procure Money. Hence his extraordinary Zeal to form a League against the *Turks*, because it afforded him a pretence to levy Tenth upon the Clergy, and sell his Indulgences to the great scandal of all *Christianity* (1).

Had this Pope been of a more narrow genius, he would have doubtless maintained the Tranquillity of *Italy*. But as he found himself capable of forming and executing great designs, he had a mind to render his Pontificate illustrious by some signal actions. Unfortunately for him and his Successors, he resolved to drive the *French*, *Spaniards* and *Germans* out of *Italy*, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accomplish it, he was necessarily to make use of the one to ruin the others, and by thus causing the Balance to incline all to one side he could not but give Masters to himself and all *Italy*, which he would have avoided by standing Neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his desire to seize the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and recover *Parma* and *Placentia*, which he could not hope to effect, whilst the *French* were possessed of the Duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, he was something uneasy with respect to *Florence*. He could not help fearing that *Francis* would think of restoring the *Florentines* to their ancient Liberty. He resolved therefore to begin with the *French*; but took care not to discover his designs. On the contrary, he continued private Negotiations with the King of *France* as well as with the Emperor, and put both equally in hopes of his Friendship. Mean while, as his intent was always to remain in this medium, he ordered six thousand Men to be levied in *Switzerland*, and sent for them into the Ecclesiastical State, having demanded a Passage through the *Milanese*, under colour of providing for the defence of his Towns.

Henry VIII. was then more advantageously situated than any King of *England* had ever been before him. He was at Peace with all *Europe* except *Scotland*, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now consumed all the Money found in the King his Father's Coffers, he was however assured of being always supplied, since he was in a good understanding with his Parliament, and had the art of managing the two Houses with a very singular address. Thus being able to raise numerous Forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleased, it was doubtless in his Power to render himself Umpire of *Europe*. For that reason *Charles* and *Francis* with equal ardor courted his Friendship, being sensible, he could invincibly obstruct their designs, and cause the Balance to lean to the side he should please to espouse. It was his interest to keep always in this Situation, till obliged to interpose in their differences, to hinder the one from rising to the prejudice of the other. And indeed this was his aim and intention. But unfortunately for him, his weakness for his Prime Minister the Cardinal was beyond all imagination. This Favorite had such an ascendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleased, always under the specious colour of carrying his Glory to a greater height, though in reality he had only his own Interests in view. We have already seen sensible proofs of his great influence over his Master, in what passed during and after the late War with *France*. He had persuaded him to deliver to the Emperor *Maximilian* the City of *Terouenne*, which might have been of great Service to him, and to keep *Tournay*, which was of little or no advantage. Afterwards, when he was in possession of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, he had artfully persuaded him that the keeping of that place would be an everlasting Monument of his Glory. But when he saw, he was like to lose the Bishoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reasons to convince him that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him. We shall see

(1) This is the Pope of whom *Bembo* his Secretary reports this Saying: *It has been long and well known how much the Pope has been tormented and our Predecessors.*

1521. presently that he led him also to make a very false step in espousing the Emperor's part against *France*, whereas his true interest was to keep the ballance even between these two Potentates. All this was done for the sake of Cardinal *Wolsey*, who having the ambition to aspire to the Papedom, thought to succeed by the Emperor's means. The Pension procured him by *Charles* upon the Bishoprick of *Palencia* in *Castile*, and the Administration of the See of *Badajoz*, at a time when he had not yet received any publick Service from him, are incontestable proofs that the Cardinal had ingaged with him, as being sure of governing his Master as he pleased. These things afforded no very advantageous Idea of *Henry's* penetration.

Such were the Characters, Interests, and Designs of the four principal Sovereigns concerned in the new War I am going to speak of. The King of *Scotland* was yet too young to be reckoned among the Directors of the affairs of *Europe*. The *Venetians* fought only to live in Peace, being, as I may say, exhausted by the former War. However they could not avoid entering into this also. As for the *Switzers*, they were satisfied with their Pensions from *France*, and generally inclined to observe the Articles of their Alliance with that Crown. But they were not entirely secured from the secret practices continued by the Pope's and the Emperor's Agents with some of their Magistrates, to try to persuade them not to take part with *France*.

Francis I.
invades Na-
varre.
Du Bellay.
Mezerai.

Francis I., having formed a design to make War upon the Emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, resolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated design to quarrel. By the Treaty of *Noyon*, *Charles* was bound to resign *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albret* within four months, in default whereof, *Francis* was free to assist *Henry* to recover his Kingdom. The affairs of *Spain* being extremely imbroiled since the Emperor quitted that Country, *Francis* believed it a fair opportunity to invade *Navarre*. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two Regents of *Spain* had been forced to draw Troops from *Pampelona* and other Places of that Kingdom, to reinforce the Army which was to act against the fore-mentioned League. He sent therefore into *Navarre*, in the beginning of *March*, an Army under the command of *Lefparre* of the House of *Foix*, elder Brother of *Lautrec* and *Lescun*. This General finding the Kingdom without Troops and almost deserted, became master of it in the space of a fortnight. Had he stopped there, perhaps *Navarre* would have been still at this day annexed in deed, as it is in name only, to the Crown of *France*, since the *Spaniards* were unable to expel *Henry d'Albret*, from whom the Kings of *France* of the House of *Bourbon* are descended. But the desire of acquiring fame, or procuring the King's advantage, carried *Lefparre* to enter the Province of *Guipulcoa*, and besiege *Logroño*. The Regents of *Spain* had no thoughts of recovering *Navarre*. But when they saw the *French* invading *Spain* it self, they assembled their Forces to stop their Progress. The Malecontents themselves lately vanquished, accepting a General Pardon, led all their Troops to the Regents. *Lefparre* seeing an Army, much stronger than his, coming against him, would have retired; but was so closely pursued that he was forced to come to a Battle, wherein he was defeated and taken Prisoner. The loss of this Battle occasioned the loss of *Navarre*, which the *Spaniards* recovered in less time than the *French* had conquered it. Thus the King of *France* had the mortification to lose his Army to no purpose, and flagrantly discover to the Emperor how he stood affected towards him.

Lefparre
becomes
Master of
that King-
dom.

He enters
Spain.

Guicciard.
Herbert.

Is beaten,
and taken
Prisoner.

Francis flies
up Robert
de la Mark
against the
Emperor.
Bellay.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

The same time that he invaded *Navarre*, he raised *Charles* an Enemy from another Quarter; namely *Robert de la Mark* Prince of *Sedan* and Sovereign of *Baillon*, who believing to have cause to complain of the Emperor, for a denial of justice to the young Princes of *Chimay* (1), whose Guardian he was, implored the King of *France's* Protection. Very probably, *Francis* had offered it before it was desired. However, *Robert de la Mark*, seeing himself supported by the King, was so bold as to send a defiance to the Emperor, who was then at the Diet of *Worms*. Shortly after, the Earl of *Fleuranges*, eldest Son of *la Mark*, put himself at the head of four or five thousand Men (2) levied in *France*, and besieged *Vireton* a Place in *Luxemburg* belonging to the Emperor.

The Empe-
ror calls up-
on the King
of England
to aid him
against
Francis.
Herbert.

Then it was that *Charles*, who had with reluctance agreed to the League of *London*, thought proper however to make use of it in summoning the King of *England* to assist him, as obliged by the Treaty, since it was evi-

dent, the King of *France* had made him this Enemy. *Henry*, prepossessed by the Cardinal, was glad of a pretence to cast the blame of the Rupture upon the *French* King. Mean while, to proceed according to the Articles of the League, he sent an Ambassador to require him to forbear all Hostility against the Emperor, not only in *Luxemburg* but also in *Navarre*. *Francis* replied, he was now Author of the War between *Robert de la Mark* and the Emperor, and all he could do was to forbid his Subjects to serve or assist *la Mark*. As to *Navarre*, it would have been needless to answer, since it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promise with regard to the War of *Luxemburg*, and *Fleuranges* disbanded his Army. *Francis* took care not openly to support the Duke of *Baillon*, for fear of affording *Henry*, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the Emperor. I shall pursue this affair, when I have spoken of those of *Italy*, which are of no less importance.

1521.

Henry sends
an Ambassa-
dor to
Francis.
Bellay.
Mezerai.

Who calls
la Mark to
lay down
his Arms.
March 22.

Leo X joins
with France
for the Con-
quest of
Naples.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.

In the beginning of this, or perhaps before the end of the last year, *Leo X* concluded with the *French* Ambassador residing at *Rome*, a Treaty whereby he joined in a League with *Francis* for the Conquest of *Naples*. The Treaty ran, that all that part of the Kingdom of *Naples* lying between the Ecclesiastical State and *Gariglian* should remain to the Pope: And the rest should be for *Henry* the King's second Son; but during his Minority, the Kingdom should be governed by the Pope's Legate, who should reside at the City of *Naples*. Whatever the Pope's intention was in making this Treaty, it may be almost affirmed, he acted with insincerity, because it must have been very disadvantageous to him for the same Prince to hold *Milan* and *Naples*. He was too politic, and too much used to by ways, to be thought to proceed fairly on this occasion. What may most probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by *Francis I.*, as *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* had done by *Lewis XII.*, when he made much the same partition with that Prince. At least *Francis*, who had frequently experienced what the Pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to assist him in that Conquest. Wherefore he delayed the ratification of the Treaty, to gain time to consider seriously of the affair.

Francis just
ifies his Re-
fusal
of it.

The Pope
leagues
with the
Emperor.
Mezerai.
Guicciard.

Leo X finding the time for ratifying the Treaty was expired, suspected the King of projecting with the Emperor some agreement prejudicial to the Holy See. Those that deal not sincerely, are ready to think others like themselves. However, the King of *France's* affected delays afforded the Pope a motive or pretence to conclude another Treaty with the Emperor, to drive the *French* out of the *Milanese*, and restore the *Sforza's*. As he continued at once secret Negotiations with the Emperor and the King of *France*, it would be something difficult to know his real design, if there was not a notable difference between the two Treaties just mentioned. That with the *French* Ambassador concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof was almost impracticable in the present juncture of affairs, and besides, really contrary to his true interest; whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed. So, probably, the first was made only to procure better Terms from the Emperor. Besides, he had been ever wont to have, as they say, two strings to his Bow, which he considered as the grand Mystery of Politicks. His Treaty with the Emperor was no less advantageous, than that he would have made with the King of *France*. The chief Articles were these.

That the Pope and Emperor should join their Forces to expel the *French* out of the *Milanese*, and restore *Francesco Sforza*. That Prince was then at *Trent*, having retired thither, a little before his Brother *Maximilian* was dispossessed of his Dominions.

Article of
the Treaty of
League.
Guicciard.

That *Parma* and *Placentia* should be restored to the Church.

That the Inhabitants of the *Milanese* should provide themselves with Salt only at *Cervia*, a Town in the Ecclesiastical State.

That the Emperor should aid the Pope to conquer *Ferrara*.

That the sum the Emperor gave the Pope for the Kingdom of *Naples* should be augmented.

That the Emperor should protect the Family of *Medici*.

That he should grant to the Cardinal *de Medici* a Pension of ten thousand Ducats, upon the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*.

That *Alexander de Medici*, natural Son to *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*, should have in the Kingdom of

(1) A Lord named *d'Amoyes* had seized the Town of *Hierge* in *Ardenne* belonging to those Princes; and *d'Amoyes* was supported by the Emperor. P. Daniel, T. m. VII. p. 43.

(2) Three thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse. Ibid.

1551 Naples, Lands to the value of ten thousand Ducats a year.

They pre-
pare for
War.
Guicciard.

Colonna
General of
the League.
Attempts
upon Genoa,
Milan, and
Como.
Guicciard.

This Treaty was kept so private that it came not to Francis's Knowledge, till the two Allies were going to invade the *Milaneſe*. Mean while they concerted proper measures to accomplish their designs. The Pope who had already six thousand *Switzers* in his Service, took care to augment his Forces on divers pretences. The Emperor ordered the Viceroy of *Naples*, to keep the Troops of that Kingdom ready to march upon the first notice, and at the same time caused Levies to be made in *Germany*, to reinforce his Army in *Italy*. *Prosper Colonna* was declared General of the League.

Whilst *Francis* continued in a fatal security, and left the *Milaneſe* destitute of Troops, never imagining he should be attacked in *Italy*, because he thought himself sure of the Pope, the two new Allies were contriving to seize at once, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Como*, before they proclaimed War against him. For the first of these projects they employed *Hieronimo Morone* Senator of *Milan*, who being suspected by the *French*, was banished the City. *Morone* having assembled a great number of Exiles (1) in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*; *Lescun*, who commanded in the absence of his Brother *Lautrec* the Governor, fell out of *Milan* with some Troops, and pursued the Exiles to *Reggio*, a Town of the Pope's, where they had retired, and even demanded of the Governor to deliver them into his hands. The Governor refusing, *Lescun* withdrew, and posted himself about ten Miles from *Reggio*, within the Pope's Territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve days. Then the Pope, who only wanted a pretence to declare against *France*, called a Consistory, greatly aggravated *Lescun's* affront, and declared that in revenge he was resolved to join with the Emperor. But he had already done so, and the affair of *Reggio* was a mere pretence to delude the Cardinals.

Guicciard.

Whilst *Lescun* was at *Reggio*, *Adorno* banished from *Genoa*, attempted to surprize that City with some Gallies supplied by the Pope and the Viceroy of *Naples*, but could not succeed. A few days after, *Lescun* discovered a plot to surprize *Como*, and was fully informed that the Pope and the Emperor were the Authors. It is therefore evident, that in case they had succeeded in their designs, they would have made no scruple to appear the Aggressors.

Francis or-
ders a Levy
of Switzers,
and sends
Lautrec to
Milan.
Guicciard.

Lescun no longer doubting that there was a design to invade the *Milaneſe*, acquainted the King, and withal, sent for the four thousand *Switzers*, intended for *Milan*, who were ready to march. *Francis* surprized at the danger the *Milaneſe* was in, speedily ordered a Levy of twenty thousand *Switzers*, and sent *Lautrec* to *Milan*, promising he should want for nothing. But this promise was but very ill performed.

Colonna be-
sieves Par-
ma.
Bellay.
Mezerai.
He raises
the Siege.

Mean while, *Prosper Colonna* having assembled at *Reggio* the army of the Allies, besieged *Parma*, where *Lescun* had now thrown in some Troops. But before he could take the place, *Lautrec* having received the Supplies he expected from *Switzerland*, forced him to raise the Siege, and pursued him even beyond the borders of the *Milaneſe*. As he imagined *Parma* to be out of danger, he had drawn out *Lescun* with the Garrison to strengthen his army. But no sooner was *Lescun* out of the City, than the Inhabitants declared for the Pope, and erected the Church's Colours on the Walls.

Parma de-
clares for the
Pope.

Lautrec is
deserted by
the Switzers.
Colonna
pursues him
closely.
Guicciard.
Lautrec
quits Milan,

But this was not the only misfortune *Lautrec* was to be exposed to during the Campaign. Presently after, he was deserted by the twenty thousand *Switzers* he had lately received, and constrained to retire to *Milan*, where *Prosper Colonna* pursued him in his turn, with all possible diligence. Whereupon *Lautrec* despairing of defending *Milan*, quitted the Town, after supplying the Castle with Ammunition, and withdrew to *Como*, where the four thousand *Switzers* he still had, forsook him and returned home, because he had no Money to pay them. So, *Colonna*, taking possession of *Milan*, went from thence to make other Conquests, which *Lautrec* could not oppose. In a word, *Francis* lost the whole Duchy of *Milan*, except a few places.

and Colonna
takes it.

Death of
Leo X.
Guicciard.

Probably, *Lautrec* would not have been able to support himself long in *Italy*, had not the Pope's death, on the 1st of *December*, afforded him some respite. *Leo X.* is said to die with Joy, at the news of the good Success of the League. Some however affirm, his death was hastened by poison (2). However this be, the news of the Pope's death was no sooner spread, but the Troops he

The Army
of the Al-
lies disband.

maintained, disbanded themselves. Of the twelve thousand *Switzers* he had in the army of the Allies, but fifteen hundred remained, and the *Florentines* retired to their own Country. Thus *Prosper Colonna* found himself in a few days, in as ill a situation as *Lautrec*. The College of Cardinals, not knowing what course to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the Election of a new Pope. Mean while, the Duke of *Ferrara* recovered some of his Towns in *la Romagna*, and *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, took possession again of the Duchy of *Urbino*. If *Lautrec* had then been supplied with the Men and Money he was promised, he would have doubtless expelled the Imperialists out of *Milan*. But *Francis I.*, entirely neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, thought only of defending himself in *Flanders* and *Picardy*, where he was vigorously attacked. He still held however in *Italy*, *Genoa*, *Cremona*, the Castles of *Milan* and *Novarra*, with some small places on the Lake *Gorda*.

The Duke of
Ferrara re-
covers his
Towns.
La Rovere
takes posses-
sion of Ur-
bino.
Guicciard.

Whilst these things passed in *Italy*, the war at length was begun in the Low-Countries, in a manner very disadvantageous to *France*. The Troops raised by *Robert de la Mark* to besiege *Vireton*, being disbanded, *Francis* thought he had satisfied the Emperor and the King of *England*. It was indeed sufficient to take from *Henry* all pretence of declaring against him, since by the Treaty of League, in case one of the Allies was invaded, the rest were not to declare against the Aggressor, till being summoned to desist from the War, he should have refused. *Francis* was summoned, and had desisted, consequently *Henry* had no cause to complain. But it was otherwise with the Emperor, who was not contented with so slight a Satisfaction. He forbore however to complain of the King of *France*, but was resolved to be revenged of *Robert de la Mark*, who had dared to send him a Defiance. Besides, he considered, if *Francis* undertook to defend that Prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of the Rupture, and this was what the Emperor and Cardinal *Wolsey* chiefly desired, in order to make use of that inducement to persuade *Henry* to declare against *France*. So, *Charles* having prepared an Army, gave the Command to *Henry Count of Nassau*, who entering the Territories of *Robert de la Mark*, took and razed several places. *Francis* was patient, chusing rather to forsake his Ally, than give the King of *England* a pretence to arm against him. Then *Robert* seeing himself without refuge, made his Submission to the Emperor, who granted him a Truce for six weeks. Mean while, though the Emperor had to deal only with a petty Prince, unable to resist him, and of whom he had been sufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his Army. *Francis* seeing so many Troops in the neighbourhood of *Champagne*, easily perceived, they were not solely designed against *Robert de la Mark*, and that he might be taken unprovided, unless he prepared for his defence. Mean while, he represented to the King of *England*, that he could not avoid taking arms, in order to resist the Emperor, who was preparing to attack him. *Henry* answered, he would side with neither, but as a common friend, offered to be their Umpire. Adding, if they would both send their Plenipotentiaries to *Calais* the beginning of *August*, Cardinal *Wolsey* should be there, to act in his name as Mediator. *Charles* readily accepted so advantageous a proposal, since he and the Cardinal understood one another. As for *Francis* he durst not reject it, though he had no reason to be pleased with the King of *England*. But he did not yet know that *Wolsey* was wholly devoted to the Emperor. It was therefore agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries of the two Monarchs, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Cardinal Mediator, should meet at *Calais* the 4th of *August*.

Campaign of
the Low-
Countries.
Bellay.

The King of
France's re-
presentation
to Henry;
who offers to
become Me-
diator.
Bellay.
Herbert.
A.C. Pub.
XIII. p. 742.

Mean while, the Lord of *Liques* (3) having levied an Army at his own charge, as he affirmed, surprized *Moragne*, and *St. Amand*, in the *Tournaisis*, on pretence of some claim of his House. The Emperor affected to consider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, though *Liques's* army was composed of his Subjects. His aim was to oblige *Francis* to take some step which might give occasion to accuse him of being the Aggressor. Herein he only imitated that Prince who had attacked him under the name of *Robert de la Mark*. But some time after, the Governor of *Flanders* besieging *Tournay* in form, it was not possible to put so favorable a Construction upon that Siege, especially as what passed then in *Italy* left the Emperor no room to dissemble any longer. It is certain, *Francis* had been surprized as well in *Italy* as in *Champagne* and *Flanders*. He had intended no doubt to attack the Emperor, but did not expect to be invaded

A Congress
at Calais
agreed upon.

The Empe-
ror tries to
lay the
blame of the
Rupture
upon the
French
King.
Bellay.

He discovers
himself by
causing
Tournay to
be besieged.
P. Daniel.
P. Virg.
Hall.

(1) These were some of the Emperor's Adherents that had been banished by the French. Guicciard.

(2) Guicciardini says, it was secretly whispered, but upon Conjectures only, that the French King had him poisoned by means of one *Barnabo Malajena* his Chamberlain, who was imprisoned on suspicion; but the Prosecution was dropped, and he was discharged, by the Cardinal de Medici, out of respect for the King of France. l. 14.

(3) Lord of Hainault.

1521. first. For this reason he wanted time to prepare his Army. Mean while, the Imperialists took and razed the Town of *Ardres*.

Conference
at Calais.
Mezerai.
Act. Pub.
XIII p. 743.
750

p. 749.

p. 750.
Hall.
Stow.
Henry and
the Cardinal
act not with
sincerity.

The Empe-
ror's Army
takes Mou-
zon, and
ravages
Champagne.
Bellay.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Siege of
Mezieres
raised.
Hall.
Herbert.

Conquests of
Francis in
the Low-
Countries.

He misses
the opportu-
nity of de-
feating the
Emperor.

He disoblige
the Constable
Bour-
bon.

Campaign in
Navarre.
Bellay.
Hall.
P. Daniel.
Bonnivet
takes Fon-
tarabia.
Oct. 18.

Account of
the Congress
of Calais.
Hall.
Herbert.

The time appointed for the Congress of *Calais* (1) being come, Cardinal *Wolsey* repaired thither with a numerous Retinue (2) and carried the Great Seal with him (3). It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he was furnished with several of the King's Commissions, to be used as he should think proper. By the first, he was constituted the King's Lieutenant General to adjust, as Mediator, the differences between the Emperor and the King of *France*. By a second, he was empowered to treat and conclude with *Francis I*, a renewal of the Alliance. But probably, this was only to show the *French* Ambassadors *Henry's* Impartiality and pretended design to join with that Prince, who should be found to be unjustly attacked. By a third, he had Power to conclude a League between *England* and the Emperor, the Pope, the King of *France*, or any other Potentate whatever. Thus *Henry*, without having yet examined on which side the blame lay, left it to his Lieutenant to engage him in which Party he pleased. But very probably, his resolution was taken already, and the Congress of *Calais* intended only to show he was not resolved, till after a strict Information, and to cause the blame of the rupture to be thrown upon the King of *France*. All the proceedings of the Cardinal Mediator, discovered, that he meant not to procure a Peace between the two Monarchs, but only to find the King his master a pretence to declare for the Emperor.

Whilst these affairs were negotiating at *Calais*, the Imperialists besieged and took *Mouzon* in *Champagne*. Then they ravaged the Country, and plundered the little Town of *Aubanton*, where the Count of *Nassau* suffered his Soldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which he laid Siege to *Mezieres*. *Francis* wanting time to assemble his Army, could not be ready till the end of *September*: which however was soon enough to throw Succours into *Mezieres*, and thereby force the Count of *Nassau* to raise the Siege. The Earl of *St. Pol* recovered *Mouzon* shortly after, and the Count of *Nassau* retired into the Earldom of *Namur*. *Champagne* being thus freed, *Francis* ordered his Army to march into *Flanders*, where the Imperialists still continued the Siege of *Tournay*. When his Troops were drawn together, he assaulted *Bapaume*, *Landrecy*, *Bouchain*, and carried them. Afterwards hearing, the Emperor, who had headed his Army, was retiring towards *Valenciennes*, he resolved to go and attack him, but lost the opportunity by his own fault. 'Tis said, if he had been as speedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the Emperor, who giving all over for lost, was retired with a hundred Horse only, quitting his Army, not to be a witness of their destruction. Upon this occasion, *Francis I*, gave the Duke of *Bourbon* Constable of *France*, great cause of disgust, by setting the Duke of *Alençon* at the head of the Vanguard, though that Post properly belonged to the Constable, when the King was in the Army. 'Tis said, the King gave the Constable this mortification, to oblige his Mother the Duchess of *Angoulême*, who hated him. But he had too much reason afterwards to repent his Complaisance to his Mother.

At the very time *Francis I*, was attacked in *Champagne*, he sent an Army into *Navarre*, under the Command of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who arrived about the end of *September*, at *St. John de Lux*. At first, he pretended to march towards *Pampelona*. Then, after several Marches and Counter-marches, he suddenly approached, and besieged *Fontarabia*. When the breach was made, he ordered the Town to be furiously stormed, but however was bravely repulsed. But the Garrison, being little able to stand a second Assault, surrendered by Capitulation. This Conquest was of very great Importance, *Fontarabia* being one of the Keys of *Spain*.

Whilst the War was vigorously continued in *Italy*, *Champagne*, *Flanders*, *Picardy*, *Navarre*, Cardinal *Wolsey* was busy at *Calais* in treating with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the King of *France*. This Congress lasted ten weeks, and the Parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the Mediator, instead of closing, helped rather to widen, the Breach. It was long debated to know which had begun the War. This was the chief point with respect to *Wolsey*, who intended to throw the blame on the King of *France*. Afterwards, when the differences themselves came to be con-

sidered, the proposals of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries showed a Peace was still very remote. They demanded restitution of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, and abolition of the Homage due to the Crown of *France*, for *Flanders* and *Artois*. The only reason they alleged to support their last pretension was, that it was unbecoming for an Emperor to do Homage to a King. These two Propositions were of such a nature, that *Francis* would hardly have accepted them, even after the loss of many Battles. On the other hand, the *French* Ambassadors having notice of what passed in *Italy*, earnestly demanded restitution of *Milan*, and that the Emperor should withdraw his Troops from before *Tournay*. They insisted moreover upon the restitution of *Navarre*, to which the Emperor was bound by the Treaty of *Noyon*. If the Emperor had been afraid of *Henry's* joining with the King of *France*, he might have granted part of these Demands without being forced to dismember his Dominions. But *Francis* could not resign *Burgundy*, without letting the Enemy into the heart of his Kingdom, nor the Homage of *Flanders* and *Artois*, without dishonor. But as the Emperor was secure of the King of *England*, he persisted in his demands, without any abatements.

After the Mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a Peace, he declared, he saw no way to succeed. Then, he presented to the Plenipotentiaries a Treaty to sign, containing Articles of little Importance, namely, That the *French* and *Flemings* should have liberty to fish for Herrings till the end of *January*. That the two contending Monarchs should enjoin their Subjects to put no Vessel into the Ports or Harbours belonging to the King of *England*, and commit no Hostilities within the Territories of the said King, during the War: That the Pope's Nuncio, and the Plenipotentiaries at *Calais* might freely retire with all their Train, without receiving any injury from the Troops of the two Monarchs: That the King of *England* and the Cardinal Legate his Lieutenant should be the Conservators of these Articles, to be ratified within ten days. We have here a very sensible proof of the Cardinal's Insolence, who, in a Treaty drawn by himself, presumed thus to set himself upon a level with his master, by being declared Conservator with the King. These Conventions were ratified by the two Monarchs the 2d and 11th of *October*, and there appears not in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the least Trace of any other Treaty made at *Calais* at that time.

Du Bellay (4) however says in his Memoirs, that the King of *England* having sent Ambassadors to *Francis I*, during the Congress of *Calais*, they laboured so effectually, that at length it was agreed, the Emperor should raise the Siege of *Tournay*, and withdraw his Troops out of the *Milanese*; that *Francis* should retire into *France* with his Army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the King of *England*. He adds, after these Conventions, each thought the Peace concluded, but that upon the Emperor's receiving news of the taking of *Fontarabia*, he demanded, before the Treaty was ratified, the restitution of that place, and upon *Francis's* refusal, the Treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illustrious Author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the War, than of the Negotiations, was misinformed. First, because the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, mentions not this pretended Treaty, though we see there another of much less Consequence concluded at the same time. Secondly, we don't find in the *Collection*, any Embassy from the King of *England*, either to the *French* King or the Emperor, in the time which must have preceded this same Treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood, the Emperor would have withdrawn his Troops out of the *Milanese*, that is, would have restored *Milan* to *France*, and lost the hopes of acquiring *Tournay*, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of seeing *Francis* retire into his own Kingdom. In short, it may have been easily perceived, *Henry* was very far from the thoughts of forcing the Emperor to yield to these Terms, and it will still be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all these Considerations, that seeing the regard the Emperor and the King of *France* had for Cardinal *Wolsey*, it is not likely they should conclude a Treaty without his knowledge, and by the Ministry of other Ambassadors, whilst he was at *Calais* to do the Office of Mediator. It may be, these proposals were made to *Francis*, and he was so blind as to imagine they would take place, because he was yet ignorant of the secret Engagements of the King

(1) Which was *July 25*. In the mean time a six weeks Truce was appointed between the Emperor and King of *France*. *Symer*, Tom. 13. p. 743.

(2) He was attended by *Charles Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, the Lords *St. John*, *Ferrers*, and *Herbert*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, *Sir Thomas Boleyn*, *Sir John Peche*, *Sir John Huffy*, *Sir Henry Guildford*, and many others. He came to *Dover* the 5th of *July*, and sailed to *Calais* the 20th. *Hall*, fol. 86.

(3) For which reason, many *English* were forced to go to him to receive their Dispatches, and at home the constituting of Sheriffs was suspended, &c. Which things were urged against him afterwards in his Trial. *Herbert*, p. 44. *Hall*, fol. 88.

(4) *Martin du Bellay*, Brother to Cardinal *John Bellay*, was much esteemed by *Francis I*, and employed by him in his Wars, and in important Embassies. He writ Memoirs, containing the most memorable Transactions under the Reign of *Francis I*, to the Reign of *Henry II*.

1521.

Mazarin.
Herbert.Wolsey goes
to see Em-
peror at
Bruges.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.and makes a
Treaty, sent
him against
France.
Herbert.The Princess
Mary pre-
sented to the
Emperor.Henry's
false Poli-
tics.
Hall.
Herbert.Bull to en-
large the
Legate's
Power.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 734,
739.Abbey of
St. Albans
given to
Wolsey.
p. 760, 775.Disgrace
and Death
of the Duke
of Bucking-
ham.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

of England and his Minister, with the Emperor, and be-
cause such a report was spread in the Court of France.
Be this as it will, after the taking of *Fontarabia*, the War
continued without Intermission, and with great Animosity.
Francis I. became master of *Hesdin* about the beginning of
November, and *Tournay* surrendered to the Emperor by Ca-
pitulation.

Mean while Cardinal *Wolsey* still remained at *Calais*,
under colour of searching for some farther expedient to
procure a Peace between the two Monarchs. He fre-
quently sent Expresses to both, with Proposals which he
knew they would not accept. At last, feigning to desire
to gain time, he went himself to the Emperor at *Bruges* (1),
where he was received with as much respect as if he had been
King of England (2). Here he concluded with the Pope and
the Emperor a League against France, by virtue of the Powers
he had brought with him. By this Treaty the Pope engaged
to thunder the Church's Censures against the King of France.
Henry was to invade him with an Army of forty thousand Men.
The Emperor and *Henry* obliged themselves to break all their
engagements with him. Moreover, *Henry* promised to give
in marriage to the Emperor the Princess *Mary*, affianced
to the Dauphin. These were the chief Articles agreed upon
by the Emperor and the Cardinal the 24th of *November* 1521,
which were to be ratified and put into form of Treaty within
three months. But they engaged to be secret till the time of
Performance. Thus was *Henry* perfwaded by his Minister
to oppress his Ally the King of France, who had done him no
Injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that
Francis had lately permitted the Duke of *Albany* to return
into Scotland, doubtless because he perceived the Cardinal
was meditating something against him. It is in vain to inquire
what interest *Henry* had to declare against France, and
cause the ballance to incline to the Emperor's side: No
other can be found but the Cardinal's, who wanted to be
Pope at *Francis*'s cost. The death of *Leo X.*, hastened
by Poison, as several affirm, and happening during these
Transactions, has made some suspect that *Wolsey* was
concerned in it, and the more, because he aspired to be
Successor to a Pope much younger than himself; but no
proof was ever produced. Certainly *Henry* would have
acquired more glory in continuing Umpire of the Peace
between the two contending Monarchs, and procuring
Tranquillity to all Europe, than by all the Conquests,
his Minister flattered him with (3).

Hitherto Cardinal *Wolsey* had pushed his Fortune to
such a height, that it seemed difficult to make any addi-
tion to it. And yet all this was not capable to satisfy
him. His Legateship had been prolonged for two years,
the beginning of this year. But he thought himself to be
too much above all other Legates, not to have a different
Commission from theirs. In April he procured from
Leo X. a Bull, empowering him to make fifty Knights,
fifty Count Palatines, as many Acolyths (4) and Chap-
lains, forty Notaries Apostolick, who should have the
same Privileges as those made by the Pope; to legiti-
mate Bastards, give Degrees in Arts, Law, Physick, and
Divinity, and grant all sorts of Dispensations. In a word,
not content with all the Riches he possessed, or with the
means he had to increase them incessantly, he caused also
the rich Abbey of *St. Albans* to be given him this year
in Commendam.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to so high a degree
of Grandeur and Riches, his pride increased in proportion.
Though the King's blindness for him was inconceivable,
it was not so with the Courtiers, who saw but too plainly
how grossly he misled his Master, who placed too great
confidence in him. But none dared to take notice of it,
such was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper.
The Duke of *Buckingham*, Son of the Duke of the same
Name, who in the Reign of *Richard III.*,

lost his head on the Scaffold for endeavouring to procure
the Crown for *Henry VII.*, sadly experienced how dan-
gerous it was to discover what was thought of that proud
Prelate. He happened one day to say, in the hearing of
one who betrayed him (5), that in case the King died
without Issue, he thought he had a Right to the Crown,
and if ever he ascended the Throne, his first care should
be to punish the Cardinal according to his deserts. The
Duke's title was not altogether groundless, since he was
descended from *Ann* of *Glocester*, Grandaughter to *Ed-
ward III.* Doctor *Morton*, afterwards Archbishop of
Canterbury, pressed the Duke his Father to endeavour to
seize the Crown; but the Duke chose rather to act for
the Earl of *Richmond* than for himself, as was shown in
the Reign of *Richard III.* What the Son had said con-
cerning his Title, was therefore rather imprudent than
criminal, since he pretended not to the Crown unless the
King died without Heirs. Indeed, his Title might be
ill-grounded; but he had done nothing to support it. His
crime then consisted only in what he had said against the
Cardinal, who, for that reason, resolved to dispatch him.
For that purpose, he gained some of his Domesticks, and
learnt by their means that he had consulted a certain
Monk (6), who pretended to foretell things to come,
and had conferred with him several times since April
1512. Probably, the Duke, fond of his title, had in-
quired of the Monk whether the King would die with-
out Children. And that was sufficient to give the Car-
dinal occasion to misconstrue all his proceedings. When
he believed he had sufficient evidence against him, he be-
gan with depriving him of his two principal supports;
namely, [Henry Percy] Earl of *Northumberland* his Fa-
ther-in-law, whom he sent to the Tower on some pre-
tence (7), and [Thomas Howard] Earl of *Surrey* (8) his
Son-in-law, on whom he conferred the Government of
Ireland, to remove him from London. Presently after the
Duke was apprehended (9) and accused of High-Treason.
The substance of his Impeachment was, That he had
several times consulted the Monk concerning the suc-
cession to the Crown, and affected to make himself popu-
lar. The Duke confessed he had talked sometimes with
the Monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was
charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a
Traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the sen-
tence was pronounced (10). My Lord of Norfolk, cried
he, you have said as a Traytor should be said unto, but
I was never one. My Lords, continued he, addressing
himself to the Peers his Judges, I nothing maligne for what
you have done to me, but the eternal God forgive you my
death, and I do. I shall never sue to the King for life,
howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come
from him than I desire. My Lords and all my Fellows I
desire you to pray for me. When he said he would not
sue to the King for Life, his meaning was, he thought
it would be fruitless, knowing he was the Cardinal's vic-
tim, who had an absolute sway over the King. Indeed,
the Minister had so ordered it, that though all the Peers
of the Realm had a Right to assist at the Trial, there
were present only one Duke, one Marquis, seven Earls,
and twelve Barons (11); and probably, he had secured the
Majority. All the favor the Duke received was to be be-
headed, instead of dying the death of a Traitor (12).
This execution was attended with loud murmurs among
the People, and satirical Libels against the Cardinal,
wherein was said among other things, that it was not
strange the Son of a Butcher should delight in shedding
Blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken
for this injustice. He was too deeply rooted in the King's
mind, to fear these murmurs, which besides never reach-
ed the King's ears, all about him being either Spies or
Creatures of the Cardinal.

The King was then wholly intent upon one affair,
namely, the War he had resolved to make upon France,

(1) On August 12, being attended by four hundred and sixty horse. Hall, fol. 87. Stow, p. 514.

(2) The Emperor met him a mile out of Town. Hall, fol. 87. Herbert, p. 43.

(3) Wolsey staid thirteen days at Bruges. He returned to England, and landed at Dover Novemb. 27. Hall, fol. 88.

(4) An inferior Church-Servant in Popish Countries, who, under the Subdeacon, waits on the Priests and Deacons, lights the Candles, carries the Bread and Wine, and pays other servile Attendance.

(5) Charles Knevet his Steward, who was turned out of his place by the Duke, upon the Complaints of his Tenants, was the Person that informed against the Duke, and told the Cardinal all the Particulars which were alledged against him. The first thing that incensed the Cardinal, was his speaking against the Interview of the two Kings as an idle Expence, though no Man made a greater Figure there than himself. Herbert, p. 41. The rest of the Witnesses against the Duke were, Gilbert Perke his Chancellor, and John Delacourt his Confessor. Hall, fol. 86. The words above mentioned were spoken by the Duke to George Nevil Lord Abergavenny, who, for concealment, was committed to the Tower, as was also Henry Pole Lord Montagu; and Sir Edward Nevil, the forelaid Lord's brother, was forbid the King's Presence. Hollingsh. p. 865.

(6) One Nicolas Hopkins, Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Hinton, near Bristol. Hall, fol. 85, 86.

(7) For claiming certain Wards, which he was forced to relinquish. Herbert, p. 40.

(8) The Cardinal bore the Earl of Surrey a Grudge for having drawn his Dagger at him on some occasion. Hollingsh. p. 855.

(9) By Sir Henry Marney Captain of the King's Guard; and brought to the Tower, April 16. Hall, fol. 85.

(10) By the Duke of Norfolk, who was for the time constituted High Steward. He was brought to his Tryal May 13. Hall.

(11) Namely, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Effex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford, and Derby; the Lords St. John, Delacourt, Fitzwarren, Walloughby, Brooke, Gibham, Herbert, and Morley. Hall.

(12) He was executed on Tower-hill, May 17. 1521, and was buried in the Church of the Augustines in Broadstreet, London. Edward Stafford descended of Edmund Earl of Stafford, who married Ann, Daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Son of Edward III, left (by Anne his Wife, one of the Daughters of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland) one Son, Henry, and three Daughters; Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk; Catherine to Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmoreland; and Mary to George Nevil, Lord Abergavenny. With this Duke of Buckingham coated that great piece of High-Confidance of England, Hereditary in his Family. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 174.

Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Hall.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

1521.

as if his Glory and Grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that Kingdom, whereas his true interest was to support France against the Emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all Europe, even without the assistance of England, how much more by his Union with that Kingdom? This was owing to Cardinal Wolsey's Ambition, whose Counsels to his master were always self-interested. Probably, France was going to be reduced to a very sad Condition, it being hardly possible for her to resist so potent enemies, who were to invade her from several quarters. Francis I. imagined however he had still one refuge by means of the Scots, who could make a considerable diversion in England. The Congress of Calais having plainly discovered Henry's partiality to the Emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, though he had engaged to detain the Duke of Albany in France, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himself bound to perform a promise, the motive whereof was now no more, namely, the mutual Friendship between him and Henry. He permitted therefore the Duke of Albany to return into Scotland, or rather sent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the English Forces on the borders of the two Kingdoms. He very justly expected this Service from a Prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his settlement in France as much more solid than that in Scotland, where his Regency was to last but few years. The Duke therefore departed for Scotland, and arriving the 30th of October 1521, after a four year's absence, resumed the Regency. As he intended to serve France to the utmost of his power, his first care was to oblige the Earl of Angus, the Queen's Spouse, to quit the Kingdom, deeming him one of the King of England's principal Adherents, and yet the Earl took refuge in France.

Buchanan.
Hall.
Hollingsh.Progress of
the Reformation in
Germany.
Sleidan.

Whilst the Christian Princes were all employed in their Temporal concerns, the Reformation made great progress in Germany by means of Luther's Writings, which were read with great eagerness. Luther was satisfied at first with attacking the Sale of Indulgences, then the Indulgences themselves, and the Pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the Grounds of the papal Authority; and being persuaded there was nothing to support it in Scripture, he writ upon that Subject without any regard to the Roman Pontiff. He attacked likewise in his Writings the Celibacy of Priests, Monastic Vows, and private Masses. Though at the time I am now speaking of, namely, the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote against the Pope but three years, he had gained many followers, and still more Enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but also by his sharp and satirical Style, wherein he threw off all Ceremony with respect to the Church of Rome. The Book that made most noise was entitled, *Concerning the Babylonish Captivity*. In this Book the Popes were not spared.

In the several Answers which appeared as well against this as the other Books of Luther, the Decretals of the Popes, and the Works of Thomas Aquinas were urged in favour of the papal Authority. This gave him occasion, in his Replies, to ridicule those, who in defence of the papal Power, alledged the decisions of the Popes themselves, and the Testimony of Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized for carrying the Pope's Authority as high as possible. Besides, he did not shew much regard for that Author's Writings; which, probably, was the chief thing that incensed Henry VIII against him. As Henry had much studied the Works of Thomas Aquinas, and from thence properly had acquired all his Theological Knowledge, he could not bear to see his favourite Author thus contemned (1). He thought himself therefore a match for Luther, and able to confute his Writings. But as Leo X had by a Bull expressly forbid the reading of his Works,

and as an Answer necessarily supposed the perusal, Cardinal Wolsey applied to the Pope for a Power to permit such to read them, as desired it with intent to confute them. This was granted him by a Brief dated the 17th of April 1521, the Pope little thinking who the Person was that was going to support his Cause.

Henry finished in September his Book against Luther, entitled, *Concerning the seven Sacraments*. He defended Indulgences, papal Authority, the number of Sacraments, and other Articles combated by Luther, proceeding upon Thomas Aquinas's Principles as upon undeniable Truths. Very probably he was assisted by Cardinal Wolsey in composing this Work, which was presented to the Pope in full Consistory (2). Leo X, who was still living, received it with great Joy, and spoke of it in the highest strains of Flattery, making no scruple to compare it to the Works of St. Augustine and St. Jerom. This is no wonder. A Book composed by a great King in defence of the papal Authority, could not be too much esteemed by a Pope. A few days after, Leo assembled the Cardinals, to consult with them, after what manner he should requite the King of England's Service to the Church. After a long debate, they resolved at last to honour that Monarch with the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith* (3). In consequence of this resolution, the Pope ordered a Bull to be drawn, conferring that Title on Henry, and all the Kings of England his Successors (4). I shall not repeat here the magnificent encomiums the Pope gave the King in this Bull, and in a Letter of thanks for his Book (5). It may be easily imagined, he spared not the most extravagant expressions to flatter a Prince, who was so fond of being flattered, and of whom he stood in need, his Nuncio being then at Calais, negotiating with Cardinal Wolsey a League against France (6).

I have already spoke of this League which was really concluded at Bruges. Henry founded his joining with the Emperor upon Francis's having been the Aggressor, by encouraging Robert de la Mark to take Arms. But besides that Francis denied he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged Robert to desist, it was evident the Emperor had prevented him, by joining in a League with the Pope, though their League was not so soon made known. The secret attempts upon Como, Milan, Genoa, and the open War in the Milanese, by which the King of France lost that Duchy, were clear evidences that the League was concluded before Robert de la Mark's affair. Henry pretended also to have against Francis another cause of complaint, which however had no better Foundation; namely, that contrary to his promise, he had permitted the Duke of Albany to return into Scotland. But if it is considered that the Duke arrived not in his own Country till the 30th of October, and that the League of Bruges was signed the 24th of November, it will be easy to perceive the League was already resolved before Henry could know that the Duke of Albany was returned into Scotland. But though, upon the first notice, he had taken a hasty resolution to join with the Pope and the Emperor, was that a just cause to proceed to a War, which would probably ruin France? The truth is, these were only pretences to cover the injustice of a War undertaken by Henry for the Cardinal's interest, and perhaps without knowing himself the real motives of that Minister's proceedings.

Mean while, Henry perceiving the Duke of Albany would embarrass him if he continued in Scotland, attempted a second time to drive him from thence. To that purpose, he sent Clarenceux his Herald, with orders to upbraid him with breach of promise, and with returning into Scotland to marry the Queen-Dowager, and deprive the young King of the Crown. The pretended reason of this last charge, was, that the Queen-Dowager being desirous to have her Marriage with the Earl of Angus annulled, the Duke of Albany had seconded her suit at the

(1) Wolsey also much read Thomas Aquinas, and was therefore called Thomistius. Pol. Virg.

(2) The manner of Delivery was thus: Dr. John Clarke Dean of Windsor, our King's Ambassador, appearing in full Consistory, the Pope knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot and then his Cheek to kiss; after which he received the Book, and made a Speech. This Copy, richly bound, is kept in the Vatican, where Lord Herbert says, he remembers to have seen it. The Book is dedicated to the Pope. "In this Address your Holiness may be surprised (says the King) to find a Person bred to war and the Business of State, engaged in a Controversy of this Nature, with a Man that has spent his whole time in the Improvements of Learning." Some have thought that this Book was composed, at least in part, by Fisher Bishop of Rochester, Stephen Gardiner, and Sir Thomas Moor. Herbert, p. 38. Fiddes, p. 251.

(3) It was debated whether he should be styled Protector, or Defender of the Roman Church; or, of the Apostolick See; or, of the Apostolical, or Orthodox King. But *Defender of the Faith* was at last pitched upon. This Title had formerly been enjoyed by some of our Kings his Predecessors. Spelman. Fuller in his Church-History says, there went a Tradition, that Patch, the King's Fool, perceiving the King very jocund one day, asked him the reason, and when the King told him it was because of his new Title, *Defender of the Faith*, the Fool made this arch Reply, *Pruttee, good Harry, let thee and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itself*. Fiddes Life of Wolsey, p. 243.

(4) The beginning and end of this Bull is engraven from the Original, with the very hand-writing of the Cardinals to it, in the XIIIth Volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 756.

(5) Among other expressions in this Letter, there are these words: *Quasi reputantes, non sine permisso divino, erupisse adversus Christi Ecclesiam, Lutherianam banc Impetratem, ut ipsa majore sua cum Gloria talem Propugnatorem & Defensorem fortiri possit*. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 758.

(6) This year 1521, Muskets were invented, which du Bellay says were first used in this War. This year also, it being observed there was a great decay of Tillage and Husbandry, occasioned by the many Inclosures made by the Nobility and Gentry, who, within fifty years, had turned most of their Lands into Pasture, and kept them in their own hands; from whence, among other inconveniences, it followed, That the number of Husbandmen, and Persons capable of defending the Country, was very much lessened; many Towns and Villages were depopulated; and the Prices of Wool and Meat were very much enhanced, as being engrossed by Persons who were not obliged to sell: To remedy all this, the King revived the Statutes made against Inclosures, and issued out his Commissions to Justices of Peace, and other Magistrates, to see them put in execution. Stow, p. 512. Hollingsh. p. 382.—The Sea overlowing the Dikes of Holland, drowned seventy two Villages, and above a hundred thousand People.—Also there was a great dearth in England, that Wheat was sold for twenty Shillings a quarter. Stow, p. 514.

1522. Court of Rome (1). The Duke answered he was returned into Scotland, by the invitation of the great Men: That he had never done any thing to give occasion to suspect him of aspiring to the Crown, neither had he ever any such thought: That indeed, he had countenanced the Queen's suit, but without any design to marry her, having a Wife of his own.

Henry was not satisfied with summoning the Regent, but sent also a Letter to the Parliament of Scotland, containing the same Accusations against the Duke of Albany, and a charge to the States to expel him the Kingdom. The Substance of the Parliament's answer was: That what had been reported to his Majesty concerning the Duke of Albany's return into Scotland, to take forcible possession of the King's person, was utterly false: That the Duke did nothing with regard to the King, that could breed the least suspicion, since he did not so much as offer to change any of his Domesticks, without the consent of the States, and that it was with the Queen's advice and consent, that they had taken care of the Guardianship and Education of the King: That they could not believe the Duke had ever intended to put away his Wife, and marry the Queen, or that the Queen had any thoughts of espousing the Duke: That as for the Treaty with the King of France, to hinder the Duke of Albany's return into Scotland, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it: That they could not help thinking such a Treaty very strange, since they rather imagined, his Majesty should have solicited the Duke to return to defend the King his Nephew against his rebellious Subjects, whereas they saw with grief, it was he who fomented the Rebellion: That if it continued thus, they did not see how it was possible to keep a good understanding between the two Kingdoms: That however, if he would be pleased to send away the Bishop of Dunkeld from his Court, and without interposing in the affairs of Scotland, leave to the Regent and States the care of governing the Kingdom, a Truce might be concluded till the Embassy that was to be sent to him, was ready. But that, in case he would have no Truce, unless they expelled the Regent, they would endeavour to defend themselves in the best manner they could.

Queen Margaret, to whom the King her Brother had likewise writ upon the same subject, sent an answer, sharply expostulating with him for giving ear to the report concerning her Marriage with the Duke of Albany. She freely owned, it was with her consent and advice that the Duke was recalled, adding, if he had not been so unkind a Brother, she should have had no occasion to seek the protection of a Stranger.

Henry could not expect any other answer, since he was conscious to himself, that his accusations against the Regent of Scotland were only affected pretences to complain indirectly of the King of France. He ordered however the Lord Dacres (2) to march into Scotland with five hundred Men, and proclaim on the Borders, that if the Scots made not Peace with him by such a time (3), it should be to their peril. But he did not support this Bravado (4). His sole aim was to furnish his Party in Scotland with a pretence to refuse to serve the Regent, in case he attempted to make a Diversion in England in favour of France. And in this he was not disappointed. In October following, the Regent of Scotland raising an Army to make an Inroad into England, was no sooner come to the Borders, but many of the Lords refused to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the Kingdom in an unnecessary War with England. The opposition the Duke of Albany found in his Army, convincing him he should be able to do nothing considerable, he proposed a Truce, which the English gladly accepted. For, Henry's aim was only to terrify the Scots with a dread of the Success of a War with England during the Minority of their King. So, the Duke of Albany seeing it was not in his power to serve France as he desired, returned about the end of October to Paris, in order to take

fresh measures with the King. Thus Henry attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with Scotland, as a War with that Kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his present Circumstances.

Mean while, Francis I, having had some Intelligence of what passed at Bruges between the Emperor and the Cardinal, and desiring to convince Henry how directly contrary to the League of London his proceedings were, sent him Letters Patents (5) inserting the Article of the Treaty, whereby they were engaged mutually to assist one another. Then he recited what the Emperor had done against him, as well in Italy, as in Champagne and Flanders, and summoned him to perform the Treaty he had solemnly sworn. Henry in answer sent a Herald to proclaim War against him (6), alledging, he was obliged to it by the same Treaty of London, because Francis had first attacked the Emperor, and moreover had disappointed him with respect to the Duke of Albany (7). Thus War was once more declared between France and England, upon very frivolous, not to say unjust occasions. But Wolsey had the art of persuading the King his master to whatever he pleased.

Henry having without cause proclaimed War against France, did not dare to call a Parliament to demand a Subsidy. For he could alledge neither any just cause, nor any necessity for undertaking a War destructive to the English Merchants. However, Money must be raised, and it was the Cardinal's Business, who had embarked him in the War, to find means. The Expedient he thought most proper was, to order the Sheriffs to send a List of the names of all above sixteen years old, with an exact account of what each person was worth in Land, Stock, Moveables, and Money. This was such a Survey as was formerly taken in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had given so great cause of complaint to the Nation (8). This was followed by a general Loan of the tenth of his Lay-Subjects, and a fourth of the Clergy, according to the true value of their Estates, besides twenty thousand pounds which the King borrowed of the City of London in particular. Thus one Injustice commonly draws on another. This War was manifestly unjust, and became still more so by the means employed to maintain it. These kinds of involuntary Loans, to which certain Kings of England have sometimes forced their Subjects, are a manifest violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the King may oblige his Subjects to furnish him with Money, when he shall think necessary, though it be by way of Benevolence or Loan, it may be assured, he will very seldom, or perhaps never think himself obliged to call a Parliament. It is true, Henry was neither the first nor last that used this extraordinary method to raise Money. But, though he was so fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, some of his Successors who were pleased to imitate him, were not so happy.

This general Loan made a great noise over all the Kingdom. Every one openly exclaimed against the Cardinal, who was the Author. But he little regarded the people's clamours, because he was supported by the King. However, though at first he had given orders to exact Loans with the same rigour, as if they had been a Tax imposed by the Parliament, he met with so many obstacles, that he was apprehensive of raising in the Kingdom Commotions not to be appeased at his pleasure. So, the Tax was levied much more gently than at first was intended. This caused so great a mistake in the Cardinal's Calculation, that the King was forced at last to recur to the usual method of a Parliament to maintain the War, as we shall see presently. The London Merchants were the most strenuous opposers of the levying this Tax. They were required to declare upon Oath the real value of their Effects; but they firmly refused it, alledging, it was not possible for them to give an exact account of their Effects, part whereof was in the hands of their Correspondents in foreign Countries. At length by Agreement, the King

(1) She was offended, it seems, at his leaving her at Harbottle, and very much nettled at the Love he bore to a certain Scotch Lady. She alledged, among other things, at the Court of Rome, that she heard her Husband James IV was living three years after Floddenfield, and therefore not dead when he married the Lady. So much did this report prevail. *Herbert*, p. 56.

(2) At first, the Lord Marchmont. *Herbert*.

(3) By the first of March. *Hall's Hist.*, p. 322.

(4) King Henry fitted out six ships, under the command of Christopher Coe, to guard England against the Insults of the Scots and French. *Stowe*, p. 514. *Hall*, fol. 91.

(5) Dated February 23. *Rymour's Feod.* Tom. XIII. p. 766.

(6) In the end of May. When upon King Francis ordered all the Effects of the English Merchants at Bourdeaux and elsewhere to be seized. And Henry did the same by the French and Scotch Merchants in London, and moreover caused them to be imprisoned. *Hall*, fol. 92, 93.

(7) At the time, *John Bishop*, who resided in the French Court ever since he gave over with Mary, King Henry's Sister, and Wife of Lewis XII, returned to England. *Herbert*, p. 46. *Rymour's Feod.* Tom. I. p. 41. *Fishes*, p. 268. *De Thou*, p. 397.

(8) *Stowe* gives an account of the Survey taken in original Warrant directed to the Constable of a Hundred, who was commanded to charge the Constables of every Parish within the said Hundred to appear personally before certain Commissioners, and to bring with them the Names of all Persons above sixteen years old, dwelling within the said hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain Place assigned, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town or Hamlet, and who are Stewards, and who Parsons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who Owners of every parcel of Land within the said Precinct, and what is the yearly Value of every Man's Land, what Stock on the Lands, and who the Owners thereof; also what Strangers dwell there, and what business they follow; also the Value and Substance of every Person above sixteen years of age; also what Persons go thence to religious and spiritual Men. Which being certified, the King rejoiced, finding his Kingdom so wealthy (*Stowe's P. 514*). See *Stowe's Ann.* p. 513. This Warrant was dated at *Brighthelm*, Aug. 27. 1522.

1522. was pleased to accept of a Sum according to their own Calculation of themselves.

The Cardinal is disappointed in his hopes of the Papacy.
Main event of the Conclave.
Cardinal.
Pel. Vurg.
 Cardinal *Wolsey's* concern at not succeeding in this affair according to his wish, was not comparable to his trouble at being disappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which he had spared neither Money nor Pains. I mean his Election to the Papal Dignity, of which he thought himself secure. *Les X.* dying the beginning of December last year, when his obsequies were over, the Cardinals entered the Conclave, where they were not a little embarrassed concerning the Election of a new Pope. *Julio Cardinal de Medici* aspired to the Papacy, and had many Votes for him. But the Emperor's Party, and some Cardinals gained by *Wolsey*, openly opposed the Election of *Julio*. Mean while, as it is required to have two thirds of the Voices to be chosen Pope, if the Cardinal *de Medici* had not enough for himself, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this long detained the Cardinals in the Conclave. (1). Though the Emperor had promised *Wolsey* his Interest, he intended not to keep his word. His design was to cause *Adrian Florentio* Bishop of *Tortosa*, Native of *Utrecht*, and formerly his Preceptor, to be chosen, reckoning when he should be Pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed so artfully, and withal so privately, that the Cardinals of his Party, without discovering their Intent, were furnished with breaking the Cardinal *de Medici's* measures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

Herbe t. Stow. Holingsh.
 Mean while, *Wolsey* left no Stone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the Emperor's Interest, he wrote to him, to put him in mind of his promise, representing the advantages to have a Pope at his devotion. At the same time he ordered *Pace*, who was then at *Venice*, instantly to repair to *Rome*, and do him what service he could. The Emperor was very much embarrassed in relation to *Wolsey*. He had promised to use all his Interest in his favour, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his Interest to have a Pope at his devotion. But he knew Cardinal *Wolsey* too well, to imagine such a Pope would be guided by his Counsels. It was necessary therefore, in order not to lose *Wolsey's* Friendship, to cause *Adrian* to be chosen without the Emperor's appearing to be concerned in the Election. As he had gained that Minister to his Interest, solely by the promise of procuring him the Papacy, he could not doubt, that if he saw himself deceived, he would turn his Master against him. Wherefore the Emperor concealed his designs, and was so faithfully served in the Conclave, that they could not be discovered; neither had *Adrian* ever one Vote in the daily Scrutinies. Mean while, he kept Cardinal *Wolsey* in hopes, and threw upon the Cardinal *de Medici's* Faction, the obstacles which occurred in the performance of his promise. At last, when they that were in the Emperor's Secret, and managed his affairs in the Conclave, were secure of a sufficient number of Votes, one day as the Cardinals were met to make a Scrutiny, some one proposed Cardinal *Adrian* Bishop of *Tortosa* then in *Spain*. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that Cardinal; and the advantages which would accrue to the Church by his promotion. Whereupon they who were of the Party voted one after another for *Adrian*, as if they had been inspired, and perhaps without knowing one another's design, so dexterously had the Business been managed. The rest that were not in the Secret, seeing two thirds of the Voices for *Adrian*, voted the same way, left a fruitless opposition might turn to their prejudice. Thus the Election was made with unanimous consent, and passed for a miraculous Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. It is not likely that *Wolsey* was such a dupe, as to believe the Emperor was not concerned in *Adrian's* Election, since the same was so plain. The new Pope, who assumed the name of *Adrian VI*, had been his Preceptor, and upon his recommendation was made Cardinal, and was now Regent in *Spain*. Besides, there is no likelihood that the Cardinals would have thought of choosing a *Barbarian*,

Adrian VI
ebon Pope.
Holingsh.

for that's the honorable Appellation the *Italians* bestow on those that are not of their Nation, if the Election had not been managed by the Emperor. However this be, *Wolsey* shewed no resentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be openly revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the Emperor against another Vacancy. For it was probable there would be one very soon, the new Pope being old and infirm. *Adrian VI* was elected in January 1522, but it was *Midsummer* before he came to *Rome*.

The Emperor having made a Pope at his devotion, and settled his affairs in *Flanders* and *Germany*, resolved to return into *Spain*, where his presence was necessary. But as he had cause to fear some change at the Court of *England*, on account of what had passed in the late Conclave, he thought proper to visit *Henry* in his way. This visit was necessary, as well to confirm with that Prince the Article agreed on at *Bruges*, as to try to preserve Cardinal *Wolsey's* Friendship, without which he could not expect to preserve the King's. He landed the 26th of May at *Dover*, where the Cardinal waited on him with a magnificent Train, and *Henry* came himself two days after (2). From thence, he conducted the Emperor to *Granwich*, and then to *London* (3), where he was received with all the honour and respect usual on such occasions. The Cardinal Legate forgot not to shew his Grandeur by saying High-Mass (4) before the two Monarchs, assisted by several Bishops, and served by Dukes. As he had not had to hide his resentment, the Emperor had reason to be satisfied with his reception, and found a ready Compliance with all his desires. After some stay at *London* the King invited him to *Windsor*, where he was installed of the Order of the Garter, into which his Brother *Thomas* also had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing April (5). This done, the two Monarchs received the Sacrament together, and swore to the Treaty of *Bruges*.

The preamble of the Treaty ran, that the Emperor and King of *France* had referred their differences to the arbitration of the King of *England*, who had sent the Cardinal of *York* to *Calais* to decide them: That in these Conferences it was long debated, to know, which of the two Monarchs had been the aggressor, and after mature deliberation, the Cardinal had declared, it was the King of *France*, as well by means of *Robert de la Mark*, as by invading *Navarre*: That therefore the King of *England* was obliged by the Treaty of *London*, to assist the Prince attacked against the Aggressor. That moreover, he had himself cause to complain of the King of *France*, for breach of promise, in sending back the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, and for discontinuing the payments of the Sums due to him. Upon all these accounts, *Charles* and *Henry* deeming themselves free and clear from all Engagements with the King of *France*, had resolved to contract a strict Alliance, and seal it with a Marriage between the Emperor and the Princess *Mary*, *Henry's* Daughter, upon the following Terms. Of these Terms I shall recite such only as may be of service to the Sequel of the History. Those concerning the Marriage were to this Effect:

That the Emperor should espouse [by Proxy] *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry*, as soon as she should be twelve years old.

That her Dowry should be four hundred thousand Crowns, out of which should be deducted what the Emperors *Maximilian* [and *Charles*] had borrowed of the King of *England*.

That in case the Marriage should not be accomplished by the Emperor's fault, he obliged himself to pay four hundred thousand Crowns to the King of *England*, who bound himself in the same Sum to the Emperor, in case the Marriage was hindered on his part.

The Terms of the League were;

That before the end of May 1524, the Emperor should enter *France* on the side of *Spain*, and the King of *England* in *Picardy*, each with an Army of thirty thousand (6) Foot, and ten thousand Horse.

(1) The Conclave is in the Vatican, where there is a long Gallery full of Cells, which are chosen by the Cardinals by Lot. The Funeral of the deceased Pope lasting nine days, on the tenth each Cardinal goes to his Cell, and are shut up in the Conclave with one Servant called a *Conclavist*, with each a Secretary and Secretary to attend them, carry their Messages, and manage their Intiques. The Conclave is guarded by the Masters of the City, to prevent their receiving any Letters; and the dishes of Meat (which are received in at a Window by the Conclavist) are searched by the Master of the Ceremonies for the same reason. The Cardinals meet every Morning and Evening in the Chapel for a Scrutiny, which is done by writing their Suffrages in the Billets done up in two Folds, and sealed with two Seals. In the first Fold, the Conclavist writes the Name of the Cardinal in Mass votes for, because the Cardinal's Hand would be known. In the second, the Cardinal writes his own Name; and on the outside, the Conclavist writes any Motto the Cardinal pleases, as *Deo Volente*, &c. by which they know their own Billets when they are read, for the Fold containing the Elector's Name is not opened till the Pope is chosen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the Billets are ready, they put them, after a short Prayer, into a Chalice upon the Altar, and appoint two of their Number to read the Names of the Cardinals aloud, and keep account of the Votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the Votes fall upon one Person; and if they do not, the Billets are all burnt. The Court of *Rome* consists at present of the Pope and seventy Cardinals; even fifty Cardinal Priests, fourteen Cardinal Deacons, and six Cardinal Bishops, who are for the most part of the Pope's Privy-Council. See *Papalists's Introduction to the History of Europe*; and *Relig. Customs*. Vol. I.

(2) See the names of the Noblemen and others, that attended the King and the Cardinal to *Canterbury*, in *Rymers Fod. Tom. XIII. p. 767.* *Hall* says, *Wolsey* set out for *Dover* the 26th of May; being accompanied by two Earls, thirty six Knights, a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin, and seven hundred Yeomen. He came to *Dover* the 26th. In the mean time, *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorset*, with the Lord *Delbois*, and a large Retinue of Knights and Gentlemen was sent to *Calais*, to wait on the Emperor. fol. 93.

(3) On the 6th of June. *ibid.* p. 516.

(4) On *Wednesday*. *ibid.*

(5) On *St. George's Day*, and had the Order and Habits sent him to *Windsor*. He was afterwards Emperor. *Herbert*, p. 47.

(6) *Rapin* by mistake says forty thousand. Whereas in the Original it is only thirty thousand or more. See *ibid.* p. 45.

1522. That they should make neither Peace nor Truce without a mutual consent.

That if any places should be conquered upon France, they should be restored to him of the two Allies, who had a right to them; and to prevent all disputes, each should declare his pretensions before the first of May 1524.

That if the King of England intended to subdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to an entire obedience, or the Emperor to recover Gueldres or Friseland; if the Scots invaded England, or the Duke of Gueldres made War upon the Emperor; in all these cases the two Monarchs should be bound to assist one another.

That they submitted to the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Cardinal of York as Legate, and required him to pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against him of the two that should first violate the Treaty.

That the Treaty should be kept private, so that the common Enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the Pope should be entreated to enter into the League as a principal Contractor, and reputed as such, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the Venetians should be likewise admitted, provided they renounced their Alliance with France.

That the two Monarchs should use their utmost endeavours to persuade the Switzers to forsake the French, or at least to be neutral.

The same day the Treaty was signed, the Emperor signed also Letters Patents, promising to pay Henry whatever was due to him from Francis, in case Francis, on account of the present League, should refuse to continue the payments to which he was obliged.

But Cardinal Wolsey had not waited to do his own affairs till the King's were finished; for on the eighth of June the Emperor, by Letters Patents, engaged to pay him the pension of twelve thousand Livres (1), which the King of France gave him for the Bishoprick of Tournay. Some days after, he obliged himself to pay him a pension of two thousand five hundred Ducats, till the like pension was assigned him upon the vacant Churches in Spain, in lieu of that he received out of the Bishoprick of Badajos, which the Emperor desired to discharge. But the Emperor's Bounties to Cardinal Wolsey were amply recompensed, by a great Sum lent him by the King before his departure.

During the Emperor's stay in England, which was about five weeks, he so won the affection of the whole Court by his Civilities, Careless and Presents, that he was almost sure of leaving none but Friends about the King. He gained the Good-will of the English, chiefly by constituting the Earl of Surrey Admiral of his Fleet (2). The Commission was drawn whilst the Emperor was at London, before his Journey to Windsor. As he was to make some farther stay in England, the Earl of Surrey taking with him both the English and Flemish Fleets, made two descents into France, and carried away a rich Booty (3). Then he returned and conveyed the Emperor to Spain (4).

I must now briefly relate the Success of the Wars which were waging in several places. The death of Leo X had put the affairs of the Allies in Italy in a very ill situation. The Troops of the Church and of Florence had relinquished the Army, immediately after the news of the Pope's death. Besides that, Prosper Colonna receiving no more Supplies of Money, either from Rome or the Emperor, was forced to disband most of his remaining Troops, and to keep but what was absolutely necessary for the defence of Milan. Mean while, the Emperor ordered a Levy of six thousand Landsquenets (5), which Francesco Sforza, and Hieronimo Adorno a Genoese were to lead into Italy. Shortly after, Lautrec received a re-inforcement of sixteen thousand Switzers, which rendered him superior to the Allies, and yet he could not hinder the Landsquenets from joining the Emperor's army. His only refuge was to try to bring the Imperialists to a Battle, and for that purpose he besieged Pavia; but Prosper Colonna found means to throw Succours into the place without running any hazard. Whereupon Lautrec despairing of Success,

raised the Siege, and encamped at Monza, and Colonna, who was afraid for Milan, posted himself at Bicocca, a Country Seat with a large Park, capable of being easily fortified, being surrounded with a deep Ditch. Here Colonna intrenched himself in such a manner, that he could not be attacked without rashness. Lautrec had no Inclination to attack the Imperialists in this post, but could not possibly help it. His Switzers would have Money, and he had none to give them, Louisa of Savoy, the King's Mother, having applied to other uses the four hundred thousand Crowns designed for the Army in Italy. Mean while, the Switzers pressed their General either to give them Money, or lead them to Battle, else they were resolved to return home. This put him at length upon assaulting the Camp at Bicocca, where he was repulsed with great loss (6); after which, the Switzers quitting him, he was constrained to repass the Mountains, not being able to withstand the Imperialists. Presently after Colonna became master of Genoa. This rich City being taken by surprize, whilst a Capitulation was negotiating, was miserably sacked. In short, Francis had nothing left in Italy, but the Castles of Milan and Cremona, and even these were very closely blocked up.

In other parts where the War was carrying on during this Campaign, France was more prosperous. After Admiral Bonnivet had taken Fontarabia, the Spaniards invested that place, and continued the Siege, without being able to accomplish their Enterprize. At last, Marshal de Chabanes being sent into Bearn to take the Command of the French Army, in the room of Marshal de Chatillon, who was dead, raised the Siege, and appointed one Fraugot Governor of Fontarabia, who afterwards behaved very ill.

In Picardy and Champagne, the Imperialists and English having joined their Forces, performed nothing of moment. The two Armies, commanded by the Count de Bure for the Emperor, and by the Earl of Surrey for the King of England (7), were so superior to those of France, that the Duke of Vendôme, who commanded in Picardy, was not able to resist them. So, having furnished the Towns with Ammunition, he contented himself with incessantly annoying them with a small Body of Troops. In September the two Generals besieged Hesdin, but after having been five or six weeks before the Town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to Dourlens, and finding the place deserted, and the Gates pulled down, set fire to it. Then intending to approach Corbie in October, the bad weather, and the care the French had taken for the defence of the place, hindered their undertaking the Siege. After that, the Imperialists retired into Artois, and the English returned home (8).

Thus all the efforts of the Emperor and the King of England would have done Francis no great mischief this Campaign, if he had not himself been the Cause of his ill success in Italy, by neglecting to find the Switzers Money. Indeed, if Lautrec had not been forced to attack the Imperialists at Bicocca, probably he would have been master of Milan before the end of the Campaign. Charles V then perceived, that to gain any considerable advantages upon France, much greater efforts were to be used, and for that reason continued to care for Cardinal Wolsey, in order to secure the King his Master's assistance. In the Collection of the Publick Acts, there is a Letter of his to the Cardinal, full of obliging expressions, plainly denoting his want of him. I return you Thanks, said he to him, for the good Affection you have always shewn me, desiring you to continue it, as I firmly believe you will, for you are sensible that I place my whole Confidence in you. Again, I entreat you to give the same credit to my said Ambassadors as to myself, and shew yourself, on this occasion, as I take you to be, my good and faithful Friend, for I shall have a grateful remembrance of it.

The extraordinary method used by the Cardinal to raise Money, having been very disagreeable to the English, he judged it more proper to proceed for the future in the usual way; and therefore the King assembled a Parliament the 15th of April 1523 (9). The Convocation

1522.

The Switzers in the French Army oblige Lautrec to fight. Lautrec is defeated at Bicocca. He returns to France. Colonna takes Genoa. Bizarri.

The Spaniards raise the Siege of Fontarabia. Mezercain.

The Imperialists and English do no great Matters in Picardy. Ballais. Mezercain. Hall. Hollingsh.

Francis's Fault in leaving Lautrec without Money.

The Emperor caresses the Cardinal very much. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 776. Nov. 11.

1523. The Cardinal demands of the Clergy a Subsidy for the King. Herbert. Hall. Bonnivet. &c.

The Emperor's Bounty to Wolsey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 769. June 8. p. 770. July 4.

Henry lends Wolsey Money. Ibid. Guicciard. Herbert.

The Emperor makes the Earl of Surrey Admiral of his Fleet. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Mezercain. Herbert.

Issue of the Campaign in Italy.

(1) Or nine thousand Crowns of Gold de soleil. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 769.

(2) Lord Herbert has inserted the Patent, (which is dated June 8.) as well for the Rateness of it, as the Honour of the Person, p. 49. Comp. Hist. Vol. II. — The Earl returned to England, Jan. 25. 1522, from his Government of Ireland, wherein he was succeeded by Peter Butler Earl of Ormonde. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIII. p. 766. Hall, fol. 90. — And on December the fourth this year, the said Earl of Surrey was made High-Treasurer. Rymer, Tom. XIII. p. 777.

(3) He landed June 13, near Cherbourg, and after having destroyed the adjacent Country, returned to Portland: He landed a second time on July 1, near Morlaix in Bretagne, with seven thousand Men, and burnt and plundered that Town; from whence he brought away a great Booty. Herbert, p. 50. See a List of the most remarkable English Gentlemen in this Expedition, in Hall, fol. 99, 100.

(4) The Emperor embarked at Southampton, July 6. Hall, fol. 99.

(5) So German Foot Soldiers were called formerly. Hall calls them Lance-Knights.

(6) There were three thousand Switzers slain. Guicciard. l. 14.

(7) The Earl of Surrey had about sixteen thousand Men. The forward of his Army was led by Robert Ratcliff Lord Fitzwater; the Rear by Sir William Sandes, and Sir Richard Wingfield; and the main Body by the Earl himself. Sir Edward Guilford was Captain of the Horse. Hall, fol. 101, 103.

(8) After having burnt and plundered several Villages. They took fourteen thousand Sheep, fourteen hundred Oxen and Cows, thirteen hundred Hogs, and six hundred Mares and Horses. Hall, fol. 102, 103.

(9) Which met at the Black-friers, in London. Herbert, p. 55.

1523. meeting at the same time according to Custom (1), the Cardinal resolved to establish a good Precedent in favour of the King, by exacting from the Clergy a considerable Subsidy. His character of Legate gave him such an interest with that Body, that he was almost sure of obtaining whatever he was pleased to demand. But to find less difficulties, he removed, on divers pretences, some of those from whom he feared to meet opposition, and gained others by promises or threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the Clergy a Subsidy of one half of their annual Revenues, payable in five years. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and a Proctor of the inferior Clergy, one *Philips*, would have opposed this exaction; but the Cardinal treated them in such a manner, as discouraged the rest from supporting them. So the Subsidy was granted, though the Clergy privately murmured, that the Pope's Legate who ought to maintain their Rights was the first to violate them.

He receives a Manifestation in the House of Commons.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

This affair being thus ended with respect to the Clergy, the Cardinal repaired to the House of Commons, where he made a long Speech, endeavouring to shew the necessity of the War the King had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had endured from the King of *France*. He concluded with demanding a Subsidy of the fifth part of the Goods of every Lay-Subject, to be paid in four years (2). This demand caused warm debates among the Commons. Several represented, that if the Kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the King require such a Subsidy, much less for a War wantonly undertaken, and rather for the interest of the Emperor than of *England*. However, as the Court-Party were very numerous in the House, it was resolved to grant the King a Subsidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The Cardinal, who was used to be complied with, was extremely offended at the opposition of the Commons.

Herbert.
P. 56.

He went again to the House, and told them, *he desired to reason with those who opposed his demands*. But the Commons replied by their Speaker (3), *That it was the Order of that House to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves*. At this reply, the Cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he could only prejudice the King's affairs, in attempting to treat the Commons with the same haughtiness he treated the rest of the World. His solicitation however had some effect, since there was an addition made to the Subsidy (4).

An Act of Attainder against the Duke of Buckingham.
Herbert.

Besides this affair, for which properly the Parliament was called, nothing remarkable passed in this Session, except an Act of Attainder against the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been condemned by a sentence of his Peers. As all the World was satisfied this Sentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the Cardinal publicly accused of having sacrificed that Lord to his vengeance, he had the interest to obtain this Act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the Parliament shewed that the Act was passed out of mere condescension, since by another, *Henry Stafford* Son of the deceased was restored to his Estate and Honours (5). A Statute was made also this Session, empowering the King [for his Life] to repeal all Attainders of High-Treason, by his Letters Patents under the Great-Seal (6).

The King has Power to repeal Attainders.
Herbert.

Character of Wolsey.

These were the first attempts made in this Reign to render the King master of the Debates of the Parliament. Cardinal *Wolsey* was the first Author, and unfortunately for the Subjects, the King too well improved his Minister's instructions. Such Favorites as this have but too much cause to fear the Parliament, and therefore strive to the utmost of their power to lessen its Authority, by enlarging that of the Sovereign who supports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail at last of falling into the hands of that Authority they have endeavoured to destroy. *Wolsey* is one of those who have the most openly abused their favour, not only against the Nation's, but also the King's interest, which was much less dear to him than his own. He was never contented with Estates

or Honours. The 24th of *March* this year he procured for himself the Bishoprick of *Durham*, one of the richest in the Kingdom, in lieu of *Bath* and *Wells*, which he was willing to resign. Two months after, *Adrian VI* prolonged his Legateship for five years, after the expiration of the Term granted by *Leo X*. Thus Estates and Honours were incessantly heaped upon him, without however any possibility of satisfying his greediness. Indeed, he carried his desires much higher, since he still aspired to the Papacy, *Adrian's* Age and Infirmities giving occasion to think his Pontificate would not last long. He still expected to be raised to that high Dignity by the Emperor's means, and therefore forgot nothing to preserve his favour. To this doubtless must be ascribed the honorable reception given this year to *Christiern* King of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who had married the Emperor's Sister. This Prince having by his cruelties rendered himself odious to his Subjects, and for that reason been expelled his Dominions, arrived in *England* about *Midsummer* with his Queen, and was received as a King unjustly oppressed, and not like one that had by his Barbarities drawn his misfortunes upon himself. *Henry* was not contented to do him all possible Honour, but moreover renewed with him the Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Denmark*, as if that Prince had still been in possession of his Dominions.

This was the fruit of Cardinal *Wolsey's* interested Counsels, who never regarded either Honour or Justice, in gratifying his Passions. He expected every thing from the Emperor, and therefore used his utmost endeavours to increase that Monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promise. It was not the Cardinal's fault that *France* was not utterly ruined. At least he formed, this year, in conjunction with the Emperor, projects tending to the entire dissolution of that ancient Monarchy.

Though by the Treaty of *Bruges*, ratified by the Emperor and *Henry* at *Windsor*, they were not to enter *France* till 1524, an opportunity which offered causing them to take other measures, they resolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the King of *France* in three different places. The Emperor was to have a strong Army on the Frontiers of *Spain*, to become master of *Fontarabia* and *Bayonne*. *Henry* was to employ his Forces in *Picardy*, jointly with those of the *Low-Countries*, and the Constable of *Bourbon*, who had suffered himself to be corrupted by the Emperor, or perhaps by his own offer, was to make an Inroad into *Burgundy*. As most of the events of the following years, turn upon that Prince's disgust, it will be requisite briefly to mention the Reasons.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, had received the Constable's Sword ever since the first year of *Francis I*. He had all the qualifications necessary for that High-Post. Perhaps he had too much merit, since, if we believe *Mezerai*, *Louisa of Savoy*, Mother to *Francis*, wished to have him for her Husband. But as he feigned not to understand what she desired, he made her his irreconcilable Enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the King, over whom the Duche's his Mother had too great an ascendant. The first mentioned in History, was when in 1521 the King commanding the Army in Person, gave the conduct of the van to the Duke of *Alençon*, contrary to the Prerogative annexed to the Office of Constable. But this was nothing in comparison of another, which however is related in the History of *France* only upon uncertain Reports. The King telling the Constable he should be glad to marry him to the Duche's his Mother, received an answer so injurious to the Duche's (7), that he gave him a box on the Ear. This Fact is not perhaps sufficiently attested. But however, it is certain the Duche's affection for the Constable turned to hatred. From thenceforward he was looked upon with an evil eye at Court, and no more trusted with the command of the King's Armies. This was sufficient to give him great disgust. But his Enemy not being satisfied with these Mortifica-

(1) See a particular Account of this Convocation in *Burnet's Hist. Ref. Tom. III. p. 24.*

(2) The Charges of the War with *France* were computed at eight hundred thousand Pounds; and the Sum demanded was four Shillings in the Pound. See *Hall*, fol. 109. *Herbert*, p. 55. *Stow's Survey*, B. 3. p. 177.

(3) The famous Sir *Thomas More*.

(4) At first every Man of twenty Pounds a year was to pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pounds downward to forty Shillings a year, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of sixteen years old or more, Four-pence in two years. But afterwards, by the liberal Motion of some, particularly of Sir *John Huse* a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, those of fifty Pounds a year and upwards were induced to give one Shilling more for three years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth year, and extended to those who were worth five Pounds in Goods, was all that could be obtained. *Hall*, fol. 110. *Herbert*, p. 56.

(5) He was only restored in Blood, and not to Honours and Lands. However, the King by Letters Patents bearing date the 24th of *September* this year, granted to him and *Ursula* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Richard Pole*, by *Margaret of Clarence*, part of the Lands of the late Duke his Father, among which was the Castle and Manor of *Stafford*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. 1. p. 171.

(6) This Parliament was, on *July 31*, adjourned to *Westminster*, where it sat till the 13th of *August*, and then was dissolved. The most remarkable Statutes enacted now were these: 1. That no foreign Artificer in *England* shall take any Apprentice, but what is born under the King's Obedience; or have above two Journeymen that are not so; and that they shall have a proper Mark for their Wares, upon pain of forfeiting ten Pounds. 2. There is one confirming the College of Physicians. 3. By another, the Marriage of the six Clerks in Chancery is allowed. 4. It was ordered, That no Person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, shall kill any Hare in the Snow, with a Dog, or otherwise, upon pain of forfeiting six Shillings and Eight-pence for every Offence. For the rest see the Statutes.

(7) Reflecting on her loose Behaviour. *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII. p. 501, 504.

1523. tions, which seemed to her too slight a Revenge for her
 condemned Love, commenced a Suit against him, for
 his whole Estate. The Cause was naturally to be tried
 by the Parliament of *Paris*; but the Dukes put it into
 the hands of the Chancellor and some other Commis-
 sioners, her Creatures, which convinced the Constable that
 his ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid
 so fatal a blow, his despair caused him to throw himself
 into the Emperor's Arms. A *Flemish* Lord (1) was the
 manager of this Negotiation, wherein the King of *Eng-
 land* interposed, as being equally concerned with the Em-
 peror to create troubles in *France*. It is hard to know ex-
 actly when this Negotiation began; but we find in the
Collection of the Publick Acts of England, the Treaty was
 advanced the 17th of *May* 1523. We see there *Henry's*
 Commission to *Richard Sampson* and *Richard Jerningham*,
 to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon* (2) in order to draw
 him into the League. This Commission empowered the
 Envoys also to receive of the same Prince a promise or
 engagement to own *Henry* for King of *France*, to do
 him Homage and swear Fealty to him. It cannot be in-
 ferred from hence, that the Constable entered into any
 such Engagement, but only that *Henry* intended to draw
 him into it. However this be, by the Treaty made by
 the Duke with the two Monarchs, after the Conquest of
France, he was to have for his part, *Provence*, to be
 erected into a Kingdom, and was to marry *Leonora* the
 Emperor's Sister, Widow of *Don Emanuel* King of *Por-
 tugal* (3). The Duke was to bring into the Field an
 Army of his Friends and Vassals, to whom the Emperor
 promised to join seven or eight thousand Men. This
 Army was to act in the Bowels of the Kingdom,
 whilst the Emperor and *Henry* invaded *Bearn* and *Pi-
 cardy*.

P. Daniel.
 Herbert.

Francis pre-
 pares to go
 into Italy.
 Guicciard.
 P. Daniel.

The Veneti-
 ans are
 against him.

Adrian
 orders him-
 self to be
 deceived by
 the Princes
 of France.
 Guicciard

He is a
 traitor.
 True among
 Christian
 Princes.
 Ant. Pub.
 XIII. p. 790.
 May 1.
 Herbert.

Francis
 rejects it.

The Pope
 is with
 the Emperor
 of France.

Italy seemed by this League to be secured from all In-
 vasions. And indeed, *Prosper Colonna*, who commanded
 in *Milan*, so little expected to be attacked, that he neg-
 lected to take necessary measures for the defence of that
 Duchy. Mean while, *Francis* pursued his project, and the
 more, as he heard there were no preparations at *Milan*.
 The Emperor seemed wholly to neglect the defence of
 that State, on purpose to draw *Francis* into *Italy*, reckon-
 ing that his absence would promote the Duke of *Bourbon's*
 designs. Nay, it is said, that to induce *Francis* to absent
 himself from his Kingdom, *Henry* had caused him to be
 privately told, there was no danger from him that year in
Picardy.

Affairs being in this situation, *Francis* departed for *Lyons*
 in order to pass into *Italy*. In the mean while, the Em-
 peror was preparing an Army in *Spain* to besiege *Fontar-
 abia* and *Bayonne*. But this Army was raised very slowly,
 because it was not to act till *Francis* was engaged in
 the War of *Milan*. On the other side, the Count de
Bure (5), his General in *Flanders*, remained quiet, wait-
 ing to join the *English*, who the better to deceive the
 King of *France*, were not to land at *Calais* till the end of
September. In short, the Emperor ordered eight thousand
Landsguets to march in small Divisions into *Franch-
 Comté*, who were to join the Duke of *Bourbon* as soon as
 he was ready. Upon that Prince's revolt, the Allies built
 all their hopes, imagining that *Francis* being in *Italy*,
France thus unexpectedly invaded in so many places at
 once, would make no great resistance. These hopes were
 the better grounded, as *Francis* having no intelligence of
 the Duke of *Bourbon's* Plots, had no Troops at all in
Burgundy, few in *Guienne* and *Bearn*, and *Picardy* was in
 an ill State of Defence.

Mean while, the Constable, not to be obliged to attend
 the King, pretended to be sick at *Moulins*. But *Francis*,
 whilst on the road to *Lyons*, happened to be informed by
 two of the Constable's Servants, that their Master held
 private Correspondence with the Emperor. Surprized at
 the news, he turned out of his way to go to *Moulins*,
 where he told the Duke, who still feigned to be sick,
 what had been discovered to him. The Duke freely
 owned, the Emperor had sounded him by the Count de
Ræux, but that he had refused to hearken to his Propo-
 sals: That he designed to inform his Majesty of it,
 but being prevented by his Illness from coming to Court,
 he durst not trust any Person with the secret. Whether
 the King believed what the Constable said, or thought
 he could not arrest him in his own Territories, he was
 contented with ordering him to follow him to *Lyons*.
 The Duke set out indeed as if he had intended to follow
 the King, being carried in a Litter on pretence of his
 Sickness, and travelling by very easy Journeys. But upon
 notice that two of his Confidants were arrested at Court,
 he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking
 with him only *Pomperan* one of his Gentlemen, he es-
 caped through by-ways, and safely arrived [at *Trent*] in
Germany.

The Constable's Flight convincing the King, there was
 some grand Plot in *France*, to be executed during his
 absence, he relinquished his design of going into *Italy*, and
 contented himself with sending his Army (6) under the
 Command of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who passed the *Alps* about
 the end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*. About
 the same time the Emperor assembled his Army in *Spain*,
 the *Landsguets* arrived in *Franch-Comté*, and the *English*
 landed at *Calais*, to act in *Picardy* in conjunction with
 the *Flemings*. It will be absolutely necessary briefly to re-
 late what passed during this Campaign in these four several
 places.

The Castle of *Milan*, where *Lautrec* had left a Gar-
 rison, surrendered the 14th of *April*. So the *French* had
 no place of importance in the *Milanese*, except the Castle
 of *Cremona*, which too was so closely blocked up, that
 there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the
 other hand, as *France* could expect no farther assistance
 from the *Venetians*, and as all the rest of *Italy* was joined
 in a League against her, *Prosper Colonna* who command-
 ed in *Milan*, did not doubt that the King would desist
 from his design of carrying War into the *Milanese*. For
 that reason, he had neglected to repair the Fortifications
 of the capital City, which were in an ill State, the Ram-
 parts being fallen down in several Places. However upon
 advice that Admiral *Bonnivet* was going to pass the *Alps*,

(1) The Count de *Ræux*. P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 568. Together with *William Knight* Doctor of Law, the *English* Resident with the Lady *Margaret*, and Sir *John Hughes*. Herbert, p. 3.

(2) The Name of *Bourbon* is in blank, but it is certain that it is the Constable which is there meant. Rapin.

(3) The Emperor promised to support her, his Son, in case he and his Brother *Ferdinand* died without Issue; and to give her a Dowry of two hundred thousand Crowns. P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 568.

(4) From the *Sch.* according to P. Daniel, p. 499.

(5) *Flemish* or *Fleming*.

(6) Consisting of three and thirty thousand Men. Guicciard. l. 15.

1523. he drew together all his Forces to try to defend the passage of the *Tessin*; but he came too late. The *French* had made such speed, that he was forced to retire to *Milan* in the utmost disorder. Nay, he resolved to abandon that City, if by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him some days time to repair the Works. He had but fifteen thousand Men, with which he could not expect to defend, against an Army of above forty thousand, so large a City, which also was open in several Places. However, as he had learnt by long experience, that it must not always be thought, the Enemies will do what is most for their advantage, he never ceased repairing the places which wanted it most, deeming he could but withdraw at last in case the *French* were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If *Bonnivet* had marched directly to *Milan*, he would have found the Gates open. But after taking *Novarra* and *Figerano*, and passing the *Tessin* without opposition, he preposterously imagined a few days more or less would signify nothing. So having lost to no purpose four or five days, he gave the Emperor's General time to put *Milan* in a posture of Defence (1). At last, approaching the City when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked, by the good management of *Colonna*. Whereupon he resolved to encamp at *Chiaravalla*, in hopes of cutting off the Provisions of *Milan*, and of having the Imperialists at his mercy. But he took his measures so ill, that after persisting in his design till the end of *November*, he was forced himself to remove from *Milan* for want of Provisions. All he did during that time was to relieve the Castle of *Cremona*, reduced to the last Extremities (2). Such was the success of *Bonnivet's* Campaign, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantageous for the King his Master, had he taken juster measures, and improved his Superiority. *Colonna* died shortly after, and *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples* took the command of the imperial Army. The Season was so far advanced, that nothing remarkable passed in those parts till the end of the year, when the Duke of *Bourbon* came and took the command of the Emperor's Troops, not without *Lanoy's* great disgust, who unwillingly resigned his Post to a Foreigner.

Campaign in
Bearn.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.

The Allies, as I said, were resolved not to invade *France* till *September*, because it was to be presumed, the King would then be employed in *Italy*. For this reason it was the beginning of that month before the Emperor assembled his Army in *Spain*. *Lautrec*, who commanded in *Guienne*, hearing the *Spaniards* were drawing together, hastened to the Frontiers, to provide for the defence of *Bayonne* and *Fontarabia*, which were most exposed. *Frauguet*, an Officer of note, was Governor of *Fontarabia*, having been left there the last year by *Marshall de Chabanes*. *Lautrec* relying upon *Frauguet's* Bravery and Experience, left him in the same Post, after having re-inforced the Garrison, and laid in some Ammunition. After that, he did not question, the place would be able to maintain a long Siege. These precautions being taken with regard to *Fontarabia*, he repaired to *Bayonne*. He was no sooner arrived, than the *Spanish* Army appeared before the Walls, supported by a Fleet, which threw the Inhabitants into great Consternation, the Town being weak towards the Sea. But *Lautrec* so managed it, that the *Spaniards* were disappointed, though they had expected to carry the place without opposition. Perceiving therefore, that the Siege would employ them too long, they suddenly raised it, and invested *Fontarabia*, which was safely surrendered by *Frauguet*, in very few days (3). He was like to have lost his head for a fault of that consequence. But though he preserved his Life, he saved not his honour being publicly degraded.

To: Spaniards
become Ma-
sters of Fon-
tarabia.
P. Daniel.

Campaign in
Champagne.
Bellai.

The Emperor was not so successful in *Burgundy* and *Champagne*. *Lamothe* of *Noyers*, the Duke of *Bourbon's* Officer, was gone some time since into *Germany*, to conduct into *Burgundy*, Count de *Furstemberg*, who, with seven or eight thousand *Landquenets*, was to join there the Duke of *Bourbon*. Though this project seemed to be frustrated by the Duke's flight, Count de *Furstemberg* however entered *Champagne* with his Army. He immediately took *Coiffy* and *Montclair*, small places which made no great resistance. But the Duke of *Guise*, who commanded in that Province, knowing *Furstemberg* had no Cavalry, assembled all the Nobles of the Country, and forming some Squadrons, closely followed the *Germans*.

Furstemberg finding himself too weak in the heart of the Enemy's Country, and having no Horse to oppose to that of the Duke of *Guise*, resolved to retire into *Lorraine*. He could not however make his retreat without receiving a terrible check near *Neufchâtel*, where the Duke of *Guise* defeated the best part of his Troops.

Whilst the War was carrying on in *Italy*, *Bearn*, and *Champagne*, Henry embarked his Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk* (4), who landing at *Calais* (5), joined the Count de *Bure*, the 20th of *September*. These two Bodies made together an Army of twenty five, or thirty thousand Foot, and about five thousand Horse. The Duke de *la Trimouille*, who commanded in that Country, was so inferior in number of Troops, that he durst not keep the Field. All he could do was to throw Succours into the places most exposed, and speedily inform the King of what passed in those parts. *Francis* I, being then at *Lyons*, was extremely embarrassed to withstand so many unexpected Invasions. 'Tis said, that deceived by false Advices from *England*, he had been in hopes *Picardy* for this year would be unmolested, and yet, he saw it was there his Enemies intended to make their greatest Effort. In this perplexity, he immediately dispatched the Duke of *Vendôme*, with all the Troops he could assemble, both to defend *Picardy*, and secure *Paris*, where he did not question, the alarm was very great. Indeed, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Count de *Bure* passing by *Terouenne*, *Hezdin* and *Dourlens*, had taken *Roye* and *Montdidier*, and were advanced as far as *Corbie*. But the news of the Duke of *Vendôme's* march, causing them to be more circumspect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather because the Season began to be very incommodious, and they were afraid of being engaged between the Dukes of *Vendôme* and *la Trimouille*. These Considerations induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became masters of *Bouchain*, the Governor whereof brought him the Keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the place. Then leaving an *English* Garrison in *Bouchain*, they retired into *Artois*. But presently after, the *French* recovered that Town. Thus the progress of the confederate Army was not so great as *Francis* had reason to fear. Had the Army taken the Field sooner, he would have been greatly embarrassed. But, as I said, the hopes the Emperor, and the King of *England* had conceived of the Duke of *Bourbon's* undertaking, was the cause of their not beginning the Campaign in any place, till about the end of *September*.

When *Adrian* VI came into the League, he had no design to ruin *France*, in order to compel *Francis* to wage War with the *Turks*, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that Prince to consent to the Truce. Mean while, without the Pope's knowing any thing of it, the Emperor and *Henry* had combined to invade *France*, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have seen that their designs did not correspond with his, but he died about six weeks after signing the League against *France*. He was a good Man, of a Character very different from those of his Predecessors. Instead of thinking to enlarge the Ecclesiastical State by unjust Confiscations, he had given the Duke of *Urbino* the Investiture of his Duchy. He had done the same by the Duke of *Ferrara*, knowing that the former Popes had quarrelled with these Princes only to gratify their desire of enriching their own Relations. He would have even restored *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, if the clamours of his Council, who could not understand that Justice ought to be the foundation of Policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewise of reforming the Court of *Rome*, but death suffered him not to execute his design. All these proceedings, so remote from those of his immediate Predecessors, who had used the Courtiers and People of *Italy* to see the Popes pursue the loose maxims of Temporal Princes, caused it to be said, that he was indeed an honest Man, and a good Christian, but an indifferent Pope. Accordingly the *Italian* Writers speak of *Adrian* VI in Terms importing no great esteem for him.

Death of
Adrian VI.
Guicciard.

His Cla-
mour.
Guicciard.
Cimar.
Sarda

Guicciard.

The beginning of this year, Cardinal *Julio de Medici*, who retired to *Florence* upon the death of *Leo* X, returned to *Rome*, and was very civilly received. In a short time, he gained the Good-will of the Pope to such a degree, that he supplanted the Cardinal of *Voherra*, the Prime

Julio de
Medici.
P. Daniel.
Adrian VI.

(1) Galeazzo Viscount of Milan, meeting him, and desiring him to stay till he had raised a Tumult in the City, (which he assured him of in two or three days) made *Bonnivet* lose the opportunity. *Heuter*, p. 49. According to others, Galeazzo put *Bonnivet* in hopes, that this City would surrender by Capitulation, whence he might reap great Advantages, and at least get a large sum of Money. P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 310.

(2) And which *Jant d'Herbouville*, the Governor, had kept for the *French* near two years together, after the taking of the Town. *R. J.*

(3) Being desirous to save his Goods. *Herbert*, p. 59. But P. Daniel lays the blame on Don *Pedro*, Sen of the *Marshall of Navarre*, who held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, Tom. VII. p. 529.

(4) *Charles Brandon*. He was attended by several Lords and Gentlemen, whose names see in *Hall*, fol. 117. The Vanguard was commanded by the Lord *Savoy*; the right Wing by Sir *William Kingston*; the left by Sir *Edward Digby*; the Rear by Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Sir *Isaac Compston* was Captain of the Horse. This Army consisted of six hundred Demi-Lances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on foot, five thousand Piquemen, two thousand six hundred Pioneers and Labourers: To whom were added seventeen hundred Men out of the Fortresses of *Calais* and *Guynes*. So that his whole Army was thirteen thousand one hundred strong. *Hall*, fol. 114.

(5) August 24. *Herbert*.

1523. Minister, and caused him to be committed to the Castle of St. Angelo. From thence forward he had the sole management of the Pope's affairs, gaining more and more his esteem, by putting on the *Devout*, and expressing a great Zeal to unite all the Christian Princes against the *Turk*. By this artifice he led him to publish the Bull for a triennial Truce, and at length to sign the League against *France*. A Minister like this was, doubtless, too politick for such a Pope. *Adrian VI* died the 14th of September, at the very time the Armies began to take the Field. Had he lived any longer, he would, without doubt, have perceived, the League he had imprudently engaged in, was by no means proper to procure the Union, he so much desired among the Christian Princes.

Cardinal *Wolsey* having notice of the Pope's death, writ to the King to inform him of it, desiring his assistance and protection (1). Next day he writ to him again, praying him to recommend him to the Emperor, by a Letter under his own hand. He flattered himself that the Emperor would have a grateful sense of his late Service, in causing the King his Master to declare against *France*, and would now at least keep his word with him, since he had no Preceptor to be elected as in the former Conclave. But if the *Italian* Historians are to be credited, the Emperor little thought of procuring him the Papacy, and the Conclave much less, who met presently after *Adrian's* decease. Of the thirty nine Cardinals which were in the Conclave, *Julio de Medici* had fifteen or sixteen at his devotion, besides three who had promised not to be against him, if he was like to succeed in the Conclave; so that he had only seven or eight to gain, in order to have two thirds of the Voices. But this was not easy. Cardinal *Colonna*, his Adversary, was at the head of a much more numerous Party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the Cardinals of that Faction could have as readily united in chusing a Pope, as in preventing the Election of *Julio*. This made the Conclave hold fifty days. As for *Wolsey*, if he had any Cardinals for him, they could not be many, since he had against him the *French* Party, and the Emperor's Adherents were the same with those of *Julio de Medici*. In short, *Colonna's* Faction not agreeing upon the choice of a Pope, because the head would have one elected disagreeable to his Friends, his Indignation at their obstinacy caused him to be reconciled with the Cardinal *de Medici*. *Guicciardini* says, *Julio* gave him a promise under his hand to make him his Vice-Chancellor, and present him with his Palace, one of the most magnificent in *Rome*. Be this as it will, *Colonna* giving him seven or eight Votes which were at his disposal, there was no farther obstacle to his Election. It being reported in the Conclave, that the Cardinal *de Medici* would be elected the next Scrutiny, most of the Cardinals stayed not till day appeared, but went and made their Court to the person who was soon to be their Master. Their example drew in the rest, who finding it not in their power to hinder the Election, were willing also to shew, they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of November, all the Cardinals went and paid obedience to the new Pope, and next morning his Election was confirmed by a solemn Scrutiny, wherein he had all the Voices. Thus it is that the Holy Ghost influenced the Cardinals in the choice of a Pope, who, contrary to their Intention, was to be the cause of the *Roman Church's* receiving the deepest wound she had ever received. The new Pope assumed the name of *Clement VII*, on account of St. *Clement's* day, which was to be very shortly solemnized. He was natural Son of *Julian de Medici*, Uncle to *Leo X*. But this defect of Birth, though contrary to the Canons, was not considered. *Leo X*, who made him Cardinal in the beginning of his Pontificate, took care to have it legally attested, that *Julian* promised his Mother marriage. So, taking for granted that a bare promise was equivalent to a Marriage, he declared *Julio* legitimate. *Alexander VI* took the same course when he made *Cæsar Borgia* his Bastard Son Cardinal. He produced Witnesses, who deposed, that *Cæsar* was born of a married Woman, whence it was inferred the Child was to be deemed the Husband's Son. In this manner did the Vicars of Jesus Christ abuse Laws divine and human to gratify their Passions.

The news of *Clement's* Election was a great mortification to *Wolsey*, who, since the promotion of *Adrian VI*, had expected to be Pope upon the first vacancy. He must have been extremely incensed with the Emperor, who had twice deceived him. So, it may be assured, considering his vindictive Temper, he resolved from that moment to be revenged. But as he could not execute this

resolution without his Master's assistance, he was to take care not to discover that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwise he would have run the hazard of being disappointed. He concealed therefore, under the Mask of a feigned moderation, the resentment he harboured in his Breast, and contented himself with telling the King, that several had voted for him in the Conclave, but his absence had turned to his prejudice, and the situation of the affairs of *Italy* caused the Cardinals to chuse *Julio de Medici*. A few days after, the King's Ambassador at *Rome* had orders to notify to the new Pope, the King's and *Wolsey's* Joy at his promotion (2). At the same time, *Wolsey* desired the continuance of his Legateship, affirming, that by reason of the King's Prerogative, it was not worth to him a thousand Ducats a year. *Clement VII* was entirely of the Emperor's Party, and knowing of what consequence the King of *England's* assistance was at the present Juncture of affairs in *Europe*, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify Cardinal *Wolsey*, and make him his Friend, by whose means he might gain the favour of the King his Master. In this disposition, he granted the Cardinal more than he desired. By a Bull of the 9th of January 1524, he gave him the legantine power for Life. This is the first and perhaps the only Instance of a perpetual Legateship.

Wolsey was now raised to the highest point of Grandeur that a Subject can aspire to. He was Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Durham*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, Cardinal, Legate a latere for Life, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Prime Minister and Favorite, cared for by the Emperor, respected by the Pope, regarded by all the Princes of *Europe*, with almost an absolute Power in *England*, where nothing material was transacted, either in Spirituals or Temporal, but by his sole direction. It is easy to see, so many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and insolent. He looked upon the King's Subjects as Slaves, and unfortunately for them, inspired the King by degrees with the same principles, and insinuated to him, that he ought to consider the Parliament only as an Instrument to execute his Will. These insinuations were but too effectual, as will be seen in the Sequel. In order to render him independent of the Parliament, he persuaded him to exact from his Subjects (3) at once, the Subsidy given by Parliament, and payable in four years. Every one ascribed to the Cardinal this illegal proceeding, which established a very dangerous precedent. But he little regarded the Complaints of the people, since he was secure of the King's Countenance, and the Pope's Protection.

He undertook this very year a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully satisfied that the Pope could not be without the King's assistance. And that was, to cause several Religious Houses to be suppressed, to appropriate the Revenues to two Colleges, which he intended to found at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*. If the Pope had reaped any advantage, his consent would not have been very strange. But that he should agree to the Suppression of several Monasteries to gratify a private Person, is what could hardly be expected, and perhaps had never happened. Accordingly, the Pope would never have granted it, had not the satisfying the Passion of this ambitious Minister been absolutely necessary to his designs. The Cardinal's project was to found a magnificent College at *Oxford* by the name of Cardinal-College, which was to consist of one hundred eighty six persons, with Salaries. The other College was to be founded at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth, but only for Grammar, and to qualify young Scholars for his College at *Oxford*. But as these Projects were not accomplished this year, I shall speak of them on another occasion, and close the year 1523, with an account of what passed in *Scotland*, where affairs were no more undisturbed than elsewhere.

Henry being engaged in a war with *France*, justly dreaded the Diversion the *Scots* might make on the Frontiers. On the other hand, the King of *Scotland's* Minority frequently tempted him to become master of that Kingdom, after the example of *Edward III* his Predecessor, who dispossessed the King his Nephew at a like Juncture. The Factions in *Scotland* increasing his hopes, he never ceased to foment them by means of his Adherents, who were very numerous, because he had wherewithal to give pensions. He used for pretence, his being obliged by nature to take care of the King his Nephew's concerns, who was not of age to distinguish what was advantageous, from what was prejudicial. So, as an affectionate Uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the Duke of *Albany*, under colour there was danger of that

(1) He said, in that Letter which is dated September 30. that he thought himself unfit for the Papal Dignity, and that he desired much rather to end his days with the King. Which was strange flattery. See *Boswell's* Ref. Tom. III. p. 19; and *Collect. Fiddes* Collect. p. 80.

(2) A Dispatch was sent for that purpose to *John Clark* Bishop of *Burgh* and *Wells*, Secretary Pace, and Dr. *Thomas Hanyball* Master of the Rolls, and *Richard* *H. 1524* p. 60.

(3) In all Persons worth forty Pounds. *Hall's* *Herbert*, p. 60.

1523.

1523:

and make
his Sister
Regent.

He invades
Scotland;
Hall.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.
Hollingsh.

and offers
his Daugh-
ter in mar-
riage to the
King's
Nephew.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

Opposition of
the contrary
Party.
Pol. Virg.

The English
Army retire.
Buchanan.

The Duke of
Albany de-
ceives the
Vigilance of
the English,
and goes to
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Hall.

Prince's seizing the Crown. He knew he should never accomplish his designs so long as Scotland was guarded by such an *Agout*. The Queen his Sister had made him very uneasy in joining with the Regent, because he was thereby deprived of all pretence of saying the King was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the Parliament of Scotland wisely intimated in their answer, that the Queen should join with the Regent, to destroy the King her Son. Henry however, to give some colour to this accusation, was pleased to suppose, the Queen his Sister designed to marry the Duke of Albany. But finding at last, this supposition had not the desired effect, he had recourse to another Expedient, which was, to gain his Sister, by promising to procure her the Regency. That done, he pressed yet more earnestly the Parliament of Scotland to remove the Duke of Albany, and confer the Regency on the Queen. But, to render his Instances more effectual, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to hinder the Duke's return into Scotland. To that end, he sent out a Fleet to take him in his passage (1). At the same time, he ordered the Earl of Surrey to march into Scotland (2), to show the Scots what they were to expect in case they did not give him speedy satisfaction. The Scots being without a Leader, and unprepared against this Invasion, sustained great damages during the Campaign. The Earl of Surrey took *Jedburgh*, and carried fire and sword into the Country (3), without meeting any opposition. Mean while, Henry's Adherents ceased not to cry, that a Peace must be made with England, since it was the only way to save Scotland from utter destruction. Henry supported them, by offering to the King his Nephew, his only Daughter Mary in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the Scots would receive from this Alliance. But withal, he required of them that they should break all their Engagements with France. It was however very unlikely, he should seriously think of giving his Daughter to the King of Scotland, since she was affianced to the Emperor, and he strictly united with that Prince. Besides, such a Marriage would have been of no advantage to himself or the Nation. To this the opposite Party replied, the King of England fought to disengage Scotland from France, only the more easily to ruin the Kingdom, and that to make an Alliance with England by abandoning France, was the ready way to be Slaves to the English: That this was not the first time the Kings of England by such Marriages had attempted to become masters of Scotland, and the worst was to be feared from Neighbours who had ever aspired to the possession of all Great-Britain. In a word, the destroying with fire and sword a Country whose Friendship was courted, was a strange way of desiring an Alliance, and proposing a Marriage. All these Reasons were answered by the other Party. But it tended only so to augment disorder and confusion among the Scots, that it was impracticable for them to come to any resolution. Mean while, Henry, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his Arms, ordered the Earl of Surrey to quit Scotland and return into England. But he had scarce sent his Men into Winter Quarters, when the Scots made Inroads on the Borders of England, which obliged him to march a second time into Scotland, where he became master of *Jedburgh*.

Mean time, the Duke of Albany hearing what passed in Scotland, burned with desire to repair thither, to appease by his presence, the troubles caused by the King of England's Adherents, and to strengthen the French Party, which was in danger of being surmounted by the other. Francis I, had granted him an aid of three thousand Foot and two hundred Men at Arms, to enable him to make a Diversion upon Henry from that quarter. But it was not possible to transport these Troops into Scotland, whilst the English Fleet kept the Sea to hinder their passage. Policy therefore was to be resorted to. For that purpose, he feigned to desist from his design of going into Scotland, and sent his Troops into Quarters remote from the Coast, with orders however to be ready to march upon the first notice. The Transport-Ships were likewise sent away to certain Ports, from whence they were ordered to sail to the appointed Rendezvous the moment they

heard from the Duke. This Stratagem deceived the English Admiral, who being informed by his Spies, that the Duke of Albany was returned to Court, and had dismissed his Troops and Vessels, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and so returned with the Fleet into England. The Duke was no sooner informed of it, but he assembled his Troops and Ships, and embarking about the middle of September, arrived in Scotland the 24th (4), the same day the Earl of Surrey became master of *Jedburgh*.

The Regent's Arrival revived the courage of the French Party, who began to be extremely dismayed, and drew from the King of England several Persons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the Regent summoned the Nobility to *Edinburgh*, and endeavoured to convince them that the Kingdome would be in great danger, unless the King of England's designs were timely and vigorously opposed. But all his Eloquence was not capable of causing a change of opinion, in those who preferred Henry's Pensions to all the Arguments that could be alledged. However he assembled an Army, and advanced towards the Borders, where he arrived the 22d of October. But when he came to march into England, he met with the same obstacles that had stopped him the last year. That is, the Generals and Officers of the English Party refused to follow him, maintaining it was manifestly against the interest of Scotland to provoke the English, and therefore it was sufficient to be upon the defensive. They added, if the design was to serve France, it could not be done better than by keeping an Army on the Frontiers, which would oblige the English to have the like in those Parts. But in the present circumstances of Scotland it was too much to hazard a Battle, the loss whereof would prove the ruin of the Kingdom. In short, the Regent seeing it was in vain to persuade them to follow him, ordered *Wick Castle* to be assaulted by the French Troops; but they were vigorously repulsed. Mean while, upon notice of the Earl of Surrey's approach at the head of a numerous Army (5), he did not think proper to expect him, but chose to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle with an Army wherein the English had so many Favorers. The Season being no longer proper for one or other to keep the Field (6), the Earl of Surrey, content with having stopped the Scots, sent his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and the Regent followed his Example.

Whilst the Flames of War were kindled in almost all parts of Europe, the Reformation made great progress in Germany, and began even to spread in Switzerland, France, and England. In the beginning of this year the Canton of Zurich, moved by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers Articles of Religion they had hitherto professed, though Zuinglius and Luther differed about the Eucharist (7). Many likewise in France and England began to dislike a Religion, that seemed to be founded more upon the Pope than upon Jesus Christ. Adrian VI, hearing of the daily progress of Luther's Doctrine in Germany, dispatched a Nuncio to the Diet of Nuremberg, to exhort the German Princes to destroy Luther and his Followers. He confessed however, in a Letter to them upon the same Subject, that many abuses and disorders were crept into the Church (8), throwing the blame upon those who had governed before him. But he said, to reform all at once, would be the way to spoil all, and therefore it was necessary to proceed by degrees in this Reformation. Luther having seen this Letter, published it in German with Notes of his own, wherein he said, among other things, that the degrees the Pope mentioned were so large, that there was a hundred-years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the Diet taking advantage of the Pope's Confession, demanded a Free Council in Germany, where every one should be obliged upon Oath to speak his real opinion, and that numberless Abuses under which Germany had so long groaned, should be reformed.

Mean while, Luther still continued to write in defence of his Doctrine. Among other things he published an answer to the King of England's Book, wherein he used no Ceremony. This Behavior obliged Henry to complain

(1) Sir William Fitz-Williams, with thirty six great Ships cruized on the Coasts of France, and Anthony Pointz with a good Fleet guarded the western Seas. As Fitz-Williams was cruising about, he discovered twelve French Ships, in which the Archbishop of Glasgow and other Persons of Quality were, whom the Duke of Albany had sent before him into Scotland. Giving chase to these ships, two of them were lost near *Dupee* and *Boulogne*. Herbert, p. 56.

(2) With six thousand Men. And ordered Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorset, Warden of the East and middle Marches, and the Lord Daerest, Warden of the West Marches to join him. Herbert, p. 56. Hall, fol. 114.

(3) He took all the Castles in *Mereb* and *Townshale*. Buchanan.

(4) With Richard de la Poie, Brother of the Earl of Lincoln, beheaded in the 5th of this Reign, and three thousand French. Herbert, p. 57.

(5) Forty thousand Men. There were besides six thousand in *Berwick*. Buchanan. l. 14. Hall, fol. 115.

(6) It was about the middle of November. See Hall, fol. 116.

(7) Their differences about Contubinitation much hindered the Progress of the Reformation. And not being able to be composed, Zuinglius's Party were called *Sacramentarians*, and Luther's, *Ubiquitarians*. Calvin succeeded Zuinglius, who by his Doctrines of Predestination, &c. widened the Breach between the Lutherans and Calvinists, that they became irreconcilable. Insomuch that the Lutherans at *Leipsic*, where they are very rigid, have set up in their great Church the Picture of *Ignasius Loyala*, Calvin and the Devil in one Frame, with this Inscription, *The three great Enemies of Christ and the Christian Religion*. Such Enmity does the differing in Opinion prepossessionally breed among Christian Sects, especially where both Sides are in the wrong!

(8) His words are, *In hac sancta Sede aliquot jam annis Multa Abominanda fuisse.*

1523. of him to the Princes of the House of Saxony. At the same time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of *Luther's German Bible*, for fear the Translation should be prejudicial to the Truth. But his Letter had no great effect.

1524. The progress of the Reformation was not yet considerable enough, to be regarded by the chief Sovereigns of Europe, whose thoughts were wholly intent upon War. *Clement VII* refused to renew the League, though himself had engaged his Predecessor in it, and declared he would stand Neuter. This Declaration at first extremely embarrassed the Duke of *Bourbon*, because the Emperor not having provided for the payment of his Troops, it was not possible for the Duke to satisfy them, since the Pope and the *Florentines* withdrew their usual Subsidies. He found means however to draw some Money from the Inhabitants of *Milan*, and at last persuaded the Pope to give him twenty thousand Ducats, and cause the *Florentines* to furnish him with fifty thousand, on condition of Secrecy.

Capella.
P. Daniel.

Not long after, the Duke of *Bourbon* receiving a supply of six thousand *Landquenets*, and the *Venetian Army*, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino* joining him, he took the Field with thirty-five thousand Men. Mean while, *Bonnivet* was greatly embarrassed. He had not above twenty thousand Men, having lost the rest of his Army by death or desertion during the last Campaign. But what was worse, he had no Money to pay his Troops. This was a common misfortune to both sides. It is true, he expected ten thousand *Switzers*, and five thousand *Grisons*, but forebaw they would be of little Service, because he had not wherewithal to content them at their Arrival. This made him resolve to go in quest of the Imperialists and give them battle. But as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it, though they were superior in number, in the expectation of dispersing his Army without engaging. And indeed, the five thousand *Grisons*, who were coming to join the Admiral, and were advanced as far as *Bergamo*, not receiving the Money promised them, immediately returned. As for the ten thousand *Switzers*, they arrived indeed at *Furra*, and even advanced to the Banks of the *Sesia*; but it was not possible to persuade them to continue their march, for want of Money to pay them. Mean while, the Imperialists became masters of several small Towns, which very much annoyed the *French Camp*, and at last forced the Admiral to retire to *Novarra*. In the mean time, the Castle of *Cremona*, which the *French* had hitherto kept, surrendered to the Imperialists.

The French Army repairs the Alps.
Guicciard.
Bellai.

Bonnivet, finding, that the *Grisons* were returned, that the *Switzers* would not stir without being secure of their pay, and that his Men deserted in great numbers, resolved at last to re-pass the Alps. As soon as the Duke of *Bourbon* had notice of his march, he pursued him with all speed, to compel him to a Battle. There were even between the two Armies several sharp Skirmishes, in one of which the brave *Bayard* was slain. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the Imperialists, *Bonnivet* retreated in good Order. When the *French* had re-passed the Mountains, the places they still had in the *Milanese*, surrendered by capitulation to the Imperialists.

The French lift the Milanese.

The Emperor's and Henry's designs upon France.
Guicciard.
Bellai.
Mezerai.
Herbert.

The *French* were no sooner out of *Italy*, but the Emperor and the King of *England* thought of means to invade *Francis* in his own Kingdom. They had expected great matters from the Duke of *Bourbon's* revolt, but hitherto it was not possible to make any use of it, because the Conspiracy was discovered too soon. The affairs of *Italy* having prospered beyond expectation, they resolved to make use of the Duke of *Bourbon* to carry War into *France*, imagining if he could have some considerable advantage, he would cause part of the Kingdom to rebel. The Duke himself fed them with these hopes, because that was the thing which rendered him considerable. He would have been glad to act in some place near his own Territories, from whence he expected great Supplies. But it was thought more proper that he should enter *Provence* with an Army, by reason he could easily be assisted by the *Spanish Fleet*, which kept at *Genoa*; whereas by engaging in the middle of the Kingdom, the Fleet would be of no Service. This resolution being taken, *Henry* readily promised to find the Duke a hundred (1) thousand Crowns a month, on condition, that after the first month, he should be free to discontinue the payment, provided he acted himself in *Picardy* at the head of a Royal Army, from the first of *July*, to the end of *December*.

The Duke of Bourbon prepares to enter Provence.

Henry binds himself to find him Money.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 794.
795.
Guicciard.

The Duke of Bourbon marches into Provence.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

Though the Emperor had put the Duke of *Bourbon* in hopes he would lend him all his Army in *Italy* for

his expedition into *Provence*, he could not however dispense with leaving a good part at *Milan*, and other places of that Duchy, under the command of *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*. On the other hand, the *Venetians* withdrew their Troops, because they had promised by their private Treaty only to defend the *Milanese*. So, the Duke of *Bourbon* began his march, the 24th of *June*, much weaker than he expected (2), and entered *Provence* the second of *July*. He presently became master of *Aix* and some other places, and at last came before *Mar-seilles*, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, *Renzo de Ceri* an Italian Captain in the *French Service*, had entered with a strong Garrison. Whereupon the Duke found he should meet with more resistance than he had imagined, but however he opened the Siege.

1524.

Mezerai.

He besieges Mar-seilles.
P. Daniel.
Pol. Virg.

Mean while *Francis I.*, having intelligence of *Bourbon's* march, ordered his Forces to be assembled, and some Troops sent to *Avignon*, for fear the Enemy should seize it. There he resolved to assemble his Army, and came himself to command in Person. It is needless to speak either of the Siege of *Mar-seilles*, or of the King's great diligence in assembling his Troops. It suffices to say in a word, that the very day he departed from *Avignon*, in order to fight the Imperialists, namely, the 10th of *September*, the Duke of *Bourbon* raised the Siege of *Mar-seilles*, and retired into *Italy*. Whilst the King was at *Avignon*, he received the news of his Queen's death, who died at *Blois* in *July*.

and forces the Duke to retire into Italy.
Bellai.
P. Daniel.

The Duke of *Bourbon's* retreat entirely changed the face of affairs. *Francis I.*, who had been in danger of losing *Provence*, saw himself at the head of an Army of above forty thousand Men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking. So, perceiving that the Imperialists took a great compass to retire into *Italy*, he resolved to improve that advantage, and the superiority of his Army, to recover the *Milanese*. This resolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach *Milan* before them. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bourbon* having notice that the King was taking the shortest road to *Milan*, made incredible speed not to be prevented, perceiving that thereon would depend the preservation of the Duchy. Thus the two Armies marching by different Routes, arrived the same day, one at *Abe*, the other at *Vercelli*. A few days after the Duke of *Bourbon* joined the Viceroy of *Naples* at *Pavia*.

The King marches into Italy another way.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

The two Armies arrived on the same day.

Whilst the Imperial Army was in *Provence*, the Court of *England* was otherwise disposed than before, and seemed to intend to follow new Maxims. *Henry* made no diversion in *Picardy*, though he had paid but one month of the Subsidy he was to give the Duke of *Bourbon*. This was sufficient to create suspicions in the Emperor, which were confirmed by *Henry's* unreasonable demand of the Money lent him at his departure from *England* (3). He could not believe, *Henry* would demand his Money at so improper a time, instead of performing his own engagements, unless he intended to seek an occasion of quarrel. His uneasiness still increased, upon advice from his Ambassador in *England* that a Person (4) was come from *France* to *London*, from the Dukes of *Angoulême* Regent of that Kingdom, and had long and frequent conferences with Cardinal *Wolsey*. All this, added to the Cardinal's revengeful Temper, whom he had vainly amused with hopes of the *Papacy*, made him justly apprehensive that the King of *England* was thinking to abandon him and join with his Enemy. However, in the present situation of affairs, there was no other measure to take, since all depended on the success of the War which was going to be renewed in *Italy*, where his Generals were not a little embarrassed.

Henry alters his designs, and forsakes the Emperor.
Herbert.
Guicciard.

Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.

As soon as the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* were joined, they consulted upon what was to be done at so ill a juncture. At first, they resolved to leave strong Garrisons in *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, and take refuge in *Milan*. But the Plague had made such ravage in that City, every thing there was in so great confusion, and Money and Provisions so scarce, that they were forced to desert from their design and abandon *Milan*. So, having well stored *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, they withdrew to *Son-cino*, where *Francesco Sforza* also repaired with them.

The Imperialists abandon Milan.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.
Hall.

Mean while, *Francis I.* continuing his March towards *Milan*, and hearing the Imperialists were retired, caused his Troops to enter the City, and ordered the Castle to be invested. If, instead of going to *Milan* he had marched directly to the Imperialists, who were little able to withstand him, he would have infallibly dispersed them. But *Bonnivet's* unfortunate advice induced him not only

The French enter the City. The Castle is invested.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.
Step-f. Mezerai.
Pavia.

(1) According to the Computation in *Rymer*, it amounted to one hundred and twenty four thousand Crowns. *Tom. 13. p. 795.*

(2) He had thirteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. *Rapin.*

(3) And likewise the yearly Pension that used to be paid *Henry* by *France*, (See above, p. 758.) as also the Cardinal's Pension of two thousand

two hundred Ducats. See *Guicciard. l. 15.*

(4) John Juvenal a Genoese. *Hall. fol. 135.*

1524. to march to *Milan*, which must have fallen into his hands if he had defeated or routed the Imperialists, but also to resolve to besiege *Pavia*. When he appeared before that place, the Generals of the Imperialists began to take courage, in expectation that the length of the Siege and the Winter-Season, would afford them time to take some measures. Mean while they speedily sent for a Supply of ten thousand *Germans*. The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* failing them all at once, upon the *French King's* coming into *Italy*, their only refuge was the length of the Siege of *Pavia*, which began in *November*.

Clement VII, who in the late Pontificate had openly declared against the King of *France*, being in great perplexity, sent a Nuntio to the two Armies to procure a Truce; but not succeeding, he made his Peace with the King of *France*. Moreover he proposed to him the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and concluded with him a private Treaty, promising free passage to the *French Troops*.

Presently after, *Francis* detached five or six thousand Men under the command of the Duke of *Albany*, who had left *Scotland* the beginning of the Spring, with orders to march towards *Naples*. As they were necessarily to pass through the Ecclesiastical State, *Clement VII* pretended for some time to oppose it, to make believe it was against his will. When the *French* were in the middle of his Dominions, he published his agreement with the King of *France*, as if newly made, and sent the Emperor notice, excusing himself on the necessity and constraint he was under. Though the Emperor was very slegmatick, he could not help showing, on this occasion, an extreme resentment against the Pope. He said, it was solely at the instance of *Leo X*, that he had undertaken the defense of *Italy*: That *Clement* himself had pressed *Adrian VI* to sign the League, and now he was become Pope, forsook him in his greatest need, and left him to prosecute alone a War kindled by himself: That however he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confusion of those who so basely deserted him. The event showed however, the Pope had done him signal service, in perswading his Enemy to carry war into the Kingdom of *Naples*, since he thereby caused him to divide his Forces. But it is uncertain whether the Pope had any such intention.

Another accident farther contributed to deprive *Francis* of his great superiority over his Enemies. *Renzo de Ceri*, who defended *Marseilles*, having received the King's orders to embark ten Thousand Men on the Gallies, and join the Duke of *Albany*, who expected him in *Tuscany*, took *Savona* in his way. This Success which seemed very advantageous for *Francis*, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon sending a fresh detachment to *Savona*, under the Conduct of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, to take against *Genoa* what advantages should offer. The two detachments for *Naples* and *Savona* (1), so weakened the *French* army, that the Imperialists no longer feared to take the Field, in order to prolong the Siege of *Pavia*, till the arrival of the *German* Succours, which the Duke of *Bourbon* himself was gone to hasten. And indeed, within a few days *Pescara* became master of *Cassano*, a Post very convenient for his purpose. With this event ended the year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be necessary briefly to mention what had passed this year in *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Albany* returning into *France* in *May*, the Queen-Dowager and the Earl of *Arran* of the House of *Hamilton*, advised the young King, who was between thirteen and fourteen years old, to assume himself the reins of the Government. This advice was very interested, but *James* was yet too young to perceive it. He followed it, and summoning the States (2), declared the Authority of the Regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the King himself. After that, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* governed in the King's Name. This Change was not made with universal approbation. The Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, concerned to see the Earl of *Arran* in possession of the Government, under colour of the King's anticipated Majority, sent for the Earl of *Angus* from *France*, to support themselves by his

Interest, because he was entirely fallen out with the Queen his Wife. Upon that Lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of fleeing the King from the pretended Captivity, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* held him in, levied Troops and took *Stirling*, after which they marched to *Edinburgh* where the King was. At their approach, the Queen and the Earl carried the King into the Castle, but as they had not taken care to lay in Provisions, were forced in few days to deliver the King to the three Lords, who assumed the Title of Regent. Then the King was again put in Guardianship under these three Lords, who agreed to rule in turns, four Months each. The Earl of *Angus* began, and as he was in the King of *England's* interest, sent Ambassadors to treat of the King of *Scotland's* marriage with the Princess *Mary*, according to *Henry's* own Scheme. To facilitate this Negotiation, the Truce which was to expire the 1st of *December*, was prolonged to the 26th of *January* 1525.

As *England* was very quiet during the whole year 1524, the Affairs of that Kingdom will not take me up here. I shall only observe, that *Clement VII* finding himself in a very ill Situation between the Emperor and the King of *France*, shewed great regard for the Court of *England*, whose assistance, he thought, he might want. To that purpose, he confirmed the King's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, conferred on him by *Leo X* (3), and, to please Cardinal *Wolsey*, suppressed *St. Frideswid's* Priory in *Oxford*, on the ground whereof the Cardinal intended to build his College, and appropriated the Revenues to the new Foundation. But as this was not sufficient for the maintenance of the College, the Cardinal procured powers to visit all the Religious Houses, notwithstanding their Immunities, and particularly those of the *Franciscans*, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain list of such as might be suppressed, in order to transfer the Revenues to his Colleges. The Bull which gave him these powers, was dated the 21st of *August*. On the 11th of *September* following, the Pope granted him another Bull, empowering him to suppress as many Monasteries as he pleased to the value of three thousand Ducats a year for the same use (4).

In the beginning of *December*, Cardinal *Laurentius Campejus*, who had been the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, was made Bishop of *Salisbury* with the King's Consent. We must now return to the Siege of *Pavia*, to behold an Event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of *Europe*, wherein *England* was deeply concerned (5).

Francis I, still persisted in this Siege, though without making much progress, because of the rigour of the Season, and the Imperial Army, which being posted at *Cassano*, annoyed his Convoys very much. Besides, he had made three Detachments, one to besiege the Castle of *Milan*, another for *Naples*, and a third for *Savona*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Bourbon* came from *Germany* about the end of *January*, with a Supply of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse (6), which made the Imperial Army two and twenty thousand strong. As the Generals wanted Money, and for that reason were not sure of hindering the Army from disbanding, they resolved to attempt the relief of *Pavia*. To that end, they began to march the 3d of *February* towards the Town, bent to improve what opportunities should offer. But as the Camp of the Besiegers was strongly intrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed so dangerous a resolution, which might be attended with terrible Consequence. Mean while, the *Grisons* having recalled their six thousand Men in the *French* Service, and these Troops departing, notwithstanding all the King's endeavours to detain them (7), the Duke of *Bourbon* thought he should no longer defer attacking the Enemy's Camp. This resolution was executed the Even of *St. Matthias* (8), with a Success very fatal to *Francis*, since his Army was routed, and himself unfortunately taken prisoner (9).

The Success of this Battle filled all *Europe* with Consternation and Dread. The Emperor was without a Rival, and in condition to over-run *Italy* with his victori-

(1) Both which were sixteen thousand Men. *Herbert*, p. 62.

(2) *July* 29. *Buchanan*.

(3) This Bull is dated *March* 5, and has a Golden Seal appendent to it, which is engraved in *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 14. p. 14.*

(4) In this Bull the Pope says, there were some Monasteries which had not above five or six Persons. *Ibid.* p. 24.

(5) In the beginning of the year 1524, Sir *Anthony Fitzherbert*, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, Sir *Ralph Egerton*, and Dr. *Denton* Dean of *Lichfield*, were sent Commissioners into *Ireland*; where they reformed several Abuses, and constituted *Gerald Fitz Gerald* Deputy of that Kingdom, of which the Earl of *Ormond* was appointed Treasurer. *Hall*, fol. 130. *Hollingsb.* p. 383. ----- About this time also, divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Ryme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel and Beer,
Came into *England*, all in one year.

(6) Five hundred Men at Arms, and six thousand Landquenets. *Guicciard.* l. 15.

(7) Besides, three thousand *Italians*, whose Commander *Genovanni de Medici* was hurt, disbanded themselves. *Herbert*, p. 62.

(8) Being the Emperor's Birth day. *Guicciard.*

(9) In this Battle *Richard de la Pole*, often mentioned before, was slain. *Stow*, p. 522. It appears from *Du Tillet*, that *June* 20. 1524, King *Francis* concluded a Treaty with some Malecontents in *Ireland*, wherein he engaged to send over fifteen thousand Men, not only to conquer part of that Kingdom; but also from thence to invade *England*, and procure the Crown for the said *Richard de la Pole*, who had some Pretensions to it, as being Son of *Elizabeth*, Sister to King *Edward IV.* *Du Tillet*, p. 397, 412.

1525

The Venetians propose a League against the Emperor.
Guicciard.

The Pope daunt not venture upon it. He treats upon the Emperor.
Guicciard.

The Emperor's Generals at a loss. They disband part of their Army.
Guicciard.

The Emperor's blow rational to the Venetians. History of Pavia.
Guicciard.

He debates about what is to be done with his Prisoner. His Confessor's Advice.
Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The Duke of Alba's Opinion, which is followed.

The Emperor's Terms for Francis's Liberty.
Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

ous Army, whilst the King of England his Ally, had it in his power to give France a mortal wound on the side of Picardy. Consequently, the Balance of Europe being taken away, the Sovereigns for the most part, had great reason to dread falling at last into Slavery. The Venetians alone perfectly knowing the danger, proposed to the Pope a League against the Emperor, not questioning the King of England would also join in it, because it was his Interest. This League added to the Forces France could still bring into the Field, and the Supplies which might be received from the Switzers by paying them well, would have been sufficient to keep the Emperor in awe, if it could have been speedily concluded. But the Pope preferring his own Interest to that of Europe in general, hastened his Treaty with the Viceroy of Naples, who acted in the Emperor's name. By this Treaty, the Emperor, among other things, was to give the Investiture of Milan to Francis Sforza. There were also three separate Articles concerning the Pope in particular, namely, 1. That the Inhabitants of the Milanese should furnish themselves with Salt from the Pope's Territories. 2. That the Emperor should compel the Duke of Ferrara to restore to the Church the Town of Reggio, seized after Leo X's death. 3. That the Pope should have the disposal of the Benefices in the Kingdom of Naples. By this Treaty, which was of no force till ratified by the Emperor, the politick Viceroy found means to cause to vanish, or, at least, to defer the project of League against the Emperor, proposed by the Venetians, and to render the other Powers jealous of the Pope. This was the greatest Service he could possibly do his Master on this occasion.

Mean while, the Emperor's Generals were greatly embarrassed after so glorious a Victory, for want of Money to pay their Troops. They had indeed received a hundred thousand Ducats from Florence, but that not sufficing to pay the Arrears of the Army, and maintain the Soldiers afterwards, they were forced to disband the best part of the Troops, when by the Treaty with the Pope, they were sure of having no League to fear. Besides Trivulzi, who was besieging the Castle of Milan, had now repassed the Alps, and the Duke of Albany was only thinking of retiring into France with his Army. This disbanding of Troops would have been of very great consequence to the Emperor, whose Interest it was to prevent by his moderation the measures which the alarmed States of Italy might take against him, if his Generals had proceeded accordingly. But prosperity causing them to be wanting in Policy, they treated the States of Italy, and especially the Venetians, with a haughtiness that gave them occasion to think their Liberty in danger, and made them resolve to use all possible endeavours to avoid the threatened Slavery.

The Emperor could better dissemble his Sentiments. He received the news of the Victory of Pavia, and the French King's Captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any Demonstrations of Joy, and saying, *Christians ought to rejoice only for Victories over Infidels*. He seemed to sympathize with Francis's misfortune, and, as I may say, to put himself in his place, by acknowledging it to be a mere chance, and no Prince, how brave soever, exempt from the like Accident. Presently after he called his Council to debate what was to be done with the prisoner. His Counsellor, who spoke first, was for releasing him without Terms. He represented to him, that by such a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal Fame, but also make the King of France his real Friend, who, not to be out-done in Generosity, would doubtless strive to express his Gratitude: That with his help, he would give Law to Germany and Italy, without being obliged to demand the assistance of other inferior Princes. But the Duke of Alba answered all these Arguments, and concluded it was best to reap from this Victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the Emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly shows, that his pretended moderation was but a disguise to hinder the Princes of Europe from being alarmed, and concerting measures to oppose the execution of his ambitious designs.

To continue this disguise, he sent the Count of Beauvain into Italy with certain Terms, on which he was willing to release his prisoner. He was very sure Francis would not accept them. But it was his Interest to make the World believe it was not his fault that the French King was not released. Wherefore, it was every where industriously reported, that the Emperor had sent the King very reasonable Terms. But great care was taken not to publish them. Among other things, he demanded for

himself the Duchy of Burgundy (1). Moreover, he had a mind to join to the Duke of Brabant's Territories, Provence and Dauphiny, and erect the whole for that Prince into a Kingdom independent of the Crown of France. Lastly, he demanded that Francis should give the King of England entire Satisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The first of these Conditions in Justice and Equity, contained nothing strange. King Lewis XI took possession of the Duchy of Burgundy, after the death of the last Duke, under colour of a title which was contested, and of which however he made himself Judge. It could not therefore be taken ill, that the Emperor should demand restitution of what was wrested from Mary of Burgundy his Grandmother, at least, till the Cause was legally decided. But what was surprising, and very hard in the Emperor's proposals, was, his desire to establish in the heart of France, an independent Kingdom, to gratify a rebellious Subject, the prime Author of the King's misfortune. Probably, he insisted on this Article only to make the first pass the better, or to give occasion for a Rupture. Francis I, rejected these Conditions with the utmost Indignation (2), and swore, he would rather be a Captive all his Life than accept them (3). But he offered, in his turn, Conditions which he thought very advantageous to the Conqueror, namely, that he would marry Leonora Queen-Dowager of Portugal the Emperor's Sister, and give the Duke of Bourbon his Sister the Duchess of Alençon, who had lately lost the Duke her Husband: That he would agree to hold the Duchy of Burgundy as the Queen Dowager's Dowry, and leave it to their Male Heirs: That he would restore to the Duke of Bourbon, all his confiscated Estates: That he would renounce all claim to Naples and Milan: That he would satisfy the King of England concerning what was due to him: Finally, that he would pay the same ransom as King Jehu, when taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. But the Emperor was not satisfied with these offers. He still insisted that the Duchy of Burgundy should be restored to him without Condition. Moreover, he affirmed that Francis had no right to Naples and Milan, and therefore his offer to relinquish it, was needless and chimerical.

It was not without reason that the Emperor persisted in his demands. It is easy to judge the Consequence of France, after the loss she had lately sustained. The King was a captive, and almost all her Generals taken or slain in the battle of Pavia. The Kingdom being exhausted by continual Wars under this and the former Reigns, was destitute of Men and Money. The Switzers were disheartened. The Canton of Zurich which had refused to furnish the King with Troops for the War, was still in the same disposition from a Principle of Conscience. Zuinglius, who had great Interest in that Canton, persuaded the Senate, that to barter the Blood of their Citizens for Money, and serve the Ambition of Princes, was an infamous thing. But though all the Cantons had been equally inclined to find Troops, it was well known, they would not do it without being paid; and to procure the Money was no easy thing. On the other hand, there was reason to fear, the King of England would improve this opportunity to invade France through Picardy, whilst the Emperor attacked the Provinces bordering upon Spain. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from Italy, since the Pope had made his Peace with the Emperor, it being impossible the Venetians would alone maintain the War for the sake of France. Thus was seen on all sides just cause of alarm. Certainly, had the Emperor and Henry renewed their League, and vigorously attacked France, that Kingdom in its present ill Circumstances, must have been ruined. But at the time the Regent, and all true Frenchmen were under these apprehensions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their Courage from sinking entirely. The Pope and the Emperor could not agree together, though outwardly they seemed willing to unite. The Venetians were inclined to join in a League with the other States to oppose the Emperor's progress. In short, the King of England, instead of taking advantage of the King of France's misfortune, generously took his part. On the other hand, Francis Sforza, seeing himself as it were the Emperor's Slave, strove to throw off this Yoke, and, though he miscarried, his attempt however produced a good effect, as it showed the Emperor the disposition of the Princes who entered into this Plot, which it will be necessary to explain, in order to give a distinct Idea of the affairs of those times, wherein England was concerned. But first it must be seen what became of the captive King.

(1) And that Francis should renounce all Pretensions to Italy. Guicciard l. 16.

(2) Adding, that it was not in his power to alienate any of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of France, without the consent of the Parliament, and other persons vested with the Government of the Kingdom. Ibid.

(3) When the Articles were presented to Francis, he was so dispirited at them, that he is said in a fury to draw his Dagger and cry, *It is better for a King of France to die thus*: Upon which Hernandez de alençon who was present, hastily took the Dagger from him. Herbert, p. 66.

1525.
Francis I.
is carried
into Spain.
June.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

The unfortunate prisoner was kept in the Castle of *Pizzighitona* till *Easter*, but with so much uneasiness on the part of the Imperialists, that they durst not remove their Troops from that quarter, for fear of his being rescued. At last, *Lanoy* hearing, the *Venetian* Ambassador at *Rome* had frequent Conferences with the Pope, was afraid some plot was forming to deliver the prisoner. Wherefore, without imparting his design to the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom perhaps he mistrusted, he resolved to convey him into *Spain*. But this was difficult, since he had no naval Force, and the *French* Gallies were at Sea. To remove this obstacle, he insinuated to the King, that the only way speedily to obtain his Liberty, was to confer in person with the Emperor: That as the Emperor was a generous Prince, and had shewn a concern for his misfortune, their Interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a speedy Peace. *Francis* agreed to it, full of hopes that he should do more himself in two or three Conferences with the Emperor, than his Ministers in many Months. He even lent the Viceroy his Gallies to carry him into *Spain*, where he arrived about the middle of *June*.

He is shut up
in the Castle
of Madrid.
Guicciard.

He flattered himself, he should be treated in *Spain* as King *John* was in *England*: but at his arrival, he had the mortification to be confined in the Castle of *Madrid*, where the Emperor, instead of treating with him in Person, did not so much as pay him a visit. All he could obtain was a Safe-Conduct for his Sister the Duchess of *Alençon*, who came to *Madrid* in *September*. She was empowered by the Regent her Mother to negotiate with the Emperor. But at last she was forced to return, and nothing obtained. When she came to *Madrid*, she found the King her Brother so ill, that his recovery was despaired of. As there was no room to doubt, that his Grief at seeing his Liberty so remote, occasioned his Illness, the Emperor posted from *Toledo* to *Madrid*, to visit and comfort him, in the apprehension of losing, by his Prisoner's Death, the advantages he expected from his Captivity. He put him therefore in hopes of his Deliverance, in the two visits he made him, tho' in general Terms, which however produced the desired effect, since the King recovered his Health. But when, after his recovery, he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived he was farther from his deliverance than he imagined. The Emperor still insisted upon the restitution of *Burgundy*, and when the King offered to espouse the Princess *Leonora*, and hold that Duchy as her Dowry, *Charles* excused himself as having promised to give the Queen his Sister in marriage to the Duke of *Bourbon*. It was no small mortification to *Francis* to see one of his Subjects preferred before him. But what troubled him still more, was, that he saw it to be only a pretence to retard the Conclusion of the Treaty. So, in the despair the Emperor's rigour threw him into, he gave the Duchess of *Alençon* a Writing under his hand, whereby he consented and even ordered, that the States of *France* should crown the Dauphin his Son. This, in *France*, is called the *Edict of Madrid*. But the Parliament of *Paris* thought not fit to record it, either because it was against the Laws of the Realm, or they deemed such an imperfect Edict to be of no Authority since the King was not free. It may be, *Francis* thereby designed to let the Emperor see, that instead of having a King in his power, he ran the hazard of having only a Prince without Dominions.

Francis or-
ders the Dau-
phin his Son
to be crowned.

The Parlia-
ment of Pa-
ris refuse.
P. Daniel.

Whilst the Emperor amused his Prisoner in *Spain*, he acted with no greater sincerity with the Pope, who did not know what to think of his Proceedings. The victorious Monarch had courted him very earnestly. But after making a Treaty with him by the Viceroy of *Naples*, he long delayed to ratify it, and at last had sent his ratification without including the three separate Articles. He said, that as to the Duke of *Ferrara* he could not oblige him to deliver *Reggio* to the Pope, being a Fief of the Empire. As to the second Article, whereby the Emperor was bound to oblige the Inhabitants of the *Milanese* to take their Salt of the Pope's Subjects, he said, that concerned only the Duke of *Milan*, and for his part he could not promise for others. That for the Benefices of *Naples*, he could not agree to that Article, unless a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, namely, that what had been practised in the Reigns of the former Kings of *Naples* should be conformed to. The Pope finding, the Emperor refused to ratify these three Articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the same terms as before the Treaty. But the Emperor had obtained his desires, since he had obstructed the League which was projecting against him, in rendering the Pope suspected by the rest of the Sovereigns.

The Emperor
deals deceit-
fully with
the Pope.
He sends an
imperfect
Ratification
of the Treaty
of Rome.
Guicciard.

The Pope
rejects it.

The Emperor
offers the In-
vestiture of
Milan to
Sforza, on a
condition not
to be per-
formed.
Guicciard.

There was another thing which shewed the Emperor's insincerity, namely, having sent the Investiture of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza*, he clogged it with the condition that

Sforza should pay him twelve hundred thousand Ducats in recompense for his charges in keeping that Duchy for him. As it was evident, *Sforza* could not possibly perform this Condition, it was no less so that the Emperor only sought a pretence to continue master of *Milan*. These things alarmed the Pope, who heard besides, that the Council of *Spain* was not favorable to him. And indeed, some of the Emperor's Ministers had advised him, to chastise the Pope for joining with *France* at so critical a juncture, and compel him to restore *Modena* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* to the *Bentivoglio's*.

1528

On the other hand, the *Venetians* seeing there was no likelihood, that the Emperor really intended to restore *Sforza*, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the Duchy of *Milan*. Wherefore, they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the Pope and the King of *England* to join with them and *France* against the Emperor, well knowing that otherwise all *Italy* would fall under the Dominion of the House of *Austria*. A Letter of *Andrea Gritti* their Doge to Cardinal *Wolsey*, of the 31st of *March*, extant in the Collection of the Publick Acts, shews, that these able Politicians had formed this project shortly after the Battle. The Letter indeed is only an Ambassador's Credentials, who had orders to treat with the King upon a very important affair. But at such a juncture, this great affair could be only the League they were projecting.

The Venetians
are endeav-
ouring to form
a League
against the
Emperor.
Guicciard.

As Pub.
XIV. f. 36.

Mean while, the Pope was extremely embarrassed. In attempting to manage too artfully, he had made so many false Steps, that he knew not which way to turn. This is frequently the case of those, who, quitting the great road, walk thro' by-ways. *Clement VII* could not resolve either to be satisfied with the Emperor's offers, or enter into a League against him. In this uncertainty, he chose to follow the example of *Leo X*, and *Julius II*, his Predecessors, that is, to treat with the Emperor and his Enemies at the same time, in order to be determined by the Events, in what would be most advantageous. To that end, whilst he was treating at *Rome* with the *Venetians*, he sent Cardinal *Salviati* to *Spain*, to negotiate with the Emperor, putting into his hands a Dispensation, desired by that Monarch, to marry his Niece *Isabella* of *Portugal*. But the Dispensation was not to be delivered to the Emperor till after the conclusion of the Treaty.

The Pope
continues un-
determined.

The affairs of *Italy* being in this situation, another accident happened, which plainly shewed the Emperor only sought to amuse all the Sovereigns by a feigned moderation, whilst in truth he was solely thinking of extending his Dominions. His League with *Adrian VI*, and the rest of the States of *Italy*, was founded upon *Francesco Sforza's* restoration to the Duchy of *Milan*. As this was the common Interest of *Italy*, so was it likewise the only Bond by which the Emperor had found means to unite all the Potentates against *France*, then in possession of the *Milanese*. That League had succeeded according to the desires of the Allies. The *French* were driven out of *Italy*, and *Sforza* restored. But though the Emperor had pretended to give him the Investiture, he had not yet done it, because *Sforza* was not able to pay the twelve hundred thousand Ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he should obtain more moderate Terms, but that was only to amuse him, and remove his as well as the Pope's and *Venetians* Suspicion, that the Emperor intended to keep the Duchy for himself, or give it to his Brother the Archduke *Ferdinand*.

Sforza is kept
in servitude
by the Impe-
rialists.
Guicciard.

What was then but a bare Suspicion, soon became a Certainty. The Duke of *Bourbon* going into *Spain*, to take care of his Concerns, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquis of *Pescara*, was commissioned by the Emperor to command in *Italy*. Shortly after, *Pescara* affected to appear very dissatisfied, and openly to complain of the Emperor's Ingratitude. He carried his dissimulation so far, that at last he inspired *Jeronimo Morone*, the Duke of *Milan's* Chancellor, with the boldness to sound him, to see whether by his means the *Spaniards* might be driven out of the *Milanese*. *Pescara* hearkened to his Insinuations, had several Conferences with him, and managed so dextrously, that he engaged *Morone* to cause the Duke himself to speak to him about the affair. *Morone's* project was to kill all the *Spaniards* in the Duchy of *Milan*, and make *Pescara* King of *Naples*. As this could not be effected without foreign Aid, *Pescara* proposed to engage in the plot, the Pope, the Regent of *France*, and the *Venetians*. Accordingly these three Powers came into it, and promised their assistance. When matters were almost ripe, *Pescara* received the Emperor's orders to dispossess the Duke of *Milan* entirely. He began with seizing *Morone*, and then constrained the Duke, who was not able to resist, to resign the City of *Milan*, and all the rest of the Towns in his possession. Only the Castle of *Milan* *Sforza* would not deliver, which was therefore immediately besieged. Thus the Emperor had a plausible colour to ren-
der

The Emperor
lays a Snare
for Sforza in
order to dis-
possess him.
Guicciard.
P. Daniels

Pescara takes
away all his
Places, and
besieges the
Castle of
Milan.

1525. der himself master of the Duchy, and the Pope and *Venetians* could not complain of his punishing *Sforza's* Treachery, since there were evident proofs that they themselves were concerned in the plot.

The *Venetians* insist upon *Sforza's* Restoration. Guicciard.

The artifice practised by the Emperor to seize the *Milanese*, served only to confirm the *Venetians* in their resolution, to hazard all to hinder that Duchy from remaining in the hands of the House of *Austria*. Without troubling themselves to justify their Conduct, they plainly told the *Spanish* Ambassador, who pressed them to join with the Emperor, that *Sforza's* restoration was a preliminary they would never depart from. If *Clement VII* had shewn the same resolution, the Emperor would have been something embarrassed. But the Pope, by acting too politically, suffered himself to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a Legate in *Spain*, who was treating with the Emperor, whilst himself was negotiating at *Rome* with the *French* and *Venetian* Ambassadors, a League against that Monarch. He impatiently waited the Success of his Legate's Negotiation, and as the conclusion was long delayed, he appointed a day to sign a League with *France* and *Venice*. But in the interval, receiving advice, that his Treaty was concluded at *Madrid*, he would hear no more of the League. Soon after, the Emperor sent him by an Express, the Treaty concluded in *Spain*, which he found so equivocal and ambiguous, that he refused to ratify it. The *Spanish* Ambassador pretending to be himself surprized at the ambiguities of the Treaty, strenuously maintained, they were undesigned, and told the Pope, he might draw the Treaty as he pleased, and engaged to have it signed by the Emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the Pope from entering into the League during that time, and *Clement* suffered himself to be deceived by the assurance wherewith the Ambassador spoke. This was transacted in *December* 1525, and in the same month died *Pesquera*.

The Pope is in suspense, declares himself.

He suffers himself to be deceived by the *Spanish* Ambassador. Guicciard.

Pesquera's Death.

Henry thinks of siding with *France*. Guicciard. Hallingh.

The Emperor and Henry are dispirited with numbers.

Causes of their falling out. Guicciard.

March. Herbert. Hall. Hallingh.

Having thus shewn the situation of affairs in *Italy*, we must see what passed at the Court of *England*, where was no less caballing than at *Rome* and *Venice*, since it was then really debating to preserve the Balance of *Europe*, which leaned too much to one side. The equality between the two Houses of *France* and *Austria*, was properly what made *England* considerable, and consequently was an advantage not to be neglected. But there were other reasons that incited *Henry* to forsake the Emperor, and join with *France*. Though the Treaty of *Bruges* or *Windfor* seemed to have inseparably united the Emperor and *Henry*, it is however certain, they were not pleased with one another, because each was desirous to make their Union subservient to his own affairs, without any regard to his Ally. Probably Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was very angry with the Emperor, did not a little contribute to dispose his master to a rupture.

The Princess *Mary*, *Henry's* Daughter, was affianced to the Emperor, and yet the King her Father had offered her to the King of *Scotland*. On the other hand, the Emperor had not scrupled to conclude his own Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal*, as if he had not been engaged to *Mary*, and from hence these two Monarchs shewed they had very little regard for one another. *Charles* hearing that *Henry* was treating of a Marriage between his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*, took that occasion to throw upon him the rupture of his Marriage. In *March* (1) he sent into *England* the Lord of *Buren*, and the President of the Council of *Mechlin*, to require the King to send him immediately the Princess, pay down the covenanted Dowry, and pursuant to their League, enter *Picardy* with a powerful Army, as he should have done the last year. It was easy for *Henry* to perceive, the Emperor sought only to justify himself, without any intention to accomplish his Marriage with *Mary*, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preserve a good Understanding. But on the other hand, the Emperor had no less reason to complain of him. *Henry* had promised to find a hundred thousand Crowns a month for the Duke of *Bourbon's* Expedition into *France*, or to make a powerful Diverion in *Picardy*. But after setting the affair on foot by the first monthly payment, he had stopped there without making any attempt against *France*. Nay, he had demanded the Money due to him, when he knew the Emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding seemed to demonstrate he only sought a pretence. Moreover the Emperor was informed, that in *October* last, when *Francis I* was marching into *Italy*, a person without Character (2) came to *London*, from the Regent, and had several Conferences with Cardinal *Wolsey*. But then *Charles* had promised to invade *France* on the side of *Spain*, without having done

any thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that *Henry* should disappoint him. Thus these two Monarchs who were thought so strictly united, and whose Union made *France* and *Italy* tremble, were in reality estranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the Conferences of the person from *France* with Cardinal *Wolsey*, had taken effect. Besides, the Cardinal who was very revengeful, must have been extremely incensed with the Emperor for deceiving him twice, after a positive promise to help him to the Papacy.

Wolsey contributes to the Rupture.

It was in the beginning of *March* that the Emperor's two Ambassadors discharged their Commission. But before they had received an answer, the news of the Battle of *Pavia*, and the taking of the King of *France* reached *England* (3), by a Letter from the Governess of *Flanders*, with another from *Lanoy*, written on the very day of the Battle. As the Court of *England* then stood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable. Nevertheless as it was yet necessary to dissemble, *Henry* ordered a solemn Mass to be celebrated at *St. Paul's*, where he was pleased to be present in Person (4), without however causing *Te Deum* to be sung (5). His aim was to make the Emperor's Ambassadors believe, it was on account of the Victory, and withal to shew a regard for *France*, by avoiding to express any Joy at her misfortune.

Henry shews a regard for France. Herbert. Hall.

Herbert.

Some days after, the Council was assembled to consider what was to be done at this juncture. The question was, whether this opportunity should be embraced to make Conquests upon *France*, in prosecuting the King's Title to that Kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to assist and preserve *France* entire, and oppose the growing power of the House of *Austria*. As to the first point, it is certain, if on this occasion, *England* had strictly united with the Emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the side of *Picardy*, *France*, in her present condition, would have been irrecoverably lost. For, instead of being able to withstand the Arms of these two powerful Enemies, it was not possible for her to resist the Emperor without the King of *England's* assistance. But on the other hand, it was considered, that *France* could not be ruined without rendering the Emperor too powerful: That he was already in possession of *Spain*, and had also an eye upon *Portugal*, by marrying his Niece *Isabella* as it was publicly reported: That his late Victory in *Milan* gave him such a superiority in *Italy*, that probably, the Pope and the *Venetians* would not be able to make head against him: That he possessed almost all the *Low-Countries* with large and rich Provinces in *Germany*; not to reckon the Imperial Dignity which was become as Hereditary in his Family: That if by a powerful diversion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the *French* Provinces bordering upon *Spain* and *Italy*, the most the King could expect was, to share *France* with him: But it was to be feared, that afterwards the Emperor would become his Enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their Forces, nor any State in *Europe* capable of supporting the weakest: That therefore, supposing the King had in *France* all the success he could wish, in aggrandising himself in that Kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal War with the Emperor, who very probably would never be satisfied till he had dispossessed the *English* of their Conquests: That what had passed between *Lewis XII* and *Ferdinand*, in respect of the Kingdom of *Naples*, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for such Partitions long to subsist: That upon all these accounts, it was more for the interest of *England*, to make a vigorous effort to support *France*, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the House of *Austria*: That the happiness and glory of *England* consisted in the equality between the King of *France* and the Emperor, since thereby *England* was always in condition to remain Arbitrator of *Europe*, and make herself courted by both sides: That there was no other way to cause Trade to flourish, wherein consisted all her strength, and without which the *English* could never hope to render themselves formidable: That if, on the contrary, it was resolved to compleat the destruction of *France*, and a War should afterwards happen with the Emperor, of which there was great probability; at once would be lost the Trade with *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, which would quickly reduce *England* to extreme poverty: That at least, it would thereby be out of her power to have Land and Sea Forces sufficient to balance the Emperor's power. In short, if *France* came to be divided between the Emperor and the King, *Scotland* would certainly join in Alliance with the Emperor, and continue to annoy *England* by

Henry advises with his Council about the Course he should take.

(1) They arrived in *London*, *March* 6. Hall, fol. 136.

(2) *Jean Jacques de Pajolan*. See above.

(3) *March* 12. Accompanied by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Scotland*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Flouence*. The day before, there were Bonfires in *London* on account of this Victory. Hall, fol. 139.

(4) Hall affirms the contrary. *Id.*

(5) On *March* 9. Hall, fol. 136. Herbert, p. 64.

1525. frequent diversions as she had always done in favor of France. To these considerations another of greater weight was added, namely, that a League with the Emperor to conquer France was not the same thing, as one with the Regent in defence of that Kingdom: That in the first, the Emperor's sole aim would be to make the English Forces serve to enable him to push his Conquests elsewhere; but at the same time he would oppose directly or indirectly the King's increase of power: That this was the usual policy of Princes when they joined with those weaker than themselves: That it could be the less doubted that the Emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the Battle of Pavia, he had shewn, that he considered the King only as his Instrument to promote his designs in Italy; but if the King joined with France, the two Allies having the same view, would as is usual in defensive Leagues act unanimously: That on the other hand, in the present juncture, France not being able to support herself without the assistance of England, would readily accept what terms should be imposed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the Invasion of that Kingdom: In a word, nothing could be more glorious for the Kingdom, than to relieve France in her distress and free her captive King: That by so doing he would truly acquire the Title of *Arbiter and Deliverer of Europe*, and make of the King of France a Friend, who probably would eternally remember such a favour.

Henry resolves to support France. He uses for Pretence the Injuries done him by the Emperor.

These were the reasons that induced the King and Council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the King's and the Cardinal's inclinations, and to the measures they had now begun to take. The only business was to seek a pretence to break with the Emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which Princes are very attentive. When they wage never so unjust Wars, they would persuade the World that Justice and Equity are on their side, without any motive of envy, jealousy, ambition and avarice. The War Henry was meditating against the Emperor was, as we have seen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been sufficient to justify it. But he chose rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the Emperor. The reason of this conduct is evident. It seldom happens that Policy and Equity agree, and Henry, like most Princes, had rather be counted a great Politician, than an honest Man. However this be, the resolution being taken to support France, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and Sir Robert Wingfield were sent into Spain, to demand of the Emperor several things which it was known he would not grant. First, That as the War was made at a common charge, it was reasonable the King of England should partake of the Fruits of the Victory of Pavia. That therefore, pursuant to their Alliance, it should be stipulated in the Treaty with the captive King, that Henry should be restored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, That if this could not be obtained by fair means, the Emperor, according to the Treaty, should prepare to invade France from Spain, whilst the English acted in Picardy, and that the War should not cease till the King of England had acquired all that belonged to him: That the Emperor ought to be the readier to assist the King of England in obtaining his desires, because by his Marriage with the Heiress of England, all these acquisitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was said in the Treaty of Windsor, the two Allies should mutually deliver all Usurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, pursuant to that Article, that the King of France should be delivered to him the same day the Princess Mary was assigned to the Emperor.

The Emperor answers in general terms.

These demands were for the most part of such a nature, that the Emperor easily perceived, Henry only sought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the Princess Mary, since he was determined to marry Isabella of Portugal, and much less would he deliver the captive King, and so part with the advantage he expected from his Victory. Having therefore framed his Answer in general terms, denoting his unwillingness to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was seeking to join with the Regent of France. When this resolution was divulged, the Court of England took care to publish the reasons of the rupture with the Emperor. They were briefly these: That the Governes

Henry resolves to side with France. He publishes the Reasons. Herbert.

of the Low-Countries, instead of providing for the War her quota of Forces, had privately treated with France: That the Flemings had broken the Treaty of Commerce in several Articles (1): That the Emperor had not paid the King the Sums due to him: That in the Terms on which he had offered to release the King of France, he had very negligently and in general only mentioned Henry's right, as a thing of little moment: That he was now treating of his marriage with the Princess of Portugal, in contempt of the Princess Mary, to whom he was contracted. Lastly, That the Turks being about to invade Christendom (2), it was necessary that all Christian Princes should join their Forces against them, which could not be done without a general Peace; but this Peace could not be effected, whilst the Emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himself at the expence of other Princes. These are the reasons alledged in vindication of the King's conduct. But the true reason was the just jealousy with which the Emperor's power inspired England, and the rest of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim War against the Emperor, being unwilling by so rash a step, to prejudice his intended Treaty with France. He contented himself with ordering his Ambassadors in Spain, to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive King, though he expected little from this intercession. Mean while, he acquainted the Regent of France, that if she would send Ambassadors to treat with him, there might follow a Treaty advantageous to the King her Son, and to both Kingdoms. The Regent immediately appointed Jean-Joachim de Passau Lord of Vaux, the same that had begun the Negotiation with Cardinal Wolsey, and Jean Brinon President of Roan. Their Commission was dated at Lyons, June the 9th.

Embassy of France to London. A.D. Pub. XIV. p. 37. 43. Hollingsh.

Whilst the Treaty between France and England was negotiating at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raising of Money to Cardinal Wolsey's care. The most natural way was to apply to the Parliament. But Wolsey was too haughty to expose himself to a refusal, or contest with the House of Commons, as it had once before happened. So, resolving to use a speedier means, and more agreeable to his temper, he granted Commissions in the King's name (3), to levy throughout the Kingdom the sixth part of every Lay-Man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergy's (4). These Commissions were no sooner published, but the Nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raising Money was universally deemed a manifest breach of *Magna Charta*, and an Incroachment of so great consequence, that there was like to have been a general Rebellion. The King being informed of it, immediately issued out a Proclamation, disavowing these Commissions which had been published in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his People by force, nor demand any thing but by way of Benevolence, as practised in the Reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an Artifice to extort, under another name, what the People refused to give by force. For, the Benevolence demanded afterwards by the King was almost equal to what was at first required by way of Authority. The Londoners being taxed first, the Magistrates excused themselves, as Benevolences were abolished by Richard III. The Cardinal exclaimed against it as if it had been the most extravagant assertion in the World. He told them Richard III was a Tyrant and Usurper, and therefore Laws made in his Reign could not limit the Sovereign's power. But as this Argument had no great effect, he sent for the chief of the Common Council of the City one by one to intimidate them, desiring, at any rate, to compass his ends, without being obliged to call a Parliament. But whilst he was thus employed, there was an Insurrection near London (5), which probably, would have drawn in the whole Kingdom, if a timely stop had not been put to it. The speedy course that was taken to disperse the seditious, succeeded as the Court could wish. They who had taken Arms seeing themselves not yet sufficiently supported, submitted to the King's mercy, and some of the King-Leaders were imprisoned (6). The King finding how the Nation stood affected, thought proper to satisfy them by shewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his Minister. Wherefore he declared in full Council, that his intention was not to punish any Person for this Commotion. The Cardinal perceiving, the King threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himself as well as he could, without

Wolsey resolves to raise Money upon the Parliament. Herbert. Stow. Hall. Hollingsh.

The King disavows it.

He demands a Benevolence.

The City of London opposes it. The Cardinal keeps his ground. Hall. Stow.

Insurrection near London. Country. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The King shews the blame on the Cardinal. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

(1) They had not only insolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonstrance made in that behalf, had ridd the value of our Coin, and thereby secretly derived great Sums into their Country. Instead of the Flemings, Rapin hath, by mistake, *Flemings*. See *Holbert*, p. 65.

(2) They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened several ways into Italy and Germany. *Herbert*.

(3) To the most considerable Persons in each County. *Hall*, fol. 137.

(4) The Cardinal pretended, that this Money was to be applied towards carrying war into France. See *Hall*, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of Persons that were worth fifty Pounds, three Shillings and Four-pence; of such as were worth twenty Pounds, two Shillings and Eight-pence; and of those that had from under twenty Pounds to twenty Shillings, Twelve-pence in the Pound. *Hall*, fol. 138.

(5) In *Stafford*, where the Weavers and other Artificers assembled out of *Lanham*, *Sudbury*, *Hadley*, &c. to the number of about four thousand. *Hall*, fol. 141.

(6) In the Fleet. *Ibid*.

1525. accusing the King, alledging, he had the Judges opinion for what he had done. If such an excuse were admitted, it would be no longer necessary for a King of *England* to apply to the Parliament for Money. The Judges being appointed by the King, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his side. But though there have been Judges so hardy as to decide points of this consequence, as in the Reigns of *Richard II.*, *Charles I.*, *James II.*, very few escaped the punishment due to their presumption. The Parliament never intended that the privileges of the Nation should depend upon the decision of the Judges. The Council finding the King was not inclined to support what the Cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the Cardinal himself, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any Person, upon those that had given the King wrong information, and to release the Prisoners, after a severe reprimand. Pursuant to this resolution, the Prisoners being brought before the Council, the Cardinal sharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinousness of their offence, and adding that the King was pleased to grant them his pardon, provided they would find Sureties for their good behavior for the future. But the Prisoners replying, they could find none, the Cardinal and Duke of *Norfolk* said, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were discharged.

The Affair ends mildly.

Herbert. Hall.

Henry receives several Complaints against the Cardinal. Herbert. Hall.

When the King had discovered that he approved not all the Cardinal's actions, People ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppressed the Nation, and more especially the Clergy, in a strange manner. The instrument of his oppressions was one *Allen* (1) his Chaplain, who kept no measures, well-knowing his Master's protection would not fail him on occasion. Mean while, how great soever the Cardinal's power was, a private Person ventured to commence a suit against *Allen*, and prosecuted him so vigorously, that at last the affair came to the King's knowledge, who was informed at the same time of several other complaints of the People. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in *England* so mild a Government as his, being ignorant of the ill use *Wolsey* made of his Authority. This information threw him into so terrible a rage, that the Cardinal was like to have been entirely out of favor. It was not without the utmost submission that he appeased the King's anger, shewing him withal his last Will, wherein he had made him his Heir. This he did to intimate that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increase the inheritance the King was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully express the King's sentiments concerning him, than his Letter to the Cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inserted by Lord *Herbert* in his History, is as follows:

He is like to turn him out of favour. The Cardinal appeases him.

The King's Letter to the Cardinal. Herbert. p. 67.

"AS touching the matter of *Wilton* (2), seeing it is in no other strain than you write of, and you being also so suddenly (with the falling sick of your Servants) afraid, and troubled; I marvel not that it overslipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, standing the case as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not so great, seeing the Election was but conditional. Wherefore, my Lord, seeing the humbleness of your submission, and though the case were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promising you, that the very affection I bear you caused me thus to do. As touching the help of Religious Houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, so it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it should so appear to all the World, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for, surely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the Realm, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill-gotten is bestowed upon the

College, but that the College is the cloak for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken of him, which I so entirely love. Wherefore, methought I could do no less, than thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little methinketh toucheth conscience, and that is, that you have received Money of the Exempts for having of their old Visitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conscience. For, and they were good, why should you take Money? And if they were ill, it were a sinful Act. Howbeit, your Legacy herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines*, be a Cloak, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus monished by him who so entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not only from this, (if Conscience will not bear it) but from all other things which should tangle the same; and, in so doing, we will sing, *Te laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te laudat Omnis Spiritus*: And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, desiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I ensure you, (and I pray you think it so) that there remaineth, at this hour, no spark of displeasure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplexed. Written with the hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend,

HENRY R.

This Letter shews the King was informed of several of the Cardinal's misdemeanours. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his Heart the heinousness of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great Zeal for the founding of his College. Had he not been thus prepossessed in his favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very dangerous to speak directly against a Favorite, to whom the King still shewed so great kindness. Mean while, the Cardinal finding by this instance, what his Enemies would be capable of doing against him, if they had the King's Ear, was very careful to remove from Court all he suspected. At the same time, he strove to preserve the King's Love and Esteem, by all sorts of Condescensions. He had now built at *Hampton-Court* a stately Palace, which outshone in beauty all the King's Houses. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a Jealousy in the King, he made him a present of it (3), as if from the very first he had intended to build it for him. He meant to insinuate by this Present, that he heaped up riches purely for his sake, which succeeded accordingly. The King had the same Confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people seemed to have something altered. This year he obtained the King's Letters Patents for founding his College at *Oxford*.

The Cardinal removes from Court those whom he mistrusts.

Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The King restores him to his Friendship. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 39.

About the same time, the King created *Henry Fitz-Roy* his natural Son Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and High-Admiral of *England*, though he was but six years old (4). As he had no legitimate Son, he was extremely fond of this bastard, whom he had by the Lady *Elizabeth Blunt* (5).

Henry the King's natural Son made Duke of Richmond. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 42. July 16.

Whilst these things passed, the Cardinal was employed in treating with the *French* Ambassadors. The beginning of *June* the Regent had sent general full Powers to her two Ambassadors. But in the course of the Negotiation they found they should have occasion for more particular Powers, to settle the Sums due from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and which, consisting of several Articles, were to be put into one according to *Henry's* Intention. These new Powers were dispatched the 16th of *August*. Upon such an extraordinary occasion, the *French* Ambassadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the King of *England's* pleasure. Their aim being to disengage him from the Emperor, and cause him to join with the King their master, there was no disputing upon the Terms. But it must be confessed, that on this occa-

Negotiation with the French Ambassadors. Hall.

Henry's Generosity to the King of France.

(1) *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, the same that was Judge of the Cardinal's Court, was made Archbishop of *Dublin* in 1528, and barbarously murdered by *Thomas Fitz-Gerard*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, 1534. *Antiq. Oxf.* This *Allen*, who is said by *Hall* to have been a Man of more Learning than Virtue, or good Conscience, was commissioned by the Cardinal, in consequence of his Legatine Power, to visit all religious Houses; and accordingly he rid from one religious House to another, with a great Train, in a kind of perpetual Progress or Visitation, and did the Cardinal no little Service. *Hall*, fol. 148. *Herbert*, p. 67.

(2) This matter of *Wilton* was this: The Cardinal had elected a Person Priorefs of the Nunnery there, for whom the King had some way previously expressed his dislike. The Priorefs of the Nunnery of *Wilton* was a Baroness by her Title, as were also those of *Shaftsbury*, *Barkin*, and *St. Mary's* in *Winchester*, which were the only ones that were so in *England*. See *Fiddes Lib. Wdlj.* p. 398.

(3) And the King, in exchange, permitted him to live in his Palace at *Richmond*: At which, it seems, the People were highly offended. See *Hall*, fol. 144.

(4) He was born in the Prior's House at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, and first made Knight of the Garter, then Earl of *Nottingham*, and the same day Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, on the 18th of *June*. He was constituted likewise Lieutenant General beyond the *Trent*, and Warden General of the Marches of *Scotland*. After which he was bred up with *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* at *Windsor*, from whence they went both together to study at *Paris*. Their Friendship was increased by the Duke's marrying *Mary* the Earl's Sister, Daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had no issue. He was very personable and of great expectation, and for abilities of Mind and Body, one of the rarest of his time. But he departed this Life in the 17th year of his Age, and was buried at *Torbodine* in *Norfolk*. *Herbert. Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 305.—On the same 18th day of *June* was *Henry* Courtney Earl of *Devonshire* created Marquis of *Exeter*, *Henry* Brandon, Son of the Duke of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Sir *Thomas* Manners, Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry* Clifford, Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Robert* Ratcliff, Lord *Fitz-walter*, Viscount *Fitz-walter*, and Sir *Thomas* Bullyn, Viscount *Rochford*. *Hall*, fol. 148.

(5) Daughter of Sir *John* Blunt, Widow of Sir *Gilbert* Talboys, who was thought for her rare Endowments of Nature and Ornaments of Education, to be the Beauty and Master-piece of her time. *Ibid.*

1525. fion, *Henry* behaved with uncommon Generosity. Though he might have demanded Towns, and even Provinces, in return for the Friendship he was pleased to contract with *Francis I.* and for the Charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himself with securing, by new Treaties, the Sums that were justly due to him. These Treaties being ready, were signed at *Moore*, a House of the Kings (1), on the 30th of *August*.

Treaty of
Moore, di-
vided into
several
Treaties.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 48,
&c.
Du Tillet.
Herbert.

The first contained a defensive League between *France* and *England*, against all Powers Spiritual or Temporal, that should invade either of the two Kingdoms. The Allies of the two Kings were included by name in the League (2), but with the limitation, that this Article was not to be understood of those who had usurped any thing upon either of the two principal Contractors since the League concluded at *London*, *October* the 1st, 1518. Hence the Emperor, who had lately conquered the Duchy of *Milan*, was excluded. Moreover, *Henry I.* engaged to use his best endeavours to procure the Liberty of *Francis*.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 58.

The second Treaty concerned the payment of the Sums due to *Henry* from the King of *France*, namely, 1. By a Treaty of the 7th of *August* 1515, one million of Crowns of Gold. 2. By another of the 12th of *January* 1518, for restitution of *Tournay*, five hundred thousand Crowns of Gold. 3. By another of the same date, twenty three thousand Livres *Tournois*. 4. By another of *November* the 13th, 1520, four hundred sixty two thousand Crowns. For all these Sums the Regent bound herself in the King her Son's name, to pay *Henry* two millions of Crowns of Gold, of thirty five pence *Tournois* each, which being reduced to Crowns *de soleil*, of thirty eight pence, amounted to the Sum of eighteen hundred and ninety four thousand, seven hundred thirty six Crowns, and thirty two pence *Tournois* (3). This Sum was to be paid at several times, viz. forty seven thousand three hundred and sixty eight Crowns, within forty days after the date of the Treaty; the like Sum on the 1st of *November* next, and the same every six months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, consequently the whole Sum must be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the same Treaty, that if *Henry* died before he had received the two Millions, the Arrears were to be paid to his Heirs and Successors. But in case he out-lived the payment of the whole, he should receive during Life, an yearly pension of a hundred thousand Crowns to cease at his death.

To secure the performance of the Treaty, the Regent was to swear to it solemnly before the *English* Ambassadors, and *Francis I.* was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into *France*. Moreover *Henry* had for Security, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Longueville*, the Earls of *St. Paul*, *Maulevrier*, *Brienne*, the Lords of *Montmorency*, *Lautrec*, and *Breze*, the Cities of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse*, *Amiens*, *Bordeaux*, *Tours*, and *Rheims* (4).

It must be observed, that in the Sum of two millions of Crowns due to *Henry*, there was no deduction of what he had received from *Francis I.* from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage *Henry* made, which was not very great, considering how little punctual the King of *France* was in his payments.

p. 69.

By a third Treaty, the Regent engaged to pay to *Mary*, *Henry's* Sister, Queen Dowager of *France*, all the Arrears of her Dowry at several payments, namely, five thousand Crowns within forty days after the date of the Treaty, and a like Sum every six months till the whole was discharged. Moreover she promised to let her enjoy her Dowry for the future.

p. 74.

There was also a fourth Treaty, which ran, that the King of *Scotland* should be reckoned in the number of the Allies of *France*, but on condition the Scots committed no act of Hostility against *England*, after the 25th of *December* next.

(1) In *Hertfordshire*.

(2) Their common Allies were the Pope, *Venice*, the Kings of *Hungary* and *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*; and those named by *France* in particular, the Kings of *Scotland* and *Navarre*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, *Gueldres*; the *Switzers*; the Marquits of *Saluzzo*, the Marquits of *Montferrat* and his Mother: Those named by King *Henry*, were the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the King of *Denmark*, the Queen-Dowager of *France*, *Margaret* Archduchess of *Austria*, the Bishop of *Liege*, the Dukes of *Urbino*, *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, the House of *Medici*, the *Florentines*, and the *Italian* Towns. *Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 14. p. 51.*

(3) Decretes octies centum Millium Coronarum Auri de sole, & nonaginta quatuor Millium Coronarum Auri de sole, septingentarum triginta sex Coronarum Auri de sole, & triginta duorum solidorum Turonensium. ----- *Ibid. p. 59.*

(4) All these Lords and Cities were to send a Bond with their Seal annexed, within two Months, under the Obligation and Fortitude of all their Oaths. *Ibid. p. 65.*

(5) In *October*, *St. William Fitz Williams* Treasurer of the Household, and *Dr. Taylor*, were sent into *France*, to see the Queen-Regent swear to the observance of these Treaties. *Hall, fol. 145.*

(6) Crowns *Sol.* or *de Soleil*, were golden Coins, of old worth thirty eight Pence *Tournois*.

(7) *Monfieur de Prat*, his Ambassador, departed out of *England* April 9. *Hall, fol. 139. H. Lingb. p. 891.*

(8) *Hall* says, that in *January* 1526, a Peace for three years and six months was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. *fol. 146. H. Lingb. p. 892.*

(9) This year, the King following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, fell in upon his Head, and had not one *Edmund More* a Footman jumped in, and raised up his head, which was stuck fast in the Clay, he had been drowned. *Hall, fol. 130. Stow, p. 523. P. Plowden* having, in 1513, first discovered the *South Sea*, and *Hernando de Magellanes* sailed, in 1520, through the *Strait* in *Spain* after him, that bear his name; this year 1525, *Francisco Pizarro*, a *Spaniard*, residing at *Panama*, first attempted the discovery of the *South-Sea*, and at last came to *Peru*, which he ransacked. ----- *Hernando de Magellanes* aforementioned, dying in the Voyage, his Companion went on to *Spain*, and the *Meluccas*, whence one of the Ships returned to *Spain* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and, to first compass the *Globe*; *Juan Sebastian de Cano* a *Bijanier* being Pilot. *Herbert, p. 70.*

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Lastly, by a fifth Treaty it was agreed, that the Court of *France* should consent neither directly nor indirectly, that the Duke of *Albany* should return into *Scotland* during the minority of *James V.*

1525.

p. 75.

All these several Treaties, which properly were only different Articles of one and the same Treaty, were ratified and sworn by the Regent of *France* (5), and confirmed by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Toulouse*, and *Bordeaux*. The Lords and Cities that were to be Securities, gave their Bonds. Finally, *Francis I.* himself sent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of *December*.

p. 76, 126.

But after having done the King's affairs, the Cardinal forgot not himself. There is in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Regent's Bond of the 18th of *November*, to pay the Cardinal the Arrears of the Pension granted him in lieu of the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, being four years and a half, amounting to the Sum of twenty nine thousand seven hundred and ninety three Crowns of Gold *de soleil* (6). Moreover, she declared, that for several other weighty reasons, there was due to the Cardinal a hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, these two Sums making together one hundred and twenty one thousand, eight hundred and ninety eight Crowns *de soleil*, were to be paid in seven years, by half-yearly equal payments.

Grant of
the Pension
to the Card-
inal.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 112.

The defensive League between *France* and *England* being thus concluded and signed, the Regent began to be a little more at ease, and better able to dispute upon the Terms of the King her Son's Liberty. Besides, she had reason to hope, the King of *England's* Declarations would help to determine the Pope and *Venetians*, whose fears alone hindered them from forming a League against the Emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be seen, they altered their measures upon hearing what the King of *England* had done. Mean while, the Emperor receiving advice of the Treaty of *Moore*, recalled his Ambassadors, who were still in *England* (7), and *Henry* did the same with respect to his in *Spain*. Shortly after, *Charles* concluded his Marriage with *Isabella of Portugal*, by virtue of a Dispensation brought him by Cardinal *Salviati*, who delivered it to him after the Conclusion of the forementioned Treaty.

The Regent
takes heart.

Henry and
Charles re-
call their
Ambassadors
Hali.
Guesard.
Hillingb.
Herbert.

Whilst the affairs of *Europe* took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of *Pavia*, and the *French* King's Captivity, there was no other alteration in those of *Scotland*, except that the Earl of *Angus*, who was to hold the Administration but four months, did not think fit to resign when his time was expired. Whereupon the Earl of *Argyle* withdrew greatly dissatisfied, but the Earl of *Lenox*, though likewise displeased, still remained at Court. Mean while, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, who had been dispossessed, were not unmindful of their Affairs. The Earl of *Lenox's* discontent giving them room to hold Intelligence with him, they persuaded him to instill into the King a desire to be freed from the Earl of *Angus*. But as there was occasion for great precaution to deceive that Lord's Vigilance, it was not till the next year that the King found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his design.

The Affairs
of Scotland.
Bachanan.

In the beginning of the year, the Court of *Scotland* had sent an Embassy to *England*, at the head whereof was the Earl of *Cassils*, to treat of the King's Marriage with the Princess *Mary*. But as several difficulties occurred, the Truce which was to expire the 26th of *January*, was prolonged to the 23d of *March* (8), to give the Earl of *Cassils* time to take a Journey to *Scotland* for new Instructions. Mean while, it was not possible to conclude any thing, because, in all appearance, *Henry* had no intention to give his only Daughter and Heir to the King of *Scotland*. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by this Marriage. Besides, as he then intended to join with *France*, it was no longer his Interest to manage the Scots (9).

Truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland
prolonged.
Act. pub.
XIV. p. 30.

Before the Treaty of *Moore* was concluded, the Em-

1526.

Negotiations
at Rome.
Guesard.

1526. peror had a great advantage in his Negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By restoring *Sforza* to Milan, he was almost sure the Pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by desisting from his demand of the Duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily resign Milan, and not trouble himself much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not resolve to do either, and that made the Negotiations so tedious. After the Treaty of Moore was signed, the State of his affairs was changed. The Pope was grown more courageous, and finding himself deceived by the Emperor, who in a second ratification of their Treaty, left the restoration of *Sforza* in a state of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the restitution of the *Milanese*, there was no Peace to be expected. The Emperor had also reason to fear, that Francis I., seeing himself like to be so well supported, would be still more incontinent with respect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a League which was going to unite so many Princes against him, he was in great perplexity. There was a necessity of speedily resolving either to maintain, without any Ally, the impending War, or to make Peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chusing War, he knew not where to find Money, and in making with his prisoner a forced Peace, he could not expect to reap from his Victory the advantages he proposed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his Captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to resign the Duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obstacle to a Peace. After that the Emperor readily and seriously treated with him, whereas before he had only amused him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous Treaty of Madrid. The chief Articles to which Francis submitted were these; besides many others which it would be needless to recite.

The Pope refuses all Terms without Sforza's Restoration. Guicciard.

The Emperor resolves upon a Peace. Herbert.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14. 1526. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 308. Herbert. Guicciard. Hall.

That the King of France should marry Queen *Leonora* the Emperor's Sister, and have with her two hundred thousand Crowns of Gold.

That Francis should be released on the 10th of March, and the same day should deliver to the Emperor his two Sons in Hostage (1).

That he should resign to the Emperor the Duchy of Burgundy in full Sovereignty.

That he should desist from the Homage, the Emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he should renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Asti, Tournay, Lisle, and Hesdin, &c.

That he should persuade Henry d'Albret to resign the Kingdom of Navarre to the Emperor, or at least should give him no assistance.

That, within forty days, he should restore the Duke of Bourbon and all his Party to their Estates.

That he should restore *Philibert de Châlons* Prince of Orange, and *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their Principalities.

That he should give no sort of assistance to the Duke of Guelders, and after that Prince's death, should use his best endeavour to cause his Towns to fall into the Emperor's hands.

That he should pay the King of England five hundred thousand Crowns which the Emperor owed him.

That when the Emperor went to Italy to receive the Imperial Crown, he should lend him twelve Gallies, four large Ships, and a Land-Army, or two hundred thousand Crowns instead of the Army.

Lastly, he promised upon the Word and Honour of a Prince, to execute all these Articles, or in case of Non-performance to return prisoner into Spain.

State of the Emperor's Affairs at the time of the Treaty of Madrid.

If Francis had not been so hasty to offer the Duchy of Burgundy, he would, probably, have saved himself many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour (2). At the time, the Treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Besides those already mentioned, he knew that the Princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's Doctrine, began to take measures to secure themselves from the Calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkish Invasion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the Emperor, by reason of the neighbourhood of Austria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been so hasty, the Emperor would have rather desisted from Burgundy, than been exposed to so many Enemies at once. These were the real motives that obliged him to hasten the Conclusion of the Treaty

of Madrid, contrary to the Instances and Opposition of many of his Counsellors, who represented to him, that he would be infallibly disappointed. His Chancellor even refused to sign it, but as he believed he had strong reasons to run that hazard, he absolutely concluded, in a belief, that it was the sole means to prevent the League against him. Whatever happened, he hoped to be free at most, by restoring *Sforza* to Milan, which however he did not intend to do but at the last extremity. Mean while, by resolving to insist upon that Article, he rendered all his measures ineffectual; he lost his prisoner, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the League; in short, after sustaining many attacks, he was, as will be seen, forced to part with the Duchy of Milan. But where is the Prince, let his abilities be never so great, that can foresee all the Consequences of his own Policy? When Charles V signed the Treaty of Madrid, he imagined to do a very advantageous thing. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchased his Liberty, if, when he signed the Treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifest, that when he gave his word, he designed to break it, since he had no sooner set foot in his own Dominions, but he refused to ratify the Treaty. This was so little expected by the Emperor, that immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, he wrote to the Pope, that though he had promised to restore *Sforza* to Milan, it was however on condition that *Sforza* cleared himself of the Crime of Felony and Treason laid to his charge. Adding, that since the Princes of Italy wished, he would not give the Duchy of Milan to the Archduke Ferdinand his Brother, he would present it to the Duke of Bourbon, in case *Sforza* was found guilty. Clement VII, being informed of the Conditions of the Treaty of Madrid, presently guessed that Francis had accepted of them only to obtain his release, without intending to perform them. In this belief, he still insisted upon *Sforza*'s restoration without Terms, being willing, before he engaged with the Emperor, to see what the King of France would do. The Senate of Venice being of the same mind, not a little contributed to keep the Pope in his resolution.

What these subtle Politicians had foreseen, came to pass. Francis was no sooner arrived in his own Territories, but he mounted a Turkish Horse and rid full speed to St. John de Luz, from whence he went next day to Bayonne. The 17th of March, he signed Bonds to the King of England for the Sums in which his Mother the Regent had engaged him. By the way, the Historians place this Prince's deliverance on the 18th of March, and yet these Bonds are dated at Bayonne the 17th of the same month. When he came to Bayonne, Lanoy, who accompanied him as Ambassador, prayed him to ratify the Treaty of Madrid. But the King told him, that having exceeded in the Treaty, the power of a King of France, in granting the Duchy of Burgundy to the Emperor, he must proceed to the performance by fair means, and endeavour to obtain the consent of the Burgundians, and the approbation of the rest of his Subjects: That however, he designed to execute the Treaty, but wanted a little time to prepare for it. This answer might have sufficiently shown the Ambassador, what the King intended. He followed him however to Bourdeaux, where the King's first care was to ratify the Treaty concluded at Moore with the King of England (3). From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made some stay, with the Viceroy of Naples still in his Train, who pressed him from time to time to ratify and execute the Treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, according to his Oath. To this the King, to be excused, alledged, three reasons, which were far from being satisfactory to the Ambassador. The first was, that it was not in his power to resign Burgundy, because the Kings of France not being Proprietors of their Dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any part (4). The second, that he was compelled to sign the Treaty of Madrid. The third, that by his Coronation Oath, he had sworn not to alienate any part of his Kingdom, and this Oath annulled that which he had taken at Madrid. The Ambassador replied to the first, That though he could not alienate any of his Provinces, that was not to be understood of Dominions unjustly acquired by the Crown of France, as was the Duchy of Burgundy. To the second he answered, That it was left to his choice either to remain in the State, the chance of War, and the Will of God had thrown him into, or to be freed by a Treaty: That he had even solicited it, and it was difficult to conceive, wherein the Force he com-

1526.

Guicciard.

The Emperor adds a new condition with regard to Sforza. Guicciard.

The Pope believes Francis will not keep the Treaty of Madrid. He insists upon Sforza's Restoration.

Francis arrives in his own Dominions. Hall. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 129. Guicciard. Herbert.

Lanoy prays him to ratify the Treaty. He insists on it. Guicciard. Herbert. Bellai.

He ratifies the Treaty of Moore. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 134. --- 154. 175. Lanoy presses him. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert. P. Daniel. The King alledges Reasons to be excused. Hall.

Lanoy's Reply.

(1) And some other Lords, among whom was the Duke of Albany. See Rymer, Tom. 14. p. 311.

(2) At the conclusion of this Treaty, Francis coming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Bible, did swear by the Sacrament and the Holy Evangelists, not to break this Capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counsel or favour that any other should break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it seems all this was a Farce: for before Francis signed the Treaty, he made a formal, though private, Protestation against it, in the Presence of a few trusty Witnesses and Notaries. See P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 614.

(3) Before Sir Thomas Cheney, who was dispatched by King Henry to congratulate him upon his release. Herbert, p. 75.

(4) Without the consent of the principal Persons of the Estate and Parliament. Ibid.

plained of confisted. To the third he said, That when the King swore to the Treaty of *Madrid*, he was not ignorant of his Coronation Oath, and probably, did not believe the second contrary to the first; that if it was otherwise, there would be reason to think, he had intended to impose upon the Emperor's easiness. Without examining here either the King's reasons, or the Ambassador's answers, it suffices to say in a word, the King was already resolved.

The Pope, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, plainly foreseeing, *Francis* would scruple to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, had sent Ambassadors to him, who found him at *Cognac*. They were received with great civilities, and the King immediately entered into Treaty with them concerning a League against the Emperor. The League was concluded indeed at *Cognac*, the 17th of *May*, between the Pope, the King of *France*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians* (1); but it was not published till a month after, *Francis* pretending he could not ratify it till he had seen the ratifications of the other Allies. The Viceroy of *Naples*, having some notice of it, summoned the King, for the last time, to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*. Whereupon *Francis* told him plainly, it was not in his power to resign *Burgundy*, though he had promised it. But to show him, he desired to live in Friendship with the Emperor his master, he offered to give him two millions of crowns of Gold, as an equivalent for *Burgundy*, and punctually to perform the rest of the Treaty.

Thus the Emperor's measures were entirely broken. He had the King of *France* no longer in his power, and yet, was not less obliged to sustain the efforts of the League newly concluded against him; not to mention the King of *England*, who probably would one time or other act offensively. His whole refuge consisted in having the King of *France's* two Sons in Hostage. But his embarrassment was not capable of making him yield on this occasion. He chose to run all hazards rather than consent to the least alteration of the Treaty of *Madrid*. His resolution being notified to *Francis*, the League was published at *Cognac* the 11th of *June*. Two things hastened the conclusion of this League. The first, that the Castle of *Milan*, besieged by the Imperialists, being hard pressed, wanted a speedy relief, and the Pope and *Venetians* durst not send their Troops into the Field, before they were assured of the League with *France*. The second, that the King of *France* designing to offer the Emperor two millions of Crowns in lieu of *Burgundy*, he believed this offer would meet with a readier acceptance after the conclusion of the League. It is certain, this was his sole aim; and, if his offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the League of *Cognac*. Nay, after the League was published, neither himself nor the King of *England*, ever made any considerable effort against the Emperor, their intent being only to frighten him, and obtain the restitution of the two Hostages upon reasonable Terms. Thus, for once the *Italians* were the dupes of the *French* and the *English*, which deserves notice, as a thing very uncommon. Mean while *Francis* and *Henry*, to continue their Game, made a new Treaty, promising never to make Peace with the Emperor, unless he would restore the Hostages and pay *Henry* what he owed him. But this Treaty obliged them not to take arms to procure each other the satisfaction they demanded.

The Pope and the *Venetians* relying on the assistance of *France* and *England*, sent their Troops into the Field under the command of the Duke of *Urbino*, who suffered the Castle of *Milan* to be taken, and caused an attempt upon *Genoa* to miscarry, for want of sending the Allies a supply of fifteen hundred Men. *Guicciardini* insinuates, in several places, that the Duke acted but faintly against the Emperor, who was very weak in *Italy*, and that the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was returned to *Milan*, would if the least pressed, have been infallibly constrained to abandon the City.

Whilst the Duke of *Urbino* indirectly favored the Emperor, the Duke of *Sessa* the Spanish Ambassador at *Rome*, and *Hugo de Moncada*, who commanded at *Naples* in the Viceroy's absence, supplied other ways the weakness of the Imperialists, by exciting the *Colonna's* to make War upon the Pope, whilst his Troops were in the Duchy of *Milan*. This unexpected Invasion, which the Pope could ascribe only to the solicitations of the Emperor or his Ministers, caused him to resolve to send into the Kingdom of *Naples* the Army commanded by the Duke of *Urbino* in the *Milanese*, and to that end he obtained the consent of the *Venetians*. But the Duke of *Sessa*, to avoid the Invasion, the Kingdom of *Naples* was threatened with, so ordered it, that the *Colonna's* gave the Pope all

the satisfaction he desired. The agreement was made at *Rome* the 22d of *August*, and the Duke of *Urbino* was countermanded.

But about a month after, when the Pope least expected it, the *Colonna's* with five or six thousand Men entered *Rome* in the night between the 19th and 20th of *September*, and so alarmed the Pope that he retired in a night to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. As he was not very safe in that Castle, where he had nothing to maintain a Siege, *Moncada* went to him, and representing the danger he was in, and that besides *Rome* was going to be plundered, he persuaded him to make a separate Truce with the Emperor for four months. This was more than the Emperor wanted, who had now ordered Levies to be made in *Germany*, and was about to send back *Lansy* to *Naples* with a good Body of Spanish Troops. When the Truce was signed, the Pope's Forces which served under the Duke of *Urbino* were recalled to *Rome*.

Mean while, the Pope was extremely surprized at *Francis's* slowness, who, though principal author of the League, made yet no effort to oblige the Emperor to restore his Sons. The King of *England's* indolence astonished him no less, because not knowing that the League concluded at *Moore* was only defensive, he had imagined the two Kings were to attack the Emperor with all their Forces. So, to excite them by raising their jealousy, he declared he intended to go into *Spain* and concert means with the Emperor to procure the Peace of *Europe*. This declaration very much confounded the *French* and *English* Ambassadors. They were afraid there was some hidden Mystery in so extraordinary a Journey, and therefore used their best endeavor to dissuade the Pope from it. But *Henry* used a more effectual means, namely, a present of thirty thousand Ducats, which entirely diverted the pretended design of this Journey.

Shortly after, *Clement VII* broke his agreement with the *Colonna's*, and ordered the Troops, he had sent for to *Rome*, to march into their Territories, having excommunicated them and deprived *Pompeo Colonna* of the Cardinalate. He affirmed that his Treaty with them was void, because he was forced to it. He thereby justified, in some measure, *Francis's* proceedings, whom, on the same pretence he had absolved from his Oath at *Madrid*.

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, the Baron de *Fronspberg* was marching from *Germany* towards *Italy* with an Army of thirteen or fourteen thousand Men, raised for the Emperor's service. Whereupon, the Duke of *Urbino*, who kept the Duke of *Bourbon* as it were besieged in *Milan*, quitted the Neighbourhood of that City, under colour of opposing the passage of the *Germans*. Mean while, the Pope was not a little embarrassed. The Truce was soon to expire. *Fronspberg* was marching to *Italy*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* was now in the Island of *Corfica*, leading to *Naples* a strong reinforcement of *Spaniards*. Mean time, the King of *France* was making no preparations to support his Allies, and the King of *England* showed the same remissness. Mean while, *Fronspberg*, still continuing his march, arrived in the *Mantuan*, where the Prince of *Orange* came to join and serve under him as a Volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of *December*, he repaired to the borders of the *Milanese*, the Duke of *Urbino* not being able or willing to oppose his march. Here he expected the Duke of *Bourbon* who was to come and join him; but was not yet in condition to execute that design. The difficulty sprung from his having no Money to pay his Troops, who positively refused to go out of the City before they had received their Arrears, and even threatened to sack the Town. There was no other way to hinder them from executing their Threats, than to take the Plate belonging to the Churches. This served to pay part of what was due to the Troops, who had scarce received any thing since the Battle of *Pavia*, so destitute of Money was the Emperor. The Duke of *Bourbon* made use of another expedient to increase his Treasure: And that was to cause the Chancellor *Morone* to be condemned to die, who to redeem his Life gave him twenty thousand Ducats. He afterwards became one of his chief Counsellors.

Whilst the Duke of *Bourbon* was employed in raising Money, *Lansy*, who was come to *Naples* with a Body of Spanish Troops, amused the Pope with Negotiations tending only to hinder him from taking sure measures, by putting him in hopes of a speedy agreement with the Emperor. These hopes however became more and more remote after *Fronspberg's* arrival. Whilst *Milan* was in danger, the Emperor had intimated to the Pope, that if he desired *Francesco Sforza* to be brought to his Trial, it was only to save the honor of the Empire, and he would give

1) See the Articles of this League in *Guicciardini*, l. 17; and *P. Daniel*, Tom. VII p. 620, &c. *Guicciardini* says, it was concluded the 10th, and others the 22d of *May*. *Hall*, vol. 149, &c.

1526. the Judges private Orders to declare him innocent. But after the arrival of the *Germans*, he demanded such a pecuniary reparation, that *Sforza* was by no means able to raise the Sum required. Wherefore the Emperor pretended that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines* should be his Securities.

Francis desires the Pope and Venetians; Guicciard.

The Pope and the *Venetians* had expected that immediately after the conclusion of the League of *Cognac*, *Francis* would send a strong Army into *Italy*, and with the King of *England*, make a powerful diversion upon the borders of *Spain* and *Flanders*. But, as we have seen, they were very much mistaken. *Francis* had concluded the League only to frighten his Enemy, and in hopes it would cause him to accept of the offered equivalent. He was desirous to avoid a War, and even thought himself so sure of succeeding by that means, that he had made with the King of *England* no Treaty to oblige them to take Arms unless they were attacked. Thus *Henry* knowing the King of *France's* disposition, took care to go no faster than he. Expresses and Envoys from the Pope and the *Venetians* frequently came to the two Courts to solicit them to War, but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, even after the Pope and the *Venetians* had solemnly declared War against the Emperor, *Francis* sent the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* to make him again the same offer of two millions of Crowns in lieu of the Duchy of *Burgundy*. But the Emperor rejected it with disdain, and charged the Ambassador to tell his Master, he had acted like a Knave and a Villain, and ought not to have forgot their last conversation (1). Probably, the Ambassador thought not proper to discharge so ungrateful a Commission. This afterwards occasioned a mistake which was not favorable to the King of *France*.

quo sollicito him to no purpose. Herbert.

The Emperor calls him a Knave.

Wolsey obtains Grants for his College. A.D. Pub. XIV. p. 155 --- 184.

Whilst *Italy*, *France* and *Spain* were in agitation, *Henry* lived peaceably in his Kingdom, and the Cardinal his Favorite was wholly employed about his College at *Oxford*, for which he incessantly obtained fresh Grants from the Pope and the King. The Pope durst not refuse him any thing at a time when he thought he wanted his credit, to incline the King his Master to War; and *Henry* was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the Pope. This condescension of the Pope and the King proved fatal to several little Monasteries (2), which were suppressed by the Cardinal, and the Revenues applied to his College.

The Pope endeavours to persuade Henry into the League of Cognac. Ib. p. 179---185. July. August. p. 187.

Ever since the publishing of the League of *Cognac*, the Pope and *Venetians* had used their constant endeavours, to persuade *Henry* not only to come into it, but declare himself Protector. It is easy to guess with what view they paid him this deference. They hoped to find him the same as formerly, ever ready to be insnared, and to lavish away his Money for the affairs of others. There are, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, several Credentials of the *Venetian* Ambassadors addressed to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal, probably, to press the King to come into this League. There is likewise *Clement VII's* Commission to *Hubert Gambara* and *Giovanni Baptista Sanga* to treat with *Henry*. In this Commission the Pope said, that the circumstances of the times forcing the Allies to conclude a League without the King of *England's* participation, they had however agreed, to declare him Protector. Wherefore he empowered his two Envoys to treat with that Monarch upon his entering into the League, and to change or alter the Articles, as should be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought necessary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them Powers to settle with him the Pension which was to be adjudged to him as Protector of the League, if he would please to accept of the Title. But this Pension, as appears elsewhere, was to be raised upon the Duchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary Pension, the Pope meant to persuade *Henry* to declare War with the Emperor, and consequently to draw him into very great and real Expences. But for once, *Henry* would not be his dupe. He knew by experience what it was to join with the Popes for the *Italian* affairs.

Battle of Mohatz in Hungary. Aug. 18. Guicciard. Hall.

This year was fought the famous Battle of *Mohatz* in *Hungary* between *Lewis II* King of that Country, and *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*. *Lewis* lost the day, and was drowned in a Morass (3). The death of this Prince was a fresh source of calamities for *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* of *Austria* the Emperor's Brother, who had married

Lewis's Sister *Ann*, pretended to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for Competitor *John de Zapol*, Wayvode of *Transylvania*. They were both elected by two different Parties. But *John* put himself under the protection of *Soliman*, who caused him to be crowned at *Buda*, whilst *Ferdinand* was taking measures to prosecute his right.

1526

The affairs of *Scotland* still remained in the same situation, except that in the course of this year, the Queen's and Earl of *Arran's* or *Hamilton's* Faction attempted to take away the King's Person from the Earl of *Angus*. But the attempt miscarrying, the Earl was severely revenged of the Persons concerned.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The Pope and *Venetians* had begun the War in *Italy*, in the sole expectation that *Francis* would send thither a powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a diversion from the *Low-Countries*, or at least, according to the custom, furnish money for maintaining the War. The easiness wherewith he had been amused in the former Wars, caused his Money to be relied on as a sure aid, though when a Peace or Truce was made his interests were not thought of. But the scene was changed. *Henry*, grown more wise by experience, was no longer willing to find Money for the affairs of others. Besides, the Treasure left him by the King his Father being long since exhausted, he could raise Money only by means of the Parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchase their Subsidies with some extraordinary favors. So *Francis* not finding in him the same dispositions as formerly, feared to engage too far, before he was secure of his assistance (4). He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favor the Emperor as before. But that did not suffice. It was also necessary to persuade him to join in the League of *Italy*, otherwise the whole charge of the War must have fallen upon *France*, which was however drained of Men, Money and Generals. For this reason, his aim was to induce the Emperor, through fear of the League, to accept the equivalent offered him for *Burgundy*, and to continue the War in *Italy*, only till that Prince was resolved, or the King of *England* entirely engaged. To that end, he made the Pope and *Venetians* large promises, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A small Body of Troops levied in *Italy*, under the command of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, was hitherto all that he contributed for the League whereof he was himself the author and head. Mean while, the Pope was extremely uneasy at seeing the slowness or rather coldness of the two Monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no cause to complain of *Henry*, who had made him no promise, and yet he ceased not earnestly to press him to undertake the defence of the Church, as if the Church could not have subsisted if the Emperor remained master of *Milan*. But he received only general Answers, *Henry* being unwilling to engage in the affairs of *Italy*, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the Pope was at an expence which threw him into great streights. For which reason he privately continued with the Viceroy of *Naples* a Negotiation, with intent to hasten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the Kings of *France* and *England*. Herein he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him consider the having always two strings to his bow, as the surest maxim of policy. But he was always so unfortunate as to reap from his Artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his sole aim was to hinder the Emperor from keeping the Duchy of *Milan*, to that end it was, that he would have the Kings of *France* and *England* make considerable efforts; after which, he would not have scrupled to forsake them, provided the Emperor had satisfied him upon that Article. *Francis* was in no better disposition with regard to his Allies. His view was to recover his Sons out of *Spain*; and, could he have succeeded by treating alone with the Emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the Pope and *Venetians*. As for the republic of *Venice*, it was of great consequence to her that the Emperor should not remain master of the *Milanese*, and her expences to hinder it was nothing in comparison of the prejudice she would have received, if the Emperor had peaceably held that Duchy. So, never ceasing to solicit the Kings of *France* and *England*, she continued the War, though faintly, in expectation that these two Monarchs would bear the greatest part of the charge. The Negotiations which the Pope still continued with the Vice-

Clement sets on foot the Negotiation with the Viceroy of Naples. Guicciard.

(1) It seems before *Francis* went from *Spain*, the Emperor said to him one day, *Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us?* *Francis* replied, *Yes*; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you bid me for a Knave and a Villain. Herbert, p. 75.

(2) The following Monasteries are named; *Downton*, *Ravenston*, *Tykeford*, *Sandwell*, *Eamwell*, *Lylemore*, *Pogbly*, *Thilly*, *Blakemore*, *Stratford*, *Tyngre*, *Wates*, *Deane*, *Snappe*, *Lyejues*, *Tonbridge*, *Begbam*, and *Catcote*. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. 14. p. 155---184.

(3) *Lewis*, with an Army of twenty thousand, engaged three hundred thousand *Turks*. By his defeat and death most part of *Hungary* was lost, with the Lives of two hundred thousand *Hungarians*, who were cut off by the *Turks* in the following Encounters. This *Lewis* was born without a Limb, had a Beard at fifteen years of Age, at eighteen his Hairs were grey, and he was drowned in his 20th. Heylin.

(4) In *Lepail's* 1526. *John* Lord of *Valde* his Ambassador concluded with Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lincoln*, a Treaty of reciprocal Engagement between the two Kings their Masters. See *Rymer*, Tom. 14. p. 185---189. Herbert, p. 79.

1527. roy of Naples, afforded the *Venetians* a plausible reason not to exert themselves, because they were afraid, his inconsistency would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The Emperor on his part was no less embarrassed. As he had but little Money, a vigorous War must have annoyed him very much. And therefore, finding the King of France made no great efforts, he did not hasten the sending of fresh Supplies into Italy, for fear of raising the attention of his Enemies. Besides, since *Fronspberg's* arrival with the German Troops, he thought himself strong enough to keep the Duchy of Milan, which was then his chief aim. Such was the Disposition of these Potentates in the beginning of the year 1527. We must now see what passed in Italy during this year, because it serves for foundation to all the events spoken of hereafter.

The Duke of Bourbon was under inconceivable difficulties for want of Money to pay his Troops. After frequent exactions upon the Inhabitants of Milan, he saw no way to maintain his Army any longer, without danger of causing a general revolt in that great City which was reduced to despair. On the other hand, the Germans brought into Italy by *Fronspberg*, had received no pay since their Lifting. It was necessary therefore, either to pay them what was due, or furnish them wherewithal to make themselves amends in some other place, or resolve to see the Army disband, on which the Emperor wholly relied. To satisfy the Troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the Territories of the Church, of Florence, or of Venice. But the Venetian Towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; especially as the Duke of Bourbon had no Artillery. Besides, very likely, he was sure the Duke of Urbino would not oppose his designs, provided he did not molest the Republick. So, determining to maintain his Army upon the Pope's Territories, he left seven or eight thousand Germans at Milan, under the command of *Antonio de Leva*, and went and joined *Fronspberg* in the *Plaisantin*, where he stayed some time to raise Contributions.

Before the Duke of Bourbon departed from Milan, the Viceroy of Naples had brought an Army upon the borders of the Ecclesiastical State, to make a diversion, and force the Pope to recall the Troops he had sent to the Duke of Urbino, since the expiration of the Truce. The approach of this Army had obliged the Pope to raise Troops to defend his Dominions, not having thought proper to recall those in Lombardy. Hence he saw himself engaged in an unusual expence. Hitherto the Popes had found means to wage War at the charge of others, and *Clement VII* had been in hopes to do the same. He had granted *Francis* a Tenth upon the Clergy of France, which he was to divide with him. Besides that, *Francis* had promised to find forty thousand Crowns a month for the League, and twenty thousand for the Pope in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but ten thousand Crowns. Thus the Pope saw himself over-burdened, without knowing how to get clear of this incumbrance, since it was no less difficult to raise Money, than dangerous to make a separate Peace in such a juncture. Mean while, *Henry VIII* being informed of his necessities, and fearing he would relinquish the League, sent him thirty thousand Ducats (1), which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the resolution to continue the War.

It is needless to give the particulars of this War between the Pope and the Viceroy of Naples. It suffices to observe, that whilst it lasted, the Pope receiving advice of the Duke of Bourbon's march, concluded a Truce with the Viceroy. He had strong reasons for taking this course. He was not only burdened with the maintenance of two Armies, but also saw himself daily more remote from his hopes with respect to France and England. *Francis* performed nothing of what he had promised, and *Henry* shewed no great inclination to come into the League. On the other hand, the Duke of Urbino's proceeding, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the *Milaneze*, daily grew more suspicious. Besides, Florence was in danger, and the Pope unsafe in Rome itself. The conditions of the Truce were:

That it should last eight months: That the Pope should pay sixty thousand Ducats to the Duke of Bourbon's Army; namely, forty thousand on the 21st of the present month, and the rest within eight days: And that the imperial Army should march out of the Ecclesiastical State. The Truce being published, the Pope disbanded all his Troops, except two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, and laid up his Gallies before he knew the Duke of Bourbon's intentions, who was in the midst of his march to Bologna.

The Duke's Troops consisted of five thousand Men at Arms, making about two thousand Horse, thirteen or fourteen thousand Germans, five thousand Spaniards, two thousand Italian Foot, and a good number of Light Horse of the same Nation. This Army departed from about *Placentia* in February, without Money, Provisions, Waggon, Artillery, and subsisting only by means of the Contributions raised upon their rout. The Duke not being able to enter Bologna, by reason the Marquis of Saluzzo had thrown himself in with twelve thousand Men, stayed some time in the *Bolognese*, where his Army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the conclusion of the Truce, to which he would not consent, because the Sum he was to have was not sufficient to pay what was due to his Troops. Whereupon the Viceroy of Naples, who was at Rome, came to Florence, where the Duke sent an Officer to confer with him. As the Viceroy's intention was to cause the Duke of Bourbon to accept of the Truce, in order to send the Imperial Army into the State of Venice, he agreed with the Messenger that the Duke should withdraw in five days; that fourscore thousand Ducats should be paid him down, and sixty thousand some day in May. The Pope hearing of this new agreement, disbanded the two thousand Men he had kept, to be eased of the charge. But the Duke of Bourbon, whether he had intended to deceive the Viceroy, or could not restrain his Army, after feigning to attack Florence, suddenly took the rout to Rome, leaving far behind him the Army of the Pope and Venetians, who had thrown themselves into Florence.

Great was then the alarm at Rome. The Pope seeing himself without Troops and Money, knew not what course to take. In this distress, he committed the defence of Rome and himself to *Renzo de Ceri*, who made him hope, that with an Army, raised within the Walls, he would secure the City from being insulted. The Pope trusting to his General's promises, would neither leave Rome himself to provide for his safety, nor suffer any thing to be carried from thence.

Mean while, the Duke of Bourbon pursuing his march, without meeting any obstacle, appeared before Rome on the 5th of May. The same day, pretending a design to proceed to Naples, he sent a Trumpet to the Pope to desire a passage, which being refused, next morning at break of day he approached the Suburbs by means of a very thick Mist, and stormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the assault, his Thigh-bone was broke with a Musket-shot, of which he immediately died. The Prince of Orange, who was near him, throwing a Cloak over his Body, continued the Assault. At length, after two hours resistance, the breach was forced, and the Imperialists entered the Suburbs. Whereupon the Pope withdrew to the Castle of St. Angelo, accompanied by thirteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambassadors, and some other Persons of distinction. Mean while, the Imperialists were employed in becoming masters of the Tyber, which was not difficult, considering the consternation the whole City was in. The Pope might still have withdrawn from the Castle of St. Angelo, and secured his Person. But by a strange blindness, upon news of the Duke of Bourbon's death, he was obstinately bent, without any just reason, to stay in a place where he had neither Provisions, nor Ammunition, nor a Garrison sufficient to defend it. So many Historians have described the sacking of Rome, that it is needless to insist on it here. The Reader may easily conceive, what the desire of plunder may cause an ill-disciplined Army without a General, like this, to commit. Some Historians have been pleased to cast the whole blame of the Rapine and Cruelty committed on this occasion, upon the Protestants in *Fronspberg's* Troops. But most have made no such distinction, agreeing that the Spaniards shewed no more regard for the Holy City than the Germans (2).

If the Army of the Allies had closely followed the Imperialists, they might have fallen upon them whilst most intent upon the plunder, and probably with Success. But if we may believe *Guicciardini*, the Duke of Urbino so ordered it, that the Army came not before Rome till the end of May, and then raised so many objections against attempting the relief of the Castle of St. Angelo, that the Generals agreed to leave the Pope to come off as well as he could. The Allies retiring the first of June, *Clement* capitulated the 6th, having sent for the Viceroy of Naples to treat with him. But the Army, having chosen the Prince of Orange for General, had no great confidence in the Viceroy, neither would be guided by his Counsels. The Pope therefore was forced to sign with the Prince of

(1) By Sir John Russell. See P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 635.

(2) They sacked the City, without distinction of places, for the space of six or seven days, (two whole months, says P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 640.) killing above five thousand Men, and committing all manner of Rapine and Cruelty. Herbert, p. 82. It was reported, says *Guicciardini*, that the plundering Soldiers got above a million of Ducats, in Gold, Silver and Jewels; and a much greater Sum for Ransoms. L. 18.

Orange, and the chief Officers of the Army, the following Capitulation:

That the Pope should pay the Army four hundred thousand Ducats, namely, one hundred thousand down, fifty thousand in twenty days, and two hundred and fifty thousand within two months, assigning for that purpose a Tax upon the whole Ecclesiastical State.

That he should deliver into the Emperor's hands the Castles of *St. Angelo*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Ostia*, *Citta Castellana*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*.

That the Pope, with the thirteen Cardinals, should remain prisoners in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, till a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns were paid, and then should be conducted to *Naples* or *Gaeta*, there to wait the Emperor's pleasure.

That the Chevalier *Gregorio Cassali* the English Ambassador, *Renzo de Ceri*, and all the rest that were retired to the Castle, except the Pope and the thirteen Cardinals, should be at Liberty to go where they pleased.

That the *Colonna's* should be absolved from all Censures.

That when the Pope should go from *Rome*, he should leave a Legate, and the Court of the *Rota* (1).

The Capitulation being signed, Captain *Alarcon*, the same that had the Custody of *Francis I.*, when a prisoner, entered the Castle of *St. Angelo* with three Companies of *Spaniards*, and as many of *Germans*, and strictly guarded the Pope and Cardinals. During the confusion caused by the Pope's Imprisonment, the Duke of *Ferrara* became master of *Medena*, the *Venetians* took *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, *Sigismund Malatesta* seized *Rimini*, and the *Florentines* expelling the Pope's Legate, recovered their Liberty.

Some time after, all the Troops which were in the Kingdom of *Naples* repaired to *Rome* to share in the Booty, and glean what the avarice of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* had left. The Imperial Army then at *Rome* consisted of twelve thousand *Germans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and four thousand *Italians*. But the Plague which presently after raged among the Troops, so diminished them, that 'tis said, when they came to go upon action, there was not ten thousand Men able to bear Arms. Mean while, the eager desire of Plunder, caused the Emperor's affairs to be so neglected, that the army remained unenterprising till the end of the year; whereas *Bologna* and the *la Romagna* might have been taken, which would have rendered the Emperor invincible in *Italy*. Besides, this negligence gave *Francis* time to send Troops into those parts, of which he would never have thought, if the Emperor's Generals had reaped from the taking of *Rome*, and the Pope's Captivity, the advantages they might have naturally expected, for the Service of their master. It is time now to speak of the affairs of *England*, the recital whereof has been interrupted by the relation of this year's events in *Italy*, because it was absolutely necessary for the understanding of the Sequel.

Since *Francis* had refused to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, he had never ceased to press *Henry* to come into the League of *Cognac*. But whether *Henry* perceived that Prince's Views, or hoped, by managing the Emperor, to make himself Umpire of the Peace, he had kept within the Bounds of the defensive League concluded at *Moore*. At length, finding that probably, the Pope and *Venetians* could not long maintain the War, he was afraid, the Emperor would become master of all *Italy*, and with that increase of Power, grow too formidable to *Europe*. Indeed, it was easy to see, that to divest him of the Superiority he was going to acquire upon *France*, *England* would one day be forced to make greater efforts than were necessary to hinder his attaining it. These Considerations were farther corroborated by the Instances of Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom *Francis* had taken care to gain to his Interest, otherwise all these reasons, probably, would have been ineffectual. So about the end of the last year, *Henry* had sent to *Paris* Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, to acquaint the King of *France*, that he was ready to join in an offensive League with him, and give him the Princess *Mary* his Daughter in Marriage. *Francis* gladly embracing the proposal, the Treaty was begun at *Paris* by the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, the English Ambassador in ordinary, and *Fitz-Williams*. But as several difficulties occurred, which depended upon the King of *England's* de-

termination, *Francis* thought it more proper to send Ambassadors to *London*, and conclude it there. He made choice for that purpose of *Gabriel d'Angremont*, or *de Gramont* Bishop of *Tarbes*, and the Viscount of *Turenne*, with whom were joined the first President of *Roan*, and the Lord de *Vaux*, who were already in *England*. These Ambassadors (2) concluded with Cardinal *Wolsey*, appointed Commissioner to negotiate with them, three Treaties, which were signed the 30th of April 1527, when the Duke of *Bourbon* was marching to *Rome*.

The first Treaty ran:

That the two Kings should jointly send Ambassadors to the Emperor, with offers concerning the ransom of the two Hostages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the King of *England*.

That if he rejected the offers, or gave no answer within twenty days, the two Kings should proclaim War against him.

Another Article of this Treaty contained a mutual engagement for the Marriage of *Francis*, or his Son the Duke of *Orleans* with the Princess *Mary*, at the King of *France's* choice, and upon such Terms as should be agreed on when the time came (3). Probably, this Treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the Emperor to desist from his claim to *Burgundy*, and be satisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the second Treaty it was agreed:

That in case the Emperor rejected their proposals, or deferred his answer, all Commerce should be forbidden with his Subjects, by the two Kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their Effects.

That the two Kings should make War upon the Emperor in the *Low-Countries*, with an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Men at Arms, and that two thirds of the Foot, and all the Horse (4) should be furnished by the King of *France*.

That they should equip a Fleet with fifteen thousand Men, whereof the King of *France* should find ten thousand.

That if the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince or State, should join with the Emperor, they should be declared Enemies to both the Kings.

That the Pope and *Venetians* should be deemed included in the League, provided they continued the War in *Italy*.

That the King of *France* should endeavour to persuade the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Gueldres*, [and *Robert de la Mark*] to make War upon the Emperor.

That the two Kings should use their joint endeavours to encourage *John de Zapol* to prosecute his right to the Crown of *Hungary*, in case he had not already made an Alliance with the *Turk*, in order to keep the Emperor's Brother *Ferdinand* employed in those parts.

That the League should be notified to the Princes of *Germany*, and the two Kings endeavour to prevent their assisting the Emperor.

The Substance of the third Treaty was:

1. That this Treaty should not derogate from that of *Moore*, which remained in force.

2. That there should be perpetual Peace between *Francis* and *Henry*, and their respective Subjects.

3. That neither of them should give aid or advice to any person whatever, that should attack the Dominions of the other.

4. *Henry* renounced for himself and Successors, all Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France* (5), and in general, whatever *Francis* now possessed.

5. In consideration whereof, *Francis* bound himself and Successors, to pay to *Henry's* Successors an annual pension for ever, of fifty thousand Crowns, at two payments; namely, on the 1st of *May*, and the 1st of *November*, and that the payment of the pension should commence, on the first of those two days which should happen after *Henry's* death, without deduction of what should remain to be paid after *Henry's* decease, of the two millions stipulated by the Treaty of *Moore*.

6. Moreover *Francis* bound himself to give yearly to *Henry*, fifteen thousand Crowns worth of Salt of *Bruage* (6), besides the fore-mentioned fifty thousand Crowns.

(1) This Court consists of twelve Prelates, called Auditors of the *Rota*, (eight of them *Italians*, two *Spaniards*, one *Frenchman*, and one *German*) who hear an Appeal of all Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, between Clergymen. The Court takes its name from the marble Pavement of the Room, where they meet, resembling a Wheel.

(2) They arrived in *London*, March 2. Hall, fol. 155.

(3) Hall says, the People were very much against this Match, because the Princess *Mary* being King *Henry's* presumptive Heir, if he died without Sons, she would sit upon the Throne, and, on account of her Marriage, it was feared she would be too much under the influence of *France*, fol. 155.

(4) Twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred Men at Arms. See *Herbert*, p. 81.

(5) Jus, Titulum, & verum Dominium in Regno *Francie*.—*Rymur*, Tom. XIV. p. 220.

(6) A Town in *Brabant*, famous for its Salt-Pits, about eight Leagues from *Rotterdam*. The Salt in this District brings in the King of *France* fourteen millions of Livres per Annum.

1527. 7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, *That a King can't bind his Successors*, the two Kings should cause the Treaty to be confirmed by the States of their Realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable Law.

8. That the Treaty should be approved and confirmed by the Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other great Men of the two Kingdoms, whose names were inserted in this Article, under forfeiture of all their Goods; and by the Parliaments of *Paris, Toulouse, Roan, Bourdeaux*, as well as by all the Courts of Justice in *England*.

Alterations in the second Treaty on account of the taking of Rome.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 199, &c.
Herbert.
Du Tillot.

The news of the taking of *Rome* and the Pope's Captivity arriving shortly after the conclusion of these Treaties, the two Kings thought fit to alter the Article of the second, concerning their carrying War into the *Low-Countries*, and to agree to act only in *Italy*. But as the *English* Troops could not be transported into *Italy*, without great difficulties and loss of time, they agreed, that the King of *France* should undertake the War alone, for a certain Sum (1), which *Henry* was to pay him monthly, till the end of *October*. This last Treaty was signed the 29th of *May*, about three weeks after the taking of *Rome*.

Henry's Demands upon the Emperor.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.
Hollingsh.

In consequence of the first of the three Treaties of *April* the 30th, *Henry* sent Sir *Francis Pointz* into *Spain*, to demand of the Emperor, that as, by their former Treaties, the War with *France* was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hostages received from the *French* King. *Pointz* was accompanied with *Clarenceux* King at Arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his Office, when there should be occasion. The Emperor easily perceived, the King of *England* sought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his Interest to prolong the time, he told the Ambassador he would send his answer to the King his master by an Express.

Lautrec marches to Italy.
Guicciard.

While the Ambassador was on his way to *Spain*, *Francis* and *Henry* hearing what had passed in *Italy*, thought proper that Cardinal *Wolsey* should go and confer with *Francis* at *Amiens*, in order to concert measures agreeable to the situation of affairs. Shortly after, *Francis* sent *Lautrec* with the Forces designed for *Italy* (2).

Wolsey confers with the King of France.
Guicciard.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
P. Daniel.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 202.

Cardinal *Wolsey* departing from Court the third of *July*, arrived at *Calais* the 11th (3), from whence he went to *Abbeville*, and stayed till *Francis* came to *Amiens*. He was received at his entrance into the *French* Territories, with the same respect as would have been paid to the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Francis's* Letters Patents empowering the Cardinal, his dearest and great Friend, to release the prisoners, where-ever he came, what Crimes soever they were guilty of, except High-Treason, Rapes, [Coining, Sacrilege,] and the like, and to grant them a Pardon by his Letters Patents.

The Emperor's Memorial as to a Peace.
Ib. p. 200.

Whilst the Cardinal was at *Abbeville*, he received a Memorial from the Emperor, containing his answer to the King of *France's* offers to the Viceroy of *Naples*. He had, as was observed, rejected these offers at first with disdain, and refused to hear them mentioned. But the situation of his affairs being altered by the League between *France* and *England*, he believed it would be better to end all differences by a Peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the War alone against so many powerful Enemies. It was therefore in order to procure a Peace, that he sent this answer to the Cardinal, wherewith he imagined to have reason to hope, the King of *France* and *Henry* would be satisfied.

As this Memorial is very proper to illustrate the History of those times, it will not doubtless be unacceptable to insert the Substance thereof.

“ The Emperor began with protesting, that by what he offered in this Memorial, he meant not to derogate from the Treaty of *Madrid*, but in the points only which were contrary to it. He added, that as to the Hostages, the King of *France* was not ignorant of the reason of their being in *Spain*, and had it in his power to recover them. Then he set forth the offers made by *Francis* to the Viceroy of *Naples*, containing the four following Articles:

The King of FRANCE's Offers to the Emperor.

- “ I. That he would execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, provided *Francesco Sforza* was restored to the Duchy of *Milan*.
- “ II. That he would give the Emperor in lieu of *Burgundy*, two millions of Gold payable, namely, a good Sum in hand, when Queen *Leonora* should be delivered to him, and the rest at a day to be appointed, and then his Sons should be restored; unless the Emperor had rather have the whole Sum at once, and deliver at the same time the Queen and the two Hostages.
- “ III. That he would pay the King of *England* what was due from the Emperor.
- “ IV. He demanded that the Emperor should increase Queen *Leonora's* Dowry in proportion to the Sum he was to receive, since he could do it without any charge to himself.

The EMPEROR's Answer.

“ The Emperor replied to these four Articles, by the eight following Declarations:

- “ I. That what should be agreed upon, should not be prejudicial to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except in such things as should be altered by mutual consent.
- “ II. That the Emperor's right to *Burgundy* should remain entire, as before the Treaty of *Madrid*.
- “ III. That all the Articles of the Treaty of *Madrid*, except such as were mentioned in these offers, should remain entire.
- “ IV. The Emperor in his fourth Declaration said, that he hoped the King of *England*, and the Lord Cardinal would cause the Sum of two millions of Gold, offered by the King of *France*, to be augmented. However, if that could not be, it should be understood, that this Sum was over and above what the Emperor owed the King of *England*, as well for Money lent, as for the Indemnity he had undertaken to discharge, which Sums the King of *France* had taken upon himself in the Treaty of *Madrid*. Besides likewise the restitution of the late Mr. *de Bourbon's* Estate, it being reasonable that his Heirs should partake of the benefit of the Treaty. Item, That the King of *France* should punctually perform all the rest of the Articles concluded on his part, in the Treaty of *Madrid*, before his Sons left *Spain*; the Emperor not being able, after what had passed, to take any Security, if the Hostages remained not in his power till the Treaty was fully executed.
- “ V. That pursuant to the Treaty of *Madrid*, what should be agreed upon, should be ratified by the States General of *France*, and approved by the Parliaments. Or if that could not be done by the States General, it should at least be ratified by the States of each Province.
- “ VI. The Emperor, declared, That he could not send the Queen his Sister to *France* till every thing was accomplished, and then the Queen and the Hostages should be sent together.
- “ VII. That as for Duke *Sforza*, the Emperor would appoint impartial Judges to decide his affair, and if he was found guilty of no crime for which he deserved to be deprived of his Duchy, he should be restored. But if he was condemned, the State of *Milan* should remain in the Emperor's disposal, according to Justice and Equity.
- “ VIII. That the King of *England* should be Guarantee of the future Treaty, and by his Letters-Patents engage to assist, at his own charge, with a certain number of Troops, him of the two Parties that should keep the Treaty, against him that should not observe it.
- “ Besides these eight Conditions, which the Emperor called Declarations, he demanded moreover in his memorial, that the King of *France* should satisfy him for

(1) Thirty thousand Ducats, or, thirty two thousand, two hundred and twenty two Crowns *de soleil*, to be deducted out of what *Francis* owed him. Herbert, p. 83. Guicciard. l. 18.

(2) He set out, June 30, with eight hundred Lances. Guicciard. l. 18.

(3) He was met at *Boulogne* by Monsieur *de Byron* with a thousand Horse, and after by *John*, Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Chancellor of *Alençon*, who accompanied him first to *Montreuil*, and then to *Abbeville*. He was attended by *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sardes* the King's Chamberlain, *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with many Knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred Horse. Hall, fol. 160. Stow, p. 531. Herbert, p. 83. He brought with him thirty thousand Crowns. Guicciard. l. 18. Hall says it was two hundred and forty thousand Pounds. fol. 161. Hollingsh. p. 897.

1527. " the expences of the Leagues he had made with him, and
 " of which he was the sole Author, empowering the King
 " of England to settle the Sum.
 " Finally, he said, That he did not question, the King
 " of England, who perfectly knew what had passed be-
 " tween the two Parties, would not cause the King of
 " France's offers to be increased, and that the Lord Legate,
 " whom the Emperor always looked upon as his good
 " Friend, would also endeavour the same to the utmost
 " of his power: That however, he was so inclined to
 " Peace, that if the King of England desired, he should
 " make any farther concessions than what were con-
 " tained in the eight foregoing Declarations, he would
 " do more for his sake than for any Prince's in the World.
 " That he should be very glad, all the Potentates of
 " Europe knew how much he valued his Friendship, and
 " ascribed to him the whole Glory of procuring a Peace.
 " This Memorial was dated at Valladolid the — of
 " July 1527.

Remark on
 this Memo-
 rial.

If this answer of the Emperor be closely examined, it will be manifest, that he simply and absolutely accepted of the French King's offers, under Terms denoting, it was he that gave, rather than received Law, and by his Declarations only obviated all possible Cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under such restrictions, that he seemed willing to stand to the King of England's determination, which at such a juncture was the same thing as to depart from his demands. There was but one single point concerning which he could not resolve to submit; namely, the Duke of Milan's affair. But this was a point newly proposed by the King of France, and which had no relation to the Treaty of Madrid, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain if that had been the only obstacle to a Peace, he would also have granted it, since he reserved a way to come off with honour; namely, by causing *Sforza* to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himself proposed to the Pope. Perhaps *Francis* would have accepted the Peace, on the Terms offered in the Memorial, if the Emperor had come to that resolution at first. But since he had made these offers to the Viceroy of Naples, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained *Henry* to his interest, and as, after the taking of Rome, it was to be feared the Emperor would become master of all Italy. Mean while, the Emperor's offers, which were in effect the same *Francis* had made to the Viceroy of Naples, were either to be accepted or rejected. But as it was not *Henry*'s business to return an answer, since the affair did not directly concern him, he only sent the Memorial to the King of France, who no longer desiring to make Peace, disengaged himself in this manner. He demanded in the first place, that *Sforza* should be restored without condition. Secondly, that his Sons should be delivered before he recalled his Forces from Italy, where *Lautrec* was now arrived, offering to deposit three hundred thousand Ducats in the hands of the King of England, for security of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little desire to execute the Treaty of Madrid, though the same Terms only were demanded, as were offered by himself presently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his Hostages, to have the execution of the Treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to deposit for security, three hundred thousand Ducats in the hands of a Prince devoted to him, and who, by a private Treaty, was engaged to make his Interest his own. The Emperor, unwilling to be thus insnared, offered on his part to deposit the same Sum in the hands of the King of England, for pledge that the Hostages should be restored. But his offer being rejected, the affair stopped there, and War was only thought of. Mean while, the Emperor desiring to let all the World see, it was not his fault that a Peace was not concluded, gave the Ambassadors of England, of the Pope, and of the Venetians, the same answer he had sent to Cardinal *Wolsey*. They all seemed very well satisfied, and said their Masters would doubtless accept a Peace on these Terms, and send orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the Kings of France and England had altered their minds, and taken new resolutions.

Henry sends
 the Memorial
 to the King
 of France.
 Rep'y of
 Francis I.
 Bellai,
 p. 1333.

Francis's
 Conference
 with Wolsey.

If *Francis* and Cardinal *Wolsey* were to confer together at *Abbeville*, it was not to seek means to make Peace,

but rather to take measures, on supposition, that a War with the Emperor was infallible. *Francis* being come to *Abbeville* the first of August, the Cardinal waited on him, and after conferring together, they concluded, on the eighteenth, three Treaties, which properly were only Supplements, Explanations, and Restrictions of the three foregoing ones.

By the first it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the King of France's choice, to marry the Princess *Mary*, or leave her for the Duke of Orleans his second Son, the Duke should espouse the Princess when they should both be of Age. That then, and not before, should be settled the Marriage-Articles concerning the Dowry, the education of the Duke of Orleans in England, and the like. Moreover, that, whether the Marriage should be consummated, or the two Kings think fit to dispose of their Children otherwise, their Friendship should remain firm and inviolable, the Marriage being only to be considered as a Supplement to the Treaties of the thirtieth of April, and not as part of those Treaties.

II. That the Treaty concluded at *Moore* should remain in full force.

III. That the project of the Interview of the two Kings should be laid aside, on account of the season and circumstances of affairs.

IV. As by the Treaty of the twenty ninth of May, it was agreed, that the King of England should contribute a certain Sum for the War of Italy, it was concluded by this, that in case the Emperor accepted the offers the two Kings should make him by their Ambassadors, the said contribution should cease without any prejudice to the Treaty of Peace: But if he rejected them, the Treaty of League offensive and defensive should subsist, on condition that during this Campaign the King of England should be deemed to have discharged his part of the Treaty, by his Contribution for the War with Italy.

V. That the King of England should form no demands upon the King of France on pretence of his charges for the War of Italy.

VI. That to prevent all disputes, without examining the number of Troops which the King of France maintained in Italy, the King of England should pay for the month of June last twenty thousand Crowns, for the month of July last thirty thousand Crowns, and thirty two thousand two hundred and twenty two for each of the three following months. On condition however, that if in these three last months, the English Commissaries found in the Army of Italy, a less number of Troops than what the King of France was to maintain, the Contribution should be lessened in proportion. Moreover, if a Peace was made during these three last months, the Contribution should cease the day the Peace was concluded.

By the second Treaty, which concerned only Trade, *Francis* promised to give the English Merchants such Privileges as should be agreed upon hereafter.

By a third Treaty the two Kings were bound:

First, Not to consent to the calling of a General Council during the Pope's Captivity.

Secondly, To receive no Bull, Brief or Mandate from the Pope (1) till he was released.

Thirdly, That till the Pope should resume the Government of the Church, whatever should be determined in England by the Cardinal Legate, assisted by the principal Members of the Clergy (2), and in France by the Clergy of the Gallican Church, should be punctually executed.

These Treaties being concluded, *Francis* I. ratified them, and swore to the observance before he left *Abbeville* (3). Cardinal *Wolsey* did the same thing in his master's name, by virtue of his full Powers and Title of Vicar-General, which he had received on this occasion. After that, he returned into England, to give the King an account of the success of his Negotiation (4).

Henry being resolved to proclaim war against the Emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him, by his Ambassadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The first was, That he

p. 212.
Herbert.

Wolsey re-
 turns to
 England.
 Act. Pub.
 XIV. p. 216,
 — 218.

Henry's
 fresh demands
 upon the
 Emperor.
 Herbert,
 p. 86.

(1) Any way prejudicial to either of the two Kings, their Kingdoms, or to the Cardinal of York's Legatine Jurisdiction Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 213, 214.
 (2) Accitis de mandato & auctoritate prædicti—Anglie Regis in Regno Anglie, Prelatis, circa statum & administrationem Rerum Ecclesiasticarum in Anglia, &c. Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 214. Called together by the King's Authority, and his consent first obtained to what should be determined. And here (says Lord Herbert) began the relict our King took of governing the Church, p. 85.
 (3) They were ratified at Amiens, August 18. Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 216, 218.
 (4) About the end of September. *Francis* not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his way about a Mile, being accompanied with the title of King of Navarre, the Pope's Legate, and his prime Nobility. At his coming to Calais, he ordered the Mart to be kept in that Town, instead of Antwerp, &c. Hall, fol. 159. Herbert, p. 85. — About this time, *Wolsey* dispatched *Gambara* to the Pope, to desire him to make him his Vicar-General in England, France, and Germany, during his Captivity. Guiccardi, l. 16.

1527. should pay what was borrowed of him, or of his Father King Henry VII. The second, that he should pay him the five hundred thousand Crowns to which he was obliged, in case he married not the Princess Mary, to whom he was affianced. The third, That according to the tenor of their Treaty, he should satisfy him for his Pension from the King of France, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, That he should release the Pope, and satisfy him for all the damages caused by his Troops. The Emperor answered the Ambassadors, first, That he had never denied his being debtor to the King of England; but was surprized he should at this juncture insist so much upon payment: That at least, when the money was required, the obligations should be offered to be restituted. Secondly, That he would write to the King their Master to acquaint him, why he did not think himself liable to the penalty of the five hundred thousand Crowns, for not consummating the Marriage. In the third place, That orders were sent into Italy to set the Pope free. He said nothing concerning making satisfaction for the Pension, because probably he considered it as included in the Article of the debts to which he owed himself bound, as indeed nothing was more reasonable.

Guicciard.

The Emperor's answer.
Herbert.Assembly of
the chief Men
of France.
Mezerai.The Assembly's
opinion.Francis's
Aim.Charles,
Francis and
Henry act
with infirmity.Francis and
Henry send
one another
their Orders
of Knights of
St. Michael
and the
Garter.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 227,
233.
p. 229.
p. 232.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

The Emperor's Replies were not capable of satisfying Henry who only sought an occasion of quarrel. On the other hand, Francis having called together the chief Men, that is to say, properly, Persons devoted to him, declared to them all the steps he had made towards a Peace with the Emperor; and it may be easily guessed, he was not very careful to explain what the Emperor might alledge against him. Having represented the matter as he pleased, he said, he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged in Honour or Conscience. The Assembly unanimously replied, That his Person belonged to the Realm, and it was not in his power to dispose of it according to his pleasure: That moreover, he could not alienate the Provinces of the Crown, but if the Emperor would accept of a Ransom for the two Princes in hostage, they offered the King two millions of Gold to redeem them. A Man must have voluntarily shut his eyes, not to see what was the design of this Farce, entirely managed by the Court. Mean while, the King believing, after this decision, that he might, with a safe Conscience, go to war with the Emperor, thought only of means to recover his Sons by force of Arms. He still hoped however, the dread of a War would induce the Emperor to mitigate the Treaty of Madrid. This was not now with respect to Burgundy, since he could not be ignorant that the Emperor had accepted the offered Equivalent. But he was in hopes, by means of the War, to procure a new Treaty, which should annul that of Madrid. Thus many Princes play with their Words and Oaths, and seek to blind themselves, or at least, the publick, whilst none about them dare to tell them the Truth. The Emperor kept his word no better, with regard to the Duchy of Milan; and Henry VIII scrupled not to break his League with the Emperor, as he had before violated that with Francis. Princes never want excuses when they have a mind to break a Treaty. But the publick is not always imposed upon, though frequently they appear so to be. Probably, the Sovereigns themselves are not so blind, but they see the irregularity of their Conduct, though, countenanced by the dissimulation of the publick, they affect the great security. But the time comes at last, when Posterity, less prepossessed, does justice to all the World, and calls things by their proper name.

Francis, willing to preserve the Friendship newly contracted with Henry, sent him the Order of St. Michael (1) by Anne de Montmorency (2), one of the Knights. This Lord had power to dispense with Henry's Oath, in whole or in part, as the new Knight should think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. Henry was pleased to swear to observe all the Statutes of the Order of St. Michael, which were not contrary to those of the Garter, or any other Order he had already received. Then he sent the Order of the Garter to Francis, by Arthur [Plantagenet] Viscount Lisle, natural Son of Edward IV (3), and Francis took the usual Oath of the Order, with the same restrictions. The French Ambas-

sador, who arrived in England about the end of October, 1527, was received with such magnificence, that du Bellai, who accompanied him, assures us, he had never seen the like. The English Ambassador was received in the same manner in France, there having ever been between Francis and Henry an emulation, which frequently threw them into needless expences. But it was most inconvenient for Francis, by reason of his continual wars with the Emperor, wherein Henry was no farther engaged than he pleased: Nay, he paid the very contribution for the War of Italy, by way of deduction for the Sums owed him by Francis (4), as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts. Thus Francis was forced to disburse all the Money employed in that War, of which I must now relate the Sequel.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 233.

Clement VII was still confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, till he could pay the Sums exacted upon him. As he had but little Money, he could only pay part of what he had promised, and therefore his Captivity was longer than he expected at first; they in whose Custody he was, not being willing to trust to his word. The Emperor had not advice of the sacking of Rome, and the Pope's Imprisonment sooner than the beginning of June, and it was above a month before he came to any resolution. As he did not question this affair would make great noise in the World, he was willing to see, before he determined what to do, how the Kings of France and England would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. The 2d of August, he writ to Henry to excuse himself concerning the outrages committed by his Troops at Rome, and the violence exercised upon the Pope's Person, wherein he protested, he was not concerned. At the same time, he asked his advice about what was to be done on this occasion, as if he still deemed him his good Friend and Ally. But it was only to gain time, till he received Francis's answer to the Memorial sent to Cardinal Wolsey. On the other hand, the Pope, though narrowly watched, had found means to write to Henry (5), and cause the thirteen Cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the same, desiring his protection, and entreating him to use his best endeavours to free them from their unhappy condition. Henry, upon receipt of these Letters, sent orders to his Ambassadors in Spain, to demand of the Emperor the Pope's and Cardinals Liberty: To which the Emperor answered in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the King of England's satisfaction. Mean while, he was thinking of conveying the Pope into Spain, in expectation of making a better bargain with him than if he left him in Italy. Of this Cardinal Wolsey informed Henry by a Letter from Abbeville of the twenty ninth of July.

Letter to
Henry from
the Pope
imprisoned
Cardinals.
Burnet.
Vol. III.
Herbert.

It is certain, Henry's Instances in the Pope's behalf greatly embarrassed the Emperor. He found that Francis and Henry would not fail to join their Counsels and Forces against him, under colour of labouring for the Pope, and this union could not but break all his measures, with respect to his affairs in Italy. He believed therefore, that before all things he should try to divide them, by sowing jealousies and suspicions between them. One of his expedients to this end, was to propose to the Cardinal a marriage between the Duke of Richmond, natural Son of Henry, and Isabella Princess of Portugal, with whom he offered in Dower the Duchy of Milan. The Cardinal acquainted the King with it by a Letter of the 31st of July, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but however, it was proper to seem to listen to it, because it was necessary still to preserve some correspondence with the Emperor. This related without doubt to the affair of the Divorce, which I shall presently speak of. For, by a Letter of the first of August, the Cardinal informed the King it was reported in Spain, he intended to divorce the Queen; but that it was requisite to send orders to his Ambassadors at Madrid to stifle the rumour as much as possible. That to this end, they might say, it had no other foundation than the Bishop of Tarbes's scruples concerning the Princess Mary's Marriage with the Duke of Orleans, as if there was room to question the Princess's Legitimacy. The Emperor also used another way to divide Francis and Henry, by trying to gain Cardinal Wolsey by advantageous offers (6). But for once, he could

The Emperor
tries to set
Francis and
Henry at
Variance.

Herbert.

A Rumour in
Spain of
Henry's in-
tending to
part with his
Queen.
Herbert.The Emperor
tries to bribe
Wolsey.
Pol. Virg.

(1) The military Order of St. Michael was instituted by Lewis XII, in 1469. The Knights wear a Golden Collar of Shell-work, one within another, hid on a Golden Chain, whereon hangs a Medal of St. Michael the Archangel, the ancient Protector of France.

(2) Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître, arrived the 20th of October, with six hundred Horse at London, and after Audience had been given, they were, on November 10. entertained by our King at Greenwich with a sumptuous Feast, and with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princess Mary acted a Part. Herbert, p. 85.

(3) He was accompanied by Dr. John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, and Archdeacon of Buckingham, Sir Nicolas Carew, Sir Anthony Bacon, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King at Arms. Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 232.

(4) Which Sums amounted to sixty four thousand five hundred and forty four Crowns. See Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 234.

(5) On September 24. By Gregory de Cassala, the English Agent at Rome, who was now returning to England. Herbert, p. 81, 83. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 34.

(6) He offered him large Sums besides his Pension. But because Charles had refused Wolsey the Archbishoprick of Toledo the richest in Spain, to which the Cardinal vehemently aspired, he proved inexorable. Pol. Virg. l. 27. Herbert, p. 85.

1527. not succeed; whether *Wolsey* was now too far engaged with *Francis*, or was bent to be revenged of the Emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the business of the Divorce was now resolved, in which case it was not possible for him to promise to espouse the Emperor's Interests.

When *Francis* heard of the sacking of *Rome*, he perceived it was time to lay aside artifice, and necessary to send a powerful aid into *Italy*, otherwise the *Venetians* would infallibly conclude a Peace with the Emperor. Indeed, it was not likely, they could or would bear alone the burden of the War. Wherefore his first care was to make a new Treaty with them (1), to bring each into the Field ten thousand Men, and levy ten thousand *Switzers* at a common charge. The *Venetians* desired nothing more than to be supported by *France*, because they justly dreaded, that the Army which had sacked *Rome* would be employed against them. Indeed, if the Duke of *Bourbon* had been alive, or the Viceroy of *Naples* able to influence the Army, the *Venetians* would undoubtedly have been attacked, being the only Enemies the Emperor had in *Italy*. But happily for them, the Imperial Troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of *Rome*, without thinking of any other undertaking, the Plague which broke out among them, swept away two thirds of the Soldiers. In short, the Distemper destroying them by heaps, they left *Rome*, and dispersed themselves in the neighbouring Country. After which, having sacked *Terni* and *Narni*, and extorted Money from *Spoletto*, the *Germans* parted from the *Spaniards*, and returned to *Rome*. Thus discord arising in the Army, which ill obeyed the Prince of *Orange*, though they had chosen him for General, they projected nothing to improve their Victory for the Emperor's advantage.

The Plague
swept away
the Imperial-
ists.
Guicciard.

Lautrec Gen-
eral of the
League.
Guicciard.
Herbert.

He arrives
in Piedmont.

Doria reduces
Genoa under
the Dominion
of France.
Guicciard.
Herbert.

Lautrec
marches to
Naples very
slowly.
Guicciard.
Hall.

The Dukes of
Ferrara and
Mantua side
with France.
Sardi.

The Pope's
Liberty.
Guicciard.

On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave *Francis* time to send Troops into *Italy*, under the Command of *Lautrec*, who was declared General of the League he had newly concluded with the *Venetians*. As for the Duke of *Urbino*, he continued in the *Milanese* with part of the *Venetian* Army.

Lautrec arrived in *Piedmont* in *July*, with part of the Army he was to command. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* was ordered to join him with his *Italians*, and the *Switzers* were to come presently after. Whilst he was employed in Conquests of little moment, waiting the junction of all his Forces, *Andrea Doria*, who had quitted the Pope's Service, and commanded the *French* Gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the City of *Genoa* under *Francis's* Dominion. This was a good opening of a Campaign, which seemed to promise an advantageous Success in the rest of the War, especially as *Lautrec*, after assembling his whole Army, consisting of twenty five thousand Men, became master of *Tigevano*, *Alexandria*, and *Pavia*. *Sforza* and the *Venetians* earnestly pressed him to besiege *Milan*; but he shewed them positive orders to march to *Naples*. The King of *France* took care not to employ his Army to conquer the Duchy of *Milan*, which by the Treaty of League was to be restored to *Sforza*, after which, the *Venetians* would give themselves but little trouble to accomplish his attempt upon *Naples*. Besides, he still hoped, that by consenting, the Emperor should keep *Milan*, he might recover his Sons, whereas in restoring *Sforza* he should deprive himself of that means. *Lautrec* therefore began his march to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but with such slowness and affected delays, that it was evident, he had private orders not to make too much haste. And indeed, it was at the time that *Francis* expected the Emperor's final answer to the offers made him by his and *Henry's* Ambassadors. *Lautrec* long halted at *Parma* and *Placentia*, which had opened their Gates to him. Mean while, the Duke of *Ferrara* joined with *France*, as well on account of *Lautrec's* march, who might have easily ravaged his Country, as of *Francis's* offer to give in marriage to his Son *Hercules*, Renée of *France*, second Daughter of *Lewis XII.* The Duke of *Mantua* presently after followed his example.

Mean while, the Emperor seeing the ill effects of the Pope's Captivity, had dispatched the General of the Order of St. *Francis* to the Viceroy of *Naples*, with orders to release the Pope. The General finding the Viceroy seized with a Distemper whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to *Hugo de Moncada* to be executed. The Emperor had given general Instructions, that the Pope should be bound to pay the Arrears due to the Army, and give Security, after having his liberty, to forsake the League. But as it was not easy for the Pope to find Pledges, or the Money necessary to pay the Army, the Negotiation was prolonged. Mean while, he continually solicited *Lautrec* by private Messengers to approach *Rome* in order to facilitate his deliverance. But *Lautrec* had positive orders

which hindered him from making haste, and yet his march, though slow, was of good Service to the Pope. *Moncada* seeing the Kingdom of *Naples* was going to be invaded, and that it was not possible to lead thither the Imperial Army which was at *Rome*, without giving them Money, concluded at last (2) a Treaty with the Pope to this effect:

- I. That the Pope should not oppose the Emperor in the affairs of *Naples* or *Milan*.
- II. That he should grant the Emperor a Crusade in *Spain*, and a Tenth in the rest of his Dominions.
- III. That the Emperor should keep *Civita Vecchia*, *Osia*, *Citta Castellana*, and the Castle of *Furli*.
- IV. That the Pope should pay down to the German Troops, sixty thousand Ducats, and thirty five thousand to the *Spaniards*.
- V. That in a fortnight after, he should pay them another certain Sum, and within three months all the rest that was due to the Emperor, amounting to above three hundred and fifty thousand Ducats.
- VI. That till the two first payments were made, the Pope should be conducted to some safe place out of *Rome*, and give Hostages.

Treaty for
the Pope's
Deliverance.
Guicciard.
Herbert.

The Treaty being signed, and the Cardinals of *Cesis* and *Orsino* delivered in Hostage, it was agreed, that on the 10th of *December* the Pope should be taken out of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and conducted to a place appointed. But as he was afraid of a longer confinement, because he was unable to perform the Treaty, he escaped in disguise the night before, and shut himself up in *Orvieto*.

The Pope
escapes to
Orvieto.
Guicciard.

When *Lautrec* heard that the Pope was at Liberty, he restored to him the City of *Parma*, and marched to *Bologna*, where he stayed three weeks expecting fresh orders from the King. Some days after, he received a Letter from *Clement VII.* acknowledging himself indebted to him for his Liberty, intimating withal, that having been forced to grant the Imperialists whatever they required, he did not think himself obliged to perform his Engagements.

Guicciard.

It was whilst the Pope was prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, that *Henry's* Divorce was set on foot; a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in it self, as on account of the Parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet thirty years since *Lewis XII.* put away his Wife without any difficulty, or much noise in the world. *Henry VIII.* had a mind to attempt the same thing, and though supported with much more plausible reasons, he met with insuperable obstacles, not to be surmounted without an extraordinary method, which gave occasion to the establishment of the Reformation in *England*. This effect distinguished *Henry VIII's* Divorce from so many others, which are but slightly mentioned by Historians. The writers upon this subject being either Catholics or Protestants, have considered it variously. The Catholics have drawn Arguments from thence against the Reformation in *England*, and represented *Henry's* Divorce, as the next and immediate cause of the change of Religion; whereas the Protestants affirm, it was only the occasion. Three English Authors especially have written the History of this Divorce, besides many others of the same Nation, or Foreigners who have spoke of it in their works. *Sanderus*, or rather *Sanders*, Author of the *Origin and Progress of the English Schism*, makes it his business to defame *Henry VIII.*, and shew that the Reformation in *England*, which he terms *Schism*, entirely sprung from *Henry's* passion for *Ann Bullen*. He fancied by that to give a mortal wound to the Reformation, and cause the world to think, that a Superstructure raised on such a foundation, could not be the work of God. The Lord *Herbert*, in his History of *Henry VIII.*, contents himself with a bare recital of the events of this Reign, whereof the Divorce is one of the principal, without many reasonings, leaving his Readers to make Inferences from the Facts he relates. Doctor *Burnet* intending to write the History of the Reformation of *England*, made it his chief aim, in speaking of *Henry's* Divorce, to shew, that though it occasioned the Reformation, it was only by accident. For this reason he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falsehoods asserted by *Sanders* in his History. He has succeeded so well, that no sincere Man can for the future acknowledge *Sanders* for a writer worthy of Credit.

Beginning
of Henry's
Divorce.

Reason why
this Divorce
made so
much noise.

Remarks
on Sanders,
Herbert, and
Burnet.

The Sequel of my History obliges me to speak, in my turn, of this famous Divorce. I should be inclined to refer the Reader to the forementioned excellent History of the Reformation of *England*, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions, but it would not be reasonable to oblige the Readers to remember what they have read in that History, or to peruse

(1) On May 15. Guicciard, l. 18.

(2) On October 21. Ibid.

1527. it again. Wherefore I shall chuse, in pursuing the thread of my History, to relate this Event, which is as the Hinge whereon do turn numberless other things, which that illustrious Author had occasion only to mention, but which I must more fully explain, because our ends are different. His aim in speaking of Henry VIII's affairs with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France, was to illustrate the History of the Reformation, and mine is, not to meddle with the affairs of Religion any farther than they relate to the other events of this Reign.

Henry had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Arragon, and by her had three Children, whereof one was living, when he formed the design to put her away. He alledged, as the principal reason, his scruples for marrying his Brother's widow. But, as 'tis pretended, these scruples troubled him not till he was in love with Ann Bullen, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his Marriage, sprung from this new passion, and without that, would never have existed (1). Accordingly, some labour to shew his Divorce had no other foundation than his love for that Lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his scruples were independent of each other. For my part, I should think it needless to accuse or justify Henry, with regard to the concerns of Religion, if there was not some necessity to illustrate this matter with respect to the History. By illustrating, I mean, shewing the impossibility of giving a certain Judgment about it. But before all things, it is necessary to describe the person, who, as it is pretended, was the prime Cause of the King's Divorce, and of all the Consequences thereof.

Ann Bullen (2) was of a good, though not a noble, Family. Sir Thomas Bullen her Father, married a Sister of the Duke of Norfolk (3), and by her had Ann, born according to Camden in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII's Accession to the Throne. Thomas Bullen her Father was twice Ambassador to France, first in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made Viscount Rochford in 1525, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (4). Ann his Daughter, being but seven years old, was carried into France in 1514, when Mary the King's Sister went and consummated her Marriage at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. That Queen being re-married shortly after to the Duke of Suffolk, and returning into England, Ann Bullen was left in France. It is pretended, she then entered into the Service of Francis I's Queen, though she was but eight years of age; but it is not said in what quality. It is certain, a Girl of her age was not capable of doing much Service. So, it may be presumed her Beauty, Gentleness, or the liveliness of her Wit, made Queen Claude desirous to keep her about her. Camden affirms, she retained her in her Service to the day of her death, which happened in July 1524, and says not that Ann ever took a Journey into England all that time. But Du Tillet, and Du Pleix, French Authors, pretend, she came over in 1522. The Lord Herbert says the same thing, but, without citing any particular Author, contents himself with saying, it appears in History. Camden affirms, Ann remained in France, not only till Queen Claude's death, but that, after she had lost her Mistresses, she was taken into Service by the Duchess of Alençon, Francis's Sister. However, he does not say when she quitted it. Others affirm, Sir Thomas Bullen brought his Daughter to England when he returned from his Embassy. His Embassy of 1515, can't here be meant, since it is unanimously agreed, that Ann was in Queen Claude's Service after Queen Mary's departure, and continued several years in the Court of France. It must therefore be his Embassy of 1527. But 'tis likely, Bullen was not sent to France till September 1527, since his sole Commission was to see the Treaty of the 30th of April of the same year sworn to, which Francis had not ratified sooner than the 18th of August, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts (5). But as, before his departure, the affair of the Divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed, the King's love for his Daughter was later than his resolution concerning the Divorce, if it be true that Ann returned to England with her Father, about the end of the year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two French Authors assert, that Ann went over to England in 1522, and that it was then the King fell in love with her. But it may be replied first, that it is very strange, these two Hi-

storians, who wrote long after the fact, should meet with Memoirs of the Journey of a Maid of Honour, and the more as they cite nothing to support their Testimony. Secondly, supposing it were so, they don't say Ann stayed in England. Consequently they destroy not Camden's Testimony, who affirms, Ann served Queen Claude till 1524, and afterwards the Duchess of Alençon. But if it be true, that Ann took a Journey into England in 1522, and the King then fell in love with her, it cannot be supposed she returned to France, because the rupture between the two Crowns happening that year, it is not likely that in time of War, an English Woman should go and serve a Queen of France. Besides, if the King was then in love, would he have suffered Ann to depart the Kingdom? Camden therefore, or the two French Authors must have been mistaken. This is a difficulty not to be easily solved.

But there is a fact which passes for certain, namely, that Ann Bullen being twenty years old, was taken into Queen Catherine's Service as a Maid of Honour. Now this must have been in 1527, since she was born in 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the King's love may most properly be fixed. But still this is only a Conjecture, which, were it well grounded, would be a sufficient proof, that the King's Divorce was not an effect of his passion, since it was resolved before the end of the year 1526. My aim in this Inquiry is to shew, that the time of Ann Bullen's return into England is very uncertain, and the beginning of the King's affection no less so. How then can it be so boldly affirmed, as it is by some, that Love for Ann Bullen inspired the King with the thoughts of annulling his Marriage with Catherine? We must see now whether it be easier to discover the time when Henry resolved to sue for his Divorce.

When Henry VII concluded his Son's Marriage with Catherine Prince Arthur's Widow, Archbishop Warham told him plainly, it was contrary to the Law of God, which the Pope could not dispense with. The King without doubt was touched with this Remonstrance. The very day the Prince his Son entered into his fourteenth year, he caused him to make against his Marriage, a secret Protestation, though before trusty witnesses, declaring, he was constrained to give his consent. After that, the King on his death-bed strictly charged the Prince not to consummate his Marriage with Catherine. Notwithstanding all this, Henry VIII being come to the Crown, espoused the Princess contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred the Bishop of Winchester's. He had by her three Children (6), two Sons and a Daughter, of whom the Sons died soon after their Birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he considered the untimely death of his two Sons, as God's curse on his Marriage, especially, when he saw the Queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards that Charles V, who was affianced to the Princess Mary, refused to marry her, upon the Council of Spain's questioning the Princess's Legitimacy. After that, when a Marriage was treating between Mary and King Francis, or the Duke of Orleans, the Bishop of Tarbe the French Ambassador, made the same objection, maintaining, that the Princess could not be deemed born in Wedlock, notwithstanding Julius II's Dispensation.

All these things were more than sufficient to raise scruples in the King's mind concerning his Marriage. But though in an Assembly of Lords which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reasons for a Divorce, he affirmed, the Bishop of Tarbe's objection inspired him with the first thoughts of inquiring into the matter, it appears however, that his scruples began sooner. For in a Letter (7) afterwards to Grynæus, he told him, he had obtained from the Queen ever since the year 1524.

But supposing it could be discovered at what time Henry began, either of himself, or by the Suggestion of others, to be troubled with these scruples, it would signify nothing with respect to his resolution concerning the Divorce, which in all appearance was taken much later. Polydore Virgil says, Longland Bishop of Lincoln, the King's Confessor, laboured to persuade him of the necessity of the Divorce by Cardinal Wolsey's order, but mentions not the time. All the Historians affirm, the King had recourse himself to Thomas Aquinas's works to clear his doubts, and caused the Bishops to be consulted upon that head. But none of them say at what time this was done. It is well known, Secretary Knight was dispatched

(1) It was at first reported, That King Henry was to marry Margaret Duchess Dowager of Alençon, and that Thomas Bullen Viscount Rochford had brought over her Picture with him, when he returned from his Embassy to France. *H. Kinghead*, p. 897. *Pol. Virg.* l. 27.

(2) Her true name was Ann Boleyn, as it is always written in the Publick Acts. The English write Bolen, or Bullen, and the French Bolen. *Rapin*.

(3) Elizabeth Howard.

(4) His Mother was Margaret one of the Daughters and Co-Heirs of Thomas Beiler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. His Father was Sir William, and his Grandfather Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, or Buleyn, Lord Mayor of London in 1458, who married Anne eldest Daughter and Co-Heir of Thomas Lord Howard Hastings.

Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 306. *Camden*.

(5) Sir Thomas Bullen was accompanied to Paris by Sir Anthony Brown. *Hall*, fol. 157.

(6) She had, besides, several Miscarriages. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 36.

(7) Dated September 10, 1531. *Idem*, p. 38.

1527.
Burnet.
Herbert.

to Rome about this affair in July 1527, but then the rumour of the King's meditating a Divorce had already reached the Court of Spain, as appears in the Cardinal's Letter to the King from *Abbeville* (1). It is also very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, *Henry* had considered of it some time before. It is scarce to be supposed a resolution of this nature can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favorable Juncture. *Henry* said himself that the Bishop of *Tarbe* bred the thought of annulling his Marriage. But if it be true, as some affirm, that the Bishop spoke only as directed by Cardinal *Wolsey*, it may be presumed, the project of the Divorce was formed some time before, and this Ambassador made to speak only to have an excuse to commence the affair. This is what seems to me extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the Ambassador, after thus questioning *Mary's* Legitimacy, would have concluded the Marriage of the King his master, or of the Duke of *Orleans*, with that Princess, had he not acted in concert with the Court of *England*. These then are my thoughts, which I submit to the Reader's Judgment.

Conjecture upon this Subject.

Ever since *Francis* was freed from his Captivity, he had never ceased to press *Henry* to join with him in an offensive League against the Emperor. But *Henry* had constantly excused himself, without even suffering him to entertain the least hopes in that respect. However, Lord *Herbert* says, that about the end of the year 1526, *Henry* of his own accord sent an Ambassador to *France* to propose this League, so eagerly desired by *Francis*, and to offer him his Daughter *Mary* in Marriage. This proceeding gives occasion to believe, he had now resolved upon the Divorce, and foreseeing how much the Emperor would oppose it, intended so to embarrass him as to oblige him to court his Friendship. Upon this supposition it may naturally be conjectured, that he proposed the Marriage of his Daughter with the King of *France*, only to convince the Emperor, that he really designed to be strictly united with *France*. But at the same time it is very likely, he informed *Francis* of the obstacle which would occur in the execution of this pretended project, namely, the Divorce of the Princess's Mother, which he was meditating. This Conjecture is confirmed by the coldness wherewith these two Monarchs treated of the Marriage. In the first place, *Henry* left it to the King of *France's* choice, to have *Mary* himself, or to leave her to his second Son, as if this alternative were the same thing. In the next place, when *Francis* declared he would leave *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, the treating more fully concerning the Marriage was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the Treaty *Francis* and the Cardinal concluded at *Abbeville*, they took care to insert this Clause: That though the Marriage should not be effected, the Treaty however should subsist. In fine, though *Knight* was now at *Rome*, or on his way thither, when the Treaty of *Abbeville* was concluded, it does not appear *Francis* ever complained to *Henry*, that he had offered him a Princess whom he was labouring to bastardize, in prosecuting his Divorce with the Queen her Mother. On the contrary, he assisted him to the utmost of his power to obtain his desires. But he must have looked upon the offer as an affront, had they not understood one another. If this Conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the resolution concerning the Divorce was taken at least about the end of the year 1526, though the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year. But in that case, it would therefore be true, that the King had resolved upon the Divorce before his passion for *Ann Bullen*, who, in all appearance, returned not into *England* sooner than October 1527.

From what has been said it may be gathered, that to affirm with any probability, that *Henry's* passion for *Ann Bullen* was the cause of his Divorce with *Catherine*, these queries must be decided in favour of that opinion. At what time did *Ann Bullen* return into *England*? When did the King's love for her first begin? When was it that he came to a resolution concerning his Divorce? But upon all these questions, conjectures only, as I have observed, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the resolution about the Divorce, and the beginning of the King's love, was no great distance of time. There we must stop. But it is going too far, to ground upon this nearness, as a certain fact, that *Henry* undertook the prosecution of his Divorce with *Catherine*, on purpose to marry *Ann Bullen*. I say, moreover, that though there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly corresponded, yet as to what passed in the King's Breast, it would be only Conjecture.

(1) Dated August 1. 1527. See *Herbert*, p. 84.

(2) This particular is not very certain. See *Burnet Ref. Tem.* III. p. 38. *Conj. El.* St. *Asaph*, *Lincoln*, and *Bath*.

I have enlarged a little on this point, because the illustrious Author of the History of the Reformation seems to leave it something in the dark. Besides, I thought it requisite to curb the over-confident, by informing the Readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We see it in many Histories, and hear it every day positively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty, that *Henry's* Love for *Ann Bullen* was the sole Cause of his Divorce with *Catherine of Arragon*, though, as I have shewn, it can only be said by conjecture, and the conjecture it self does not countenance that notion. Not that *Henry VIII* is to be considered as a Prince incapable of being misled by his Passion, even to the sacrificing *Catherine of Arragon* to *Ann Bullen*. Why should he have been more scrupulous with respect to *Catherine*, than he was with regard to *Ann* herself, whom he made no difficulty to sacrifice to a third Wife, as will hereafter be seen. He was a Prince of an impetuous Temper, who could bear no opposition to his Will. The Flatteries of his Subjects, and the extravagant Praises continually bestowed on him by the Sovereigns who stood in need of him, had possessed him with such a conceit of his own Merit, that he imagined his Actions ought to have been the standard of good Sense, Reason, and Justice. When therefore it is said, his love for *Ann Bullen* caused him eagerly to push the affair of his Divorce, of which otherwise the difficulties would perhaps have discouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his Character. Only care must be taken, not to assert for an undoubted Truth, what is but a bare Conjecture.

However this be, without dwelling longer upon the King's secret motives, and endeavouring to discover his Thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content our selves with what he published himself. In the first place, he said, He was troubled in conscience for his Marriage with *Catherine*, and indeed he had but too much reason. The wonder is, that he had not these scruples more early. He had married his Brother's Widow, and found it forbidden by the Law of *Moses*. It is true, he had the Pope's dispensation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned Divines were of opinion, that the Pope could not dispense with the Laws of God. This was sufficient to give him very just Scruples. As soon as these doubts had possessed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in *Thomas Aquinas* what he had perhaps inattentively read many times: First, that the Levitical Laws are moral and eternal: Secondly, that the Pope cannot dispense with the Laws of God, because to dispense with a Law, one must be superior [or equal] to the Law-giver. This decision of a Divine, for whom he had a great esteem, confirming his scruples, he desired Archbishop *Warham*, who had formerly declared against the Marriage, to consult the Bishops of *England* upon this occasion. Some affirm, that *Longland* his Confessor cherished his doubts, by the private orders of Cardinal *Wolsey*, which is not improbable. The Queen was Aunt of the Emperor, with whom *Wolsey* had reason to be displeased. Besides, the Favorite loved not the Queen herself, because he could not help shewing how much she was offended, that a Bishop, a Cardinal, a Legate of the Holy See, should lead so scandalous a life. However this be, soon after the Archbishop presented to the King a writing, under the Hands and Seals of all the Bishops, wherein they condemned his Marriage as contrary to common decency, and the Law of God. Only *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* refusing to set his hand, it is said the Archbishop made another write his name unknown to him (2). But the Bishops were not the only Persons of this opinion. Since *Luther's* Works began to appear, many People in *England* were put out of their former high conceit of the Papal Power. As therefore the validity of the King's Marriage was wholly founded on *Julius II's* Dispensation, it was publicly disputed whether the Dispensation could authorize a Marriage so notoriously repugnant to the Law of God: Nay, many who were otherwise strongly attached to the Court of *Rome*, could not relish the Doctrine of the Pope's dispensing with the divine Laws. All these things conspired either to breed or confirm the King's scruples.

But it was not only scruples of Conscience that *Henry* alleged to justify his design. He pretended, that though he were regardless of his salvation, or able to overcome his scruples, the good of his People required the prevention of an inconvenience which was easily to be foreseen. He had but one Daughter, and very likely should have no more Children, if his Marriage were not annulled. If therefore, after his decease, the validity of his marriage with *Catherine* should come to be questioned, he foresaw

1527.

Motives of the Divorce alleged by Henry. Burnet.

He labours to inform himself about his doubts. Burnet.

Wolsey helps to cherish his Scruples. Pol. Virg. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

The Bishops condemn his Marriage with Catherine. Cavendish. Burnet.

The People are of the same mind. Herbert.

Reasons of State alleged by the King. Burnet.

It was signed on July 1. by *Warham*, *Tusſal*, *Fisher*, and the Bishops of

1527. *England* would again be involved, on account of the Succession, in troubles from whence she was but just freed. *Mary* his Daughter, the King of *Scotland* his Nephew, the Queen Dowager of *France*, could equally pretend to the Crown, upon very plausible Reasons. *Mary* could alledge the Pope's dispensation against such as should charge her with her being born of an unlawful Marriage. The King of *Scotland*, who was next Heir after her, could maintain, the Dispensation was not valid. The Queen Dowager the King's Sister could alledge, that the first was Illegitimate, and the second, a Foreigner. These several Claims might easily kindle a civil war in *England*, where it was but too visible that each would find Adherents, not to mention the foreign succours they might be supported with. *Henry* therefore imagined there was but one way to prevent this danger, namely, by annulling his Marriage, and taking another Wife, by whom, with God's blessing, he might have Sons. He to whom the secrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this Thought was intilled into him by the danger he foresaw, by his aversion to the Queen, or by his Love for *Ann Bullen*. But however this may be, independently of the several motives ascribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the Kingdom's being one day exposed to a civil War, if the King remained till death in his present state, and he saw no other way to come out of it, than by annulling his Marriage. It is true, he foresaw great opposition from the Emperor the Queen's Nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other hand, as that Monarch had himself shown on this occasion scruples, which hindered him from espousing *Mary*, *Henry* hoped, he would not obstinately maintain what he had himself questioned. Besides, the juncture seemed very favorable for his purpose. The Pope, who was Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, seemed to have no other resource to be restored to his former state, than the assistance of *France* and *England*, and *Henry* did not question that *Francis*, who stood in need of him, would promote his Proceedings to the utmost of his power. As to the rest, he never doubted the Pope's authority, reckoning that *Clement VII* could revoke a Dispensation granted by *Julius II*. Nay, Cardinal *Wolsey* warranted the success of the affair, whether he had already gained the Pope, or imagined, that *Clement* in his present circumstances could deny the King nothing. So, it was resolved the Suit should be moved in the Court of *Rome*, to cause the Marriage to be annulled.

Reasons putting him in hopes of succeeding.
Burnet.

Reasons to be laid before the Pope.
Burnet.

Nullities in Julius's Bull.

The best reason that could be alledged, was, That *Julius's* dispensation was contrary to the divine Law, and that alone ought to have been sufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with disputing the Prerogative of the *Roman Pontiffs*, when a favour was to be asked of the Court of *Rome*. Recourse therefore was to be had to another expedient, which was to find Nullities in *Julius's* Bull, and show it was procured by false surmises, and untrue suggestions, which rendered the Bull revocable, even according to the Rules of the Court of the *Rota* (1). And this was not very difficult. The Bull was grounded upon *Henry's* and *Catherine's* request, setting forth that their marriage was necessary to preserve Peace between *England* and *Spain*. And here were found two reasons for revoking the Bull. The first, that *Henry* being then but twelve years old, could not be deemed to have any political views, whence it was inferred, that the request was not his own. The second, that the suggestion was false, since as matters then stood between *Spain* and *England*, the Marriage was not at all necessary for the preservation of Peace between the two Crowns, and consequently *Julius II* had been surprized. Another Nullity was found, as the Bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of Peace and Union between *Henry VII* and the King and Queen of *Spain*, this reason ceased when the Marriage was consummated, since *Henry VII* and *Isabella* were now dead. In fine, it was alledged, that *Henry VIII* having protested against his marriage before consummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the Bull, and therefore another Bull was necessary to render the Marriage valid. But all these reasons were produced only to afford the Pope a pretence to revoke *Julius's* dispensation. For, if the contrariety of the Dispensation to the divine Law, was not the real foundation of suing for the Divorce, nothing would have been more easy for the Pope, than to quiet

the King's Confidence, by confirming whatever had been done, by a new Bull.

Mean while, as the Pope's compliance was not doubted in his present circumstances, the King sent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, to desire him to sign four Instruments drawn in *England*. The first was a Commission to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to try and decide the affair with some *English* Bishops. The second was a Bull Decretal, declaring the King's Marriage with *Catherine* void, because *Arthur's* with the same Princess was consummated. By the third, the Pope granted the King a Dispensation to marry another Wife. By the fourth, he promised never to repeal any of the three foregoing Acts.

Knight departed from *England* in *July*, about the time the Cardinal began his journey to enter with the King of *France* (2). But as the Pope was Prisoner, and guarded by a *Spanish* Captain, it was impossible for *Knight* to have an audience. He found means however to convey to him a Memorial (3), containing the sum of his Commission, to which the Pope returned a favorable answer. He made believe he would grant whatever the King desired, though the Emperor had already required him by the General of the *Franciscans*, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his Ministers. By the way, this shows, *Henry* had resolved long before to sue for his divorce, since the Emperor had time to hear of it, and send to the Pope. As it was not practicable for *Knight* to treat with the Pope in Person, the matter was carried no farther at that time. At length, the news of the Pope's going to be released, reaching *England*, Cardinal *Wolsey* writ to Sir *Gregory Cassali* (4) the King's ordinary Ambassador at *Rome*, to order him to join with *Knight*, and press the Pope to grant the King's request. This Letter was worded in very strong terms, and showed the Cardinal's desire that the Divorce should be effected. It was dated the 5th of *December* 1527, the Cardinal not yet knowing, that the Pope had made his escape the 9th of the same month (5).

Clement VII being retired to *Orvieto*, *Knight* went (6) and talked with him about the affair. The Pope owned he had received his Memorial, and promised again to do all that lay in his power for the King's satisfaction, but prayed him not to be too hasty. His circumstances then were such, that he did not yet know, whether he should want the King of *England*, or whether the Emperor would agree with him. Wherefore he desired to gain time, in order to proceed as should best suit with his interest. But for that reason, and because the King's orders were urgent and positive, *Knight* would not delay his Negotiation. He earnestly pressed the Pope, who promised at last to sign the Acts, on condition no use should be made of them, till the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were departed out of *Italy*. *Knight* willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the Instruments ready signed were in the King's hands, he would use them when he pleased. But the Pope was not easily to be deceived. Whilst he feigned to have no other view than to satisfy the King, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to sacrifice him if he found it for his advantage. He used therefore all his art to prolong the affair, by means unsuspected by the King. To this end, he told *Knight* that before the Instruments were executed, he should be glad to talk with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*.

The Pope having thus engaged, *Knight* and *Cassali* fancied they had no more to do, than to prepossession in the King's favour the Cardinal, whom the Pope intended to consult. They were at no great pains to succeed, since, besides ten thousand Ducats which they had in hand to reward such as should do them service, they were empowered to make what farther promises, they should think fit, in the King's name. The Cardinal examining the Instruments sent from *England*, found very great faults, particularly in the Legate's Commission, and took upon him to draw one more perfect. Which done, *Knight* and *Cassali* waited on the Pope, and pressed him to sign. He did not absolutely refuse, but said, The Emperor having required him not to act in that business without imparting it to him, it was necessary to find some expedient to excuse so hasty a proceeding: That therefore it would be proper to cause *Lautrec* to march towards *Orvieto*, and press him in his master's name to

Wolsey's Letter to Cassali.
Burnet.

Knight's Commission to the Pope.
Burnet.

He promises to do what the King desires.

But he fails to do what the King desires.
Herbert.
Burnet.

(1) It is a Maxim in Law, that if the Pope be surprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon false Suggestions and untrue surmises, they may be annulled afterwards. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 40.

(2) *Knight* had Orders to advise with the Cardinal, by the way. Herbert. p. 99.

(3) By consulting some of his Guards. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 47.

(4) The Family of the *Cassali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and other Places. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 45.

(5) The Letter is dated the 5th of *December*, and not the 25th as *Rapin* says: by mistake; the Original is yet extant in the Cotton. Libr. Vol. B. 9.

(6) About the end of *December*. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 47.

1527. give the King of England satisfaction. *Lautrec* being then at *Bologna*, to get him to march to *Orvieto*, there would have been occasion for orders from the Court of *France*, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore *Henry's* Agents rejected the expedient, their aim being to finish the affair before the Emperor had notice thereof. At last the Pope, finding himself extremely pressed, delivered to them the Commission for Cardinal *Wolsey*, with the Bull of Dispensation for the King (1), and promised to send into *England* the Bull Decretal to null the Marriage (2). But here the Pope used an artifice, which the Agents perhaps did not sufficiently consider. He dated these two Instruments from the time he was Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. So, when the King had them in his power, he did not think fit to make use of them, lest it should be objected that the Pope had granted them only with design to obtain his Liberty by the assistance he expected from *England*. Besides, all Acts executed by a Prisoner may be deemed void, whereof the Treaty of *Madrid* was a late instance. Thus, how urgent soever the King was to end the affair, he found at the close of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progress.

1528. *Clement VII* had time, during his Captivity, seriously to reflect upon his past Conduct, which had been very unsuccessful, because he had swerved from the maxims of his most able Predecessors. He had preposterously engaged in a War with the Emperor, whereas *Alexander VI*, *Julius II*, and *Leo X*, after sowing dissention among the Princes, left them for the most part to decide their quarrels, and then sided with the strongest, or if they engaged in a War, it was commonly at other people's expence. But for once, *Clement VII*, after draining his Treasure in maintaining an army, had lost *Florence*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Rome* itself, with the best part of the Ecclesiastical State, and seen himself captive and ransomed. This was sufficient to make him wiser, and take another course. As soon as the Ambassadors of *France*, *England*, and *Venice*, saw him secure at *Orvieto* from the outrages of the Imperialists, they pressed him to declare against the Emperor. They thought if he could not assist the League with temporal Arms, he might at least, by means of his spiritual, embroil the common enemy, whom he seemed to have no reason to regard. But he himself considered this affair in a different light. Having learned by sad experience, that he had been the dupe of his Allies, he resolved to be no longer guided by their interested Counsels. So, without discovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the League would only draw upon him fresh mischiefs, without procuring them any advantage: That besides, it was necessary for the benefit of *Christendom*, there should be a Mediator to labour to procure Peace, and that was all he could do in the state he was reduced to. Nevertheless, he intimated to them, that he might take other measures, if *Lautrec* approached to oblige the Emperor's Troops to abandon *Rome*. This indeed was his sole aim, to free the ecclesiastical State from that foreign Army, in order to be able to act most agreeably to his interest.

At last, *Lautrec* departing from *Bologna* the 9th of *January*, took the road to *Naples*, having first sent the Prince of *Vaudemont* and *la Trimouille* to the Pope, to press him to declare. But *Clement* found means to excuse himself, without however a positive denial. He saw, as I may say, all *Europe* in motion, and was willing to wait the success of the War, in order to take juster measures than before. So, it was not possible by any means to bring him to a Declaration. He only made believe, that if *Francis* and *Henry* would cause *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be restored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their instances, without being debarred from finding some other evasion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of these two places. Mean while, he was thinking how to treat secretly with the Emperor, from whom he had greater expectations than from his Allies. Indeed, his chief aim being to restore the House of the *Medici* to the Government of *Florence*, he perceived that he could not accomplish it without the Emperor's help, since the Allies were concerned to support the *Florentines*, who were become Parties in the League. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the Emperor, when that Monarch was weak in *Italy*, and so powerful an army was marching to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was therefore necessary for him to wait, till the event of the War enabled him to resolve with safety. This was the

true reason which obliged him to use many artifices, to try to displease neither the Emperor, nor the King of *France*, nor the King of *England*. If, instead of unadvisedly engaging in a War, he had before taken this course, he might have sold his favours at any rate. At least, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in *Rome* itself.

But though the Pope refused to declare, the Kings of *France* and *England* were not the less eager in the pursuit of their Projects. On the 21st of *January* 1528, their Ambassadors in *Spain* demanded the Emperor's leave to retire, and next day *Clarenceux* and *Guienne*, Heralds, one of *England*, the other of *France*, proclaimed war against him. This was done with great solemnity, the Emperor being seated on his Throne, and attended by all his Grandees. He answered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the *English* Herald, he made use of civil and honorable Terms, denoting, he was not at all pleased with having the King his master for an enemy. He complained however, that *Henry* had used him ill, in designing to give him in marriage a Princess whom he proposed to bastardize, since he was fuing to be divorced from the Queen her Mother. But he threw all the blame on the boundless ambition of Cardinal *Wolsey*. He said, the Cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms in *Italy* to make him Pope, and thought himself injured, because he would not disturb the Peace of *Christendom* for his sake. As for the Sums, of which *Henry* demanded payment, he denied, he had ever refused to discharge the debt. But added, that the *English* Ambassadors not having brought with them the original obligations, nor even a power to give him a discharge, *Henry* was in the wrong to complain. As to the Indemnity he demanded, he knew the King of *France* had taken it upon him in the Treaty of *Madrid*. As for the penalty of five hundred thousand Crowns, in case he refused to marry the Princess *Mary*, he replied, it was not his fault: That he had demanded her of the King her Father, by Ambassadors sent on purpose, and that *Henry* had refused to send her: That besides, before that time *Henry* had offered her to the King of *Scotland*: In short, That he could not lawfully claim that Sum, before he had proved that he had himself performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Windfor*. Such was the Emperor's answer to the Declaration of War made by *Henry's* Herald. In his answer to the *French* Herald, he spoke not with so much regard and caution. He plainly accused *Francis* of breach of faith, and charged the Herald to put him in mind of the message he sent him by the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* his Ambassador, That it would be better for them to decide their quarrel by single Combat, but that he had not received any answer. Probably, the Ambassador had not thought fit to deliver that Message to the King, since he seemed extremely surprized when he heard it from the Herald's mouth. In a few days, he sent the same Herald to the Emperor, with a Challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the Lie in form, and required him to assure him the field to fight hand to hand. The Challenge was dated *March* 28. 1528. The Emperor sent his answer by one of his Heralds, who was charged to tell him by word of mouth very disagreeable things. The Herald coming to *Paris*, could not obtain leave without great difficulty, to put on (3) his Coat of Arms when he entered the City. The King expected him on his Throne, surrounded with a great number of Princes and Lords. But he had scarce began to speak, before the King interrupted him, and demanded whether he had brought the Security of the Field. The Herald desired leave to proceed with what he had to say from the Emperor; the King refused to hear him, saying, he had required only the Security of the Field, and that all the rest was to no purpose. Thus ended this affair, which had now made great noise. The two Monarchs gave publick marks of their Courage, by their mutual Challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way so uncommon to great Princes.

Hugo de Mendoza the Emperor's Ambassador at *London*, hearing what had passed in *Spain*, would have retired. But Cardinal *Wolsey* (4) sent him word that *Clarenceux* had exceeded his Instructions in proclaiming War against the Emperor, and should be punished at his return. Whereupon the Ambassador sent an Express to inform the Emperor of what the Cardinal had said. *Clarenceux*, who was still in *Spain*, surprized that he should be made accountable for what he had express orders, demanded, and

(1) But he begged with many Sighs and Tears, that the King would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any Process upon the Bull. *Burnet*. Tom. I. p. 48.

(2) The Cardinal *Sancti-rum* quatuor got of the *English* Ambassadors four thousand Crowns for a reward for his good Service. *Ibid*.

(3) Or rather to wear it. He put it on as soon as he came into the *French* Territories. *Herbert*. p. 94.

(4) Ordered him to be taken into Custody, &c. *Hall*, fol. 171.

1528. obtained an authentick Copy of the Ambassador's Letter (1). Upon his arrival in *England*, he waited on the King (2), before he spoke with the Cardinal, and showed him the Letter, with three others, writ with the Cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him express orders to declare War against the Emperor. *Henry*, astonished at his Minister's presumption, fell into a great passion with him before the whole Court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely disgraced him, had he not been withheld by the consideration of the affair of the Divorce, where he could not proceed without him. He made him however undergo a terrible mortification, by causing this affair to be examined in the Council. This Inquiry would doubtless have been fatal to the Minister, if the King had been pleased to pursue it, but he was contented with the Cardinal's protestation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his Majesty's Intentions.

The Cardinal assembles the Great Men, and tries to justify the War against the Emperor. Hall.

The People murmur. Hall.

Mutiny of the Clothiers. Hall. The Cardinal threatens them in vain.

Embassy from the Low-Countries. Hall. Herbert. Truce between England and Flanders. A. S. Pub. XIV. p. 288. Hall. Hollingh. Issue of the War of Naples. Guicciard.

Lautrec besieges Naples. Guicciard.

The Emperor's answer to *Clarenceux* being made publick in *England*, by the Spanish Ambassador's means, the Cardinal was afraid it would cause ill effects among the people, considering the weakness of the motives alledged by the King for undertaking the War. For this reason he assembled in the *Star-Chamber* (3) all the great Lords then at Court (4), to whom he made a Speech, aggravating as much as possible the Injuries, the King had received from the Emperor, and his reasons to demand satisfaction by Arms. But let him say what he would, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the Emperor said to the Herald, that the War was caused only by the Cardinal's private discontent, made deeper Impression than all the Arguments the Minister could alledge (5). The people openly exclaimed against a War which was going to ruin the Kingdom, to gratify the Favorite's passion. Nay, some went farther than murmurs. As the Trade with the *Low-Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of War, and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth which they could not vend, the Clothiers rise in arms (6). Whereupon the Cardinal ordered the Merchants to buy the Cloths as usual, threatening in case of refusal to buy them himself, and sell them to the Foreigners. But they made a Jest of this threat, and continued obstinate, resolving not to render themselves liable to inevitable Losses for his sake. An Embassy from the Governes of the *Low-Countries* (7) to the King whilst these things were in agitation, freed the Cardinal from his embarrassment. The Ambassadors acquainting him, that if the King pleased to consent to a Truce with the *Low-Countries*, for the mutual benefit of Trade, the Governes would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in Council, it was resolved, notwithstanding the *French* Ambassador's opposition, to agree to a Truce for eight months, which was signed the 8th of *June*.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the affairs of *Italy* were in such a situation as gave *Francis* room to expect *Lautrec's* Expedition in the Kingdom of *Naples* would be crowned with success, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. *Lautrec* going from *Bologna* the 9th of *January*, arrived the 10th of *February* on the borders of *Naples*, and marching into *Abruzzo*, became master of that Province, and afterwards of part of *Apulia*. It was not without extreme difficulty, that the Prince of *Orange* obliged the Imperialists to quit *Rome*, where for ten Months they had exercised all sorts of Rapine and Violence. Though the Imperial Army went not from *Rome* till the 17th of *February*, they got before *Lautrec*, who had taken a longer way in order to procure Money, which he wanted exceedingly, the King of *France*, according to Custom, not having sent him what he had promised. The Imperialists being posted at *Troya*, he offered them battle, but as they thought proper to retire to *Naples*, pursued his march, and arrived in the beginning of *May* before that Capital, which he besieged in form according to his orders. Sixteen *French* Gallies commanded by *Andrea Doria*, eight more under the Conduct of *Philippino Doria* his Nephew, with twenty two from *Venice*, were to block up *Naples* by Sea, whilst *Lautrec* with thirty thousand Men besieged the City by Land. But when

he opened the Siege he had only *Philippino's* eight Gallies. Thote of *Venice* came very late, and *Andrea Doria* who was displeased with the King of *France*, and had thoughts of entering into the Emperor's Service, detained the sixteen Gallies at *Genoa*, under divers pretences. Mean while, a Sea-fight between *Philippino* and the Imperialists, wherein *Moncada* was slain, and the Marquis *del Vasto* taken prisoner, made *Lautrec* hope he should reduce *Naples* by Famine, though himself wanted all things in his Camp. His hopes were increased by the arrival of the two and twenty *Venetian* Gallies, which joined those of *Philippino*. The business now was to see who could bear Famine longest, the Beliegers or the Belieged, who were equally in want of Provisions. But the *French* had, besides Scarcity, a very great disadvantage, as the Plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminished their number. At length, *Andrea Doria* having agreed with the Emperor, recalled his Nephew *Philippino* with his eight Gallies. Shortly after, the *Venetian* Gallies being obliged to go upon the Coast of *Calabria* to provide themselves with Biskets, the Belieged took that opportunity to convey into the City abundance of Provisions, whilst *Lautrec* remained in a very bad condition, without Victuals or Money, and with an Army grievously afflicted with the Plague. Most of his general Officers were dead, or sick, and to compleat the misfortune, he was himself seized with the Pestilence, which carried him off the 16th of *August* (8). The Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who took up on him the Command of the ruined Army, resolving at last to raise the Siege, with great difficulty retired to *Aversa*, where he was immediately besieged, and in few days, forced to capitulate, surrendering himself with all the principal Officers of his Army, into the hands of the Imperialists. Thus, the fine Army *Lautrec* had led before *Naples*, was entirely dispersed. Moreover, *France* had lately lost *Genoa*, taken by *Andrea Doria*, in the Emperor's name, after which, pursuant to his agreement with that Monarch, he restored his Country to Liberty, and established a Government which still subsists to this day. Thus the affairs of *Italy*, which in the beginning of the year had so promising an aspect for *Francis*, were so entirely altered, that he had scarce any thing left in that Country.

The knowledge of what passed in *Italy* this Campaign, will be of no little service to discover the motives of the Pope's Conduct in the affair of the Divorce. *Henry* deemed the affair ended, when he heard the Pope had left it to Cardinal *Wolsey's* decision. But when, after much difficulty, he had obtained this Commission for the Cardinal, with a Bull Decretal, declaring the Marriage void, and a Dispensation to marry again, he found however there was yet nothing done. The Commission was dated from the Castle of *St. Angelo*, whilst the Pope was a prisoner, which rendered it entirely null, and consequently there was a necessity of renewing it. The Decretal had no Clause to hinder the Pope from revoking it if he pleased. In fine, the Dispensation was only conditional, in case the King's Marriage with *Catherine* should be declared void. Besides, there were certain restrictions inserted, leaving the Pope at liberty to repeal it. For Instance, he granted the Dispensation, as far as might be without offending God. Notwithstanding any prohibitions of the divine Law, or other Constitutions and Ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far as the authority Apostolical reached (9). *Henry* was not a little concerned to see that he could not use these Bulls, without being liable to be molested. Nevertheless, in the belief, that all this was owing to Inadvertency, he ordered Sir *Gregory Cassali* his Ambassador at *Rome*, to demand Bulls less liable to dispute. *Cassali* spoke of it frequently to the Pope, but could obtain no positive answer. Only the Pope finding himself pressed, told him as a Secret, that he advised the King to proceed, and get his Marriage annulled, by virtue of the Commission given the Legate (10), but with as little noise as possible, and marry the Woman desired. He grounded this advice upon its being much easier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged *Cassali* how-

(1) As the Courier went through *Bayonne*, the Letter was opened, and copied by the Governor of that place, who showed it to *Clarenceux*. Hall. fol. 113. Herbert p. 90.

(2) At Hampton Court. Ibid.

(3) February 13. Hall. fol. 171.

(4) All Justices of the Peace and other honest Personages. Ibid.

(5) Hall says, that after the conclusion of his Speech, some of the hearers knocked one another on the Elbow, and said softly he lieth; others said that evil will never fall well; others said, that the *French* Crowns made him speak evil of the Emperor; but they that knew all said, it was a shame to lie in such an Audience. The common People were very sorry that a War should happen with the Emperor, because out of his Dominions they had lately been supplied with Corn, when it was so dear in *England* that it was sold for twenty six Shillings and Eight-pence a Quarter. Hall. fol. 166, 172.

(6) Especially in *Stafford*. Hall. fol. 173.

(7) On May 29. Hall. fol. 174.

(8) Of the Plague died also Sir Robert *Jerningham* Gentleman of the Bed-chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, who had the Command of two hundred Horse in the Army, paid by our King. John *Carew* his Lieutenant had his Company, but he died of the same Disease. Herb. p. 98. the Plague raged in *Italy*, so did the Sweating-sickness all this Summer in *England*, whereof died Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton*, and *William Carew* Esq; Hall. fol. 176.

(9) Lord *Herbert* gives not this Bull as Authentick, but as very Probable. Rapin.

(10) Ut statim committat Causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro legato, &c. Burnet's Collect. T. I. p. 26.

1528. ever, not to let the King know, this Suggestion came from him. *Henry* looked upon this advice as a Snare laid for him by the Pope. He considered, it was not possible to have such a Cause tried without noise, since it was necessary the Queen should be heard, otherwise the Sentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was advised to, he would have been entirely at the Pope's Mercy, who, according to the opinion of the Canonists, might have refused to confirm the Legate's Sentence, as well as the consequent Marriage. So, the affair being taken into consideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the Pope for new Bulls. Pursuant to this resolution, the King sent (1) *Stephen Gardiner*, Cardinal *Wolsey's* Secretary, and *Edward Fox* (2), to manage the affair. Their Instructions were to demand for the Cardinal a new Commission, appointing him Judge of the Cause, with Powers to null the King's Marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his Daughter legitimate; to press the Pope to give him a promise under his hand, not to revoke the Legate's Commission; to demand a Bull Decretal to null the King's Marriage, and a Dispensation to espouse another Wife without any restriction. In short, the Envoys had orders to acquaint the Pope, that the Divorce was not advised by the Cardinal, and to display the extraordinary Merit of the Lady the King intended to espouse. This was *Ann Bullen*, as may easily be guessed, since the King no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the Pope, that the Cardinal was not Author of the Counsel which had induced the King to sue for a Divorce, since he was required for Judge. And yet the Letters he sent by *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and which are in the History of the Reformation, clearly show he was infinitely desirous the thing should succeed. Finally, it appears that the King was still willing to have some concession for the Queen and the Emperor her Nephew, since he required that the Legate should have Powers to declare *Mary* legitimate. Perhaps too this was an effect of the love he had for her.

Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome to obtain the Bulls. Their Instructions. Herbert. Burnet. Strype.

Vol. I. p. 52. Collect. p. 20, &c.

The Pope's actual management. Herbert. Guicciard.

His Interest and Projects.

When *Gardiner* and *Fox* came to *Orvieto* (3), *Lautrec* was marching to *Naples*. But his progress was yet so inconsiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the Success of his undertaking, especially as the Imperialists were now departed from *Rome* in order to oppose his passage. Nay, it was likely, there would be a Battle, and as the Event was doubtful, the Pope took care not to incur the Emperor's resentment, in case his Arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he sent the King a Letter in Cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a Secret, and yet it was not possible to discover his Intention. This Letter not being very welcome, the Envoys had orders to insist upon their demands. But, at that time the face of affairs was something changed. *Lautrec* had now made Conquests in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Prince of *Orange*, unable to stop his march, was retired to the Metropolis, which probably, was going to be invested. It would therefore have been very imprudent to disoblige *Henry*, when the King of *France* his Ally was upon the point of becoming very powerful in *Italy*. So, *Clement* being greatly embarrassed in so nice a juncture, had recourse to his usual artifices, to try to gain time. He feigned to desire nothing so ardently as to satisfy *Henry*, though he was resolved in his own mind to do nothing effectual in his favour. His aim was to become master of the affair of the Divorce, and prolong it till the events of the War should determine him to content either the Emperor or the King. The Interest of his House required that he should manage the Emperor, because it was by his means that he hoped to restore the *Medici's* to *Florence*. That of his See was no less important. *Henry* demanded that he should revoke a Dispensation granted by a Pope his Predecessor, upon the supposition that this Pope had not power to grant it, that is, properly speaking, that he should declare the *Roman Pontiffs* had hitherto assumed a Prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult step to be taken, at a time when great part of *Germany* had thrown off the Pope's Dominion, and nothing was every where heard but complaints and murmurs against the exorbitant Power they had usurped. So, *Clement's* real design was to amuse the King with hopes he would consent to his Divorce, till it was in his power to oppose it with safety. There is no occasion to look for other mysteries in the Pope's Conduct, as will more plainly appear in the Sequel. As for the Arguments and Authorities alledged on both

1528. sides, with respect to the main point in question, from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Canons, they were only so many amusements which were extremely subservient to the Pope's designs, but made little or no Impression upon him.

Clement VII., being in this disposition, scrupled not outwardly to grant the King whatever he required. On the 13th of *April* 1528, he signed a Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolsey* Judge of the Cause, jointly with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or any other English Prelate he should think fit to chuse, and gave him as ample Powers as the King desired. But besides the above-mentioned Inconveniences in the Decretal and Dispensation, the King's Council found two in Cardinal *Wolsey's* new Commission. The first was, That there was no Clause to hinder the Pope, from revoking it. The second, That to appoint for sole Judge of the Cause, a Cardinal devoted to the King, and actually his Prime Minister, would be a manifest nullity. These considerations obliged the King to desire the Pope that he would join another Legate with Cardinal *Wolsey*, and positively promise not to revoke the Commission. As, when this was demanded, *Lautrec* was now before *Naples*, and it was not doubted, he would become master of the City, as well as of all the rest of the Kingdom, the Pope granted whatever was desired (4). He appointed therefore by a Bull dated at *Orvieto* the 6th of *June*, *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York*, and *Lorenzo Campegio* Cardinal Bishop of *Salisbury* for his Legates a latere, giving them the same Powers he had granted to *Wolsey* alone, appointing them his Vicegerents in the affair of the Divorce, and committing to them his whole Authority (5). He gave likewise, the 13th of *July*, the promise under his hand desired by the King. In a word, he delivered to *Campegio* a Decretal, nulling the King's Marriage, expressed in the very Terms which had as it were been dictated to him. It seemed *Henry* could desire nothing more. But all the artifices of the Court of *Rome* were not yet known in *England*. The Pope only intended to gain time, in order to see the Issue of the *Naples* Expedition. To that end, he always placed some interval between his Favours to the King. *Wolsey* was made sole Judge in the affair of the Divorce, the 13th of *April*; *Campegio* was, in a Consistory, declared his Associate, about the end of the same month; but the Bull was not drawn till the 6th of *June*. His promise not to revoke the Commission was not signed before the 23d of *July*. In all appearance, the Decretal was not drawn till *August*, nor did *Campegio* begin his Journey till after *Lautrec's* death, or perhaps after the raising the Siege of *Naples*; that is, when the Pope was no longer in dread of *France*, and it was more necessary than ever to manage the Emperor. So, it may almost be affirmed, that when *Campegio* departed from *Rome*, the Pope was resolved not to grant the Divorce. It was however requisite, he should still seem willing to satisfy *Henry*, in order not to be delivered to the Emperor's Mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantageous Terms, than his seeming Union with *France* and *England*. This was most certainly the Secret of the Pope's Policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In pursuance therefore of the resolution he had taken, he gave the following Instructions to his Legate. First, to prolong the affair as much as possible. Secondly, not to give Sentence upon the Divorce before the reception of his Commands in writing. Thirdly, he expressly enjoined him not to show the Bull to any person but the King and Cardinal *Wolsey*, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever.

Campegio departing with these Instructions, arrived not in *England* till *October*, six or seven months after he was appointed Legate. Whilst he was on the road, the Emperor's Ministers at *Rome* raised a fresh obstacle to the Divorce, by the pretended discovery of a Brief of *Julius II* (6), confirming the Bull of dispensation for *Henry's* marriage with *Catherine*. But there was this difference between the Bull and the Brief, that the Pope in the Bull said, *The Marriage was perhaps consummated*; whereas in the Brief, the word *perhaps* was omitted. They inferred from thence, that *Julius II* was not surprised, since he looked upon *Catherine's* first Marriage as consummated. But this Brief, of which they only gave an authentick Copy, without showing the original to the King's Ministers, was, probably, proposed solely to cause

The Pope gives Wolsey a new Commission. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 37. Herbert. Burnet.

The King desires the Pope to join another Legate with Wolsey.

Another Commission for Wolsey and Campegio. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 295, 296. Burnet. The Decretal committed to Campegio.

Instructions to Campegio.

He retards his Journey as much as possible. The Imperialists produce a forged Brief to retard the affair. Burnet. Cel. T. I. p. 39. Herbert.

(1) They were sent February 10. Burnet. T. I. p. 52.

(2) Burslet of King's College in Cambridge, and the King's Almoner. Gardiner was looked upon as the ablest Canonist, and Fox as the best Divine in England. Burnet. T. I. p. 52.

(3) *Massue* 200. Strype's Mem. Vol. I. p. 90.

(4) Dr. Fox arrived in England in the beginning of May; but Gardiner went to Rome to Campegio. Strype's Mem. p. 103, 104.

(5) *Campegio* was perhaps named for Legate in the Month of April, as Dr. Burnet says, but his Commission bore date the 6th of June.

(6) It was not in the Records of England or Spain, but said to be found among the Papers of D. d. Padilla, who was the Span. Ambassador in England at the time of the conclusion of the Match. Burnet. T. I. p. 57.

1528. time to be lost in examining it. For, there were two reasons, among many others, which manifestly proved it to be a Forgery. The first was, That this Brief granted at *Catherine's* request, supposed that Prince's marriage with *Arthur* to have been consummated, and yet she had sworn the contrary. And upon that her Agents had grounded the validity of *Julius's* dispensation. The second reason was still more strong, namely, That the Brief was dated the 26th of *December* 1503. Now as in the date of the Briefs, the Court of *Rome* begins the year the 25th of *December*, being *Christmas-day*, this date answered to the 26th of *December* 1502, of the common year, that is, ten months before *Julius II.* was Pope.

Campegio
exhibits
Henry to
keep
Catherine,
Burnet.

and Catherine
to a just
Marriage,
Herbert.

He seems
to want
from her
Orders
Herbert.

He shows the
Decretal
to the King
and Wolsey,
Burnet.

The Pope
approves
Council,
Burnet.

The Pope
republishes
the Decretal
Guillard.

The Difficult-
ties in the
Affair of the
Divorce in-
crease.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Vannes and
Brian sent
to Rome.

Their In-
structions.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Campegio being arrived in *England*, began his Legation with gravely exhorting the King to live in good understanding with the Queen, and desist from a further prosecution of this matter. This was taken very ill from a Legate who was thought to be sent into *England* to judge the Cause in favour of the King. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the Queen, endeavouring to persuade her, that she ought to comply with the King's desire (1), and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppose it. But whether the Queen was told beforehand what she was to say, or naturally spoke her own thoughts, she answered, She was the King's Wife, and would be so, till parted from him by the Pope's Sentence (2). *Campegio* not being able to prevail with the King or Queen, affirmed, he could not proceed without fresh orders, as if his whole Commission was only to make these exhortations. But it was six months before his Instructions arrived. Mean while, he kept the King in hopes of obtaining his desires, and even insinuated, that he was himself satisfied of the Justice of his Cause. To amuse him the better, he showed him the Bull he had brought with him, and gave the Cardinal his Colleague a sight of it also. But when he was pressed to show it to some Lords of the Council, he replied, he had very positive orders to let no person see it but the King and *Wolsey*. *Henry* surprized and angry at such a proceeding, complained of it to the Pope, who, instead of blaming his Legate, answered, He had done very well to follow his orders: That the Decretal was granted on condition it was shown to none but the King and Cardinal *Wolsey*, and on purpose to prevent *Wolsey's* ruin, which otherwise, he was told, would be infallible: That in fine, the Bull was not to be published, unless the Legates gave Sentence for the King (3).

Whilst *Campegio* amused *Henry* in *England*, the Pope was taking measures to conclude his Treaty with the Emperor, and seeking pretences to leave the Kings of *France* and *England*, whom he no longer feared, since the *Naples* Expedition had miscarried. He complained that these two Monarchs had disappointed him, in not causing *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be restored to him according to their promise; thereby insinuating, that it was not to be thought strange, he made no haste to satisfy *Henry*, since that Prince had neglected to do him Justice by the *Venetians* (4). He would fain have had it believed, that the affair of the Divorce was retarded solely on that account, and was very desirous to have these two places in his power, before he concluded with the Emperor. But, what caution soever he used, his Negotiation in *Spain* could not be so private, but *Francis* and *Henry* had some intelligence of it. They complained to him by their Ambassadors, but he constantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. Mean while, under colour of removing these groundless suspicions, he dispatched into *England* one *Campana*, to give the King fresh assurances of his good intentions, but withal, sent by him express orders to Cardinal *Campegio*, to burn the Bull Decretal, and defer the sentence of the Divorce as long as possible. *Campegio* immediately obeyed the first of these orders, and as for the second, never ceased finding fresh pretences to retard the proceedings.

At last, *Henry* tired to see so many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the Pope, sent, about the end of the year, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* (5) to *Rome*, to discover the true Cause. They had likewise several other Commissions. First, to search the Pope's Records for the pretended Brief of *Julius II.* Secondly, to propose, as of themselves, several expedients, speedily to end the affair of the Divorce, and to consult, under feigned names, the Canonists of *Rome*, whether

they were practicable. Thirdly, in case they saw the Pope over-awed by the Emperor's threats, they had orders to offer him a Guard of two thousand Men. Lastly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the Emperor's menaces with others from the King. They found the Pope in a real or pretended Fright, at the Emperor's Ministers threats to have him deposed for a Bastard. His answer therefore to the offer of the two thousand Men for a Guard, was, that it would not be capable of securing him, but rather render him more suspected. He took care not to put himself in the King's power, when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two Envoys seeing the Pope leaned to the Emperor's side, plainly told him at last, "That if he continued to deny the King their Master the satisfaction he demanded, he might be assured *England* would be lost to him: That the *English* were already but too much disposed to withdraw their obedience from the Holy See, and upon the least encouragement from the King, would openly publish what they yet kept concealed in their hearts: That the King their Master, and the King of *France*, were powerful and very strictly united, and therefore the Pope would run a great hazard, if he should causelessly make these two Monarchs his Enemies: that though the *Naples* expedition had miscarried, he could not be sure it would be the same with those that should be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was easy to see, by the dangerous state of the Emperor's affairs, what might happen another time: That if out of excessive confidence for the Emperor, he dealt so unjustly by the King of *England*, as to refuse him what even Equity and the Law of God required, he must likewise expect no favour or regard, when affairs should be altered: That he ought to consider, the King of *England* had engaged in this war to free him from captivity, and if, instead of making a grateful return, he should join with his enemy, all Christians would abhor his ingratitude." All this was not capable to divert the Pope from his design, and yet he would still be thought unresolved. He replied with a sigh, That he was between the Hammer and the Anvil, and, which way soever he turned, saw nothing before him but dangers; and therefore he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forsake his Church: That as to the rest, he had done for the King of *England* more than could be reasonably expected, in committing the trial of his Cause to two Legates, who were both devoted to him: That not content with this, he still pressed him to do more, and to disregard the customary Rules of the Church on the like occasions, and publicly sacrifice to him, the Emperor, the Archduke his Brother, Queen *Catherine*, the Honour, Dignity and Interest of the Holy See: That this was asking too much, and the King should at least suffer the affair to be decided by the Legates, appointed for that purpose: That it was not his fault if matters were delayed, and in case it was owing to *Campegio's* negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This answer was a plain indication of the Pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the Envoys told the King, nothing was to be expected from the Pope, and that the only way was to cause the Legates to give a speedy Sentence. The truth is, the Pope was now resolved to agree with the Emperor; and if he shewed any farther regard for *Henry*, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the Emperor should take advantage of it in the Treaty they were concluding.

The Expedients *Brian* and *Vannes* were commissioned to propose, were, 1. Whether, if the Queen vowed Religion, the King should have liberty to marry again? 2. Or if the King should vow Religion as well as the Queen, whether the Pope would dispense with his Vow, and allow him to take another Wife whilst the Queen was alive? 3. Or whether the Pope would grant him a Dispensation to have two Wives? But it does not appear how these points were decided. As for the Brief produced by the Imperial Ministers, there was not the least trace of any such thing among the Pope's Records, of which the *English* Envoys (6) had good Certificates. In this manner passed the whole year 1528, at the close whereof the King found himself no more advanced than at the beginning, except that he had still some hope from *Campegio*, who all along pretended to be entirely in his interest. It may be affirmed, that *Francis*, in neglecting to assist *Lautrec*, was the cause of the Turn which the affair

(1) He persuaded her to renounce the World, and to enter into some Religious Life. Herbert, p. 103.

(2) Accused, this would not admit such partial Judges as they were to give Sentence in her cause. Ibid.

(3) He wished he had never sent it, saying, he would gladly lose a Finger to recover it again, and expressed great Grief for granting it. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 99.

(4) The *Venetians* had taken *Cervia* and *Ravenna* from the Pope, and *France* and *England* had promised to intercede and use their Interest with the *Venetians* to restore them. Ibid.

(5) An *Italian*; and the King's Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue. Herbert, p. 103.

(6) These *English* Envoys were the Bishop of *Worcester* and Dr. Lee. They gave the Emperor an Overture of the Divorce, and made several Objections against the Genuine of *Julius II's* Brief, which the Reader may see in Herbert, p. 104, 105.

1528. of the divorce took, since he thereby gave occasion to the Pope to join with the Emperor (1).

Several Monasteries suppressed for Wolsey's College.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 340.
 —238.
 Whilst the King was thinking of his divorce, Cardinal *Wolsey* was very diligently employed in founding his Colleges. As the Pope made the King very uneasy by his affected delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwise, in granting his Favorite whatever he desired for his Foundations. Among the *Publick Acts* of the year 1528, there are ten or twelve Bulls, as well for the suppression of several small Monasteries (2), as for other things concerning the two Colleges, the endowment whereof the Cardinal so passionately desired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity presented to obtain private favours from the Pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he stayed a year longer, he would have run great risk of leaving the Work unfinished.

Affairs of Scotland.
Buchanan.

I have for some time been silent concerning the affairs of *Scotland*, because there has been no occasion to speak of them. But as their situation was changed during the Course of this year, it is necessary briefly to relate what had passed in that Country. The Earl of *Angus*, *George Douglass* his Brother, and their Uncle *Archibald*, had still the King's person in their power, and governed in his name. Queen *Margaret* however, who had caused her marriage with the Earl of *Angus* to be annulled, and was married again to *Henry Stewart*, had still a powerful Party in *Scotland*. But as her Party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed Rebels, since the King was in the hands of the *Douglasses*, the Queen made use of another expedient to accomplish her designs. She persuaded the King her Son, by some Persons about him, to make his escape and retire to *Sterling*. The contrivance succeeded according to her Wish. *James* took his opportunity, and escaping from the Earl of *Angus*, withdrew to *Sterling*, where it was published that the *Douglasses* should be no longer acknowledged for Regents, and withal were forbidden the Court. This Order was notified to the Earl of *Angus*, whilst he was marching to recover the King's Person. As he had but few Troops, and was unable to enter *Sterling* by force, where several great Men were come to the King's relief, he obeyed and retired.

James assumes the Reins of the Government before he was of Age.

Shortly after, the King called a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the third of *September*, and came himself to hold it. The *Douglasses*, perceiving what was preparing against them, attempted to surprize *Edinburgh*, and become masters of the King's Person, with design to dissolve the Parliament. But being repulsed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon the Parliament confiscated their Estates to the King. But they continued in Arms, and made IncurSIONS, even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*.

Truce for five Years between England and Scotland.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 277.
 —282, 286.

Henry being informed of what passed in *Scotland*, and fearing the young King might suffer himself to be prejudiced against him, thought it advisable to send Ambassadors to make Peace, since a War with *Scotland* could not be but very inconvenient in his present circumstances. But it was not possible to succeed. A Truce only for five years was concluded at *Berwick*, and signed the fourteenth of *December*. It was agreed by a separate Article, that the *Douglasses* might take refuge in *England*, on condition they delivered to their Sovereign the places they held in *Scotland*; and in case they entered the Kingdom, and committed any disorders, *Henry* should be responsible as if done by his own Subjects (3).

The Douglasses retire into England.

1529. Since the Pope had determined to agree with the Emperor, his feeding the Allies with hopes, was only to obtain the better Terms from that Monarch. On the other hand, *Francis* suspecting the Pope's Intentions, perceived likewise that a Peace only would procure him his Sons, and therefore continued a secret Negotiation with the Emperor. But at the same time, he made great promises to the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Pope himself, to let the Emperor see, in case he did not make haste and conclude, it would perhaps be too late when he desired it. About the same time, the Emperor had certain advice, that the *Turks* were making great preparations to invade *Hungary*, and penetrate even into *Germany*. So finding that a diversion in *Italy* might greatly embarrass him at such a juncture, he was the more inclined to Peace. These dispositions in the principal Parties, could not in the end but produce the Peace which was universally expected with impatience. Mean while, the War was continued, though faintly, in the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Duchy of *Milan*, where

the *French* and *Venetians* had kept some places, but it was easy to see that nothing decisive would happen. 1529.

In the mean time, the Pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs. His aim was not only to be restored to *Florence*, but also to become master of *Perusia* and *Ferrara*, and recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, taken by the *Venetians* during his Captivity. Under colour of using his Interest to procure a general Peace, he had sent a Nuntio to *Spain*, to conclude a private Treaty with the Emperor. During the Negotiation, the affair of the Divorce was at a stand. *Clement VII* was fully resolved to satisfy the Emperor, and by that *Henry* daily lost the hopes of succeeding in his pursuit. Mean while, a violent distemper, which seized the Pope in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs (4). Cardinal *Wolsey* having notice of the Pope's dangerous illness, had sent an Express to *Gardiner*, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the Papacy. *Henry* himself had writ to several Cardinals in his behalf, and the King of *France*, who was not yet secure of a Peace, had given him all those of his Faction. It is pretended, *Wolsey* would have been sure of more than a third of the Votes, in case the Pope had died. Indeed that was not sufficient to make him Pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being so. This affair was even carried so far, that the King had ordered his Ambassadors at *Rome*, that if, notwithstanding the Cardinals of *Wolsey's* Faction, another Person should be designed, they should so manage, that these Cardinals should protest against the proceedings in the Conclave, and then withdrawing to some secure place, should themselves come to a new Election. I do not know, whether it would have been easy for the Ambassadors to obtain so absolute a resignation to the King's pleasure. However, it is not strange that *Henry* should be so very desirous of procuring the Papacy for his Minister and Favorite. But it is surprising, that a Prince who was called *Protector of the Church*, and *Defender of the Faith*, should not scruple purposely to endeavour to form a Schism in the Church, to gratify his passion. As for Cardinal *Wolsey*, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought strange; since it is certain, he was ready to sacrifice every thing to his ambition. The Pope's recovery put an end to all these cabals, which however could not be so private but they came to his knowledge. This made him consider *Wolsey* as a dangerous rival, and capable of supplanting him if an opportunity offered, by using for pretence the defect in his Birth.

The Pope falls ill.
Herbert.
Wolsey takes nine Steps to attain to the Papacy.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The King uses all his Interest for him.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 64.
Herbert.

When *Clement VII* was fully recovered, the proceedings for the Divorce continued upon the same foot as before. The Pope gave hopes, the affairs should be decided in *England* for the King, by a sentence of the Legates which he would himself confirm to make it more authentic. His aim was to gain time, and prevent the appearance of any misunderstanding between him and the Court of *England*, before he had concluded his Treaty with the Emperor, because it was a means to obtain better Terms. To this end, and to hinder *Henry* from being impatient, he had put into *Gardiner's* hands a Brief, promising not to revoke the powers given the Legates. But, besides that the Brief was expressed in ambiguous terms, he knew Sentence would not be passed without his positive orders. This management which the Pope continued with many artifices, afforded the King some hopes of gaining him to his interest. To succeed the better, he prevailed with the King of *France* to send to the Pope the Bishop of *Bayonne*, with orders earnestly to sollicit the decision of the affair. He could have wished that the Pope of his own accord would have granted a Bull to annul his marriage, and dispense with his taking another Wife, or at least, have given the Legates such a Commission, as it should not be in their choice to judge otherwise than in his favor. The Pope, pleased at his being so intent upon his own Projects, still fed him with hopes of Success. But withal, he expressed great fear of what the Emperor might do against him, and used that pretence to delay the favour he seemed to intend to grant. In every thing else he was always ready to content the King. The Bishoprick of *Winchester* being vacant by the death of *Richard Fox*, and *Henry* desiring him to bestow it on *Wolsey*, the Bulls for that purpose were immediately dispatched. It is true, they were rated at fifteen thousand ducats. But *Wolsey* would give but six thousand, alleging, he did not want them, since the King had already

The Pope's Management to put off the Affair of the Divorce.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Burnet.

The Pope gives Wolsey the Bishoprick of Winchester.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 268.
 287, —290.
Burnet.

(1) About this time, some murmurs and seditious words being dispersed among the common People, on account of the Divorce, King *Henry* protested publicly in an Assembly of Lords, Judges, &c. at his Palace at *Bridewell*, That nothing but desire of giving satisfaction to his Conscience, and care of establishing the Succession to the Crown in a right and undoubted Line, had first procured him to controvert this Marriage; being, for the rest, as happy in the affection and Veneration of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirm which also, he caused *Ann Boleyn* to depart the Court. *Herbert*, p. 100.

(2) These of *Rombers*, *Fylton*, *Bromby*, *Blithewode*, and *Montjoy*. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 240.

(3) This year, on June 28, the King of *France* ratified the eight months Truce concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, from June 15, to January 1590. See *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 258, &c.

(4) His Physicians suspected that he was poisoned. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 63.

1529. granted him the Temporalities of the Bishoprick. This shews in what Spirit he thus heaped upon him the Church-Preferments. But herein is nothing surprizing, since the Pope himself made no scruple to own in his Bull that he conferred this Bishoprick on the Cardinal, to help him to bear the expence to which he was obliged by his Rank.

The Pope's
pretence to
delay the
Divorce.
Burnet.

Protestation
on Queen
Catherine's
Name.
Burnet.

Henry re-
solves to try
his Cause
before the
Legates.
Burnet.

He tries in
vain to over-
reach the
Pope.

Letter from
the two Le-
gates to the
Pope.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 68.

Remark on
the Letter
which rejected
to Wolsey.

Whilst these things passed, the Emperor hastened, as much as possible, the conclusion of his Treaty with the Pope, being resolved to grant whatever he required, rather than give him occasion to join with his Enemies. Before the Pope was assured of this agreement, Policy required, he should keep the Emperor in fear that the affair of the Divorce would be determined to the King of England's satisfaction. Consequently, it was his interest that the affair should remain undecided, to let the Emperor see, it depended on the success of the Negotiation at Barcelona. But when he had just brought him to his own Terms, he began insensibly to seek pretences to break his engagements with Henry. So, the restitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* was again moved, the Pope feigning to believe, that if Henry had desired it, he should have had these two Cities before now, and from thence took occasion to be displeased. On the other hand, the Emperor knowing the Pope's Intention, protested (1), in Queen Catherine's name, against whatever should be done in England in the affair of the Divorce, declaring, that she excepted against the two Legates, as one was notoriously devoted to the King, and the other, Bishop of *Salisbury*. The King's Ministers used their utmost endeavours to persuade the Pope to reject the Protestation. But he replied, He could not, without shewing himself too partial to the King, since a Protestation was no prejudice to the Cause itself. That it would be a very strange thing to refuse a Queen the right of protesting, which the meanest Person could claim. All this, added to many other circumstances, and to certain advices that the Pope was treating with the Emperor, took from the English Ministers all hopes of prevailing with him. Wherefore, they writ to the King that they were only amused, and if the Process was not speedily decided in England, there was danger of its being brought to Rome. Whereupon, the King resolved to proceed before the Legates, and not suffer himself to be any longer amused by deceitful promises. Mean while, when the Instrument whereby the Pope had promised not to revoke the Legates Commission, came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous Terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleased. So, to know whether he had acted with sincerity (2), when he signed that Instrument, *Gardiner* was ordered to represent to him, that the Paper on which it was written being wet by the carelessness of the Courier, and the words almost quite defaced, the King desired he would sign another. But *Clement* found some artifice to be excused. Wherefore the King, being satisfied there was nothing to be expected from the Court of Rome, where the Emperor's interest was too great, recalled *Gardiner* (3) and *Brian*, and sent *Bennet* to Rome, only to hinder, as much as lay in his power, the avocation of his Cause. *Bennet* carried a Letter from the two Legates, directed to the Pope and Cardinals, wherein they said, That the principal point in the Cause they were to judge, consisted in knowing whether *Julius II* could grant a Dispensation, or exceeded his power: That since the sole Point was to decide concerning the authority of the head of the Church, they conceived it to be beyond their Commission, and therefore were of opinion, the Pope would do well to avocate the Cause: That they doubted not, the King would consent to it, provided he had some assurance it should be decided in his favour. It is hard to conceive, what could induce Cardinal *Wolsey* to sign such a Letter, so directly contrary to the King's Interest. For, though

the Legates seemed to suppose his Consent, it was evident the reason of the Avocation subsisted, whether the King consented or not. Consequently they afforded the Pope a plausible pretence to avocate the Cause, which the King dreaded of all things. Was *Wolsey* deceived by *Campegio*, or did he sacrifice his Master's Interest? It is difficult to believe either; and yet Historians affirm, that one of the principal causes of his disgrace was a Letter he had writ to the Pope, which came to the King's knowledge by *Bennet's* means, and it might very well be this. Indeed, he was inexcusable if he signed it without the King's approbation: and on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the King should be so blind as not to see the consequence of such advice.

Though *Campegio* came to England in October last year, it was now the end of May, and nothing done towards the Trial of the Cause which brought him thither. The King, having suffered himself to be amused by the Pope whose Interest it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a Bull to null the Marriage, without being obliged to go through the usual forms of a Process. But at length, his Agents convincing him that his Expectations were in vain, he resolved to proceed before the Legates. To this end, on the 31st of May, he granted them a License to execute the Pope's Commission. They met the same day, and appointed Assistants (4) to examine the Papers and Evidences. From the very first Session, it appeared that *Campegio* intended to prolong the Process, since after the Commission was read, he ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear the 18th of June. This was too long a Term, if there had been any design to dispatch the Affair, especially as the Parties were in London itself, or in one of their Palaces near the City. Though *Wolsey* was the senior Cardinal, he let *Campegio* preside, to shew he intended to act without partiality. So, from the first day to the last, *Campegio* did all, without *Wolsey's* ever appearing to oppose the affected delays of his Colleague between the Sessions. I shall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous Process, which may be seen at large in the excellent History of the Reformation of England, known to all the World, but content myself with relating in general the most remarkable Circumstances.

In the second Session, the Queen's Proctors (5) excepted against the two Legates. But the exception not being deemed valid, she had a further day given her, to the 21st (6). On that day, the King and Queen appeared in person (7). But the Queen, without saying any thing to the Legates, went and kneeled down before the King, and made a very moving Speech, concluding with imploring his Justice and Pity; after which, she withdrew, and would never more appear, nor suffer any person to defend her Cause (8). As soon as she was retired, the King declared he was very well pleased with the Queen, and in suing to be divorced from her, acted solely from a motive of Religion and Conscience (9). Adding, that his scruples concerning his Marriage sprung from those of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the Bishops of England. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* confirmed what the King said, concerning the Bishops. But *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* denied, he ever set his hand to the writing which was presented to the King. Mean while, the Queen was cited again for the 25th of June, but instead of appearing, she sent in her Appeal [to the Pope] in form, from whatever had been or should be done hereafter. Nevertheless she was declared contumacious. The same day, the Process was reduced to twelve Articles, upon which witnesses were to be examined. The principal Article was, Prince *Arthur's* Consummation of his Marriage with *Catherine*, which the Queen had denied with an Oath, and which notwithstanding was proved by the Testimony of several Persons,

The Legates
sit to hear
the Cause.
Burnet.
T. III. p. 46.
Herbert.
p. 107, &c.
Hall.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 295.
Artificer of
Campegio to
spin out the
Affair.
Burnet.

Wolsey lets
Campegio
preside.

Proceedings
in the Process.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 73.
and III. p. 46.
Hall.
Stow.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 299,
300.
The Queen
appeals from
the Proceed-
ings of the
Legates.
Burnet.
Herbert.
p. 113, &c.

(1) May 15. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 67.

(2) Or rather, to obtain an enlargement of the Commission, with fuller power to the Legates: and when it was new drawn, they were to endeavour to get as many pregnant and material words added as possible. *Ibid.* p. 68.

(3) He was thought the fittest Person to manage the Process in England, being esteemed the ablest Canonist in the Kingdom, and was so valued by the King, that he would not begin the Process till he came. Burnet, *ibid.*

(4) *John* England Bishop of *Lincoln*; *John Clark* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Islip* Abbot of *Westminster*, and Dr. *John Taylor* Master of the Rolls. *Herbert*, p. 108.

(5) *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicolas West* Bishop of *Ely*, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standish* of *St. Asaph*. Hall, fol. 131.

(6) On the 18th of June, the Citation being returned duly executed, *Richard Samson* Dean of the Chapel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the King's Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Person, and excepted against the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging the Cause was already avocated by the Pope, and desired a competent Time to prove it. The Legates assigned her the 21st, and adjourned the Court till then. Burnet, T. I. p. 72.

(7) Bishop Burnet, from the Original Register of the Process says, the King was never in the Court. *Ref.* T. III. p. 46. But the contrary is affirmed by the King himself in a Letter dated June 23, to his Ambassadors at Rome, in these Words, *Both we and the Queen appeared in Person.* See *Collier*, to Vol. I. p. 78. To reconcile this Contradiction the Bishop supposes, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the Court sat; but that it was before the Cardinals sat down, and had formed the Court. *Ref.* to Vol. II. p. 8.

(8) When the King and Queen were called on, the King answered, *Hore*; but the Queen rising from her Seat, kneeled down and said to the King, "She was a poor Woman and a Stranger in his Dominions, where she could expect neither good Council, nor indifferent Judges; she had long been his Wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him: She had been his Wife twenty Years and more, and had born him several Children, and ever studied to please him, and protested he had found her a true Maid, about which she appealed to his own Conscience. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put away with Shame. Their Parents were esteemed very wise Princes, and no doubt had good Counsellors and learned Men about them when the Match was agreed: Therefore she would not submit to the Court, nor trust her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." That said, she rose up, and making the King a low Reverence, went out of Court. Her Council were the Bishops of *Rocheſter* and *St. Asaph*, and Dr. *Ridley*. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 73.

(9) He cleared likewise Cardinal *Wolsey* from being the first Mover of the Matter, as had been suspected. *Ibid.*

1529. as far as a thing of that nature can be. These proofs consisted in the Age, Health, and vigorous Constitution of the Prince, and in his discourses next morning after the Nuptials: so that *Arthur* or *Catherine* must not have spoken the truth, the one out of Vanity, or the other out of Interest (1).

The Pope comes News of the Conclusion of his Treaty with the Emperor. Herbert. Burnet. Whilst the Tryal was prosecuting in *England*, the Emperor's Ministers were earnestly pressing the Pope to avocate the Cause to *Rome*, and *Henry's* as vehemently soliciting the contrary. What is more, both Sides threatened to depose him, on account of his being a Bastard. The Pope feigned to be terrified by these menaces, and this seeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the conclusion of his Treaty with the Emperor. At length the agreeable news being come, he resolved to avocate the Cause, before the publication of the Treaty, lest it should be thought to be one of the secret Articles. Weak precaution to efface or prevent such a Suspicion.

Continuation of the Treaty. Guicciard. The substance of this Treaty, which was signed at *Barcelona* the 29th of *June*, was, That the Emperor should restore the Family of the *Medici* to *Florence*, on the same foot as formerly. That he should cause *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to be delivered to the Pope: That he should put him in possession of *Modena* and *Reggio*, saving the Rights of the Empire: That he should aid him to become master of *Ferrara*: That *Francesco Sforza* should be restored to *Milan*, if innocent; but if guilty, the Emperor should not dispose of the Duchy to any Prince the Pope should dislike: That the Pope and Emperor should employ their Temporal and Spiritual Arms against the Hereticks of *Germany*: That *Alexander de Medici* should espouse *Margaret* the Emperor's natural Daughter: That the Pope should grant the Emperor a fourth of the Ecclesiastical Revenues in his Dominions, to wage War with the *Turks*: That he should absolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and sacking of *Rome*. What greater advantages could the Pope have expected, supposing he had been victorious in the late War? but the Emperor believed he could not purchase the Pope's Friendship too dear, who might still have greatly embarrassed him, if he had joined with *France*, *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*.

9th of July. Continuation of the Treaty. Burnet. Herbert. The Pope having concluded his Treaty with the Emperor, told the *English* Ambassadors himself on the 9th of *July*, his resolution to avocate the Cause to *Rome*. They used all possible endeavours to dissuade him from it, representing to him that the Holy See was going irrecoverably to lose *England*. But it was all to no purpose. By his late Treaty with the Emperor, the Family of the *Medici* was to be restored to the Government of *Florence*. This alone was sufficient to outweigh in his Mind, all the dangers to which he exposed the Holy See; so great was his Affection for a Family from whence he was descended, though not born in Wedlock. So, the 15th of *July*, he signed the Bull of Avocation. Next day he notified it to *Cassali* the King's Ambassador in ordinary, and to *Bennet* who had been sent to him last. He alledged, in excuse of the Avocation, several reasons which might have been of some weight in the beginning of the Process, on supposition he had been entirely impartial, but which had lost all their force, after all his proceedings, and the conclusion of his Treaty with the Emperor. Three days after, he dispatched a Messenger with the Bull of Avocation into *England*, where proceedings were very dilatory by the artifices of Cardinal *Campegio* who presided in the affair.

Continuation of the Process. Burnet. Herbert. Campegio's Delays. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 300. The Queen, who was cited for the 25th of *June*, not appearing that day, she had farther time given her to the 28th, and was summoned again to appear by the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, though in vain. On the 28th, some Depositions were read, after which the Session was adjourned to the 5th of *July*, when by reason of certain Holidays kept at *Rome*, the Session was deferred till the 12th. The Court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21st, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the Sentence, every one thought all would be ended this last Session; but People were strangely

He adjourns the Court to the 29th of October. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

surprized when Cardinal *Campegio* was heard to adjourn the Court to the first of *October*. He alledged for reason, that it was the time of the great Vacation at *Rome*, and he was indispensably obliged to comply with that Custom (2).

The Bull of Avocation comes to London. Burnet. Thus did that Legate, who was in the Pope's Secrets, amuse the King, in the same manner as the Pope had amused him at *Rome* near two years, ever since the Affair was begun. *Henry* was as much enraged as surprized at the proceedings of the Legates, but dissembled both his Surprise and Repentment. Shortly after, he plainly perceived to what all these affected delays tended, when he came to know that notwithstanding his Engagement, the Pope had avocated the Cause. The Bull of Avocation being arrived (3), he would not suffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the Legates, that he was content they should obey the Pope's orders. It was not without reason that he would not have the Bull notified to him. He was cited therein to appear at *Rome* within forty days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the Laws of the Land, which prohibited to obey such Citations, and carry Causes to a foreign Court. Upon this foundation it was that he had always insisted, that the Process should be determined in the Kingdom. Besides that, Censures were denounced against him in the Bull, as against a private Person, if he obeyed not the Citation. Some time after, the Pope made him a sort of reparation, in revoking these Censures by a Brief (4), where he protested they were inserted contrary to his Intention. But as to the Citation itself, he only prolonged the day to *Christmas*. *The King is cited to Rome. The Pope revokes his Censures. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 346.*

Remark on Cardinal Wolsey's Behaviour. Burnet. Herbert. The figure Cardinal *Wolsey* made during the pretended Judgment of the Process was very extraordinary. Of all Mankind he was the proudest and most haughty; he was senior Cardinal to his Colleague, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and suffered him to act as he pleased, without ever opposing his opinion. If the Affair had succeeded according to the King's desire, his Conduct would doubtless have been praised. But as every thing turned against the King, it was not possible for the Cardinal to avoid the suspicion of betraying his Master's Interests, or at least of serving him very ill. *Henry* himself thought so, though he did not presently shew it (5). On the other hand, *Ann Bullen*, who had ever believed the Cardinal in her Interest, was extremely surprized when she was informed of what had passed. The King had removed her from Court (6) whilst the Legates were employed in the Judgment of the Process, but she was sent for the moment the Bull of Avocation was arrived. 'Tis pretended, she did not a little contribute to confirm the King's Suspicions of the Cardinal. She was persuaded, if *Wolsey* had pleased, the Affair would have taken another turn; but that he had altered his resolution. Whether her opinion was well-grounded, or the Vexation to see herself still so remote from her hopes, exasperated her against the Cardinal, she looked upon him as an Enemy deserving her whole Vengeance. So finding the King disposed to give ear to whatever was said against his Minister, she neglected nothing that could help to ruin him. In this she was assisted by several Persons of the highest Rank who had no reason to love that proud Prelate. *Burnet.*

The King is extremely uneasy. Burnet. It is easy to guess *Henry's* concern to see himself on a sudden so remote from his aim. The Pope had joined in League with the Emperor, which was properly his Party. *Francis I.*, from whom he had expected a powerful aid in case of need, had just concluded at *Cambrai* a Treaty with the Emperor, whereby he engaged not to assist that Prince's Enemies. In a word, Queen *Catherine* remained obstinate not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his Wife. On the other hand, *Henry's* love for *Ann Bullen*, which he had pleased himself with the hopes of gratifying by a lawful Marriage, helped not a little to increase his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the Queen, who by her obstinacy, had very much lessened that Esteem and Affection he had always had for her (7). With a Mind full of these trouble-

He takes a Progress. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

(1) Particularly *Robert Noddy* *Fitz-Water*, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and *Sir Anthony W. Loughby*, deposed, that they heard Prince *Arthur* say publicly, *I have been this Night in the midst of Spain*. The King's Council it seems insisting mostly on the Confirmation of the Marriage, it led them to say many things that were indecent; of which the Bishop of *Beauvais* complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard; but Cardinal *Wolsey* checked them, and there passed some sharp Words between them. Lord *Herbert* has given the Substance of all the Depositions, p. 115. *Compl. Hist.* The place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was a great Hall in *Black Friars* in *London*, commonly called the *Parliament-Chamber*. *Ibid.*

(2) He pretended that they sat there as a part of the Consistory of *Rome*, and therefore must follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till *October* was in a Vacation, and heard no Causes. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 77.

(3) On *August 4*. *Ibid.* p. 78.

(4) Dated *August 29*. *Rymers Fed.* Tom. XIV. p. 347.

(5) King *Henry* received Information of his having juggled in the Business, and that he secretly advised the Pope to do what was done. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 78.

(6) By *Wolsey's* Advice, as she thought. *Ibid.*

(7) Even after *Campegio's* Arrival in *England*, the King and Queen did eat at one Table, and lodged in one Bed; there being no visible sign of any breach between them. But after the suit concerning the Divorce was commenced, they parted. See *Stow*, p. 546. About *December*, *Ann Bullen* returned to Court, and was more waited on than the Queen had been for some Years. At this the People appearing uneasy, and seeming inclined to revolt; it was resolved to send all the Strangers out of the Kingdom. *Burnet*, T. III. p. 42, 44.

1529. some thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he resolved to take a Progress into some of his Counties, to try to dispel his melancholy.

Dr. Cranmer opens him a way to get over his Troubles. Burnet.

During his Journey, he lodged one night at *Waltham*, where *Edward Fox* and Secretary *Gardiner* happened to lie at a Gentleman's House (1) who had two Sons committed to *Thomas Cranmer's* Care. *Cranmer* was a Doctor in Divinity, who, having been Professor at *Cambridge* (2), had lost his Place upon being married. He had travelled into *Germany*, where he had read *Luther's* Works, and embraced his Doctrine, but with more moderation than was usually seen in the first disciples of that Reformer. Whilst they were at supper, *Cranmer* being at table with *Fox* and *Gardiner*, the Conversation ran upon the Affair of the Divorce, and as the master of the House had informed the two Courtiers of *Cranmer's* merit and capacity, they desired him to give his opinion upon that subject. *Cranmer* at first modestly declined it, but they pressed him so much that he could not excuse himself. So, after stating the Question, he said, he saw no better way to extricate the King out of his difficulties, than to procure, in writing, the opinions of all the Universities in *Europe*, and of the most eminent Divines and Civilians (3). That one of these two things would follow, either the Universities and the Learned would judge *Julius the Second's* Dispensation sufficient, or deem it invalid. That in the first case, the King's Conscience would have reason to be easy, and in the second, the Pope would never venture to pass Sentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able Men in *Christendom*. *Fox* and *Gardiner* relishing this advice, imparted it to the King, who immediately taking the Author's meaning, cried out, in a transport of Joy, *That he had got the right Saw by the Ear*, an expression, which in its coarseness showed how much the King was pleased with the Expedient. At the same time he sent for *Cranmer*, who explaining more at large what he had but just hinted at Table, so gained his Esteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the Court. This is the same Doctor who will quickly be seen to make a considerable Figure in *England*, and lay the first Foundations of the Reformation in that Kingdom.

The King entertains a great Esteem for Cranmer.

Campegio returns to Rome. Herbert. Hall.

They search his Baggage.

He complains of it in vain.

The King being returned from his Progress, Cardinal *Campegio*, whose Commission was revoked, took his Audience of leave, as having no farther Business in *England*. *Henry* had so much command of himself as to take no notice of his Proceedings, and looked pleasantly upon him. But just as the Cardinal was going to embark, the Custom-House Officers searched all his Baggage, under colour of looking for contraband Goods (4). Probably, the King hoped to find the Decretal Bull, which he had seen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt (5). *Campegio* loudly complained of this Insult, and writ to the King to demand Satisfaction, as for an Affront done to the Legate of the Holy See. *Henry* coldly answered (6), that his Customers had done their duty, in executing orders long since established with regard to persons going out of the Kingdom: That he was surprized he should talk of his being Legate when recalled, and much more that being Bishop of *Salisbury*, he should be so ignorant of the Laws of the Land, as to dare to assume that Title without his Licence. *Campegio* perceiving by this answer, that the King intended not to give him satisfaction, thought himself very happy in being suffered to depart.

Cardinal Wolsey's Fall. Herbert. Burnet. Fiddes.

The Cardinal had good reason to wish himself out of the Kingdom. With what moderation soever the King

behaved to him, he could not be ignorant how angry he was, after seeing, some days before his departure, the course that was taking with his Colleague Cardinal *Wolsey*. The 9th of October, the Attorney General (7) had preferred a Bill of Indictment against *Wolsey*, as guilty of breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*. The 17th of the same month the King sent and demanded the Great Seal, though it was given him for Life. For which reason, the Cardinal made some scruple to deliver it, but he obeyed a second Command (8), and in few days the King gave the Great Seal to Sir *Thomas More*, a person universally esteemed for his great Integrity. The Cardinal had no sooner delivered the Great Seal, but the Attorney General preferred other Articles of Impeachment against him. The King having given him leave to appoint Attornies to answer for him, he chose two who appeared for him, and protested in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the Bulls whereof he was accused, was contrary to the Laws of the Land, and prejudicial to the Prerogative Royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they said, he confessed them, and cast himself entirely upon the King's Mercy. He was accused twice, as I said, namely, on the 9th and 19th of October, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the Laws. Probably, he was indicted first, for obtaining several Bulls without the King's express Licence, and the second time for exercising in *England* the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's Letters Patents to that end, contrary to the Intent of the Law.

1529.

He is out of the Protection of the Laws. Hall.

He is out of the Protection of the Laws. Hall.

Inventory of the Cardinal's Goods. Herbert. Hall. Hollingshead. Cavendish.

The King grants him a Protection. Ad. Pub. XIV. p. 30. He was committed to Henry.

Furner. Fiddes. Stowe. Wolsey's Affairs brought before the Parliament.

Differences between the Articles of the House, and the Attorney General's Indictment. Herbert. p. 124. Hall. Fiddes. Hollingshead.

As soon as the Cardinal was outlawed, the King commanded him to leave *York Place*, and retire to a Country-House belonging to him as Bishop of *Winchester*. Then he ordered an Inventory of all his Goods to be taken, which contained immense Riches (9), acquired by many Acts of Injustice. 'Tis said, that of fine *Holland* alone, there was found in his House a thousand Pieces. One may judge of the rest by this pattern. Some time after, he caused a very humble Petition to be presented to the King, praying a Protection for his person, without which, he said, he was exposed to the Insults of the meanest Enemy that would abuse him. The King granted it, November the 17th, with a Power to answer for himself in all Actions that should be entered against him for the future. Moreover, he left him the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the See of *Winchester*. It is difficult to account for the King's Behavior with respect to the Cardinal, since, at the very time he seemed most incensed against him, he sent him a certain Ring, which was a token betwixt them of the continuance of his Affection. The Cardinal, who was then on the Road to his Country-House near *Winchester* (10), was so transported with Joy at the sight of the Ring, that he alighted from his Horse, and fell upon his Knees in the dirt to receive it (11). But his hopes were not long-lived. His Enemies, who had the King's Ear, took so much pains to exasperate him against him, that at last his Affair was brought before the Parliament (12).

Lord *Herbert* has inserted in his History the forty four Articles of Impeachment presented to the King against the Cardinal by the House of Lords, which differ much from those preferred by *Hales* the Attorney General, either in the *Star-Chamber* or elsewhere. *Hales* had accused him of breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*, and exercising the Office of *Legate a Latere*, without the King's Licence. Therein, he proceeded according to the Tenor of the

(1) Mr. *Cressly*.

(2) *Rupin* by mistake says *Oxford*. He was bred up at *Jesuit College* in *Cambridge*, where he was Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* now *Magdalen College*, and commenced Doctor in 1523. He was born at *Aylston* in *Nottinghamshire* 1489, being Son of *Thomas Cranmer* Legate a Gentleman of a very antient Family. He had nothing to do with *Oxford* before he was carried there to be burnt. He was indeed invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinal's College at *Oxford*, but declined it. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 79, &c.

(3) Though *Fox* and others affirm, that *Cranmer* was the first Adviser of consulting the foreign Universities, yet *Cavendish Wolsey's* Gentleman-Usher, says, the Cardinal first proposed it.

(4) It was inspected he was carrying over *Wolsey's* Treasure. Burnet. Tom. III. p. 49.

(5) It is thought they searched also for some Love-Letters of the King's to *Ann Bullen*, which some way or other were conveyed out of the King's Cabinet, and sent to *Rome*. They now lie in the *Vatican*. Burnet saw them in the Library, and knowing *Henry's* Hand too well not to be deceived, they were writ by him, got Dr. *Fall* to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the Hand is scarce legible, and the French seems rusty. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 42.

(6) In a Letter dated October 22. Herbert. p. 123.

(7) And delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. The King offered it to Archbishop *Warkum*, but he declined accepting of it. Burnet. Tom. I. p. 80.

(8) They were valued at five hundred thousand Crowns. Burnet. Tom. III. p. 50.

(9) It was not near *Winchester*, but at *Esher* or *Asbur* near *Hampton Court*, that he was ordered to withdraw.

(10) And having no other Present to make to the King, he sent him his Fool Patch. Stowe. p. 548.

(11) This Parliament met on November 3. and was on December 17. prorogued to the 21st of April ensuing. The most remarkable Statutes enacted now, were these: 1. That part of the Executors which take upon them the charge of a Will, may sell any Land devised by the Testator to himself. 2. That for Probates of Wills, where a Man dies worth only five Pounds clear, there shall be paid but six-pence; if worth forty Pounds, three Shillings and Six-pence; and if worth above forty Pounds clear, five Shillings. 3. That Mortuaries shall be paid only where they have been used to be paid; and according to the following rate: When a Man dies worth in moveables above ten Marks clear, there shall be paid three Shillings and Four-pence; if worth above thirty Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence; and if worth above forty Pounds clear, ten Shillings; and this to be paid only by House-keepers. None to be paid in *Wales* or *Berwick*. 4. That Servants embezzling their Masters Goods to the value of any Shillings, shall be punished as Felons. 5. That no spiritual Person shall take any Lands to farm, upon pain of forfeiting ten Pounds a Month. That no Clergyman having one Benefice with cure of Soul, of the yearly value of eight Pounds or above, shall take another, unless qualified, as being a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, or Chaplain to a Nobleman. In this same Act the number of Chaplains every Peer may quality is thus specified: An Archbishop eight; a Duke or Bishop six; a Marquis and Earl five; a Viscount four; the High-Chancellor, every Baron, and Knight of the Garter three; every Bishop, Marchioness, Countess, and Baroness, being Widows; and the Treasurer, and Controller of the House, the King's Secretary, Dean of the Chapel, Almoner, and Master of the Rolls two; the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, one. See Statut. 21 Hen. 8. Hall, fol. 187, &c. There was, finally, a very extraordinary Act passed, by which the King was discharged of all the Obligations or Assignations made for the payment of all the several Sums lent him at several times by his Subjects. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 83. Col. p. 82.

1529. Statute of *Præmunire*, which ran, that no person should be exempt from the Penalty, but those to whom the King should be pleased to grant his Letters Patents. Now, as the Cardinal had not taken care to have a Licence in form, he was liable to the penalty, according to the rigour of the Law. But in the Articles of the House of Lords, there was no such thing. And indeed, it would have been contrary to Equity to accuse the Cardinal of exercising the Authority of Legate without the King's Permission, since the King was known to consent to it, though not in the manner prescribed by the Law. The Attorney General did well to keep to the Letter of the Law, pursuant to the duty of his Office. But it would have been wrong in the House of Peers to take advantage of the want of a Formality to destroy one of their Body. So, the Articles exhibited by the Lords, ran upon Crimes which had no relation to the Statute of *Præmunire*. The Cardinal was chiefly accused of abusing his Legatine Power, contrary to his Oath, when admitted to the Exercise of his Legateship: Of unjust proceedings as Chancellor: Of making himself, on several occasions, equal to the King (1): Of issuing out divers orders of moment without the King's knowledge: Of acting arbitrarily on many occasions, as if he was rather Sovereign than Minister. All the rest of the Articles were of the same nature, and ran upon the ill use he had made of his Power, as Legate, Chancellor, Prime Minister, and Favorite. But I cannot pass over in Silence, a very extraordinary Article, namely, that the Cardinal knowing he had the Great Pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the King's Person, frequently whispering in his Ear, without fearing to infect him with his Breath. These Articles being sent down to the Commons, *Thomas Cromwell* Member of Parliament, and the Cardinal's Servant, so undertook his Defence, as did him great Honour, and was one of the principal causes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the Crimes he was charged with, but only to show he was not guilty of Treason, as the House of Peers asserted, wherein he succeeded to his wish.

Art. VI.

Thomas Cromwell speaks for him in the House of Commons.

Remarks on the Peace of Cambray. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

It is necessary now to speak of the Peace of *Cambray*, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* so concerned all *Europe*, that it is very difficult to understand the Histories of the other States, without a clear notion of the affairs of these two Monarchs. *Francis* laboured, during the first part of the year 1529, to negotiate a Peace with the Emperor. After his ill success in the war of *Naples*, he saw there was no other way to recover his two Hostages. He knew the Pope continued a secret Negotiation in *Spain*, and that it lay in the Emperor's power to make Peace with all the States of *Italy*, by restoring *Sforza* to *Milan*. So, though *France* and *England* had made the greatest Efforts, probably, it would have served only to hasten the Peace of *Italy*. But the King of *France* was not even sure of prevailing with *Henry* to act, who was still desirous to manage the Pope and Emperor, in hopes of obtaining their consent to his Divorce rather by fair means than by Arms. Besides, though he was bound to contribute large Sums for the War, he payed them only in Paper, by Acquittances of what was due to him from *Francis*. So, properly speaking, this was no assistance to *France*, drained by the former Wars of Men and Money. *Francis* had therefore no business to stand in suspense. It was necessary for him to make Peace at any rate. However, to obtain as good Terms as possible, he amused the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, with great Promises, for fear they should prevent him, and after they had made their Peace with the Emperor, his condition become worse. He told them, he was resolved to lead in person a strong Army into *Italy*. He continued this management till he had concluded the Treaty of *Cambray*, wherein he left them all to the Emperor's Mercy. Probably, *Henry* was the only Ally that knew his Intentions. The Emperor was not ignorant of the situation of the *French* King's Affairs, and doubtless, would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the Invasion, the *Turks* were preparing against *Hungary* and *Austria*, and the Commotions raised by the Protestants in *Germany*, made him desirous to leave *Italy* in quiet. Besides, he saw, that a Peace was the only way to break the strict Union of *France* with *England*. If these two Monarchs had joined in the League which the Protestants of *Germany* were projecting for their common defence, they would have created him troubles which might have broke all his measures. These were the motives that inclined

the Emperor to Peace, which however he made *France* purchase very dear. *Charles* and *Francis* being in the same disposition, agreed together by secret Negotiations, upon the chief Articles of the Peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleased however to leave in appearance to the Ladies. In July, *Margaret of Austria*, the Emperor's Aunt, and Governess of the Low-Countries, and *Louisa of Savoy*, Duchess of *Angoulême*, *Francis's* Mother, repaired to *Cambray* (2), and signed the 5th of August, a Treaty, the Substance whereof was as follows:

That the Emperor should renounce his demand concerning *Burgundy*, his right to that Duchy remaining however entire.

That the King of *France* should pay him two millions of Crowns of Gold de soleil, for the ransom of his Sons, and withdraw all his Forces out of *Italy*.

That he should resign to him the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he should restore to him the Earldom of *Asti*, with whatever he held in the Duchy of *Milan*.

That he should renounce all his pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

That he should marry Queen *Leonora*, with whom the Emperor her Brother would give in Dower, two hundred thousand Crowns.

In short, besides several other private Articles, he promised to restore the Heirs of the late Duke of *Bourbon* to all that Prince's forfeited Estates.

This Treaty being ratified (3), it was some time before *Francis* durst give Audience to the Ambassadors of *Venice* and *Florence*, because he could not without confusion hear their just reproaches. At last, he put them off with some poor excuse and fresh promises, which he performed no better than those before the Peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the Peace was concluded, the Bishop of *Tarbe* his Ambassador at *Venice*, not having timely notice, strenuously solicited the Senate to support the War, upon the hopes he gave them of a powerful Aid.

It was something strange too, that, *Henry* having proclaimed War with the Emperor by a Herald, there should be however no particular Treaty between them. *Henry* was satisfied with an Article inserted in that of *Cambray*, whereby the King of *France* was bound to pay him the two hundred and ninety thousand Crowns, due from the Emperor, and redeem the rich *Flower-de-luce*, pawned by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *Henry VII.* for fifty thousand Crowns. He did more; for he generously forgave *Francis* the first Sum, and made a Present of the second to the Duke of *Orleans*, his God-son (4). This shows, that in making Peace, *Francis I.* had not dealt with *Henry* as with the Princes of *Italy*, but had convinced him of the necessity, he was under, to conclude it.

The Emperor being agreed with *Francis* upon the principal Articles of the Peace, departed from *Barcelona* before he received advice of the conclusion, and arrived the 12th of August at *Genoa* with nine thousand Men. The Peace of *Cambray* being published shortly after, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Milan*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, whom the King of *France* had forsaken, saw no other refuge than the Emperor's Clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their Attachment to *France*. The discussion of their affairs being referred to a Conference, which the Emperor, was to have with the Pope at *Bologna*, each sent Ambassadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was that the Emperor enjoined the *Venetians* to restore to the Pope *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, and to himself some Places they still held in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Francesco Sforza* was restored to the Duchy of *Milan*, on condition of paying to the Emperor four hundred thousand Crowns in hand, and five hundred thousand in the space of ten years, at ten paces. The Duke of *Ferrara* having offered to make the Emperor Arbiter and Judge of his differences with the Pope, his offer was accepted, *Clement VII.* thinking nothing could be more for his advantage than to submit to the Emperor's decision, who was now bound by the Treaty of *Barcelona* to procure him *Modena* and *Reggio*, and assist him to take possession of *Ferrara*. As to the *Florentines*, it was not possible to reconcile them with the Pope. They would not hearken to any Agreement, unless they were assured of preserving their Liberty, being resolved to defend it to the last drop of their blood. They

Chief Articles of the Peace of Cambray. Guicciard. Mezerai. Aët. Pub. XIV. p. 326, &c. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

Francis desires his Allies.

Henry's Generosity to Francis. Herbert. Aët. Pub. XIV. p. 328.

1530. The Emperor goes to Genoa, Guicciard. Herbert. Hall.

and afterwards to Bologna, where he settles the Affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

(1) He used to write in his Letters and Instructions, *The King and I*. And I would ye should do thus. *The King and I give unto you our* (2) One King's Ambassadors there, were *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Sir Thomas More*. Herbert. p. 170. (3) King *Henry* sent *Sir Nicolas* (now Master of his Horse, and Dr. *Simpson* to *Italy*, to ratify it in his name. Hall. K. I. 187. (4) And also remitted some of the payments of the Pension he yearly received from *France*. Rymer, Tom. 1. p. 328.

1530. offered however to purchase it with a Sum of Money. But the Pope on his part, tendered them all sorts of advantages, provided the Family of the *Medici* were restored to *Florence*, upon the same foot as before the expulsion of the Legate. The Parties not agreeing, the Emperor ordered the Prince of *Orange* to besiege *Florence*, and restore the *Medici*.

He promises
to try to
ruin the Pro-
testants.
Sicilian.

The Emperor having ended his affairs in *Italy*, was impatient to return into *Germany*, where the affairs of Religion began to give him disturbance. For some time, the Protestants had insisted continually upon a free Council in *Germany*, which was positively promised though never intended. During the late War, the Emperor had all along amused them with the hopes of granting this Council. But no sooner was the Peace concluded, than in his Conference with the Pope at *Bologna*, he promised him to do his utmost to reduce them, without a Council. Mean while, the Protestants knowing his design, by his menacing answer to their Envoys, after the conclusion of the Peace, were thinking of joining in a league for their common defence; and this made the Emperor uneasy, and obliged him speedily to finish his affairs in *Italy*, in order to settle those of *Germany*. Before his departure from *Bologna*, he received the Imperial Crown at the Pope's hands the 24th of February 1530, on St. *Matthias's* day, which was his Birth-day, and which, on several occasions, had been very fortunate to him (1). He set out at length from *Bologna*, on the 22d of March 1530, for *Germany*, being attended by Cardinal *Campegio*, who was to assist, from the Pope, at the diet of *Augsburg*.

He received
the Imperial
Crown from the
Pope.
Guicciard.

Siege of
Florence,
Capitula-
tion.

The Prince of *Orange* invested *Florence* according to the Emperor's order, and was slain at the Siege, which the *Florentines* desperately maintained. At length, on the 10th of August, they were forced to capitulate, but however, on express condition that they should enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the Emperor to settle the form of their Government. But some days after, the Adherents of the *Medici* raising a tumult in the City, and finding themselves supported by a great number of Spanish Officers, who had entered on divers pretences, *Clement VII* was again put in possession of the Government. Then the Emperor, without regarding the Article of the Capitulation, established *Alexander de Medici* his Son-in-law at *Florence*, on the same foot that his Ancestors had formerly been, and made the Sovereignty hereditary in his Family.

The Medici
take Posses-
sion of the
Government.

Alexander
de Medici
first Sovere-
ign of
Florence.

Francis's
two Sons
are released.
Guicciard.
Meyers.

The 1st of June this year, *Francis* received his two Sons, who were Hostages in *Spain*, upon paying the Emperor twelve hundred thousand Crowns in hand, and giving security for the rest of the sum. After that, he married *Leonora*, pursuant to the Treaty of *Cambray*. Had he been obliged to find ready-money to pay *Henry* what the Emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the Treaty, very probably he would not so soon have recovered his Sons. But *Henry* proved a generous Friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the Emperor's Bonds, to restore them to him, as well as the pawned Jewel above-mentioned (2). Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges in assisting him, which, according to *Francis's* confession, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, amounted to the Sum of five hundred twelve thousand two hundred twenty-two Crowns of Gold *Sol*, two and twenty pence, six Farthings, both in ready-money and acquittances upon the two Millions *Francis* owed him. He clogged this great Generosity but with one single condition, That in case *Francis* violated the Peace and Alliance they had made together, he should still be accountable for all these Sums, to which *Francis* bound himself by Letters-Patents.

Henry's Ge-
nerosity to
Francis.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 362,
363, 378,
380.
Ibid.
p. 361.

p. 380.
C.

By the execution of the Treaty of *Cambray*, the King of *France* saw himself at length in profound tranquillity, though the late War had cost him immense Sums, the loss of *Genoa* and *Milan*, the sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, a year's Captivity, numberless Vexations, and perhaps something of his Honour and Reputation. But it was not so with *Henry*. After a vast charge to support the interests of his Ally, he was still embarrassed with the

Henry pur-
sues the
Ruin of the
Dissidents
of the Di-
vorce.

Herbert.
Burnet.
Hall.

affair of the Divorce, and in danger of a speedy quarrel with the Emperor. However, as he was naturally steady in his Projects, all these obstacles were not able to discourage him, and he resolved to see the end of the affair, let what would be the consequence. *Thomas Cranmer* being then very much in his esteem, he ordered him to write upon the Divorce; and the Doctor did it with universal approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the Ambassadors sent by the King to the Pope and Emperor, to try for the 1st time to find some expedient to end this affair, which to greatly embarrassed him. These Ambassadors found the Pope and Emperor at *Bologna*, and had audience of both. The Pope showed an inclination to content the King, but durst not act without the Emperor's consent, who openly protested, he would never forsake the Queen his Aunt. *Cranmer* mentioning his master's Cause with great warmth, which hindered not the Pope from making him his Penitentiary in England, to please the King, whom he thought to oblige in this little consequence, whilst he did nothing for him in the principal affair.

Mean while, *Henry*, pursuant to *Cranmer's* advice, had sent able and learned Men (3) into *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, to consult the Universities concerning the Divorce. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, the Opinions of the Universities of *Angers*, *Paris*, *Boulogne*, *Orleans*, *Thoulouse*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Padua*, all uniform, declaring, that *Julius II's* dispensation for *Henry's* Marriage with *Catherine* being contrary to the divine Law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the French Universities were suspicious, by reason of the strict union at that time between *Francis* and *Henry*. But the same thing cannot be said of those of *Padua* and *Ferrara*, and still less of that of *Bologna*, a City belonging to the Pope. Dr. *Burnet* having largely handled this Subject, those who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may consult his History of the Reformation. It will suffice to observe here, that the question was, Whether *Henry's* Marriage with his Brother's Widow was contrary to the Law of God, and upon that supposition, whether the Pope had power to grant a Dispensation. The above-named Universities maintained, That such a Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, with which the Pope had not power to dispense. *Oxford* and *Cambridge* being likewise consulted, decreed the same thing, though not without great opposition from some of the Members (4). It seems at first something strange, that the two English Universities should be more scrupulous in the matter than the foreign. But the surprize ceases, when it is considered that these scruples arose, not from the question itself, but from the consequence, their determination might occasion. Most of the Members of the Universities were furiously averse to *Luther's* Doctrine, which began to spread in *England*, and were afraid of countenancing it, by deciding against the Pope. Besides, they saw that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bulleyn* would follow upon his divorce with *Catherine*, and this second Marriage they would have gladly prevented, because *Ann Bulleyn* much inclined to the Reformation (5), and expressed a very particular esteem for *Cranmer*, whose preferment, for the same reason, they dreaded.

Vol. I. p. 85,
p. 86,
p. 87.

Oxford and
Cambridge
make the
greater
Scruples.
Burnet.
Fiddes.
The Reason
of it.
Burnet.

The Ambassadors who had been sent into *Italy* (6), returning without effecting any thing, *Henry*, who till then had shown great regard for the Pope, resolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known by experience, that *Clement* was to be gained only by his interest. It is certain, if at first he had proceeded with more vigor, and powerfully supported the War in *Italy*, the Pope would never have thought of joining with the Emperor. A good English Fleet in the *Mediterranean* would have made *Francis* master of *Naples*, and saved the City of *Gonza*. The Pope would there have been so kept in awe, that he would have been obliged to have always the King of *England* for his Friend. Instead of acting in this manner, *Henry* remained quiet during the whole Campaign of 1528, and might have been amused by the deceitful hopes given him by the

Henry's
policy
in the
affair of
the
Divorce.

(1) Since the time of *Frederick 1442*, no Emperor had been publicly crowned. *Herbert*, p. 136.

(2) This Jewel in the Form of a Flower-de-luce, is said to have a piece of the Wood of the true Cross in it. *Herbert*, p. 134.

(3) To *Orleans* and *Thoulouse* were sent Sir *Francis Brian*, afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*, and Mr. *William Paget*. To *Paris*, *Angers*, *Pool of the Blood Royal*. In *Italy*, the King's Agents were Dr. *Richard Cooke* at *Padua*, *Hieronymus de Grammont* Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Gregory Cusali* at *Rome*; Dr. *Stokeley* at *Venice*; Dr. *Cranmer*, *Andrew* and *John Cusali* were likewise employed in *Italy*. *Burnet*, T. I.

(4) At *Cambridge* it was carried at last with much ado in a Convocation, that the Matter should be left to a Committee of twenty nine, viz. the Vice-chancellor, (Dr. *Edmunds* Head of *Peter-House*) ten Doctors, sixteen Bachelors of Divinity, and the two Proctors: the Majority of whom voted the King's Marriage unlawful, but decided not whether the Pope had Power to dispense with such a Marriage. The King's Agents at *Cambridge*, were *Gardiner* and *Fox*. At *Oxford* the Regent Masters strenuously opposed the King, and the Doctors and Heads were for him. So that the Matter remained in agitation from the 12th of February to the 8th of April. At last it was carried in a Convocation (from which by an Order from the Chancellor, says *Wood*, all the Masters of Arts were excluded, but according to *Burnet*, consisting of all the Doctors and Masters) that the Divorce should be decided by thirty three Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, who declared the Marriage of the Brother's Wife to be both contrary to the Law of God and Nature, and put the common Seal of the University to their Decree, on April 8. *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln* was the King's Agent at *Oxford*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 85, 86. See *Fiddes* Coll. p. 180, &c.

(5) Having received some Impressions of it in the Duchels of *Alerfen's* Court. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 87.

(6) The Head of this Embassy was *Thomas Bulleyn* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond* (21 Hen. VIII.) who remained at the Audience of the Pope at *Bologna*, to kiss his Toe, though he graciously stretched it out to him. He was accompanied by *John Scory* elect Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Buckingham*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 87, 94.

1530.

Pope. So, the *French* were driven out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope was at liberty to treat with the Emperor concerning the recovery of *Florence*, which he would never have thought of, had the *French* been superior in *Italy*. *Henry* perceived his error when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the Pope was united with the Emperor, and *Francis* bound by the Treaty of *Cambray*. He was left alone to support himself against the Emperor and Pope, and it was very happy for him that the *Turks* and the Protestants of *Germany* so embarrassed the Emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of *England*. So, all means failing to accomplish his design, but what could be found in his own Kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make use of the inclinations of his Subjects, who for the most part were not very fond of the Pope.

He is at a great Loss.

Disposition of the English to the Popes, contrary to the Interest of their Kings.

We have seen in several places of this History, how at all times the *English* complained of the tyranny of the Popes, and the remedies applied by the Parliaments to this Grievance. It is true, the private interest of the Kings rendered these remedies in some measure ineffectual, because, as they frequently wanted the Popes for their temporal concerns, the Laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the *English*. The Principles of the *Lollards* were still deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers. Besides, *Luther's* Books, whereof many were brought into *England*, had opened the eyes of multitudes; so that it may be affirmed, at the time I am speaking of, the *English* in general had quite another notion of Religion than their Ancestors, especially with respect to the Papal authority. The three last Popes, *Alexander VI.*, *Julius II.*, and *Leo X.*, had shown so little Piety and Religion in their conduct, and *Clement VII.* so closely followed their steps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impossible, *Jesus Christ* should have given the Government of his Church to such Vicars. Thus the *English* were very ready to shake off the Pope's yoke, if the King, for the sake of his own private interest, had not supported the exorbitant Power so long complained of. But *Clement VII.* had no sooner joined with the Emperor, than the King's interest became the same with the People's. To this chiefly are to be ascribed all the changes mentioned hereafter.

The King's and People's Interest becomes the same.

Letters of Great Men to the Pope. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 405. Herbert. p. 141. Burnet.

Henry having resolved to make the Pope sensible of the danger of losing *England*, if he continued any longer to favour the Emperor, caused a Letter, worded in strong Terms, to be sent him by the great Men of the Kingdom, according to the example of their Ancestors in the Reign of *Henry III.* (1). They plainly told him, "That the King's Cause being their own, if he continued to deny them what was absolutely necessary for their quiet, they were resolved to apply the Remedy themselves, which was vainly expected from him." This was sufficient to satisfy him, that the patience of the *English* was almost worn out, and they would not suffer themselves to be curbed, or even amused any longer by the Court of *Rome*. Indeed, the Letter had not the desired effect, but however it showed the Pope the disposition of the *English*, and how necessary it was to use them gently. Wherefore he returned the great Men a very moderate answer, vindicating his conduct with respect to the King, in the best manner possible. Mean while, he sent for Sir *Gregory Cassali*, the King's Ambassador in ordinary, and hinted to him, that the affair might be adjusted by means of a Dispensation, for the King to have two Wives. This we learn from the Ambassador's letter of the 18th of *September*, where, after acquainting the King with what the Pope said, he added, that the Emperor's Ministers were also desirous that the Affair should be ended by this Expedient. But *Henry* was so aware of all the Pope's artifices, that he took no notice of this Overture. His resolution was, either to have a Bull to null the Marriage, or to procure himself, at any rate, the Satisfaction he required. And therefore, fearing that the Pope would unexpectedly send into *England* a Bull of Excommunication or Interdict, he issued out a Proclamation, forbidding under severe penalties, to receive any Bull from *Rome*, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown. His design was to bring the affair before the Parliament and Clergy, and after gaining these two Bodies to his Interest, to cause it to be determined in *England*, without regarding the Pope's Proceedings against him. The difficulty was, to prepossess the People in his favour. To this end, he ordered to be printed and published an

The Pope's Answer. Herbert. p. 143. Expedient proposed by the Pope. Ibid. p. 141.

Henry replies to it.

Proclamation to forbid the receiving any Bulls, &c. Sept. 19. Hall. Stow.

Henry publishes a Proclamation for the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

T. I. p. 97.

(1) Lord *Herbert* says, it was done by the Parliament; but that's a mistake, the Letter being dated the 15th of *July*, it appears by the Records there can be no Session at that time, the Houses being prorogued from the 21st of *June*, to the 1st of *October*. The Letter it seems was sent about to the chief Members for their Hands, and *Cromwell* tells us with what cheerfulness Cardinal *Wolsey* signed it. It was subscribed by the two Archbishops, four Bishops, two Dukes, two Marquises, thirteen Earls, two Viscounts, twenty three Barons, twenty two Abbots, eleven Commoners, most of whom the King's Servants. *Herbert*, p. 142.

(2) Learned Men were appointed to compare all that had been written on the Subject, and out of all the Transcripts of the Manuscripts, of Fathers and Councils, to collect whatsoever did strengthen it. Three of these Manuscripts are in the Cotton Library. All these and many more were united up in a short Book, and printed first in *Latin*, then in *English*, with the Determinations of the Universities before it. See *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 97.

Abstract of the reasons for the divorce, that these reasons being known to all the World, he might meet with less opposition in the Parliament. This Abstract (2) contained two principal Points. The first was, That the King's Marriage with *Catherine* was contrary to the Law of God. The second, That *Julius II.* had not power to grant a Dispensation for that Marriage, and consequently the Dispensation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the Spring of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the Reader to see here the Substance of the arguments alledged on both Sides.

It was said for the King, I. That the Levitical Law forbidding a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, was not a positive precept, which bound only those to whom it was given, but obliged all Mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the *Canaanites* were polluted. Now the *Canaanites* could not be polluted with Crimes forbidden only by a positive Law given to another Nation.

II. Another Argument was taken from what *John the Baptist* said to *Herod* in the New Testament, It is not lawful for thee to take thy Brother's Wife, because St. *John* could allude only to the Laws of *Moses*, and consequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was shown from several Passages of *Tertullian*, and Writings of the Popes, that the Church always deemed the Levitical Laws as parts of the universal Law of Nature and all Mankind. To this was added the Authority of divers Provincial Synods, of the *Constantinopolitan* General Council, of the Council of *Constance* in the condemnation of *Wicliff*, of many Greek and Latin Fathers, and of several Schoolmen.

IV. It was proved by the Authority of the Popes and Councils, that a Marriage is completed by the mutual Contract of the Parties, though it be never consummated. For that reason it was said, *Abimelech* could not marry *Abisbag*, who had been his Father *David's* Wife, tho' *David* never knew her. That upon the same account, *Joseph* could not put away *Mary*, without a Bill of Divorce; a clear evidence that their Marriage was complete, though not consummated. Hence it was inferred, that though Prince *Arthur* had not consummated his Marriage, it was not the less valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a thing of that nature could be, that the Marriage was consummated. It was proved first by violent Presumptions. Secondly, because after *Arthur's* death, the Princess his Widow was supposed to be with Child, and she never said any thing to the contrary. It is true, it might be objected that *Catherine* had since sworn, she was never known by that Prince. But it was replied, the Canon Law forbids the taking of Oaths, when there are strong Presumptions to the contrary. Besides, the Queen's Oath could not be reckoned decisive, since it was destroyed by the Brief produced by her own Advocates.

V. *Julius's* dispensation being the sole foundation on which the validity of the King's Marriage was established, it was shown by a croud of Witnesses, both antient and modern, That the Pope has not power to dispense with the Laws of God. Nay, it was affirmed, That if he dispensed with the Decrees of the Church, it was Usurpation, and that several Bishops in *England* itself, had resisted the Popes when they would have assumed such a liberty.

On the other side, the Queen's Advocates replied to these reasons:

I. That the Prohibitions in *Leviticus* were not parts of the moral Law, since God himself had dispensed with them, in commanding the Brother to marry his Brother's Widow. But of what nature soever the Law was, if it were dispensed with by *Moses* to the *Jews*, why might it not be as well done by the Pope to the Christians?

II. It was said, the Law in *Leviticus* against marrying the Brother's Wife, must be understood of not taking her while the Brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another Law, a Man was commanded by God himself to marry his Brother's Wife.

III. The Crime St. *John Baptist* reproached *Herod* with, might be Adultery as well as Incest, since according to *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, *Herod's* Brother *Philip* was alive when St. *John* spoke.

1530. IV. The Popes daily dispensed, contrary to the Laws of God, with Vows and Oaths, without being censured. Besides, it was maintained, the Pope was the only Judge, whether the Prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alledged, the Pope had granted the dispensation upon a very weighty consideration, to keep peace between the two Crowns of Spain and England.

VI. It was urged, that the Marriage had subsisted near twenty years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Lastly, It was affirmed, if there were any Nullities in the Bull of dispensation, the Pope was the only competent judge of it.

The King's Advocates replied to these Arguments, and were answered again by the Writers on the Queen's side, both practising what is very common on such occasions, that is, they evaded the force of the Reasons of the opposite Party, by keeping to Generals. I shall say no more of it. Those that are curious to see the Arguments on both sides, may be satisfied, by reading the History of the Reformation of England, where they are fully set forth. It will suffice to remark, that in these sorts of Disputes was spent the whole year 1530, Henry being very glad the People should be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the Parliament.

Whilst these things passed, Cardinal Wolsey remained at his Country-house, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the King's behaviour towards him. Though all his Goods were seized, and that seemed to denote he intended to shew him no favour, yet he saw from time to time some rays of Goodness shine upon him (1), which made him hope that his Master, who had loved him so well, would not be for ever inexorable. And indeed, the twelfth of February, the King granted him a General Pardon of all his offences, of what nature soever. Among all the Pardons in the Collection of the Publick Acts, there are none so full and particular as this. Then, the King came to an agreement with the Cardinal, by which he left him the Archbishoprick of York, with all its Revenues and Dependencies, [except York Place.] As to the See of Winchester and Abbey of St. Albans, the King reserved to himself the Revenues, though he left him the Titles. But the Cardinal was bound to resign these two Benefices when required. In consideration whereof the King assigned him a thousand Marks Sterling a year out of the Bishoprick of Winchester, with a promise to grant him the like Pension upon some other Benefice, in case this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave him to the value of six thousand three hundred and seventy four Pounds, three Shillings and Seven-pence Half-penny, in [Money and] Goods, part of those belonging to the Cardinal which had been confiscated (2). All the rest remained to the King, with the Cardinal's consent, who owned it as a particular favour that the King was pleased to leave him any thing. This was all he preserved of the immense riches acquired during his credit. But what afflicted him most sensibly, was, that his two Colleges, founded with so much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlasting

Monument of his Glory, were likewise confiscated. He writ to the King upon that subject, in a manner that perfectly shewed his extreme concern for that loss. He even entreated Cromwell, to use his utmost endeavours to hinder his two Colleges from being involved in his ruin. But it was all in vain. The King took possession of all the Lands belonging to them (3), and depriving them of the name of their Founder, endowed them anew, in his own.

Notwithstanding all this, Wolsey had still hopes, by reason of some marks of Friendship, given him by the King upon certain occasions. He had permitted him to remove to Richmond, where he was nearer his Person. Moreover, hearing he was sick, he sent a Lord to visit him in his name, and even caused Ann Bullen to write to him (4). But at the same time that the compassion expressed for him by the King cherished his hopes, it made his enemies apprehensive of his return to Court, and therefore they never ceased to exasperate the King against him. In short, as they could not see him so near the Court without fearing the revival of the King's affection for a Minister, he had so passionately loved, they caused an order to be sent him (5) to withdraw to his Diocese of York. Very probably, Ann Bullen contributed most to his disgrace, since none but a Mistress could possibly make the King forget such a Favorite. However this be, the Cardinal being forced to submit, began his journey (6) to the North with a Train, though not so large as usual during his prosperity, yet consisting still of a hundred and sixty Horses (7). He arrived about the end of September at Cawood (8), where he staid according to the custom of the Archbishops of York, till things were ready for the ceremony of his Installment, which was to be performed in a month, with a magnificence, little suitable to his present condition. But whilst he was preparing to enjoy in his Archbishoprick the small remains of authority, which he imagined would be still left him, he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland (9) for High-Treason. He would have insisted at first upon his privilege as Cardinal. But the Earl told him, that should not hinder him from executing the King's orders. At the same time his Physician was seized, and sent to London with his Legs tied to his Horse. It is not known to this day, whether the King had been prepossessed that the Cardinal had a design upon his life, which however is not very probable. Be this as it will, he set forward by easy journeys to London, extremely concerned to think, he was going to appear as a criminal in a City, where he had before commanded with almost a Sovereign Authority. But, in all likelihood, his Grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of sickness, which constrained him to stop at Leicester Abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of November (10). Before he expired, he said to the King's Officer who stood near his Bed: *If I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs.* But I do not know whether he had reason to boast of his zeal and disinterestedness in the services he had done the King. He added, speaking to the same Officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he should ever be admitted to the King's

Burnet, Vol. I. p. 97. &c.

Cardinal Wolsey's uncertain State.

The King grants him a very full Pardon. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 366, 371. They come to an Agreement. Ibid. p. 365.

p. 375.

Wolsey tries in vain to save his Colleges. Burnet, Herbert, Strype's Mem. p. 112.

(1) November 1. the King sent Sir John Russell to him with a Turquoise Ring, as a Token of his Care and Affection. Herbert, p. 125. Stow, p. 550.
(2) That the curious Reader may form an Estimate from thence of the real Proportion the Value of Money bears now to what it did then, here is a List of the Money and Goods as we find it in the Original Grant: First, In ready Money three thousand Pounds. Item, In Plate nine thousand five hundred sixty five Ounces and one eighth, at three Shillings Eight-pence the Ounce, amounteth to one thousand seven hundred fifty two Pounds thirteen Shillings and Seven-pence Half-penny. Item, Divers Apparel of Household, as Hangings, &c. amounting to eight hundred Pounds. Item, Eighty Horses and Geldings with their Furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty Pounds. Item, In Mules for the Saddle, four, with their Furniture, valued at sixty Pounds. Item, In Mules for Carriage six, with their Furniture, valued at forty Pounds. In Ling one thousand, valued at fifty Pounds. In C and Haberdashery eight hundred, valued at forty Pounds. In Salt eight Ways, valued at ten Pounds. In Implements of the Kitchen, as Pots, &c. at eighty Pounds. In Mutton (Sheep) twenty, valued at twelve Pounds. In fifty two Oxen, valued at eighty Pounds. In wearing Apparel, to the value of three hundred Pounds. Rymer's Fed. Tom. XIV. p. 375.

(3) They remained in the King's Hands till 1532, in which time several of the Manors and other Estates, particularly in Essex, and Oxfordshire, were granted to Sir Richard Page, and other Courtiers. In 1532, the King, by Cromwell's and Gardiner's Advice, founded anew the College in Oxford (now called Christ Church) and settled on it two thousand Pounds a Year; but it was dissolved again, by Communion in 1546, and two months after was revived by the King's Letters Patents: And the next Year the King removed the Episcopal See from Osney to this College. As for the Building, Wolsey finished only the Hall, and the Kitchen. Fiddes Life of Wolsey, p. 306, &c. Rymer's Fed. Tom. XIV. p. 469, 470, 471. Besides his two Colleges, the Cardinal founded, in the University of Oxford, Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek, and Rhetoric. Fiddes, p. 209, &c.

(4) The King sent him a Ring set with a Ruby, whereon was his own Picture, by Dr. Butts, assuring him he was not offended with him in his Heart. And in his Letter to Ann Bullen he says, *God Sweet-Heart, as you love me, send the Cardinal a Token at my Request, and on so doing you shall deserve a Thanks.* Whereupon she sent him a Tablet of Gold which hung at her Side. The King sent him also four Loads of rich Furniture. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 513, 514.

(5) By Thomas Cromwell his late Servant. Fiddes, p. 514.

(6) But before he set out, he received from the King the Sum of ten thousand Pounds. Cavendish.

(7) And seventy two Carts with his Household-Stuff. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 81.

(8) A Castle about twelve Miles from York, belonging to the Archbishops.

(9) Henry Percy; and by Sir Walter Welsh. Fiddes, p. 522. Hall says, that he had writ to the Pope and several Princes, Letters reflecting on the King, and stirred them to revenge his Cause. fol. 194.

(10) In his way he staid a Fortnight at the Earl of Shrewsbury's at Sheffield-Park, where he was taken ill one Day at Dinner. Cavendish says speaking of the Effects of his Distemper, it was apparent he had poisoned himself. By the Mediation of the Earl, Sir William Kingston Constable of the Tower (the Person to whom he spoke his last Words) was sent by the King to convey him to London. With much ado, being hardly able to sit his Horse, he got to Leicester-Abbey, where upon their coming out to receive him, he said, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones among you.* He was buried in the Abbey-Chapel, of which even the Ruins are not at present to be discovered. He died the 28th of November, according to Burnet; and according to Fiddes the 29th, of a Dysentery, p. 529. He had begun a Monument for himself with his own Image, which one Benedetto a Statuary of Florence took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for so much, as was already done four thousand two hundred and fifty Ducats. The Design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. But upon his Death the King seized what was finished and called it his. Thus the Cardinal's Tomb had the same Fate with his College. He is said to behave mightily well during the time he was in the North, after his Disgrace, and to become very Popular. As no Man (says Polydore) did ever rise with fewer Virtues, so (says Lord Herbert) few that ever fell from so high a Place had lesser Crimes objected against him. He is said (according to one of the Articles of his Impeachment) to leave two Natural Sons behind him, whereof one called Winter, was loaded with Church Preferments. Herbert, Burnet, Stow, &c. Fiddes, p. 521, &c. 530.

1530.

Council, he should take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This seems to intimate, he had counselled the King to undertake the Divorce, which afterwards he would have dissuaded him from. And indeed, he desired the same Person to tell the King, that he prayed him to call to remembrance what had passed betwixt them about the Divorce, and hoped, that when he should be less prejudiced, he would do him more justice. This shews that he looked upon that affair as the sole Cause of his disgrace. Thus died this famous Cardinal, the proudest and most haughty of Men, and we may add, the most ambitious and most greedy of estates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the King, he never gave him advice without a view to his own interest. This alone would be sufficient to obscure all the fine qualities he might otherwise have, but which, in the main, amounted only to a great Penetration, whereof he made an ill use. The King shewed a concern for his death (1). And yet, since he had ordered him to be arrested for High-Treason, very probably, his ruin was determined. Henry was of a temper to accomplish whatever he undertook (2). This will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary severity to Persons, who doubtless were not so guilty as this Favorite.

The King
shewed some
concern for
his Death.
Herbert.

The affair of the Divorce (3), and its consequences, employing Henry during the residue of his life, it will for the future be the principal thing I shall have to speak of, to the end of this Reign. But as by the alterations introduced by this Prince into his Kingdom, his affairs led him to concern himself with the troubles of Germany, it is necessary, for the understanding of the sequel, just to mention what passed in that Country.

Affairs of
Germany as
to Religion.
Sleidan.

The Emperor's aim in calling the diet of *Augsburg*, was rather to inflame than appease the religious troubles. Since he made peace with France, and Italy was as it were subject to his yoke, he was forming vast projects. He saw himself master of Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries; his Brother Ferdinand was now King of Bohemia, and had been elected King of Hungary. With these advantages, he hoped to be able to subdue the rest of Europe. It was necessary to begin with Germany, where he had great power, as Emperor and Archduke of Austria, because if he once became absolute in the Empire, and could dispose of the forces of the German Princes, he imagined France and England would not be able to resist him. The troubles caused by Religion in Germany, seemed to him a very specious pretence to arm against the Protestants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the Catholics, these last would, in their turn, be easily subdued. I cannot be accused here of ascribing to this Monarch designs he never really had, since it is notorious that himself and Successors pursued gradually, and, I may say, openly, the execution of the same Project. The Wars that afflicted Europe for more than a Century, were solely excited by the boundless ambition of the House of Austria, whom the other Sovereigns were concerned to oppose.

Progress of
the Reforma-
tion.
Sleidan.

Since Luther's preaching in Germany, the Reformation had made so great progress, that several Princes of the Empire, and many *Hans Towns* had openly embraced it. As they were accused of introducing many Innovations in Religion, in answer to that Charge, they protested, their Intent was only to adhere to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Religion of the primitive Church. And therefore, they demanded that a free Council might be held in some City of Germany, where the religious differences might be calmly examined by the Word of God. But this was a method which their Adversaries could not allow. They supposed, as a thing certain, that the Religion professed before Luther's appearance, was the true Religion, and being without spot, wrinkle or the like, had no need of reformation. According to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the Recusants or Hereticks to conform. This was the constant Maxim, long since followed by the *Romish* Clergy, and which caused them to use fire and sword to extirpate those they were pleased to term Hereticks. But in the situation of Germany, at the time I am speaking of, it was not easy to practise that Maxim. It was not private persons only who declared against the *Roman* Church, but Cities, whole Nations, and Sovereigns. So the zealous Abettors of the old Religion were not in condition to reduce them by force. Wherefore they chose to feed them with hopes of a free Council, till the Affairs of Europe were so disposed, that it might be hoped to reduce them by way of Authority. Several Diets had been held

upon that subject in Germany, where, contrary to the opinion of the Court of Rome, the Emperor and the Catholic Princes had been obliged to conceal their Sentiments, and consent to a Toleration, which however left them at liberty to act another time according to their real Principles.

1530.

When Luther began to appear, the religious Disputes turned only upon the excessive abuses of the Papal Power, and a few other points. Then Luther had on his side almost all the Lay-Princes of Germany, and many *Hans Towns*, each of which was a Republick. From that time, he made new discoveries, and published them to the world. But he had not upon all the Articles the same number of Followers, as upon that of the Papal Authority. Besides, the Emperor and the zealous Catholics opposed with all their power the progress of the Reformation. Care was taken to intimidate such as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old Religion by Promises, by Places, by Posts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their first Sentiments. So for some years, the Reformers used all possible endeavours to gain Proselytes, and the *Romish* Clergy were as diligent to hinder their progress. Mean time, whilst they strove only in this manner, the Reformation daily took root; which obliged the Adversaries to seek other means to prevent its growth, those, hitherto used, not proving very effectual.

In 1524 Charles V, coming to the Diet of *Worms*, sent for Luther, and after a hearing, banished him the Empire with all his Adherents, by a formal Decree in the Diet's name. But some pretend, the Diet was not concerned in the Decree. However, the Emperor persisted to maintain it. But it seems the Germans considered it not as obligatory. Next year, the Diet, held at *Noremberg*, produced against the Court of Rome, a hundred Grievances, of which they demanded the redress, by means of a free Council.

Another Diet held at the same place, passed a Decree, whereby it was resolved to demand a free Council in Germany. But upon their dissolution, the Catholics assembled by themselves at *Ratisbon*, and ordered the Decree of *Worms* to be executed.

In another Diet at *Spire* in 1526, the Emperor caused it to be declared, that he meant not that any resolution should be taken concerning the affairs of Religion, but only concerning the method of executing the Decree of *Worms*, till there should be a General Council. But as this Council was yet very remote, the Diet decreed, the Emperor should be prayed to procure a Council in Germany within a year, and in the mean while, every one should so govern himself in point of Religion, as to be able to give an account of his Conduct to God and the Emperor.

During these Transactions, the War which the Turks had carried into Hungary, suspended for some time the execution of Charles V's Projects against those who had embraced the new Religion, because he wanted the assistance of all the German Princes, as well Protestants as Catholics (4). Besides, his War then with France suffered him not to think much of the affairs of Germany. But in 1529, being upon the point of making Peace with France, he thought he might talk in a higher strain. He called a Diet at *Spire*, where it was ordered, that those who had hitherto obeyed the Decree of *Worms*, should continue to observe it, and the rest that had not submitted, should make no Innovations in Religion, nor hinder their Subjects from going to Mass. Against this Decree the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Princes of Lunenburg, made a solemn Protestation, from whence all their Party were called Protestants. The Emperor, who was then in Italy, very roughly received the Protestation, brought to him by Deputies, and thereby obliged the Protestants to unite for their common defence, the Emperor discovering by his words, that he had ill designs against them. In the Diet which was to meet at *Augsburg* in April 1530, but did not however assemble till June, he was resolved to lay the Foundation of his projected War against the Protestants.

At the opening of the Diet, the Emperor's Chancellor made a long Speech, complaining, in his Master's name, of those who had hitherto endeavoured to alter the ancient Faith, and Cardinal Campegio exhorted the Germans to extirpate the Errors that were crept into Germany. That done, the Protestants desired, they might declare their belief before the Diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour, the leave granted them

(1) He was very much affected with the News of it, and said he would have given twenty thousand Pounds he had but lived. Herbert, p. 148.
(2) Bishop Burnet truly observes, that King Henry loved to raise mean Persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down, and sacrifice them to public Discontents. Tom. I. p. 9.
(3) It was called the King's most happy Affair. Burnet.
(4) January 21. King Henry sent a Thomas Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, John Stokesley Bishop elect of London, Dr. William Lee, and Dr. William Rieu, to conclude a League with the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France, Portugal, &c. against the Turk. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 354.

1530. to deliver their Confession of Faith in writing. The Landgrave of *Hesse* seeing so great partiality in the Diet, withdrew without taking leave; whereupon the Emperor commanded the Gates of *Augsburg* to be shut, shewing, he intended to use violence towards those that remained in the City. But upon the Elector of *Saxony's* Remonstrances, he ordered them to be opened. In short, after many Debates (1), he caused to be published in the Diet's name, a Decree entirely against the Protestants, and which upon the hopes he gave them of a General Council, obliged them to destroy whatever had been done in point of Religion to that day.

League of
Smalcald.

The Diet ending in this manner, the Emperor ordered the Archbishop of *Mentz* to assemble the Electors, to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, intending to cause his Brother *Ferdinand* to be chosen. The Protestants strenuously opposed this meeting, affirming, there was no occasion to elect a King of the *Romans*, and demonstrating the Inconveniencies which would arise from his design to render the Imperial Crown as it were Hereditary to the House of *Austria*. In fine, seeing that, notwithstanding their Remonstrances, it was designed to proceed to this Election, they met at *Smalcald* the 22d of *December* 1530, and concluded a defensive League against all who should attack them on account of Religion. Then they made a formal Protestation against the intended Election of a King of the *Romans* without their consent. In this situation were the affairs of Religion in *Germany* about the end of the year 1530.

1531.
The Emperor
disobedies the
Pope in the
Affair of
Ferrara.
Guicord.

After the Emperor had quitted *Italy*, the Pope's Nuncio continually pressed him to pronounce Judgment upon the affair of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Pope could not imagine but the Judgment would be in his favour, considering the Emperor's Engagement with him, by the Treaty of *Barcelona*. But whether the Emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for some other reason, he gave Sentence, that *Modena* and *Reggio* belonged of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*; but to satisfy the Pope, he should pay a hundred thousand Ducats, for which the Pope should be obliged to give him the Investiture of *Ferrara*, as granted to his Predecessors; and to begin to execute this Sentence, he delivered *Modena* to the Duke. The Pope, extremely displeased with a Judgment so different from what he expected, refused to submit to it, and in hopes of seizing *Ferrara*, would not receive the hundred thousand Ducats offered him by the Duke.

Francis I.
wishes to gain
the Pope.

Clement VII being thus incensed against the Emperor, had great Inclination to be reconciled with the Kings of *France* and *England*, imagining he should be received with open Arms. Indeed, *Francis I* had unwillingly agreed to the Treaty of *Cambray*, and solely because there was no other way to recover his Sons. But since he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had lost by that Treaty. To this end, he privately laboured to sow Jealousies among the Princes, by making them apprehensive of the Emperor's Ambition, and promising them assistance. As soon as he was informed of the Pope's discontent, he thought, nothing should be neglected to gain him to his Interest at so favorable a Juncture. Wherefore he proposed a Marriage between *Catherine de Medici* Daughter of the late Duke *Lorenzo*, and the Duke of *Orleans* his second Son; an Honour to which the Family of the *Medici* durst never aspire, if the King had not offered it himself. On the other hand, *Henry* knowing the Union between the Pope and the Emperor was the sole cause of the obstacles in the affair of the Divorce, did not question, he should easily effect his designs, if he could set them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himself to that means. The first was, he could not trust the Pope. The second, that he began to find his Subjects much more inclined to shake off the Papal Yoke, than he had imagined, and therefore did not think himself under a necessity to depend upon the Pope. If he had at first humbly addressed to the Pope, it was partly because he feared the People's prejudice in favour of Christ's Vicar. But when he found this prejudice was not so strong as he had believed, he never troubled himself about the Pope's opposition. His Kingdom being safe from Invasions by Land, he had nothing to fear from any Prince in *Europe*, provided his Subjects were not terrified with the thunders of the *Vatican*. But the *English* were not in this respect the same as formerly. *Wickliff* had begun to enlighten them; the Conduct of the late Popes had increased their

He offers to
marry his Son
the Duke of
Orleans with
Catherine
de Medici.
Henry dares
not trust the
Pope.

He thinks
himself no
longer obliged
to rely upon
him.

light; and *Luther's* Books and Followers had quite opened their Eyes. Since the spreading of the new Doctrine in *England*, the Pope's Authority was so discredited, that the *English* for the most part wished for a favorable opportunity to throw off a Yoke they had so long groaned under. This made the King resolve to have his Cause tried by the Parliament and Convocation.

The Parliament meeting the 6th of *January*, the Chancellor opened the Session with a Speech, declaring, that the King earnestly wished to annul his Marriage, not from dishonest motives, as some laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his Conscience, and the welfare of the Kingdom, being unwilling to leave the Succession of the Crown in danger of being disputed. Then he caused a great number of Books and Treatises written on that Subject, with Abstracts of several Authors both antient and modern, to be brought, with the Determinations of the Universities of *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, which were all left upon the Table to be examined at leisure (2). The King's design was also brought before the Convocation, who declared, they were satisfied the King's Marriage was contrary to the Law of God. The King required no more at this time. He had another important affair to debate with the Clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely, the Convocation being informed of the King's Intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly knew how much they should want his favour in the business in hand, which was of the utmost consequence.

Cardinal *Wolsey* had been accused by the Attorney General, of exercising in *England* his Legatine Authority without the King's special Licence, and of disposing of several Benefices, contrary to the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire*. Hence it naturally followed, that those who had owned his Authority, and appeared in his Courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the Clergy were in the same case, since there was scarce one but what had occasion to apply to him during the course of his Legateship. So, after the King had procured of the Convocation an Approbation of his proceedings concerning the Divorce, he ordered an Indictment to be brought into the King's Bench against all the Clergy, for breaking the Laws of the Realm (3). He had in this a double view; the first to draw a good Sum from the Clergy; the second, to humble that powerful Body, and so lessen their great Credit with the People, who before had always seen them supported by the Royal Authority. He knew he should meet with the greatest opposition from the Clergy in the affair of the Divorce. For that reason, he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them as it were in dependence, and by sowing a kind of division between the Clergy and People, by the satisfaction these last would probably express at the disgrace of the Ecclesiastics, who had ever treated them with great haughtiness. He thereby put the Clergy under a necessity of recurring to the Royal Protection, and consequently of shewing less Zeal for the Interest of the Court of *Rome*. This succeeded according to his expectation. In vain did the Clergy plead, that the King himself had connived at the Cardinal's proceedings. What had not been serviceable to *Wolsey*, was not capable of excusing them that had owned his Authority. So the Court proceeded to a Sentence, that the Clergy were all out of the King's Protection, and liable to the pains in the Statute of *Premunire*. The People were extremely pleased, and particularly the Favourers of the new Religion, to see the Clergy humbled to so great a degree. On the other hand, the Clergy plainly perceived, that as the Laity stood affected, it would be in vain to resist the King. They could expect no more assistance from *Rome*. Since the Pope had quarrelled with the King, he had lost all his power; and as the King shewed he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the *Vatican* were looked upon with contempt. The Clergy, in this their ill situation, resolved to purchase the King's favour at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the Convocation of *Canterbury* having debated upon the Affair, resolved (4) to offer the King a hundred thousand Pounds for a pardon. Pursuant to this resolution, some of their Members were ordered to draw an Act for that purpose. Probably, they who were charged with this Commission were Friends of the Court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the King a Prerogative

1531.

He imports
the Affairs of
the Divorce
to the Par-
liament.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Ad. Pub.
XIV. p. 399,
Ed.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Clergy
decide in fa-
vour of the
King.
Burnet.

All the Cler-
gy are ac-
cused of
breaking the
Statute of
Premunire.
Herbert.
Burnet.

They are
condemned.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

They offer
the King
100,000l.
An Act is
drawn up,
wherein the
Clergy calls
him Head of
the Church
of England.

(1) In one of which, upon the Protestants affirming theirs was the ancient Religion, the Emperor would needs dispute himself, which the *Spanish* Writers say he did with that Eagerness that he drew his Dagger. *Herbert*, p. 150.

(2) The King first brought in the Books and Determinations of the Universities to the House of Lords, and after they were read and considered there, the Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*, (or, according to *Lord Herbert* on the 31st) with twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, go down to the House of Commons, and shewed them the Books, and produced twelve original Papers, with the Seals of the Universities to them, which *Mr. Brian Tuke* read openly in the House; when that was done, the Chancellor spake the Speech mentioned above. So that he did not open the Session of Parliament with it, as *Rapin* says a few Lines above. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 105. *Herbert*, p. 152. *Hall*, fol. 195.

(3) Namely, the Statutes against Provisors and Provisors. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 106.

(4) On *January* 24. This Sum was to be levied in five Years. *Rymers*, Tom. XIV. p. 414.

1531.

A^d. Pub.
XIV. p. 41.
March 22.

tive which none of his Predecessors had ever enjoyed. Lord *Herbert* and Doctor *Burnet* say, the Convocation resolved to present a Petition to the King, to pray him to accept of a hundred thousand Pounds. But as this Instrument is extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, it may now be spoken of with greater exactness. It was not a Petition, but a publick Act of the Clergy, in form of Letters Patents, whereby they gave that Sum to the King. It was said in the Instrument, that it was, First, in consideration of his great Merit. Secondly, in testimony of the Clergy's Gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the Catholick Church, as well by his Pen as his Sword. Thirdly, for his Zeal against the *Lutherans*, who were labouring to destroy the Church of England, of which the Clergy acknowledged the King sole Protector, and supreme Head (1). Lastly, in hopes he would be pleased to grant the Clergy and all their Members, a pardon of all the offences committed against the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire*.

Opposition to
that Title.
Burnet.
Herbert.

When this Instrument was read in the Convocation, many disliked that the Clergy should be made to say, that they acknowledged the King for *Protector and supreme Head of the Church of England*. Some imagined, it was inserted through inadvertency and excessive flattery, whereof the Penmen of the Instrument had not considered the consequence. Others said, it was intended to surprize the Convocation, by inserting these words in the body of an Instrument, which was only to grant a sum to the King. They added, these same words, which seemed to be put in by accident, and without design, were however of very great consequence, and as the Convocation had not taken any resolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But on the other hand, those who were in the Secret, pretended the words could not be put out by a formal resolve, without displeasing the King, and giving him occasion to refuse the offered compensation. This caused such debates, that they were forced to put off the decision of the affair to the next day. It was not without reason that several dreaded the consequence which might very naturally be drawn from these words, since it was evident, the Clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the Pope no longer head of the Church of England, which could not have two supreme Heads at once. This was in effect the King's Intention, as well as their's who had penned or drawn the Instrument, as plainly appeared the next day. *Thomas Cromwell*, with others of the King's Council, going to the Convocation, very clearly hinted, that the Point in debate yesterday was very agreeable to the King, and he could not but consider the Opposers as very disaffected Persons. After such a declaration, there was not one that durst directly oppose it, especially as the Archbishop and several other Prelates openly maintained, that the King was truly the supreme Head of the Church of England. So the Act passed as it was drawn. Only some moved to add this restriction, *as far as is consistent with the Law of Christ*. But it was not the King's Intention to leave a door for those to escape, who should hereafter dispute his Supremacy (2). The Instrument being sealed the 22d of March, was presented to the King, who very graciously accepted both the Clergy's present, and his new Title, of which he afterwards made great use. The Convocation of the Province of *York* resolved likewise to give the King eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty Pounds. But as they omitted in the Grant to acknowledge the King supreme Head of the Church of England, they were told, that their Present would not be accepted, if they spoke not like the Convocation of *Canterbury*. So the Clergy of *York* Province were forced to insert the same acknowledgment in their Instrument. In this manner the King procured, or rather extorted from the Clergy, the Title of supreme Head of the Church of England. It is

The Clergy of
York Pro-
vince were
forced to
insert the
same
acknowledg-
ment of
the King
supreme
Head of
the Church
of Can-
terbury.

certain, that though some freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion (3). This is evident from the methods used to obtain it. This acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have seen, by *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cromwell*, and some others, who verily believed there was no occasion for the Pope. Those who flattered themselves at first, that the words were inserted without design in the Instrument brought into the Convocation of *Canterbury*, might have seen their error, if they had attended to another Article in the same Instrument, and which was also inserted in that of the Province of *York*, namely, that the Clergy did promise for the future neither to make nor execute any Constitution without the King's Licence. This was, in other words, acknowledging the King for supreme Head of the Church of England. We shall see hereafter what use *Henry* made of this new Title.

The King being satisfied with the Clergy, granted them a Pardon in ample form. But when the Pardon was brought into the House of Commons, they refused to pass it, unless the Laity, who might have been guilty of the same offences, were also included (4). *Henry* offended at their opposition, sent them word, he would be master of his own favours, and not suffer them to be forced from him. The King's resolution terrified the Commons, who to avoid his Indignation, passed the Pardon as it was, throwing themselves upon his Mercy as to what concerned the Laity. Then the King, satisfied with their Submission, granted to his Temporal Subjects a Pardon like that to his Spiritual. It seems however, that the Colleges and Monasteries were excepted, who not being included in the Pardons, were forced to compound with the King, as we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

So far were the people from rising, (as they would doubtless have done, had they been under the same prejudice with their Ancestors in the Reigns of *Henry II.* and *King John*;) that on the contrary, Joy was visibly painted on their Faces, being highly delighted to see the Clergy humbled. Thus that Body, so formidable heretofore, instead of daring to resist the King, were constrained to fly to his Protection, because they saw plainly, the people shewed no concern at their disgrace, and they had no remedy elsewhere (5).

When the Pope heard what had passed in England, he was terribly embarrassed. He saw *Henry* pursuing such measures as would probably be attended with ill Consequences. However, he durst not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which he foresaw would not be to his advantage. Besides his not being pleased with the Emperor, he saw him upon the point of being fully employed by the *Turks*, and the *German* Protestants, at a time when *France* and *England* were in strict Union. So, perceiving no assistance speedy enough, in case he should attempt to exert his Authority, he chose to be silent, in expectation of a proper Season to act, or at least to be reconciled to the King.

This Affair being ended, *Henry* prorogued the Parliament (6). Then, he ordered the determinations of the Universities to be printed, with the opinions of the Learned concerning his Marriage, that against the next Session every one might be informed of the state of the case and of his motives to prosecute the Divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the Queen, his Intent was to marry *Ann Bullen*, he passionately wished, the Queen would be persuaded to consent to the Divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might arise from her obstinacy. To that purpose, he sent some Bishops and Lay-Lords (7), earnestly to press her, either to consent to the Divorce, or refer the decision of the affair to four Prelates and four Seculars. But as she could not be prevailed with to desist from her Appeal to the Pope (8), he sent her word to chuse where she would reside in any of his Manors, and,

1531.

Pardon
granted to
the Clergy.
The Commons
wanted the
Laity to be
included in it.The King of-
fended at it.
The Pardon
passes.
The Laity
pardoned.
See Statut.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Stow.
Monasteries
compound
with the
King.
The People
rejoice at the
Clergy's
Disgrace.The Pope
dissembles his
Sentiments.
Herbert.
Burnet.Henry tries
in vain to
bring the
Queen to
consent to
the Divorce.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Strype's
Mem.
Hall.
Hollingsh.Hall.
Hollingsh.

(1) — *Unius singularem Protectorem, Unicuique & supremum Dominum, & quantum per Christi Legem licet, etiam supremum Caput ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.* — *Rymor's Fied.* Tom. XIV. p. 414.

(2) Though Archbishop *Parker* and our Author say, the Act passed without the Restriction, yet it appears by several Passages in *Henry's* Letter to *Bishop Turpin*, who in the Convocation at *York* had protested against it; that the Words *quantum per Christi legem licet* were inserted, and the Act so passed, by nine Bishops, (the Bishop of *Rockingham* being one) and fifty two Abbots and Priors, and the major Part of the lower-House of Convocation, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 112. *Herbert*, p. 151.

(3) When Archbishop *Warham*, upon some not speaking for or against it, said, *That Silence was to be taken for Consent*, they cried out, *We are all silent then.* *Herbert*, p. 851.

(4) They apprehended, that, either they might be brought into trouble, or at least their having transgressed the Statutes, might be made use of to draw a Subsidy from them. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 113.

(5) During this Session of Parliament one *Richard Rouse* a Cook, on the 16th of February, poisoned some Soup in the Bishop of *Rockingham's* Kitchen, with which seventeen Persons were mortally infected; one of the Gentlemen died of it, and some poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder, were also infected, one Woman dying. The Person was apprehended, and by Act of Parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poisoning was declared Treason, and *Rouse* was attainted and sentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Maria I.) The Sentence was executed in *Smithfield* soon after. *Burnet*, *Stow*, p. 560. *Hall*, fol. 199.

(6) It was prorogued, on March 31, to the 13th of October. The most remarkable Statutes enacted during this Session, were: 1. That no Master, Wardens, or Fellowship of Crafts, and Trades, nor any Rulers of Fraternities, take from henceforth of any Apprentice, or any other Person, for the entry of any Apprentice into their said Fellowship, above two Shillings and Six-pence; nor for his entry, when his Years and Term is expired, above three Shillings and Four-pence, upon pain of forfeiting forty Pounds. 2. That four Justices of the Peace in every Shire, whereof one to be of the Quorum, shall have power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine, in the general Sessions of the Peace, all Matters relating to Bridges and Highways. This Act also explain, by whom Bridges and Highways are to be repaired. See Statute 21. Hen. VIII.

(7) Of his Council, the last day of May, to *Greenwich*. *Herbert*, p. 153. *Hall*, fol. 199.

(8) Her Answer to the Lords was, "That she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of Rome declared the contrary." *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 114. *Hall*, fol. 200.

1531. the 14th of July 1531, took his leave of her [at *Windsor*] intending never to see her more (1).

Three Persons
burnt for
Heresy.
Herbert.

What had lately passed in the Parliament and Convocation, encouraged the Well-wishers to a Reformation in the Church, to which they already saw some preparatives. For this reason, religious Disputes became more frequent and publick than formerly. But the King perceiving what inferences would be drawn from his first proceedings, was pleased to shew, that in throwing off the Papal yoke, he designed not to strike at the fundamental Truths of Religion. So, to frustrate those who had any such thought, he commanded the Laws against Hereticks to be rigorously executed. This occasioned the death of three Protestants, namely, *Bilney*, *Bayfield*, and *Baynam*, of whom the two first were burnt this year, and the other in the following April (2).

Affairs of
Germany.
Sleddin.
Herbert.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, the affairs of Germany were more embroiled. In the beginning of the year, *Ferdinand* of Austria King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, was elected King of the *Romans*, notwithstanding the Protestation of the Confederates of *Smalcald*, and crowned a few days after at *Aix la Chapelle*. This was in consequence of a League concluded between the Catholick Princes of Germany in the foregoing November. But this League was offensive, whereas that of *Smalcald* was only defensive. Never had the Protestants any design to force the Consciences of such as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the Catholick League, was to compel the Protestants to return to the Church, they had forsaken. These last protested against *Ferdinand's* election as unnecessary, and contrary to the usual Forms. But their Protestation had no effect.

The rest of the year was spent in sundry Negotiations, wherein the Emperor seemed to have no other aim than to adjust the religious Differences, though in effect his design was only to amuse the Protestants, and hinder them from taking measures for their defence, when they should be attacked. As they were not ignorant of his artifices, they writ on that subject to the Kings of *France* and *England*, who returned them favorable Answers, with a promise of assistance in case it was attempted to oppress them. Not that these two Monarchs desired to countenance the Reformation, but it was their Interest to protect the German Protestants, because their destruction could not but exceedingly increase the Emperor's Power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that Prince intended to execute his vast designs.

1532.
Francis tries
to raise the
Emperor's
Troubles.
Guicciardi.
Mezerai.

Whilst the Emperor was forming Projects to become master of Germany, under colour of supporting the Interests of Religion and the Empire, *Francis I* turned to all sides to try to create him troubles capable of producing some change which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to sign the Treaty of *Cambray*, threw him upon earnestly seeking means to repair his losses, and especially to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. To this end, he carested or threatned the Pope, according as he saw it proper to use one or other of these means, and put the Protestants of Germany in hopes of a powerful assistance, in case they were attack'd by the Emperor (3). But chiefly he laboured to secure the King of *England*, because he could be most serviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as possible, in his resolution to push the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the Emperor and the Pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the Justice due to him was obstinately refused, he would join in a League with him, to withdraw their Dominions from the tyrannical power of the Court of *Rome*. Then, fearing he would agree with the Emperor, he advised him speedily to marry *Ann Bullen*, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their Breach. Nay he sent a Letter to the Pope, wherein he appeared no less concerned than *Henry* himself in the affair of the divorce. Among other things he told him, that if out of Complaisance or Fear he continued to be governed by the Emperor, he must not think it strange, that the King of *England* should endeavour to procure by extraordinary means the just satisfaction he had so long expected in vain; adding, that his interests were so strictly united with *Henry's*, that he was indispensibly obliged to assist to the utmost of his power, a Prince of whom he gloried to be the perpetual Ally. In short, he prayed him to consider, whether it was prudent to give those who could not be compelled to obey, the opportunity and will to withdraw their

obedience. But *Clement* seeing only the Emperor's Forces in Italy, took care not to follow such dangerous counsels.

The two Kings finding at length it was impossible to gain the Pope, resolved upon an Interview, to contrive means to break the Emperor's measure. But they thought proper first to spread a report, they were going to make a new League, in order to frighten the Pope, and hinder him from closing again with the Emperor, from whom he was something alienated by the business of *Ferrara*. Accordingly, they concluded a League at *London*, signed the 23d of June. But it is manifest this Treaty was made only with the fore-mentioned view, since it contained but two Articles that could have reasonably alarmed the Pope or the Emperor, had they been known to them. The first was, That in case the Emperor seized the English Merchants effects in the Low-Countries, the King of *France* would do the same with respect to the Emperor's Subjects, the Germans excepted: Nay, this Article was guarded by so many restrictions on the part of the French King, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a Treaty. By the second, if the King of *England* was attacked by the Emperor, *Francis* was to send him an aid of five hundred Lances, and if the King of *France* was invaded, *Henry* was to assist him with a body of Foot, not exceeding five thousand Men (4). As the Publick was not acquainted with the particulars of the Treaty, several reports were spread. Some said, the two Kings had agreed to join in the League of *Smalcald*, or at least, to send a powerful aid to the German Protestants. Others fancied, that as the Turks threatned *Austria*, and the Emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that Country, *Francis* would invade at the same time the Duchy of *Milan*, and *Henry* carry War into the Low-Countries. All these reports, though uncertain, made the Emperor very uneasy, because they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

Divers Reports
about the Treaty.

The Interview of the two Kings, between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, was not till October (5). They had principally two things in view. The first, to divert the blame thrown on them by the Emperor, in spreading over all Europe, that whilst *Christendom* was going to be invaded by the Infidels, they remained idle Spectators of the danger, without offering the least assistance to those who were preparing to defend Her. Their other view was, to keep the Italians and Germans in the expectation of a fresh War, for fear they should become too compliant to the Emperor's will. To effect their design, they gave one another Letters-Patents, whereby they engaged jointly to raise an Army of eighty thousand Men, to stop the progress of the Turks, and to lead the same either into Germany or Italy, as there should be occasion. But this pretended agreement was never put into the form of a Treaty. *Du Tillet* speaks of it in his Inventory of the Treaties between *France* and *England*, by the name of Letters of agreement: But there are no signs of it in the Collection of the Publick Acts of England. Wherefore it is not probable, these two Monarchs desired to execute this pretended Project, the sole aim whereof was to justify them to the World, and inspire the Emperor and Pope with terror. Doubtless that was the reason of their affecting to publish it.

Francis and
Henry's
Interview.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingshead.
Herbert.

During the Interview, *Henry* complained much of the Pope, and *Francis* even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the Gallican Church, on account of the Court of *Rome's* exactions. But this was only to amuse *Henry*, since he was at that very time in secret Negotiation with the Pope, concerning the Duke of *Orleans* second Son's Marriage with *Catherine de Medici*. It manifestly appears by that Prince's whole conduct, that his sole aim was to make the King of *England's* Friendship subservient to gain the Pope, in order to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, which he had always in view. Wherefore he outwardly expressed a strong attachment to *Henry's* Interest. He even pressed him not to stay for the Pope's dispensation to marry his Mistress, who was present at the Interview, having lately been made Marchioness of *Pembroke* (6). Whilst the two Kings were together, they feasted one another several times, a particular account whereof is needless in this place. *Henry* came to see *Francis* at *Boulogne*, and *Francis* returned his visit at

He advises
Henry to
marry Ann
Bullen.

The Kings
at Boulogne.

(1) She removed first to *Moor*, then to *F. Blundell*, and at last to *Amstell*, where she stayed longer. *Burnet*, Tom I. p. 114.

(2) *Thomas Bury* Bachelor of both Laws, was burnt August 19. *Bayfield* a Monk of *Bury*, November 27. 1531, and *Baynam* a Gentleman and Lawyer, April 30, 1532. See *Pocock*.

(3) And also flared up the Turks to invade the German Dominions. *Herbert*, p. 154.

(4) When the French Ambassador in *London* returned to France, King *Henry* sent by him fifty thousand Crowns, to be employed in the defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Empire. *Herbert*, p. 154.

(5) King *Henry* landed at *Calais*, October 11, and the Interview was on the 20th. See an account of the Nobility and other remarkable Persons that attended him, in *Hall's* Hist. 206, 207. See also *Stow*, p. 301.

(6) September 1, with a Pension of a hundred thousand Pounds a year. *Hall*, fol. 206.

1531. *Calais* (1). They parted the 30th of *October* to return, the one to *Paris*, the other to *London*. But by reason of the bad weather, *Henry* staid some days at *Calais* (2), where it is said he privately married *Ann Bullen* (3). It is more probable however, as some affirm, that it was not till the *January* following (4).

The *Turks* threaten *Hungary*.

The Emperor is at a loss.

The Diet of *Ratisbon* grant some thing in favour of the Protestants.

Charles retains an Aid.

He suspects the King of France.

His Campaign against the *Turks*. Guicciard. Herbert.

He passes into Italy.

He confers with the Pope at Bologna. Guicciard.

He demands a Council. P. Daniel.

During this whole year, the Emperor was greatly embarrassed. *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks* threatened to invade *Hungary* with a powerful Army, which he accordingly did. *Germany* was in trouble, because the Protestants who had now been menaced, were taking effectual measures for their defence, and refused to acknowledge *Ferdinand* of *Austria* for King of the *Romans*. On the other hand, the Emperor was not ignorant of the Pope's discontent on account of the Duke of *Ferrara's* affair, and that the Kings of *France* and *England* were using their utmost endeavours to draw him off from his Party, in order to disturb *Italy*. Moreover, the *Italians* were quiet, only because there was still an Imperial Army in *Italy*, and no preparation in *France* to support them, in case they attempted to hold up their head. Mean while, in the midst of this seeming tranquillity, they eagerly wished to see some revolution to free them from their apprehensions of the Emperor's over-grown Power. In fine, the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry* extremely troubled the Emperor, apprehensive as he was, that if *Soliman* prospered in *Hungary*, they would embrace that opportunity to invade the Duchy of *Milan* and the *Low-Countries*. It was necessary therefore to think, without loss of time, of preventing the dangers which might proceed from all these quarters, and to begin with the most urgent affair, the satisfying of the Protestants, in order to have their assistance against the *Turks*. To that purpose, he came, the beginning of the year, to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, where he found means to negotiate with the Protestants an agreement, whereby no Person was to be disturbed on account of Religion, till a Council was called. He intended not punctually to perform this agreement, extorted from him by necessity. He received however this benefit by it, That all the Princes and States of *Germany*, as well Protestant as Catholic, furnished him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to assemble an Army of eighty thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse.

Whilst this Army was forming, the Emperor, willing to sound the King of *France's* Intentions, sent and desired his assistance against the *Turks*; but received an unsatisfactory answer, which, added to the Interview of the two Kings, confirmed his suspicion that they were contriving something against him. But *Soliman* hastening his Campaign in *Hungary*, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the mischief he feared from the two confederate Kings. Indeed, the *Turks* not only advanced into *Hungary*, but even into *Austria*, with design to give him battle. But he wisely avoided it, since in losing it, he would have been without refuge, and *Austria*, with part of *Germany*, would inevitably have fallen under the Dominion of the *Turks*. Whereas by standing, as he did, upon the defensive, with an Army of above a hundred thousand Men, he prevented them from making any considerable progress, and compelled them at length to return into their own Country. As soon as he had certain advice that *Soliman* was upon his march to *Constantinople*, he departed for *Italy*, from whence he designed to return into *Spain*.

About the middle of *November* he came to *Bologna*, where the Pope waited to confer with him. As their designs were very opposite, there was not that harmony between them, as at their Interview in the year 1529. The Emperor thought only of securing *Italy*, and preventing the King of *France's* return. The Pope, on the contrary, wished to keep him always uneasy on that account, as well to render himself necessary, as to be freed from a State of dependence. The Emperor required the Pope to call a Council in *Germany*, otherwise he saw no possibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the Protestants. But after what had passed at *Constance* and *Basil*, the very name of a Council was become so odious to the Court of *Rome*, that *Clement VII* could not resolve to call one. He knew what had befallen *John XXII*, and *Eugenius IV*, and therefore had no mind to have his Authority questioned. The Emperor demanded moreo-

ver the Pope's consent to a League, he intended to form between all the States of *Italy*, to which each should contribute in proportion to its Forces, in order to secure the Country from all Invasion. That is to say, he would have in *Italy* an Army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the Duchy of *Milan*, in case the *French* King should think of invading it. The Pope approved of this project, not in order to keep *Italy* in its present situation, since it was very much to his prejudice, that the Emperor should remain so powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the *German* and *Spanish* Troops, who were a terror to the *Italians*. He foresaw that a League of so many Parties, whose interests were different, would not long subsist, and that after it was broken, he should himself become more necessary and considerable. He desired only that the *Venetians* should come into the League, and bear their part of the charge. In short, the Emperor farther demanded of the Pope, that he should give his Niece *Catherine de Medici* to the Duke of *Milan*; his aim being to engage him, for his Niece's sake, in the defence of the *Milanese*, for fear in the end the King of *France* should find a favorable opportunity to gain him to his interest. But *Clement* alledged against this Proposal, his engagement with the King of *France*, who had done him the honour to demand *Catherine* for the Duke his second Son. He represented to the Emperor, that he could not prefer the Duke of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, without making the King of *France* his irreconcilable enemy, who would never forgive such an affront. So their whole Negotiation ended only in the projected League, in which the *Venetians* refused to be included. They contented themselves with promising the Emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement with respect to the Duchy of *Milan*. In fine, the Emperor having sent for Ambassadors from *Milan*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, it was endeavoured for some time to settle the terms of the League. But the dispute between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* very much retarded the conclusion, because the Duke would not come into the League before he was secure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the Emperor prevailed with the Pope to allow the Duke an eight months respite. This affair was the reason the League could not be signed till *February* next year.

Henry's proceedings against the Clergy, and his disposition with regard to the Pope, greatly encouraged those who longed to see a Reformation in the Church. To conceive a right notion how the *English* stood affected in this respect, it is necessary to know what the People's Sentiments were concerning Religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the Reformation of the Pope's exorbitant Power, and the Clergy's Immunities, there was scarce an *Englishman*, if you except all or most of the Ecclesiastics, but what heartily wished it. It was now three hundred years since the Parliament first began to endeavour it, but without a perfect success, because it was contrary to the interest of the Kings. But as for a Reformation of Doctrine, the well-wishers to it were very far from being the majority. These were not sufficiently numerous to venture to propose it openly, especially as they were not countenanced by the King. But when the Pope's excessive authority, or the pride and riches of the Clergy were exclaimed against, they boldly joined with the rest of the People, without fear of being discovered, because that was the sentiment of all the People, or at least of almost all the Laity. But in expressing their zeal against the Clergy, their aim was to promote the Reformation of Doctrine, because they knew the chief obstacle would always proceed from the Governors of the Church. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough Reformation. So, among those that wished to reduce within due bounds the Papal Power, and the Clergy's Immunities, there were doubtless many who had no farther views, and imagined the Reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped that after taking this first step, it would be impossible to stop, wherein they had for warrant what had happened in *Germany*. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by shewing them too soon the consequences of the first step, in the business of the Reformation.

(1) *Francis* went back from *Boulogne* with *Henry*, in this Order, that while *Francis* was on *French* Ground, he gave place, but when he came to the *English* Pale, *Henry* gave him the Precedence. Being now come near *Calais*, the Duke of *Bremond*, *Henry's* natural Son, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The Lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was most richly furnished with Cloth of Gold and Tissue, embroidered in some places with Pearls and precious Stones. There several Services were brought in a hundred and twenty Dishes, all of massy Gold. The Marchioness of *Pembroke* made them a curious and rich Mask, in which both King danced. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Surrey* were made Knights of *St. Michael*. *Stow* says, there was not less than eight thousand Persons in *Calais* on this occasion. See *Hall*, fol. 207, &c.

(2) He returned to *England* *Novemb. 14.* *Hall*, fol. 209.

(3) *Roland Lee*, afterwards Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Conventry*, celebrated the Marriage in the presence of Archbishop *Crommer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, Mother and Brothers. *Hertbert*, p. 161.

(4) *January 25.* Others say it was *November 14.* *Stow*, p. 562. *Hall*, fol. 209. *Burnet*, T. I. p. 126. The news of this Marriage was soon carried to *Rome*. The Pope published, on *November 15*, a Brief against King *Henry*, in which he exhorted him, to bring back the Queen, and to put *Anne* away, within a Month after the receipt of the Brief; otherwise he excommunicated both him and *Anne*. *Burnet*, T. III. p. 17.

1532.
The Commons
are ordered to
reduce the
Power of the
Clergy.
Herbert.
Hall.

The Parliament meeting the 15th of January 1532, the Commons were almost unanimously inclined to redress the Grievances so long complained of in vain, with respect to the Papal power, and the Ecclesiastical privileges. There had never been so favorable an opportunity. When formerly the Parliaments were disposed to make any attempt of this nature, the Kings were unwilling to concur with them, because the state of their affairs permitted them not to break entirely with Rome. But the affair of the Divorce had put things upon another foot. The King was dissatisfied with the Pope, and considered the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, as secret enemies, by reason of their attachment to the Court of Rome. So, his interest required, that the Pope and Clergy should be humbled, and division sown between them and the People, knowing that the former could hurt him only in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what Foreigners might do, he thought himself in no danger, so long as he remained strictly united with France, and the more, as the Emperor was then employed by his war with the Turks, and the troubles of Germany.

Address pre-
sented to the
King.
The King's
Answer.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

All this being artfully insinuated to the House of Commons, they presented an Address to the King (1), praying him to consent to a Reformation of sundry Grievances, occasioned by the Immunities of the Clergy (2). The King answered, that before he gave his consent to their request, which seemed to him of great moment, he wished to hear what the Clergy had to say for themselves. But under this shew of equity, his intent was to intimate to the Clergy, how much they wanted his protection, since he could either promote or restrain the proceedings of the Commons as he pleased. Some time after, the Parliament passed certain Acts, which only glanced at some of the Clergy's Privileges, the People had most reason to complain of (3). But for that time, the Reformation was carried no farther. Nay, care was taken to make the Ecclesiasticks amends, by passing an Act to release them from the payment of Annates (4), which was become a heavy Burden. The Act ran, that the Kingdom was daily impoverished by the great Sums paid to the See of Rome, for First-Fruits, for Palls, for Bulls, &c. That since [the second Year of] the Reign of Henry VII, one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds had been paid to those uses, and that more was like to be shortly exported, by reason many of the Bishops were very aged: That besides, the Annates were first introduced only as a contribution for the War against the Infidels, to which however they were never applied. And therefore it was enacted, that all payments of Annates should cease for the future: That as for the Bulls, there should only be paid five Pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the Bishopricks. That if, on account of this regulation, Bulls should be denied by the Pope, the Bishop elect should be presented by the King to the Archbishop of the Province for his consecration: That in case the Archbishop should refuse it on pretence of want of Palls, Bulls, and the like, any two Bishops appointed by the King should perform the Office; and the Bishop so consecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheless the Parliament declared, it should be in the King's power to null or confirm the Act within such a time; and if in this Interval, he should make an amicable Composition with the Court of Rome, it should have the force and authority of a Law. But if, upon this Act, the Pope should pretend to vex the Realm by Excommunications or Interdicts, such censures should neither be regarded nor published, and all Interdicts notwithstanding, the Priests might lawfully, without any scruples of Conscience, celebrate Divine Service as before (5).

Boldness of a
Commoner.
Herbert.
Hall.
Burnet.

Mean while, among the great number of Representatives in the House of Commons, there were several who were entirely against a rupture with the Pope. They perceived however, it would infallibly follow upon the

King's Divorce. Wherefore they used all possible endeavours to prevent it. One *Tempe* a Member of Parliament was so hardy as to move, that the House should go in a body and address the King to take his Queen again. Henry hearing of this, sent for [Thomas Audley] the Speaker, and in his Person severely reprimanded the Commons, for suffering a motion to be made concerning an Affair which fell not under their Cognizance (6).

1532.

The King
of the Commons
in Common.

Some days after (7), the King sent again for the Speaker, and told him, that having compared the Oath taken by the Bishops to the Pope, with that they took to the King, it seemed to him they were but half Subjects; and therefore he desired the Commons to examine the matter, and take care of the interest of the Crown. But the Plague which raged then at London, and constrained the Parliament to break up presently after (8), hindered the Commons from debating upon this Affair at that time (9).

Howells
was sent to
the House
to see the
Bishops.
Hall.

The Power given the King by the Parliament to abolish the Annates, or make an amicable composition with the Pope, was a clear evidence that the Act had been procured by the Intrigues of the Court. The Pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained to the King's Agents, he was told, he might have saved himself that vexation, and there was still a remedy, since the King had power to repeal the Act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it, the King would behave according as he had reason to be satisfied with his proceedings.

The Pope
was
offended
at it.
The King
was
told,
he might
have
saved
himself
that
vexation.
Answer.

Thomas More, who was Lord Chancellor, and a Person of excellent Judgment, foresaw now, the King's proceedings would in the end produce a total rupture with Rome. He would have readily consented that some abuses should be reformed. But he found, as Matters were managed, the Reformation would go much farther than he desired. He put a great difference between withdrawing entirely from the Pope's obedience, and retrenching some of his Usurpations. So, being unwilling to be instrumental in the rupture, he resigned the Great-Seal on the 16th of May. Some days after, the King made Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, till the 26th of January 1533, when he was made Lord-Chancellor.

Thomas
More
was
a
great
man.
Hall.
which is
given to Sir
Thomas
Audley.
A. 1. Pub.
xiv. p. 433.
439.

Whilst Henry used sundry means to shew the Pope his danger, in obstinately refusing what he required, the Emperor was no less ardently endeavouring to obtain a sentence in favor of Queen Catherine. The way these two Monarchs applied to the Pope was not by humble Intreaties, but by Menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and slow to resolve upon things that required a speedy resolution. By these two opposite demands he saw himself indeed between the Hammer and Anvil, as he said himself in the beginning of the Affair. On the other hand, he found by Henry's late proceedings, that England was going to be lost to him and his Successors. This consideration was very capable of putting him upon seeking expedients to content that Monarch, without prejudice to the honor of the Holy See. He would thereby have preserved a Kingdom which had been ever devoted to the Popes, and from whence they had drawn large Revenues. But on the other hand, the Emperor had still an Army in Italy, and was able to revenge his refusal. Clement of all things feared the loss of Florence, which the Emperor could take from him with more ease than he had procured him the possession. It is no wonder therefore, if this fear, being the most imminent, prevailed. It would be a great mistake to ascribe to this Pope any motives of Justice, Equity, Good, and Benefit of the Church, or Religion. These things for some time had served only for preambles to Bulls. His own and his Family's interest was the sole rule of his conduct. So, finding himself extremely pressed by the Emperor to pass sentence upon Queen Catherine's appeal;

The Emperor
and Henry
equally
threaten the
Pope;
Burnet.
who is at a
great loss.

His own In-
terest pre-
vails.

- (1) Or rather a List of their Grievances comprized in a Book. It was presented April 30. Herbert, p. 155. Hall, fol. 205.
- (2) They complained of the Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, and especially their calling Men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge without any Accuser; and then admitting no Purgation, but causing the Party accused, either to abjure, or to be burnt. Burnet, T. I. p. 110. Hall, fol. 205.
- (3) By some of these Statutes it was enacted, 1. That no Person in Holy Orders, convicted of Petit-Treason, wilful Murder, &c. should be admitted to make his Purgation before the Ordinary, and be set at Liberty; but shall remain in Prison, till he has given Sureties for his good Behaviour. 2. That Cooks convicted, breaking the Prisons of their Ordinaries, shall be adjudged Felons. There were also other good Statutes made; for erecting Goals in several parts of the Kingdom; against Perjury, and untrue Verdicts; about the Commission of Sewers; that no Person shall be cited out of the Diocese where he lives, except in some particular Cases; as also against making Feoffments of Estates to Chantryes, Parish-Churches, &c. See Statut. 23. Henry VIII.
- (4) Or the First-Fruits of the Bishopricks.
- (5) This Bill began in the House of Lords; from them it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Assent, but had not the final Confirmation mentioned in the Act, before the 9th of July 1533, and then by Letters Patents, in which the Act is at length recited, it was confirmed. Par. Rolls. By this Act was laid the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with Rome. This Act is not in the Statute-Book. Burnet, T. I. p. 117, 118.
- (6) He told the Speaker moreover, It touched his Soul; He wished his Marriage were good, but the Learned had determined it to be null and detestable, and therefore he was obliged in Conscience to abstain from her, which he assured him flowed from no Lust, or foolish Appetite. He was then sixty one Years old, and at that Age those Heats abate. But except in Spain or Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a Man married two Sisters; and he never heard that any Christian bet re himself, had married his Brother's Wife. Therefore he assured him his Conscience was troubled, which he desired him to report to the House. Ibid. p. 122. Hall, fol. 205.
- (7) May 11. Hall, fol. 205.
- (8) It was adjourned on May 14, to February the 3d 1533. Hall, fol. 206.
- (9) Hall, Burnet, and Lord Herbert, place Henry's Interview with Francis, after this Session of Parliament.

1532.
Burnet.

Karne sent to
Rome as the
King's
Excusator.
Herbert.
Burnet.

At last, in a Consistory the eighth of July, it was re-
solved, that, without examining the King of England's rea-
sons for not appearing in Person, he should be intreated
to send to Rome a Proxy to defend his Cause. Mean
while, as the Vacation which was to last till the first of
October, was then just begun, a delay till that time was
tacitly given the King. During this Interval, the Pope
sent him a Brief to require him to send a Proxy to
Rome. At the same time he caused the following Over-
tures to be made him: That the affair of the Divorce
should be examined in any indifferent place, by a Legate
and two Auditors of the *Rota*; which done, the Pope
himself would pass Sentence. Secondly, That all the So-
vereign Princes of *Christendom* should agree to a Truce of
three or four Years, within which time the Pope promised
to call a General Council. The King replied, by Sir
Thomas Elliot who was sent on purpose, That he could
not agree to a Truce without the King of France's con-
currence. Secondly, That it was not a proper juncture
to call a Council. Lastly, As for the Affair of the Di-
vorce, being King of England, he was to take care of the
Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm,
which allowed not that any Process should be tried in
a foreign Court. That besides the Canons of the
Church expressly decreed, that all Matrimonial Causes
should be judged in the Countries where the Parties re-
sided.

The Pope's
Brief.
Herbert.

The King's
Answer.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 125.

The King
protests
against the
Citation.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 416,
422.
Burnet.
Herbert.
He makes the
Pope three
Offers, which
are rejected.

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are rejected.

he could no longer be excused from giving him some satisfaction (1). He declared therefore to the *English* Agents (2), that having long expected in vain that their Master would of himself return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to *Rome*. Henry having notice of it, sent with all speed *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, with the new Character of *Excusator*, to alledge the reasons against a Citation to which the King of England could not be liable. Karne coming to *Rome* in March (3), the Pope scrupled to receive him as Excusator, a character whereof there was no precedent to be found in the Chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a Congregation, which made no haste to give their opinion, that the Excusator might not have power, before he was acknowledged, to oppose the resolutions already taken.

At last, in a Consistory the eighth of July, it was resolved, that, without examining the King of England's reasons for not appearing in Person, he should be intreated to send to Rome a Proxy to defend his Cause. Mean while, as the Vacation which was to last till the first of October, was then just begun, a delay till that time was tacitly given the King. During this Interval, the Pope sent him a Brief to require him to send a Proxy to Rome. At the same time he caused the following Overtures to be made him: That the affair of the Divorce should be examined in any indifferent place, by a Legate and two Auditors of the *Rota*; which done, the Pope himself would pass Sentence. Secondly, That all the Sovereign Princes of *Christendom* should agree to a Truce of three or four Years, within which time the Pope promised to call a General Council. The King replied, by Sir Thomas Elliot who was sent on purpose, That he could not agree to a Truce without the King of France's concurrence. Secondly, That it was not a proper juncture to call a Council. Lastly, As for the Affair of the Divorce, being King of England, he was to take care of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, which allowed not that any Process should be tried in a foreign Court. That besides the Canons of the Church expressly decreed, that all Matrimonial Causes should be judged in the Countries where the Parties resided.

To these reasons, he added, a protestation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at *Rome*, either in Person or by Proxy, and tacked to this protestation the determinations of some Universities (4), he had consulted. However, he proposed three things to the Pope. First, he required that the Cause should be decided by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and two other Bishops, or else, by the whole Clergy of the Kingdom. But it must be observed, that the See of *Canterbury* had been vacant since *August*, by *Warham's* Death (5), and if the Pope had closed with this Proposal, the King would not have failed to fill the See with a Prelate devoted to him. His second offer was, that the Cause should be judged by four Arbitrators, one to be named by the King (6), another by the Queen, a third by the King of France, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be the fourth. In the third place, he proposed that the Cause being judged by the Archbishop, or by Umpires, if the Queen should think fit to appeal from the Sentence, the appeal should be brought before three Judges, whereof he would name one, the Pope another, and the King of France a third. The Pope replied to these Proposals, that he saw the King would not recede from his pretended Rights, and therefore it should not be thought strange that he resolved to preserve his own.

It is however certain, if the Pope durst have satisfied the King, he would gladly have done it, by reason of his fear to lose *England* entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the Divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were, he would have readily overlooked them all. For, supposing the unlimited Power assumed by the Pope, it was as easy for *Clement VII* to null Henry's Marriage, as it was for *Julius II* to grant a Dispensation. But he had to manage the honor of his See, and the interest of the Emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his Threats. Had not the Emperor been concerned in the Affair, it would have been very easy to find an expedient to content the King, without prejudice to the

papal Authority. It was only to assure the King, the Cause should be decided in his favor, and he would have willingly agreed that the Pope should have been the sole Judge. But the Pope could give him no such assurance by reason of the Emperor's opposition; and therefore Henry could not resolve to put the Affair into his hands at the hazard of being cast. Upon this account it was that he proposed inflexible expedients to gain his Cause. But on the other hand, the Pope could not accept of these expedients, without injuring his Dignity. Thus the Affair was solely retarded by the Emperor's interposition. Had it not been for him, the Pope would have contented the King, and the King would have submitted to the Pope, and remained as before, an obedient Son of the Holy See. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the King's proceedings as well in the late Parliament as afterwards, flowed not so much from his real opinion, that the papal Authority was usurped, as from his seeing no other way to be delivered from his present difficulties, than by denying it to be in the Pope's power to do what *Julius II* had done. It is however very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the Truth of what he asserted at first only out of necessity. On the other hand, if the Pope passed sentence against Henry, as we shall see presently, it was not from a belief that his Marriage with *Catherine* was lawful, but solely to save the honor of the Holy See, and through fear of, or compliance for, the Emperor. And here who can forbear admiring the secret ways of Providence, which rendered a reconciliation between the Pope and the King impracticable, in order to produce an event which was to be attended with so momentous consequences for England?

At length the vacation being over, Henry was cited the fourth of October to appear at *Rome*, either in Person or by Proxy, and Karne solemnly protested (7) against the Citation. What has been said happened before the Emperor's arrival at *Bologna*. *Clement VII*, who was going, immediately after the Citation, to confer with that Prince, promised Karne, that all proceedings should be suspended so long as the Emperor was in *Italy*. This was all the favor Karne could obtain (8).

Whilst Henry seemed wholly employed in the Affair of his Divorce, a quarrel arose between England and Scotland. *Buchanan* pretends, Henry willing to take advantage of his Union with France, and imagining, Francis I, would suffer him to oppress King James, made inroads into Scotland (9) as if he intended to renew the War. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture, was, that the Scots had spoken some injurious words against the English. Be this as it will, the King of Scotland being prepared for his defence, Henry thought not fit to pursue his design. He chose rather to agree, that the difference should be decided by the King of France's mediation, who for that purpose sent an Ambassador to *Newcastle*. The King of Scotland was so offended with Francis for so coolly espousing his Cause, that he was going to join with the Emperor. But at length all was happily adjusted, and the two Kings of England and Scotland remained Friends as before.

It was not for Henry's interest to undertake a War against Scotland, when he was to prepare for his defence against the Emperor. It was extremely probable, the Pope had not engaged to judge Queen Catherine's appeal without being first assured, that the Emperor, the Queen's Nephew, would execute the sentence. This indeed was his design, but the troubles which came upon him, hindered his engaging in that enterprise. He reckoned that the Italian League before-mentioned, would be a sure defence for the Duchy of Milan. But he soon perceived, he was himself the danger, the politic Pope. This League was at length signed at *Bologna* the 24th of February 1533, according to his wish. Every Sovereign that had Dominions in Italy, the Venetians excepted, engaged to find a certain Sum monthly, for the maintenance of an Army which Antonio de Leva was to command as General of the League. The Emperor's intention was, that the Army should consist of his own Troops, and be constantly maintained: But the design of the Confederates was very different. They had consented to the League, only that the Emperor, having nothing to fear for Italy, might withdraw all his Troops. But they never meant that the Army, maintained at their expence, should serve to time of Peace.

(1) He writ, on January 25, to King Henry, to exhort him a second time to take again his Wife. See Herbert, p. 156. Burnet, T. I. p. 118.

(2) Sir George Cyprian, and Doctor William Bards. Herbert, p. 158.

(3) He was accompanied by Doctor Edmund Bonner. Burnet, T. I. p. 120.

(4) Thenceforth Orleans and Paris. See Rymer, T. III. XIV. p. 416, &c.

(5) Lancelot Bishop of London, or Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 161.

(6) On November 14. Herbert, p. 159.

(7) King Henry having obtained from Cardinal Wolsey, a Grant of the Archbishop of York's Palace at *Windsor*, then called *York Place*, now *Whitehall*; and by a Confirmation of the Cardinal's Grant from the Chapter of the Cathedral of York; did also this Year purchase the Hospital of St. James, founded by the Citizens of London, before the time of any Man's Memory, for fourteen leproous Maidens; and built in the room of it, the Palace now called *St. James's Palace*, in the Park, and enclosed it with a Brick-Wall. Hall, fol. 203. Strype's Survey, B. VI. p. 47. — About June this Year, the Pope granted King Henry, by a Bull, a Commission to erect six new Bishopsricks, to be endowed by Monasteries that were to be suppressed. Burnet, T. I. p. 121.

(8) He desired Sir Arthur Dudley to make three lances, pretending for cause thereof the Restoration of the *Duchess*. Herbert, p. 166.

1533. keep them in subjection, which would necessarily be the case, if the Army continued always on foot, under the command of the Emperor's General. They represented to him therefore, that the League being only defensive, it was not proper to continue an Army without necessity, to ruin them in expences; but upon the first motion of the French, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments soever the Emperor alledged, it was not possible to bring them to what he desired. He was forced therefore to be satisfied with their promises, because he was not in condition to maintain an Army in Italy at his own charge. Then he disbanded part of his Troops, and sent the rest to Naples and Spain. He departed from Bologna about the end of February, and came to Genoa, where he staid some time; after which, on the 8th of April, he embarked for Spain, extremely displeased with the Pope, who through all his disguises could not help showing his inclination to France. Indeed, he was now agreed with the Cardinals of Tournon and Grammont upon an interview with Francis, and the Marriage of Catherine de Medici with the Duke of Orleans.

He returns to Spain.

The Marriage of the Duke of Orleans with Catherine of Medici agreed upon. Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Herbert.

The State of Italy was not the only thing that employed the Emperor. He had, as was observed, promised the Protestants a free Council in Germany. But though the word Free was equally used by those who demanded a Council, and by him that promised it, they were far from meaning the same thing. The Protestants understood by that word, that a Council should be held in Germany, where not only they might have free access and full liberty to produce their reasons, but also that the points in dispute should be decided solely by the Word of God. The Emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward show of the Word, and by rendering his Party superior in the Council, to cause Matters to be so decided, that the Protestants should be forced, either to revoke all their Innovations, or reject the Council's decisions. In the latter case, which was most likely, the Emperor plainly perceived, they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But in the execution of this design a great obstacle occurred; namely, a Council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the Pope. Though he knew the Emperor demanded a Council not with intent to alter Religion, yet he was afraid of being sacrificed to the Protestants, if that Monarch's interest required it. Besides, the strict Alliance between Francis and Henry made him uneasy. In short, he could not resolve to call a Council, without being sure of managing it as he pleased. And this could scarce be expected, as Matters then stood in Christendom. Since his being on the papal Throne, he had pleased neither the Emperor, nor the King of France, nor the King of England, nor the Potentates of Italy, and yet, of the Subjects of all these Sovereigns was the Council chiefly to consist. He knew himself to be a Bastard, and that alone to be sufficient to depose him, in case his enemies were superior in the Council. What had passed at Constance and Basil gave him just reason to dread, that a Council, held in a free City of Germany, might form the same designs. Upon all these considerations, when the Emperor desired him, at the conference of Bologna, to call a Council, he forbore to give a positive answer. He contented himself with committing the examination of his request to certain Cardinals, under colour of being informed of the reasons *Pro* and *Con*. The Popes have a character to sustain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In publick, they must make show of a great zeal for God's Glory, for Religion, and for the Good of the Church, and withal of a great disinterestedness for every thing which personally concerns them. But, for fear what they thus profess outwardly should be taken literally, they must in private undeceive those who treat with them, and discover to them, that their own interest is the principal subject of the Negotiation. So, what they say publickly, is always just and right, and seems to tend only to the greater Glory of God. But in the end it is too frequently perceived, that Religion serves only for a cloak to their temporal concerns. On the present occasion, a General Council seemed absolutely necessary to put an end to the troubles caused by the religious dif-

ferences in several places, and particularly in Germany. The Pope not only agreed upon a Council with the Emperor, but even seemed to wish it heartily. Mean while, as a Council was contrary to his interests, reason, drawn from the good and advantage of Religion, were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the Commissioners, appointed to examine the Emperor's request. They drew a Memorial, setting forth the necessity of a Council, but showing withal the inconveniences of admitting the Protestants to dispute upon Matters already settled, and the usefulness of the same Council if they were not admitted. This Memorial being communicated to Francis, he replied to it by another, demonstrating, that the inconveniences mentioned in the first ought not to hinder the calling of a Council. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be used, to banish all partiality. But this Memorial was not acceptable to the Emperor, because a free Council was not what he desired, but a Council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the Protestants of Germany; after which, he did not despair of bringing the Catholics also under his yoke. Francis answered the Emperor's reasons against his Memorial, but it was to no purpose. It was almost impossible that two Princes, whose Interests were so opposite, and who were so jealous of each other, should agree in any one point. Thus the Pope had his wish, since the calling of the Council was deferred to a more proper Season. I must now speak of what passed in England in the year 1533.

Whilst the Pope and Emperor were conferring at Bologna, Henry assembled the Parliament the 4th of February. As hitherto the Pope had not relaxed in the least, except that he had delayed the Excommunication, where-with he had threatened the King, it was deemed proper to proceed farther, and let him see, he was not at all feared. So, the Parliament passed an Act, expressly forbidding all Appeals to Rome, on pain of incurring a *Præmunire*. This was to convince the Pope, there was no occasion for him, since at the very time that the point in question between him and the King was to know whether the affair of the Divorce should be judged in England, People were forbid to carry their causes to Rome. But there was another reason which induced the King to procure this Act; namely, having heard that Francis was going to make an Alliance with the Pope, he imagined that for the future his Friend would act but faintly in his favor; and therefore he was now determined to have his cause tried in the Kingdom, without troubling himself any farther about the Pope's proceedings against him (1). The Archbishoprick of Canterbury being vacant by Warham's death, it was necessary to fill the See, that the sentence might be given by the Primate of England. Wherefore, Henry had cast his Eyes on Dr. Thomas Cranmer, then in Germany (2). But, contrary to his expectation, he had found the Doctor more averse to accept, than others would have been eager to desire that high Dignity. It was six months before he could be persuaded to take upon him that burden. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the King's patience, he began his journey to London, though very slowly, in hopes the King might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the King's measures, Cranmer could no longer defer submitting to his Will. The King himself undertook to demand his Bulls (3), which, though eleven in all, were rated but at nine hundred Ducats (4). The Pope forbore of his own accord to require the Annates, foreseeing they would be refused. To enable Cranmer to be at this charge, the King made him a present of the revenues of the Archbishoprick, from the 9th of September last Year. These obstacles being removed, there arose another much more considerable. Cranmer refused to take the usual Oath to the Pope, believing he could not do it with a safe conscience. In his first Journey into Germany he had read Luther's Books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the Protestant-Tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in Scripture, for the spiritual power assumed by the Pope over the whole Church. Consequently, he could not

Francis answers to the Memorial.

The Council in England.

Session of the Parliament in England.

Statute against all Appeals to Rome.

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

He refused to take the Oath to the Pope.

The Pope is against a Council. Sleidan.

Reasons of a Congregation of Cardinals against the Council.

(1) The other Acts that passed this Session were these. 1. That Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veal, should for the future be sold by *stapen* Weights; and no person take for a pound of Beef or Pork, above one half-penny; and for a pound of Mutton, or Veal, not above three farthings. 2. That a Man killing a Thiet in his own Defence, shall not forfeit his Goods; which was the penalty of those who were guilty of *Concealment*. 3. There was also an Act made for encouraging the destruction of Crows, Rooks, and Choughs. 4. And one for paving the Street-way between *Courtesy* and *Strand*. See Statut. 24. Hen. 8.

(2) Negotiating the Business of the Divorce among the learned Men of Germany. Burnet, T. 1. p. 127.

(3) And accordingly sent for them about the end of January. *Idem*, p. 128.

(4) These being the last Bulls in this Reign, it will not be amiss to give an account of them, as they are set down in the beginning of Cranmer's Register. By the first, he is, upon the King's Nomination, promoted to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; the second is to the same effect. A third is directed to himself, he is made Archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all Censures. A fourth is to the same effect. A fifth is to the Dean and Chapter. A sixth to the Clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the Luty in his See. An eighth to all that had been Luty of it, requiring them to receive him as Archbishop. All these are dated February 21, 1533. By a 9th of February, he was to be consecrated, upon taking the Oath of the Pontifical. By a tenth, dated the 2d of March, the Bull was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same date, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were the several Articles to make Cranmer's high, and to reach the Archbishop's dignity. Burnet, T. 1. p. 128.

1533. resolve to swear an obedience, which in his opinion was not due to him. Mean while, *Henry* considering *Cranmer*, as a Person who by his principles and resolution could effectually serve him in the decision of the affair of the Divorce, of which he desired to see the end, pressed him so earnestly to swear the customary Oath, that he was prevailed with at length, by an expedient proposed to him; namely, to make a formal protestation against the Oath he was to take (1). This is by no means one of his most commendable actions. However, he was consecrated the 13th of *March*, according to *Burnet*. And yet, the King put him not in possession of the Temporalities till the 29th of *April*. This gives occasion to suspect, there is a mistake in the first of these dates.

He yields at last, but makes a Protestation. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 456, 457. *Burnet*. p. 128. The Convocation of Canterbury and York decide the Points about the Divorce for the King. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 454, 455. *Burnet*.

Francis sends *de Bellay* to London. *Bellay*, *Mezerai*, *Herbert*.

Henry imparts his Marriage to *Bellay*. *Herbert*.

Herbert. p. 168. *Strype's* Mem. p. 149.

He makes it publick.

Remark on that Subject.

Cranmer cites the Queen, and upon her not appearing the Causes Sen- tences. *Herbert*, *Burnet*, *Hall*. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 462, 463.

This affair being ended, the King required the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* to give their opinion upon these two points. First, whether *Pope Julius's* dispensation for the King's Marriage with *Catherine* was sufficient, and able to render such a Marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was sufficiently proved that *Arthur* had consummated his Marriage with *Catherine*? Whereupon, the Convocation declared on the 5th of *April*, that the Pope had not power to dispense contrary to the Law of God, and that the Consummation of *Arthur's* Marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The Convocation of *York* made the like decision the 13th of *May* following.

Whilst the Clergy were employed in debating these points, *Henry* writ to *Francis*, desiring him to send a trusty Person, to whom he might discover some things which he would not make publick. Whereupon *Francis* sent *William de Bellay* Lord of *Langeais*, ordering him to acquaint the King, that he had concluded a Marriage between his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Catherine de Medici*, and that the Pope and himself were to meet at *Marseilles*, to celebrate the Nuptials: That in such a juncture he believed his presence would be very necessary to negotiate his own affairs himself with the Pope; but in case he did not think proper to be at the Interview, he would do well to send some person on his part. *Langeais* being come to London, the King told him, that *Clement VII* having obstinately refused to appoint him Judges in England, he had determined at length to proceed; and therefore had already espoused *Ann Bullen*, with a resolution to have his marriage nulled by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. That however, he would keep his second marriage private till *May*, to see what the King of France could do with the Bishop of *Rome* (for so he called the Pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his design was to withdraw himself wholly from the Papal authority. He imagined then, the Pope and *Francis* would meet in *May*, but it was not till *October*. He told *Langeais* further, that he had composed a Treatise upon the Incroachments of the Bishops of *Rome*, and the Prerogatives of sovereign Princes; but would not publish it, till he saw no hopes of reconciliation.

Shortly after, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was made publick, which certainly was very wrong. Since the King was resolved to have his first Marriage nulled by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he should have staid till the Sentence was pronounced. All that can be said in excuse of this irregular conduct, is, that the new Queen was four months gone with Child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But notwithstanding this, the King might have caused his first Marriage to be nulled a little sooner, or the second to be published a little later, since there was but a month between the publication and the sentence. However this be, *Henry* despairing to prevail with the Pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the Publick, being almost assured of succeeding in whatever he undertook, considering how the People stood affected. In short, being fully determined to end the affair, he so ordered, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded his leave to summon Queen *Catherine*. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once to persuade the Queen to consent to the Divorce. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the Archbishop the leave he desired. The Queen was therefore cited to appear at *Dunstable*, in the neighbourhood of the place where she resided, the 20th of *May* (2). But as she refused to appear, the Archbishop gave Sentence the 23d of the same month, declaring the King's Marriage with

Catherine null, as being contrary to the Law of God. On the 28th [at *Lambeth*] by another Sentence, he confirmed the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen*, and on the 1st of *June* the new Queen was crowned.

1533. and confirms the King's second Marriage. *Reflexions on the King's Conduct*. *Burnet*.

Thus ended this famous Process, the issue whereof afforded no less matter for divers reflections than the beginning, every one reasoning, as swayed by prejudice or interest. Those who were against the King took notice of his error in espousing a second Wife, before his first Marriage was legally dissolved. They said moreover, that of all the Prelates in England, *Cranmer* was the last that should have been chosen for Judge, since he had so openly declared against the first Marriage. That his partiality was apparent, not only in his haste to give Sentence, but also in his confirming the King's second Marriage, which had been consummated whilst the first still subsisted.

Those who were for the King, affirmed, the Sentence was but a mere formality, which rendered not the Marriage void, but only declared it so. That it sufficed, the Sentence was conformable to the determinations of the English Clergy, and all the Universities in Europe, and to the sentiments of the Pope himself, who would have nulled the Marriage, had he not been biassed by worldly considerations. They justified *Cranmer*, by alledging, that having changed his Character since his declaring for the Divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being Judge, no more than a Lawyer when he comes to sit on the Bench is debarred the trying of Causes in which he formerly gave Counsel. That though there were some default in the Form, it could not be denied, the Sentence was just in itself, which was sufficient to quiet the King's Conscience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new Queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, since she proved not with Child till after her Marriage, whether the King espoused her in *November* last year, or in the *January* following. As for Queen *Catherine*, it could not be thought strange that she should maintain the validity of her second Marriage. But it was justly wondered at, she should so obstinately deny the Consummation of the first, which was proved by all possible evidence. But as most people were then biassed on one side or other (3), we are not to judge of this affair by what was published in those days, but by Reason and Equity. Let us therefore briefly consider it in that view, independently of the prejudices caused by the consequences. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the Reader, to see here a short Recapitulation of the conduct of the chief Actors in this Scene. I shall confine myself to this, without fully examining the Process, which is not so much the business of a Historian as of a Divine or Civilian.

It is almost impossible to know positively, whether *Henry*, when he undertook the affair of the Divorce, was convinced that his Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, or at least, really troubled in Conscience upon that account. All that can be said in his favour, is, that he himself affirmed as much, and none but the searcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he spoke. It cannot be denied, that the sole consideration of such a Marriage is of itself capable of breeding such scruples, especially as the King's might be confirmed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury's*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln's* his Confessor. But, on the other hand, it may be conjectured from several circumstances, that it was only a pretence to put away *Catherine*, and marry *Ann Bullen*. In the first place, he had lived eighteen years with the Queen, without showing any scruple. In the second place, if he was not in love with *Ann Bullen*, when his scruples first seized him, it cannot be denied, he was very much so, when he most ardently pressed the affair of the Divorce. So, it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief, what at first was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably it was Cardinal *Wolsey* that inspired, by himself or another, the King with these scruples, to be revenged of the Emperor and the Queen. This bold and daring Minister imagined, either the affair would easily succeed, considering his great credit at the Court of *Rome*, or in case of opposition, it would be no more difficult on this than on several other occasions, to cause the King to alter his mind. But *Henry's* Love unexpectedly happening, *Wolsey* found he had taken wrong measures. Besides, the determinations of the Universities did not a little con-

Reasons alledged for the King.

Remarks upon the Process of the Divorce, and the Conduct of the principal Parties. Upon the King.

(1) This Protestation imported, That he did not intend by that Oath, to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his Duty to God, to the King, or the Country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of those. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 129.

(2) The Archbishop went to *Dunstable* (about six Miles from *Amptenham* where the Queen was) accompanied with *Gi. Lee* Bishop of *Worcester*, and the bishops of *London*, *Barby*, and *Lincoln*, the King appearing by Proxy, but the Queen not at all. Upon which she was declared contumacious, and a second and third Citation were issued out. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legate of the Condemnation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* were read. After that, the Determinations of the Universities, Divines, and Canonists, with the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were produced, and the whole Merit of the Cause was opened. And then on the 23d, with the Advice of all that were present, it was declared, that the Marriage had been only *de jure*, and not *de facto*, and consequently null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, that the Archbishop is called in the Sentence, *The Legate of the Apostolical See*. Whether this went of course as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. *Burnet*, T. 1. p. 131. *Hall*, fol. 210.

(3) The Men generally spoke in behalf of the King, and the Women took the Queen's part. *Hall*, fol. 199.

1533. tribute, without doubt, to confirm the King in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry whether Henry was satisfied of the justice of his Cause, let us consider, in few words, how he behaved in so nice an affair. He supposed, that Julius II could not grant a dispensation for his Marriage, and consequently the Marriage was void of itself. And yet, he thought he wanted Clement VII's Bull to declare it so. Herein was a contradiction which could not but greatly embarrass him. If Julius's dispensation was null by the Law of God, it was needless to revoke it; and if a revocation was necessary, consequently it was good till revoked. Thus, Henry was bound, till the Pope should please to decide the point. Wherefore, when Cranmer had given him another notion of this affair, by intimating to him, that, independently of the power assumed by the Pope, the chief thing was to be assured of the Right, by the opinions of the Learned, he cried out in a transport of joy, *He had got at last the right Sow by the ear*; that is, he found in Cranmer's advice a Solution of the difficulties, he could not get clear of, in following the doubtful Principle of the Pope's power, because its extent was not settled. He resolved therefore to procure the opinions of the Universities. But at length, weighing the consequences of a rupture with Rome, he refused the first way, and applied again to the Pope. By this he wronged his Cause very much; for in taking the Pope for Judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge. But he was excusable, since it was hardly possible to throw off at once his prejudice with respect to the Papal power, whereof he had not at first so clear an Idea as afterwards. Then, finding the Pope acted only from worldly considerations, which hindered him from giving him the satisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left. So, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the Universities, he caused his Marriage to be declared null, without regarding the Pope's authority, which he was resolved to forsake. I omit the Reasons he alledged to prove the necessity of his Divorce. That of Conscience was doubtless the best, if sincere. That relating to the uncertainty of the Succession was proper to demand a Sentence, but not to ground the Divorce upon; because the Divorce supposed the Marriage void, which was to be judged.

Remarks on
the Pope.

Let us now consider the Pope's conduct, where we find nothing favoring of Christ's Vicar. Clement VII never examined the Case by the maxims of Religion, Justice, or Equity, but always with respect to his own or his Family's interest. If he had attended to what Religion required, he would have examined, whether Henry's Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, and whether, in that case, a Pope had power to grant a dispensation. If he had been convinced that Julius II assumed a Right which belonged not to him, he should have readily granted Henry the Bull he demanded. But if, on the contrary, he was persuaded, the Marriage was agreeable to the divine Law, or not being so, it was in the power of a Pope to grant a dispensation, he should have confirmed it, and tried to remove the King's scruples, without seeking so many evasions. That was the duty of a Pope. But instead of acting in this manner, he considered only what good or hurt might accrue to him from the King's demand, independently of the justice or injustice of the thing. Whilst he was Prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, or Fugitive at Orvieto, and thought he stood in need of Henry, he positively promised to content him. Afterwards, he only amused him, till, by the Emperor's means, he had recovered Florence. As soon as he was in possession of that State, which he had so much desired, he avocated the Process to Rome, but, in all appearance, with intent never to decide it, if he could help it; because whilst the two Parties remained uncertain of the decision, he made himself necessary to both. Can it therefore be said, there was any sign of Justice or Religion in his proceedings? Certainly, if Henry was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign scruples on purpose to gratify his passion, Clement was no less so, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was begun, or to content him in case his scruples were well-grounded. Though Henry had acted only through passion, which is however very uncertain, he would have been much more excusable than the Pope, who, in the Post he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different Principles.

(1) Sanders has assured the World, That the King liking her Mother, sent her Husband Sir Thomas Bullen Ambassador to France, and in his Absence begot Ann Bullen upon his Wife. At his Return, he sued a Divorce against her in the Archbishop's Court, but the King letting him know she was with Child by him, he was, upon the King's desire, reconciled to his Wife. Thus Ann Bullen, though she went under the name of Sir Thomas's Daughter, yet was of the King's begetting. A. he describes her, she was ill-shaped and ugly, had six Fingers, a Gag-Tooth, and a Tumour under her Chin. At fifteen Years of Age, he says, both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her; and when in France she led such a dissolute Life, that she was called the English Hackney. That the French King liking her, she was called the King's Mule. But returning to England, she gained the King's Affection by the appearance of a severe Virtue with which she disguised herself. The same Author adds, that the King had likewise enjoyed her Sister, with a great deal more to the Disgrace of this Lady and her Family. Hence we may see to what a height of Rancour and Malice Envy and blind Zeal in religious Matters are capable of carrying a Man! Bournet, T. I. p. 41.

(2) September 7, of the Princess Elizabeth, which afterwards mounted the Throne. Hall, fol. 217. Strapp, &c.

As for the Emperor, he undoubtedly acted in this affair from motives of Honour, Interest, and Policy, without Justice or Religion being concerned in his Proceedings. He looked upon the Queen of England, his Aunt's Divorce, as a dishonor, which, added to his interest to create Henry troubles, who was in strict alliance with France, was but too capable of inducing him to obstruct it to the utmost of his power.

As for Queen Catherine, very probably, she acted with Sincerity. As she believed the Pope's authority unlimited, she thought herself the King's lawful Wife, and in that belief, did not think herself obliged to resign her Right to another, on pretence of the King her Husband's scruples, which, in her opinion, were groundless. Besides, she could not own her Marriage null, without greatly injuring her Daughter the Princess Mary. Though she had been convinced her Marriage was lawful in itself, she believed the Pope had power to render it valid, being ready however to submit to the same authority as from as it should be declared. Nevertheless, she may be justly suspected of having taken a false Oath, to make her cause better.

Much has been said against Ann Bullen. But without going into insinuating upon Sanders's Invektives, which have been sufficiently refuted (1), she can be charged, before Marriage, but with one single Fault, namely, her yielding to the King before his Marriage with Catherine was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young Lady of her rank, to have resolution enough to resist the temptation of being a Queen, if she could be so lawfully, as it is likely the King made her believe. It cannot however be said, she yielded to the King's desires before her Marriage. He espoused her at the latest in January, and she was not brought to bed till September (2). So there is nothing in that which can give occasion for any suspicion.

As for the rest who were concerned in this affair, as the Cardinals, and the King's, and the Emperor's Ministers, it may be affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to Religion.

It cannot be said, the Universities of France and England decided the Questions proposed with entire freedom, since it is known what an influence Sovereigns have upon the actions of their Subjects, when they are concerned. As to the Universities of Italy, both Parties accused one another of having corrupted them, the one by Money, and the other by Threats. As for the English Clergy, they had lately received such a Check, that they had reason to dread giving the King a fresh occasion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their Sentiments, since it often happens, the truth is not opposite to our interest. The same may be said of Cranmer, who being now tinctured with Luther's Doctrine, could not look upon Julius's dispensation as capable of rendering a Marriage valid, which in itself was null and repugnant to the Law of God. Indeed, he may have earnestly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the Papal Authority, in order to promote the Reformation. But it cannot be affirmed, that he acted against his knowledge, in pronouncing the Sentence of Divorce. At least, his whole behaviour was directly opposite to such obliquities.

By what has been said, it may be easily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a case of Conscience, very few of the Actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of Religion. Nevertheless, God who directs all the actions of Men, without their knowing very often themselves to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of Henry, Clement, and Charles, the end he designed, that is, the Reformation of the Church of England, as will be seen in the sequel. If any one desires fully to examine the case of Henry VIII's Divorce, he would do well to cast off all prejudice, and take care not to be misled by the Authors who have writ on this subject. But if a Man is contented with examining it historically, he is to consider only the political views of the principal Actors.

The sentence of Divorce being made publick, Henry took care to acquaint Catherine with it, by the Lord Mountjoy, who tried in vain to persuade her to submit. She still remained inflexible, affirming, she would be the King's Wife till the Pope had nulled the Marriage. This answer being brought to the King, he ordered her to be filled only Princess Dowager of Wales. But she

Catherine
remains in-
flexible.
Bournet.
Hall.
Hibbert.
She is to be
Princess Dow-
ager.
A. p. 41.
XIV. p. 432.

1533

Henry 8.
in his
Marriage
with the Em-
per.
Herbert.
Burnet.
The Pope
nulls the
Archbishop's
Sentence.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Houlingsh.

The Pope
gives a
Communa-
tion Sen-
tence against
the King.

The Pope's
Design in
the Inter-
view of
Marfeilles.

Burnet.
T. III.

Henry's De-
sign.

He sends the
Duke of
Norfolk to
Marfeilles.
Hall.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Houlingsh.

He recalls
him.

Gardiner,
Brown, and
Bonner, are
sent to Mar-
feilles.

The Duke of
Orleans's
Marriage.

The Pope
promises
Francis to
confer
Henry.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Bonner ac-
quaints the
Pope with
the King's
Appeal.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 476.
Herbert.
Burnet.

ended to be served by any that would not treat her as Queen, and the King thought not fit to remove such as would show her that respect (1). Shortly after, he notified his Divorce, and new Marriage to all the Sovereigns, and particularly to the Emperor, who coldly told the English Ambassador (2), he would consider what he was to do in the case.

The news of the King's Marriage, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's Sentence having reached Rome, the Pope was extremely angry with Henry, and the more, as a Copy of his Book against the Papal authority had now appeared in Rome itself. The Cardinals of the Imperial Faction improving this occasion, very earnestly pressed him to give sentence against the King, remonstrating to him, that if he refused not such an affront, the authority of the Holy See would be at an end. These Remonstrances produced their effect. The Pope nulls the Archbishop's Sentence, and declared that the King himself was liable to Excommunication, unless, by September next, he restored the Cause to its former state (3). He contented himself for this time with only threatening him, because he did not yet despair of reclaiming him by the King of France's means, with whom he was going to confer at Marfeilles.

The Pope's aim in this Interview was, first to celebrate the Nuptials between Catherine his Niece, and the Duke of Orleans. In the next place, to devise with Francis some expedient to adjust his differences with the King of England, or if that could not be done, to disengage Francis from Henry's interest. Francis wished with all his heart, that some way might be found to reconcile them, because he hoped to join in a League with both, the more easily to recover the Duchy of Milan. Henry had used his utmost endeavors to dissuade him from this Interview, being apprehensive it would produce between Francis and Clement an Union which could not but be to his prejudice (4). He had ever reckoned that Francis would act in concert with him to frighten the Pope, and that their menaces would induce him at last to give him the satisfaction he required. But perceiving he could not prevail, he had published his Marriage. From that time, he was fully bent to widen the breach with Rome, unless the Pope and the King of France should find, during their Interview, some satisfactory expedient, for which he was very willing to wait. Mean while, he sent the Duke of Norfolk (5) in Embassy to Francis, with orders to accompany him to Marfeilles, and see whether there was yet any hopes of agreement.

The Duke of Norfolk coming to the French Court the 1st of July, waited upon the King who was then on his Journey to Marfeilles (6), intending however to make some stay in Languedoc, before he went to the Congress. He accompanied him some time, but hearing, the beginning of August, what was done at Rome against the King his Master, would have returned, imagining his presence would be of little service at Marfeilles. Nevertheless, at the King of France's solicitation, he contented himself with sending the Lord Rochfort for fresh instructions from the King, who immediately recalled him. However, Francis so artfully managed Henry, that he persuaded him to send some Person to Marfeilles, to be a witness of what should pass at the Interview. Henry made choice of Stephen Gardiner, [Sir John Wallop] and Sir Francis Brian, with Edmund Bonner, a very proper Person to execute the orders he gave him.

The Pope and Francis met at Marfeilles the beginning of October, and within a few days, the Duke of Orleans consummated his Marriage with Catherine de Medici (7). This affair being ended, Francis solicited the Pope in behalf of the King of England, and prevailed with him at last to give Henry entire satisfaction; but, to save the honor of the Holy See, he would judge the cause himself in a Consistory, from which the Cardinals of the Emperor's Faction should be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But Bonner, to whom doubtless it was not thought

fit to discover this secret, demanding an Audience of the Pope (8), acquainted him with the King his Master's Appeal to the next General Council, from the sentence given or to be given against him. The Pope told him, before he declared himself, he would advise with the Cardinals that were with him. Some days after (9), having sent for Bonner, he gave him for answer, that according to the opinion of the Cardinals, the Appeal was unlawful. Bonner, without being surprized at this answer, acquainted him in the same manner with the like Appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the sentence which nulls his judgment for the Divorce. This put the Pope into such a rage, that he talked of throwing Bonner into a Cauldron of melted Lead (10). Guicciardini says, Francis was so offended with Bonner's insolence, that he offered the Pope to do all that lay in his power to procure him satisfaction for this affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

Clement departed from Marfeilles the 12th of November, as much pleased with the King of France as he was dissatisfied with Henry. Mean while, Francis not despairing yet to adjust this affair, sent into England John de Bellay Bishop of Paris, to propound new expedients to the King. This Prelate, who had resided some time at the Court of England as Ambassador, wrought so with Henry, that he persuaded him at length to agree to an expedient he proposed to him (11). So, pleased with having obtained more than he durst have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news himself to the Pope, though it was then in the depth of Winter. He found the Pope inclined to do what he could to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a positive promise, that the cause should be judged at Cambray by such as the King of England should have no reason to except against. But Clement not trusting entirely to a verbal promise, desired to have it under the King's own hand, that he approved of what was concerted. Moreover, to avoid all delays and evasions, he fixed the day for the return of the Courier, who was to be sent into England.

This weighty affair being thus upon the point of conclusion, the Emperor's Agents were very urgent with the Pope to revoke his engagement; but he told them he had given his word. However, they repeated their instances with such earnestness, that at length they got him to promise, if Henry's answer came not by the time appointed, he should think himself disengaged. The Courier not returning on the day appointed, the Imperialists pressed the Pope to give sentence against Henry, representing to him that he was amused, and threatening him with the Emperor's resentment. In short, they so ardently solicited him, that though the Bishop of Paris only desired a delay of six days, he could not obtain it. The Pope, frightened by the menaces of the Imperialists, was so entirely devoted to them, that what should have been done, according to the usual forms, in three Consistories, was done in one. In a word, the Pope, without staying for an answer from England, published a sentence (12), declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine good and lawful, and requiring him to take his Wife again, with denunciation of Censures in case of disobedience. Two days after came the Courier with full Powers for the Bishop of Paris, as the Pope had desired. Several Cardinals moved to revoke what had been done; but the Emperor's Party pressed him so closely, that the motion was rejected. Thus the Pope, who had amused the King for six years by affected delays, could not be persuaded to grant him six days, and by this precipitation, was the cause of the Romish Church's loss of the Kingdom of England.

It must however be confessed, that it is very difficult to conceive what the King's view was in the agreement he pretended to make with the Pope. Can it be supposed he meant to quit his newly acquired Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England? But he appeared so jealous, during the rest of his days, of this Supremacy,

(1) William Blount Lord Mountjoy was to mix Promises with Threats, particularly concerning Catherine's Daughter's being put next Queen Anne's Issue in the Succession. But all would not do. She said, she would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such an Infamy: That she was his Wife, and would never call herself by any other Name, since the Prince's still depended at Rome. Mountjoy having written a Relation of what had passed between him and her, showed it her; but she dashed with a Pen all those Places in which she was called *Princess Dowager*. Burnet, T. I. p. 132.

(2) Sir Thomas Wiat.
(3) The more moderate Cardinals were for finding a Temper, that the Sentence should not be definitive, but should be given upon what had been attempted in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, (which in the title of the Canon Law, was called the *Attentates*;) and it was done accordingly. The sentence was affixed soon after at Dunkirk. Burnet, T. I. p. 133. Herbert, p. 172.

(4) Francis acquainted King Henry, that his chief design in this Interview, was to serve him; but Henry replied, That he was so sure of his Nobility and Commons, that he had no Apprehension of any thing the Pope could do. Burnet, T. I. p. 72.

(5) Together with George Bullen Lord Rochford, Sir William Paulet, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Francis Brian, attended with a hundred and fifty Horse. Hall, fol. 211. Herbert, p. 168.

(6) And endeavored to dissuade him from the Interview and Marriage proposed, or, at least, to suspend it till the Pope had given our King Satisfaction; offering also Aid for a War in Piedmont, if he would suffer no more Money to go out of his Realm to Rome, and instead of the Pope to erect a Patriarch. Herbert, p. 160.

(7) The Pope himself married the young Couple. Herbert, p. 170.

(8) November 7. Ibid.

(9) Or burning him alive. Burnet, T. I. p. 134.

(11) Namely, That if the Pope would put of the Execution of his Sentence, until he had indifferent Judges sent, who might hear the Parties, he would also defer the Execution of what he was inclined to do in withdrawing his Obedience from the Roman See. Herbert, p. 173.

(12) On the 23d of March. Burnet, T. I. p. 139.

1533.

The Pope
rejects it.

Bonner no-
tifies Cran-
mer's Ap-
peal.
The Pope
threatens
him.
Burnet.

The Bishop
of Paris is
sent to
Henry with
fresh Expe-
dients.
Herbert.
Henry ac-
cepts them.
Burnet.

The Bishop
goes to
Rome.
Herbert.
Burnet.

The Pope
desires the
King's Ap-
probation in
writing.
He fixes the
Day for an
Answer.
The Empe-
ror's Agents
press the Pope to
retract.
Burnet.

The Pope
refuses a
Delay of six
Days.
Herbert.
Burnet.

He publishes
a Sentence
against
Henry.

The Courier
returns, just
after.
The Pope
refuses to
revoke the
Sentence.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Remark on
the King's
Conduct.

1533.

which kept the Clergy in awe, whereas before, the Clergy depended more on the Pope than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this Prerogative. And yet, how could the King's supremacy subsist in case he agreed with the Pope? Or how could the Pope resolve to content him with respect to his Divorce, without requiring him to resign his Supremacy? Certainly it is impossible to reconcile these two things; which gives occasion to suspect, the King acted not with sincerity in his pretended agreement with the Pope, and after having justified his Divorce by the Sentence he would have obtained from him, meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This suspicion is confirmed by what passed in *England*, at the very time the King dispatched the Courier to *Rome*, with the engagement the Pope had desired. I have observed that the Bishop of *Paris* went post from *London* about the end of *December*; that upon his arrival at *Rome* he sent a Courier to the King to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the Pope; and that the King sent back the same Courier with his approbation. Now what speed soever the Bishop and Courier could make, it is impossible the Courier could return to *Rome* before the middle of *January*. But at the very time the King dispatched the Courier, he held at *Westminster* a Parliament, where Acts were passed directly contrary to the agreement he seemed to desire (1).

Burnet,
T. III. p. 92.

1534.

Purliament
Herbert.
Hall.
Burnet.
Act to take
from the
Clergy the
Cognizance of
Heresy.

The Parliament meeting the fifteenth of *January* 1534, opened the Session with repealing the Statute of *Henry IV* against Hereticks. This was not with design to exempt them from the penalties in that Statute, since it was enacted in this that they should be burned, but only to hinder the Clergy from being sole judges in causes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new Act, whereby, for the future, Hereticks were to be prosecuted and tried according to the Laws of the Land, without any regard to the Canon Law (2).

Another
Statute,
whereby the
King is im-
powered to
name thirty-
two Commis-
sioners to re-
form the
Canons.

By another Statute, which the Parliament passed at the same time, it was enacted, First, That all Convocations should be called for the future by the King's Writ. Secondly, That the King should name thirty two Persons, sixteen of both Houses of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy, to examine the Canons and Constitutions of the Church, with power to abrogate or confirm such as they thought fit. As it is certain the Parliament acted by the directions of the Court, it may easily be conceived the King was not much inclined to agree with the Pope, tho' by the engagement he did send, or had already sent, to *Rome*, he seemed resolved.

Act of At-
tainer
against Eli-
zabeth Bar-
ton.
Hall.
Burnet.

Here is another argument of the little regard *Henry* had for the Pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his desires. Before the news came to *England* of the sentence against the King, the Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, who pretending to be inspired, foretold, that if the King married *Ann Bullen* he should not be a King a month longer. This Nun having been wrought upon and instructed by a certain Curate, counterfeited the Prophetess, and mixed, with her Predictions, invectives against the King's proceedings in the affair of the Divorce, and threats against his chief Counsellors. Several *Franciscans* countenanced her pretended Revelations, so that she was in great repute with the People; nay, Archbishop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, and *John Fisher* Bishop of

Rochester, were deceived with the rest. But at length, the Nun and her Accomplices being apprehended by the King's order, the affair was so carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was discovered, and the counterfeit Prophetess condemned to die, with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noise, the King was pleased it should be brought before the Parliament, to render their condemnation more authentick. Sanders; Burnet, would fain reckon this Nun and her Accomplices for Martyrs, though their own confessions sufficiently justified their condemnation (3). If the King had really intended to be reconciled to the Court of *Rome*, nothing could be more unseasonable than to pass this Act, when the affair of the Divorce seemed to be upon the point of being adjusted to his satisfaction.

Whilst the Parliament was employed in these matters, *Henry* received news of the Sentence (4) given and published against him at *Rome*, with all the circumstances, demonstrating the little regard the Pope had for his Person and Dignity. These hasty proceedings convincing him there was nothing more to be expected from *Rome*, he no longer delayed to execute his resolution to break off all correspondence with the Pope. The Parliament was no less offended than the King with the Pope's conduct. So, the whole Legislature, being in the same mind, resolved utterly to abolish the papal authority in *England*. After what *Clement* had done, there was no other way; it was necessary either to withstand him vigorously, or prepare to endure all the severities and indignities, to which *England* was liable in the Reigns of *Henry II.* and *John Lackland*. But the times were altered. The *English* were no longer willing to submit to the base actions required, by the Popes, of their Ancestors, neither was the King's interest different from that of his Subjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the Pope's yoke, it was deemed more honorable to demolish at once that formidable power, under which the Kingdom had so long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would of itself be reduced within due bounds. It may be easily judged, the favourers of the new Religion were not sparing of their pains to bring things to this State. The resolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days an Act was passed containing sundry Articles, all tending to the same point.

The first confirmed the Statute for abolishing the Annates, or First-Fruits. Act abolishing the Papal Authority.

By the second it was enacted, that for the future, the Pope shall have nothing to do in the nominating or presenting of Bishops; but that, when a Bishoprick shall become vacant, the King shall send to the Chapter a *Congé d'elire*, and in case the election shall not be over within twelve days after the License, it shall belong to the King. That the Bishop elect shall swear fealty to the King, and then be recommended by his Majesty to the Archbishop to be consecrated. That if the Bishop elect or Archbishop refuse to obey the contents of this Act, they shall be liable to the penalty of *Præmunire*. Moreover, all Persons were expressly forbid to apply to the Bishop of *Rome* for Bulls, Palls, and the like.

By another Act, were abolished, Peter-Pence, all Procurations, Delegations, expeditions of Bulls, and Dispensations coming from the Court of *Rome*; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was appointed to grant all such Dispensations, &c. as should not be contrary to the Law Statut. c. 21.

(1) This Year, on *June* 24, died *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*, and Wife of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. Hall, fol. 327.

(2) By the Statute of *Henry IV*, Bishops might, upon Suspicion of Heresy, commit any Person to Prison, without Pretence of Accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other Cases. Therefore the Statute of *Henry IV* was repealed, but those of *Richard II.* and *Henry V.* were left still in force, with the following Regulation: That Hereticks should be proceeded against upon Presentments, by two Witnesses at least, and then committed, if brought to answer to their Indictments in open Court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were Relapsed, to be adjudged to Death; the King's Writ *De Heretico comburendo* being first had. The Act is the fourteenth in the Statute Book, thirty third in the *Reynolds*, thirty first in the *Journal*. It may easily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, since it was an effectual Limitation of the Ecclesiastical Power, in one of the most uneasy Parts of it. And this Regulation of the arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular Blessing to the Favourers of the Reformation. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 147.

(3) *Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Parish of *Aldington*, being troubled with a sort of *Hysterial Fits*, which distorted her Limbs, so, that People began to think her inspired of God, was persuaded by *Richard May*, the Parish Priest, who hoped to draw great Advantages from it, to pretend to Prophecy and supernatural Impulse. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit *Joan*, and to utter Speeches against the Wickedness of the Times, particularly against *Henry* and *Innovation*. At length she gave out, that on such a Day she should be perfectly cured, if she went in Pilgrimage to the Image of the blessed *Virgin* in a Chapel within the Parish of *Aldington*, the Reputation whereof the crafty Priest had a mind to raise. On the Day appointed above two thousand People were gathered together to see the miraculous Cure. Being brought to the Chapel, she fell into one of her Fits, and spoke many Words of great Piety, saying, That by the Inspiration of God she was called to be a Nun, and that *Doctor Bocking* (a Canon of *Chesham Church* in *Canterbury*, an infirmity of the Priest's wife, her gossip's Father. Presently after she seemed, by the Intercession of *our Lady*, to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a Nun in the Priory of *St. Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, where *Bocking* frequently visited her. He with some others being apprehensive the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* might be detrimental to the *Papish* Religion, persuaded the Nun to menace the King with Death. The Friars that were in the Convent, had agreed to publish these Revelations in their Sermons up and down the Kingdom. They had given notice of them to the Pope's Ambassadors, and brought the Nun to declare her Revelations to them. They had also sent an account to Queen *Catherine*, for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the Laws. The King, who had despised the thing long, ordered, that in *November* the last Year, the Maid and her Complices should be brought into the *Star Chamber*, where, before many Lords, they all without Rack or Torture confessed the whole Cheat, and were adjudged to stand in *St. Paul's* all the Sermon time, after which, every one on the *Sunday* following read his Confession openly before the People. Then they were carried to the *Tower*, where they lay till the Session of Parliament. The Matter being brought before the House, the Nun, *Richard Myer*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Dering*, *Henry Gold* a *London* Minister, *Richard Raby*, were attainted of High-Treason, and executed at *Tyburn*, April 21. The Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas Abel*, and four more, were judged guilty of Murther of Treason, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during Pleasure. The wicked Designs of this Impudent Maid much alienated People from the Interest of *Rome*, and made the other Acts both pass more easily, and be better received by the People. It was also generally believed, that what was now uncovered was no new Practice, but that many of the Visions and Miracles by which religious Orders had raised their Credit, were of the same Nature; and it made way for the destroying of all the Monasteries in *England*. Bishop *Fisher* pleaded in his Excuse, that all he did was only to try whether her Revelations were true. And for his concealing what she had told him about the King, he thought it needless to say any thing, because she (as he said) had told it to the King herself. So he refused to make any Submission; and yet it does not appear that the King proceeded against him upon this Act. See Hall, fol. 219, &c. *Stow*, p. 570. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 147.

(4) From *Edward Carne* and *William Reant*, who were employed to solicit this important Business. Herbert, p. 173.

1534. of God, on condition that part of the Money thence arising should be paid into the King's Exchequer (1). Moreover, all Religious Houses, exempt and not exempt, should be subject to the Archbishop's Visitation (2).

1534. By another Act, it was enacted, that the King's Marriage with *Catherine*, Widow of his Brother Prince *Arthur*, should be held null and void, and that she should be reputed only Princess Dowager of *Wales*. On the contrary, the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* is declared valid, and the Succession to the Crown settled upon their Issue. Moreover, it is said, that any Person of what quality soever, who shall speak or write against the King's Marriage, shall be adjudged a Traitor to the King and State, and that all the King's Subjects, without distinction, shall be obliged to swear, they will observe and maintain the contents of this Act. After this, follows a List of the Marriages forbid by the Law of God, among which is that of a Man with his Brother's Widow; and it was enacted, that no such Marriages should be allowed for the future, and that such as were then in being should be dissolved.

The People rejoice at it. Thus was the papal authority abolished in *England* by Act of Parliament. Indeed, there were few Bishops and Abbots present when the Act passed (3). However, there was but one single Bishop who refused to set his name to it, because they made a great difference between submitting to an Act passed by a lawful Authority, and giving their vote for it. The generality of the People expressed great joy to see themselves freed from a yoke, which neither they nor their Forefathers could bear. None but the Monks exclaimed against it, and drew upon themselves the King's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Those who wished for the Reformation were highly pleased to see the main obstacle removed, believing the rest would quickly follow. But this Reformation, which they so impatiently expected, made not, in this Reign, all the Progress, they imagined they had reason to hope.

Oath taken by the Subjects in 1534. The Parliament breaking up the 30th of *March* (4), after all the Members had sworn to observe what was enjoined in the fore-mentioned Act, the King sent Commissioners throughout the Kingdom, to administer the same Oath to all his Subjects. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* contains the Oaths of several Abbots and Fryers of all Orders to this effect: That they would be faithful to the King, the Queen, their Heirs and Successors: That they owned the King for supreme Head of the Church of *England*: That the Bishop of *Rome* has no more jurisdiction than any other Bishop: That they renounced his Obedience: That they would preach sincerely Doctrines agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: That in their Prayers, they would pray first for the King as supreme Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen [and her Issue,] and lastly for the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (5). Some time after, *Lee* Archbishop of *York* certified by a writing of the 5th of *May*, that in the Convocation of his Province it was declared, the Pope had no more power in *England* than any other Bishop. Only *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More* late Chancellor, refused to sign the Act of Parliament, which, as has been seen, contained three prin-

cipal Articles; the succession of the Crown, the nullity of the King's first Marriage, with the validity of his second, and the abolishment of the Papal authority. They offered to sign the first Article; but for the other two, they said, their Conscience would not suffer them to consent to them, whereupon they were committed to the Tower (6).

Henry de-
quarrelled
with
the
Parliament.
Herbert.
p. 175.
The Queen's Answer.
Whilst these Oaths were administering throughout the Kingdom, the King sent the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Durham* (7) to tell *Catherine*, the most forbear assuming the Title of Queen, and lay before her the reasons that moved the Parliament to deprive her of it. But she replied, She believed her Marriage with the King good and lawful, and should hold it as such to her dying day: That she had never consummated her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*; and they who affirmed it, spoke not the truth: That she was not bound to submit to the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Sentence, since the Pope had nullified it, and decreed the contrary (8): That the King's Marriage with *Ann* was not valid, as being made during the Appeal: That she was not obliged to submit to the Acts of the Parliament, not being the King's Subject, but his Wife: That besides, these Acts were made by the King's Subjects, upon an affair wherein he was party.

N. relation between Francis and Henry. Herbert.
Tho' *Henry* would have been very glad of *Catherine's* submission to what the Parliament had enacted, it was not her obstinacy that gave him the most uneasiness. The Emperor having undertaken to execute the Pope's sentence, *Henry* was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himself in a state of defence, he desired to make a League with the King of *France*, by a new Treaty, which should render their union more effectual for their common defence. *Francis* seemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the Terms should be to his advantage, and to make *Henry* subservient to his designs elsewhere. He had still an eye upon the Duchy of *Milan*, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjustly taken from him, and designed to recover it, though he had expressly renounced it by the Treaty of *Cambray*. To this end he had sacrificed the honour of his House, in marrying his second Son to a Bastard-Branch of the Family of the *Medici*, because he did not think he could proceed without the Pope. But on the other hand, he was afraid of losing the fruit of that Alliance, by uniting too closely with the King of *England*, whom the Pope could now consider but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to persuade *Henry* to act only privately, by sending large Sums to the *German* Protestants, to foment the dissension between them and the Emperor, and embroil him so, as to hinder him from thinking of *Italy*. *Henry* did not absolutely reject the Proposal. He was very willing to assist the Protestants with a good sum of Money: but pretended withal, that *Francis* should attack *Navarre* with a powerful Army, whilst on his part he carried War into *Flanders*. But *Francis* could not resolve to join so openly with *England*, for fear of offending the Pope. Besides, he turned all his thoughts to the *Milanese*, where an accident, about the end of the last year, gave him an opportunity to carry his Arms. As this accident was the

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 492.

Fisher and More refuse to take the Oath, and are sent to the Tower.
Herbert.
Strype.
Burnet.

(1) All Dispensations formerly taxed at or above four Pounds, should be also confirmed under the Great Seal.
(2) All Monasteries, &c. heretofore exempt from the Archbishop's Visitation, were still to be so, and such Abbots whose Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, were now to be confirmed by the King. See the Act, being 21 in the *Statute-Book*, 27 in the *Record*, and 3 in the *Journal*.

(3) There were present only the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaff*, and *Carlisle*, with twelve Abbots. *Burnet*, *T. I.* p. 144.

(4) Besides the Acts mentioned above, there were others of some Importance made; namely, 1. That Persons indicted of Petit-Treason, wilful Murder, Robbery, or other Felony, and upon their Arraignment standing mute, or preposterously challenging above twenty of the Jury, or else refusing to answer directly to their Indictments, shall not have the Benefit of the Clergy. 2. By another, the detestable Vice of Buggery was adjudged Felony. 3. There was also an Act made to prevent the destroying of wild Fowl, whereby it was enjoined, that none should be taken from the last Day of *May*, to the last of *August*, upon pain of one Year's Imprisonment. 4. Whereas some People had gathered into few Hands, several Farms, and great Plenty of Cattle, particularly sheep, some to the Number of twenty thousand, whereby the Rents of Lands were not only encreased, but also Tillage very much decayed, some Churches and Towns had been pulled down, and the Price of Corn, Cattle, &c. excessively enhanced; it was therefore enacted, that no Man should keep above two thousand Sheep at one time: And not hold above two Farms at once, and those to be in the Parish where he lives. 5. That no Man should buy bound Bucks brought from beyond Sea, nor buy any such by retail. See *Statut.* 25 *Hen. VIII.*

(5) *Cranmer* wrote to *Cromwell* from *Worcester* the 6th of *May*, that the Lord *Andley* and others, with all the Abbots, Priors, Wardens, and Curates within the Shire had taken the Oath. The Forms in which they did it are not known, for though they were enrolled, yet in *Queen Mary's Days* *Benner* and others were commissioned to examine the Records, and raze out all things done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or the Defamation of Religious Houses. However, two of the Subscriptions of Religious Orders, dated *May* 4, 1534, escaped their Diligence. One is by six Abbies, the other by the Paragon and Convent of the *Dominican* Nuns at *Deptford*. See *Burnet's* *Collection*, Nov. 50. Vol. I.

(6) At a meeting of the Privy-Council at *Lambeth*, many were cited to take the Oath. *More* was first called, and the Oath being tendered him, he replied, after having considered the Act, he would neither blame those that made it, nor those that swore the Oath: but for his part, though he was willing to swear to the Succession, if he might be suffered to draw up the Oath himself, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conscience would move him, that he could not, without hazarding his Soul, take it. Upon which, being desired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the Oath except *Fisher*, who answered in almost the same manner as *More* had done. Then *More* was again brought in, and they shewed him how many had taken it; he said, He judged no Man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Being asked the reason, he replied, He feared it might provoke the King the more against him if he should offer Reasons, which would be called disputing against Law: But however, if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in writings. *Cranmer* urged him with this Argument, that since he blamed not others for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: But he did know certainly, he ought to obey the King and the Law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding his Doubtings. He answered, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conscience leaned positively to the other side, and offered to purge himself by Oath that it was purely out of Conscience that he refused it. The Abbot of *Wishington* pressed him (with an Argument too often used in the like cases) that he might see his Conscience was erroneous, since the great Council of the Realm was of another mind. *Cranmer* in a Letter to *Cromwell*, earnestly pressed to accept the Oath as *More* and *Fisher* offered; for if they once swore to the Succession, it would quiet the Kingdom, since all others would acquiesce and submit to the judgments of so great Men. But this Advice was not followed. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 146. *Strype's* *Memoirs*. Tom. I. p. 174.

(7) *Edmund Lee*, and *Catherine Pentil*: They waited upon *Catherine* at *Bowden* near *Huntingdon*. *Herbert*, p. 175.

(8) Answering, that she would never leave the Name of a Queen, but always take herself for King *Henry's* Wife. *Herbert*, p. 175.

1534. occasion or pretence of a new War between the Emperor and the King of France; it will be necessary briefly to mention it.

The Death of Milan be-
leaves Mer-
veilles the
King of
France's
Envoy.
Francis
Mortar.
P. Daniel.

Francis Spörza was no sooner restored to Milan, upon very hard Terms, but he wished to be freed from the Emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the Sum he had promised. Francis having some knowledge of Spörza's disposition, believed he should cherish it, in hopes of reaping by it one day some advantage. But as Spörza greatly feared to give the Emperor suspicion, and consequently the affair was to be managed very privately, Francis found means to keep at Milan an Envoy, who could not be suspected. He chose for that purpose a Milanese Gentleman, called Merveilles, who having been formerly banished from Milan by Ludovico the Black, had lived in France ever since. The troubles of the Milanese being entirely ended by the Peace of Cambray, Merveilles returned home with a Letter of Credence for the Duke, to which the Duke sent an answer, receiving the Gentleman as Envoy of France, though in publick he treated him not as such. However secret Merveilles's Negotiation might be, the Emperor had some notice of it; and made great complaints to the Duke, who, to remove all suspicion, resolved to sacrifice to him this Envoy. Accordingly, he suborned a person to pick a quarrel with Merveilles, which ended in the murder of the Party employed, who was killed by Merveilles's Servants, without however their master's being present. Whereupon Merveilles was committed to prison, and two days after beheaded, without any one being suffered to speak with him. Francis hearing of it, wrote a menacing Letter to the Duke, and acquainted all his Allies with what had happened. The Duke would have excused himself, by denying that Merveilles was at Milan as Envoy. What he said was true in respect to the publick. But he could not disown his own Letter to the King, in answer to the Letter of Credence. When the French Ambassador informed the Emperor of the outrage committed at Milan upon Merveilles, he coldly answered, he could not conceive, how the King of France could be affected with the death of a subject of the Duke of Milan, whom his Sovereign had punished according to his deserts. This answer made the King believe, the Emperor was concerned in Merveilles's death, which was a fresh cause of disgust, and inflamed his desire of revenge. But on the other hand, he was not sorry the satisfaction he demanded was refused, because he intended to take occasion from thence, to enter the Milanese Sword in hand. To that purpose, he ordered a levy of Landsquenets in Germany, and demanded passage of the Duke of Savoy, to go and chastise the Duke of Milan. But that Prince fearing to displease the Emperor, would not grant it. For which reason Francis, who could not enter the Milanese, but by passing through the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, resolved to make War upon him, using for pretence certain Claims he had in right of Louisa his Mother to the Inheritance of the late Duke of Savoy. Till every thing was ready to begin this War, he spent the whole year in divers Negotiations, tending to create the Emperor troubles, and disable him to assist the Duke of Savoy.

Francis takes
occasion to
carry War
into the
Milanese.
He demands a
Passage of the
Duke of Sa-
voy, and
upon a refusal
declares
War against
him.

Clement
VII's Death.
Paul III
succeeds him.
Guicciard.

Affairs of
Germany.
Sleidan.

Whilst Francis was thus employed, the situation of the affairs of Italy was something changed by the death of Clement VII, who was carried off by a fit of Sickness the twenty sixth of September. The twelfth of October following, Cardinal Farnese was chosen Pope, and assumed the name of Paul III.

There were likewise this year in Germany some alterations, which put the affairs of the Protestants in a tolerable situation. The Landgrave of Hesse defeated King Ferdinand's Army, commanded by the Count Palatine, and restored the Duke of Wirtemberg to his Dominions. Ferdinand, not being able any longer to resist the Landgrave, was forced to agree to the Duke's restoration; but withal obtained, that both the Duke and the Landgrave should acknowledge him for King of the Romans. Shortly after, the Elector of Saxony acknowledged him also, having

first got a promise from him, that he would not suffer any person to be molested in the Empire on the account of Religion.

Clement VII's death caused no alteration in the measures taken by the Court of England, to shake off entirely the Pope's Yoke. Matters had been carried too far, ever to recede. Besides, the King having not much to fear from abroad, by reason of the troubles, the Emperor was like to be involved in, and his Subjects being inclined to support him, it would have been imprudent to neglect so favorable a juncture, and leave his Work unfinished. So, the Parliament meeting the third of November, passed several material Acts, of which it will suffice to relate the Substance, in order to shew they all tended to the same Point, that is, to break all the bonds which had served to hold the English in subjection to the Popes.

1534.

Henry VIII
King of England
passed upon
real statutes.

The first Act confirmed the King's Title of supreme Head of the Church of England, already given him by the Clergy (1). Though Henry had very willingly accepted this Title from the Clergy, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuse it, he seemed however to doubt, whether he should receive it when offered by the Parliament. He was pleased first to advise with his Council, and consult some of the Bishops, whether out of scruple, or to shew it was not extorted. They whom he consulted having satisfied him, that the Authority assumed by the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church had no foundation in Scripture, he banished all his scruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward took all occasions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new Title.

I. Act con-
firmed the
King's Title
of Head of
the Church.

By a second Act, it was declared Treason to speak, write, or imagine any thing against the King or Queen (2).

II. Treason
to speak evil
of the King.

The third debarred Persons accused of Treason, of the benefit of Sanctuary.

III. Concern-
ing Sanctua-
ries.

By a fourth, the Parliament prescribed a form of Oath concerning the Succession, to be taken by all the King's subjects, and annulled all former Oaths upon that head.

IV. Form of
Oath.

The fifth was very grievous to the Clergy, as it gave the King the Annates and First-Fruits of the Benefices; whereas by the Act already passed, the Ecclesiasticks were in hopes of being ever freed from that burden. Moreover, by the same Act the yearly Revenue of the tenth part of all Livings was granted to the King (3).

V. Grants
the First-
Fruits and
Tithes to the
King.

By a sixth Statute, provision was made for twenty five Suffragan Bishops, each of whom was to depend on his Diocesan, who was to present two to the King for him to chuse one. Thus was revived in the Church of England the use of *Chorepiscopi*, introduced into the Primitive Church, but afterwards discontinued for several Centuries (4).

VI. Suffra-
gan Bishops.

Lastly, The Parliament condemned Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More to perpetual Imprisonment, and confiscated all their Estates, for refusing to take the Oath enjoined by the Act of the former Session. This sentence was considered by some as very unjust, whilst others admired in the same, the effects of God's Justice upon persons that had been violent persecutors of the Lutherans.

Fisher and
More are
condemned by
the Parlia-
ment.
Burnet.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King granted a General Pardon, from which however Fisher and More were excluded (5).

General
Pardon.
Burnet.

Shortly after, the King issued out a Proclamation, forbidding to give to the Bishop of Rome the name of Pope, and commanding that name to be razed out of all Books, to destroy the remembrance of it if possible. Then the Bishops voluntarily swore to renounce expressly all obedience to the Bishop of Rome. Gardiner, now Bishop of Winchester, was not the last to take this Oath, though in his Soul he abhorred it as very unjust. But a blind condescension for the King in this respect, was then the only means to preserve his favor. Besides, Gar-

Proclamation
against the
Name of
Pope.
Stow.
Herbert.
The Bishops
swear
against the
Pope.
Gardiner's
disimulation.
Herbert.

(1) And declared, That the King, his Heirs, and Successors, shall have full Power and Authority to visit, reform, and restrain all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, and Offences, which by any manner of Spiritual Jurisdiction ought to be reformed. See Statute.

(2) Or to call the King Heretic, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper, which opprobrious Names some insolent Fives were very liberal of.

(3) To be paid between Christmas and the first of April. It was ordered in this Act, That the Chancellor of England should direct into every Diocese in the Realm, Communion in the King's Name, under his Great Seal, as well to the Archbishop and Bishop of every Diocese, as to such other Prelates as the King should appoint; to examine, search, and require, by all ways and means, the true, just, and whole yearly Value of the Manors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rents, Tithes, Offences, Emoluments, and all other Profits, as well Spiritual as Temporal, belonging to any Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, Hospital, Colleges, Priests, Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, Parsonage, Vicarage, Free Chapel, or any other Benefice or Promotion Spiritual. Accordingly, several Commissioners were appointed for each County, with whom were joined the Bishop of the respective Dioceses, and a certain number of Auditors. The Valuations that were thus taken by these Commissioners, were all returned to the Chancellor, Master of the Rolls; and according to them have the First Fruits been paid ever since. See Statute. Burnet's Mem. Tom. I. p. 211.

(4) The Towns appointed for Suffragan Sees were, *Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Glastonbury, Sarum, Salisbury, Ely, London, Winchester, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Hereford, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Haveringham, Peterborough, Leicester, St. Germans, and the Isle of Wight.* They were to exercise such Jurisdiction as the Bishop of the Diocese should give to them; but their Authority was to last no longer than the Bishop continued his Communion to them. In Burnet's Collection, N. 51. Vol. I. the Reader may see a Writ for making a Suffragan Bishop.

(5) This Parliament granted the King a Tenth and a Fifteenth, to be paid in three Years. There had been no Subsidy granted for twelve Years before. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 158.

1534. *diner* was thereby enabled to cross, upon other points, the Reformers, who daily gained ground (1).

It was not only in *Germany* that the Reformation had made some progress, but also in many other places. In *England* it had been countenanced in some measure by Cardinal *Wolsey*, as, during his Ministry, no Person was prosecuted for Heresy, though the Clergy wanted not occasions to exercise their usual severities, had they been left to take their own Course. After *Wolsey's* disgrace, Sir *Thomas More* being made Chancellor, persuaded the King, that what did him the most injury at the Court of *Rome*, was the report of his being a favorer of the Innovators, and to remove this false imputation, the most infallible way was to shew a zeal for Religion. *Henry* following this advice, ordered the Laws against Hereticks to be rigorously executed, and very strictly prohibited the importing any of their Books into the Kingdom. But this Prohibition was not capable of hindering several of *Luther's* Treatises from being brought into *England*, with *Tindal's* Translation of the New Testament, who was retired into *Flanders*. The Bishop of *London* having notice of it, caused some Copies to be seized, and publickly burnt by the Hangman (2). But this was so far from injuring the Reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many Persons, full of indignation at this impious Act, inferred that the Scriptures were contrary to the Religion generally professed, since the Clergy took such care to hinder the Bible from being read, and that alone raised their desire to read it. On the other hand, the dislike the *English* had taken to the Pope, greatly increased, by the reading of the *Lutheran* Writings.

As the Reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies was inflamed against such as embraced it. Whilst *More* was Chancellor, he spared no pains to destroy them utterly. Many suffered Martyrdom (3) with a wonderful constancy, which very much contributed to strengthen their Brethren. At length, the King having to manage the *German* Protestants, because he might afterwards want them, suspended *More's* persecution. On the other hand, *Ann Bullen* very much mollified the King in that respect. Archbishop *Cranmer* contributed to it likewise to the utmost of his power, and *Thomas Cromwell*, now in great esteem with the King, seconded their endeavours as far as in him lay (4). But they had a strong Party against them, consisting of the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, almost all the Churchmen who had any access to the Court, and those who, when they preached before the King, filled their Sermons with invectives against the Reformation. All these had gained *Henry's* confidence by their compliance in the affair of the Divorce and the Supremacy, though in the last they acted contrary to their sentiments. By this condescension, they were enabled effectually to oppose the Reformers, in all the Articles which concerned not the Pope, and especially in that of the real Presence, which the King deemed unquestionable, and thought so all his Life. In spite of all this, the Heads of the Reformed despaired not of inclining him by degrees to a farther Reformation, because of the connection, the Articles of Religion have one with another. Besides, their party grew stronger every day, by the junction of such as read the Holy Scriptures and the religious Books which were handed about, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition. Nothing shews more the number and strength of that Party, than the readiness wherewith the Parliament passed the Acts which tended to lessen the Clergy's power, and shake off the papal yoke.

The Reformation made likewise some progress in *France*: the King himself expressed an inclination for the Doctrine of the Protestants, which was privately countenanced by his Sister *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*. But the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Lorrain*, who were in great credit with him, dissuaded him from it so earnestly, that they gained him at last; nay, made him a violent Persecutor.

Before I close what relates to the events of the year 1534, I must not forget to mention, that a twelve-month's

Truce concluded the last year (5) between *England* and *Scotland*, was turned into a Peace the 11th of *May* this year. By the Treaty, the Peace was to last till the death of one of the two Kings, and *Henry* might, without breaking it, keep the *Douglasses* in *England*.

In the beginning of the year 1535, *Francis I.* sent an Embassy to *Henry*, under colour of discharging the duty of a good Friend and Ally, but in reality to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his secrets, and ask his advice. The occasion of the Embassy was this: The Emperor having resolved to carry his Arms into *Africa*, had a mind to amuse *Francis*, left, in his absence, he should attack the Duke of *Savoy*, and so open a way to the Duchy of *Milan*, as he seemed to intend. To that purpose, he had dispatched an Ambassador to him, with orders to propose a Marriage between his third Daughter and *Philip* Prince of *Spain*; and another between the Dauphin and *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* and *Catherine* of *Arragon*. Moreover, he had offered him a Pension of a hundred thousand Crowns for the Duke of *Orleans*, upon the Duchy of *Milan*, and the Duchy itself, after the death of *Francesco Sforza*, who had no Heirs. It was evident, these overtures were designed only to amuse *Francis*, who considered them himself upon no other foot. Nevertheless, he imagined they would serve to procure him some advantage from *Henry*, if he let him know he was courted by the Emperor. To this end, he sent into *England* Admiral *Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, on pretence to advise with the King upon these offers. But his chief aim was to make him uneasy, and induce him to offer some advantageous proposals. It appeared in the sequel he would have persuaded him to things which were very far from his thoughts. The Admiral having discharged his Commission, *Henry* answered, he much wondered, the Emperor should pretend to marry his Daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever should have any right or power: That it was manifest, he only sought to break the Union between *France* and *England*, and therefore he hoped the King of *France* would not be so much his own enemy, as to hearken to such overtures. Shortly after, he sent orders to his Ambassador at *Paris* (6), to tell *Francis*, he would give *Elizabeth* his Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Angoulême* his third Son, upon the following conditions: That *Francis* himself, his three Sons, the Princes of the Blood, the principal Nobility of *France*, the Parliaments, and Universities should solemnly promise to cause to be revoked the Sentence given against him by the Bishop of *Rome*: That the Duke of *Angoulême* should be sent into *England* to be educated: That in case by his Marriage he should come to the Crown of *England*, the Duchy of *Angoulême* should be independent of the Crown of *France*. These conditions were afterwards mitigated, and *Francis I.* seemed to agree to them. But he required in his turn, that *Henry* should assist him in the War of *Savoy*, and forgive him the perpetual Annuity of a hundred thousand Crowns, which he was bound to pay by a Treaty. *Henry* perceiving *Francis's* insincerity, told the Admiral, that instead of forgiving the Pension, he expected, the King his Master should pay the Arrears, and clear by the time appointed, all his other Debts. This answer put an end to the Negotiation, which probably, was undertaken only to sound *Henry* concerning the Pension.

Francis's grand design was to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, under pretence of revenging the affront done him by *Sforza*. But, to execute this project, it was necessary to raise the Emperor troubles, which should hinder him from assisting that Duchy. There were four several quarters from whence he hoped to imbroil the Emperor. First, from the Pope and the Princes of *Italy*. Secondly, in *Germany*, by means of the League of *Smalcald*. Thirdly, by fomenting discord between the King of *England* and the Emperor. Lastly, by drawing the *Turks* into *Germany*. In order to all this, he had married his Son the Duke of *Orleans* to *Catherine de Medici*; lodged a hundred thousand Crowns in the hands of the Duke of

(1) This Year, on the 11th of *August*, the Monasteries of *Observant* Friars at *Canterbury*, *Greenwich* and *Richmond*, *Newark* and *Newcastle*, were suppressed, and *Augustine* Friars, according to some) put in their room; though others mention not this Exchange. See *Stone*, p. 571. *Herbert*, p. 178.

(2) *Tindal* Bishop of *London* being at *Antwerp* (where *Tindal* was) in 1529, as he returned from his Embassy at the Treaty of *Cambray*, sent for one *Packington* an *English* Merchant, and desired him to see how many of *Tindal's* New Testament he might have for Money. *Packington* acquainted *Tindal* with what the Bishop proposed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for he was then designing a new and more correct Edition; but being poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it. So, giving *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his hands, the Bishop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in *Conspire*. Next Year, when the second Edition was finished, many more were brought over, and Chancellor *More* enquiring of one *Conspire*, who it was that encouraged and supported them at *Antwerp*, was told, that the greatest Encouragement they had was from the Bishop of *London*, who had bought up half the old Impression. This made all that heard it laugh heartily. *William Tindal*, born on the borders of *Wales*, and brought up at *Oxford*, was afterwards burnt in 1536, at *Filford*, eighteen Miles from *Antwerp*, crying out at the Stake, *Lord open the King of England's Eyes*. *Hall*, fol. 186. 227. *Fox*, *Burnet*, T. I. p. 169.

(3) *As T. Hall*, in 1530, besides *Bilney*, and the rest mentioned above, p. 793. as also *John Tetokisbury* &c. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 162, &c. *Fox*, Tom. II.

(4) He was, on *April* 12, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 456, and, on the 21st of *September*, this same year, Master of the Rolls. *Stone*, p. 571.

(5) *October* 1. *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. p. 480.

(6) Sir *John Wallop*. These were in 1535 sent upon this occasion, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz William*, and Doctor *Fox*. *Herbert*, p. 179. *Hall*, fol. 226.

1535. *Bavaria*, to be ready upon occasion; persuaded *Henry* to end the affair of the Divorce in the manner we have seen; and had secret Agents at *Constantinople*, to treat of an Alliance with *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*. But most of these expedients, which he thought infallible, had proved unsuccessful. The first had miscarried by the death of *Clement VII*, and by the election of a new Pope, whom it was not easy to gain to his Interest. The King of the *Romans* had frustrated the second, by agreeing with the Elector of *Saxony*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Wurtemberg*. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, because the King of *England's* intention was not to make War upon the Emperor, but only to stand upon the defensive. Consequently it was in the Emperor's power to keep him quiet, by not attacking him first. The *Turks* therefore alone could properly be subservient to his designs. But, to rely upon them, it was necessary to commence the War in *Italy*, otherwise it was not likely, *Soliman* would be persuaded to begin it in *Hungary*. Upon this account, he continued at *Constantinople* a Negotiation, which was discovered by a Letter intercepted by the Duke of *Urbino*, who sent it immediately to the Emperor. Mean while, *Francis* still persisted in his resolution to attack the Duke of *Savoy*, and open a passage to the *Milanese*. He reckoned, the Peace of *Germany* could not hold long; that the Emperor and *Henry* would never live in a good understanding; and that, when once the War was begun, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, the King of *England*, would readily assist to reduce the power of the House of *Austria* within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the Princes of the League of *Smalcald*, fancying they would embrace this opportunity to free themselves from their uneasiness, caused by the advancement of that House. To this end, he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be so far inclined to their Religion, that he was going to invite *Melancthon* into *France*, to confer with him. But withal, he plainly showed he acted only upon political views, since he caused to be burnt in *France* those that separated from the Church of *Rome*. Mean while, as there was some difference between *Luther* and *Calvin* about Religion, and as those that were burnt in *France* were *Calvinists*, the rigid *Lutherans* not considering them as their Brethren, imagined *Francis* might treat them with the utmost severity, without losing his regard for the *Lutheran* Religion. *Francis* resolving to use his endeavours to reconquer the Duchy of *Milan*, attacked the Duke of *Savoy*, and in the first Campaign took from him *Savoy* and *la Bresse*.

P. Daniel.

Designs of Charles V.

Herbert. Hall.

The Emperor's Expedition to Africa. Hist. of Sp. Herbert.

Henry's disposition as to Religion.

Whilst *Francis* was labouring to accomplish his designs, *Charles V*, was forming vast projects, which tended to no less than establishing his Dominion over all *Europe*. Indeed, *France* and *England* being closely united together, could have opposed a strong fence against his ambition: But he did not despair to disunite them in the end. That was his chief care, whilst on one hand, he excited the *Irish* to a Rebellion, and the King of *Scotland* to a rupture with *England*. But whilst he was endeavouring to imbroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himself uneasy with regard to *Soliman*, who threatened *Germany* under colour of supporting the interests of *John de Zapol*, whom he had caused to be crowned King of *Hungary*. On the other hand, he saw with extreme concern the great progress of *Haradin Barbarossa*, the famous Corsair, who after expelling *Mulky Hassem*, had made himself King of *Tunis*. Such a Neighbour could not but disquiet him, because, to hinder him from ravaging the Coasts of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, it would have been necessary constantly to maintain a Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have disconcerted his other projects. So considering the War, he had resolved to wage with *Haradin*, as the most urgent affair, he made this Summer an expedition into *Africa*, where he took the Fort of *la Goulette*, after which, he became master of *Tunis*, and restored *Mulky Hassem*.

Henry gladly saw the Emperor engaging in Wars, which probably would keep him long employed. Whereupon he resolved to improve this Interval, to compleat the regulation of his domestick affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful State. He had abolished the papal authority, and been declared supreme head of the Church of *England* by Acts of Parliament. But though, by the Constitution of the Government, these Acts seemed to be above all contradiction, it was however but too true, that this was not sufficient. As Religion was concerned, and conscience cannot be compelled, the Statutes themselves wanted to be supported by force, that an outward obedience at least might be paid them. It is certain, the uniformity which appeared in the determinations of the Parliament and Clergy, was in many the effect of fear rather than of inward persuasion. Nay some, as *Fisher*

and *More*, were so hardy as openly to disapprove these Ordinances, and notwithstanding the severity exercised upon them, still persisted in the same opinion. It is true, these instances of rigour to Persons of such distinction, made People silent; but were not capable of convincing them of the reasonableness of the Statutes. Thus, though the King found no publick opposition, it was easy for him to see, that an obedience proceeding from fear could last no longer than compulsion subsisted. On the other hand, he beheld with concern the Triumph of the Protestants, who imagined that after abolishing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. Mean while, it was every where published, that he was upon the point of forsaking the antient Religion; some asserting it out of malice, to render him odious; and others, because they wished it. To clear himself therefore from these imputations, at the very time he refused to recognize the Pope's authority, he ordered those who were called *Sacramentarians* to be burnt. By this Conduct, he made himself hateful to the Catholics and Protestants. As for the Protestants, he bore their ill-will without much concern: besides that, he feared them not, he approved of their doctrine the Articles only that opposed the Papal Authority, and their sentiments of the Fryers, with whom he was extremely incensed, because they laboured with all their power to alienate from him the affections of his People. It is true, he valued and loved *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, with some others, who countenanced the Reformation; but he did not look upon them as Protestants. He believed them Men of solid Virtue and Piety, who, preserving the essential Doctrine of Religion, were desirous of reforming the abuses crept into the Church. But, as among these abuses, he himself acknowledged only what concerned the Pope and the Fryers, he imagined the Reformers kept within the same bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to discover all their thoughts. But by conforming themselves to his Sentiments on these two Articles, they hoped to induce him by degrees to advance the Reformation, when by their pains he should become more enlightened. For which reason the Reformation began in *England* with these two points. As to the others, which had no relation to these, they were not meddled with during this Reign, or at least, but slightly. The reason is, because *Henry* would never suffer his Subjects to go greater lengths than himself. But to speak the truth, his Understanding was always directed by his interest. If all the Changes made in Religion in his Reign be examined, they will all be found to concur directly to establish an absolute power over his Subjects. That was ever the principal, and perhaps the sole motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with *Rome* to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the Reformation take occasion to say, it was established in *England* on political views. This may be true, if the Person of *Henry VIII* be only considered. But it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it, acted upon the like motive. Besides, what was the Reformation in *Henry VIII's* days? Only a bare renouncing of the Papal power, whilst those were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be said of *Henry's* person, and his motives to throw off the Papal Yoke, I do not see that the Protestants are much concerned to undertake his defence.

Henry finding that many of his Subjects approved not his Conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they used, of the sentence published against him by the Pope. To this purpose, he would have ingaged all *France* to join with him in procuring a revocation. But that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the Court of *Rome* no less so. He could never have resolved to part with the title of Head of the Church of *England*, and the Pope would never have consented to an agreement, unless things were restored to their antient state. So *Henry* seeing himself obliged to pursue his point, resolved to overcome by force, the obstinacy of such of his Subjects as refused to submit to the Laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, desiring to purge himself of the imputation of Heresy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to punish severely those that embraced the new opinions. In this sort of medium, which pleased neither Party, he passed the residue of his days. But this is saying too little. It must be further added, that considering himself as a pattern for his Subjects, he compelled them to keep within the same bounds, and would not suffer them to believe more or less than himself.

It was impossible that after such a resolution *Henry* should not live in a continual mistrust of his Subjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what passed in the Kingdom. Moreover, he had learned to

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guard against the Emperor's attacks, who had openly threatened him. He was sensible, if he were once engaged in a War, those that durst not look him in the face during his prosperity, would not scruple to declare against him, if his Arms were unsuccessful. The King of Scotland his Nephew was the Person most to be feared. As for the King of France, who professed himself his friend, and indeed was much obliged to him, he had shown too plainly how self-interested his Friendship was, to be relied on. They both intended to imbroil the Emperor, but with different views. Each meant to make his Ally subservient to his designs, and to improve the advantages which flowed from their Union. Thus Henry saw no resource but in his own subjects, among whom however there were many Malecontents. But as he had acted for some time with great haughtiness, he found, if he relaxed on this occasion, it would certainly be ascribed either to his scruples, or to a sense of his weakness, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This consideration, joined to his stern and haughty Temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became fierce, cruel, insensible of his People's calamities, and executing without mercy, the Laws dictated by himself to his Parliament. In short, he may, in some manner be said, to be no longer the same King that had before reigned. All that can be alledged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by persons, who, endeavouring to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects, attacked him in the most sensible part, because his whole reliance was upon the assistance of his People.

Reason of the great submission of the English to Henry.

It will, doubtless, be surprizing to see in this Reign the English so patient and submissive to their Sovereign's pleasure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the Divorce, that the Parliament refused him any thing, though his demands were very extraordinary. But it is easy to discover the reason. Religion was the sole cause. The King, as it was observed, kept a sort of medium with respect to Religion. But as no Man could believe it possible for him to remain long in that situation, those who desired the Reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it by degrees. In like manner, the friends of the old Religion, seeing such beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and their opposition but make him finish his work the sooner. So, each Party striving to gain him to their interest, there resulted for him an authority which none of his Predecessors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have usurped in any other circumstances, without hazarding his Crown. But both Parties were alike deceived. Henry kept in the same medium all the rest of his Life, and made them both feel the sad effects of that absolute Power they had so easily suffered him to assume. It is true, he was always so prudent, as not to act contrary to Law. But he made use of his Power to procure such Laws as he pleased, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be seen in the sequel. But after showing Henry's Character and Motives, his Actions must be related, which will confirm what has been observed.

The Monks become odious to the King.

Though the Acts concerning the King's Marriage, and the Papal Power, bore the Seal of the publick authority, they were very far from being universally approved. As they were not ascribed so much to the two Houses as to the King, on him it was that the whole blame was cast. Among all the Malecontents, the Monks were the most open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the People. They could not bear his setting himself up in the Pope's room, whom they had always considered, and still did consider as their true Head, notwithstanding the Statutes made against him. These were the Men that caused the pretended *Kentish* Prophets to say, If the

King put away Queen Catherine, and married another, he should die in a month, and come to a tragical end. A *Franciscan*, named *Peto*, preaching before the King (1), was so hardy as to tell him to his face, That God's Judgments were ready to fall upon his head: That he was always surrounded with a croud of lying Prophets, who foretold him good success. But for himself, like another Micaiah, he warned him that the Dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. This Friar's insolence, and the daily reports of the Invectives which were every where spread against him, provoked him extremely against them, as well as against those that had the boldness to speak opprobriously of the Acts of Parliament. He was however very patient for some time, imagining that People would at length be calmed. But when he saw they did not cease to asperse him with all sorts of Calumnies, he called a Council to consider how he should behave towards those who affected to contradict the Laws, and speak evil of him. Some of the Council were for taking no notice of these offences, for fear too great a Severity should have a quite contrary effect to what he desired (2). But others represented to him the ill consequence of such a conduct. They showed him, that these People's aim was to stir up the People against him, to give the Bishop of Rome opportunity to assert his pretended authority, and therefore they were for putting the Laws in execution with the utmost rigor. The King himself was of this opinion, as most agreeable to his fierce and stern Temper, which could not bear contradiction. Besides, he saw to what he should be reduced in the end, if his enemies succeeded in their design to render him odious to the People. It is not therefore very strange, that seeing himself thus provoked, he resolved to treat with rigor People who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

The resolution being taken of executing the Laws without mercy, certain Priors, Monks, and others, who had been too free with the new Statutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmost rigor of the same Laws (3). But at the same time, the King fearing lest this severity should be ascribed to the inclination, he was charged with, for the new Religion, affected to use the same rigor to those who had openly embraced the Reformation, and put them to death with the others. At last, to keep every one in awe by an example which should make the boldest tremble, he resolved to deliver up to the rigor of the Law, *Fisher* and *More*, then Prisoners in the Tower (4). To this end, *Fisher* was required to take the Oath of Supremacy, it being supposed he would refuse it, as he did indeed. About the same time *Paul III* created him Cardinal, though he had declared, that if the Cardinal's Hat was laid at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up. But the Pope, whose aim was to encourage such as opposed the King, conferred however that Dignity upon him, with the pompous Elogy, that he considered him as the Cardinal of Cardinals. This unseasonable honour hastened in all likelihood *Fisher's* death, who being condemned, was executed the 22d of June, a month after his being made Cardinal, and some days before the Hat, sent him by the Pope, came to London (5). After that, *Sir Thomas More* being required to take the same Oath, refused to answer, saying, *The Act of Parliament is like a Sword with two edges, for if a Man answer one way, it will destroy the Soul, and if he answer another, it will destroy the Body*. Upon his refusal, he was condemned and executed. He was a Man of great Learning, and excellent Parts, but so addicted to jesting, that even the presence of death could not make him lay aside his usual facetiousness (6). When upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the mortal blow, he perceived, his Beard was got under his Chin: Whereupon hastily rising up, he bid the Executioner stay a little till he had put his Beard aside, since

(1) At Greenwich, where Henry resided most in Summer. The King bore *Peto's* Insolence patiently; but, to undeceive the People, procured Dr. *Curwin* to preach the next Sunday, who justified the King's Proceedings, and condemned *Peto*, as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traitor. *Peto* was gone to Canterbury, but *Elston*, another Friar of the same House, interrupted him, and said, he was one of the lying Prophets, that sought by Adultery, to establish the Succession to the Crown. And yet, nothing more was done to these two Friars, than that they were convened before the Council, and rebuked for their Insolence. Stow, p. 562. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 151.

(2) They thought that Imprisonment, Banishment, or the like, was Punishment enough for those, who, confessing the King's supreme Authority in all Temporal Matters, did, out of Scrupulosity rather than Malice, oppose the rest. Herbert, p. 182.

(3) Namely, the Prior of the Charter-House in London, the Priors of Exham, and Benall, a Monk of Sion, and John Haile Vicar of Thistleworth, on May 4; and three Monks of the Charter-House, on July 18, 1535. They were all drawn and quartered at Tyburn. The Protestants put to Death, were, John Fritb, a Man of great Learning, and Andrew Hewet, on July 22, 1534. As also nineteen Men, and six Women, born in Holland. These were burnt. Hall, fol. 225, 226. Stow, p. 571. Burnet, Tom. 1. 166, &c. 352. Fox, Tom. 11.

(4) *Fisher* was hardly used; his Goods being seized, he had only some old Rags left him to cover him, and he was neither well supplied with Diet nor other Necessaries. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 156.

(5) Burnet says, the Hat came no nearer him than Picardy. He was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of June. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and some other Lords, together with the Judges, sat upon him by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer. He was beheaded in the eightieth Year of his Age, on Tower-Hill, and his Head was set up on London Bridge. His Body was first buried in Barking Church-Yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with *More's* in the Tower. He was many Years Confessor to the King's Grandmother, the Countess of Richmond. It was believed, that he persuaded her to found her two Colleges in Cambridge, and upon that account was chosen Chancellor of that University. Henry VII, gave him the Bishoprick of Rochester, which he, following the Rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better: He used to lay his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her because she was poor. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 354.

(6) When he was going up the Stairs of the Scaffold, observing they were weak, he desired one of the Sheriff's Officers to give him his Hand to help him up, and said, When I come down again, let me shift for my self, as well as I can. Also, when he was first committed to the Tower, one of the Officers, demanding his upper Garment (that is his Gown) for his Fee, *Sir Thomas* taking off his Cap, gave it him, saying, That was the uppermost Garment he had. Hall, fol. 226.

1535. having committed no Treason, it was not just it should be cut off (1).

Paul III
excommuni-
cates Henry
without pub-
lishing the
Bull.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Whilst these things passed in England, Pope Paul III still kept some correspondence with Sir Gregory Caffali, who was at Rome, though without Character. The Pope earnestly wished, that some expedient might be found to heal the breach made by Clement VII's too great precipitation, and conferred from time to time with Caffali. But when news came of the execution of the Monks, and of Fisher and More, for denying the King's Supremacy, he despaired of succeeding. He perceived there was no more ceremony to be used, since all regard for him was thrown off in England, and a settled design shown of supporting what had been done. So, to maintain the honour of his See, he drew up a thundering Bull, excommunicating Henry, and absolving his subjects from their Oath. Moreover, he ordered all the Ecclesiasticks to depart his Dominions, and the Nobility to take Arms against him. He put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and forbid all Christians to have any commerce with the English. He annulled all the Treaties made by foreign Princes with Henry before his Marriage with Ann Bullen, declaring their Issue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. Mean while, as he was sensible, these spiritual Thunders would produce no great effect, unless supported with temporal Arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publishing of this Bull to a more convenient season.

Embassy to
the Protes-
tants of
Germany.
Herbert.
Burnet.
T. III. 111.
Styrc.

But though the Bull was not published, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to Henry's knowledge. Whereupon he resolved to join with the Protestants of Germany (2), and keep the Emperor employed in that Country. He dispatched therefore Edward Fox to the League of Smalcald (3) whilst Francis I, made use, for the same purpose, of William du Bellay Lord of Langeais. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty Union to be formed between these two Monarchs and the Protestants of Germany. The Protestants meant only to preserve the liberty of professing their Religion unmolested, whereas the sole aim of Francis and Henry was to excite them against the Emperor, without any regard to the Protestant Religion, which they were persecuting in their Kingdoms. It is true, to gain the Protestants, they feigned an inclination for their Religion, and a desire to establish it in their Dominions. Nay, Henry very much improved the conformity of his sentiments with theirs, concerning the papal Authority. But the rigour where-with these two Monarchs treated such of their Subjects as had embraced the new Religion, destroyed whatever their Ambassadors could say. For this reason the Protestants always insisted upon settling the points which concerned Religion, and continued to require that Henry should openly declare for the Augsburg Confession, that their Union might be built on a solid foundation. Henry feigned to approve of what they proposed, and to make them believe it the more, wished them to send some of their Divines to confer with those of England. But he never really intended to conform himself to their Notions. He rather wanted the Germans as well as the English to learn of him what they were to believe. And for this cause the project of the proposed Union was never executed. However, this Negotiation made the Pope and the Emperor very uneasy, who plainly saw, that in attacking Henry there was danger of really engaging him to unite with the League of Smalcald.

Henry lays
before the
Council the
Suppression
of the Mo-
nasteries.
Herbert.
Burnet.

But Henry did not depend so much upon foreign assistance as upon his own strength. Mean while, as his Subjects were daily corrupted by the Monks, who infin-

uated to them that he was going to overturn all Religion, he resolved to take all possible precautions to prevent the pernicious designs of these dangerous Adversaries. To this end it was moved in the Council, whether it would not be proper to suppress at once all the Monasteries. This question was debated with great warmth, by reason of the two contrary Parties in the Council. Crommer and Cromwell looked upon the suppression of the Monasteries as a great step to the Reformation. But on the other hand, the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and others, who had with reluctance subscribed to what had been done against the Pope, could not resolve to consent to this suppression. They saw, after that, the Kingdom would be irrecoverably lost to the Pope, without reckoning that the dissolution of the Monasteries might produce yet greater effects with regard to Religion. The King having heard the Arguments on both sides, found he should not be able to suppress the Monasteries all at once, without giving offence to the greatest part of his Subjects. He resolved therefore with himself, to accomplish it by degrees, and therefore to begin with a thing absolutely necessary; namely, to remove the People's prejudice in favour of the Monks. To this end, he ordered a general visitation of the Monasteries, to know perfectly the titles of their estates, the behavior of the Friars and Nuns, how the rules of each order were observed, and other things of the like nature. He did not question, this visitation would discover several considerable abuses, which, being made publick, would sensibly diminish the People's veneration for the Religious, and pave the way to his design. He was extremely incensed with the Monks, whom he looked upon as disturbers of his repose. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their Estates did not a little contribute, without doubt, towards his pushing this affair with great earnestness (4). Thomas Cromwell was chosen to manage this inquiry by the name of Visitor-General. This choice was a plain indication of the King's intent, since he employed a Person who was utterly averse to the Monks. Cromwell having appointed Substitutes or Commissioners (5), gave them very particular instructions under eighty-six Articles, and the visitation began in October. It may be easily judged that among so great a number of Monasteries as were in the Kingdom, most of which had never been visited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in respect of the lives of the Friars and Nuns, as in regard to the observance of the Rule, and the management of the Temporalities. The Visitors, who were not their friends, and doubtless had orders to terrify them, told them, they were going to be exposed to the King's utmost severity, and the rigour of the Law. Then, they suggested to them, that to save themselves harmless, and withal to hide their disorders, the best way was to resign their Houses to the King (6), who, upon that consideration, would take care to provide for each in particular. A good number of Priors being terrified by the Visitors, chose to follow their advice, their Monks agreeing to it, some to avoid punishment, others to enjoy their liberty, and some for want of resolution to resist (7). The reports of the Commissioners were published, that all might be satisfied, the King had not without reason and necessity ordered this general Visitation. The truth is, in some Monasteries were discovered monstrous disorders and horrible crimes, not only with respect to the debaucheries of the Friars and Nuns, but chiefly on the account of the Images and Relicks, for which a shameful trade was driven to enrich the Monasteries, by cherishing the People's Superstition (8).

He orders
the Monas-
teries to be
visited.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 182.
Herbert
Styrc.

and leaves
the manage-
ment to
Cromwell.
Burnet.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Several
Abbots and
Priors sur-
render their
houses to the
King.
Burnet.
The Account
of the Visi-
tation is
published.

(1) On the first of July, Sir Thomas More was brought to his Tryal, and beheaded on the 6th, in the fifty third Year of his Age. Though he was afterwards superstitiously devoted to the Interest and Passions of the Popish Clergy, and even assisted them in all their Cruelties, yet in his Youth he had freer Thoughts of Things, as appears by his *Utopia*, where he seems to borrow the Disguise of a Romance, only to declare his Mind with greater Freedom: He tells us, the *Utopians* allow Liberty of Conscience, and force their Religion upon no Body: That they hinder none from a sober Enquiry into Truth, nor use any Violence upon the account of a different Belief. He was, says Burnet, no Divine at all, neither did he know any thing of Antiquity, beyond the Quotations in the *Canon-Law*, and in the *Muster of the Sentences*. Nor was he conversant at all in the critical Learning upon the Scripture; but his peculiar Excellency in Writing was, that he had a natural easy Expression, and presented all the Opinions of Popery, with their fair Side to the Reader, disguising the black Side of them with neat Art; and had upon all occasions great Store of pleasant Tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for Justice, Contempt of Money, Humility, and a true Generosity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he lived. He is said to have but one hundred Pounds a Year when he resigned the Chancellorship. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 355. and Tom. 3. p. 29. Herbert, p. 184.

(2) And the rather, because the Pope declared, he would give away England to some of the German Catholick Princes, being unwilling to increase therewith the Power of France or Spain. Herbert, p. 184.

(3) With Doctor Heide. Barnes had been sent thither before. See Burnet, Tom. 3. p. 110. Styrc's Mem. Tom. 1. p. 225.

(4) He wanted Money upon several Accounts; chiefly, as he apprehended a War from the Emperor, the most powerful Prince then in the World, and who had large Fleets of his own; therefore, to secure himself against his attacks, he judged it necessary to fortify his Ports, and to build new Harbours. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 189.

(5) Particularly Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, Doctors of Law, Doctor John London Dean of Walsford, &c. Herbert, p. 186. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 183.

(6) Before this, namely, on February 24. 1533, the Priory of the Trinity, or Christ-Church, near Aldgate, in London, was suppressed, and the Lands and Church-Plate thereto belonging, given to Sir Thomas Audley the High-Chancellor. Stow, p. 560.

(7) The first Surrender was by the Abbot of Langden, in Kent, on November 13. (Rymer, Tom. 14. p. 555.) who, upon Doctor Leighton's breaking open his Door on a sudden, was found in Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother. This Surrender was followed by that of the Priory of Fulkton, November 15; on the 16th, of that of Dover; and on February 21. 1536, of that of Bishnecum, all three in Kent. As also of Merton in Yorkshires, February 9, of Tilly in Essex, and of Hornby in Yorkshires, March 23. The Original of these and the other Surrenders are in the Augmentation-Office. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 191.

(8) They found great Factions in the Houses, and barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction against another, as either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the Instruments and other Tools for multiplying and coining. But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being found almost all with Child; for the Dissoluteness of Abbots and the other Monks and Friars, not only with Harlots but married Women; and for their unnatural Leuits and other brutish practices: These, says Burnet, are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on in a Work of this Nature. The full Report of this Visitation is lost; yet Burnet saw an Extract of a part of it concerning one hundred forty four Houses, that contains Abominations in it equal to any that were in Sec-
dom. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 191.

1535.
The King
gives the
Monks leave
to quit their
Monasteries.
Stow.
Hollingh.

This occasioned an ordinance of the King, who, as supreme head of the Church of England, discharged from their Vows such as were professed under four and twenty years of age, and allowed all the rest to quit their Houses, and live like Seculars if they pleased (1). But as most were accustomed to an idle life, and perceived, when they forsook their Monasteries, they should be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the King produced no great effect. Besides, there were doubtless many, who, out of conscience, thought not proper to use it. So, Henry was obliged to take other measures.

Change of
some Bishops.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 550,
552, 553.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 171.
Stow.

It was but this year that Cardinal Campegio lost the Bishoprick of Salisbury, which was given to Nicolas Shaxton a friend to the Reformers. Shortly after, the See of Worcester was taken from Ghinucci an Italian, and conferred on Hugh Latimer, great friend of Cranmer. John Hilsey was promoted to the See of Rochester, vacant by the death of Fisher, and Edward Fox to that of Hereford.

Henry tries
to persuade
the King of
Scotland to
renounce the
Pope.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

Among all the King's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneasiness than his Nephew the King of Scotland, and not without reason. During the whole time of that Prince's minority, Henry had fomented the troubles of Scotland, and even shown that his designs tended to become master of that Kingdom. James was fully informed, and though he showed great regard for the King his Uncle, he let him see however he did not consider him as a friend. Henry therefore was in danger, that, if the innovations in Religion caused disturbances in the Kingdom, the King of Scotland would take occasion to be revenged, by assisting the Malecontents. This fear was the more just, as the Emperor knowing the King of Scotland's disposition, had already laboured to inspire him with suspicions and jealousies of France and England. Nay, he would have concluded a League with him, as I observed, had not Francis broken his measures, by procuring a Peace between England and Scotland. But notwithstanding this Peace, Henry was always in distrust of that quarter. So, to make himself easy, he formed the project to infill into the King of Scotland the resolution to follow his example, and renounce the Pope's obedience. He considered this as a sure means to preserve between the two Kingdoms a strict Union, which would be very advantageous in his present circumstances. He sent him therefore in the first place a long Letter (2), declaring the reasons of his conduct with regard to the Pope. Then, he dispatched an Ambassador (3) to propose an interview, fancying that a conference with him would produce a greater effect than whatever he should say to him by Letter or Embassy. But though the Reformation had already crept into Scotland, James had no inclination to embrace it. So, the Ecclesiastics about his Person easily dissuaded him from accepting the Interview, where they were afraid some things might pass very prejudicial to their Religion. Mean while, James, not being willing openly to refuse the conference desired by the King his Uncle, gave him hopes of his consent, after certain difficulties, purposely raised, were removed. But at the same time he demanded of the Pope a Brief, to forbid his having any Interview with the King of England. When the Brief came, he gave the King his Uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his Journey, was extremely offended at this refusal. Hence sprang a quarrel between them, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

He demands
an Inter-
view.

James ex-
cuses himself
on account of
the Pope's
Prohibition.

Death of the
Duke of Mil-
lan.
Herbert.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I must not forget to relate an event which very much changed the face of the affairs of Europe. I mean the death of Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan, which happened in the month of October. As this Prince left no Issue by Catherine of Denmark the Emperor's Niece, whom he had lately married, the Duchy of Milan as Fief of the Empire, was fallen to the Emperor, to be disposed of as he pleased. So, the fears and

The Empe-
rour seigns
not to intend
to keep that
Duchy.

jealousies of the Pope, the King of France and the Venetians, were revived on this occasion; each of these Potentates having cause to fear the Emperor would keep Milan for himself, or give it to his Brother the King of the Romans. In that case, Italy would of course fall again into Slavery, and the King of France lose his hopes of recovering that Duchy. To make them easy, the Emperor declared he had no design to keep Milan, but intended to present some Prince with it, who should cause no suspicion to those that were concerned to preserve the Peace of Italy. Afterwards, he wisely made use of it for a lure to amuse the King of France. But in reality he never desired to dispossess himself of it (4).

Queen Catherine ended her days the beginning of the year 1536 (5). Though her virtue had gained her an universal esteem, she died however little lamented by the publick, because she equally embarrassed her friends and enemies. Before she expired, she dictated a very tender Letter to the King, who seemed to be extremely moved with it (6). But, in all appearance, his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her when first married, her mildness and modesty having a greater influence upon him than she could expect from her Beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time, his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, though ever with much civility. At last, after he had resolved to put her away, her obstinate refusal to comply with his Will, made him consider her as an enemy. Accordingly he used her rigorously when the sentence of Divorce was pronounced, even to the not suffering her to keep Servants who treated her as a Queen. At last he publicly forbid to give her that title, though he was forced to connive at her disobedience.

1536.
Death of
Queen Ca-
therine.
Herbert.
Stow.
Burnet.

The Parliament meeting the 4th of February, finished the Work begun, by abolishing every thing relating to the Pope's power, not to leave the least pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the King had a farther view, namely, to suppress the Monasteries, as well to be revenged of the Monks and prevent their ill designs, as to procure their Estates. In all appearance, the late visitation of the Monasteries had convinced him that the Monks were as unserviceable to Religion, as prejudicial to his affairs in his present circumstances.

Parliament
meets.

As among the Constitutions observed in the Church of England, there were not a few that had a manifest relation to the papal Authority, it was absolutely necessary to annul them and make others, which should have for foundation the King's Supremacy. The Parliament had already passed an Act, empowering the King to nominate thirty-two Commissioners to examine such as were to be abolished. But the King had not hastened this nomination, because by this confusion, his authority was much more extensive. Indeed, the papal power was abolished by Act of Parliament, and yet it still subsisted in the Constitutions, which, not being abrogated, threw the Clergy into great perplexities because they knew not what to do. But this was what the King desired, that the Clergy might be more at his devotion, since he could equally prosecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not observe them. The Parliament taking this contrariety into consideration would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the King, to appoint Commissioners to alter these Constitutions. This was a sort of reproach for his negligence in that respect. But he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the same State it was (7).

Reason of al-
tering the
Ecclesiastical
Constitutions

He had another thing in his thoughts which affected him much more, namely, to execute his design upon the Monks. In this Session, he represented to the Parliament, that the great number of Monasteries in the Kingdom were a Burden to the State, and earnestly desired them to remedy the Evil by such means as they should judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, That all Houses of two hun-

Act for sup-
pressing the
lesser Monas-
teries.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 575.

(1) The Men, if in Orders, were to have a Priest's Habit given them, and forty Shillings in Money; the Nuns were to have only a Gown, such as secular Women wore. Some however for surrendering their Houses got small Pensions. Herbert. Stow, p. 572.

(2) By William Barlow Bishop elect of St. Asaph, and Thomas Holcroft. Herbert, p. 184.

(3) William Howard Brother of the Duke of Norfolk. Herbert, p. 184.

(4) This Year, Wales, which had hitherto been only a Province to the English Nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the Realm of England. Statute. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26. John Owen began this Year to make Brass Canons, being the first that made this kind of Artillery in England. The 8th of May, King Henry commanded all Persons about his Court to cut their Hair short, and to set them an Example, he caused his own to be cut; and likewise began to wear his Beard knotted, and was no more shaved. August 16, the King's Stables at the Meuse (so called because the King's Hawks were there mewed and kept) were burnt down. Hall, fol. 225. Stow, p. 571.

(5) On the 8th of January at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, thirty three Years after she came into England. In her Will, she appointed her Body to be buried in a Convent of Observants, who had done and suffered most for her, but the King ordered it to be laid in the Abbey Church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to a Cathedral. Stow, p. 572. Queen Ann Boleyn wore Yellow for the Morning. Hall, fol. 227.

(6) In the Title she called him, My most dear Lord, King, and Husband, and concluded with saying, I make this Vow, that mine Eyes desire you above all Things. She advised him to look to the Health of his Soul. She forgave him all the Troubles he had cast her into. She recommended to their Daughter Mary to him, desiring he would be a loving Father to her. She also desired he would provide Matches for her Maid, who were but three; and that he would give her Servants one Year's Wages more than was due to them. She was a devout and pious Princess, and led a severe Life. In her Greatness she wrought much with her own Hand, and kept her Women well employed about her, as appeared when the two Legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a Skirt of Silk about her Neck, and told them she had been within at Work with her Maids. Few such Queens now-a-days! Burnet, Tom. I. p. 192.

(7) About this time, King Henry appointed an Office for all Ecclesiastical Matters, and ordered a Seal to be cut. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Title was also in Convocation ordered to be altered: Instead of Legate of the Apostolic See, he was to be called, Metropolitan and Primate. Burnet, Tom. 3. p. 124.

1536.
H. Court.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Court of
Augmentations
created.
Burnet.

Resolution to
let the People
have the Bible
in English.
Burnet.

The King
takes it upon
himself.

The Parlia-
ment is
dissolved.
Burnet.

P. Daniel.

He promises
Milan to a
Son of
Francis.

and offers an
Alliance
with Henry.
Herbert.

Henry's
Answer.
Herbert.

dred Pounds a year and under should be suppressed, and their effects given to the King (1). Of this sort there were three hundred seventy six, and a revenue of thirty two thousand Pounds a year fell to the Crown, with above a hundred thousand Pounds worth of Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Churches, and the like. A new Court was erected, called the *Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, which was to take Cognizance of all matters concerning this new acquisition (2). The erecting of a Court for so small a revenue, was a clear evidence, the King had no design to stop there, but intended to seize the revenues of all the Monasteries in the Kingdom (3).

The Convocation sitting, as usual, at the same time with the Parliament, a motion was made there, that there should be a Translation of the Bible in *English*, [to be set up in all Churches,] and the same was approved of. It must be observed, the King's intent was only to shew the People, there was nothing contrary to the Holy Scriptures in what was done against the Pope. But *Crommer*, *Cromwell*, and the rest of the Reformers had much farther views. They hoped, when the Bible was in the hands of the People, they would see their error in many other things which hitherto had been deemed essential to Religion. But they took care to hide their designs from the King, knowing how contrary they were to his. *Henry* was absolutely against all reformation of Doctrine, and consequently they were to bring him insensibly and by degrees to what they desired. They partly succeeded, but they fell extremely short of what they had expected at first. However, they thought it very considerable to obtain his consent that it should be moved in the Convocation, to give the People the Bible in *English*, and to have caused the motion to be approved. As there was then no other *English* Version of the Bible but *Tindal's*, made at *Antwerp* without the Publick Authority, the Convocation petitioned the King for a good Translation, which he was pleased to take upon himself (4).

Henry having obtained of the Parliament all he desired, thought it time to dissolve it, which he did the fourteenth of *April*, after having continued it six years. Never had Parliament held so long since the beginning of the Monarchy.

The care *Henry* took to secure himself from the Cabals of the Monks, and his other domestick Enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign Affairs, and of means to avoid the Emperor's attacks. *Francis* was invading *Savoy*, and it was but too manifest that his intent was to open a passage into the *Milanese*. But as this was a great undertaking, considering the then situation of *France*, the Emperor could not believe, he had engaged in it without being first sure of *Henry's* assistance. Wherefore he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to break their Union. From the death of *Sforza*, he had continued a private negotiation with *Francis*, to resign the Duchy of *Milan* to one of his Sons, and acted so artfully, that the Treaty seemed to be very near a Conclusion. This could not but inspire *Henry* with jealousy. He plainly saw if the negotiation ended to the King of *France's* Satisfaction, he would be regardless of his interests. On the other hand, the Emperor no sooner heard of the death of his Aunt Queen *Catherine*, but he sent and offered *Henry* to renew their Alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was passed. But lest he should be taken at his word, he required three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleased, his aim being only to sow division between *Francis* and *Henry*, by making them suspicious of each other. The first of these conditions, was, that *Henry* should be reconciled to the Pope, to which end he offered his mediation. By the second, he demanded a powerful assistance against the *Turks*. By the third, that pursuant to their Treaty in 1518, he should join with him in the defence of *Milan*, against the attacks of the *French* King. *Henry* replied, That what had been done against the Pope could not be revoked: That as soon as Christendom should be in peace, he would act against the Infidels, as became a Christian Prince: That he was ready to renew his alliance with the Emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the

King of *France* his Ally, that being Friend of both, he might be better enabled to labour their reconciliation, or if he could not succeed, to assist him that should be unjustly attacked: That as to the rest, he refused not to agree with the Emperor, provided he would own, the rupture came from him. The Emperor perceiving *Henry* was upon his guard, thought not fit to push this affair any farther. Indeed *Henry* could easily see, his aim was to set him at variance with *France*, since at the very time these things passed, *Francis* imparted to him the private negotiation, concerning the Duchy of *Milan*. Moreover he warned him, that the Emperor intended to force him to return to the Pope's obedience, and it was only upon that condition he offered to resign the *Milanese*.

All these proceedings of the Emperor convincing *Henry* that he sought occasion to attack him, he resolved to pursue his negotiation with the Protestants of *Germany*, to make him a diversion in that Country, which should break his measures with regard to *England*. To this same end, he had sent *Edward Fox* to them last year. But they would not be his dupes, not imagining, as he would fain have made them believe, that he was inclined to their Faith, whilst he ordered their Brethren to be burnt in *England*. So, not to be engaged by faint hopes to be subservient to his designs at their expence, they delivered to his Ambassador the terms on which they were willing to be strictly united with him. The terms were, That he should embrace the *Augsburg* Confession, and defend it with all his power in a free Council: That he should approve of no place for holding the Council without their consent: That if the Pope called a Council at his own pleasure, *Henry* should join with them in protesting against it: That he should accept the title of *Protector of the League*: That he should never return to the Pope's obedience: That he should not assist their enemies: That he should find a hundred thousand Crowns for the occasions of the League, and two hundred thousand if the War lasted any time. Lastly, They added, That when he should have declared himself upon these Articles, they would send Ambassadors and agree with him upon the rest.

These proposals threw *Henry* into some perplexity. He saw, the sole aim of the Protestants was to support their Religion, and that however was the thing which disturbed him the least. He was by no means satisfied with the *Augsburg* Confession, and yet he perceived, in case he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the League of *Smalcald*. On the other hand, it was his interest to continue this Negotiation, as well because the Protestants might be serviceable to him, as to keep the Emperor in awe by that consideration. So his interest required that he should favourably hear these propositions. But withal he resolved to insert in his answer something which should afford him occasion to break, if he thought proper. He replied therefore, that he was willing to furnish the sums required, in case a League, of which he would treat with their Ambassadors, should be concluded between him and the Protestants: That though he was sensible to what the title of *Protector of the League* would expose him, he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a conformity of Doctrine, otherwise he could not engage to defend a Faith, of whose truth he was not convinced: That therefore he desired them to send Commissioners with powers to mitigate some Articles of the *Augsburg* Confession, which he could not approve. Moreover as to the Supplies, he required that the engagement should be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentick approbation of his Divorce, and their promise to justify it in a Council. These proposals of both sides were of a nature to keep a Treaty long on foot. But though the Members of the League of *Smalcald* saw no great likelihood of a strict Union, they appointed however *Sturmius*, *Draco*, *Bucer*, and *Melancthon* to go and confer with *Henry* and his Divines. It was especially provided in their instructions, that nothing should be concluded to the prejudice of the Emperor or Empire. This Negotiation was interrupted by the death of *Ann Bullen*, which happened shortly after, and which very much altered the

(1) A Commission was also directed, on June 16, 1535, to the Bishops of *Meath* and *Kildare*, to *John Allen*, Master of the Rolls, *Gerard Aylmer* Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and five others, empowering them to suppress the Monasteries in *Ireland*. *Kymer's Fied. Tem. XIV.* p. 350.

(2) The Court was to consist of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, an Attorney and Solicitor, ten Auditors, seventeen Receivers, a Clerk, six Usher, and a Messenger. Besides the presentancy, the King was to have the Lands of all those Houses that had been dissolved within a Year before this Act. *Burnet, Tem. I.* p. 194.

(3) What remarkable Statutes were enacted during this Session, are as follows, 1. Whereas Pirates used to be tried after the Course of the Civil Laws, it was ordered, That they should be tried in such Places as should be directed by the King's Commission, and by *James*, an Offender in *London*. 2. That every Person who hath a Parker, and keep two Mares thirteen Hands high, for breeding Foals. 3. That Clerks, presenters of benefices, shall not pay Tenths the first Year in which they pay their First Tenths. 4. That Tithes, Offerings, and other Duties, shall be paid according to the Ecclesiastical Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*, and after the usual Utes and Customs of each Parish. 5. That all Bargains and Sales of Lands should be made by Writing indented, sealed, and enrolled, in one of the King's Courts of Record at *Westminster*, or before the *Justices Retulnary*, two Justices, and Clerk of the Peace, of the County where the Lands lie. See *Statute 21 Henry VIII.*

(4) It is not known to whom that Work was committed, or how they proceeded in it. For the Account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us with that Care that the Importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the Work was carried on at a good pace: For three Years after this it was printed at *Paris*, which shews they made an excellent haste, in a thing that required so much Deliberation. *Burnet, Tem. I.* p. 196.

1536. face of affairs as well as the King's mind, in respect to the Reformation which she openly countenanced.

The King was possessed at the same time with two passions; a violent love for *Jane Seymour*, Maid of Honour to the Queen (1), and an extreme jealousy of his Wife (2). Very likely, the latter was a consequence of the former. When *Ann Bullen's* enemies found, she no longer held in the King's heart the place she had formerly enjoyed, instead of fearing to accuse her of unfaithfulness to the King her Spouse, they believed they should please that Spouse, who began to be himself unfaithful. It is certain the King had lost that affection for the Queen, which made him surmount so many obstacles to possess her; whether enjoyment had quenched this first flame, or the Queen's indiscretions given the King cause to suspect her, he so gave himself over to jealousy, that it was not in his power to overcome it, or perhaps he never much endeavoured it. However this be, the occasion was this. The Queen had a great friendship for her Brother the Lord *Rochford*, but could not indure his Wife, who lived very ill with her Husband, and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this Lady that whispered in the King's ear the first report that the Queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal Commerce with her Brother the Lord *Rochford*. These seeds fell upon a Soil already prepared to receive them. The King, now prejudiced by his passion for *Jane Seymour*, was overjoyed to find in the pretended unfaithfulness of the Queen, a means to procure the possession of the Person he loved. As soon as Queen *Ann's* enemies saw how the King stood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite in his favour, by accusing her of sundry intrigues with her own Domesticks. These enemies were the same with those of the Reformation. They imagined, she had put the King upon all his proceedings against the Pope, on purpose to favour the new Religion. But though she had not done this, it was sufficient to hate her that she had been the cause, by inspiring the King with love, since that had occasioned *Catherine's* Divorce, and consequently all the innovations in Religion. Policy might likewise enter into their project. They were sensible, so long as *Ann* lived she would be an invincible obstacle to a reconciliation with *Rome*, whereas if she were dead, they hoped, all difficulties would be easily removed. The Duke of *Norfolk* inwardly burned with a desire to see Religion again established upon the same foot it was before these alterations, though, like a good Courtier, he took care not to discover it to his Master. His Quality, Zeal, and Credit, had made him head of the Party of the old Religion, and, as he had the King's ear, he could easily do ill Offices to the contrary Party. The King's jealousy of the Queen was too fair an occasion to be neglected, since he could at once serve his Party, and make his Court to his Master. So, it is commonly believed, this Lord contributed most to the Queen's ruin, because among all her enemies, he had most access to the King. But however, whether it was he or another, the King was inspired with a jealousy which threw him into a sort of fury. This is not very strange, considering his temper, the most impetuous and most impatient that ever was. The Queen was accused of a criminal Commerce, not only with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, but also with *Henry Norris* [Groom of the Stole,] *Francis Weston* and *William Brereton* [of the King's Privy Chamber,] and one *Mark Smeton* [a Musician.] It must be confessed, the Queen had some indiscreet ways, which the King never minded, whilst he was not prejudiced against her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his suspicions (3). Besides, as soon as he hearkened to what was said against her, probably, her

enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her most innocent words or actions. Without doubt, *Henry* was some time tormented with jealousy before he discovered it, but at last it broke out at the solemn juffs held at *Greenwich* (4), from whence he suddenly withdrew with signs of great anger, the cause whereof could not be guessed. It is likely, he had observed something that confirmed his suspicions, of which none but himself took notice. *Sanders* says, the Queen dropping her Handkerchief, one of her Gallants took it up and wiped his Face with it. But this Author is the only Person that relates this circumstance (5). However this be, the King was no sooner gone from the Juffs, but he ordered the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* to be arrested. At the same time the Queen was confined to her Chamber, and next day conveyed to the *Tower* (6). But what plainly shewed the design of her enemies to destroy her, was their procuring an order for the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to retire to his Palace at *Lambeth*, for fear if he could speak with the King, he would find occasion to vindicate the Queen.

It is not surprising, this Princess in her sad condition should be disordered, and having none to advise with, should be ensnared by her enemies. Her Uncle's Lady, the Lady *Bullen*, was appointed to lie in her Chamber, with whom she was at great variance, and from this Lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, she said some things which helped to confirm the King's suspicions. However, upon her examination, she positively denied, she had ever been false to the King. Only when she was told that *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* had accused her, though she might have easily seen it was purely to draw from her some confession, she believed she ought not to conceal certain things which had passed between her and them. She said concerning *Norris*, that asking him one day why he did not go on with his Marriage, he replied, there was no haste. Whereupon she said, she plainly saw he was in hopes of having her, in case the King died. This seems to argue there was some familiarity between her and *Norris*. Otherwise, supposing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a Queen should think of talking thus to one of her Domesticks.

As for *Smeton* the Musician, she said, he was never in her Chamber but twice. That the last time she saw him there, she asked him why he was so sad; and that in her conversation with him he had the boldness to tell her, *No, no, Madam, a Look suffices me* (7).

As for *Weston*, she owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that she thereupon desired him (8).

But after all the question is to know, whether the gifts from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not sufficient to clear the Queen. But then, when it is considered, she had for adversary a Husband who was King, and jealous even to madness, very likely, they who were employed to examine her, gave her words such a turn and sense, as favoured the King's designs, by pretending to set down the substance of her answers instead of her very words.

As for the Lord *Rochford*, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the Queen his Sister, amounted to no more than that he was once seen leaning on her Bed.

When these Men were examined, *Norris* swore he believed the Queen innocent, and persisted in his assertion to his last breath. *Smeton* confessed, he had known the Queen carnally three times; but he was never con-

She is accused of Adultery and Treason. Burnet.

(1) Daughter of Sir *John Seymour* of *Wolf-Hall* in *Wiltshire*, and of *Elizabeth* Daughter of Sir *Henry Wentworth* of *Nettlesham* in *Suffolk*. *Dugdale's Baron*, Vol. II. p. 361.

(2) She miscarried of a Son, *January* 29, this Year. *Stow*, p. 572. This was thought to have made ill Impressions on the King, who from thence concluded, that this Marriage was disagreeable to God. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 196.

(3) She was, says *Burnet*, of a very cheerful Temper, which was not always limited within the Bounds of exact Decency and Discretion. She had rather more of the King's Servants more than became her. Tom. I. p. 197.

(4) May the first. *Hall*, fol. 227. At these Juffs, *George Boleyn* Viscount *Rochford*, was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norris*, principal Defendant. *Stow*, p. 572.

(5) *Burnet*, who was at more than ordinary Pains to learn all he could concerning this Affair, observes, that this Circumstance is not in *Spelman*, a Justice at that time, who was an account of the Matter with his own Hand, in his Common-place Book, of which *Burnet* had a Sight. *Spelman* says, the Familiarity was discovered in a very different manner. As for the Evidence (says he) of this Matter, it was discovered by the Lady *Wingfield*, who had been a Gentlewoman to the Queen, and becoming in a sudden infirm some time before her Death, did swear this Matter to one of her ———— And here unluckily the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems there was no legal Evidence against the Queen, and that it was a Witness at second hand who deposed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* swear. Who this Person was we know not, nor in what Temper of Mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be when she swore. And this it seems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich* during the Juffs, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 191.

(6) Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwell* the Secretary, and Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the Tower, who were sent to apprehend her, letting her know, what Crime she was charged with, the cried out, That she was wronged, and desired to see the King before she was conveyed to the Tower, but in vain. When she was brought to the Tower, she fell on her Knees before the same Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accused, and desired those Lords to beseech the King's grace to be good unto her. *Stow*, p. 572. *Herbert*, p. 194.

(7) She said, "Smeton was never in her Chamber but when the King was last at *Windsor*; and then he came to play on the Virginals: She said, "She never spoke to him after that but on *Saturday* before *May* day, when she saw him standing in the Window; and then she asked him, why he was so sad? He said, it was no matter. She answered, You must not expect I should speak to you as if you were a Nobleman, since you are an inferior Person."

(8) No, no, Madam, said he, a Look suffices me. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 199.

(9) She seemed more apprehensive of *Weston* than of any body. For on *Wednesday* Monday last he said to her, "That *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her account, than for any body else that was there. She had observed, that he loved a Kinswoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and he not loving his Wife. But he answered her, That there were Women in the House whom he loved better than them both. She asked, Who is that? Your self, said he; upon which, she said, she desired him." *Ibid*.

1536. fronted with her; nay, he was condemned before she was brought to her Trial, that he might not be a witness. This makes very much for the Queen, since it is not likely such an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that *Smeton* would retract or the Queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The rest pleaded not Guilty; but however were condemned and executed (1).

Three days after, the Queen and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother were tried by their Peers (2), the Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord High-Steward for that occasion (3). The Queen was accused of prostituting herself to her Brother and four other Men, and conspiring the King's death. But this last Charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to insist upon it. The Queen and the Lord *Rochford* pleaded Not Guilty, and yet were condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence the Sentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the Lord *Rochford* should be beheaded and quartered. As for the Queen, she was condemned to be burnt or beheaded at the King's pleasure.

Very probably, the King believed the Queen guilty, and under his present prejudice, signs and tokens were to him as good proofs. But can the same thing be said of the Peers who condemned her? Did their Conscience suffer them to condemn a Queen to death upon bare surmises? I say surmises, since had there been solid proofs, they would very likely have been published, in order to justify a Sentence of this nature, which was unprecedented in *England*. Such reserve was not afterwards used with respect to another of *Henry's* Queens, who was really guilty of the like Crime. All that can be said in favour of those who passed sentence on *Ann Bullen* is, that their dread of turning against themselves the King's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them consider signs as real proofs. It is observable, there were but twenty-six Peers present at the Trial, though there were then fifty-three in *England*, as appears by the Summons to Parliament directed to them shortly after. This gives occasion to conjecture, that, according to the method introduced by Cardinal *Wolsey*, in the condemnation of the Duke of *Buckingham*, care was taken to remove those, who were suspected not to have so much complaisance as to gratify the King's passion at the expence of their Conscience. As for Dr. *Burnet's* saying in his History, that *Ann Bullen's* Father was among her Judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

The Sentence was executed the 19th of May. *Ann* suffered death with great constancy, after a short Speech to those that were present, wherein she neither confessed nor denied the Crime for which she was condemned. She contented herself with acknowledging her obligations to the King, with praying for him, and desiring the Prayers of the People for herself (4). It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the King's anger on her Daughter *Elizabeth*, prevented her from insisting upon her own innocence (5). As she knew the King's temper per-

fectly, and could not vindicate herself without charging him with injustice, she was afraid *Elizabeth* would become the sacrifice of the King her Father's Repentment. However, this was the tragical end of *Ann Bullen*, whom some have vehemently detamed, and whose conduct others have as carefully justified, without any possibility yet of knowing for certain whether she was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her Daughter *Elizabeth* and the Reformation, have blackened her Reputation as much as possible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the Protestant Religion. For a contrary reason, the Protestants have forgot nothing that could conduce to give of her a quite different Idea. But both have reasoned upon a false Principle, since the goodness of a Religion depends not upon the life and conversation of the Professors. For my part, if I may speak my opinion, I can never believe, the Peers, her Judges, had sufficient evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the King's Bed. However, it cannot be denied that by some Familiarities unbecoming a Queen, she gave too great an advantage over her. As she was young and handsome, without doubt she was not displeased to see the effect of her Beauty upon all sorts of People, imagining that the Love she inspired them with, greatly heighten'd her merit. Wee see too many Ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the Spirit of Party has not a little contributed to the diversity of opinions concerning the Queen. Had she not countenanced the reformation, she would have undoubtedly fewer Accusers among the Catholics, and had she led the King to persecute the Reformed, not many of these would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the World. People are innocent or guilty according to the Party they are of. But besides this general cause, a particular reason may also be found in the carriage of *Ann Bullen*. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the King, but which, after some years of enjoyment, served only to raise his jealousy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied she had very good qualities, and particularly great Charity to the Poor, to whom a few days before her disgrace she had given two thousand Pounds (6). A circumstance in the story of her death shews likewise, she had a very tender Conscience. After she was condemned, she fell upon her knees to the Lady *Bullen* her Sister-in-law (7), and conjured her for God's sake, to tell the Princess *Mary*, she begged her pardon for her ill-usage of her. This Charity, and this tenderness of Conscience would little become a Woman, who should have had a shameful and criminal commerce with four Men and her own Brother. But they would be very consistent with great indiscretion and a little coquetry.

Tho' the King had procured the Queen's condemnation, he was not satisfied. He was pleased to give her, before she died, a fresh cause of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he caused her to be turned so many ways, that at last she confessed a contract between her and the Lord *Percy*, now Earl of *Northumberland*, tho' that Lord protested upon his Salvation, there never was any formal promise of Marriage between them. It was

(1) Their Trial came on the 12th of May, on which day they were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer in *Westminster-Hall*. They were twice indicted, and the Indictments were found by two Grand Juries in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middlesex*; the Crimes they were charged with being said to be done in both Counties. All protested their Innocence, only *Smeton* confessed, he had well deserved to die, which gave occasion to many Reflections. They were all beheaded but *Smeton*, who was hanged. It was generally said, he was bribed into that Confession, and had his life promised; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the King's favour, who sent for him, and offered him his life if he would confess his Guilt. He generously rejected the Offer, affirming, That in his Conscience he thought the Queen innocent, and that he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent Person. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 201. Vol. III. p. 120.

(2) In the Tower of London, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose in the King's Hall. *Stow*, p. 573.

(3) With him sat the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Ratland*, *Suffex*, and *Huntington*; the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Montague*, *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Malswary*, *Powis*, *Monteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sandis*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*. The Charge ran, That she had procured her Brother and the other four to lye with her, which they had often done; that she had said to them, that the King never had her heart; and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any Person whatever, which was to the Slander of the Issue that was between the King and her. And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 20th year of this Reign (so that the Law made for her and her Issue, is now made use of to destroy her). It was added in the Indictment, that she and her Complices had conspired the King's death; but this it seems was only put in to swell the Charge. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 200, 363.

(4) Her Carriage the day she died will best appear from the following original Letter of Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the Tower to *Cromwell*.

S I R,

"THIS shall be to advertise you, that I have received your Letter, wherein you would have Strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be by the means of *Richard Gresham*, and *William Lake*, and *Withpole*. But the number of Strangers past not thirty, and not many hath [others.] And the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, and honestly put out: Sir, if we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good Woman for all Men but for the King, at the Hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good Lord, to the Intent I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said: Mr. *Kingston*, I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her, it should be no pain, it was so little. And then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many Men and also Women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her Almshouse is continually with her, and had been since two a-Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and thus fare you well."

She was beheaded a little before noon, on the Green within the Tower. There were present the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. Her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, as being more expert at his business than any in *England*: Her Eyes and Lips were observed to move, after her Head was cut off, as *Speiman* writes; her body was thrown into a common Chest of Elm that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chapel where the Tower beate twelve a-Clock. *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 203. *Hall*, fol. 227. *Stow*. *Strype*.

(5) On the 6th of May she writ a very moving Letter to the King, wherein she insisted upon her Innocence in the strongest Terms: And at another time, affirmed, she could confess no more than she had already done. See *Herbert*, p. 194. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 283. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 206.

(6) She had distributed in the last nine Months of her Life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand Pounds to the Poor. And, in all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better employed than it was. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 196.

(7) *Burnet* says, it was to the Lady *Kingston*, the Constable of the Tower's Lady. Tom. I. p. 204.

believed

1536. believed this confession was drawn from her, by an intimation that the King would, on no other condition, be prevailed to mitigate that cruel part of her Sentence of being *burnt*, into the milder part of being *beheaded*. However this be, upon this same Confession, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was forced to pass a Sentence of divorce between the King and her (1), and declare their Daughter *Elizabeth* illegitimate. What is most strange in the King's proceedings, is, the artifice he used, in causing the Queen to be condemn'd before her Marriage was nulled. Had the Sentence of divorce been pass'd before the trial, she could not have been condemned for Adultery, since her Marriage with the King must have been consider'd only as a Concubinage. But *Henry* had acquired such an absolute sway over his Subjects, that his Will was the sole measure of Justice and Law. Nay, he so little regarded the Publick and his own reputation, that he married *Jane Seymour* the next day after *Ann Bullen's* death, wherein she expressed a Passion which served greatly to justify the deceased Queen.

The King
June

Herbert.
Burnet.

Burnet.
Herbert.
Streyer.

Parliament.
A new Act
of Succession.
Hall.
Herbert.
Stew.
Burnet.

The Pope
to make
inquiries
to Henry,
Burnet.
Herbert.

The Death of *Ann Bullen* revived the hopes of *Mary* the King's Daughter by his first Wife *Catherine*. Her Attachment to the Queen her Mother, and her obstinate refusal to submit to the late Acts of Parliament, had quite thrown her out of the King's Favor, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event causing the Friends of *Rome* to imagine the King might be reconciled to the Pope, they advised *Mary* to accommodate herself to the times, for fear of losing the fruit, this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obstructed the union of the King with the Emperor, it was hoped the Act which declared her Illegitimate might be repealed, provided she made her Submission to the King her Father. To this end, she resolved to write a very humble and respectful Letter to the King, protesting, for the future she would have no other Sentiments but His. But *Henry* not satisfied with a Submission expressed in such general terms, insisted before he restored her to favour, upon her signing certain Articles which she had hitherto rejected: namely, the Supremacy, the renunciation of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the unlawfulness of her Mother's marriage. *Mary* tried all possible ways to be excused. But at length, finding the King remained inflexible, she signed them, though contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the Ill she committed in acting against her Conscience, might be productive of much Good (2). As for the Princess *Elizabeth*, then about three years old, she was divested of the Title of *Princess of Wales*, which she had enjoyed from her Birth. However, the King still continued to educate her at Court with all the Care and Tendernefs of a Father.

A new Parliament meeting the 8th of *June* (3), an Act was passed to settle the Succession, That made, after their marriage being void by the Sentence of Divorce between the King and *Ann Bullen*. By this new Act the other was repealed, and the Issue of the King's two first marriages declared illegitimate, and disabled from ever inheriting the Crown. Moreover the Act confirmed *Ann Bullen's* Sentence as being grounded upon very just causes (4), and settled the Crown after the King's Death upon the Issue of Queen *Jane*, or of any other Queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally they gave the King full Power to declare the Succession to the Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his last Will signed with his hand; [and if any so designed to succeed in default of others, should endeavour to usurp upon those before them, or to exclude them, they were declared Traytors,] as were also those who should maintain the lawfulness of the former marriages. Hence it may be easily guessed, with what an absolute sway *Henry* then ruled, since, without any examination, the Parliament approved of all his Actions, and granted him even more than he desired, by giving him power to settle the order of his Successors. By that it was in the King's power to replace *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in such order as he pleased, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence, that the Parliament had not justice and equity so much in view as pleasing the King.

When Pope *Paul III* heard of *Ann Bullen's* death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done in *England*. And therefore declared his thoughts to Sir

Gregory Caffali formerly the King's Ambassador, and after some excuses concerning the Sentence of Excommunication which he had given, but was not yet published, told him he would willingly close with any expedients that should be deemed proper to procure a good agreement between the King and him. But *Henry*, who, some few years before, would have done much to obtain the Pope's favour, was now of another mind. Nothing was capable of inducing him to dispossess himself of the authority acquired over the Clergy, as well as over the rest of his Subjects, and which rendered his power more extensive than he expected at first. On the contrary, entirely to destroy the Pope's expectations, he caused the Parliament to confirm by two new Acts whatever had been done against him. By the first, all persons were to incur the pains of a *Præmunire*, who endeavoured to restore in *England* the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; and all Officers both Civil and Ecclesiastical were commanded, under severe Penalties, to punish those who should dare to violate this Statute. The second nulled and abolished all dispensations, immunities and privileges flowing from the Court of *Rome*, saving to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* the power of confirming what should not be contrary to the Law of God, or common decency, [which confirmation was to pass under the Great Seal.]

In this Session two considerable Acts were also passed, but which related not to Religion. By the first, it was forbid, under severe Penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the Blood-Royal, without the King's licence first had. This Statute was made on account of *Thomas Howard* the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, to whom *Margaret Douglas* the King's Niece [and Daughter to the Queen of *Scotland*, then living in the *English* Court] had plighted her faith, without acquainting the King her Uncle. *Henry* offended at their boldness, sent them both to the *Tower*, and to prevent the like for the future, procured the fore-mentioned Act. By the second it was provided, that all usurpations of the Parliament upon the Royal Authority, before the King was twenty four years of age, might be repealed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal. Thus both Houses of Parliament employed their whole Authority, to give the Sovereign a power which his Predecessors had never enjoyed, as if they had been assembled for that purpose.

But it was not only with respect to the Civil Government, that the bounds of the Royal Authority were enlarged. The Clergy, unwilling to yield to the Parliament in that point, used the same endeavours to become agree-able to the King, by approving all his proceedings.

The Convocation being met at the same time, confirmed the Sentence of the invalidity of the King's marriage with *Ann Bullen*, upon the same ground which had served to procure it, namely, a Pre-Contract with the Lord *Percy*, though that Lord denied it upon Oath.

A few days after, the lower House of Convocation sent to the upper House sixty seven opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the same time the Deputies made great Complaints against those who were for making innovations in religion. These Complaints were levelled at *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, and some others who were noted as Heads or Promoters of the Reformation, though they were not named (5). Care was taken to mix with these sixty seven opinions, mostly drawn from the doctrine of the *Lutherans*, several Tenets of the old *Lollards* and the *Anabaptists*, to insinuate that those who were complained of, embraced them all alike. The Enemies of the Reformers hoped to make them forfeit the King's favour, who affected a great rigour against such as were termed Hereticks. After the death of *Ann Bullen*, they scarce doubted that all whom she had loved or protected, would share in her ruin. But they were disappointed in their expectations: *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* were never more in the King's favour, who even gave presently after to *Cromwell* a fresh mark of his esteem, by constituting him his Vice-gerent in all Ecclesiastical matters (6). So, the Convocation's complaints, instead of being prejudicial to the Reformation, or Reformers, seem rather to have increased the credit of the two Heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was seen that they had

(1) At *Lambeth*, May 17. Burnet, T. I. p. 207.

(2) There is one Circumstance that shews the Frugality of that time, or rather how far Money went then, on account of its Scarcity. In the Establishment of the new method for the Family, there was only forty Pounds a quarter allowed for her Privy-Purse. Burnet, T. I. p. 208.

(3) Before this, the full forty Days before any Writs must have been issued out the Day before the 1st of Queen's Day; so that it was almost before the first of *November*, and consequently did not flow from any thing that then appeared. Tom. I. p. 209, and III. p. 118. The Writ of Summons, see date, April 7. See *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. XIV. p. 567.

(4) Queen *Jane* is said to have been informed with Pride and Casual Damage to her Body; and having confided in her Complaints, to have continued divers Treasons to the danger of the King's Royal Person, (with other aggravating Words, for which she was indicted Death, and is now condemned by Act of Parliament. Burnet, T. I. p. 210.

(5) Before this, the *Cromwell* promised the Reformation *wholly and fully*; *Latimer*, *zealously and simply*; *Shaxton*, with much indirect *Prudence*. Burnet, T. I. p. 214.

(6) In a private Instrument dated October 22, 1535, he is styled Vicegerent: And in the Writ of Summons, 1539, (in *Dupdub*) he is styled *Vicar-General*. So that these two Titles seem to have been gradually used. In right of his Office of Vicegerent, he sat in Convocation above the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. See Burnet, Tom. III. p. 402, 153. About this time he was made Lord Privy Seal, upon the resignation of *Thomas Earl of Wiltshire*; and on the 9th of July was created a Baron. See *Rymer's Fed.* Tom. XIV. p. 571.

1536. persuaded the King to advance the Reformation, by retrenching in the publick Worship, such ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This resolution being taken, the King acquainted the Convocation that he wished them to examine the ceremonies, to the end such as were useless and insignificant might be retrenched.

Articles presented by the King to the Clergy. Hall. Hollingsh.

Grand debates between the two Parties. Burnet.

Constitutions made by the Clergy. Fuller. Burnet. T. i. p. 215. Herbert.

But those who were against the Reformation had a much greater cause to be alarmed, when some days after, *Cromwell* brought into the Upper House of Convocation, Articles drawn by the King himself, containing sundry Alterations in the Doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the King the result of their debates. Then it was that the two Parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppose, the Reformation. *Cranmer* was at the head of the first, being supported by *Goodrich* Bishop of *Ely*, *Shaxton* of *Salisbury*, *Latimer* of *Worcester*, *Fox* of *Hereford*, *Hilsey* of *Rocheſter*, *Barlow* of *St. David's*. *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, was Chief of the second; and with him were *Stokeſley* Bishop of *London*, *Tonſtal* of *Durham*, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, *Longland* of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn* (1) of *Chicheſter*, *Nix* of *Norwich* (2), *Kite* of *Carlisle*. These, who were private Favorers of the Pope's interest, still hoping a reconciliation with *Rome*, strenuously opposed all Innovations for fear the breach should become wider. But this Party lay under a great disadvantage, as *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, who had the King's Ear, suggested to him that most of the abuses which they desired to be abolished, directly tended to support the Pope's usurpations. In short, after many debates, the Convocation agreed upon certain Articles which were digested in form of Constitutions, the Substance whereof was as follows:

I. The Holy Scriptures are laid down as the Foundation of Faith, jointly with the three *Creeeds*, the *Apostles*, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian*, and the four first General Councils.

II. The necessity of Baptism is established in the second, which forbids also to repeat it.

III. In the third, Penance is reckoned necessary to Salvation, consisting of Contrition, Auricular Confession, and Amendment of Life.

IV. The fourth establishes as a fundamental Doctrine the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist (3).

V. In the fifth it is said, that Justification is attained by Regeneration, which consists of Contrition, Faith, and Charity.

VI. It is appointed in the sixth, that Images should stand in the Churches, but that in incensing, kneeling, and offering to them, People should not do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

VII. In the seventh, *Saints* are to be honoured, but without believing, such things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to bestow.

VIII. In the eighth, *Saints* are to be prayed to, provided it be done without superstition. The days set apart for their memories are to be observed; unless the King should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The Ceremonies used in the Church are to be retained, as the Vestments of the Priests, Holy-Water, Holy-Bread, bearing Candles on *Candlemas-day*, giving Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, bearing Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the Cross on *Good-Friday*, and kissing it, hallowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and Benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead, but that it is necessary to correct the abuses advanced under the pretence of Purgatory, the Pope's Pardons, Masses said in certain places, or before certain Images. In fine, that since the State and Place of Souls after death are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy in general terms only.

The King approves them.

These Constitutions being presented to the King, who corrected them in several places (4), were signed by *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, seventeen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation, among whom was *Polydore Virgil* (Archdeacon of *Wells*), Author of a History of *England*,

published afterwards by the King's order (5). Their publication occasioned great variety of Censures. Those that desired a Reformation had gained some ground, with respect to Images and Purgatory, but chiefly in that the Scriptures were made the standard of Faith, because they hoped from that Principle to draw one day very great consequences. But the determinations concerning Auricular Confession, and the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, troubled them extremely. Not only were these Articles directly contrary to their sentiments, but they saw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reason of the King's prejudice, who believed them unquestionable. The other Party were under an unspeakable consternation, to see Articles so long since determined, brought under examination, the Papal authority abolished, and the existence of Purgatory called in question. Thus these Constitutions pleased neither Party. The one thought the Reformers had acted too faintly, in not advancing the Reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in suffering Doctrines so repugnant to truth, to be established. But it was replied, that every thing could not be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent obstinately to require that the errors, the People were not yet sensible of, should be suddenly retrenched. The other Party were very angry also with the Bishops, for so basely abandoning Truths, embraced for so many ages by the Catholick Church. But indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwise. The King himself managed the whole, having settled in his Cabinet-Council what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not any in this Council that dared to oppose his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his sentiments, for fear a too great opposition should produce a quite contrary effect. All that could be done, was to try to enlighten the King gently and insensibly, without striving to bring him, by a sort of compulsion, to what was thought reasonable.

Before the Convocation broke up, the King communicated to both Houses a Summons he had received to a Council, which was to meet at *Mantua*. The Pope, without consulting him, had called this Council in concert with the Emperor, and was to preside by his Legates. So *Henry* might well expect to lose his Cause before such a Council, had he been so unwise as to submit to its decisions. Indeed he had appealed from the Pope to a General Council; but there were many Queries to be resolved, in order to know whether this called at *Mantua* was lawful, and fortified with a sufficient authority. Mean while, before he answered the Summons, he was pleased to advise with the Clergy, who, after mature deliberation, presented to him a writing to this effect: That a true and lawful General Council was a very good means to preserve the peace and union of the Church; but before a Council was called, it was necessary to consider, First, who had authority to call it: Secondly, Whether the reasons for calling it were weighty. Thirdly, Who should assist as Judges. Fourthly, What should be the order of proceeding. Fifthly, What Doctrines were to be discussed. Then, it was declared that neither the Pope nor any Prince in the World had power to call a General Council, without the consent of all the Sovereigns in *Christendom*. Pursuant to this Declaration, *Henry* published a protestation against the Council which was to meet at *Mantua*, speaking very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the Pope. He concluded with saying, that he could not consider as Free and General, a Council where the Bishop of *Rome* should preside, which should meet in a suspected place, and which must be composed only of a small number of Prelates, till the War between the Emperor and *France* was ended.

The eighteenth of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued, after a Session but of forty days, wherein however several Acts of moment were passed (6).

At this time Cardinal *Pole* was in high repute for his Learning and Eloquence. His name was *de la Pole*, but every where, except in *England*, he is so well known by that of *Pole*, that he cannot be called by any other, without danger of confounding the Reader. He was descended of *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Favorite

1536. Opinion of the two Parties upon these Articles. Burnet.

The King being called to a Council, advises with the Convocation. Burnet. Herbert.

The Clergy's Answer. Burnet. T. i. p. 219. Herbert. p. 203.

The King protests against the Council of Mantua. Burnet.

The Parliament is prorogued.

Reginald Pole falls out with the King. Herbert. Burnet. Stowe.

(1) *Sherburn*, upon what Inducement is not known, resigned his Bishoprick, hundred Pounds, being reserved to *Sherburn*, and confirmed by this Parliament. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 570.

(2) *Nix* had also offended the King signally, by some Correspondence with *Rome*, and was long kept in the *Marshalsea*, and was convicted and found in a Prisoner: But the King considering his old Age, upon his Submission pardoned him. He died the last Year, though *Fuller* in his slight way makes him fit in this Convocation. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 214. See *Rymer*, *Ibid.* p. 573.

(3) It is observable, that there are only three Sacraments mentioned in these Articles. *Hall*, fol. 228.

(4) The King did not correct the engrossed and signed Articles, as *Rapin*, and others have been led to imagine, by misunderstanding *Burnet's* Words in his Vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was, (as he explains it himself in Vol. III. p. 123.) That there are several Draughts of these Articles that are in many Places corrected by the King's own Hand, some of which Corrections are very long and very material. Of these he spoke, and not of the engrossed Articles, signed by the Convocation.

(5) And *Peter Parnas* Archdeacon of *Worcester*. *Herbert*, p. 202.

(6) Namely, those mentioned above; against restoring the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; against Immunities, &c. — By an Act now made, it was affirmed, That Tithes, and other Profits, arising or becoming due during the Vacancy of any Spiritual Promotion, shall belong to the Person that is next presented thereto, toward the payment of the First-Fruct. And by another, That French Wine should be sold by retail only eight Pence a Gallon; and *Malvoſie* for twelve Pence. See *Statute*, 28 *Henry VIII.*

1536. of Richard II. From that time, this Family had been continually advanced, so that in the Reign of Henry VI, the Earl of Suffolk was honored with the title of Duke. After that, a Lord of this same Family married a Daughter of the Duke of Clarence, Brother of Edward IV. Of this marriage was born, among other Children, Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, the Cardinal I am speaking of, who consequently was Cousin to the King (1). Being a younger Brother, he was designed for the Church, for which also his natural qualities rendered him very proper. In his younger years, he made so great progress in all the Sciences, that the King intending to raise him to the highest dignities of the Church, conferred on him the Deanery of Exeter, with several other Benefices, that he might go and finish his studies abroad. He went first to Paris, where he stayed some years, and forfeited in some measure the King's favour, for refusing to concur with his Agents, in procuring the determinations of the French Universities in the affair of the Divorce. Notwithstanding this, he returned into England, where he assisted as Dean of Exeter, at the Convocation, which acknowledged the King supreme Head of the Church of England (2). There is even reason to presume he was not of the number of those who opposed this new Title, because he kept his Deanery several years after. At length he travelled into Italy, and lived some time at Padua, where he contracted a friendship with Bembo, Sadoletti, and other celebrated Wits. The reputation he acquired in that Country, made the King desirous to recall him, intending to reward his merit, which was universally known. But Pole still declined, on some pretence or other to comply with the King's desire. At last, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the King the true reason of his refusal, which was, he could not approve either of his Divorce, or separation from the Apostolick See. Henry, who was extremely desirous to gain him, sent him a writing, containing his Apology, and the reasons of his proceedings against the Pope (3). Upon which Pole wrote his Book *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, wherein he takes the liberty to speak of the King in very offensive terms, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and exhorting the Emperor and the rest of the Princes to turn their Arms against him. He was not satisfied with sending him his Book in Manuscript, but caused it to be printed and published (4). Henry provoked, as may be easily judged, at such a violent and disrespectful Behaviour, tried to allure him into England, by writing to him how much he esteemed his Book, desiring him withal to come and explain some difficult passages by word of mouth. Pole took care not to be thus insnared. So the King perceiving this artifice took not effect, divested him of all his dignities, the loss whereof was amply repaired by the Pope and the Emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat. He thereby became still more attached to the Pope's interest, and a greater enemy to the King, who not being able to reach his Person, made his Family and Kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

Burnet.
T. III. 403.
Herbert.

Suppression
of the lesser
Monasteries.
Burnet.
T. I. Coll.
P. 143.

The suppression of the lesser Monasteries, enacted in the last Session of the late Parliament, was not executed till August, though the Commissioners appointed for that purpose had received their instructions in April. Probably, the King had a mind to see the Issue of the new Parliament before they proceeded. As their report was suppressed in the Reign of Queen Mary, it cannot positively be said what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the Pope and the old Religion accused them of committing numberless extortions and robberies, and of making false reports of what they discovered in this Visi-

tation, to lessen the horror of their oppressions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that these Men, either from a desire to make their court to the King, or from a greediness to enrich themselves, exceeded their instructions. On the other hand, it is also probable, their accusers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immense numbers were extremely displeased at the suppression of so many religious Houses, which were had in great veneration. All the Friars of these suppressed Houses who wished to become Seculars, had a dispensation from the King, and the rest were removed to the larger Monasteries, which were untouched. The Churches and Cloysters were pulled down, and the materials sold to the King's use.

It may be easily judged, the Monks spared no pains to excite the People to rebel. They found it the more easy, as great discontents reigned every where. The nobility and gentry took it very ill, that the King should have the Lands of the suppressed Monasteries, most part whereof were founded by their Ancestors. Besides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger Children, when they had too many, and of lodging, as they travelled, in these Houses, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured still louder, because multitudes lived by the Alms which were daily distributed in these Houses. In short, the devout Bigots thought the Souls of their Ancestors must now lie in Purgatory, since so many Masses which were said for their deliverance, were abolished by the suppression of the Monasteries.

The Court hearing of these murmurs, endeavoured to compose them, by publishing the disorders, discovered in these Houses. But this signified nothing. Besides that these reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was said, why were not these abuses severely punished and reformed, without destroying whole Houses for ever? At last, Cromwell found an expedient to allay these discontents in great measure, by advising the King to sell the Lands of the suppressed Monasteries at very easy rates, and oblige the Purchasers, under severe penalties, to keep up the wonted Hospitality (5). But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeasing the murmurs of the People, though the King strove to give them some satisfaction by re-endowing one and thirty of these Houses (6).

Whilst People were in this fermentation, the King published, in the name of the Vice-gerent, some Injunctions to regulate the behavior of Persons in Holy Orders, many of whom led very irregular Lives. These Injunctions contained nothing but what had been ordained by several Synods (7), and yet the Clergy were extremely offended, because they could not endure to see themselves subject to the orders of the Vice-gerent, by whom, they said, they were going to be inflamed much more than by the Pope. Thus the inferior Clergy, the Monks and the Bigots being equally concerned in what had been done, and in what, very probably, was intended to be done, inspired those on whom they had any influence, with a spirit of Rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire (8), where Dr. *Mac-kereel*, Prior of *Barlings*, drew after him a great body of Men, whom he headed under the name of *Captain Cowler*. The Rebels sent their grievances to the King in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his Supremacy, and were content he should enjoy the Tithes and First-Fruits of the Livings, but withal prayed him to advise with his Nobility concerning the redress of their Grievances. This was taxing the King indirectly with

(1) This is one of the greatest Mistakes concerning Families *Rupin* has been guilty of. Cardinal Pole was no ways related to *de la Pole* Duke of Suffolk. The Cardinal's Father Sir *Richard Pole*, Knight of the Garter, was a *Welshman*, and married *Margaret* Daughter of the Duke of Clarence. See Note 3) p. 26.

(2) He says himself he was not present, which shews, that at that time he was contented to be silent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. Burnet, Tom. III. p. 124.

(3) In a Book writ by Doctor *Bishop*. *Idem*. T. I. p. 221.

(4) Pole's Book was answered by *Bishop Stokesley*, and *Bishop Tunstall*, in a long and learned Letter, directed to Pole. *Gardner* published also against it, his Book of *True Obedience*; to which was added a Preface by *Bonner*. *Idem*. Tom. III. p. 126. &c. Herbert, p. 182.

(5) The Purchasers being obliged to keep up the old Hospitality, (which they were to do upon the Penalty of paying every Month six Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence, to be levied by the Justices of the Peace, who were empowered to enquire of the Matter) the common sort, who, like those of old, that followed Christ for the Leaves, were most concerned for the loss of a Dinner on Sundays and Holydays, were in a great measure satisfied; and the Gentry, by having good Bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to assist the Crown for ever in the Defence of these Laws, their own Interests being interwoven with the Rights of the Crown. The Commissioners, as was but just, paid all the Debts of the suppressed Monasteries: But when Relicks happened to be pawned, it seems they refused to redeem them. Thus one Man lost forty Pounds which he had lent upon St. *Andrew's Finger*, except one Ounce of Silver with which it was covered. The Writers that live near the time say, about ten thousand Friars and Nuns were sent to seek for their Livings. The Abbots and Priors had small Pensions. Burnet. Herbert.

(6) Fifteen Abbies, and sixteen Nunneries. The King's Letters Patents for that purpose are dated August 17. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 224. and Coll. P. 143.

(7) The Preamble of these Injunctions ran thus: "In the Name of God, Amen. By the Authority and Commission of the excellent Prince Henry, by the Grace of God King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth supreme Head under Christ of the Church of England. I Thomas Lord Cromwell, Privy-Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's said Highness, for all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, do for the advancement of the Glory of Almighty God, encrease of Virtue, and honour of the King's Majesty, give and exhibit unto you — these Injunctions following, &c." This was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. They were penned, it is like, by *Cranmer*. They were not relished by the Majority of the Clergy. The great riches they made by their Images and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet severe Impositions were laid upon them: A sixth for Repairs; a tenth at least for an Exhibitioner, in either of the Universities, or some Grammar School; and a fortieth for Charity; which were used as upon as intolerable Burdens. Their Labour was also increased, and they were bound up to a strict Life. In short, the very same Opinions about *Purgatory*, *Saints*, &c. and about instructing the People in the Christian Religion, in the vulgar Tongue, for which the *Lollards* were not long ago burnt, were now set up by the King's Authority. See Burnet's Collection, Tom. I. p. 160, &c.

(8) In the beginning of October, occasioned by the levying of the fifteenth lately granted by Parliament. Hall, lib. 229. Stow, p. 573. The Duke of Suffolk was commissioned to go against them October 7. Herbert, p. 205.

following

1536.
The Grievances of
the Rebels.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Speed.
fol. 229.

following the Councils of *Thomas Cromwell*, who was of a mean extraction. These grievances were, That he had suppressed a great number of Monasteries: That large Subsidies had been granted by Parliament without any occasion: That he admitted into his Council Persons of mean birth, whose sole view was to enrich themselves, instead of consulting the good of the State: That several Bishops had subverted the ancient Faith (1), and embraced new Doctrines, at all times condemned by the Church: That having seen so many religious Houses plundered, they were afraid the Churches would undergo the same fate.

The King's
Manifesto.
Hall.
fol. 229.
Burnet.
Speed.

The King returned an answer to these grievances in a large Manifesto (2). But as his reasons were grounded upon principles not admitted by the Malecontents, the Manifesto had no great effect. Mean while the King was greatly embarrassed; his Troops were few, and he had certain advice that a like insurrection was preparing in *Yorkshire* and other neighbouring Counties. He ordered however the Duke of *Suffolk* to march, though with very few Troops, and try to stop the progress of the Rebels. But the Duke finding himself too weak, thought it more proper to endeavour to appease the commotion by way of Negotiation than by arms. So when he sent to the Malecontents the King's answer to their grievances, he took occasion to let them know, they should not despair of pardon. Upon which, some of their heads privately sent him word, they had joined with the Rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to succeed, provided the King would be pleased to grant them a general pardon. The Duke disliked not this overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the King, and solicit him in their behalf, offering however to march against the Rebels if he was ordered. At the same time, the King received news that the *Yorkshire*-Men had taken Arms, and as he feared the others would join them, made haste and issued out a Proclamation, granting an absolute pardon to all that should return to their homes. The Proclamation succeeded according to expectation. The Rebels immediately dispersed, and so freed the King from great perplexity. Some however chose rather to join the *Yorkshire* Rebels than accept of the pardon (3).

The Rebels
accept of a
Pardon.

A more
dangerous
Rebellion in
Yorkshire.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Aske head of
the Rebels.
Speed.

The Insurrection of *Yorkshire* was much more dangerous than that of *Lincolnshire*. This last seemed to have been accidental and sudden. The other was in pursuance of a settled design, wherein were concerned several Persons of note, who only waited, before they declared, to see how the People in general were disposed. One *Robert Aske*, a Man of good judgment, headed the Malecontents of those parts, where the distance of the Court, and the neighbourhood of *Scotland*, rendered the People more bold than elsewhere, besides that the Monks had ever been in more credit in the northern Counties than in all the rest of the Kingdom. Since *July*, *Aske* had tried to gain the Lord *Dacres*, who had amused him some time with hopes that his Negotiation would succeed. Probably, this Lord sent the King the first notice of the Plot. At last, the Malecontents took arms, and assembled in very great numbers about the end of *August*, just after the *Lincolnshire* Rebellion broke out. When they saw themselves strong enough, they would not suffer the Lords and Gentlemen to remain neuter at home, but forced them either to fly or join with them, and swear they would be true to the cause, for which they intended to fight. This cause was properly Religion, as they plainly intimated, by putting a Crucifix in their Banners (4). Besides, they re-established the Monks in some of the suppressed Monasteries. As they met with no opposition, because the King's Forces were employed against the Rebels of *Lincolnshire*, they made great progress at first, and still much greater, after *Richmondshire*, *Lancashire*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the County of *Westmoreland* ingaged on their side. *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* was the only Person that ventured to take arms for

The Earl of
Shrewsbury
rises for the
King.
Herbert.
Hollingth.

the King without receiving his Commission, though he was not ignorant that at such a juncture his proceedings might be misinterpreted. But as he meant well, he hoped the King would forgive a fault committed purely for his Service. And indeed the King sent him a Commission, constituting him his Lieutenant against the Rebels. At the same time, he ordered the Duke of *Suffolk* not to stir from *Lincolnshire*, lest the Male contents there should think of joining those of the North. Moreover, he gave Commissions to several Lords (5) to levy Troops, whilst on his part, he assembled as many as possible, in order to form an Army, the command whereof he designed for the Duke of *Norfolk*. But, either from the backwardness of the People, or for some other reason, the Army was not sufficiently numerous to resist the Rebels.

The Duke of
Norfolk
commands
the King's
Forces.

Whilst the King was making his preparations, *Aske* was not idle. He approached *Pontefract* Castle, where the Archbishop of *York* and *Thomas Lord d'Arcy* were, and forced them to surrender the place. As these two Lords were reckoned well-affected to the Pope, many believed they were not sorry that the want of Provisions furnished them with a pretence to deliver *Pontefract* to the Rebels, and march with them in their other expeditions (6). Shortly after, *Aske* took also *York* and *Hull*, and by fair or foul means obliged all the Nobility of the Country to join his Army (7). Thus this affair grew daily more important, and the Court became apprehensive that the rest of the Kingdom would follow the example of the northern Counties. This apprehension was the more just, as at the same time there were in all parts Men who made it their business, to spread reports capable of inciting the whole Nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter subversion of the Religion they had hitherto professed.

The Arch-
bishop of
York and
the Lord
d'Arcy sur-
render *Pontefract*, and
are expected.
Herbert.

The Rebels
take *York*
and *Hull*.

Mean while, the King chose to amuse the Rebels, till his Army was ready. The 20th of *October* he sent a Herald with a Proclamation to be read to the Troops. *Aske* gave the Herald audience, sitting in State with the Archbishop on the one hand, and the Lord *d'Arcy* on the other. But when he heard the contents of the Proclamation, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. *Henry* finding matters were in an ill way, dispatched the Duke of *Norfolk* with what Troops he had assembled, which were to be joined by those under the command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and some others levied in haste by the Marquis of *Exeter* (8). But these three small Bodies bore no proportion to the Forces of the Rebels. So the King found himself obliged to publish a Proclamation, commanding all the Nobility to meet him [at *Northampton*] the 7th of *November*. Mean time, *Aske*, at the head of thirty thousand Men, advanced towards *Doncaster*, where the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were encamped with five thousand Men only, and having no other refuge but to defend the pass of the River between the two Armies. But as it was fordable in several places, they would doubtless have been extremely embarrassed, if a great rain, which fell very seasonably, had not made the River unpassable. This was certainly a very fortunate accident for the King. If his Troops had been defeated on this occasion, as it was very likely, considering their small number, it would have done him an unspeakable damage.

The King
tries to
amuse the
Rebels.

The Duke
of *Norfolk*
marches
against the
Rebels.
Hall.
Hollingth.
Herbert.

Accident
which hin-
ders the
Royal Army
from being
defeated.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingth.

I have before observed, that the Duke of *Norfolk* approved not of the alterations made in Religion. And therefore, it could not but be very disagreeable to him to command the King's Army, against People who had taken Arms in a cause which he could not dislike. Mean while, he saw himself in a very dangerous situation, since he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the first case, a victory over the Rebels would infallibly ruin the party he secretly favored. In the second case, he ran the risque of being suspected by the King, and forfeiting his favor. Happily for him, his inability to hurt

Sentiments
and Conduct
of the Duke
of *Norfolk*.

(1) Particularly they complained, that four of their pretended seven Sacraments were taken away, and that they should soon lose the other three. Hall, fol. 228.

(2) As to the Suppression of the Monasteries, he declared, That it was granted him by all the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal of his Realm, and by all the Commons in the same, by Act of Parliament, and not let forth by any Counsellors of his upon their mere Will and Fancy. Hall, fol. 229.

(3) Captain *Cobler*, with several others, were taken and executed. Hall, fol. 230. The rest made their Submission, *October* 19. *Hollingth.* p. 941.

(4) Their March was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, and to inveigle the People, some Priests marched before them with Crucifix in their Hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the five Wounds and a Chalice, and every one wore on his Sleeve as a Badge, an Emblem of the five Wounds of Christ, with the Name of *Jesus* wrought in the midst. All that joined them took an Oath, "That they would in the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, for the Love of God, the Preservation of the King's Person and Issue, the purifying the Nobility, and driving away of the poor and evil Counsellors; and for no particular Profit of their own, nor to do Displeasure to any, nor to kill any for Envy, nor to take more than the Cause of Christ, his Faith, the Reformation of the Church, and the Suppression of Heretics, and their Opinions." There was great Pretences. So People flock'd about their Crucifix and Standards in such Numbers, that they grew forty thousand strong. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 209. Hall fol. 230. Stow, p. 574.

(5) Particularly to *George Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *October* 17. At the same time, *George Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, sent the King offers of their Service. Herbert, p. 205.

(6) They were both made to take the Oath in the Note above.

(7) *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (17 Hen. VIII.) Grandson of the Lord *Clifford*, slain in the first of *Edw.* IV. held out his Castle of *Skipton* against all that Force, though five hundred Gentlemen retained at his Cost, had deserted him. Sir *Ralph Emers* also defended *Northburgh* Castle till he was relieved, though himself and Men had nothing but Bread and Water for twenty Days. Herbert, p. 205.

(8) *Henry Courtney*.

1536. the Rebels, freed him from this embarrassment, by affording him a pretence to proceed with him by way of Negotiation. As he held intelligence with some of their Leaders, he so ordered it by their means, that they came to a resolution to present a very humble Petition to the King. That done, they acquainted the Duke with it, intreating him to second it with his interest. The Duke readily granted their request; but told them, that to obtain a favorable answer from the King, there must be a cessation of Arms, during which he took upon him to go himself and present their Petition. This proposal being accepted, the cessation was concluded, and the Duke departed for London (1). At such a juncture, this cessation was very advantageous to the King, because his Army being very weak, he wanted time to raise more Forces. For this very cause, many of the Rebels seeing that, contrary to all reason, the King had leisure given him to assemble his Troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their Leaders, withdrew to their homes (2).

Henry tries
Herbert. The discord which began to spread among the Rebels, gave the King some hopes of coming off upon easy Terms. And therefore he delayed sending an answer to their Petition, expecting their Army would disperse by degrees (3). But the Leaders perceiving at length that the Court purposely prolonged the Negotiation, and that those delays must utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their Hostilities, and resolved once more to attack the Royal Army. Had this resolution been executed, it would have, probably, changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain so swelled the River which parted the two Armies, that it was not possible for them to pass it (4). The King hearing of this, thought it necessary to give them some sort of satisfaction, for fear they should execute their resolution before he was ready. To this end, he sent them an answer to their Petition (5); but it was expressed in such general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promised therein. At the same time, he proposed, that if they would send three hundred Deputies to Doncaster, Commissioners should meet them there, and treat of a Peace. His aim was to gain time, in hopes, the three hundred Deputies would disagree, and their dissention, by prolonging the Negotiation, give him time to prepare his Army. A few days after, the Duke of Norfolk returning to Doncaster, sent word to the Rebels that he had brought them a general pardon, ten only excepted, six of whom were named, and four not. But this pardon was unanimously rejected, because the six Persons named were some of the heads, and every one was in fear of being one of the four whom the King had reserved. And indeed, the King had no other view but to sow discord among them, and make way for the Treaty at Doncaster, which they accepted at last, and sent their three hundred Deputies thither (6). The Court had expected, these Deputies would never agree about their demands, and so would afford the time that was wanted.

Herbert. But as it was easy for the Leaders to discover the Court's intention, they gave the Deputies their instructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. These instructions contained ten Demands, which the Deputies made at the conference held at Doncaster the 6th of December.

The Rebels
Herbert. Burnet. I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a Parliament should be held at York.

III. That a Court of Justice should be erected there, that the Inhabitants of the northern Counties might not be brought to London upon any Law-Suit.

IV. That some Acts of the late Parliaments which were too grievous to the People, should be repealed (7).

V. That the Princess Mary should be declared Legitimate.

VI. That the papal Authority should be re-established upon the old foot.

VII. That the suppressed Monasteries should be restored to their former State.

VIII. That the Lutherans and all innovators in Religion should be punished severely.

IX. That Thomas Cromwell, and Audley Lord Chancellor, should be removed from the Council, and excluded from the next Parliament.

(1) Together with Sir Ralph Elecker and Robert Beaves, whom the Rebels sent with him. Herbert, p. 206.

(2) Rumours were industriously spread among them, that some of their Chiefs would compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the Gallows. Herbert, *ibid.*

(3) He also detained Elecker and Beaves, under pretence, that the Rebels had broken the Cessation. *Ibid.*

(4) The second Swelling of the River was not, according to Herbert, &c. till after the Conference at Doncaster, when the Rebels, upon the King's rejecting their Demands, resolved to attack Doncaster. p. 207.

(5) By the Duke of Norfolk. Herbert, *ibid.*

(6) Among whom were John Lord Norwiche, Lord Latimer, John Lord Lumley, Thomas Lord d'Aubray, Sir Thomas Percy, Robert Aske, &c. who were to treat with the Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Fitzwilliam Admiral of England, &c. Herbert, *ibid.*

(7) Namely, Those for the last Statute, being a Statute, for Utes, for making of Words Misprision of Treason, for the Clergy's paying their Tenths and First-Fruits to the King. Herbert, p. 207.

(8) Their Pardon was signed by King Henry at Richmond, December 7. Herbert, p. 207.

(9) The King sent also a long Answer to their Demands, which the Reader may see in Burnet, Tom. I. p. 237. and Herbert, p. 207.

X. That Lee and Leighton, Visitors of the Monasteries, should be imprisoned, and brought to account for their bribes and extortions.

As the Deputies had not power to qualify these demands, so the King's Commissioners were not authorized to grant them. The King took care not to destroy in a moment the work of many years. Thus the conference ended without any fruit. The Duke of Norfolk was very sorry to see that the affair was like to be decided by Arms. He heartily wished, the King would grant the Rebels all their demands; but knew too well his humour and character, to venture to make him such a proposal. Mean while, he was extremely embarrassed. He must either betray the King's interest, or resolve to fight the Rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat. At least, he could not avoid, pursuant to the intent of the Court, to prolong the affair till the King was ready to march, and then he saw, the ruin of the Rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity, he chose to write to the King, that the number of the Rebels daily increasing, there was danger of their making some attempt which it would be difficult to resist; and therefore, to prevent the threatened mischief, it was his opinion, if his Highness pleased, that some of their demands should be granted. Upon this Letter, the King empowered him to offer them a general pardon without exception (8), and promise them in his name, that the next Parliament should be held in the North. But withal, he ordered him not to make use of these remedies except in extremity, and when there was no other resource. The Duke receiving these Powers, thought proper to use them without delay, since it was the only way to free him from his present embarrassment. He was unwilling openly to betray the King's interests, and on the other hand, did not care to be instrumental in the Rebels destruction, whose sentiments he approved, though he durst not shew it. So, after having, by his Correspondents, prevailed with the Leaders to comply with the King's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every Man returned to his home, to the great sorrow of the Monks and Bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts to excite the People to rebel (9). But this agreement hindered not the Friers and Ecclesiastics of those parts, from continuing to foment among the People a Spirit of Rebellion, which broke out again, as we shall see hereafter. Something must now be said of the Emperor's affairs with the King of France, wherein all Europe was concerned.

When Francis I. began the War in Savoy, about the end of the last year, the Emperor was in Sicily, upon his return from his Tunis expedition, but unable to assist the Duke of Savoy. This made him chuse to try to cool the King of France's ardor by a Negotiation, till he could aid his Ally. The death of Francesco Sforza, which happened in the mean time, furnished him with an opportunity. He intimated to the French Ambassador residing at his Court, that he would not dispose of the Duchy of Milan, till he knew the King of France's sentiments. Francis being informed of it, demanded the Duchy for his second Son the Duke of Orleans, and the Emperor put him in hopes, he would give it to his third Son the Duke of Angoulême, upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the Negotiation as much as he pleased. And indeed, he amused him in this manner till April 1536, one while insisting upon the Person of the Duke of Angoulême, another while seeming inclined to confer the Duchy on the Duke of Orleans. Francis willing to end this affair, and knowing, the Emperor intended to go to Rome, sent the Cardinal of Lorraine for a positive answer, but left the events of the War should bring some obstacle to this Negotiation, he ordered Admiral Brion, who commanded in Piedmont, to cease hostilities.

Whilst the Cardinal of Lorraine was on his journey, the Emperor arriving at Rome, went, a few days after, to a publick Consistory, which was assembled at his request. There, before the Pope and the Cardinals, he inveighed against the King of France, intimating, he was the sole Author of the Wars that had afflicted Europe ever since his Accession to the Throne. He thence took occasion to say, that instead of shedding so much innocent

The Court
not to destroy
in a moment
the work of
many years.

The Duke of
Norfolk's
bribe to make
up Matters
without a
Battle.
Hollinshead.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Hall.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The Rebels
accept of the
Pardon.

Affairs be-
tween the
Emperor and
Francis.
Bellai.
P. Daniel.

Negotiation
about the
Duchy of
Milan.

The Emperor
arrives at
Rome.
He offers
before the
Pope and
Cardinals to
decide his
dispute with
the French King
in single
Combat.

1536. Blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by single Combat with Sword and Poignard, [in their Shirts] in some Island, or in a Boat. But the next day, the French Ambassador demanding whether he designed to challenge the King his master, he replied, he had no such intention; but meant only, that the expedient he proposed seemed to him more reasonable than a War.

He prepares his Forces. Some time after, the Emperor being at Sienna, the Cardinal of Lorraine waited on him, and in his Audiences, discovered he had never intended to give the Duchy of Milan to a Prince of the Royal Family of France. He writ therefore to the King, that he was to expect War. And indeed, the Emperor was now assembling all his Forces, proposing to bring three Armies into the Field, one in Piedmont, which he intended to command in person, another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. This design was already so publick, that Francis could not be ignorant of it. So, believing the Emperor meant to make his most powerful effort in Picardy, he recalled the greatest part of his Army in Piedmont, having ordered Turin and his other conquests in that Country to be well stored with Ammunition.

The Emperor marches into Provence. Francis forms two Armies. The French Troops quitting Piedmont, the Emperor caused Turin to be invested, and during the Siege, headed his Army, and marched towards Provence. Francis, who was then at Lyons, speedily provided Marseilles with necessaries, and ordered two Camps to be fortified, one at Cavallan, under the command of the Marshal de Montmorency, the other at Valence, where he came himself. There he received the sad news of the death of his Son the Dauphin, poisoned by Montecuculli.

The Emperor besieges Marseilles, and raises the Siege, and returns into Spain. The Emperor having entered Provence, took Aix, and then laid Siege to Marseilles, which was begun the 25th of August, and raised the 9th of September. He had so ill taken his measures, that not knowing how to subsist his Army in Provence, he was forced to retire in the utmost disorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if Francis had thought proper to attack him. He came to Genoa the 2d of October, and embarked for Spain. This was the success of the Provence expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to France.

Campaign in Picardy. Whilst the Emperor was waging War in Provence, the Count of Nassau entered Picardy with an Army of thirty thousand Men, and took Guise by storm. After that, he besieged Peronne, which was relieved by the Duke of Guise.

Marriage of the King of Scotland with Magdalen of France. Buchanan. Mezerai. Francis returning to Paris with unspeakable satisfaction, at having disappointed the Emperor's designs, met upon the way James V, King of Scotland, who was come to demand his Daughter Magdalen in marriage. He was not without great difficulty prevailed with to grant his request, because the Princess being sickly, it was thought marriage would but shorten her days. However, the King of Scotland expressing a very earnest desire for the Marriage, it was concluded in December, and the Nuptials were celebrated the 1st of January 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of England.

1537. The Northern Rebellion was appeased, but in such a manner, that the cause still subsisted, the Male-contents having received no redress of their Grievances, except only that the King had promised to call a Parliament in the North, which he never intended to do. The pretence he used was, that they left in the Monasteries the Monks, they had restored. But this was a precarious excuse, if ever there was one, since it was not their business to turn them out, but the King's, who had the

power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to say, after quitting their Arms. The King knowing how the People of the North stood affected, ordered the Duke of Norfolk (1) to remain there with his Army, to keep them in awe. So the Duke was employed for some time, with causing Persons of all conditions to swear to be true to the King (2), a very improper remedy for such sort of evils, since the same compulsion which extorts Oaths from a discontented People, serves also for pretence to break them upon occasion. In the mean time, Aske, who had commanded the Rebels, was ordered to Court, where he was well received; but the Lord d'Arcy, who had not so readily obeyed the like order, was sent to the Tower, upon his arrival at London.

Shortly after, two Gentlemen of the North, Nicolas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, put themselves at the head of eight thousand Male-contents, and appeared before Carlisle, in order to take the City. But being repulsed, and thereupon suddenly attacked by the Duke of Norfolk, they were entirely routed. Musgrave had the good fortune to escape, but Tilby and seventy four others taken with him, were hanged on the Walls of Carlisle. Sir Francis Bigod and one Halam with another body of Rebels, attempted at the same time to surprize Hull; but were made Prisoners themselves, and executed.

These attempts rendered the King so fierce, that he put to death Aske and the Lord d'Arcy, notwithstanding the general pardon to appease the first Insurrection. The Lord d'Arcy accused the Duke of Norfolk of favouring the Rebels, which perhaps was too true. But the Duke cleared himself, or rather, the King thought not fit strictly to examine this accusation (3). Mean while, as he knew, the Emperor was contriving some Plot in Ireland, he gave order that Thomas Fitz-gerald, Son of the late Earl of Kildare, and five of his Uncles, after a long imprisonment at London, should suffer death for a terror to the Irish. But the Earl of Kildare's youngest Son had the good fortune to escape, and fled for refuge to Cardinal Pole (4).

The King could not be persuaded but that it was the Monks who most contributed to preserve and foment the People's discontents. He considered them as the chief Authors of the late Insurrections, and consequently as his personal Enemies. He believed to see in their behavior, that if they had power, they would not spare him, and therefore he projected their ruin, to prevent their designs. Herein he found two considerable advantages, the one to free himself from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their spoils. It is not to be doubted, this last consideration had also a share in his project of vengeance upon them. The suppression of the lesser Monasteries having only whetted his appetite, he resolved to suppress all the rest and seize their immense possessions (5). The more easily to accomplish his design, he used the same means, he had practised to suppress the lesser Monasteries; that is, he appointed a very strict Visitation of those that remained, not questioning but the discoveries which should be made, would promote his design.

The 12th of October the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who was called Edward. But his birth cost his Mother her life, who died two days after her delivery (6). As the King had caused his two Daughters by his former marriages to be declared Illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a Son, who put the succession of the Crown out of all dispute. And therefore in a few days he conferred on him, as his Heir apparent, the title of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and

(1) And the Earl of Shrewsbury. Herbert, p. 211.

(2) The Contents of the Oath they took, were, 1. To revoke all Oaths and Promises made in the former Insurrection, asking the King's Forgiveness on their Knees. 2. To be true to the King, his Heirs, and Successors. 3. To observe and maintain all Acts of Parliament, since the first Year of the King's Reign. 4. Not to take Arms again, but by the King's Authority. 5. To apprehend all Seditious Persons. 6. To remove all the Monks and Nuns, they had reinstalled in the late dissolved Monasteries. Herbert, p. 211.

(3) Aske had left the Court without Leave, and being taken again, was hanged in Chains on a Tower in York. The Lord d'Arcy and the Lord Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, before the Marquis of Exeter, then High-Steward, and found guilty of Treason. The Lord Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln, the Lord d'Arcy on Tower-hill, the 20th of June, and buried in St. Botolph's Church. He endeavoured to purge himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; and pleaded, that the long Services he had done the Crown for fifty Years, he being Four-score, together with his great Age and Infirmary, might mitigate the King's Displeasure. He died much lamented, every Body thinking he had had Measure. Sir Robert Constable was hanged at Hull; Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicolas Tempest, and William Lumley, suffered at Tyburn; and Margaret Cheney, alias, Lady Bulmer, was burned in Smithfield. Hall, fol. 232. Stow, p. 574. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 234.

(4) Gerald Fitz-Gerald the eighth Earl of Kildare, was made Deputy of Ireland, in 1515, and again in 1524. But a Quarrel arising between him and James Butler Earl of Offory, the Earl of Kildare was charged with Male-Administration, and ordered by King Henry to repair to London. At his Departure, he left his Son Thomas Deputy in his room; who, upon a false report, that his Father, (then a Prisoner in the Tower) was beheaded, denied King Henry and his Authority, proclaimed open War, and applied to the Emperor for assistance; whereupon, he and five of his Uncles were attainted, and upon the King's sending an Army into Ireland, were taken, and brought over to London, and now beheaded on February 3. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, the Earl of Kildare's youngest Son was put up in a Bundle of Clothes and conveyed to Ireland, and so to France, and from thence to the Low-Countries; in both which Places being required of our King, he at length fled to Cardinal Pole, who finding him a fit Instrument for his purpose, kept him till he might be restored to his Country and Place. Herbert, p. 212, 181.

(5) In the Records of this Year there are extant, the Surrenders of three Monasteries only; namely, of the Abbey of Furness in Lancashire, on April 9, valued at nine hundred and sixty Pounds a Year. Of Bermondsey in Surrey, June 1, valued five hundred and forty eight Pounds, and of Buryham, or Bisham, in Berkshire, July 5, valued two hundred and thirty seven Pounds. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 235. Collet, p. 143.

(6) The Queen was delivered at Hampton-Court, and died the 24th of October, as appears in a Journal written by Cecil, that was in twelve Days after Edward's Birth: So it is in the Herald's Office. Strype Correct. to Burnet, Tom. 3. p. 406, 419. She died not by the Cruelty of the Surgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Prince's Birth, as some Writers gave out, but as the Original Letters yet extant, show, she died, after being well delivered, of a Distemper incident to Women in that Condition. Burnet, Tom. 3. ibid. Queen Jane was buried in the Quire at Windsor, where she lived so much afflicted the King, he having always found her Discreet, Humble, and Loyal, that notwithstanding some good Offers, he continued a Widower above two Years. Herbert, p. 212.

1537. Earl of *Chester*. At the same time, he created *Edward Seymour* the Queen's Brother, and the new-born Prince's Uncle, *Earl of Hertford* (1).

The War continues between the Emperor and Francis, Bellai. Truce for Picardy and Italy.

Death of the Queen of Scotland. Buchanan.

James V demands Mary of Guise in Marriage.

Disturbances in Germany about Religion. Sleidan.

They are fomented by the Emperor.

Grievances of the Protestants.

The Emperor's evasive Answers.

The Pope orders Commissioners to examine the State of the Church and Religion. The Emperor's Designs.

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the War still continued between the Emperor and the King of *France*, but was interrupted in *Picardy* by a six months Truce concluded in *July*, which was followed by another in *November*, for *Italy*. As by the last Truce, it was agreed that each should keep what he possessed, the Duke of *Savoy* remained equally despoiled by his enemies, and by those he had called to his assistance; the common fate of petty Princes!

The Queen of *Scotland* died in *July*, to the great joy of those who dreaded the progress of the Reformation, because that Princess had been educated by her Aunt the Queen of *Navarre*. *Buchanan* says, the Custom of wearing Mourning was first introduced into *Scotland* on occasion of her death, which Custom, though of forty years standing, was however not yet established in his time. *James V* removed the uneasiness of those, who were afraid of his being biased by the deceased Queen in favor of the new Religion, by demanding in Marriage *Mary of Guise* Sister of the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*.

The affairs of Religion daily grew more important in a great part of *Europe*, by reason of the progress of the Reformation. Those who had embraced it, wished only to live in quiet with liberty of Conscience. But this was what the old Religion would never allow them. The glory of God, and zeal for the interests of the Church, served for pretence to this refusal. But the real Causes were, first, The pride of most Men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong. Secondly, The temporal interest of the Clergy, who, wherever the Reformation was established, saw themselves deprived of their rich Benefices; the Revenues of the Church being applied by the Reformed to uses very different from those in which they had hitherto been employed. Thirdly, The Pope's interests, who daily lost his Subjects, his Revenues, his Credit, his Authority. There was another particular Cause in *Germany*, which inflamed the troubles occasioned by Religion, and that was, the Emperor and his Brother the King of the *Romans*, had formed a design to use the pretence of obliging the Protestants to re-enter the Pale of the Church. For this reason, instead of healing, they fomented the divisions to the utmost of their power. The Protestants complained, among other things, that a Council was called at *Mantua*, contrary to an express promise that it should be in *Germany*. Besides, they meant not to submit to the decisions of a Council, where the Pope presided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The Emperor amused them with evasive answers, till things should be ready to attack them. Mean while, the Pope, having deferred the opening of the Council from *May* to *November*, charged in that Interval the Cardinals *Contarini*, *Sadoletti*, *Pale*, *Bembo*, all Persons of great reputation, to examine wherein the Church wanted Reformation. These able Divines found nothing amiss as to the Doctrines. They only drew up, as to Discipline, a list of sundry trifles, which, in their opinion, deserved to be rectified. To these alone they thought the Reformation ought to be confined.

Mean while, the Emperor was very seriously thinking of the affairs of *Germany*, though he took great care to conceive his designs from the Protestants. In order to free

himself from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the Truce with *Francis*, in hopes it would soon be followed by a Peace. He perceived, the *Smalcaldick* League would be an everlasting obstacle to the execution of his vast Projects, by *Francis's* and *Henry's* endeavours to gain it to their interests. So, his chief aim was to dissolve that League, that he might afterwards proceed against *England* with all the Forces of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries* (2).

Henry easily judged, *Charles V* and *Francis I*, had agreed to a Truce, only in order to conclude a Peace very soon, which would rob him of the assistance of *France*. So, finding he had no refuge but in his own Forces, in case of attack, he considered early of means to prevent Insurrections at home, which must have greatly embarrassed him, if he should be engaged in a foreign War. He knew, the Monks hated him mortally. They were the Persons that inspired the *English* with a Spirit of Rebellion, the more dangerous, as Religion was the principal Cause. So, to deprive the Pope and the Emperor of such a support in his own Realm, he resolved to suppress all the religious Houses still remaining in *England*. He had a farther motive, which was not inconsiderable, namely, to have a Fund sufficient to maintain the War, without being forced to over-burden his Subjects. But as the suppression of part of the Monasteries had already occasioned troubles in the Kingdom, it was likely, the suppression of all would raise still greater. Wherefore he believed he should prevent all commotions, by removing the People's veneration for the Monks. To this end, the report of the last Visitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be immediately published. Very probably, the Facts inserted concerning the disorderly lives of the Friars and Nuns, were set forth so as to be subservient to the King's designs (3). But what conduced most to recover People out of their superstitious fondness for the religious Houses, was the discovery of the frauds committed there with respect to Relicks and Images. Had the business been only the debaucheries of the Monks and Nuns, it might have been objected, that it sufficed to make strict inquiry of those who were guilty, and to punish them severely. But for the pious frauds (as they are called,) it could hardly be thought but that the whole Society was concerned. For this reason therefore, the King, to make them as visible as the Sun, took care publicly to expose the counterfeit Relicks found in the Monasteries, and the Springs by which the Images of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, or any of the Saints were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as the effect of a divine Power. If the Reader desires to see a particular account of these pious Impostures, he will find it, though withal very short, in the History of the Reformation of *England*. These frauds being thus detected, whatever had served to engage the People in superstition, was by the King's order burnt in Publick (4). But what grieved the Votaries most was, to see the Bones of *Thomas Becket*, commonly called *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, publicly burnt. They accused the King of acting from a motive of a sacrilegious Avarice, in order to have a pretence to seize the rich Shrine of that Saint, whereon, besides other precious Stones, was a very fine Diamond, offered in 1179 by *Henry I*, King of *France*, when he came in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury* (5). This proceeding so exasperated the Adherents of the old Religion, that they writ in a most virulent manner to *Rome* against the King, com-

1537.

1538.

Final Resolution to suppress all the Monasteries. Herbert, Burnet.

Henry publishes the Report of the last Visitation. Burnet.

Several pious Frauds are discovered. Herbert. p. 213. Burnet.

Hall. Stow. Burnet.

Becket's Bones burnt, and his Shrine seized. Stow. Hollingshead. Herbert.

(1) Sir *William Fitz Williams* was made *Earl of Southampton*, and in *March* following Sir *William Paulet* Treasurer of the King's House, was created *Lord St. John*, and Sir *John Russell* Controller, *Lord Russell*. Herbert, p. 212.

(2) This Year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for Conveyance of Water under Ground, was first invented by *Robert Brock*, one of the King's Chaplains; *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith making the Instruments, and putting the Invention first in practice. Hollingshead, p. 944.

(3) Of the Confessions then made to the Visitors, there is only now one extant, which, probably, escaped the Destruction of all Papers of that kind in Queen *Mary's* Time. It is from the *Benedictines* of *St. Andrewes* in *Northampton*, wherein they acknowledge their past ill Life, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up. They confess, they had neglected the Worship of God, lived in Idleness, Gluttony, sensuality, &c. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 237.

(4) And here, says *Lord Herbert*, out of our Records I shall mention some of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of these times brought Food and Offerings; as our Lady's Girdle shewed in eleven places, and her Milk in eight. The Fest of *St. Thomas of Lancafter*, a Remedy for the Head-ach; the Penknife and Boots of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a piece of his Shirt, much revered by great-bellied Women; the Coals that roasted *St. Laurence*; two or three heads of *St. Ursula*; *Malchus's* Ear; and the pairing of *St. Edmund's* Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierced *Christ's* Side; an Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of Wood. The Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Road of Grace*, was a famous Imposture, to which many Pilgrimages were made, being contrived so as to be able, by the help of Springs, to roll the Eyes, and move the Lips, to bow, to shake the Head, Hands and Feet. It was shewed publicly at *Paul's* Cross, by *John Bishop of Rochester*, and after a Sermon upon it, there broken in pieces, Feb. 24. Another great Imposture was at *Hales* in *Gloucestershire*, where the blood of *Christ* brought from *Jerusalem* was shewed in a Christal Vial, and was said to have this Property, That if a Man was in a mortal Sin, and not absolved, he could not see it. Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle, was forced to continue to make Presents, till he bribed Heaven to give him the sight of so blessed a Relict. This was now discovered to be the blood of a Duck renewed every week, and the one side of the Vial was so thick, that there was no seeing through it, but the other was transparent. It was so placed near the Altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn which side he pleased outward. There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of Wood, called *David Gasteren*, which served for fuel to burn one *Frier Forrest*, who advised People in Confession not to believe the King's Supremacy. Besides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, of *Kenilworth*, of *Ilington*, and *St. John of Osulston*, called otherwise *Mr. John Shorne*, who was said to shut up the Devil in a Boot, and many others, were publicly burnt. Herbert, p. 213. Compl. Hist. Stow, p. 575.

(5) For three hundred years he was accounted one of the greatest Saints in Heaven, as appears from the accounts of the Leger-books of the Offerings to the three greatest Altars in *Christ's* Church in *Canterbury*. In one year there was offered at *Christ's* Altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* At the Virgin's Altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But at *St. Thomas's*, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* The next year the odds grew greater: At *Christ's* Altar not a Penny; at the Virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; but at *St. Thomas's*, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* The rich Stone was offered by *Louis VII* of *France*, which our King set in a Ring and wore on his Thumb. The Spoil of the Shrine in Gold and precious Stones filled two chests, which were so heavy, that they were a Load to eight strong Men to carry them out of the Church. His name was struck out of the *Kalendar*: The day of raising his body, or as they called it, his Translation, being the 7th of *July*, which was not only a Holiday, but every 50th year there was a Jubilee for fifteen days together, and Indulgence granted to all that visited his Shrine. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 244. Stow, p. 576.

1538.
Butter
writes a
gainst the
King sent to
Rome.
Burnet.

He is very
angry with
Cardinal
Pole.

Paul III.
publishes a
Bull against
the King.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Avalat
Bok's
Pole's.

Henry or-
ders the new
Version of
the Bible to
be printed.
Burnet.
Stow.
Strype.

The Vicege-
rent's Injun-
ctions about
Images.
Burnet.
T. 1 p. 249.
Strype.

Submission of
the English
to the King's
Will.
Burnet.

Gardiner
puts the
King upon
prosecuting
the Reform-
ed.
Burnet.

paring him to the greatest Tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at Rome and other places, numberless Satyrs were penned, which painted Henry as the most execrable of Men, to those who were not used to the hyperbolic expressions of the *Italians*. The King had his Spies at Rome, who acquainting him with what was published against him, told him withal, that to Cardinal Pole the Informations sent from England were generally addressed, and that his stile was visible in some of the Satyrs. This so highly incensed the King against the Cardinal, that he made all his Family and Friends feel the effects, inasmuch that he would sooner have pardoned any Crime, than a correspondence with him. It is strange that the Cardinal, who seemed otherwise very prudent and moderate, should so give way to his zeal, or his passion against the King, that he feared not, by so unadvised a behaviour, to expose his Friends to Henry's utmost resentment. His obstinacy in this respect was so great, that at length he was the occasion of his Mother's losing her head on the Scaffold, as will be seen hereafter.

All the King's proceedings convincing the Pope that he was to expect no change in him, he published at length the Bull of Excommunication (1), drawn and signed in 1535. Moreover, he tried to excite all the Princes of Christendom against Henry, and offered the Kingdom of England to the King of Scotland. Nay, Pole maintained in a Book, published shortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight against Henry, than against the Turk. But the Pope's Thunders had so lost their force in England, that the Bull caused no commotion, or if it produced any effect, it was quite contrary to what the Pope expected. Henry being more provoked with him, took so good precautions to hinder him from executing his designs, that he thereby advanced the Reformation much more than he intended. As soon as he had heard of the Bull's being published, he required the Bishops and Abbots to swear again to renounce the Papal authority. At the same time, the new Translation of the Bible being presented to him, he ordered fifteen hundred Copies to be printed, and set up in the principal Churches, being satisfied that nothing would be found there to support the exorbitant power assumed by the Pope over all Christendom (2).

Shortly after, an Injunction was published by the Vicegerent, to teach the People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English. Moreover, all Incumbents were ordered to instruct the People, by declaring, they must not trust in other Men's works, but in their own; and that Relicks, Beads, and the like, were unnecessary to Salvation. They were also to take down all Images, to which Offerings were wont to be made, and to suffer no Candles to be set up before any Image, except our Saviour's. In fine, they were to suppress all the *Ora pro Nobis*'s which were added to the Prayers addressed to the Saints (3).

This Injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old Religion, whose adherents were in the utmost consternation. But no Man dared to stir, so absolute a sway had the King acquired over his Subjects. Nay, the most discontented affected a blind submission to his Will, knowing the least suspicion would ruin them.

Gardiner Bishop of Winchester was now returned from his Embassy to France. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old Religion. Nay, he was suspected of being privately reconciled to the Pope, and of holding correspondence with the Emperor. But he so artfully dissembled his sentiments, that he persuaded the King, it was only the devices of his enemies, on purpose to ruin him. It is however certain, though the King seemed satisfied, he had no great esteem for him, and yet suffered him to be near him on account of his extreme submission. His blind condescension to the King's Will, afforded him many opportunities to serve the Party he privately favored. The King considering him not as a suspected

Person, since he so readily complied with his Orders, freely listened to him when he spoke against the *Sacramentarians*, being still extremely prepossessed in favor of the Doctrine of the real presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament. Then Gardiner could explain his sentiments without fear, because they agreed with the King's. He insinuated to him, that so long as he left that Doctrine untouched, he would never be accused of changing his Religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it in preserving the Essentials. Thus Gardiner engaged him to persecute the *Sacramentarians*, not so much from a religious as from a political Motive. He knew the King's temper to be impatient of contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a Doctrine which those of the new Religion could not admit, he hoped their resistance would provoke him against them, and thereby he would be more easily led to be reconciled to the Pope. That is to say properly, he employed, to alienate the King from the Protestants, the same means they used to prejudice him against their adversaries. But neither could succeed. Henry reformed himself but by halves, and was never reconciled to the Court of Rome. As he was grown absolute, he would never suffer his Subjects to go farther than himself, but compelled them to stop where he was pleased to stop, equally severe, or rather unmerciful, to those who refused to follow him, and to those who would go beyond him. He showed this year an instance of rigour capable of making the Reformers despair of any farther progress.

One [John Nicolson, alias] Lambert, being informed against as a *Sacramentarian* (4), the King convened a great Assembly in Westminster-Hall, where he was pleased himself to dispute publicly with the Party accused. The match was by no means equal. Lambert stood alone without a second; but the King was surrounded with a crowd of Persons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve of what Lambert urged. The dispute ended with the King's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate Lambert, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But whatever advantage the King seemed to have, he may be said to be vanquished, since he was forced to fly to so rigorous a method to convince his adversary, after flattering himself to persuade him by dint of reason; otherwise, probably, he would not have engaged in the dispute. However, he succeeded not by this extraordinary way, since Lambert chose rather to die than abjure the opinion he still believed (5). Henry had no occasion to be flattered. He had but too good a conceit of himself. Nevertheless, Gardiner and the rest of his Party took occasion from this dispute to extol him above the most learned Divines of the age. They inspired him with such an opinion of his Learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a Standard to all. But contrary to the expectations of his Flatterers, this conceit of himself was no less fatal to them than to the other Party, since he resolved to punish severely and indifferently all who dared to swerve from what he himself deemed reasonable.

About this time the Emperor concluded with France a Negotiations ten years Truce, of which I shall speak presently. Henry, not doubting, it was in order to invade him, considered of means to raise him troubles which should divert him from his purpose. The *Smalcaldick* League furnished him with a good opportunity. But the preservation of the Augsburg Confession being the sole foundation of that League, he did not see that he could possibly join in it, to support a Religion, all whose Articles were not approved by him: So his design was, either to bring the Protestants to conclude with him a general League, which should not be limited to the defence of their Religion, or prevail with them to be satisfied with the Reformation he had himself introduced into England. To this end he sent Ambassadors (6) with instructions to see who were the Confederates, and in case the League was confined

(1) On Decemb. 17. Herbert, p. 216. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 245,---248.

(2) Grafton the Printer, printed fifteen hundred at his own Charge, which amounted to five hundred Pounds. This Bible was presented to the King by Cromwell, who procured the King's Warrant, allowing all to read it without Controul. For which Cranmer wrote Cromwell a Letter of Thanks, dated the 13th of August. The Translation had been sent over to be printed at Paris, the Workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to Bonner's Care, then Ambassador at Paris, and much in Cromwell's Favour. It was printed in a large Volume; but upon Complaint of the French Clergy, the Press was stopt, and most of the Copies seized and burnt: But some were conveyed out of the way, and the Workmen and Forms brought over to England, where it was now finished. And one of these Bibles were to be set up in every Church, at the joint Charge of the Incumbent, and the Parishioners. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 249. Strype's Mem. Tom. 1. p. 308.

(3) Every Incumbent was likewise enjoined to keep a Register of Weddings, Christenings, and Burials. And to preach one Sermon every quarter of the Year at least. See Burnet, Tom. 1. Collect. p. 180. Stow, p. 576.

(4) Lambert had been Minister to the English Merchants at Antwerp, where being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he became of their Opinion. He afterwards kept School at London, and hearing Doctor Taylor preach of the real Presence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his Reasons in writing, why he could not believe the Doctrine he preached. Taylor carried these Arguments to Cranmer; who was at that time of Luther's Opinion, which he had drank in from his Friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same Belief. Lambert being brought before them, they studied to make him retract his Argument, but all was in vain, for Lambert fatally appealed to the King. Whereupon Gardiner persuaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was soon prevailed with. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops to come and hear this Trial. In November, on the Day prefixed, there was a great Appearance in the Hall. The King's Guards were all in White, and so was the Cloath of State. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 252.

(5) Lambert disputed with ten one after another, particularly the King, Cranmer, Tonstal, and Stokesly. Cromwell read his Sentence, declaring him an incorrigible Heretic, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in Smithfield in a barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the Stumps, there not being Fire enough to consume the rest, two of the Officers raising his Body up with their Halberds, let him fall into the Fire, where he was quickly consumed to Ashes. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 254.

(6) Christophor Mount, and Thomas Eynel, in Marib. Herbert, p. 212, 217. Strype, p. 328.

1538.

Henry dis-
putes pub-
licly with
Lambert.
Hall.
Burnet.
Fox.
Stow.

He is highly
flattered.
Burnet.

Negotiations
with the
German
Protestants.
Herbert.

Herbert,
p. 212,
213.
Strype.
Mem.
T. 1. p. 328.

1538. to Religion only, to desire them to send some of their ablest Divines, to try, whether a common Religion might not be agreed upon. The Protestants replied, their League consisted of twenty-six imperial Cities, and twenty four Princes, among whom the King of Denmark was lately admitted: That at present they could not be without their Divines, but desired him to declare himself positively upon the proposition made him, of embracing the Augsburg Confession. Some time after, they sent Ambassadors capable of disputing upon the points of Religion. But this Embassy was fruitless. Henry found in the Germans Men of a very different stamp from his own Subjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him Communion in one kind, Private Masses, Auricular Confession, Celibacy of Priests, and gave him their reasons in writing; to which he replied, though to very little purpose. As he could not put the same choice to them as he had done to Lambert, he was forced to discontinue them without any conclusion, being as little satisfied with them as they were with him.

The Interest of the Reformers declines at Court. Burnet.

Character of the Heads of the Party.

Mean while, the interest of the Reformers began visibly to decline at Court since the Queen's death. There were only Cromwell and Cranmer that supported it by their credit and merit. The first however was accused of being too Self-interested, and of thinking much more of his own than of the concerns of Religion. As to the rest of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. Shaxton Bishop of Sarum was proud and litigious; Latimer Bishop of Worcester was despised for his weakness and simplicity; Barlow, who had been Prior of Bisham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new Religion suffered themselves to be carried away with an indiscreet zeal, and without considering the King's temper, followed the motions of their conscience, let what would be the consequence. So, never troubling themselves about the effects of their zeal, they publicly preached Doctrines, not yet approved by the King, which very much conduced to prejudice him against them, and all others who desired to advance the Reformation.

Bonner made Bishop of Hereford, and then of London. Burnet.

In the mean time, Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford departing this Life, the Reformers thought to do a good act in procuring Edmund Bonner that See, who had been Ambassador in Spain, and afterwards in France, from whence he was lately recalled, at the instance of Francis I, who was not pleased with him. Shortly after, they caused him to be promoted to the See of London, vacant by the death of Stokesley (1). But they were greatly mistaken in their choice, since this same Prelate, who was so much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their most mortal enemies.

Cranmer and Cromwell project to marry the King with a Protestant. Herbert.

At length, Cromwell and Cranmer seeing their Party decay, and that the King began to listen to the enemies of the Reformation, in such a manner as made them dread the consequences, deemed it necessary to support their Party by means of a Queen, who should afford them protection (2). They had happily experienced, how much Ann Bullen and Jane Seymour had helped to soften the King's temper towards the Reformed, and they did not question, that in case they could give him a Wife of the like disposition, she would produce the same effect. For this reason, they turned their eyes towards Germany, and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a Marriage between the King and Ann of Cleve, Sister to the Duke of Cleve and the Duchesse of Saxony. We shall see next year the success of this Negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs.

They cast their eyes upon Ann of Cleve.

The Truce between the Emperor and Francis is prolonged. Bellai. Mezerai.

The Emperor's and the King of France's forces were too equal, for either to expect any great advantages from a War they were left to wage all alone. Francis had ill taken his measures, in imagining that Henry would declare for him, that the Potentates of Italy would endeavour to shake off the Emperor's yoke, and that the Protestants of Germany would embrace the opportunity of the War, to establish the liberty of Conscience to which they aspired, and of which they were threatened to be deprived. But nothing of all this happening, he saw himself charged alone with almost an insupportable burden. On the other hand, the Emperor was afraid, Francis would at length unite all these powers against him, and the Emperor of the Turks improve so favorable a juncture to invade Germany. The Pope also feared the same thing, and that the Coasts of Italy would be infested by the Infidels. This, added to the desire of being revenged of the King of England, put him upon seeking

Both inclined to Peace.

means to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the King of France, that Henry being left alone, might be more easily invaded. To this end he proposed to the two hostile Monarchs a meeting at Nice, where he offered to come and act as Mediator. This Proposal being accepted, they all three met at that place about the middle of June, the Pope conferring sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, without the two Monarchs ever seeing each other during the whole Negotiation. The Pope had his reasons for hindering them from conferring together, but by his means. He had a mind to treat privately of a Marriage between Octavian Farnese his Nephew, and Margaret the Emperor's natural Daughter, Widow of Alexander de Medici, and indeed the Project succeeded to his wish.

Herbert.

Mean while, as the Peace between the Emperor and the King of France could not be effected, by reason of the many difficulties which occurred, the Pope obtained of the two Monarchs at last their consent to a ten year's Truce, which was almost as effectual as a Peace. The Truce being concluded, Paul III immediately thought of means to form a League against the Turks. But as several reasons hindered the Kings of France and England from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the Venetians.

Truce for ten Years.

League against the Turks.

When Francis had nothing more to fear from the Emperor, he grew very cool to Henry, though he had extremely caressed him so long as he stood in need of him. Henry was exceedingly incensed, and showed his resentment, by ordering Bonner, in his return from Spain, to stop at the French Court, and demand an English Rebel, who was retired into France, and the arrears of his Pension, there being now four years due. Bonner, who was naturally very bold, delivered his Message so haughtily, that Francis, offended at his insolence, sent an Express to Henry, to know whether he had ordered his Ambassador to use such Language, and to desire Bonner might be recalled. Henry thought fit to comply with his demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with Bonner, since at his arrival he promoted him, as has been said, to the See of Hereford, and shortly after, to that of London.

Francis I. slights Henry. Herbert.

Bonner behaves insolently to the King of France, who has him recalled.

Whilst Henry used all possible precautions to secure himself from the attacks of his enemies, Cardinal Pole was labouring with all his power, by means of his correspondents in England, to alienate from him the hearts of his Subjects, by publishing every where that he had subverted all Religion to set up his own Fictions. This accusation was the most sensible wound that could be given the King, since he pretended, Religion consisted not in the things he had changed, but in those he had retained. This is what he strove to demonstrate to the People, because he plainly perceived, the general accusation of having subverted Religion could not but greatly poison their Allegiance. Accordingly, Pole and his emissaries chiefly insisted upon this, in order to raise disturbances in the Kingdom. Several have thought, the Cardinal had some private views which concerned not Religion. He was of the House of York by his Mother, and is said also to have an inclination for the Princess Mary, and to bestir himself thus, in order to marry, and set her on the Throne in the room of her Father. At least, there is reason to suspect, his extraordinary zeal was fortified by some hidden views, and that in acting for the Pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir Jeffrey Pole, near relation of the Cardinal (3), privately acquainted the King that he held Correspondence with Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter, Grandson of Edward IV (4); with Henry Pole (5), Lord Montague; with Sir Edward Nevil (6), and with Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter; and that his instruments were a Priest and a Mariner. Upon this information, these Persons were apprehended, condemned and executed (7), but the Informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumstances of their Trial are known but their corresponding with Pole; an unpardonable crime, as the King then stood affected to that Cardinal.

Cardinal Pole labours to raise the King's Troubles. Herbert.

The Cardinal's private Views. Burnet. T. I. p. 221.

Several of his Correspondents in England are executed. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

During the course of this year, Henry established several Suffragan Bishops. He required also of all the Religious a new Oath, whereby they expressly renounced the Papal Authority, and acknowledged the King's Supremacy. There were some that refused to swear, but I know not in what manner their obstinacy was punished.

Suffragan Bishops. Act. i. ub. XIV p. 577. &c. 554. &c.

(1) He was elected Bishop, October 20. Stow, p. 576.

(2) The Emperor had some time before proposed a Marriage between King Henry and Christiana Duchess of Milan, second Daughter of Christiern King of Denmark; but the Papal did not take effect. See Herbert. p. 214. ... 233.

(3) The Cardinal's own Brother.

(4) By the Princess Catherine, married to the Earl of Devonshire.

(5) Another of the Cardinal's Brothers.

(6) The Marquis of Exeter, and Lord Montague were arraigned on December 20, 1539. Sir Edward Nevil, January 2. Thomas Lord Audley sitting as High-Steward. Ibid. fol. 233.

Brother to the Lord Abergavenny.

1538. The Pope and the Emperor being then employed in their preparations against the *Turk*, his Holiness made use of that pretence to put off the meeting of the Council to the 1st of May 1540, and at the same time removed it from Mantua to *Vicenza*.

The new Queen arrives in Scotland. The Marriage between the King of Scotland and Mary of Lorrain being concluded this year, the new Queen came to Scotland about the middle of June.

1539. The last Visitation of the Monasteries tended only, as has been observ'd, to seek apparent reasons to suppress them. The King had now resolved it, and the enormities, true or false, of the Monks, were only a cover for his revenge, and perhaps for his avarice (1). The Visitation being over, he sent into the several Counties Commissioners to receive the surrenders, the Abbots and Priors were to make of their Houses (2). There are extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, many of these Surrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained however the feigned reasons which had moved the Monks and their Superiors to resign, of their own accord, all their Lands to the King. In some, they were made to say only, they were induced thereto by just and reasonable causes. But in others of greater length they were made to alledge, "That what

Suppressed Monasteries. A.D. Pub. Tom. XIV. p. 603, &c.

Ib. p. 610, &c. Burnet. T. I. Coll. p. 150.

Burnet. T. I. p. 236.

"they had hitherto observed, consisted only in dumb Ceremonies, and Constitutions of the Bishops of Rome and other foreign Potentates; who had taken no care of their Instruction, or to reform the many abuses which had hitherto prevailed in their Houses; but that desiring to live for the future according to the Rule prescribed by Christ, the Evangelists, and the Apostles, they deemed it expedient for them to be governed by the King, their supreme Head on earth: That therefore they submitted themselves to his mercy, and surrendered to him their Houses, with all things belonging thereto: That they besought him to grant to each of them a Pension for their subsistence, and an express Licence to take a secular Habit, and be admitted into Livings like other Ecclesiasticks." Others said, "They had considered that Christianity consisted not in the practice of Ceremonies, in wearing black, grey, or white Habits, and in nodding with the Head, wearing Cords, with great knots about their middle, and the like, wherein they had been instructed and seduced. But that the true way of serving God was taught in the Gospel. And therefore, desiring for the future to walk by that good rule, they submitted themselves to the supreme Head of the Church of England, and renouncing all Superstitions and foreign Traditions, they resigned their Houses to the King, with all things thereunto belonging." Others surrendered their Houses by way of agreement between them and the King, for the Causes specified in the Deed itself (3). But there are not in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, any Deeds of this kind at full length, where any of these Causes may be seen. It can only be gathered from what some Authors say, that these Causes were, either the Houses were overwhelmed with Debts, or the Revenues had been ill-managed (4), or there had been committed crimes deserving a severe punishment, from which they were exempted on account of the Surrender. Be this as it will, the King having resolved at any rate to suppress all the Monasteries, the opposition of the Abbots, Priors and Monks would have been ineffectual. Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or foul they should be forced to submit to his Will, the greatest part thought it most prudent to do it with a good Grace, and make the best bargain they could for themselves. The Abbot or Prior, with the chief Monks of each House,

being gained before-hand either by promises or threats, the rest had hardly courage enough to make a fruitless resistance (5).

The first Suppression of the lesser Monasteries was done by Act of Parliament. But the King was pleased this should appear to be entirely voluntary, as if the Abbots, Priors and Monks had been induced of themselves to surrender their Houses. A thing however so notoriously false, that not a Soul cou'd be ignorant how forced these surrenders were. It must be confessed, that herein Henry strangely abused the absolute power he had acquired over his Subjects, of whom not a Man dared publicly to find fault with his conduct, and still less, openly to oppose his Will. However he used artifice to make this suppression of the Monasteries to be received with less concern. Whilst the Commissioners were receiving the Surrenders, he called a Parliament for the 28th of April. At the same time, he caused a report to be spread that the Kingdom was going to be invaded (6). He confirmed the report by going in person to visit the Coasts, by commanding Forts and Redoubts to be built in several places (7), and by giving pressing orders to fit out a Fleet, and keep the Troops in a readiness to march upon the first notice. The intent of all these proceedings was, to let the People see that the Parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes to resist the pretended Invasion; but that the King acquiring a large revenue by the suppression of the Monasteries, would have no occasion for a Subsidy. The yearly value of the Religious Houses amounted to one hundred sixty one thousand [one hundred] Pounds Sterling, according to the rate they had been last farm'd at (8). But it must be observed, the Abbots and Priors foreseeing the impending storm, had set the yearly rents very low, and raised the Fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to subsist when they should be out of their Houses (9). The King pretended not to mind it, being on the contrary very glad, the People were not acquainted with the whole profit which accrued to him from these Suppressions. Besides the rents of the Lands belonging to the Monasteries, the King had moreover a very considerable Sum arising from the Church-Ornaments, [Plate] Goods, Lead, Bells, Materials, which he thought not proper to have valued, but it may be judged of by this single article, namely, that in the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury alone there was found five thousand Marks of Gold and Silver in Bullion (10).

The ruin of the Monks was a great occasion of joy and triumph to those who had already embraced the Reformation, or who wished it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cause long to rejoice. Henry resolving to shew, that in abolishing the papal Authority, and destroying the Monasteries, he had not changed his Religion, gave very soon an unquestionable proof of it. The Parliament meeting the 28th of April, immediately made, by the direction of the Court, a Law, entitled, *An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion*. This is the Law that is more commonly known by the name of the bloody Statute. The penalty of burning or hanging was enacted against those,

I. Who by word or writing denied Transubstantiation.

II. Who maintained that Communion in both kinds was necessary.

III. Or that it was lawful for Priests to marry.

IV. Or that Vows of Chastity may be broken.

(1) Though great Faults were discovered by the Visitors, yet it is certain, that they were themselves guilty of great Acts of Violence and Injustice. They embezzled most part of the Plate and Furniture that was found in the Monasteries. Doctor London, one of the Visitors, corrupted several of the Nuns belonging to *Chepstow*; and generally it was cried out, that under-hand and ill practices were used. Therefore to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to what was done, all the foul Stories that could be invented, were published to defame the visited Monasteries. Burnet, T. I. p. 241.

(2) During the year 1538, there were twenty one Monasteries suppressed, and in 1539, a hundred and one. See the Names of them in Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 590, &c. and Burnet, T. I. *Collect.* p. 144, 145.

(3) The general Form in which most of the Surrenders begin, is, "That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full Deliberation, certain Knowledge, of their own proper Motion, for certain just and reasonable Causes, especially moving them in their Souls and Consciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houses to the King." See Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 604. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 238.

(4) The Visitors found such Depredations committed in the rich Abbey of St. Albans, that an Abbot could not subsist any longer, the Rents being so low. Burnet, T. I. p. 236, &c.

(5) Besides Promises and Threats, the King had another way of gaining the Abbots to his Will. Upon a Vacancy, an Abbot was put in only to resign up the House. For after the King's Supremacy was established, the Abbots formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Congé d'élire* to the Prior and Convent, with a missive Letter, declaring the name of the Person whom they should chuse; then they returned an Election to the King, who, upon that, gave his Assent to it by a Warrant under the Great Seal, which was certified to the *Viceregent*; who thereupon confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King to take the Oaths; upon which the Temporalities were restored. Thus all the Abbots were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to serve this Turn. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 236.

(6) By several Princes, who were stirred up by the Pope and Cardinal Pool. Stow, p. 576.

(7) Many of which we have at this Day. He built particularly Dover-Peer. *Strope's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 306. Herbert, p. 217.

(8) They were given in at one hundred and fifty two thousand five hundred and seventeen Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and ten Pence. *Stevens's Hist. of Taxes*, p. 215. The number of Monasteries suppressed first and last in England and Wales, according to Camden, were six hundred forty three, together with ninety Colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy four Chantries, and free Chapels, and one hundred and ten Hospitals. Herbert, p. 218.

(9) This had been the Practice all along, as well as just before the Dissolution of the Abbies. The Abbots were wont to hold the Leaves low, and raise great Fines; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater Number in their House, and so enriched themselves and their Brethren by the said Fines. This turned greatly to the King's Advantage. Burnet.

(10) As this was the last Parliament the Abbots were summoned to, it will not be amiss to insert the Names and Number of the Mitred or Parliamentary Abbots, who in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign had their Writs, being twenty eight; Abbingdon, St. Albans, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Bath, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeney, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Crepeland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Gloucester, Gloucester, Hyde, Malmesbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Sherburn, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, Winchester, and to whom the Prior of St. John may be added. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 268.

1539. *Cranmer* (1) very thankfully received this Testimony of the King's esteem and goodness. Shortly after, the King talked with him himself concerning the Law of the six Articles, and was pleased that he explained to him the reasons which led him to oppose it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, though by the Statute it self, it was a crime worthy of burning. But *Cranmer*, trusting to the King's equity, drew up a Memorial, which he intended to give him. This Writing being accidentally lost, was found by one who was going to carry it to the King, if *Cromwell* had not prevented him (2). Doctor *Burnet* represents this to be an unexpected and happy escape for *Cranmer*. But since the King himself ordered him to compose this Writing, the danger does not seem to be so great, unless it be supposed the King would have condemned him unheard. But this supposition destroys itself, by the particular esteem the King had for him.

He orders him to write reasons for opposing the six Articles.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 261.
Herbert.

Shaxton and *Latimer* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* of *Worcester*, were not treated so favorably. As they could not resolve to approve of the Law of the six Articles, they believed that in resigning their Bishopricks, they should be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off so easily. They had no sooner put the instruments of Resignation into the King's hands, but they were presented as having spoken against the six Articles, and committed to the *Tower*.

When the Parliament broke up, the King sent Commissioners into the several Counties, to make inquiry of those who were against the six Articles, being determined rigorously to execute the Statute. As *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* could not but be suspected in this affair, the enemies of the Reformation easily made the King sensible, that to leave to them the nomination of these Commissioners would be labouring in vain. And indeed, Persons who strongly opposed the Act were very unfit to see it executed as the King desired. Some of the contrary Party therefore were appointed, who discharged their Commission with such immoderate zeal and passion, that they frustrated the designs of those who employed them.

In the City of *London* alone, there were within few days above five hundred Persons thrown into Prison, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Nay, the King was shewn, that, contrary to his intention, the Commissioners had laid snares for these Prisoners, to oblige them to discover opinions which they intended to conceal in obedience to the Laws. Besides, since in so short a space, such numbers were imprisoned in *London*, it was easy to judge how many there might be in all the rest of the Kingdom, and of what ill consequence to execute the Law upon numberless Persons of all Ages and Sexes. This the Chancellor, who was no enemy to the Reformation, represented to the King, and prevailed with him to pardon all the Prisoners. From this time to *Cromwell's* death, the proceedings upon this Act were suspended, though it still subsisted, and might have been executed if the King had pleased. Thus every thing was regulated by the King's Will, who hastened or retarded the exe-

Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Hollingham.

The King pardons them all.
Hall.
Burnet.

cution of the Laws according to the times and Persons. This gained him a blind concordance from both Parties; every one having to fear his own ruin according to the King's humour and disposition. It is certain, those that desired a Reformation, were constrained to feign an approbation of many things which in their hearts they detested, and that *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* who had most access to the King, dared to press him only indirectly to advance the Work already begun. Hence they preserved their credit, and were enabled to do their Party service. Their adversaries took the same course, and went still greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the King's confidence. *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, though a favorer of the Pope, and persuaded that the King had no spiritual authority, took a Commission from him, which adjudged to him both the spiritual and temporal power of his Bishoprick, during his good Pleasure (3). After this, the excessive power which the King daily acquired must not be thought strange, since every one strove to submit to his Will. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* was one of the principal favorers of the old Religion, to which he was very servicable by a profound dissimulation. He expressed great zeal to execute as well the Act of the six Articles, as those made against the Pope. He thereby maintained his credit, though the King had but little esteem for him.

1539.
He orders him to write reasons for opposing the six Articles.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 261.
Herbert.

The actual Suppression of the Monasteries was begun and ended in the course of this year (4). The Commissioners appointed for that purpose, settled every thing relating thereto. They awarded pensions to the Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Nuns, for their livelihood. They valued the Plate, Goods, Ornaments of the Priests, of the Altars, of the Churches, and ordered what Buildings should be demolished, and what left standing. I have already observ'd that the Rents of all the suppressed Monasteries amounted to one hundred sixty thousand [one hundred] Pounds *Sterling*. But if it be true that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the last Leases, and that these were not above the tenth part of the real Value, as some affirm, it follows that these Rents were worth above sixteen hundred thousand Pounds (5), besides the ready money which accrued to the King by the Sale of the effects (6). Here was wherewithal to make useful Foundations to the Church and State, had all these riches been employed that way. The King seemed at first to have formed such a design. Nay, it was what had served for the principal ground of the Suppression of the Monasteries. But the greediness of the Courtiers and Favorites allowed but a very small part to be expended on things useful and necessary. *Henry* had at first resolved to erect eighteen new Bishopricks (7), but as the money was lavished away, he found reasons to reduce them to a much smaller number. In short, he contented himself with founding six, and establishing Canons in some Cathedrals which the Monks had possessed. In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thousand Pounds. He laid out likewise part of the money in fortifying some Ports, and all the rest was squandered away in presents and other needless

Value of the suppressed Monasteries.
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Stowe.

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In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thousand Pounds.
He laid out likewise part of the money in fortifying some Ports, and all the rest was squandered away in presents and other needless

the Bishops shall sit in this Order, on the right hand side of the Parliament House; first, the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, then the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, and the rest according to the time of their Creation. 3. That the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, President of the Council, and Lord-Privy-Seal, being Barons, shall sit, on the left side of the Parliament-House, above all Dukes, except the Royal Family. 4. That the Lord Chamberlain, Marshall, High-Admiral, Lord Steward and Chamberlain, shall be placed above all Persons of the same Estates and Degrees they shall happen to be of. 5. And the King's Secretary, being a Baron, shall sit above all Barons. See Statut. 31. Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(1) *Burnet* says, the King sent for him first, on June 28, and next day ordered the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and *Cromwell*, to dine with him. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they ran out much in his Commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much Learning, Gravity, and Eloquence, that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed to fear nothing from the King. *Cromwell* said, when Complaints were brought against any of his Counsellors, the King received them, but would not so much as hearken to any Complaint of the Archbishop. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*: That the one lost his Friends by his Haughtiness and Pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his Mildness and Gentleness. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* said, he might but speak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his Man. This nettled *Cromwell*, who answered, that though he had served him, he never liked his manner, and that though the Cardinal had designed (if his Attempt for the Popedom had succeeded) to have made him his Admiral, yet he resolved not to accept it. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied with a deep Oath, *That he lied*, with other reproachful Language. *Cromwell* says, *Cromwell* told the Duke, that he (the Duke) offered to serve the Cardinal as his Admiral, upon which the Duke said that it was a Lie. This troubled *Cromwell* extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty Friends. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 265.

(2) *Cranmer's* Secretary having writ out the Book in a fair Hand, and returning with it from *Croydon*, where the Archbishop was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber carried away by *Cranmer's* Almoner; so being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to trust the Book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the Wherry with him, would needs go to *Southwark*-Side to see a Bear baiting, where the King was in Person. The Bear broke loose into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the Secretary alone. The Bear got into the Boat with the Dogs about her, and sunk it. The Secretary shuffling for himself, lost the Book in the Water. But being brought to Land, he saw his Book floating upon the Water. So he desired the Bear-ward to bring it to him; who taking it up, gave it to a Priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The Priest finding it to be a constitution of the six Articles, told the Bear-ward whoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. The Secretary thinking to mend the Matter, said it was his Lord's Book. This made the Fellow more untractable, being a spiritual Papist, and an Enemy to the Archbishop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the Secretary applied to *Cromwell*, who was then going to Court, where he expected the Bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the Book to some of *Cranmer's* Enemies. And so it happened, whereupon *Cromwell* called to him, and took the Book out of his Hands, threatening him for meddling with a Pray-Counsellor's Papers. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 265, 266.

(3) The Substance of the Commission was: That since all Jurisdiction, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, flowed from the King as Supreme Head, it became those who exercised any Power only by the King's Courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his Bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it should please him to call for it. And since his Vicegerent could not look into all Matters, therefore the King did empower *Bonner* in his own stead to exercise all the Parts of Episcopal Authority, for which he was duly commissioned; and thus to last during the King's Pleasure only. See the Original in *Burnet*, Tom. I. Collect. p. 184.

(4) There are fifty-seven Surrenders upon Record this year; and the Originals of about thirty of these are yet to be seen. Thirty-seven of them were Abbies or Priors, and twenty Nunneries: Among the rest, *Godstow*, *Weistminster*, *St. Albans*, *Waltham*, *Gloucester*, &c. The method used in the Suppression of these Houses, may be seen in *Burnet*, Tom. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. The Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark* was also suppressed this year. See *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 267, 268.

(5) Some compute, that the Lands taken from the Monasteries, at twenty years purchase, would amount, at this present time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thousand, four hundred Pounds. Those formerly belonging to the Abbey of *St. Albans*, being worth at this day, about two hundred thousand Pounds a year; and those that belonged to *Gloucester* Abbey, above three hundred thousand Pounds yearly. See *Stevens* Hist. of Taxes, p. 188—216.

(6) The Treasure found in the Monasteries was valued at one hundred thousand Pounds. *Ibid.* p. 217. As for an account of the other valuable effects found there, see *Monasticon Anglic.*

(7) On which he intended to bestow eighteen thousand Pounds a Year. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 269.

1539.

Remarks
upon the con-
duct of the
Parliament.

Burnet.
T. I. p. 269.

The Prot-
estants avoid
the Emperor's
Snarcs,
Sleidan.

and Henry's.

Gardiner
diverts the
King from
his designs to
join with the
Protestants.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Bibles are set
up in the
Churches.

expences. For this cause he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the Church; whereas had he employed the best part of these Lands in things useful to the Church and State, he would have gained the Blessings of his Subjects and their Posterity. As to the Parliament, they are inexcusable for having put into the King's hands such immense Riches designed for pious uses, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no slender evidence of what has been already observed, that the Parliaments met in this Reign only to be instrumental in gratifying the King's Passions, without ever examining either the motives or consequences of what he required. Henry had also formed the project of founding a College for young Students, that they might be qualified for the Service of the State, either in Embassies or other affairs of the Government (1). But this project miscarried with many others, because the King having sold the Lands of the suppressed Abbies, was very loth to put to such uses the ready money raised by the Sale. He chose rather to lavish it upon his pleasures, or his Courtiers, who used all sorts of Artifices, Condescensions, and base Flatteries, to procure some part of these vast Treasures.

Whilst Henry was employed in his domestick affairs, he had an eye however to what passed abroad. The Emperor feigned the last year a firm design to adjust the religious differences which occasioned troubles in Germany. But this was only to draw money from the Protestants, to be expended in his War with the Turk. He expected that upon the bare hopes, he was pleased to give them, of redressing their Grievances, they would on his account drain themselves of Men and Money, and so become less formidable. But the Protestants would not suffer themselves to be deceived to such a degree. They plainly answered to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without sufficient Security of being left in peace.

Henry finding that a rupture between the Emperor and the Protestants was not very remote, sent fresh Ambassadors to Germany to strengthen the resolutions of the Smalcaldick League, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared Protector. But the Germans had now discovered his design, which was to amuse them, and keep the Emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them. They returned therefore the same answer as before, that the sole intent of their League was to maintain the Augsburg Confession, and if the King refused to admit that Confession, it was in vain to treat of other points: That moreover, they heard with extreme grief, that he persecuted in his Realm such as held the same opinions with them on sundry Articles of Religion, and therefore, so long as the Act of the Six Articles subsisted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. Melancthon even writ him a Letter in very strong, though respectful terms, to shew him the unreasonableness of that Statute.

Henry, to whom all was obedient in England, and whose Will was a Law, was offended at the firmness of the German Princes. On the other hand, Gardiner, who dreaded of all things the King's union with the Smalcaldick League, failed not to use this occasion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He represented to him, that it was very strange, petty Princes should pretend to be a pattern to a great Monarch, and dictate to the most learned Prince in Europe, in matters of Religion. He added, that whatever the Protestants might pretend, they would never approve of his Supremacy in England, because it would be a tacit engagement to own that the Emperor had the same right in Germany. This was false reasoning, since there was a wide difference between the Authority which the King had over his Subjects, and that which the Emperor could claim over the Sovereigns and free Cities of Germany. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldness between the King and the Protestants.

Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the Reformation, if, on the other side, the Reformers had not raised a Counter-battery, of which they made

wonderful use. The King was so jealous of his Supremacy, that he neglected nothing to support it. Indeed, the absolute power acquired over his Subjects placed him above all opposition, but he wished of all things, the Nation was convinced of the justice of that Prerogative. Hence the Reformers took occasion to remonstrate to him; that nothing but the reading of the Holy Scriptures could undeceive the People of their false notion of the Papal Authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there should be a Bible fastned with a Chain in every Church, to be freely perused by all persons. But as many scrupled publicly to read the Scriptures, for fear of being suspected of Heresy, Cranmer, meeting with a favorable opportunity, represented to the King, that it was necessary to give his Subjects leave to have a Bible in their Houses. He insinuated to him, that every one having liberty to read it, would easily be convinced, that the Pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the Scriptures. This was an innocent Stratagem, to procure the People an opportunity to instruct themselves in many other Articles, though the King had only one in view. Gardiner readily perceived the consequence of the Archbishop's request, and seeing the King inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it. He disputed upon this Subject with Cranmer in the King's presence, who heard them very attentively. At last, perceiving solid Learning in what Cranmer said, and nothing but vanity in the reasonings of his Adversary, he suddenly rose up, saying to Gardiner, that such a Novice as he was not fit to contend with an old experienced General (2). Shortly after, he issued out a Proclamation, declaring he was desirous to have his Subjects attain the Knowledge of true Religion in God's Word; and therefore he would take care they should have an exact Translation of the Bible. He forbade however, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the difference of the Versions, the selling of any Bible but what should be approved by the Vicegerent (3).

About the end of this year was seen a fresh effect of the mutual confidence which appeared between Charles V. and Francis I. A mutiny arising in Gaunt by reason of a Tax laid upon Wine by the Governor of the Low-Countries, the Mutineers applied to the King of France to implore his protection, and even offered to submit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the Emperor of what was plotting against him. This seems something strange, considering that hitherto he had never professed much generosity to that Monarch. But the reason of this proceeding was, the Emperor still allured him with the hopes of the Duchy of Milan, and so diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by Arms. However this be, the Emperor's presence in Flanders being alone capable of appeasing the Sedition of Gaunt, he was at some loss which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by Sea, as well on account of the Season, as because he had no Fleet to convoy him. The way through Italy was no safer, by reason he could not afterwards cross Germany without passing through the Territories of the Protestant Princes. There remained no other way but by France, which he resolved upon, though he had as much reason to suspect that Kingdom as Germany. But he hoped to amuse the King by means of the Duchy of Milan, as he did in effect. He set out therefore and entered France with a small train, upon the bare security of a safe-conduct. Nay, he refused to take in Hostage the Dauphin and his Brother the Duke of Orleans, who came and received him at Bayonne, offering to stay in Spain so long as he should be in the King's Dominions. Where ever he came, the same respect was paid him as to the King himself, and he arrived at Paris the first of January 1540.

Henry's Marriage with Ann of Cleves being at length concluded by Cromwell's diligence, who had been charged with the Negotiation, the Princess arrived in England about the end of the year 1539 (4), at the time the Em-

(1) As this was the noblest Design that ever was projected in England, it will not be amiss to give some short account of it. Sir Nicholas Bacon (who was afterwards one of the wisest Ministers that ever this Nation bred,) together with Thomas Denton and Robert Carey, were ordered to make a full Project of the Nature and Orders of such a House, which they brought to the King in writing, the Original whereof is still extant. The Design of it was, That there should be frequent Pleadings, and other Exercises in the Latin and French Tongues; and when the King's Students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with his Ambassadors to foreign Parts, and trained up in the Knowledge of foreign Affairs, and so the House should be the Nursery for Ambassadors. Some were also appointed to write the History of all Embassies, Treaties, and foreign Transactions; as also of all Arraignments and publick Trials at Home. But before any of them might write on these Subjects, the Lord Chancellor was to give them an Oath, that they should do it truly without respect of Persons, or any other corrupt Affection. This noble Design miscarried: But if it had been well regulated, it is easy to gather what great and publick Advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a Rabble of ill Writers of History, who have without due Care and Inquiry delivered to us the Transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of inquiring into Registers and Papers for these Matters: In such a House had been more clearly conveyed to Posterity, that can now be expected after such rature of Records, and other Confusions, in which many of these Papers have been lost. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 269.

(2) Gardiner challenged Cranmer to shew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apostolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the Apostles. Upon which they disputed some time. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 270.

(3) And about the same time issued out a Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion, which the Reader may see in Strype's Mem. Tom. I. p. 354. Coll. p. 295.

(4) On December 28. She landed at Deal. William Fitz-William Earl of Southampton, being sent with a Fleet of fifty Sail to bring her over. Hall, fol. 278. — The same Month, King Henry renewed his Guard of fifty Gentlemen Pensioners, with a Salary of fifty Pounds a Year; They had been discontinued since the first Year of his Reign. Hall, fol. 237. Holingshead, p. 948.

1539.

peror was travelling through *France* in his way to the *Low-Countries*. Henry receiving advice of her arrival at *Rochester*, went down *Incognito*, being very impatient to see whether he had been deceived. But, to his sorrow, he found her very different from what her Picture, drawn by *Hans Holbin*, had caused him to expect. This first sight gave him such an aversion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the Marriage, if he had not been prevented by strong reasons (1). The same considerations which had made him conclude it, subsisted, and there were others which obliged him to consummate it. The Duke of *Clèves* was the Emperor's Neighbour in *Flanders*, and had also a pretension as well as he to the Duchy of *Guelders*, after the death of the Duke of that name. Consequently, in case of a War between the Emperor and *England*, that Prince could give the Emperor a very troublesome diversion in *Flanders*. On the other hand, his Sister was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, head of the *Smalcaldick* League, with whom it was of great moment to the King to live in a good understanding. But this was not all. The Emperor, then in *France*, was labouring with all his power to disengage *Francis I*, from the interests of *England*. Nay, Henry had private intelligence, that the Emperor offered to give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans* upon that consideration. If therefore, in such a juncture, he had sent back the Princess of *Clèves* without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the Princes of *Smalcald*, at a time when he saw himself upon the point of being forsaken by the King of *France*, who by degrees forgot the assistance he had received from him in his most urgent occasions. So, lamenting his misfortune to be forced to marry a Princess for whom he had conceived an aversion, he resolved to make this Sacrifice the 6th of *January* 1540. But he was still less pleased after his Marriage than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his sentiments however as much as possible, though it was easy for all to see his vexation and trouble. *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his repentment, though the King was exceeding careful to hide it from him (2).

The King
dislikes her.Stow.
p. 579.
Burnet.
T. I. Coll.
p. 197.1540.
He marries
her however,
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.and then
Cromwell
and his wife.
Stow.
Burnet.Parliament.
Hall.
Herbert.
The King
appoints
Commissioners
to examine
the
Disputes of
Religion.
Burnet.
Strype.Cromwell
created Earl
of Essex.
Knights of
St. John
suppressed.
Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.Cromwell's
disgrace.
Burnet.

The Parliament meeting the 12th of *April*, *Cromwell* made a Speech to both Houses, informing them, that the King feeling with extreme concern so great division among his Subjects in matters of Religion, had appointed Commissioners to examine the points in dispute, that the Articles of Faith might be fixed without respect of Parties, by the word of God: That he was very desirous his People should have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was resolved to punish without mercy, such as should presume to prefer their private, before the established, opinions. The Commissioners named by the King were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay (3). Two days after the King created *Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex* (4).

During this Session, the Parliament suppressed the order of the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, who are now called Knights of *Malta*. Their dependence on the Pope and the Emperor was the cause or pretence of their ruin. There is no doubt, the desire of enjoying their spoils induced also the King to procure their suppression. And indeed, the Parliament gave him all their Lands as they had given him those of the Abbies. Though they had large Revenues both in *Ireland* and *England*, the King allowed however but three thousand pounds for their maintenance after their suppression (5). The affair being ended, the Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of *May*.

A few days after, there fell upon *Cromwell* a storm, which probably had been gathering some time before. This Minister had many enemies, and enviers. He was Son of a Farrier or Lock-smith; and though his birth was so mean, he was raised to great honour, even to the ha-

ving the precedence of all the Lords in the Kingdom, except the Royal Family. All the Nobility envied him. The whole popish Party also hated him mortally, denouncing him the first adviser of the suppression of the *Abbeys*, and one of the principal encouragers of the King to all the innovations he had made in Religion. Among those, who were very numerous, the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* were the Persons that could do him most hurt, because they had free access to the King. These two Courtiers perceiving the King's coldness for the new Queen, doubted not of his ill-will to *Cromwell*, for engaging him in this Marriage, and resolved to make use of this occasion to ruin him. They hoped when he was removed, it would not be impossible to procure an agreement between the Emperor and the King, and then, a reconciliation with the Pope, which *Cromwell* had always opposed to the utmost of his power. Two other things greatly contributed also to the downfall of this Minister. The King had always employed him, in his correspondence with the *Smalcaldick* League, and so long as he thought he wanted that League, he could not be without his assistance. But growing cold at length to the German Princes, as I before observed, and knowing, the dreaded Union between *Charles V* and *Francis I*, was only a Chimera, and consequently he should have no need of *Germany*, *Cromwell* became less necessary. The second thing which helped to ruin *Cromwell* was, the King fell in love with *Catherine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Niece. *Norfolk* finding his credit considerably increased, made use of it to procure the Minister's destruction. As soon as he had a fair opportunity, he represented to the King. "That there were many Male-contentants in the Kingdom, and good Men could not be persuaded that a Prince like him, would willingly give any occasion of discontent to his People: That they inferred from thence, he must have been ill-served by his Minister, who doubtless had abused his confidence: That as the People seemed dissatisfied only with regard to Religion, it was natural to think, this happened through the Vice-gerent's fault, whose conduct perhaps it would be proper to examine: That he was accused by the publick of many things, which, if true, rendered him the most guilty of all others, considering the favours heaped on him by the King: That besides, though no particular Fact could be proved upon him, it was however a very great crime to rob the King of the hearts of good part of his Subjects: That he took the freedom therefore to tell him, in order to quiet their minds, there was no better way than to sacrifice to them so odious a Minister." These insinuations, which were doubtless seconded by *Gardiner* and other enemies of *Cromwell*, produced at length the desired effect. The King, prejudiced against him, resolved to dispatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage. First, he discovered his repentment against him on account of the Marriage, he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed to make his People a sacrifice capable of silencing all their murmurs (6). This resolution being taken, and the Parliament meeting the 13th of *June*, the Duke of *Norfolk* accused *Cromwell* of High-Treason at the Council-Board, and received orders to arrest him (7) and send him to the *Tower*. This illustrious Prisoner had the common fate of all disgraced Ministers. In a moment, he was forsaken by all but his friend *Craumer*, who alone ventured to write to the King in his favour, though to no purpose.

Cromwell being in the *Tower*, the Articles of his impeachment were drawn, consisting in Generals, of which not so much as the least proof was offered to be given. The King knew, if his process was made according to the usual forms, he might produce Warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be disclaimed. For this reason it was thought proper to bring his affair before

1540.

Burnet.

The Duke
of Norfolk
draws up the
King against
Cromwell.Cromwell's
death's
warrants.He is accused
of High-
Treason, and
sent to the
Tower.Hall.
Hollingsh.
Cromwell
remains in the
Tower.
Burnet.
Herbert.
He is con-
demned
without
being heard.
Burnet.Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

T. I. p. 278.

(1) He swore, when he first saw her, they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him. *Nicholas Watton* Doctor of Law, employed in this business, gives her this Character: She could both write and read in her own Language, and very few well; but for Music (in which the King delighted) it was not the manner of the Country to learn it. *Herbert*, p. 221.

(2) *Cromwell* asked him next Day how he liked her; the King told him, he liked her worse than he did. For he suspected she was no Maid, and had such ill Smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he should ever consummate the Marriage. This caused News to *Cromwell*, who knew how nice the King was in these Matters, and that so great a misfortune must needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 273. *Stow*, p. 578.

(3) The King appointed the two Archbishops, with the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, *Hereford*, *St. David's*, and eleven Doctors, to draw up an Exposition of those Things that were necessary for the Institution of a Christian Man. He also appointed the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Landaff*, to examine what Ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them. These Committees were to sit constantly *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*, and on other Days in the Afternoon only. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 274.

(4) April 17. One would think by this that the King was not angry with him about his Marriage, since he conferred so great a Title on him. *Henry Burnier* Earl of *Essex*, the last of his Family, venturing to ride a young Horse, had the Misfortune to be thrown, and by the Fall to break his Neck. *Dugdale*, Vol. II. p. 150, 1370. On November 29, 1538. Sir *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellor, was created Lord *Audley of Walden*: And on March 9, 1539, Sir *William Poulet* was advanced to the Title of Lord *St. John*; on the 29th, Sir *John Russell*, to that of Lord *Russell*; and *William Parr*, to that of Lord *Parr*. *Idem*, p. 376, 378, 381.

(5) He allowed a thousand Pounds Pension to the Prior of *St. John's* near *London*, and five hundred Marks a Year to the Prior in *Ireland*, (for there was but one House in each Kingdom) with very considerable Allowances for the Knights, amounting in all to three thousand Pounds a Year. The House in *Ireland* was at *Kilmannin*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 276. *Stow*, p. 579.

(6) See above, p. 790. Note (2).

(7) He was arrested July 9. *Hall*, fol. 242.

1540. the Parliament, and cause a Bill of Attainder to be passed against him, without allowing him to make his defence (1). In this manner had he himself proceeded in the affair of the Marchioness of *Exeter* and the Countess of *Salisbury*, and therefore could not think it strange the same thing should be practised in his case. The Parliament, ever slaves to the King, deemed the impeachment just, though destitute of proof. So by an Act, declaring him attainted and convicted of Heresy and Treason, he was condemned as a Traitor and Heretick, the Parliament leaving it to the King's choice to make him suffer the punishment of either of those crimes. This, joined to some other foregoing, as well as following instances, shew to what height the King had carried his authority, since to discover his will was sufficient to be immediately obeyed, even by those whose business and interest it chiefly was to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the Sentence was deferred till after the Session of the Parliament.

The King is determined to null his Marriage.
Burnet.
Stow.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Henry was so tired of his Queen, that he could not bear the vexation to see himself engaged for the rest of his life in so disagreeable a Marriage. He resolved therefore to divorce her, let what would be the consequence, especially as the reasons which induced him to marry her no longer subsisted. He had lost all hopes of making a League with the Protestants of *Germany*, and his fears of the Emperor were vanished, since he saw every thing tending to a rupture between him and *France*. He only wanted a pretence to demand a Divorce, and give some colour to the proceedings of the Clergy and Parliament, of whose concurrence he was sure, however slight the pretence might be. He found one in a precontract between the Queen and the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son. But this contract was so slight, that the consequences were to be much pressed, to make it serve for the foundation of dissolving *Ann's* Marriage with the King. The Duke of *Cleves* and the Duke of *Lorraine* had formerly, it seems, in a Treaty, agreed upon a Marriage between *Ann of Cleves* and the Prince of *Lorraine*, both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the Parties when of age. On the contrary, the Ambassador of the Duke of *Gueldres*, who acted as mediator in that Treaty, declared afterwards by an authentick Instrument, that this Article was deemed null. However, when *Henry's* Marriage with *Ann* was concluded, this pre-engagement raised a difficulty. But the Ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Cleves* positively promised to clear that point, and put it out of all doubt as soon as the Princess should arrive in *England*.

Ann being come to *Greenwich*, the King, who liked her not, insisted upon this same point, in order to send her back. For that purpose, he called a Council, and sending for the Ambassadors, the explanation, they had promised, was demanded. But they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty as little material. Mean while, the Council telling them that good proofs were expected and not bare words, they offered to produce within three months an authentick abstract from the Chancery of *Cleves*, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the King to proceed, if, as has been said, there had not been strong reasons to cause him to accomplish his Marriage. So, the Council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the Marriage might be lawfully solemnized. The abstract from the Chancery of *Cleves* being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word *Espousals*, because it was not expressed whether they were *Espousals* by the words of the present or of the future Tense. But as the King would not yet commence the affair of his Divorce, he caused the abstract to be kept, in order to make use of it when there should be occasion. Upon this therefore he resolved to found his Divorce.

The Parliament pray the King to examine the validity of his Marriage.
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The Parliament, after a prorogation of some days, meeting again, *Henry* sent the Queen to *Richmond*. A few days after, a motion was made in the House of Lords, to present an Address to the King, to desire him to suffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been seen, it can't

be imagined any Lord would be so hardy as to dare to make such a motion, unless he was sure of the King's approbation. So, the motion being assented to, the Lords desired the concurrence of the Commons (2); after which, they went in a Body (3) to present their address to the King. *Henry* protested to them, that he sought only the Glory of God, the Good of his People, and the Declaration of Truth. Then he agreed that the affair should be referred to the Clergy, who immediately appointed Commissioners to examine the Witnesses (4). All that could be gathered from the King's own Deposition, and those of the Witnesses, was, That there had been a Pre-contract between the Queen and the Prince of *Lorraine*, which was not sufficiently cleared: That the King having espoused the Queen against his Will, had not given an inward consent to his Marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promises could not be obligatory, a Man's act being only what is inward: That the King had never consummated the Marriage: That the whole Nation had a great interest in the King's having more Issue, which they saw he could never have by the Queen.

The King must have had a very ill opinion of the Convocation, the Parliament, and the Publick, to alledge such extraordinary causes of his Divorce. The first had been discussed before the Celebration of the Marriage, and the Council was of opinion, it could be no just impediment. As to the second, if that maxim took place, Contracts would be of no use, since one of the Parties might say, he had not given an inward consent. This would be establishing, without remedy, Insincerity, Fraud and Perfidiousness in the highest degree. As for the third, the King had doubtless forgot what he had alledged in the process of his Divorce with *Catherine*. He then maintained, pursuant to his Clergy's opinion, that the Consummation of *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catherine* was not necessary to render it valid, but that the bare consent of the Parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, since there was no necessity of nulling the Marriage, under colour that the King was not pleased to lie with the Queen. Besides, he had now an Heir. In short, his word must be taken, when he said, he had not consummated his Marriage; his word, who sued for the Divorce, and who used this argument to obtain it. Mean while, the Clergy thought these Reasons solid, and passed a Sentence of Divorce upon them, and the Parliament were so abject, as to prostitute themselves to the King's passion, and confirm the Sentence (5). There is no distinction to be made here, since neither in the Convocation, nor in the Parliament, was there one single Vote against the Divorce; so much did every one dread to incur the King's displeasure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing transacted in *England* during the latter part of *Henry VIII's* Reign, the Parliament and Clergy ought to be considered only as the King's instruments to gratify his passions. To him is due the praise of whatever was good and useful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for whatever was amiss. Mean while, the Parliament and Clergy are inexcusable for not having endeavoured to support the Cause of Justice and Truth, when they believed them to be oppressed.

The Queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her absence, and even without her being examined. Probably, she had entertained no great affection for a Spouse, who had never given her any token of his love. However, though the King had thought it needless to ask her approbation, when he was meditating the Divorce, because then the Clergy and Parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her consent to what had been done, thinking no doubt the better to justify himself to the World. At the same time he offered by Letters-Patents to declare her his adopted Sister, with a Pension of four thousand Pounds a year (6), and her choice either to live in *England*, or return home. She agreed to all without sollicitation, and chose to live in *England*, where she hoped to pass her time more agreeably than at *Cleves*, in her Brother's

(1) The Bill was brought into the House of Lords, *Cranmer* being then absent, on the 17th of *June*, and read the first time; and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the Commons, where it stuck ten Days. And then a new Bill, conceived by the Commons, was brought up with a Proviso annexed to it. They also sent back the Lords Bill. It seems they rejected the Lords Bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in respect to the Lords, or that they left it to their Choice which of the two they would offer to the Royal Assent. Which was an unparliamentary Proceeding. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 277.

(2) The Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Soutampton*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, were sent to desire their Concurrence. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 280.

(3) The whole House of Peers, with twenty Commoners, on *July 6*. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 280.

(4) On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, and the Case was opened by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and a Committee appointed to consider of it; and they deputed the Bishops of *Durham* and *Winchester*, with *Thirleby*, and *Leighton* Dean of *York*, to examine Witnesses that Day. Burnet, *ibid*.

(5) Sentence was given the 9th of *July*, which was signed by both Houses of Convocation; and had the two Archbishops Seals put to it, of which whole Trial the Record does yet remain, having escaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original Depositions are also extant. Burnet observes, this only can be said for their Excuse, that the King's Reasons were as just and weighty as used to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and most of them being Canonists, and knowing how many Precedents there were to be found for such Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the Popes had formerly done. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 281.

(6) There is in *Rymer*, a List of the several Manors and Estates, granted her by the King for Life; but it is no where said, that they were four thousand Pounds a Year. See Tom. 1. p. 710, &c. Bishop Burnet says, it was only three thousand Pounds a Year. See Tom. 1. p. 282.

1540. Court. Besides, it is likely she believed her Pension would be more secure if she remained in *England*, than if she lived abroad. Every thing being thus settled, she writ to the Duke her Brother, that she approved of the Divorce, and desired him to live in good understanding with the King (1).

A 7 to moderate the pains of one of the six Articles.
Burnet.

This grand affair being finished, the Parliament passed an Act to moderate one of the six Articles in the bloody Statute. This Article, as the other five, made it death for the Priests to break their vow of Chastity; but by this last Act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of Goods.

Proofs of the slavish attachment of the Parliament.

All the rest of this Reign will be only a continued series of sensible proofs of the slavish Subjection the *English* Nation was reduced to. But, in this very Session of Parliament, there are three, which ought not to be passed over in silence.

The Parliament confirms what the King shall please to enjoin in matters of Religion.

The Commissioners appointed by the King, pursuant to an Act of Parliament, to examine the Doctrines of Religion, having drawn a long Memorial, and set down certain Articles as undeniable and absolutely necessary, it was moved in the House of Lords, to pass into a Law what these Commissioners had already done, and whatever they should do for the future by order of the King. This motion being received, a Bill was brought in immediately, and [when passed] sent down to the Commons, who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next day. By this Statute it was enacted, That not only the Memorial drawn by the Commissioners, provided it were approved by the King, but likewise whatever the King should enjoin for the future in matters of Religion, should be believed and obeyed by all his Subjects. This was investing the King with the infallibility taken from the Pope. Greater Signs of Slavery can hardly be seen, since the Parliament gave the King Power over Conscience, after having in a manner render'd him master of Life and Fortune. Moreover a Clause was inserted in this Act, which under colour of limiting the King's Authority sensibly enlarged it, namely, *That nothing should be done or determined by virtue of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws of the Realm.* These contradictory Clauses in the same Statute render'd the King Arbitrator of the lives of his Subjects, since on the one hand, they were enjoined to submit to the King's Will in matters of Religion, without knowing however what he would please to prescribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the Laws. Consequently, in case the King commanded any thing contrary to the Law, they were liable to be prosecuted by virtue of this Statute, whether, against Law, they obeyed the King, or, in Obedience to the Law, refused to comply with his Will. The Acts passed in this Reign are full of such Contradictions, which were not inserted without design.

Law about Marriage in favour of the King.

The Parliament passed another Bill which carried no less marks of servitude. It was enacted, that a Marriage already consummated should not be annulled, on pretence of Pre-contract or any other impediment not mentioned in the Law of God. Without doubt the Parliament had, or perhaps feigned to have, forgot, that the King's Marriage with *Ann Bullen* was annulled by reason of a Pre-contract, and upon this same foundation, during this very Session, they had approved the dissolution of his Marriage with *Ann of Cleves*. It is true, the King declared, it was not consummated. But *Catherine of Arragon* protested the same thing with respect to her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, and yet it was decided, that a Party concerned should not be believed even upon Oath, when there were presumptions to the contrary. These were real contradictions, but not minded by the King. His aim was to legitimate the Princess *Elizabeth* by virtue of the former branch of the Act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the Canon Law, to his intended Marriage with *Catherine Howard*, who was Cousin-German to *Ann Bullen* (2).

Intent of the Act.

Money granted to the King by the Clergy.
Burnet.
Stowe.

Before the Parliament broke up, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, assembled in Convocation, offered the King a Subsidy of four Shillings in the Pound, of all Ecclesiastical preferments, to be paid in two years, in ac-

knowledge (as they said in their Address) of the case 1540. to free the Church of *England* from the tyranny of the Pope. The King gladly accepted their present, which was readily confirmed by the Parliament. But this was not sufficient for the King's occasions. In a few days, he demanded also an aid of Money of the Commons. Though for some time the Parliament had been wont to submit without examination to the King's pleasure, this demand met with some sort of opposition in the Lower-House. And indeed, it could not but seem strange, considering the King was in peace with all the World, and besides, he could not be imagined to have already consumed the Money procured by the suppression of the Abbies. Some of the Commons represented, that if in time of Peace, and within the space of one year, the King had spent such immense Sums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the Lands in the Kingdom, which too would not suffice for the expence of few years. But these Speeches had no great effect. It was answered by the King's Party, that he had laid out vast sums in securing the Coasts (3), and that the keeping his Subjects in peace [and plenty] cost him more than the most burthenome War. These reasons, though very weak, passed for incontestable, and the Commons granted the King a Subsidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous War. This is a third proof of the Parliament's slavery. Meanwhile, the People could not conceive what was become of all the Money the King had lately received, and which should have supplied his necessities for many years.

This Parliament, which had given the King so great testimonies of a boundless compliance, was dissolved the 24th of July. But the King was pleased first to require his Subjects with a free and general Pardon, as it was called, though the exceptions limited the benefit to few Persons. All those were excluded who had been condemned for denying the King's Supremacy, or for transgressing some one of the six Articles of the bloody Statute, and even those who were only accused of these Crimes which were then unpardonable. The Countess of *Salisbury*, Cardinal *Pole's* Mother, and *Thomas Cromwell* were excepted by name.

As *Cromwell's* execution had been deferred, he was in some hopes of obtaining his Pardon, and the more, as having writ to the King a very submissive Letter, he was so moved with it, that he caused it to be thrice read. But the solicitations of the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, seconded by those of *Catherine Howard*, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the Prisoner fruitless. The King signed a Warrant to cut off his head the 28th of July (5), about six weeks after his condemnation. As *Cromwell* left a Son of whom he was very fond, he would say nothing on the Scaffold that might do him a prejudice. He contented himself with showing, that he willingly submitted to the sentence the Law had passed on him. He prayed for the King's prosperity, and declared he died in the profession of the Catholick Religion (6). These last words were variously interpreted, according to the passions and prejudices of the two Parties in matters of Religion. Though it was certain, *Cromwell* had lived in the opinions of the *Lutherans*, the contrary Party maintained, he recanted at his death, and that by the Catholick Religion was to be understood the old Religion, professed in the Kingdom before all the Innovations. The others pretended, these words ought to be taken in a more general sense, and at most to signify only the Religion which was then established. However this be, the care *Cromwell* took when he came to die, to say nothing that might offend the King, turned to his Son *Gregory's* advantage, who was this very year created a Peer of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Cromwell*. The Office of Vicegerent enjoyed by the Father, died with him, no one desiring a Post so obnoxious to envy, and so fatal to the first Possessor. Besides, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who were then in great credit, took care not to solicit the King to fill a place, which would engage the Person who held it, to use all his interest to hinder a reconciliation with *Rome* (7).

Some

(1) The 10th of July, *Cranmer* reported to the House of Lords, the Convocation's Sentence, who sent him down to the Commons to report the same. On the 11th, the King sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* to the Queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the Offers above mentioned. Next Day, being the 12th of July, the Bill was brought into the House for annulling the Marriage, which easily went through both Houses. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 282.

(2) By other Statutes it was enacted, 1. That Physicians in *London* shall be discharged from Watch and Ward, and not serve the Office of Constable, or any other. That the President, and four Fellows of the College, shall search and examine the Wares and Drugs of the Apothecaries; and that they may practice Surgery. 2. By another, the Barbers and Surgeons were made one Company. 3. And by another it was ordered, That a Court of First Fruits and Tenths, consisting of a Chancellor, Treasurer, two Auditors, two Clerks, a Messenger, and an Usher, should be erected. 4. As also a Court or Wards. This last was abolished 12 Car. 2. See Statut. 32 Hen. VIII.

(3) In building Havens, Bulwarks, and other Forts for the defence of the Coasts. Burnet, Tom. 1. p. 284.

(4) A Tenth, being two Shillings in the Pound of Lands, and twelve Pence of Goods; and four Fifteenths. Hall, fol. 241. Stowe, p. 579.

(5) Which it seems was done very barbarously. Hall, fol. 242.

(6) His Words were, "I pray you that be here to bear me Record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church." Hall, fol. 242.

(7) *Thomas Cromwell* from being but a Blacksmith's Son at *Putney*, found means to travel into foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars, being a Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon's* Army at the sacking of *Rome*. Whence returning, he was received into Cardinal *Wolsey's* service.

1540. Some days after *Cromwell's* death (1), was seen at *London* a fight, which very much perplexed both Parties. This was a company of People condemned and executed all together; some for denying the King's Supremacy; others for maintaining the *Lutheran* Doctrines. Among these last were *Robert Barnes* [Doctor of Divinity] *Thomas Gerard* [Parson of *Hony-Lane*,] and *William Jerrom* [Vicar of *Stepney*]. These three being impeached before the Parliament, were condemned to be burned upon a general accusation of sowing Heresy, perverting the Scriptures, and maintaining errors destructive of Religion, without the Act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the Parliament's examining the proofs. By the same Act were condemned to suffer the same punishment, four Men, one of whom was accused of maintaining the papal authority; another for holding correspondence with Cardinal *Pole*; a third for designing to surprize *Calais*; a fourth for harbouring a Rebel (2); and lastly, three more convicted of denying the King's Supremacy (3). All these were burned or hanged at the same time and place. It is to be presumed, they were not admitted to speak for themselves, since *Barnes*, after a declaration of his Faith to the People, asked the Sheriff whether he knew why he was to suffer. The Sheriff answering, he did not, he turned to the Stake, and said, the punishment he was going to suffer, plainly taught him the crime of which he was supposed to be guilty. He prayed however for the King, and even for *Gardiner* whom he suspected to be the author of his death. The Bishop endeavoured to clear himself by a printed Apology; but had the misfortune not to be believed (4).

On the 8th of *August*, *Catherine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Niece (5) was declared Queen, the King having privately married her some time before. She was so devoted to the Duke her Uncle, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, that she was entirely guided by their Counsels. As she had a great ascendent over the King, very likely she would have induced him to give himself over to the guidance of these two Ministers, who were preparing to procure by her means great alterations in Religion, had not her fall, which will be presently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as possible so favorable a juncture, to strike at the Reformation and the Reformed. Certainly *Cranmer* was then in a very dangerous situation. He could not doubt that the authors of *Cromwell's* ruin, desired his destruction with the same ardor, nay, were privately working it. Complaints of him were already heard in several places, and even a Member of Parliament (6) said openly in the House, he was the protector and head of the Innovators. These things would have doubtless taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their Plots. But as they knew the King had a real esteem for him, they intended to proceed by degrees, plainly perceiving, they could not without danger to themselves, press his ruin so directly as *Cromwell's*. Besides, there was but one Article which gave them any advantage upon *Cranmer*; namely, Religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the Reformation under such a Prince as *Henry*, was not directly to oppose his Will.

The change produced at Court by *Cromwell's* disgrace, and the new Queen's advancement, was quickly perceived. The Commissioners appointed to draw up a Declaration of the Christian Doctrine, having presented their Work to the King, he ordered it to be immediately published (7). Though this Declaration corrected sundry abuses, the popish Party had so prevailed, that instead of promoting, it sensibly put back, the Reformation, as it is easy to see by the Abstract Doctor *Burnet* gives of this Book in his History of the Reformation of *England*. However, as several principles were laid down which might be of great use in a more favorable juncture, the Reformers were glad, in hopes these principles would serve one day to destroy the errors advanced in the Declaration. On the other hand, the popish Party thought they had gained much, because they saw Doctrines laid down, to which probably the Reformers would never consent, and upon this opposition would draw the King's indignation against their whole Party. As for themselves, having always had an absolute compliance for the King, they intended to pursue the same course, in order to put him entirely into the disposition they desired. Other Commissioners, who were ordered to reform the *Misfals*, made so slight alterations, that excepting a few razures of those Collects, in which the Pope was prayed for (8), there was nothing changed, nor was it necessary to re-print the Mass-Books. Thus by the credit of the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, supported by the new Queen, Archbishop *Cranmer*, and those of his Party, saw a storm approaching, which probably would overwhelm them all. Perhaps it was very fortunate for them, that the King was diverted some time by other affairs, from his attention to what concerned Religion.

The Emperor's passage through *France* seemed at first to create a sincere reconciliation between him and *Francis* I. During his stay at *Paris*, he positively promised to give the Duchy of *Milan* to the Duke *Orleans*. But when *Francis* pressed him to sign an instrument of investiture, he answered, such an Act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in *France*, and that it was more honorable for him and the King too, that it should be signed in some Town of *Flanders*. Afterwards, when he was out of *France*, he found some fresh excuse not to perform his promise. Mean while, he subdued the *Gantois*, and punished them severely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to *Flanders*. After that, when *Francis* claimed his promise, he clogged it with such restrictions, that it was easy to perceive he had no mind to part with a Country, by which *Spain* had a Communication with his other Dominions in *Italy* and *Germany*. *Francis* vexed to be thus deceived, turned out of favour Chancellor *Poyet*, and Constable *Montmorency*, who had advised him to take the Emperor's word.

About the end of the year 1540, there were some beginnings of a quarrel between *Francis* and *Henry*, which ended at length in a War. *Francis* ordered a Fortrefs to be built at *Ardres*, and a Bridge to be made over to the *English* Pale. But the Governour of *Calais* not suffering this incroachment, sent a Detachment of his Garrison and beat down the Bridge. The *French* re-built it, and the *English* demolished it a second time. Whereupon the King of *France* ordering Marshal *de Biez* to raise

vice; and after his Fall, the King voluntarily, (for his Fidelity to his old Master) took him for his Servant. He obtained successively the Offices and Dignities of Privy Counsellor, Master of the Jewel-House, Clerk of the Hanaper, Princi pal Secretary of State, Justice of the For-fts, Master of the Rolls, Lord Privy-Seal, Baron, the King's Vicegerent in Spirituals, Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. *Herbert*, p. 225. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 370. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. 1. p. 363. As his Extraction was mean, his Education was low; all the Learning he had, was, that he had got the *New Testament* in Latin by Heart. His Ministry was in a constant course of Flattery and Subulim, but by that he did great Things that amaze one, who has considered them well. The setting up the King's Supremacy, and the rooting out the Monastick State in *England*, considering the Wealth, Numbers and Zeal of the Monks, were bold Undertakings, and executed with great Method. But in the end, an unfortunate Marriage, to which he advised the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what himself had brought about, was no doubt, backward in the Design of breaking it when the King had told him of it. And then, upon no other visible Ground, but because *Ann of Cleves* grew more obliging to the King than she was formerly, the King suspected that *Cromwell* had betrayed his Secret, and engaged her to a softer Deportment, on design to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that disgrace and destroy him. He carried his Greatness with wonderful Temper and Moderation, and was thankful to mean Persons of his old Acquaintance. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 284. *Stow*. p. 580. *Hellingsh.* p. 952.

- (1) *July* 30. *Hall*, fol. 243.
- (2) These four were, *Gregory Buttclph*, *Adam Damply*, *Edmund Brinholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, who were attainted for assisting *Reginald Pool*, ad- being to the Bishop of *Rome*, denying the King's Supremacy, and designing to surprize the Town of *Calais*. *Derby Gunnings*, was also attainted for assisting *Francis* to be a Traitor in *Ireland*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 297.
- (3) *Thomas Abell*, *Richard Fetherston*, and *Edward Powell*. *Hall*, fol. 243. *Stow*, p. 581.
- (4) At the same time was attainted and executed the Lord *Hungerford*. His Crimes were, keeping a Heretical Chaplain, applying to a Conjuror to know how long the King was to live, and the practising Beastia ity. *Herbert*, p. 225. *Hall*, fol. 243.
- (5) She was Daughter of *Edmund Howard* (third Son of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, Son of *John* first Duke of *Norfolk*) by *Joyce* Daughter of Sir *R. Cuspeper* of *Hellingburn* in *Kent*. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 272.
- (6) Sir *John Gylstwick* Knight of the Shire for *Bedfordshire*. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 285.
- (7) It was published with a Preface written by those who had been employed in it. First, the true Nature of Faith is stated. After this, there fol- lowed an Explanation of the Apostles Creed, with practical Inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the eleven Sacraments. Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, which contains many good Rules of Morality. After that, an Explanation of the Lord's Prayer was added. Then followed an Exposition of the Angel's Salutation of the blessed Virgin, and the *Ave-Maria* explained. The next Article is about Free-Will, which they say must be in Man. After this they handled Justification. Next Good-Works are explained, which are said to be absolutely necessary to salvation. The Method they followed was this, (as appears in some authentick Writings,) First, the whole Business they were to consider was divided into so many Head, or Queries, and these were given to so many Bishops and Divines, and at a prefixed time every one brought in his Opinion in Writing upon the Queries. When their Answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, in which they agreed or disagreed; which the one did in Latin, the other in *English*. As this was the way that was used concerning the eleven Sacraments, (as may be seen *Conc.* N. 21. Vol. I. of *Burnet's* Reformation,) so 'tis reasonable to believe they proceeded with the same Maturity in the rest of their Delibera- tions, though the Papers are lost. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 286, &c.
- (8) And of *Thomas Becket's* Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose Days were by the King's Injunctions more to be observed. For the old Books served still, but in Queen *Mary's* time, Care was taken that Posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed. So as all the *Psalms* were required to furnish themselves with new complete Books of the Offices, so the dashed Books were every where brought in and destroyed. *Burnet*, Tom. 1. p. 294.

1540. Troops in *Picardy*, *Henry* re-inforced the Garrison of *Calais* (1), and repaired the Fortifications. Mean while the two Kings willing to avoid a rupture upon so slight an occasion, agreed to send Commissioners (2) upon the spot, with powers to adjust the difference. But this conference producing no good effect, each provided for his defence in case of an attack.

The Order of the Jesuits. It was this year that the famous Jesuitical Order was founded by a Bull of *Paul III*, dated the twenty seventh of September (3).

1541. The uneasiness the Emperor had given *Henry* for some time, was now almost vanished, since *Francis* had been disappointed in the affair of *Milan*. *Henry* knew sufficiently that Prince's temper and character, to foresee without much difficulty, that he would soon break with the Emperor. A War between these two Monarchs could not but be advantageous to *Henry*. It would of course procure him quiet, and enable him to preserve an equality of power between them, which was the firmest foundation of his own and his Kingdom's security. So fearing nothing from the Pope or the Emperor, or the King of *France*, or his own Subjects, whose attempts must be in vain without a foreign aid, he confined himself wholly to his domestick affairs. He had chiefly two things in view. The first was, to preserve and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the second, to take care that no alterations should be made in Religion, but such as he himself judged reasonable. These were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was positively bent upon these two points, and the Parliament durst not oppose his Will, it may be easily judged, that none of his Ministers had the courage to contradict him in any thing. So, it was himself alone that ordered every thing according to his fancy, his Council only approving his motions. However, there were in the Council, as well as in the Kingdom, two opposite Parties with respect to Religion. But every one had always his eyes upon the King, to try to discover his thoughts, for fear of combating his opinion.

Cranmer's Character. Archbishop *Cranmer* was at the head of the Party who wished for a greater Reformation. He was still very much esteemed by the King, especially on account of his integrity. But sincerity, which he professed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a Court where instead of hearkening to Reason, Justice, and Equity, the King's inclination only was to be considered.

Audley's. Chancellor *Audley* was a Person of good sense. He served the Reformers when he could without danger. But he was too much a Courtier to insist upon what he judged reasonable, if the King was against it.

The Duke of Norfolk's. The Duke of *Norfolk* was as eminent for his merit as for his birth. He was reckoned a good General, but was still a better Courtier. Ever submissive to the King's Will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleased to command him. But in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in Religion, and could not endure either the Reformation or the Reformed. He would have been glad to see the King reconciled to the Pope; but the small hopes of their reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended so unforgiving a Master. Nevertheless, as the King was not always in the same disposition, the Duke found frequent occasion to serve his Party, especially in the punishment of those who disliked the six Articles, and were so hardy as publickly to shew it. In a word, he was as head of the favourers of the Pope, and the old Religion. But he carefully concealed from the King his inclination for the former; and as for the latter, he shewed his Zeal only in supporting what the King had retained.

Gardiner's. Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester*, was in the same sentiments, and behaved in the same manner. But he was

very far from being so much esteemed by the King, who made use of him however because he was pliant and dextrous, and had an extensive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater insight than the rest of the Ministers, he sometimes engaged the King in proceedings, the consequences whereof might be advantageous to his Party, and of which the King himself did not always know the motive. By a blind submission to the King's Will, he kept himself in some degree of favor, being convinced himself, and having also convinced his friends, that this compliance was the only means to procure a revocation of what had been done against the Pope.

Banner Bishop of London, was also one of the heads of the same Party, but however always ready to sacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, passionate, and excessively cruel, as he plainly shewed upon many occasions. As he was of very little merit, he supported himself by making Court to those who were in favour, and by taking the King's Will for the rule of his actions.

Queen *Catherine* blindly followed the directions of the Duke of *Norfolk* her Uncle, and used what power she had over the King, to support the credit of the enemies of the Reformation.

Such was the situation of the Court, when the King, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domestick concerns. The Kingdom, however, was in profound tranquillity, because the terror with which People were seized, silenced all contradiction. In December the last year, he began the foundation of the new Bishopricks, by converting the Abbey of *Westminster* into a Bishop's See (4). In this year 1541 he founded three more, *Chesler* (5), *Gloucester* (6), and *Peterborough* (7), and the next year, *Oxford* (8), and *Bristol* (9). These foundations, and some others of little consequence, were the only charitable uses to which he applied the immense riches acquired by the suppression of the Abbies (10). His Courtiers magnified these pious Acts, whilst others took notice of the little proportion between seven or eight thousand pounds a year, employed in these uses, and what was acquired by the ruin of near seven hundred Religious Houses.

Mean while, *Henry* had a mind to shew his zeal for Religion, as if his sole aim was to procure the eternal Salvation of his People. The Book of the Exposition of Christian Faith being printed, he prefixed an Ordinance, declaring all those to be Hereticks, who believed more or less than was contained in that Book (11). However, as it was not possible that all should conform to it, and it does not appear, any Person suffered upon that account in the course of this year, it is likely the King had intimated, that he desired not his ordinance to be rigorously executed.

Whilst *Henry* was congratulating himself upon triumphing over the Pope, and enjoying a tranquillity which the Court of *Rome* had in vain attempted to disturb, the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon what passed between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and upon the preparations in *Turkey*. The War between the Emperor and *Francis* was going to be renewed, but very unseasonably for the Emperor, when *Soliman* was preparing to invade *Hungary*, on occasion of the death of *John de Zapol*, Competitor of the King of the *Romans*. These two Princes, after long contending for the Crown of *Hungary*, being at last tired of War, were agreed that *Zapol* should hold, during his Life, what he possessed, with the title of King, but after his death the Crown should descend to *Ferdinand*. *Zapol* dying, and leaving a Son called *Stephen*, under the Guardianship of his Mother, *Ferdinand* expected that the Treaty should be executed,

(1) He sent fifteen hundred Workmen, to wall and fortify *Guisnes*, and five hundred Soldiers to defend them. And also *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, *William Fitz-Williams*, Earl of *Southampton*, and *John Lord Russell*, were sent over with two hundred Horse. *Hen.* fol. 243.

(2) The English Commissioners were *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Edward Kene*. *Herbert*, p. 226.

(3) The Founder of this Order was *Imgo* (or *Ignatius*) de *Loyola* at *Guespaya* in *Spain*. He was born 1492, the very Year the *Indies* were discovered, and *Granada* taken by *Ferdinand*. He lived obscurely till he came to twenty nine Years of Age, and then turned Soldier in the Wars of *Nazarré* 1521, where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof seems to have wakened Devotion in him to a religious Life; for as soon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Montserrat*, and offered his Sword and Dagger; then giving away his Cloaths to a poor Man, took up in him a Shirt and miserable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Rushes; and in these Arms (as *Sandruel* terms them); he watched one whole Night before our Lady, and so went to an Hospital three Leagues off, and there attended sick Persons, whence he travelled to the *Holy Land*; being returned, and in his thirty third Year, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attained. Then he went to the University of *Alcala*, and so to *Salamanca*, where being spoiled and persecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there studied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. Thus about 1536 going to *Vence*, he staid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, where he obtained of *Paul III*, the Foundation of the *Jesuites* Order 1540. *Herbert*, p. 226.

(4) With a Deanery and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Choir. Of which *Thomas Thirlby* was the only Bishop. *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XIV. p. 705.

(5) August the fourth, out of the Monastery of *St. Werburg* at *Chesler*, with a Deanery and six Prebends. *Rymer*, *Ibid.* p. 718.

(6) September the third, out of the Monastery of *St. Peter's* at *Gloucester*, with a Deanery and six Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 724.

(7) The fourth of the same Month, out of *Peterborough* Abbey, with a Deanery and six Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 731.

(8) September the first, out of the Abbey of *Osney* at *Oxford*, with a Deanery and six Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 754.

(9) June the fourth, out of *St. Austin's* at *Bristol*, with a Deanery and six Prebends. *Ibid.* p. 748.

(10) The Priories at most Cathedrals, as *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Worcester*, *Carlisle*, *Rochester*, and *Ely*, were also converted into Deaneries, and Colleges of Prebends. As all this came far short of what the King had once intended, to *Cranmer's* design was quite disappointed. For he had projected, that in every Cathedral there should be Provision made for Readers of Divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily Worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the Parts of his Diocese. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 300, 301.

(11) Headed a fort of a Preface about two Years after the Book was first published. *Ibid.* p. 293.

1541. and would have taken possession of all Hungary. But young Zapol's Mother implored Soliman's protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this dissention, to become master of Hungary, and penetrate afterwards into the imperial territories.

The Emperor's Artifice to divert Soliman from invading Hungary.

Francis to break the Emperor's Measures, sends Ambassadors to Turkey and Venice. Mezerau, Bellay.

The Ambassadors are murdered on the Po.

The Interim granted in Germany to the Protestants. Sleidan.

Battle of Buda gained by the Turks.

The Emperor's Expedition into Africa. Hist. d'Esp. Mezerau.

It miscarries.

Mezerau.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

The Emperor seeing Hungary threatened with a powerful Invasion, which might be of fatal consequence to Germany, used all his art to pacify the Protestants, without giving them however any satisfaction, endeavouring only to amuse them, and obtain some assistance against the Turk. On the other hand, he laboured to persuade Soliman, that he was in perfect union with the Kings of France and England, that the dread of a general League of the Christian Princes might divert him from his design. Wherefore, he tried to amuse Francis, with putting him in hopes, he would give the Low-Countries to his second Son, and erect them into a Kingdom. At the same time, he gave the Ottoman Port to understand, this affair was in a manner concluded. Francis fell not into the snare. But hearing from all parts, that the Emperor's Ministers every where gave out, the Negotiation was upon the point of conclusion, he resolved to send an Ambassador to Venice, and another to Constantinople, to undeceive the Emperor of the Turks and the Senate of Venice. He chose, for these Embassies, Rincon and Fregosa, who set out in order to pass through Italy. But the Marquis of Guasto, Governor of Milan, receiving advice that they were to embark at Turin, and go down the Po, caused them to be so narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the Boat. Francis made great noise about this assassination; but the Emperor gave him no satisfaction. This was a fresh occasion of the rupture between the two Monarchs.

About the same time, the Emperor called a Diet at Ratisbon for the fifth of April. As it was then no proper juncture to disturb the Protestants, the Diet resolved at last to grant them a second delay, which was called the Interim, that they might continue quiet, and more readily ingage to furnish Supplies against the Turks.

In the mean time, the King of the Romans ordered Buda, Capital of Hungary, to be invested, in hopes of taking it before the Turks should arrive. But the Siege proving more difficult than was expected, the Turks had time to relieve it, and give the Germans battle, over whom they obtained a signal Victory. Shortly after, Soliman coming to Hungary, made his entry into Buda, and under colour of taking young Zapol under his protection, became master of the City, and great part of the Kingdom.

Mean while, the Emperor having ended the Diet, instead of marching into Hungary to assist the King his Brother, took the rout of Italy, and embarking at Portovenere with an Army of twenty thousand men, sailed for Africa, to make war upon Barbarossa, who had made himself King of Algiers. This proceeding gave occasion for many Speculations. It was ridiculed at the French Court, as if, instead of fighting the Turks, he had sought a pretence to fly from them. But as the African expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the Troops were now on the Coast of Italy, it is certain he would not have had time to relieve the King of the Romans, if he had attempted to march his Army into Hungary.

However this be, he landed his Army near Algiers the twenty second of October. But two days after, a sudden and violent storm destroyed part of his Fleet. This accident obliged him to reembark the beginning of November, after having lost good part of his Troops and Ships. It is pretended, Francis out of mere Generosity would not proclaim War against him, whilst employed in this expedition. It is however difficult to believe that Francis, who actually held intelligence with Soliman, and afterwards scrupled not to make use of the assistance of the Turks, should stick at interrupting the Emperor's designs against the Infidels of Africa.

Henry saw with pleasure that the King of France and the Turks were going to find the Emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of England. But though he was easy in that respect, he was however in some pain with regard to the King of Scotland, who, though his Nephew, had no reason to love him, and could easily assist the English Male-contents, who were very numerous in the northern Counties. Henry was afraid also,

that a religious zeal would carry that Prince to undertake something against him, because he began to suffer himself to be governed by the Churchmen, who under colour of persuading him to destroy Heresy, strongly attached him to the Pope's interest. The Reformed had now been burned many years in Scotland. But these punishments caused there the same effects as elsewhere, that is, they increased, instead of lessening the number, and yet the Clergy were still obstinately bent to root them out with fire and sword. James V. was a Prince much addicted to his pleasures, and very greedy of Money. Besides, he had several natural Sons whom he could not enrich as he wished, because he had exhausted his Treasure in needless expences. There were two Parties in his Court, whereof the one favoured the King of England and the Reformed, and the other, chiefly consisting of Churchmen, was entirely against Henry, and continually strove to induce the King to extirpate all who swerved from the old Religion. The former endeavoured to persuade him to imitate the King of England his Uncle, and secure a large Revenue by the suppression of the Abbies. The latter represented to him, that by strictly executing the Laws against Hereticks, he would raise by forfeited Estates above a hundred thousand Crowns a year. After some consideration, James closed with the last advice, and suffering the Clergy to take their own course, there followed in Scotland a violent persecution (1).

Henry perceiving the King his Nephew to be thus governed by Persons wholly addicted to the Court of Rome, feared, he would at last be led to unite against him with the Pope and Emperor. This apprehension seemed to him the more just, as he could hardly rely any longer on the assistance of the King of France, who was wont to direct the Court of Scotland, because that ancient Ally was grown extremely cold to him. Whereupon, he resolved to use all his art to gain the King his Nephew, and persuade him to break, like him, with the Pope. To this end he sent Ambassadors to desire an Interview at York, not questioning, that, in an amicable conference, he should have eloquence enough to persuade him to what he pleased. James accepted the Overture, and promised to come to York, where Henry went and expected him. But the Scotch Ecclesiasticks and their whole Party so bestirred themselves, to prevent this Interview, the consequence whereof they perceived, that they succeeded at last, and prevailed with the King to find some pretence to be excused.

Mean while, Henry who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited at York for the day appointed for the Interview. In this interval, he issued out a Proclamation, That all who had been aggrieved for want of justice, by any of his former Ministers, should come to him and his Council for redress. His aim was to throw all past miscarriages on Cromwell, and put his Subjects, particularly the northern People, in hopes of better times (2). But whilst he was preparing for the King of Scotland's reception, he received Letters of excuse, that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refusal, which he deemed an affront, soon after caused a breach between the two Kingdoms. But his vexation at this affair was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with upon his return to London.

Since his last marriage, he daily blessed God for the happiness he enjoyed with his Queen, and upon all occasions publicly testified his extreme satisfaction: Nay, during his journey to York, desiring to give God thanks in a manner suitable to the sentiments of his Heart, he ordered his Confessor (3) to draw up a particular Thanksgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the same. All this shewed his esteem and tender affection for the Queen, who seemed to have the same fondness for him. But when he came to London, he heard things which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilst he was at York, one John Laffels came to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who remained at London, and told him, that his Sister, an old Servant of the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk [under whose care the Queen was brought up,] said to him, that the Queen had been very lewd before and since her Marriage, and that two Men, among others, namely, Dirham and Mannock (4), had often enjoyed her. Cranmer communicating the secret to the Lord Chancellor

1541.

Burnet.

Henry reforms his Design of gaining the King of Scotland. Burnet, Buchanan.

James agrees to it. Hall, Herbert.

Henry goes and stays for him at York. Proclamation in favour of all the People. Hall, Stow, Burnet, T. I. p. 311. Herbert.

The Queen's Lewdness is discovered. Hall, Hoilingh. Burnet.

Herbert, p. 228.

(1) George Buchanan, the famous Scotch Historian, was in danger at this time, and would have died with the rest, had not he escaped out of Prison. See his History of Scotland, l. 14. The sharpness of his Poem against the Clergy was the cause of his Confinement. He went beyond sea, and lived twenty Years in Exile, and was forced to teach School most part of the time. In his Writings there appears not only all the Beauty and Graces of the Latin Tongue, but a great Vigour of Mind and Quickness of Thought. His Style is so natural and nervous, and his Reflections on things are so full, (besides his immortal Poems) that he is justly styled the best of our modern Authors. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 211.

(2) In April this Year, there broke out a new Insurrection in Yorkshire, which was soon suppressed. During this Process, the Places the King passed through made their submission to him, thanking him for his pardon, and made him the following Presents: *Doncaster* 1000 *l.* *York* 400 *l.* *Boston* 500 *l.* *Leeds* 3000 *l.* *Kilnsey*, and the Church of *Lincoln* 500 *l.* The chief Persons of Yorkshire 900 *l.* The Archbishop of *York*, with three hundred Priests, 600 *l.* The Mayors of *Y.* *S.* *Newcastle*, *Hall*, 1000 *l.* apiece. *Hall*, vol. 244.

(3) The Bishop of *London*, on November 1. Herbert, p. 228.

(4) Two of the Duchess of Norfolk's Domesticks. Herbert, p. 228.

1541. and other Privy-Counsellors, it was agreed, that the Archbishop should inform the King of it, as soon as he returned to London, though they were not ignorant of the danger they exposed themselves to, if the accusation could not be proved. But on this occasion it was no less dangerous to be silent.

Cranmer
informs the
King of it.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Depositions
are taken
in private

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his Commission, chose to set it down in writing, and put it in the King's hands (1), desiring him to read it in private. Henry took it at first for a Calumny, resolving in himself to punish the Authors severely. Nay, it was with this view only that he was pleased thoroughly to examine the matter, though with all possible secrecy, for fear of vexing the Queen. He ordered therefore the Lord Privy-Seal to examine *Laffels* in private. *Laffels* boldly stood to what he had said upon his Sister's report, who also confirmed what she had told her Brother. Upon these depositions, some pretence was used to arrest *Dirham* and *Mannock*, who discovered in their Examination more circumstances than were desired. They confessed not only that they had lain with the Queen, but also that three Court Ladies, her confidants, were commonly eye-witnesses to her lewd practices. One of the three was the Lady *Rochford*, who accused the Lord *Rochford* her Husband of a criminal commerce with Queen *Ann Bullen* his Sister (2). They farther deposed, That the King being at *Lincoln*, one *Culpeper*, by the Lady *Rochford's* means, was brought into the Queen's Chamber at eleven a Clock in the night, and staid there till four in the morning, and that when he went away the Queen gave him [a Gold Chain and] a rich Cap. Moreover, the Queen had taken *Dirham* into her Service, which shewed she intended to continue the same course of Life. The Queen at first denied all. But in a second Examination she confessed (3), that before Marriage she had prostituted herself to several Men. This Confession shook the King's Resolution, who lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear bursting out into Tears. In short, after *Dirham*, *Mannock*, and *Culpeper* were condemned to die (4), he was pleased the Queen's Impeachment should be brought before the Parliament, which met the 16th of January the next Year 1542.

Several Wit-
nesses are
in Court.
Hall.
Burnet.
Hollingsh.

The Queen's
Confession.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 737.
&c.

1542.
Act of
Attainder
against the
Queen and
her Complices.
Burnet.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The Commissioners (5) named by the Parliament to examine the Queen, reported, that the Facts she was accused of, were sufficiently proved. Whereupon both Houses declared her guilty, and petitioned (6) the King that she might be punished with Death, together with the Lady *Rochford*, Complice of her lewd Practices, the Duchess Dowager of *Norfolk*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady (7), the Countess of *Bridgewater*, five other Women, and four Men, for misprision of Treason, in concealing what they knew of the Queen's vicious Life. Here again may be observed, the Servitude of the Parliament, who did not dare to condemn the Queen and her Complices, without knowing whether the King would be pleased to suffer them to be punished. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to *Ann Bullen* and the Lord *Rochford*, because the King's Authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am speaking of. The King consenting they should be punished, they were condemned to die by an Act of Attainder. There was also a very extraordinary Clause in the Act, declaring: "That whoever knew any thing of the Incontinence of

"a Queen, should reveal it under the pains of Treason: 1542.
"That if the King or his Successors should intend to
"marry a Woman as a Virgin, if she, not being so, did
"not declare the same to the King, it should be High-
"Treason; and all who knew it, and did not reveal
"it, were guilty of misprision of Treason: That if the
"Queen or the Princess of *Wales* should procure any by
"Messages or Words, to know her carnally; or any
"other by Messages or Words should solicit them;
"they, their Counsellors and Abettors, are to be ad-
"judged high Traitors."

Henry giving his Assent to the Act [by Letters Patented (8)] the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded [on Tower-Hill] the 12th of January. The Queen stood to what she had confessed, concerning the misprisions of her former Life before she was married; but turned, upon her Salvation, that she had ever defiled the King's Bed. As for the Lady *Rochford*, she died unlamented by all. But her death and infamy served at least to raise again the Reputation of the Lord *Rochford* her Husband, and of Queen *Ann Bullen*, whose Death she procured by her Evidence, which her own Condemnation caused to be universally suspected.

The extreme severity of the Parliament to the Queen's Relations was much censured by the Publick. It was thought unnatural to punish a Grandmother for not discovering her Grand-daughter's Incontinence (9). Accordingly the King moderated the Severity, by pardoning [her and] most of those who were condemned, some of whom however remained long in Prison. As for the last Clause, which made it Treason for a Woman, courted by the King, not to reveal the loss of her Virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jestingly said, the Kings of *England* for the future could only marry Widows, there being no reputed Maid who would run the hazard of being attainted of Treason, in case the King happened not to like her (10).

This affair being ended, the Parliament confirmed (11) an Act passed in *Ireland*, whereby that Island was erected into a Kingdom. From thenceforward the Kings of *England* inserted among their Titles, That of King of *Ireland*, whereas before they were styled only Lords (12).

Before the Parliament broke up, the King began in some measure to shew his intention to seize the Colleges and Hospitals as he had done the Abbies. But the execution of this design was very difficult. By the Local Statutes of most of them, the Governors, Presidents, or any of the Fellows, had no power to surrender the Lands belonging to their Houses, without the consent of the whole Society. So it was not easy to gain whole Bodies of Men, who were so much concerned to keep the Revenues on which they subsisted. It is true, the King had prevailed with some, who were not bound by such express Statutes, to resign their Houses to him. But, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the rest to follow this example without breaking their Oath. To this end, all the Local Statutes of Colleges and Hospitals were annulled by Act of Parliament, and the Governors, Presidents and Fellows were no more to be sworn to the observance thereof. This obstacle being removed, a few more were surrendered to the King. But this affair was not entirely finished till 1545, by a much shorter method.

(1) November 2. Herbert, p. 228.

(2) In an original Letter sent from divers of the Council to William Paget our Ambassador then in France, wherein all the Circumstances of the affair are set forth at large, it appears that there were three sundry Women one after another, that had lain in the same bed with them when *Dirham* lay with the Queen. One of these Women the Queen had taken into her Service as well as *Dirham*. See the Letter in Lord Herbert, p. 228. Compl. Hist.

(3) To the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the Confession of the same in writing subscribed with her hand. Herbert, p. 229. This Confession is extant in Burnet's Hist. Ref. Tom. III. Collect. p. 171. whereby it appears that the confessed more than enough.

(4) *Dirham* and *Culpeper* were executed at Tyburn, December 10. Hall, fol. 245.

(5) Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Westminster examined the Queen, January 28. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the Journal nor the Act of Parliament, which only says, she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 312. Journals of Parliament.

(6) The Bill for her Attainder was read January 21, for the first time; and for the second and third times, Feb. 6. and 8. Journals of Parl. The Act, passed in both Houses, began with petitioning the King: 1. Not to be troubled, since it might shorten his Life. 2. To pardon every thing spoken against the Queen. 3. That the Queen and her Complices might, &c. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 313.

(7) *Rapin*, by mistake, supposes these to be her Father and Mother, whereas they were her Uncle and Aunt. Her Father was the Lord Edmund Howard. As the Family of the Howards spread themselves into several Branches, in order to prevent confusion, it will be proper to insert here a short Genealogical Account of that Family, which shall be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret Daughter and Co-heir to Thomas de Mowbray Duke of Norfolk; by whom he had John, created Duke of Norfolk, June 28. 1 Re. III. and then afterwards at Bayworth fight, who married, 1. Catherine, Daughter of William Lord Molins, by whom he had Thomas created Earl of Surrey 1 Rich. III. and returned to the time Title 4 Hen. VII. and to that of Duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. 2. Margaret Daughter of Sir John Comber. The said Thomas married, first, Elizabeth Daughter and sole Heir to Sir Frederick Tilney, by whom he had Thomas the third Duke of Norfolk, Sir Edmund Knight of the Garter and High-Admiral, and Edmund Father of Catherine, fifth Wife of Henry VIII. His second Wife was Agnes, Sister and Heir of Sir Philip Tilney, by whom he had William created Baron of Epsingham March 11. (1 Mary) and Thomas who died in the Tower in 1535, where he was confined about Margaret Draycott Daughter of the Queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 265—278.

(8) Which he was empowered to do by this Act. He did it Feb. 11.

(9) It was not her Parents (as *Rapin* repeats here again by mistake) but her Grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk (under whom she had been bred) that People thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the King her Grand-daughter was a Whore, which would have been inconsistent with the Rules of Justice or Decency. Her Parents seem to have been dead before now, seeing there is nothing said of her Father since 12 Henry VIII. Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 272.

(10) This part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the first Parliament of Edward VI.

(11) January 22, as appears by the Journals.

(12) Among other Acts, these that follow were also then made: 1. That Persons, who by privy Tokens and counterfeit Letters, deceitfully obtain any Money, Goods, or Chattels, shall suffer such Punishment (except death) as shall be appointed by their Letters when they are convicted. 2. That no person, except what has Lands, Tenements, Fees, Annuities, or Offices, to the yearly value of one hundred Pounds, shall keep or shoot with any Gun. 3. That no Man shall be Justice of Assize in the County where he was born, or dwelleth. 4. By another, the Court of Surveyors of the King's Lands is settled. And 5. the punishment of those that are guilty of Murder, or Bloodshed, within the Verge of the King's Court. Statut. 33 Henry VIII.

1542.
Dispute con-
cerning the
Version of
the Bible.
Burnet.

Whilst the King's affairs were thus doing in the Parliament, the Convocation, which sat at the same time, were much divided about the new translation of the Bible, that was going to be published. Many affirmed, it was full of faults, and to suffer it to be read before it was revised, would be very injurious to the People. *Gardiner* moved this dispute, in hopes this revival would take up some time, and the King in the mean while alter his mind (1). His Party was so numerous, that he would have carried his point, if *Cranmer*, who perceived his design, had not moved the King to refer the perusing of the translation to the two Universities, where he had much more interest than in the Convocation. Several Bishops strenuously opposed it, and some even entered a protestation against it (2). But all signified nothing, since the King declared it to be his pleasure: Nay, he granted, the 12th of March, a privilege to a London Bookseller (3) to print the Bible in *English*. This gives occasion to presume, the Universities revised not the translation, since it was impossible they should have examined it in so short a space.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 745.

The King
wants the
Commons to
offer him a
Subsidy;

The King wanted Money for the War with *Scotland*, on which he was entirely bent, but durst not ask the Commons. Not that he doubted of success, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his Subjects, who were much more tender of matters of interest than of all others. He wished the Commons would voluntarily offer him Money, without being asked. It was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a Sheriff to be imprisoned for arresting a Member of Parliament (4), and offered to leave it to them to punish him as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed Money to let them see his necessity (5). But for once the Commons feigned not to understand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious custom of granting the King Subsidies unasked. Besides, as they were yet ignorant of the design of a War with *Scotland*, they saw no occasion to offer him Money. So, the Parliament broke up without granting the King any thing, except the Act concerning the Colleges and Hospitals, which was a seed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due Season.

Stow.
Hollingsh.

but they do
not.

He endea-
vours to Lin-
der the King
of France
from assisting
Scotland.
Herbert.
Burnet.
T. III. 155.

The War with *Scotland* being resolved, *Henry* sent Sir *William Paget* to *France*, to sound *Francis I.* and try to hinder him by some Treaty from assisting the King of *Scotland*. The Ambassador's instructions were, to demand of the King of *France*, that the Treaty of perpetual Peace between *France* and *England* should be renewed. *Francis* easily perceived there was some hidden Mystery in this overture. As he knew *Henry* was displeased with the King of *Scotland*, he did not doubt that he desired the Peace to be renewed, on purpose to infer in the new Treaty some Article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his Ally. He answered therefore, that it was needless to renew a Treaty, the conditions whereof the King of *England* had not performed. The Ambassador replied, there was no sort of terms in the Treaty of Peace, and consequently his Master could not be accused of breaking them. But this dispute was entirely founded on a mistake. The Ambassador understood by the Treaty of Peace, a private Treaty of one single Article; namely, That there should be a perpetual Peace between *France* and *England*. But *Francis* meant some other Treaties signed the same day, and which belonged to the first, though this was written apart. It was this separate Treaty which *Henry* wanted to renew, imagining he should thereby hinder *Francis* from assisting the King of *Scotland*. But *Francis* did not design that, under this pretence, *Henry* should be suffered to crush an anti-ent ally of *France*, and *France* not be able to oppose it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifest breach of the Peace, to attack his Allies without any just cause. Mean while, as neither would mention the King of *Scotland*, though both had him in their thoughts, *Francis*, to embarrass *Henry*, demanded, pursuant to the former Treaties, his assistance to recover the *Milanese*. *Henry* required on his part, that *Francis*, according to his promise, should abolish the papal Authority in *France*. These reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach than a renewal of the Treaties. Besides, the *English* had already begun Hostilities, by seizing some *French* Ships which were supposed to be Pyrates, and the *French* had detained some *English* Vessels by way of reprisal. So, the Ambassador having taken his leave without effecting any

thing, reported to his Master, that the King of *France* was ill-affected to him; that is, he would not, without opposing it, suffer the King of *Scotland* to be oppressed. This was the meaning of *Francis's* being ill-affected to *England*, he being at that time very far from wishing a War with the *English*, since he was just going to begin another which he much more desired.

1542.

Francis was so provoked at all the Emperor's artifices, that, to proclaim War against him, he only staid to see him so embroiled with the *Smalcaldick* League, that there should be no more hopes of agreement. To foment this dissention, he had sent Ambassadors to the Diet assembled at *Spire*, in February, under colour of clearing himself from the pretended Calumnies he was aspersed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the *Turks*. His Ambassadors complained to the Diet, in very strong terms, of the murder of *Rincon* and *Fregosa*, pretending that *Rincon* was sent to *Constantinople*, only to dissuade *Soliman* from his design of carrying War into *Germany*. However, in the sequel of their discourse, they would have persuaded the *German* Princes, that it was their interest to fortify their frontier Towns and abandon *Hungary* to the *Turks*. So their presence at the Diet having produced no great effect, they were returned very dissatisfied.

Embassy of
France to
the Diet of
no effect.
Sleidan.

Shortly after their departure, the Pope's Nuncio offered to the Diet, in his Master's name, a Council at *Trent*. The Catholics gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the Nuncio. But the Protestants rejected it, because they would not have a Council called by their adversary, and in a suspicious place, since the City of *Trent* belonged to the King of the *Romans*. The Diet however ended to the Emperor's and *Ferdinand's* satisfaction, after having unanimously resolved to give them a powerful assistance, under the conduct of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

The Pope
offers a
Council at
Trent.
Herbert.

Though the Protestants refused the Pope's offer, *Paul III.* called a Council at *Trent* for November following, by a Bull of the 22d of May. But this was only to amuse the world. He knew that when a War between the Emperor and *France* was going to commence, there would be obstacles enough to hinder the Council from assembling.

The calling
of the Coun-
cil of Trent.

And indeed at this very time *Francis I.* was bringing five Armies into the field, to attack the Emperor in five places at once; namely, in *Roussillon*, *Luxemburg*, *Piedmont*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*. But the success answered not his expectations. The great effort he made this year to invade his enemy, served only to disable him to do the like again when he came himself to be attacked. The Dauphin besieged *Perpignan* in vain. The Duke of *Orleans* his Brother took *Luxemburg* and *Montmedy*: but these places were retaken before the end of the Campaign. As for the other three Armies, they performed nothing considerable.

Francis
invades the
Emperor in
five places.
Bella.
Mezerai.
Herbert.

Whilst *Francis* was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the Emperor, *Henry* came to a final Resolution to make War upon *Scotland*. He had been in hopes, that in the expected Conference with the King his Nephew, he should persuade him to renounce the Papal Authority, and was extremely concerned to see himself disappointed. This Affair seemed to him of the utmost importance, because not having much to fear from abroad, where the naval Forces were not comparable to his, *Scotland* was the only Country which could give him any uneasiness. From thence alone could the *English* Male-contents receive any Succours, and he remembered with terror, the danger he should have run when the Rebels were in Arms in the North, had they been supported by a *Scotch* Army. In his War therefore upon *Scotland*, his aim was not to make conquests, but to bend the King of *Scotland* to his will by force, since he could not do it by fair means. This he deemed absolutely necessary, in order to procure a settled Peace. At the time of the northern Rebellion, the Junctures were very favorable to him; for, being then in strict Union with *France*, King *James* could not engage to support the *English* Male-contents without *Francis's* consent, who, instead of approving such a Design, would have rather diverted him from it. But affairs were now upon another foot, since *Henry* could no longer rely upon the King of *France's* Friendship. It is true, that Prince was not to be much feared, whilst at war with the Emperor; but he considered that the equality of these two Monarch's Forces would, probably, oblige them to make Peace very soon, and this Peace, in which no doubt

Henry re-
solves upon
a War with
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Burnet.

(1) *Gardiner* had a singular conceit. He fancied there were many words in the New Testament of such Majesty, that they were not to be translated, but must stand in the *English* Bible as they were in the *Latin*. A hundred of these he put into a writing which was read in Convocation. His design was visibly to make the Translation unintelligible to the People. Some of these words were, *Ecclesia*, *Penitentia*, *Caritas*, *Justitia*, *Justificatio*, *Adversus*, *Elementa*, *Baptizans*, *Martyr*, *Sacramentum*, *Simulacrum*, *Gloria*, &c. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 314.

(2) All the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, except *Ely* and *St. David's*, protested against it. Burnet, p. 315.

(3) *Antony Marlar*. Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 745.

(4) *George Ferrers*, Member for *Plymouth*. Hollingsh. p. 955.

(5) *Stow* says, he took in May a Loan of Money of all such as were valued at fifty Pounds or upwards in the book of Subsidy, p. 583.

1542. the Pope would interpose, necessarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a question whether it would not occasion a League against him, and the King of Scotland join in it. In that case, England could be invaded in the North with the more ease, as the northern Counties were most inclined to rebel. It was therefore of very great consequence to Henry to gain the King of Scotland to his Interest, since, being secured from that side, an Invasion was not to be much feared, which he looked upon as impossible, considering the superiority of his naval Forces.

He intended to make use of two ways to gain the King of Scotland in the proposed Conference. The first way was, to shew him that it was in his power to secure to him the Succession of the Crown of England, after his Son Edward, or remove him from it, since, by the Act of Parliament made for that purpose, he could call to the Succession his Daughters Mary and Elizabeth, or exclude them for ever. In the former case, King James could not pretend to the Crown, till after the Posterity of these two Princesses was extinct; but in the latter case, he came immediately after Prince Edward. As therefore to gain two degrees, was a considerable Advantage for the King of Scotland, Henry hoped he would not be so unwise as to slight it. The second way he designed to make use of to win that Prince, was to lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him in case he renounced the Pope, as well by reason of the facility this would give him, to succeed to the Crown of England, if there should be occasion, as by the Riches he would acquire in suppressing the Monasteries of Scotland. As James was very greedy of Money, Henry did not question succeeding by this second means, though the first should prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to see himself disappointed of his hopes, by the King his Nephew's refusal to meet him at York. He found, the new Queen had too great an Influence over him, and even suspected it to be the effect of the Intrigues of the Pope, the Emperor, and perhaps the King of France. So, despairing to succeed in his Project, by fair means, he resolved to try to accomplish it by force.

The design of this War. Scotland was little able to resist England, without the assistance of France. But Francis was to be employed, that there was no likelihood of his interposing in the quarrel. Henry hoped therefore, if he could gain at first some advantage, he should render the Scots less intractable, and more easily dispose the King his Nephew to hearken to his Proposals. Thus the War he intended to wage with Scotland, was properly designed to oblige the Scots to a compliance with his desires, and not founded upon Caprice only, or to be revenged of the Affront he received, as the Historians pretend. However, as he could not discover the real Motives, without doing himself a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the Truce, James's denial of some Lands of small value lying on the Frontiers, and his reception of some English Rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he bethought himself of reviving the old pretensions of the Kings of England to the Sovereignty of Scotland. To that purpose, he set out a long Declaration, in which was inserted the Memorial largely spoken of in the Reigns of Edward I, and Henry VII, containing the pretended Proofs of the Homage, Scotland had formerly paid to England. This Declaration was however so ambiguously expressed, that it plainly appeared, Henry was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretensions without injuring his honour. It is entirely needless to repeat the contents of the Memorial. It will suffice to observe, that the English Writers speak of it, as if the Sovereignty of the Kings of England over Scotland was there demonstrated, and the bare Citation of it sufficient to carry the Cause. Doctor Burnet, though a Scotchman, seems to give into this opinion universally spread in England, since he speaks of this Memorial in his History of the Reformation, without making any Remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the Sentiments of the English without any necessity, in respect to his History.

War with Scotland. Henry published not his Declaration till his Army was just entering Scotland. His design was to surprize the Scots, which he believed the more easy, as there appeared to be no just cause of Breach between the two Kingdoms. However, King James hearing that Soldiers were raising in England, put himself in a posture of defence, in case he should be attacked. In the mean while, he sent two Ambassadors (1) to the King his Uncle, to see to content him, if possible, or at least to gain time till the King of France could assist him. These Ambassadors were long

detained at the Court of England upon frivolous pretences, and whilst Henry was making his Preparations, he gave them no answer. Nay, they were not suffered to return but with the Army, which was to enter their Country, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk (2), and where they were as Prisoners. Two other Ambassadors of Scotland who were going to London, meeting the English upon their march, were also detained till the Army arrived at Berwick.

Mean while, King James hearing the Duke of Norfolk was marching towards the North at the head of twenty thousand Men, sent a Body of ten thousand to the Frontiers, under the command of George Gordon, expecting the rest of the Troops, who were marching from several parts to join him. But Gordon could not hinder the Duke of Norfolk from entering Scotland about the end of October (3), and ravaging the Country North of the Tweed. After this short Expedition, the English Army retired to Berwick, the Season which was now very bad, preventing them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, King James ordered the Lord Maxwell to march with fifteen thousand Men, whilst the English were retiring to Berwick. The Scots pretend, upon the news of Maxwell's march, the English retreated in such confusion, that they might have been easily defeated, if Gordon had ventured to attack them, and that the King was extremely angry with him for this disappointment. However this be, James heading his Army in person, held a Council of War, and appeared fully resolved to give Battle, let what would be the consequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the Kingdom would be exposed, in case of a defeat, was strongly represented to him. In short, as he would not alter his resolution, the Generals and Nobles told him, they would not obey him, if, without any necessity, he obstinately exposed the Kingdom to so manifest a hazard. This opposition threw him into a fury. He swore he would punish their disobedience, and called them all Traitors, since they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain Victory. Cardinal Beaton inspired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impossible for such Hereticks as the English to conquer him. The truth is, James was a little disturbed in his fancy, ever since he had unjustly put to death a Nephew of the Duke of Albany, whose Apparition was ever present to his Imagination. So being extremely troubled to be thus disobeyed, he left the command of the Army to the Lord Maxwell, with orders to march towards the Enemy, and remained himself within distance to join him, in case there was occasion to fight. But a few days after, as he was extremely incensed with his Generals, and greatly mistrusted them, he gave a Commission in form to Oliver Sinclair his Minion, to command the Army. The new General, very unfit for such a Post, repairing to the Camp, caused his Patent to be publicly read, at which all were offended. This bred such discontent among the Troops, that they began to disband, when a Body of five hundred English Horse appeared on a hill, where they were posted to watch the motions of the Enemy. This sight increased the confusion among the Scotch Troops, who imagined the whole English Army was approaching to give Battle. In this condition, being without a General, since Maxwell's Commission was revoked, and none would obey Sinclair, they chose to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back, and observe the small number of their Enemies. The English Horse seeing them fly with such precipitation, closely pursued them, and without meeting any resistance, slew great numbers, took Prisoners seven Lords, two hundred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers, with four and twenty pieces of Ordnance (4). Never was Victory so easily won. Among the chief Prisoners were the Earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, the Lords Maxwell, [Somerville, Oliphant, Gray,] and Oliver Sinclair the King's Favorite.

The news of this Rout threw King James into a dismal melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied, his Generals and Nobles had betrayed him, and in this belief, resolved to put most of them to death. His vexation was still increased, upon hearing that a Herald, sent by the Duke of Norfolk, was murdered by an English Refugee. He immediately apprehended the ill consequences of such an accident, after his late misfortune. So imagining it would be impossible to free himself from his present embarrassment, he could not withstand his immoderate Grief, which brought him to his grave the 14th of December 1542. His death happened seven days after the birth of a Princess called Mary, of whom his Queen

(1) The Bishop of Orkney, and James Leirmouth, Master of his Household. Hall, fol. 254.

(2) The Duke was accompanied with the Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hereford, Angus, Rutland; and Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse to the King, Sir John Gage, Controller of the Household, &c. Ibid.

(3) October 21. Ibid.

(4) This Battle or Rencounter happened on November 25. Ibid. fol. 255.

1542. was delivered, and who was his only Heir. A little before he lost two Sons in one day.

Henry not knowing what passed in Scotland, had ordered the Scotch Prisoners to be brought to London, where they arrived the nineteenth of December (1). Next day (2) they were conducted thro' the City from the Tower, where they had been confined, to Westminster, where the King was pleased to see and talk with them. He expostulated with them, for having, by their pernicious Counsels, persuaded their King to quarrel with him, and told them they justly bore the punishment of a war raised by themselves. Nevertheless, as he intended to make use of them to procure such a peace as he desired, he ended his discourse with some obliging expressions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the Custody of several Noblemen. The Earl of Caillis had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to receive from him, during his short stay at London, such Instructions as induced him to shew the Reformation when he returned to his own Country.

A few days after (3), the news of the Birth of Mary Princess of Scotland, and of the King her Father's death arriving together, Henry thought it a favourable juncture to unite Scotland to England, by marrying his Son Edward to the new Queen of Scotland. He caused the captive Lords to be founded, and finding them inclined to second the overture, set them at liberty, on condition they would give Hostages for their return, in case the project of the Marriage did not succeed. This condition being accepted, they were conducted to Newcastle, from whence they returned into their country. We shall see presently what was the issue of this project.

The Parliament of England meeting the twenty second of January, granted the King a Subsidy (4), as well for his charges in the War with Scotland, as for his other occasions. By that was meant, a War with France, of which there was no longer room to doubt, since the King was upon the point of concluding a League with the Emperor. The Union which was going to be formed between these two Monarchs, was like to be so favourable to the Adherents of Rome and the old Religion, that they questioned not but the destruction of the Reformation in England was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to see an Act of Parliament passed, which much checked their hopes. This Act, moved, and at length obtained by Cranmer, ran, That Lords, Gentlemen, Merchants, might have in their Houses an English Bible, with some other religious Books, mentioned in the Act, for the Instruction of their Families. But it was expressly forbid to print, sell, buy, or keep any other religious Books, and to preach or speak against the Ordinance of the Year 1540. There was also a very considerable Clause in this Statute, that the offenders, if Ecclesiasticks, should not be condemned to be burnt till the third offence; and the punishment of the Laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of Goods and Chattels [and perpetual Imprisonment.] Moreover, the Act allowed the Party accused to bring Witnesses for his own purgation, which had never been practised before in the case of Heresy. Lastly, It was enacted, that the accused should be tried within a year at farthest after the Indictment. But on the other hand, the Law of the six Articles was confirmed, and the Parliament left it in the King's power to annul or alter the Act at his pleasure. By this last Clause the King still continued to be master of the Lives of the Reformed, since by repealing this Act, he could prosecute them upon the former Statutes (5).

A fortnight after the Parliament broke up, Henry concluded with the Emperor a League, which however was not published till June. It was not the Interest of England, that the King should join with the Emperor to render him more powerful. He was already but too potent. On the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have assisted France. At least, it is undeniable, that a Neutrality would have been advantageous to the English. But the King's passion ran counter to the Nation's Interest. He was extremely dissatisfied with Francis upon several accounts. In the first place, he observed in him a great Indifference for his concerns, ever since he had not want-

ed his assistance. Secondly, He perceived at length, that all his promises to renounce, like him, the Papal Authority, tended only to amuse him. He knew, Francis on several occasions, had blamed his Conduct with respect to Religion, and ridiculed his Marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, nor that of ten thousand for the Salt of Brouage, though bound by divers Treaties. As for the debt of two Millions, Francis indeed could produce Acquittances for good part of that Sum, but then Henry had received no Money, the Acquittances being in lieu of the Succours he had voluntarily promised to lend him in his former Wars. However, there was a round Sum still left unpaid, and the Debtor never endeavoured to satisfy him. Moreover, Henry had presented the King of France with what was due to him from the Emperor, solely on condition he would perform the Treaties, and complained, Francis had not been punctual. But what most offended Henry, was, the obstacles Francis had raised him in Scotland, by means of a Faction, which openly opposed his designs. Here was sufficient cause for a Breach, if the Nation's Interest had been the same with the King's. But in such an opposition, seldom does it happen that the People's advantage prevails over the Sovereign's. Henry resolved therefore to make the King of France sensible, that it was worth his while to have shewn a greater regard for him, and to this end, chose to be reconciled with the Emperor, and join in a League with him.

Charles V. desired nothing more earnestly. He plainly saw that with the assistance of England, he should soon bring the King of France to reason, and destroy all his hopes of recovering Milan by Arms. His constant fear of Henry's uniting with France and the German Protestants, caused him to consider the alliance with England as what would enable him to accomplish his ambitious designs. He found his account much better in hindering Francis from setting foot again in Italy, and in subduing the Protestants, than in executing, or rather in trying to execute the Pope's sentence against Henry; an undertaking which, probably, would not have ended to his honour. Besides, the death of Queen Catherine his Aunt had much lessened, and it may be entirely stifled, his desire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the Princes of Europe that Francis held private intelligence with the Infidels, he scrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated King, who, according to the principles of the Romish Church, ought not to have been looked upon with less horror than the Turk. One single difficulty retarded the conclusion of this alliance. The Emperor would have Mary Queen Catherine's Daughter, acknowledged for legitimate, which Henry obstinately refused. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his Divorce with Catherine, and all his proceedings upon that occasion. He promised however, that pursuant to the power granted him by Parliament, he would give Mary a place in the succession; but would never consent, this Article should be inserted in the Treaty. The Emperor's friends in England advised him to be satisfied with this verbal promise, apprehensive as they were that the League, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obstacle. Bonner Bishop of London, who had been sent into Spain for this Negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accomplish it, in hopes, that an Union between the Emperor and the King, would re-establish Religion in England upon the same foot as before the Divorce.

The Treaty was therefore concluded at London the eleventh of February 1543. It contained a League for England only, with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the Emperor's part, for the Provinces of the Low-Countries under his dominion (6), without any mention of Spain or Germany. The League was to this effect:

That the Emperor and the King of England should send Ambassadors to the King of France, to declare to him, that by his solicitations only the Turks had invaded Christendom. That therefore the two confederate Monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correspondence with them. That they demanded moreover, he should satisfy the damages done to Christendom, by his

(1) Being conducted by Sir Henry Sand, and Sir Thomas Wentworth. Herbert, p. 234.

(2) Two days after, viz. the twenty first. Hall, fol. 255. Stow, p. 583.

(3) December 22. Hollinghead, p. 939.

(4) This subsidy was as follows: Every Person worth in Goods 20 l. and upwards, paid two Shillings; from 20 l. to 10 l. Sixteen-pence; from 10 l. to 5 l. Eight-pence; from 5 l. to 20 s. Four-pence. And for Lands, Fees, and Annuities, they paid according to this rate: They that were worth 20 l. and upwards, paid three Shillings in the pound; from 20 l. to 10 l. two Shillings; from 10 l. to 5 l. Sixteen-pence; and they that were worth from 5 l. to 20 s. paid Eight-pence in the pound. All these were doubled on Strangers. The Clergy also granted a Subsidy of six Shillings in the pound; and every Priest having but an annual Stipend, was to pay six Shillings and Eight-pence. These several Subsidies were to be paid in three years. Stow, p. 583.

(5) In this Parliament, an Act was made for authorizing the County and City of Chester to send, each, two Representatives in Parliament; which they did not do before. And another for empowering persons that are not common Surgeons to minister Medicines, notwithstanding the Statute 3 Henry VIII.

(6) The Places and Dominions mentioned on King Henry's part, are, the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Islands of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, and Man; the Cathe and Earldom of Gwynes, and the Towns of Calais and Berwick: And on the Emperor's part, are named, the Kingdom of Spain [regna Hispaniarum], the Provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hainow, Artois, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Friesland, the Countries of Durdish, Utrecht, and Dublin. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 769, 770.

1543. calling in those cruel enemies. That he should give over the War he had begun in several places, that the Emperor might apply himself to the defence of *Christendom*. That he should cause the Town of *Maran*, taken by the *Turks*, to be restored to King *Ferdinand*; and to the Emperor, *Castro-novo*, which they had besieged with the aid of twelve *French* Gallies. That he should repair the losses the *Germans* had sustained by the *Turkish* invasion. Lastly, that he should satisfy the King of *England* for whatever he owed him, and give him security for the payment of the hundred thousand Crowns.

After these preliminaries, the two confederate Monarchs agreed, that they would not make Peace or Truce but upon these conditions: That *Francis* should pay the King of *England* whatever was due to him, and for security of the annual Pension, surrender into his hands the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, *Boulogne*, *Montreuil*, *Ardres* and *Terouenne*, free from all Homage, for which however *Henry* should consent that the yearly Revenues thence arising should be in lieu of the pension. Moreover, that *Francis* should restore to the Emperor the Duchy of *Burgundy*.

That if the King of *France* should delay but ten days to accept these conditions, the two confederate Monarchs should proclaim War against him, with a Declaration that they would never make Peace, till the King of *England* was in possession of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the Kingdom of *France*, and the Emperor of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Bray*, *Corbeil*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, *St. Quintin*, and the whole Duchy of *Burgundy*.

Lastly, They agreed, that each should take the Field, and invade *France* with twenty-five thousand Men, of whom five thousand should be Cavalry (1).

These were vast projects. But these Princes were too wise to imagine, that with twenty-five thousand Men each, they were able to conquer *France*. It is likely therefore, they agreed in the Treaty, to bring into the Field so small a number of Troops, only to engage *Francis* to make preparations accordingly. And indeed we shall see hereafter, that they invaded *France* with above a hundred thousand Men.

Henry's
chief Aim.

One of the chief reasons why *Henry* joined in a League with the Emperor, was to find the King of *France* so much employment at home, that it should not be in his power to break his measures for the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, by a Marriage between *Mary* and Prince *Edward*. *Henry* had this affair extremely at heart, and very justly, as it is easy to imagine. But unhappily for him, there was a Queen Dowager in *Scotland* of the House of *Lorraine*, and a Cardinal Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who being both devoted to *France* and the Pope, laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of *Scotland* will be very soon intermixt with those of *England*, it is absolutely necessary to see what passed in that Country, after the death of *James V*, without which it would be very difficult to understand what will be said hereafter.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

After the decease of *James V*, *Scotland* was in a very ill situation. The late King had not settled the Regency during his Daughter's minority. The next Heir to *Mary*, was *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, a Person of a very mean genius, a lover of Books and ease, but little capable of managing the publick affairs, and still less those of War (2). He had shewn some inclination for the new Religion, and thereby rendered himself as much suspected and odious to the Clergy, as agreeable to those who had embraced the Reformation. The Queen Dowager, Sister to the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the Duke of *Guise*, had an extreme aversion to the Reformed. This aversion was cherished by Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, a violent and cruel Man, who had already given several proofs of his barbarous temper towards those who embraced the new Religion. Most of the Lords who, by their Counsels, could have supported the State in such a juncture, were either slain in the late rout, or in the hands of the *English*. But tho' they had been alive, or in *Scotland*, it would have been very difficult to succeed. There had long been such a division among the Nobles, that what one moved was sure to be opposed by another. This was the consequence of the Factions raised by the Kings of *France* and *England* in the Kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in Religion. To all these evils was added that of a War against a powerful Neighbour, who had just gained a very considerable advantage, and could easily improve the consternation, all *Scotland* was under.

Amidst this confusion, Cardinal *Beaton* seeing none able to withstand him, formed the design of seizing the Regency. To this end, he forged a Will for the late King,

wherein he was appointed Regent or Vice-roy during *Mary's* minority, with three Counsellors or Assistants, of whom the Earl of *Arran* was one, and caused it to be published till the Parliament should meet and confirm it. Mean while, he strove by all sorts of ways to gain proper Persons to support him, as well among the People, as among the great Men. The Queen Dowager was the first that declared for him.

But whilst the Cardinal was labouring to strengthen his Party, the friends and relations of the Earl of *Arran* were earnestly soliciting him, not to yield the Regency to one who had no right to it. They represented to him, That the Will on which the Cardinal grounded his pretensions, was a forgery, because the late King never valued him so as to commit the Regency to him, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood: That it was a contrivance to destroy the *Hamiltons* with their whole party, and hinder the progress of the Reformation: That the Cardinal was known to be a Man of ill Principles, of little or no conscience, cruel, and superstitious, and if once he had the power in his hands, the flames of persecution would quickly be kindled all over the Kingdom, not only against the Reformed, but against all in general who would not blindly submit to his orders, that infallibly the Princes of the Blood, and the chief of the Nobles would be first sacrificed to his ambition and jealousy. The Earl of *Arran* was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition. If he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the Cardinal quietly to enjoy the authority he had usurped. But his friends having in a manner forced him by their remonstrances, to prosecute the right due to his birth, he resolved to demand the Regency, and shew the forgery of the pretended Will, on which the Cardinal rested.

Whilst these things were transacting, the Prisoners, who had been released, came to *Scotland*, and with them *Archibald Douglass* Earl of *Angus*, and *William Douglass* his Brother, who had been fifteen years exiles in *England*. By their arrival, the Earl of *Arran's* Party was considerably strengthened, whereas the Cardinal lost many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publicly said, that the Earl of *Arran's* right was indisputable, though the King had capriciously disposed of the Regency in favor of the Cardinal, which however was incredible. The Parliament meeting in *March*, the Will was examined, and the forgery being detected, the Cardinal was removed, and the Earl of *Arran* declared Regent with almost unanimous consent. It was not without reason that most of the Lords and Nobles were desirous to free themselves from the dominion of Cardinal *Beaton*. Before the Parliament met, a paper was found written with the King's own hand, wherein were set down the names of three hundred Lords and Gentlemen, whom he had resolved to dispatch. As most of these proscribed Persons were of the Reformed Religion, or favored the Reformation, it was not doubted, that the Cardinal had greatly contributed to put the King upon this barbarous resolution, by representing to him, that those who had refused to fight against the *English*, were secret friends of the King of *England*, and favorers of the new opinions. It is certain, many of the Nobility were of the Reformed Religion, or well-wishers to the Reformation. The Earl of *Arran* was of this number, and upon that account was so well supported when he demanded the Regency, because those of the new Religion intended to make him their Protector. But this was an ill choice, the Earl's unactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to support the Party who put themselves under his protection.

Whilst the Parliament was sitting, *Henry* sent an Ambassador (3) to *Scotland*, to propose the Marriage of Prince *Edward* his Son with the young Queen, according to the agreement with the captive Lords. The Ambassador was furnished with a good sum of Money to facilitate the Negotiation, *Henry* knowing by experience how effectual that means was in *Scotland*. The Queen and Cardinal *Beaton* used all their credit and address to cause the overture to be rejected. But as their Party was too weak to balance the King of *England's*, the Cardinal made it his business to confound all the conferences held upon this occasion, by long Speeches, affected Disputes, Invectives against the contrary Party, with design to raise quarrels, which would obstruct the conclusion of this affair. His artifices being at last perceived, he was confined to a room till the debates were ended. The moment the Cardinal no longer appeared, the King of *England's* proposal was accepted without much difficulty, and the Parliament appointed Ambassadors to go and treat at *London* with the King, concerning a Peace and the Mar-

543.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Hall.
Sow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Buchanan.

Henry pro-
poses to the
Scots the
Marriage of
their Queen
with Prince
Edward.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Herbert.

Buchanan.
Herbert.
The King's
Proposal
accepted.

(1) And also each of them should fit out Ships, with two or three thousand armed Men. *Rym.* p. 775.

(2) This is Buchanan's Character of him. *Rapin.*

(3) Sir *Ralph Sadler*, his Secretary. *Herbert*, p. 234.

1543.
Treaty be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland.
A.D. Pub.
XIV. p. 81.
—796.
Burnet.

riage. *George Douglas*, the Earl of *Angus's* Brother, and some other Lords (1) were charged with this Negotiation, which ended at length in two Treaties concluded at *London* the 1st of *July* 1543. The first was to settle a good and firm Peace between the two Kingdoms. The second, for the Marriage of Prince *Edward* with the young Queen of *Scotland*. *Henry* did all he could to have *Mary* put into his hands. But the *Scotch* Ambassadors not consenting, it was at last agreed, she should not be brought into *England* till she was ten years of age: That in the mean time the Parliament of *Scotland* should appoint four Lords (2) to take care of her education, and *Henry* might add a fifth of his own Nation to convey his advices to the Governors (3): That the Parliament of *Scotland* should give the King six Hostages of distinction, for security that the Marriage should be consummated.

Buchanan.

This affair being ended, the Cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in custody to the Lord *Scaton*. But that Lord suffering himself to be corrupted by his Prisoner, afforded him means to make his escape. As soon as he was at liberty, he used all his art to break the Treaties with *England*, wherein he was powerfully assisted by the Queen Dowager. As they were both firmly attached to *France* and the old Religion, they could not see, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a Prince whom they looked upon as a Heretick, and whose interests had for some time been contrary to those of *Francis I.* They plainly perceived, this alliance was capable of producing great alterations as well in Church as State, and would infallibly destroy the antient union between *France* and *Scotland*. To prevent this, the Cardinal assembled at his House the heads of the Clergy, and representing to them that Religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution to assist him to support it. This Money served him to maintain his Creatures, and gain some of the contrary Party. In a word, he so well caballed, that he quickly put things in extreme confusion. By his solicitations and intrigues he so managed, that the Prisoners who had been released resolved not to go and redeem their Hostages. The Earl of *Cassilis* alone could not be prevailed with upon any consideration to break his Word. In short, the Cardinal's Party being grown very numerous by his liberalities, strongly opposed the sending of the Hostages promised to the King of *England* by the Treaty. Besides this, the Cardinal resolving at any rate, to set the two Nations at variance, caused the *English* Ambassador to be highly affronted by some of his Party, and his Servants to be insulted. But the Ambassador knowing how desirous the King his Master was, that the Treaties should be executed, bore all with patience, for fear of raising an unreasonable quarrel, which he saw to be the Cardinal's design. Thus the Cardinal had brought things to such a pass, that the Regent, who wanted resolution, tried in vain to stop these violent proceedings, since his commands were openly disobeyed.

At last, the day being come that the three Hostages were to be delivered, the *English* Ambassador demanded them of the Regent, complaining withal of the Affronts he had received. The Regent told him, "he was very sorry any disrespect had been shewn to his Person and Character, and would give him, at a more convenient season, what satisfaction he desired, but at present it was no proper juncture. That he was himself witness of the troubles raised by the Cardinal, and how contemptible the authority of the Government was rendered by that Prelate's Cabals: As for the Hostages, it was no longer in his power to put them into his hands, since the Cardinal and his whole party were against it, who were now grown too strong to be compelled." The Ambassador was sufficiently convinced of the truth of what the Regent said; and as he saw little appearance of a change in favour of the King his Master, he contented himself with summoning the Prisoners to return to *England*, according to their promise. But in that he succeeded no better. They refused to return, tho' they were released only upon Parole. The Earl of *Cassilis* (4) alone, abhorring the perfidiousness of his Fellow-Prisoners, set out for *London*, and put himself into the King's hands. This action met with its due reward. *Henry* very civilly received the Earl. He commended his Faithfulness, and making him rich presents, dismissed him without ransom. Mean while, finding his party in *Scotland* was neither very strong, nor firm enough to his interest, he resolved to

proclaim war with that Kingdom. He might easily have subdued it some Months before, if he would have taken advantage of the confederation of the *Scots*, after their defeat and the death of their Sovereign.

The Queen and the Cardinal having accomplished their enterprize, with respect to a rupture with *England*, considered of means to procure the Government of the Kingdom, by supplanting the Earl of *Arran*, Head of the contrary Faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the Earl, as they had lately shewn. But he bore the title of Regent, and very possibly, by the counsels of the able men of his party, and the King of *England's* assistance, he might find means in the end to make himself formidable. The war *Henry* had just proclaimed against *Scotland* afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They represented to the King of *France*, "That it was almost impossible for *Scotland* to maintain a war against *England*, without a powerful aid from him: That the Earl of *Arran*, Regent of the Kingdom, favoured the *English*; and, instead of opposing them, would certainly make use of them to establish his Authority, and complete the Queen's projected marriage: That probably, this Marriage would break the old Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*, and produce a strict union between *Scotland* and *England*: That he might plainly see how much he was himself concerned in a war, which, as it would infallibly be unsuccessful, would cause him to lose *Scotland*: That indeed they perceived how difficult it was for him to assist them, when he wanted all his forces against the Emperor: but they had devised an expedient to gain time, in breaking the measures of the contrary party. The expedient was, that he should send over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox* who was in *France*, that they might oppose him to the *Hamiltons*, whose sworn Enemy he was, because they had killed his Father: That this Lord being in *Scotland*, would be immediately acknowledged for Head of the party against the Regent, and by the assistance they were ready to send him, would become so superior, that it would not be possible for the Regent to execute his designs in favor of *England*." The better to persuade the Earl of *Lenox* to come to *Scotland*, they put him in hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and of being placed on the Throne in case the young Queen died before she was married. They told him, this would be so much the easier, as before the Birth of *Mary*, the late King had designed him for his Successor, though farther removed than the Earl of *Arran*, because he looked upon this last as a Bastard, by reason of the unlawfulness of his Father's marriage. These remonstrances had the desired effect. *Francis I.*, glad to strengthen his party in *Scotland*, without being forced to send great Supplies, sent away the Earl of *Lenox* with all speed, promising him his protection.

Mean while, the Regent having some notice of this project, resolved to support himself, by becoming master of the Queen's person, then in the Castle of *Linnuch* or *Linlithgow* (5). But as he was not secret enough, the Cardinal, who was informed of it, came to *Linlithgow* well attended, in order to hinder the Queen's removal. Shortly after, the Earl of *Lenox* arrived from *France*, and after saluting the Regent, withdrew to his own House where he assembled his Friends, to consult with them what was to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in possession of the Regency, the Queen-Mother, and the Throne, if the young Queen happened to die. The Friends he consulted, being all Enemies to the Regent, they unanimously advised him to improve the present opportunity, and each made him an offer of his Person, his Estate, his Vassals, and his Friends. So the Earl being determined to pursue his point, drew together four thousand Men, and putting himself at their head, came to the Queen, under colour of guarding her against the attempts of the Regent, for fear she should be delivered to the enemies of the Kingdom. Indeed, the Earl of *Arran* had resolved to secure her, nay, was preparing to execute his design. But when he found himself prevented, and considered, the Queen could not be got out of the hands of the Earl of *Lenox*, without coming to an open war, he sent to treat of an Agreement. *Lenox* consented, on condition the Queen should for the future be educated in *Sterling* Castle, and four neutral Lords, whom both Parties could equally trust, appointed to guard her, and take care of her Education. The four Lords (6) being chosen

1543.

The Queen's
and Cardi-
nal's Artifi-
ces to seize
the Govern-
ment.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

They send
for the Earl
of Lenox
from France
to set him up
against the
Regent.

The Cardinal
binds the
Regent from
having the
Queen's Per-
son in his
power.

The Earl of
Lenox ar-
rives, and
opposes the
Regent's
designs.
Buchanan.

(1) William Earl of Glencairn, William Hamilton, James Leirmouth, and Henry Balnavis. Rymer's Fed. Tom. XIV. p. 781.

(2) Their number is not specified in Rymer, it is only said—certos eundem regni [viz. Scotiæ] Barones—See p. 793.

(3) The King might send a Nobleman and his Wife with other Persons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of the Marriage, six Noblemen were to be sent from *Scotland* for Hostages. Rymer, lb. p. 794. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 323.

(4) Gilbert Kennedy.

(5) Under her Mother's care. Buchanan.

(6) William Graham, John Erykin, John Lindsey, and William Livingston. Buchanan, l. 15.

1543. and approved of, the Queen was removed to *Sterling Castle*, where, a few days after (1), she was crowned.

The Regent
fears about
the Queen
and the
Cardinal.
Buchanan.

He abjures
at Sterling.

The Queen
and the Car-
dinal try to
send back the
Earl of Len-
nox to
France.
Buchanan.

They pre-
judice the
King of
France a-
gainst him.

He takes up
Arms.

A Peace is
made to his
disadvan-
tage.

The Cardi-
nal has all
the Power
under the
Regent's
Name.

The Regent seeing the Party of his Enemies daily gathered strength, believed himself unable to withstand the storm which was forming against him. So, his courage and resolution failing him when most wanted, he chose to give way to the torrent, rather than strive in vain, as he thought, to resist it. Persuaded as he was, that he should be too weak to oppose the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his measures, and strictly unite with them. But even here he met with difficulties, which he could not surmount, without acting against his Conscience. He had hitherto almost openly professed the new Religion. But the Queen and the Cardinal, as they could not resolve to be reconciled to him, so long as he was engaged in the Party of the Reformed, managed him so well, that at last they persuaded him to abjure, in the Church of the *Franciscans* at *Sterling*. By this action he lost all his old Friends, and was reduced to depend upon the contrary Party, with whom the Cardinal had more power than himself. From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the Counsels of that Prelate, who was the true Regent, whilst the Earl, that bore the name, was only the shadow.

When the Queen and the Cardinal were possessed of the Government, they were at a loss about the Earl of *Lennox*, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promise. So, their chief care was to be rid of this Lord, who greatly embarrassed them. They agreed therefore to desire the King of *France* to recall him, and whilst an answer was expected, the Queen should continue to cherish his hopes, but withal should use sundry Artifices to put off her Marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This Project was executed as it had been resolved. The Queen for some time amused her Lover, who, not suspecting what was contriving against him, spent his time in procuring her Diversions, imagining, that would hasten his Marriage; but the Queen still found some fresh excuse to defer it. This Behaviour at last bred in him suspicions, which were confirmed by some Friend of greater penetration, or better informed than himself. He heard, the Queen and the Cardinal had writ to the Court of *France*, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the King's Interest, than his stay in *Scotland*, since they had gained the Regent to their side.

Lennox was so provoked at being thus mock'd, that he swore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the Queen and the Cardinal, retired to *Dunbarton*. In the mean while, *Francis*, who was not yet informed of the alterations in *Scotland*, sent thirty thousand Crowns to the Earl of *Lennox*, to be distributed among those of the Party, or to gain some of their Adversaries. By these means the Court of *France* had long maintained a Faction in *Scotland*, whilst the Court of *England* opposed her by the same methods. This Money arriving when *Lennox* was at *Dunbarton*, he sent part to the Lords who had the care of the young Queen, and gave some to his own Friends. But the Cardinal had none, though he had flattered himself with having the best share, and expected it with impatience. He was so very angry, that he persuaded the Regent to raise an Army and surprize *Glasgow*, where *Lennox* was retired with his Money. The Preparations which were making at Court, though under other pretences, giving the Earl of *Lennox* suspicion they were designed against him, he resolved to put himself in a posture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw Forces together. The Cardinal had many Enemies, and the Regent had lost his Friends, since they had been forsaken by him. So, the Regent's Levies were made very slowly, whilst the Earl's visibly increased. Within a few days, he raised ten thousand Men, and sent the Cardinal word (2), he would save him the trouble of coming to *Glasgow*. The Cardinal received this Defiance with a seeming contempt, and pretended to pursue his Enterprize. But it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not sufficiently rely on the Regent's Experience, who was no Warrior. Besides, he foresaw, that by prolonging the time, he should oblige his Enemy to dismiss his Troops, because he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

What the Cardinal had foreseen came to pass. The Earl of *Lennox* finding himself destitute of Money, and seeing the desertion was great in his Army, was forced at last to accept a Peace that was offered him. He came to *Edinburgh*, where he was outwardly reconciled

with the Regent and the Cardinal; after which they went together to *Sterling*. But a few days after, having notice that the Court had ill designs against him, he privately withdrew, and returning to *Glasgow*, furnished the Bishop's Palace with a Garrison and Ammunition, and shut himself up in *Dunbarton*. There he was informed, that the King of *France* had been so prejudiced against him, that there was no hope of obtaining his assistance for the future. Such was the situation of the affairs of *Scotland*, when Henry resolved to renew the war against that Kingdom. We must now see what passed in *England*.

In July, Henry married his sixth Wife, the Lady *Catherine Parr* (3), Widow of [John Nevil] Lord *Latimer*, verifying what was only said in raillery, upon the Act passed in 1541, that the King must marry a Widow. The new Queen was a favorer of the Reformed. But she was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a Husband, whose absolute Will it was, that none should believe, but what was believed by himself. For this reason she durst not, just after her Marriage, intercede for three Protestants who were burnt at *Windfor* (4), at the instigation of *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*. This Prelate never missed an opportunity to exasperate the King against those who refused to submit to the Act of the six Articles. But he showed not the same zeal against those who were still attached to the Pope. This affair however went farther than he desired, since it occasioned the discovery of a Plot, formed to ruin several Families at *Windfor*, upon false accusations. The King was so offended at these diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The issue was, that the contrivers of the Plot (5) were carried on Horseback, with their faces to the Horse-tails, and then set in the Pillory. 'Tis said, *Gardiner* had a great share in this Project. But he was a very crafty Man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to show it.

It was easy for the enemies of the Reformation to perceive, that *Cranmer* most obstructed the execution of their designs, and they should never succeed so long as he was in favour with the King. Whereupon they resolved to apply themselves before all things to his destruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole Party would follow of course. There were in this undertaking two contrary things, whereof one seemed to promise good success, and the other rendered the execution very difficult. The first was, the King seemed fully bent not to spare those who were called Hereticks, that is, those who did not entirely conform themselves to the Declaration of Faith lately published. Now every one knew the Archbishop was of this number, though he used great caution not to give his enemies any advantage either by word or deed. The second was, the King's singular esteem for the Archbishop, against whom several unsuccessful attempts had been made. Notwithstanding this, his enemies thought, if they could convince the King, that *Cranmer's* opinions were very different from his, it would in some measure incense him. After that, they hoped the King would require of him, as of the rest of his Subjects, a blind submission, and that *Cranmer's* opposition, would destroy the King's affection for him. The business therefore was to inspire the King with suspicions, which should induce him to examine what were the Archbishop's opinions upon Religion. To this end, no occasion was lost to hint to the King, that it was in vain to punish Hereticks whilst their chief supporters were suffered to live unmolested. Henry perceiving *Cranmer* was aimed at, made no answer. He hoped, his silence would demonstrate, it was in vain to try to incense him against that Prelate. But at last these insinuations were so often repeated, that he seemed to give ear to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened therefore to whatever was said against *Cranmer*, and desired to have the intended Articles of accusation, with the names of his accusers. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and their Party, believed the Archbishop ruined, since the King was pleased to examine his conduct. But they took care not to make themselves Parties, their design being to appear unconcerned, to strike the sorer. They caused therefore the accusation to be drawn by some Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and certain *Kentish* Justices of the Peace, whom they persuaded to be his accusers. The Articles being put into the King's hands, he went in his Barge to *Lambeth*, the

(1) August 21. Buchanan, l. 15.

(2) From *Leith* where he was. Buchanan.

(3) Daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, on July 12. Stow, p. 584.

(4) July 28. Their names were, Anthony Perne a Priest, Robert Telford a singing Man, and Henry Filmer a Taylor. John Marbeck another singing Man was also condemned, but pardoned afterwards. He was the first that compiled an *English Concordance*. Hall, fol. 256. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 326.

(5) Dr. London Prebend of *Windfor*, and William Symonds. Ibid.

1543. Archbishop's Palace on the other side of the *Thames*. *Cranmer* hearing the King was coming, hastened down to his Stairs to receive him, and by his order went into the Barge. When the King was alone with him, he lamented the growth of Heresy in the Kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to punish them according to the utmost rigour of the Law, about which he was come to ask his opinion. *Cranmer* answered without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but intreated him for God's sake to consider well what Heresy was, least, instead of punishing Hereticks, he fought against God. After some conversation upon this subject, the King told him at last, he was the Man who was accused of being the protector and chief encourager of the Hereticks, and then gave him the Articles of accusation against him. *Cranmer* perusing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the King, he was still of the same mind he was of when he opposed the six Articles; but that he had done or said nothing against them. Then he humbly desired to be tried by the Laws, because he was sure he should never be convicted of transgressing them. Whereupon the King asked him, whether it was true that he was married. *Cranmer* confessed it, but said he had sent his Wife to *Germany* upon the passing of the Act of the six Articles. *Henry*, who had long seen about him only such as dissembled their sentiments, was charmed with the Archbishop's candor and sincerity. Instead of being displeased with his confession, he could not forbear admiring his steadiness, which made him dare the greatest danger he had ever been in, and that he so wisely allied it with an inviolable regard for the Laws. Wherefore he gave him a very sensible proof of his esteem and affection, in discovering to him the Plot his enemies had laid against him, naming his accusers, and ordering him to proceed against them. *Cranmer* excused himself; but the King told him positively he would be obeyed, and that he should name his Judges himself. If *Cranmer* had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on those who would have ruined him, and particularly on *Gardiner* chief contriver of the Plot, as appears in Letters under his own hand. But he showed so great backwardness to push this affair, that at length the King was tired with pressing him, since he did it so unwillingly. Mean while, he had not the less value for him. Shortly after, one of his secret enemies, known for such by the King, though he himself had no suspicion of him, desiring his assistance in a suit he had at Court, he went immediately and spoke to the King in his behalf. The King surprized to see him speak for this Person, asked him if he knew him well; and upon his answering, that he took him for his Friend; *No*, replied the King, *he is your mortal enemy, and I command you when you see him next to call him Knave*. *Cranmer* modestly answered, such language did not become a Bishop; but the King insisted upon his compliance. Nevertheless *Cranmer* found means to be excused, and the King, content with admiring his goodness, would not press him any farther. Thus the Plot, contrived for the Archbishop's ruin, served only to indear him the more to the King, and demonstrate to his enemies how dangerous it was to attack him.

The 23d of December, the King created the Lord *Parr*, the Queen's Brother, Earl of *Essex* (1), and conferred on Sir *William Parr* her Uncle, the title of Lord *Parr* [of *Horton*,] with the Office of Chamberlain to the Queen (2).

Whilst these things passed in *England*, the War between the Emperor and the King of *France* was carrying on in several places. In the beginning of the Campaign, *Francis* had some advantages in the *Low-Countries*, where he took *Landrecy*, *Emery*, *Bapaume*, *Maubeuge* and *Luxemburg*. But the Emperor arriving about the end of the Summer with a strong supply of Spanish Troops, *Francis* being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at some distance. This gave the Emperor an opportunity to invest *Landrecy*, of which however he was forced to raise the Siege, upon *Francis's* finding means to throw in succours. But he made himself amends by taking *Cambray*.

At the same time *Barbarossa*, Admiral of the *Turks*, coming to *Marfeilles* the beginning of July, with a hundred and ten *Turkish* Gallies, found there the Earl of

Enghien, of the House of *Bourbon*, with twenty-two *French* Gallies. After their junction, they went together and attacked *Nice*, the 10th of August, and on the 20th, became masters of the Town. But the Castle made so brave a defence, that the *Turkish* Admiral finding he lost both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in *Provence*, from whence he returned to *Turky* the beginning of the Spring. I shall say nothing of the War in *Piedmont*, because it produced no remarkable event (3).

During this whole Campaign, *Henry* assisted the Emperor only with a small Body (4) of Troops, commanded by Sir *John Wallop* (5): But they both formed vast projects for the next year. They intended to enter *France*, the one by *Champagne*, the other by *Picardy*, each at the head of forty thousand Men, and to join about *Paris*. To execute this project it was necessary to act with union and a good understanding. So, *Henry* could not dispense with performing his promise to the Emperor, to give the Princess *Mary* a place in the Succession. The Parliament meeting the 14th of January 1544, immediately passed an Act, settling the order of those who could pretend to the Crown after the King's death. I have frequently observed, that the Parliament was held in subjection, and did nothing but what the King pleased. Several Instances have been seen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this Act Prince *Edward* was rank'd first, with his Issue. In the second place, the Heirs-Male by the King's present or future marriage, with their Issue. In the third place, the Princess *Mary* and her Line. Lastly, the Princess *Elizabeth* and her Heirs. But there was no mention of the King's divorces with the Queens, Mothers to these two Princesses. So notwithstanding the Acts, which approved and confirmed these divorces, and were never repealed, the Parliament seem'd to consider these Princesses as legitimate, though before they had been declared Bastards, and, as such, excluded from the Succession. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the King their Father for this favor, the Act made them liable to such limitations or conditions, as the King should please to declare by his Letters Patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in case of disobedience on their part, or if they died without Heirs, the Parliament gave the King power to settle the Crown on any other by his Letters Patents, or his last Will signed with his own hand. Was not this considering these two Princesses as Bastards, since their right to the Succession was made to depend on the King their Father's pleasure? Without pretending to question the right of the King and Representatives of the Nation to settle the Succession as they please, I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried on this occasion as far as it can be stretched. Supposing these two Princesses Bastards, the Parliament empowered the King to call them to the Throne, contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm since the Conquest. On the other hand, supposing them legitimate, they left the King free to exclude them from the Succession, contrary to the same Laws and Customs, since it was in his breast to impose on them conditions impossible to be performed. This was a power no King of *England* had ever enjoyed, and which shows, this Act flow'd not so much from the Parliament as from the King himself. To palliate in some measure these contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the Act, the King's divorces with *Catherine* and *Ann*. Only every one was free to guess the motives of the Act, which was not very difficult, since there was no other than that of complying with the King's Will. By a clause in this Statute, all persons were obliged to take a new Oath against the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; which whosoever refused, or should break any of the Articles of this Act, was to be adjudged a Traitor.

By another Act passed this same Session, the Title of King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supreme Head of the Church of England* and *Ireland*, was united for ever to the Crown of *England*.

By another it was enacted, that no person should be indicted on the Statute of the six Articles, but upon a Presentment by the Oaths of twelve Men, before Commissioners appointed by the King: That no person should be imprisoned but upon an Inditement; and lastly, that the Presentment should be made within forty days after the

(1) He had married *Ann* Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourcier* Earl of *Essex*. *Stow*, p. 535.

(2) Also, some of the *Irish* Nobility that came and submitted to King *Henry*, June 3, were, on July 1, advanced to the following Honours; namely, *William Boruck*, or *Bourk*, alias *Macwilliam*, was created Earl of *Clanrickard*, and Baron *Dunkellyn*. *Marwer Obrien*, Earl of *Temsu*, or *Thomond*, and Baron *Islykayne*. And *Ceraught Obrien*, Baron of *Ibrackayn*. Sir *Cenought O'Neal* came also and made his Submission to King *Henry*, and was created Earl of *Tyrone*, September 1. *Rymers Fed. Tom.* 14. p. 797---800. *Tom.* 15. p. 7. *Hall*, fol. 247, 250.

(3) This year, the first cast pieces of Iron (both Cannons and Mortars) that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Bu.stead* in *Suffex*, by *Peter Baud*, *Ralph Hoge*, and *Peter van Celen*. *Stow*, p. 534. *Hellingsh.* p. 960.

(4) Six thousand Men. *Hall*, fol. 256.

(5) Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marshal, and Sir *Riskard Cromwell* Captain of the Horse. *Hall*, *ibid*. They departed soon (a/d's July) 22. *Stow*, p. 533.

He informs him of the whole Plot, and orders him to proceed against his Accusers.

Cranmer excuses himself.

The King gives him another Mark of his Esteem.

The Queen's Brother is made Earl of *Essex*. *Herbert*.

Continuation of the War between the Emperor and *France*. *Bellai*, *Mezerai*, *Stow*.

Siege of *Nimely* the French and the *Turks*.

1543.

1544.

The Emperor's and Henry's right Projects. Act. Pub. XV. p. 132. H. II. *Stow*, *Hellingsh.* Parliament. Act. Pub. the Succession to the Crown. *Herbert*, *Burnets*.

Remarks on this Act.

A new Oath ordained. Act. Pub. XV. p. 21.

The King's Title settled for ever.

Act to limit the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

1544.

pretended offence was committed, otherwise it should be rejected (1). Hereby the Ecclesiastical Courts were tied up in some measure, from oppressing the Subjects on pretence of Heresy, since the same privileges were allowed for that crime, as were enjoyed by the *English* with respect to all other offences.

The Parliament must declare the King clear of all debts,

Lastly, the Parliament granted the King a Subsidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining that those who had lent him money should be obliged to forgive the debt (2). However unjust this Act was with respect to the particular Persons who had lent the money, the Parliament was not sorry, the King desired it, in order to put a stop to the custom of Loans, which in time would have render'd Parliaments useles.

and revive the Authority to appoint Commissioners.

The Power formerly granted the King was also revived [during Life,] of appointing Commissioners to examine all Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, and to make the necessary Alterations, which the King had hitherto neglected (3).

The Lord Wriothesley made Chancellor.

May 3. War in Piedmont. P. Daniel. Battle of Cerisoles. P. Daniel. Herbert.

Before the end of the Session, *Thomas Wriothesley* great friend of the old Religion, was made Lord Chancellor in the room of the Lord *Audley* deceased (4).

In the beginning of the year, *Francis I.* sent into *Piedmont* the Earl of *Enguien* who was but two and twenty years old, to take the command of the Army in the room of *Boutiers* who had not been very successful. This young Prince engaging the Marquis of *Guasto*, at *Cerisoles*, obtained, the 14th of *April*, a signal Victory over him, which cost the Imperialists ten thousand Men, besides the Wounded and Prisoners. In the consternation the Marquis of *Guasto* was under, after the loss of the Battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep *Milan* for the Emperor, if the Earl of *Enguien* had not been stopped in the midst of his career by express orders. As the King of *France* was inform'd, that the Emperor and the King of *England* were to join and invade him in the center of his Dominions, with an Army of eighty thousand Foot, and twenty two thousand Horse, he deemed it more necessary to provide for the defence of his Kingdom, than to think of making Conquests in *Italy*. For this reason he ordered the Earl of *Enguien* to send him twelve thousand Men of his Army. This diminution disabled the young Prince to reap any other advantage from his Victory than the taking of *Carignano*, which he reduced to the King's Obedience.

Francis recalls his Troops out of Italy.

War with Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert.

Mean while, the formidable Armies which were to invade *France* not being yet ready, *Henry* resolv'd to make use of part of his Troops to finish the Affair of *Scotland*, which he had ever at heart. Though he had declared War against *Scotland*, it was not to make conquests upon that Kingdom, but solely to compel the *Scots*, by the terror of his Arms, to agree to the marriage of their Queen with the Prince his Son. He could not conceive, that in their present circumstances, they could flatter themselves with the hopes of success, in a War so unequal and capable of ruining *Scotland* in one single Campaign. But Cardinal *Beaton*, an obstinate Man if ever there was one, who governed in the Regent's name, chose rather to expose the Kingdom to become a Prey to the *English*, than consent to a Peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So *Henry* seeing it was necessary to press him more closely, resolv'd to send into *Scotland* part of the Troops designed against *France*. The Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Lisle* High-Admiral, were appointed for this expedition. The former led the Army to *Newcastle*, where the Admiral arrived with a Fleet, and two hundred transport Ships, on which the Troops embarked. The Earl of *Hertford* landing near *Leith* (5), took that Town without difficulty, and then marched directly to *Edinburgh*, of which he became master with the same ease. The Regent and Cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the King's threats would be without effect. The City of *Edinburgh* was sack'd and burnt; but the *English* attacked not the Castle, for fear of being engag'd in too long a Siege. After that, they returned to *Leith*, and burning the Town, retired to *Berwick* the 18th of *May* (6). If

Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Herbert.

Henry had resolv'd to improve his advantage, he might have subdued all *Scotland*, considering the great weakness of the *Scots* upon this invasion. But two reasons prevented him. The first, that he wanted his Troops to send them to *France*, where he intended also to go in person. The second, that his aim was only to let the *Scots* see what they were to expect, if they did not speedily resolve to execute the Treaty for their Queen's marriage, and he scarce doubted but this method would succeed. Mean while, it must have been thought very strange, that he should court the young Queen of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, in so extraordinary a manner, and the World was of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough.

The Earl of Lennox. Henry VIII.

Tho' *Henry* had withdrawn his Army out of *Scotland*, he had not however relinquish'd his project of harassing the *Scots* till he forc'd them to agree to the marriage. To this end he improv'd an opportunity to give the Regent and the Cardinal fresh disturbances. The Earl of *Lennox* as I said, having quitted the Court, was retired to *Dunbarton*, the Governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himself greatly embarrassed. His Friends in *France* had informed him, that the King was exceedingly incensed against him, and accused him of having lavished away the Money sent him to maintain the War against the *English*. This was in effect what had been hinted to *Francis* by the Queen-Dowager, the Regent, and the Cardinal, who were seconded by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, and in this manner the *French* Historians represent it. The Earl, willing to clear himself, had sent a Man into *France*, to acquaint the King with all that had passed in *Scotland* since his arrival, and with the present situation of affairs. But the King, prepossessed by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, refused to give the Messenger Audience, nay, was going to order him to Prison. The Earl seeing himself thus forsaken, both by the King of *France*, and those who had at first joined him in *Scotland*, sent to the King of *England*, to know whether he would take him into his Service, with the Earl of *Glencarn* his intimate Friend. *Henry* received the Overture more favorably than the two Lords durst have expected. He promised them his Protection on certain conditions, which he would settle with them, if they would send some trusty person to *England*. Whereupon the Earl of *Glencarn* came himself to *Carlisle*, with the Bishop of *Cathness*, Brother of the Earl of *Lennox*, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the King's Commissioners (7) a Treaty, wherein the Earl of *Lennox* and *Glencarn* promised,

Act. Pub. XV. p. 19.

I. That they would cause the pure word of God to be preached in their Territories.

II. That they should hinder to the utmost of their power, the young Queen from being carried out of *Scotland*, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the King of *England*.

Conventions between Henry and the Earl of Lennox. Ib. p. 22. May 17.

III. That they would assist the King with all their Forces, to procure him (8) the direction of the Government of *Scotland*, and the Title of Protector of the Realm.

IV. That the Bishop of *Cathness*, and *Hugh Cunningham*, should be given in Hostage to the King of *England*.

The King promised on his part :

1. That his Army should not oppress their Lands.

2. That he would constitute the Earl of *Lennox* Regent of the Kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his express consent.

3. That he would give him out of the Revenues of the Crown, what should be reasonable to support the Dignity of Regent.

4. That in case the young Queen should die, he would support the Earl of *Lennox* in obtaining the Crown against the pretensions of the Earl of *Arran*.

5. That he would give the Earl of *Glencarn* an yearly Pension of a thousand Crowns.

(1) Here is a mistake. The Presentment was to be made within a year after the Offence committed. And if any Preacher or Reader should speak any thing in his Sermon or Reading, contrary to any matter contained in the six Articles, he must be complained of within forty days, unless a just Cause were given why it could not be so soon. See the Act. This Act had clearly a relation to the Conspiracies mentioned in the former year, both against the Archbishop, and some of the King's Servants.

(2) Nay, those who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the Sums so lent the King, were to repay what they had received, to the Exchequer. There was such an Act passed in the 21st year of the King's Reign. See above, p. 785, Note (12). Burner, Tom. I. p. 330.

(3) There were thirty two Commissioners appointed, sixteen of the Clergy, and the same number of the Laity. The Bill for examining these Laws was read, for the first time, January 18; and for the second, third, and fourth times, the 19th, 22d, and 24th of the same Month, and pass'd March 6. Upon mention of this Bill's being read the fourth time, it is observ'd in the Journals of the House of Lords, that Bills of moment have been usually or often read four times. See Jour. Procer. Burner, Tom. III. p. 161; and Statut. 35. Hen. 8. --- In this Session of Parliament, there was a very good Act made for the preservation of Timber and Woods, which ought to be better observ'd. See ibid. c. 17.

(4) The Lord Audley died April 30, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley was created Baron of Titchfield, January 1. this year. Hall, fol. 257. Stow, p. 585. Sir William Petre, Cranmer's great Friend, was about this time made Secretary of State. Burner, Tom. I. p. 331.

(5) May 4. Buchanan, l. 15. They set out from London in March. Hollingsh. p. 961.

(6) See an account of the Villages they plundered and burnt, in Hall, fol. 258; and Hollingsh. p. 963.

(7) Thomas Lord Winton Warden of the West March, and Sir Robert Bowes Master of the Requests. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 25. p. 23.

(8) The possession of Jedburgh, Kelso, Roxburgh, Hume Castle, the Hermitage, the Mers, and Teuchdale. Ibid. p. 24.

1544. 6. That he would consent, that *Margaret Douglass* his Niece should espouse the Earl of *Lenox*, provided they were willing.

This Treaty was signed at *Carlisle* the 17th of *May*, whilst the *English* Army was quitting *Scotland*, and retiring to *Berwick*.

Other Conventions. Act. Pub. XV. p. 29. Herbert. Some days after, the Earl of *Lenox* came to the Court of *England*, where the foregoing Treaty was confirmed the 26th of *June*, with the following additional Articles :

That the Earl of *Lenox* should surrender to the King the Castle of *Dunbritten*, and the Isle of *Bute*.

That if he married *Margaret Douglass*, he should assign her an honorable Dower.

That the King engaged on his part, to aid him with five hundred Men, to give him a Pension of seventeen hundred Marks (1) for himself, and one of a hundred Marks for *George Striveling*, Governor of *Dunbritten*.

The Earl of *Lenox* cannot surrender *Dunbritten* to the King. Buchanan. Herbert. In consequence of this Treaty the Earl of *Lenox* came to *Dunbritten* with thirteen Ships, and about six hundred Men. Upon his arrival, he went to the Castle with a few Followers, to try to persuade the Governor (2) to deliver the Place to the King of *England*. But the Governor preferring his duty to his affection for the Earl, refused to admit the *English*. This attempt failing, *Lenox* ravaged the Isles of *Arran* and *Bute*, where he met with no opposition. Then he made a descent upon *Kintyre*, and after plundering some Villages, sailed to *Bristol*, where he expected the King's return, who was now in *France*.

Another English Invasion in Scotland. Buchanan.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Arran* and Cardinal *Beaton*, prosecuted, with the utmost rigour, the Earl of *Lenox's* Friends, and confiscated their Estates. But a fresh Invasion of the *English*, who, though few in number, took *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, and *Coldingham*, caused them to cease these Proceedings, and raise an Army to enable them to repulse their Enemies. The *Scotch* Army amounting to eight thousand Men, being ready to march, the Queen-Dowager, the Regent, and the Cardinal, led them to *Coldingham*, where the *English*, when they retired, had left a Garrison. But whilst they were employed in this Siege, the Regent having advice, that the *English* were marched from *Berwick* to relieve the Town, was seized with such a Panic, that speedily mounting his Horse, he fled all alone to *Dunbar*. This hasty flight threw the whole Army into such a consternation, that there was no hindering the Soldiers from disbanding. The Earl of *Angus* alone resolved to stay with a few Men, and carry off the Artillery, which was going to be deserted. The *Scots* being dispersed, the *English* ravaged without mercy, *Teviot*, *Merch*, and *Lauderdale*, compelling the Inhabitants to swear Allegiance to the King of *England*. Buchanan adds, that the Earl of *Angus* reviving the Regent's Courage, they assembled some Troops, and causing the *English* to fall into an Ambush, slew eight hundred (3) of their Men, and took a thousand Prisoners. But there is nothing like this in the *English* Histories.

Whilst the King of *England* was acting against *Scotland*, till Things were ready to begin the war in *France*, the Emperor was at *Spire*, where he had called a Diet, to try to obtain some assistance from the Princes of *Germany*. The Protestants at first scrupled very much to assist him, whilst he left them exposed to the Insults of their Enemies. But the moment they obtained a Decree, that they should not be disturbed in the exercise of their Religion, they granted whatever was required. This was all they desired, and it was deemed a signal favor to grant it, even with such Limitations and ambiguous Clauses, as would one day render it fruitless. So the Diet broke up about the end of *May*, to the mutual satisfaction of the States of the Empire. The Pope alone was offended at the Decree, in favour of the Protestants, and to hinder them from long enjoying the Toleration granted, till the Council should meet, he fixed the opening of the Council of *Trent* to the 25th of *March* 1545.

The opening of the Council of Trent fixed to March 25. 1545. Whilst the Emperor was at *Spire*, he ordered *Luxemburg* to be invested, which surrendered about the end of *May*. Then, he headed his Army in Person, to be-

gin the execution of the Projects concerted with *Henry*. Since the conclusion of the Treaty in *February* last year, whereby they were each to bring into the Field but twenty-five thousand Men, they had agreed to encrease the number of their Troops, to invade *France* with two Armies, which together were to make above a hundred thousand Men, and to join them about *Paris*. The Emperor's first Exports, till the King of *England's* arrival, were the taking of *Commercy* and *Ligny* in *le Barrois*. After that he entered *Champagne*, and besieged *St. Didier* the 8th of *July*. This place, though weak, held out above six weeks, and then was taken by a false Intelligence carried to the Governor.

The War with *Scotland* having prevented *Henry* from being ready so soon as he had promised, it was about *Whitsuntide* before he embarked part of his Army for *Calais*, under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk* (4). As for himself, he still remained in *England* with the rest of his Troops till the middle of *July* (5). When the Duke of *Norfolk* was beyond Sea, he joined the Count de *Bure*, who commanded ten thousand Men of the Emperor's Troops, and they jointly besieged the Town of *Montreuil*. This was probably with the Emperor's consent, who at the same time laid Siege to *St. Didier*. He was in hopes that place would detain him but few days, and then he should march to *Paris*, whilst *Henry* was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed according to agreement, *Paris*, and all the Country as far as the *Loire*, would have been in great danger, since *Francis* had not above forty thousand Men. But the Emperor was preposterously bent upon the Siege of *St. Didier*, which stayed him above six Weeks. In the mean time, *Henry* arriving at *Calais* (6) with the rest of his Army, found that the Emperor's design was to leave him to march alone to *Paris*, and keep the King of *France* employed, whilst he pursued his affairs in *Champagne*. So, perceiving that instead of marching to the rendezvous, the Emperor was employed in a Siege, he ordered likewise *Boulogne* to be invested, and came himself to the Siege the 26th of *July*. By this means their project was suspended, whilst they separately amused themselves with the taking of Towns. This error proved the safety of *France*. From thenceforward these two Princes mutually charging one another with non-performance of agreements, had no longer any confidence in each other. And therefore the Emperor, by indirect means, caused a Peace to be offered to *Francis*, whilst *Henry* more openly granted a safe-conduct for *French* Ambassadors to come and treat with him, at a league from his Camp.

Mean while the Emperor, having at last taken *St. Didier* about the middle of *August*, sent to *Henry* to march towards *Paris*, as was agreed. *Henry* answered, that since he had given the Emperor time to take *St. Didier*, it was but reasonable the Emperor should stay till he had taken *Boulogne*, which could not be long. After the taking of *St. Didier*, the Emperor advanced to *Chateau-Thierry*, and filled *Paris* with terror and confusion. But *Henry's* answer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects during the rest of the Campaign, he renewed his private Negotiation with *Francis*, which had been suspended. Shortly after, he concluded with *France* a separate Peace, signed at *Crepy* the 19th of *September*, not only without including *Henry*, but even without acquainting him, for fear of prevention.

Henry was not much surprized at the Emperor's proceedings. He ought not to have expected less from such a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own business. It is certain, *Charles V.*, no more than *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, his paternal and maternal Grandfathers, never pretended much to sincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. *Henry* complained of his breach of Faith. But it was easy to alledge sundry reasons, little capable however of balancing the Oath he had taken, to conclude neither Peace nor Truce without the consent of his Ally. But these Oaths were generally so ill kept in most Leagues, that they seem to be considered only as a sort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for *Henry*, *Boulogne* had capitulated the 14th of *September*, before the Treaty of *Crepy* was signed (7).

The Emperor thought himself very politic in easing himself of the burden of the War, and leaving *Francis* and *Henry* imbroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had

1544. The design of the Emperor and Henry.

The Emperor besieges St. Didier.

The Duke of Norfolk joins the Count de Bure. Act. Pub. XV. p. 40. Hall. Stow.

They besiege Montreuil. Herbert.

The Siege of St. Didier breaks the Measures of the two confederate Monarchs. Henry arrives at Calais. Subjects the Emperor, and besieges Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 53. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

The Emperor privately, and Henry openly, offer truce to Francis.

The Emperor takes St. Didier, calls upon Henry to march to Paris. Henry delays rather to take Boulogne. Act. Pub. XV. p. 50. Herbert.

Treaty of Crepy between the Emperor and Francis. Bellai. Herbert. Mezerai. Henry complains of the Emperor's want.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 56. Boulogne surrenders by Capitulation.

(1) Which made six thousand eight hundred *Scottish* Marks. Rymer, p. 31.

(2) His own Lieutenant.

(4) Who was accompanied by John Lord *Ruffel*, Captain of the Vanguard. Rymer, Tom. 15. p. 45; and Henry Howard Earl of *Surrey* Marshal, John Vere Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, &c. Herbert, p. 244.

(5) Before his departure, he appointed Queen *Catherine* Regent of the Kingdom; and named for her assistants, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Writsey*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Bishop of *Wexminster*, and Sir *William Petre*. Rymer, Tom. 15. p. 39.

(6) July 14. Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolk* was Captain of the Middle-ward, and had with him Edward Seymour Earl of *Hertford* Lord Chamberlain, Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel* the Marshal, Sir John Gage Controller of his Household, and Sir Antony Brown Master of the Horse, &c. Hall. The Ship wherein the King was conveyed over had Sails of Cloth of Gold. Herbert, p. 245.

(7) The Reader may see a very full account of the Siege of *Boulogne*, in a Journal of it, extant in Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. 15. p. 52, &c; and Herbert, p. 245. Compl. Hist.

1544. it not been acquired by breach of Faith. Immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty, he sent orders to the Count de Bure to raise the Siege of *Montreuil*, which obliged Henry also to recall the Duke of Norfolk. In the situation of Henry's affairs, he had nothing to do but retire, for fear the Dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, should oblige him to fight with great disadvantage, or retreat with precipitation. Besides, that the Dauphin was at the head of forty thousand Men, he would have found the English Army much lessened, as well by their losses at two Sieges, as by the numerous Garrison they were forced to leave at *Boulogne*. So, having well stored that place, and left Admiral *Dudley* Governor, Henry departed for *England* the 30th of September, whilst his Troops were returning to *Calais*.

The Dauphin came a few days after (1), but did not think proper to pursue the English, who were too far before him, and too near *Calais* for him to expect to overtake them. He contented himself therefore with trying to surprize *Boulogne*, the breaches whereof the English had not time to repair. He was very like to have succeeded in his attempt. The French were now masters of the Lower-Town, where all the English Ordnance lay, when a fall from the Upper-Town compelled them to retreat in disorder. Marshal *Montluc* in his Commentaries, speaks of this action, in a different manner from the English Historians, though he agrees with them that the French were repulsed. Some days after (2), a conference was held at *Calais*, to try to procure a Peace between the two Kings. But the aim of the French being to persuade the English to restore *Boulogne* upon the bare hopes of a Peace, it is not strange, the conference should be fruitless.

Henry at his return to *England* took great care to put in a posture of defence the places on the *Thames*, and on the Southern Coast (3), imagining *Francis* would not fail to invade him the next year. At the same time he sent into *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox* who took *Dumfries*.

This year, most part of the Colleges, Collegiate Churches, and Hospitals were surrendered to the King (4) by Acts and Deeds, seemingly voluntary, but which were no more so than those signed by the Abbots and Priors, when they resigned their Monasteries (5).

In the beginning of the year 1545, the Marshal de Biez encamped near *Boulogne*, in order to raise a Fort at *Portet* (6) to command the Harbour of *Boulogne*. But the Earl of *Hertford* who had succeeded *Dudley*, falling out with a body of Troops, dislodged the Marshal from his Post, and forced him to put off his project till another time.

Mean while *Francis* was making great preparations against *England*, in hopes of retaking *Boulogne*, and even *Guines* and *Calais*, in order to expel the English entirely out of *France*. To this end he equipped in the several Ports of *France* one hundred and fifty great Ships, and sixty smaller ones (7), with ten hired of the *Genoese*. Moreover, he had ordered five and twenty Gallies to be brought from the *Levant*, in imitation of *Lewis XII*, who, on the like occasion, had sent for four from thence. At the same time, he prepared to raise an Army of forty thousand Men, with whom he intended to join twelve thousand *Landsquenets* levied in *Germany*. His design was to attack *Boulogne* by Land, and so block it up by Sea, that it should be impossible for the English to relieve it. To execute this project, he sent a re-inforcement to the Marshal de Biez, ordering him to build at *Portet* the Fort he had been forced to leave unfinished, being unwilling to approach *Boulogne* before this Fort was in a state of defence. The Marshal putting him in hopes, the Work would be finished by the middle of *August*, he came about the end of *June* to *Havre de Grace*, to give orders for an expedition by Sea. His Gallies and Ships arriving shortly after, he commanded the Fleet to sail towards *England*. But in seeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of his largest, called the *Grand Carracoon*, burnt before his face, she having taken fire whilst the Anchor was weighing.

Admiral *Annebaut* who commanded the Fleet, arrived, the 18th of *July*, at the *Isle of Wight*, in sight of *Port-*

mouth, where lay the English Fleet of sixty Ships only. Notwithstanding the disproportion between the two Fleets, the English approached the French; but after a slight skirmish retired behind the Sands, with design to draw the enemies after them. The French Admiral consulting how they might be attacked, was told, it was an impossible thing, because the Channel which led to the place where they lay was so narrow, that hardly could four Ships sail abreast. That besides, there was no venturing among the Sands without Pilots. These difficulties obliged the Admiral to content himself with provoking the English to fight, by means of the Gallies, in order to draw them from their post. At first the Gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the English Ships. But a Land-breeze arising, deprived them of their advantage, and caused them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large Ships. The English did not pursue them very far, their design being to draw the enemies among the Sands, with which they were unacquainted.

At last, the French seeing the English would not lose the advantage of their Post, landed in three places in the *Isle of Wight*. But all this ended only in burning some Villages. It was moved in a Council of War, to fortify and keep the Island. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reason of the time which such a project would necessarily require. The Admiral therefore was satisfied with ordering a descent on the Coast of *Sussex* (8), imagining the King, who was at *Portsmouth*, would send out his Fleet to assist the Country. But he was mistaken. The English Fleet still lay behind the Sands, and the descents which the French made in three several places, gained them no considerable advantage, because the Coasts were well guarded. In the mean while, the English Fleet daily increasing, consisted now of a hundred Sail. So, *Annebaut* seeing little hopes of making great progress, retired towards *France*, after having watered at the *Isle of Wight*, not without losing some Soldiers and Officers.

Some days after, a South Wind blew the French back towards the Coast of *England*, and put their Fleet in confusion, which the English resolved to improve, if the Wind continued favourable. And indeed, the two Fleets engaged for two hours. But as the Wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging however too far. At last, they parted without much loss on either side; and thus ended the greatest effort *France* had ever made at Sea.

The attempt to fight the English Fleet, or to ravage the Coast, was not however the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of *Boulogne* was the King of *France's* chief end, and the Fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by Sea. But as the *Landsquenets* were not yet arrived, and the Fort Marshal de Biez was building not finished, *Francis* was exceedingly vexed to see the time proper for executing his designs insensibly slide away. At length, hearing the *Landsquenets* were on the borders, he sent to view the Fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and Marshal de Biez's promise, was yet very far from being finished. Besides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the Harbour. The Marshal alleged, if it had been built at *Portet*, the Garrison would have wanted Water. But he affirmed, the Fort he was raising at *Outreau* would be finished in eight days. Whereupon, the King sent him his whole Army, of which he gave him the Command, and remained himself at *Chateau-Montier* about ten Leagues from *Boulogne*.

The Marshal de Biez lay encamped near the Fort till it was finished, his design being to throw in ten thousand Men to awe the Garrison of *Boulogne*, whilst he besieged *Guines*. But the engineer had so ill contrived his Work, that after much time spent in it, he was forced almost to begin again. This occasioned a delay, which broke all the measures that were taken. Mean while, the King hastened the Work the more, as he knew that ten thousand *Landsquenets* [and four thousand Horse] raised for the service of *England* were marching for *Picardy*. In short, the Marshal perceiving the Season would be too far advanced before his Fort could be put in a state of defence, pretended to have certain advice that

(1) October 7. Rymer, Tom. XV. p. 57.

(2) October 12. The English Commissioners were the Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 57.

(3) Gravesend, Tilbury, Dover, Portsmouth, &c. Herbert, p. 249.

(4) There were in the Kingdom several Colleges, Chapels, Chantries, Hospitals, and Fraternities, consisting of secular Priests, who enjoyed Penions for saying Mass for the Souls of men endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent by the Doctrine set out by the Bishop, and the trade of redeeming Souls being condemned, it was thought needless to keep up so many Endowments to no purpose. Those Priests were generally ill-affected to the King's Proceedings, since their Trade was so much lessened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make religion; and twenty four of them did surrender this year. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 338.

(5) Also this year, King Henry reformed the publick Offices, and put out a Form of Procession, with a Litany in English. Burnet, Tom. III. p. 164.

(6) A little Creek of the Sea, half a Mile from *Boulogne*. The Marshal encamped there January 26, with fourteen thousand Men. The Earl of Hertford dislodged him, though he had only four thousand seven hundred Men. Herbert, p. 249.

(7) Our King set out about a hundred. These Ships on both sides were only Merchantmen hired for this War. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 332.

(8) Near *Brighton*, and *New Haven*. Stew, p. 583.

1545. the King of England designed to land a strong Army at Calais, to relieve *Boulogne* by Land; this is at least what *du Bellay* imputes to him in his Memoirs. However, the Marshal leaving the Fort unfinished, encamped on Mount *Lambert*, to be ready to oppose the Succours. But the English appeared not. As for the *Landsquenets* sent for by *Henry* from Germany, they returned home, because they received not on the borders the Money, they were made to expect. Mean while, the French Army continued encamped, without undertaking the Siege either of *Guines* or *Boulogne*, though *Francis* had made so great an effort for that purpose.

In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans died at *Chateau-Montier*, to the great grief of the King his Father, who, by his death, saw the Peace with the Emperor very much shaken, since it was properly founded upon that Prince's Life, as will quickly appear.

The French Army being encamped on Mount *Lambert*, within Cannon-shot of *Boulogne*, there were Skirmishes every day in the space between the Mount and the Town. In one of these Conflicts, the Duke d'Aumale, known afterwards by the name of the Duke of *Guise*, was wounded with a Lance, which entering at the corner of his Eye, came out behind his Head. This Wound, though deemed mortal by all, was however cured by the great skill of *Ambroise Paré*, the King's Surgeon, who was even forced to draw out with Pincers, the head of the Lance which remained in the wound. The Scar in the Duke's Face, gained him the surname of *Balafré* [or *Gashed*.]

The Season was now so advanced, that the Siege of *Boulogne* was not practicable. So *Francis* was forced to be contented, with ordering the Marshal de *Biez* to ravage *Terre d'Oye*, belonging to the King of England. But the sudden Rains made the Country so watry, that the Marshal was soon obliged to retire with his Army. Indeed, the Inhabitants were great Sufferers, because the Garrison of *Calais*, which should have protected them, was unable to resist so numerous Forces. On the other hand, *Briffac*, afterwards Marshal of France, defeated a Body of two thousand English. These were all the damages *Henry* sustained during the Campaign, from an Army of above two hundred thousand Men, which had put his Enemy to a prodigious expence. In all likelihood, this expence, and the ill Success of the Campaign, contributed most to the Peace which was soon after concluded.

Besides that France was exhausted, *Francis* had still another motive to make Peace with England. He was apprehensive of being soon compelled to renew the war with the Emperor. By the Treaty of *Crepi*, it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should marry one of the Daughters, either of the Emperor, or of the King of the Romans, and on account of this Marriage, should have the Duchy of *Milan*, or the Earldom of *Flanders*. In consideration of so advantageous a Settlement for the Duke his Son, *Francis* had resigned above twenty Places, which he held in *Piedmont* or *Montferrat*, and relinquished the Interest of his Brother-in-law the King of *Navarre*. So, the hopes of the advantages this Marriage was to procure, vanishing by the death of his Son, *Francis* was to find some other way to obtain them, or break a Treaty now become useless. For this reason, being desirous to know the Emperor's Intentions, he sent Admiral *Annebaut* to *Antwerp*, to offer him to renew the Treaty of Peace upon other Conditions, since the death of the Duke of Orleans had rendered those of the Treaty of *Crepi* of no effect. But the Emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that Prince, he believed himself freed from his Engagement, when he told the Ambassador, he would not attack the King of France, if he was not first attacked. *Francis* easily judged by this answer, he should infallibly have a war with the Emperor. This, added to the little progress he had made during the last Campaign, made him desirous of a Peace with England.

But as he was unwilling to sue for it, he applied to the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League, who offered to become Mediators. This Mediation seemed the less precarious, as the Protestants themselves were highly concerned to procure a Peace between the two Kings. They saw themselves upon the brink of being attacked by the Emperor, since he had made Peace with France, and knew moreover, he was negotiating a Truce with the Turks. Nothing therefore could be more for their advantage, than a

good understanding between France and England, that both Kings might be able to protect them. They sent therefore to France, *Christopher de Veninger*, *John Bruno* of *Nidepout*, and *John Sturm*; and to England, *Lewis Bambach*, and *John Sleidan*, to perform the Office of Mediators between the two Kings, in the name of the League. These Ambassadors meeting the Plenipotentiaries of France and England, between *Ardes* and *Guines* (1), presently found it was not easy to make Peace. *Francis* insisted, that *Henry* should restore *Boulogne*, and *Scotland* be included in the Peace. But *Henry* absolutely rejected both these Articles. Whereupon a Truce only was negotiated, but with no better Success, because *Henry* would never agree, that the Scots should be comprised in the Treaty. This appears in the primitive Instructions sent to Sir *William Paget* one of the English Ambassadors (2), and inserted in the Collection of the Publick Acts. We find also in his Instructions, that Sir *William Paget* attempted to bribe *Bruno*, one of the German Mediators, with the offer of a considerable Pension, and, in all appearance, the Mediator hearkened to his proposals. Mean while, to obtain the better Terms, *Henry* feigned a desire to be reconciled with the Emperor, and even sent in Embassy to him, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*. But this was only to give a Jealousy to *Francis*.

Cranmer took the advantage of *Gardiner's* absence to advance the Reformation, which he knew that *Prelate* would oppose with all his power. Some vacant Bishopricks were, by his means, given to persons who favoured the Reformation, and he had thereby among the Bishops a much stronger Party than ever (3). Nay, he found means afterwards to obtain the King's consent to some alterations advantageous to Religion. But *Gardiner*, who was then at *Bruges* with the Emperor, having notice of it, sent the King word, that the Pope and Emperor being joined in a League against the Protestants of Germany, the least Innovation in England, with respect to Religion, would be apt to induce them to give the King of France all the Satisfaction he could desire, to engage him in their League, in order to act in together against him. This caused *Cranmer* to find more difficulty than he expected.

In August this year *Cranmer* lost a good support by the death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had always continued in the height of favour (4). He was *Cranmer's* Friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther Reformation. But he was too much a Courtier, to attempt directly to oppose the King's Will. However, as *Henry* was not always in the same disposition, with regard to Religion, this Lord did the Reformed good Service, when he saw the King in a favourable Situation.

The war with Scotland was faintly continued on both Sides. *Henry's* design was only to terrify the Scots, and induce them to execute the Treaty concerning their Queen's Marriage. On the other hand, the Scots had no thoughts of invading England. Nevertheless, *Francis*, who, as was observed, had formed vast Projects against England, sent betimes to the Regent an Ambassador, called *la Brosse*, to assure him of his Protection, and a powerful Aid, which was instantly to depart. Besides that a Diversion in Scotland could not but be advantageous to him, he was also excited by the *Lorrain* Princes, who were desirous to support the Queen their Sister. So, causing the *Seigneur de Lorge*, Count of *Mongomeri*, to embark with five thousand Men, he ordered him to use his utmost endeavours to persuade the Scots to make a powerful Diversion on the Frontiers of England. *Mongomeri* arriving in Scotland the second of July, joined his Troops with the Scots, and both making together fifteen thousand Men, advanced towards the *Tweed*. For some days several Parties passed the River, and did some damage to the English. But the French General could never persuade the Scots to venture with the whole Army beyond the *Tweed*. On the contrary, upon news that the Earl of *Hertford* was advancing at the head of twelve thousand Men, they hastily retired, and presently after disbanded as usual. This is all that passed in Scotland worth notice, during the Campaign of 1545.

The Parliament of England meeting the twenty third of November, the Convocation continued for two years the Subsidy given the King for Six (5). At the same time, the Parliament suppressed by an Act, all the Colleges and Hospitals, and gave their Lands to the King. The motive, or rather pretence of this Suppression was, the

(1) In November. *Herbert*, p. 251.

(2) The other Ambassadors were, *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Dr. Tugwell*. *Hall*, fol. 260.

(3) *Lee*, Archbishop of *York* dying, *Robert Holgate*, Bishop of *Lancaster*, was promoted to that See, *Keeble* being made Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, who turned with every change. *Heath* was translated from *Rochester* to *Windsor*, and *Henry Holbeart* was made Bishop of *Rochester*. *Dugdale*, a moderate Man, upon *Samuel's* Translation to *Lichfield* and *Conversy*, was made Bishop of *Conversy*. *Burnet*, *Tom. I.* p. 333.

(4) He died Aug. 24, and was buried in St. George's Chapel at *Winchester*, by the Door of the Choir near the place where *Henry VI.* is interred. He had four Wives. His third was *Mary* Daughter of *Henry VII.* and Widow of *Lewis XII.* of France. He had a Son by her, who died before him, and two Daughters. His two other Sons by his last Wife, died without Issue, *5 Edward VI.* *Dugdale's Baronet*, Vol. II. p. 300.

(5) Six Shillings in the Pound. See above, p. 234. Note (4).

1545. abuse of these Foundations. The Parliament designed it also towards the expence of the King's wars with *France* and *Scotland*. But this not sufficing, the Commons granted him moreover a large Sum (1), and as they were assembled only for that purpose, they were dismissed the 24th of *December*. Before the Session ended, the King came to the House of Lords in great Solemnity, and made a fine Speech, saying, among other things, that never had Prince a greater affection for his People, or was more beloved than himself. He added many such Expressions, which, though very far, for the most part, from the truth, were however received by the people with loud Acclamations (2).

The King's Speech to the Parliament.
Hill.
Stow.
Lives of the Kings.

History of Germany.
Niedam.

During this year, the *German* Protestants began to feel the effects of the Emperor's late Peace with *France*, and of the Truce he was just going to conclude with the *Turk*. Hitherto they had been used somewhat gently. But the Emperor coming to *Worms*, where the Diet of the Empire was held, plainly declared to them, he could not any way dispense with their submitting to the Council, which was to meet at *Trent*. This convinced them, there was in reality a design to reduce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was spread of a league between the Pope and Emperor, which could not but be against them. Their Suspicions were farther confirmed; by a Sermon preached by a certain *Franciscan*, before the Emperor, to whom he represented in very strong terms, that he could not discharge the duty of a good Emperor, unless he laboured to the utmost of his power to extirpate the *Lutherans*. They knew also, the Emperor had writ to the King of *Poland* to excite him against them. Moreover, he summoned the Archbishop of *Cologne* to appear before him within thirty days, because he had embraced the Reformation, and tried to introduce it into his Diocese. All this shewed plainly what they were to expect. Nevertheless, as the Emperor had not yet concluded the Truce with the *Turks*, and as things were not quite ready, he ordered that a new Diet should be held at *Ratisbon* the following *January*. But the better to amuse the Protestants, he decreed, that the Divines of both Parties should come to *Ratisbon*, a month before the Diet, and hold a free Conference, that something might be afterwards settled in matters of Religion. The *Roman* Catholics did not like this Conference, and the Protestants were still less pleased with it, because they foresaw that the stiffness of the Divines of both sides, on the Points which would be the subject of their Conference, would give the Emperor and the Diet a pretence to refer the decision to the Council of *Trent*. The Diet breaking up the 18th of *August*, the Emperor returned to the *Low-Countries*. Some time after, he received advice, that the Truce with the *Turks* was concluded. He thereby saw himself at full liberty to make war upon the Protestants, and under that pretence to set about the execution of his Project to become master of the Empire.

Remark on the Council.
Niedam.
Herbert.

It was properly at the instance of the Protestants only, that the Council was to meet: But it was very far from being such a Council as they had required. They expected it to be held in *Germany*, in an unsuspected Place, and it was convened at *Trent*, a City belonging to the King of the *Romans*, whom they justly considered as their Enemy. Their design was to combat the Papal Authority, and it was the Pope who was to preside by his Legates. They intended to shew, that the *Romish* Clergy had corrupted Religion, both in Doctrine and Discipline, and it was the *Romish* Clergy who were to assist as Judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they should be allowed to produce their reasons. Mean while, it was pretended, that out of great condescension, a Council was called for their sakes, and at their Solicitation. It is therefore no wonder, they should refuse to submit to such a Council, which they as much feared, as they desired one free and impartial. So the Emperor and the Protestants acted directly contrary to their first Proceedings. The Protestants rejected a Council, after desiring it with great earnestness, and the Emperor, after amusing them many years on that account, pressed, with all his power, the meeting of the Council of *Trent*, the Authority whereof he intended to make use of to oppress them. The Pope would have been glad to have had no Council at all, but finding he was too far engaged with the Emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of *March*. After that, he put it off, because on that day there were too few Bishops at *Trent*. But he had a much stronger reason. He was very glad to wait the issue of the Diet of *Worms*, in hopes that vigorous resolutions would be taken there

against the Protestants, which would engage both Parties in an open War, and furnish him with a pretence, either to delay the opening of the Council, or to remove it to some Town in *Italy*. But the Emperor, who had now formed his Plan, of making use of the Council's Authority to proceed against the Protestants, caused the Pope at last to order it to be opened at *Trent* the 13th of *December*. That day the Legates (meeting in the Cathedral,) declared, the Council was assembled for three Causes, to destroy Heresy, to reform Discipline, and to settle a lasting Peace between Christian Princes. This first Session was properly held only for the opening of the Council. There were so few Prelates at *Trent*, that it would have been ridiculous for so small a number of Persons to pretend to make Decrees upon the Articles for which the Council was called.

Opening of the Council.
Hill.
Stow.
Lives of the Kings.

The Protestants seeing a Council opened quite different from what they had required, easily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reason to fear it, as the Kings of *France* and *England* being at War with each other, there was no hopes of assistance from them. Mean while, though the *German* mediators had not succeeded in their Negotiation, the Peace between *France* and *England* was not more remote. The reason was, both Kings were equally concerned to end a War, which only did them damage, without a possibility for either to expect any considerable advantage. The War continued however during the Winter of the year 1546. The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who commanded at *Boulogne*, having intelligence that the *French* were conducting a Convoy to the Fort of *Ostrevent*, sallied out (3) with part of the Garrison to intercept it. But he succeeded so ill, that instead of taking the Convoy, he was himself defeated; and forced to retreat in great disorder. This news extremely troubled the King, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the Earl's imprudence, or suspected him of some hidden design, he recalled him immediately, and sent the Lord *Gray* to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the Earl of *Hertford* to depart with about ten thousand Men, for fear the *French* should seize some Post, and cut off the communication between *Boulogne* and *Calais*. And indeed that was their design. But the Earl of *Hertford*, preventing them by two days only, posted himself at *Ambleville*, where he ran up two Forts which secured the communication. The *French* having missed their aim, encamped on Mount *Lambert*; and as the two Armies were not far from each other, there were skirmishes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the interest of both Kings to run no hazard, for fear of breaking off the Negotiation of the Peace, which was treating between *Andres* and *Guises*.

Henry and Francis.
Hill.
Stow.
Lives of the Kings.

Hill.
Herbert.

Barnet.

Francis wished for a Peace, because his Exchequer was drained by his great and continual expence from the beginning of his Reign, and particularly by the naval Armament of the former Campaign. Besides, as he was just entering into a War with the Emperor, he wanted such a friend as the King of *England*. In fine, he perceived, that after his fruitless efforts to retake *Boulogne*, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. *Henry* was no less desirous of Peace for several reasons. He was grown so fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occasion for an engine with pulleys to lift him up and down stairs. This made him extremely uneasy, and gave him a distaste for business, so that he attended to affairs with some reluctance. In the next place he had no farther thoughts of making Conquests in *Picardy*. His sole aim was, to procure what was due to him before *Boulogne* should be restored, which was of little use to him, since *Calais* could serve all his purposes. But he had still a more urgent motive to renew his old friendship with *Francis*. He saw the Emperor, with the Pope's assistance, upon the point of making War on the Protestants, and much questioned their ability to withstand him. In this belief, he was afraid the Emperor, after subduing *Germany*, would turn his Arms against *England*, with all the Forces of the Empire, *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*. He could use the pretence of executing the Pope's Sentence, and even cause a like Sentence to be passed by the Council of *Trent*. It was therefore not at all advantageous to *Henry* to be in War with *France*. It was rather his interest to have *Francis's* Friendship, as it was also very advantageous to *Francis* to be secure of *Henry's* assistance, in case the Emperor turned his Arms against *France*.

(1) Four Shillings in the Pound of Lands, and two Shillings and Eight-pence of Goods, to be paid in two Years. *Hill*, fol. 267.

(2) The most remarkable Acts made in this Parliament were these: 1. That the *Gifts* *Ratibon* in each County should be appointed by a Bill filed with the King's Hand; and that the said *Gifts* should appoint the Clerk of the Peace. 2. That no higher Interest, than ten Pence per Cent. per year, shall be paid. 3. An Act for the payment of Tithes in *London*. See *Statut.* 37 Hen. VIII.

(3) *January* 7. Sir *Thomas Paynings*, with several others, were slain. *Stow*, p. 591.

1546. The obstacles to the conclusion of this Peace, consisted in *Henry's* demand of what was due to him, and in *Francis's* want of Money to content him. Besides, *Francis* insisted upon *Boulogne*, and upon *Scotland's* being included in the Treaty. These difficulties would have been sufficient to hinder the conclusion of the Peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the two Kings to seek expedients to surmount them. *Henry* consented at last to the Article concerning *Scotland*, and as to the rest, a way was found to satisfy both. *Henry* was to keep *Boulogne* till he was paid, and *Francis* promised to discharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being thus settled, the Peace was signed the 7th of *June* (1). The Treaty ran :

Treaty of Peace between France and England. Act. Pub. XV. p. 95. June 7. Hall. Stow. Herbert. p. 235.

That the King of *France* shall pay regularly the Pension, due by the Treaty of *More* of the 30th of *August* 1525, confirmed by several subsequent Treaties. As also the pension of Salt contained in a Treaty of the 25th of *April* 1527, valued afterwards at ten thousand Crowns a year. But as *Henry* pretends the said pension given in lieu of the Salt, is to be perpetual, and as *Francis* maintains, on the contrary, that it is to cease at *Henry's* death, it is agreed, that the dispute shall be amicably decided by Umpires; and if the pension shall be found to be perpetual, *Francis* shall pay it to *Henry* and his Successors for ever.

Moreover *Francis* shall pay to the King of *England*, on the Feast of *St. Michael* 1554, or within a fortnight after, the Sum of two millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, as well for the arrears of the pension of the ten thousand Crowns, as for *Henry's* expence in the Siege of *Boulogne*, undertaken solely to procure his Money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the Article of the five hundred thousand Crowns, which *Henry* presented to *Francis* on condition he punctually observed the Treaties, as the two Kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed, the dispute shall be decided by Commissioners appointed on both sides within such a time, or by four impartial Lawyers, in case the Commissioners end not the affair.

It is further agreed, that the King of *England* shall keep *Boulogne* with its Territories, the Limits whereof are settled by the Treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the Sums shall be paid, *Boulogne* shall be restored to the King of *France*, and nothing, that is fastened to the ground, shall be impaired or carried away.

That from the date hereof, to the surrender of *Boulogne*, neither of the two Princes shall raise any Fort or new Fortification within the territory of *Boulogne*, but those already begun may be finished.

The Emperor was included by both Parties in the Peace. As for *Scotland*, *Henry* agreed, it should be included, on condition the *Scots* gave him no fresh cause to make War upon them; and in case they did, they were to be deemed included, no otherwise than according to the Treaty of the 5th of *April* 1515.

Henry's advantages in this Treaty.

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages than those he received from this Peace, which seemed to secure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but also the yearly and perpetual pension of a hundred thousand Crowns. But the most solemn Treaties are not always sufficient security for the performance of what Sovereigns promise. It will appear in the following Reigns, that *Francis's* Successor not only broke this Treaty with respect to *Boulogne*, and the Sums for which his Father was bound, but that even the pension was never charged in the Treaties he made with *England*.

The Peace proclaimed at London. Hall. Stow. Henry calls it at the Church-Plate. Stow.

The Peace was very solemnly proclaimed at *London* the 13th of *June*, with a general Procession, wherein were carried all the richest silver Crosses, and the finest Copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the last time these things appeared in publick. Shortly after, *Henry* called them in, together with the Church-Plate, into his Treasury and Wardrobe, without giving any other reason than his will and pleasure.

Charges of the late War. Herbert. p. 236.

It is said, the late War with *France* cost *Henry* five hundred eighty six thousand seven hundred and eighteen Pounds Sterling, and the Charges of keeping *Boulogne* eight years amounted to seven hundred fifty five thousand eight hundred thirty three Pounds. So large a Sum,

which was not to be repaid under eight years, had consumed whatever had been granted by the Parliament, and received from the Chapels, Colleges and Hospitals. So that he was forced in the beginning of the year to lay a Tax upon his Subjects, under the name of *Benevolence* (2), as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

1546.

The Peace restored between the two Kings the good understanding which had been interrupted some years, rather by the artifices of the Emperor and his Party in *England*, than for any just cause. *Catherine de Medici*, Dauphiness of *France*, being, at this time, delivered of a Princess, and *Henry* desiring to stand Godfather (3), he called her *Elizabeth*. Presently after, the two Kings sent Ambassadors to each other, to receive the Oaths concerning the Peace, and chose for these Embassies their two High-Admirals (4). It is said, that whilst Admiral *Annebaut* was at *London*, he began a Negotiation about Religion, and that the two Kings intended to abolish the Mass in their Dominions (5). As for *Henry*, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the Reformation: Nay, it is certain, that on account of this Negotiation, he ordered *Cranmer* to set down in writing how such a Change might be effected, and to strengthen all with arguments and passages from the Scriptures. But this Project soon vanished into smoke. Probably, *Francis* had entered into this Negotiation, only because he desired to be in strict union with *Henry*, and knew by experience, that the bare Proposal of conforming himself to his Sentiments in point of Religion, was a most effectual way to succeed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any Reformation in his Kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of Persecution all over *France* against the Reformed, of whom fourteen this year were burnt at *Meaux*, and many others at *Paris*, and in other places; not to mention the massacre of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*, for which none were punished. The Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Tournon* his chief Ministers, were too much incensed against the Protestants, for any Man to believe, that so long as they were in favor, the King ever seriously thought of abolishing the Mass in *France*.

Before the Peace between *England* and *France* was signed, the Protestant Princes of *Germany* seeing themselves going to be attacked by the Emperor, who had at last taken off the mask, since his Peace with *France*, and Truce with the *Turks*, sent to *Henry*, Prince *Philip*, Brother (6) to the Elector *Palatine*, to desire assistance. It appears in the King's Letter to this Prince, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* had sent to desire him to come, and the Lord *Herbert* assures, that *Philip* aimed at marrying the Princess *Mary*. However this be, the King answered his demand of aid by seven Propositions, containing the terms on which he was willing to enter into a defensive League with the Protestants. But as his Propositions tended only to render him head and sole director of the League, they did not think proper to put themselves blindly into his hands. They only told him, if he would deposite somewhere in *Germany* a hundred thousand Crowns to serve for the defence of the League, they would prefer his alliance to that of *Francis*. But finding they offered no advantage for himself, he had no such zeal for the *Augsburg* Confession, (from which he was yet very remote) as to engage in its protection without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the Protestants were persuaded, he had no desire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them, for fear they should submit to the Emperor, as also to hinder them from putting themselves under the French King's protection, with whom he had not yet Peace. For the same reason it was, that under colour of continuing the Negotiation, he kept the Count *Palatine* at his Court, till he saw the Peace with *France* was near a conclusion.

It was now some time since the Pope and Emperor had formed the project of a League against the Protestants of *Germany*. They had agreed upon all the Articles; but the Emperor had thought proper to defer the signing, that he might say he did it merely in his own defence. At last, about the middle of *June*, he sent the Cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*, where the League was signed the 26th of the same month. The Pope promised to find for six months twelve thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and two hundred thousand Crowns, for the War in *Germany*. Moreover, he gave the Emperor a moiety of one

Act. Pub. XV. p. 84. Stuype. Henry and G. 2. Father to the Dauphin. Dauphiness. Hollingh.

Embassy from France. Hall. Stow. Project of abolishing the Mass. Burnet. T. I. p. 340. Herbert.

Francis's design.

The Emperor prepares to attack the Protestants. Sleidan.

Negotiation of the Protestants with Henry. Act. Pub. XV. p. 88. Herbert.

League between the Pope and Emperor against the Protestants. Sleidan.

(1) The English Plenipotentiaries were, *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle* Baron *Malpas* and *Sommersey*, Sir *William Paget* the King's Secretary, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. *Rymor's Fed.* Tom. XV. p. 93.

(2) This *Benevolence* amounted to seventy thousand seven hundred and twenty three Pounds. *Stuype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 390.

(3) Sir *Thomas Chene*, Treasurer of the Household, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, stood, as King *Henry's* Proxy. *Hollingb.* p. 973.

(4) The English Admiral, *John Lord Lisle*, was accompanied by *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Durham*, and several other Lords. The French Ambassador landed at *Greenwich* August 19. *Hall*, vol. 262.

(5) The Mass was to be changed into a Communion, and *Cranmer* was ordered to draw a Form of it. *Fox. Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 340.

(6) Lord *Herbert* says, Nephew.

1546. year's revenue of the benefices in *Spain*, with power to alienate a hundred thousand Crowns-worth of Church-Lands. This was a demonstration that it was a religious War, though the Emperor affected to publish the contrary.

The German
History.

The Emperor having notice that the Pope's Troops were beginning to march; that the Count de Bure had forwarded his levies in the *Low-Countries*; and Duke Maurice of *Saxony*, whom he had engaged in his Party, was ready to act when there should be occasion, assembled his Army about *Ratisbon*. His design was to meet the Pope's Troops, who were crossing *Tirol*, under the conduct of *Ottaviano Farnese*. At the same time to hinder this junction, the elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse* marched the same way, with an Army of forty thousand Men. Without entering into the particulars of this first Campaign, I shall only say in general, that the Protestants, though superior in number, could not hinder the junction of the *Italian* Troops, nor of those of the *Low-Countries*, with the Emperor. The different tempers of the elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse* did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong measures. In short, the Campaign lasting till November, without either of the two Armies desiring to engage, the elector of *Saxony* received the ill news, that the King of the *Romans* and Duke Maurice were destroying his Country with fire and sword. This obliging him to march with part of the Army, to the relief of his Subjects, the Landgrave, grown too weak by this separation, chose likewise to retire into his Dominions. Thus the Emperor meeting with no more opposition, took *Frankfort*, *Ulm*, and several other Towns belonging to the League, which furnished him with the Money he wanted for the maintenance of his Army.

Continuation
of the Coun-
cil of Trent.
F. Paul.
Herbert.

Whilst the War was carrying on in *Germany*, the Council languished at *Trent*, and proceeded very slowly. Besides that the Members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the Legates, who durst not themselves undertake any thing without orders from *Rome*. But it was the Pope's interest to prolong matters, because he hoped, time would procure him at last some occasion to dissolve the Council, or remove it to *Italy*. Thus the Council was but an empty name, made use of by the Pope and Emperor for their own private views, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the publick.

Persecution
in Scotland.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

Religion began also to cause troubles in *Scotland*, or at least to produce the seeds thereof, by the despair to which those that embraced the Reformation were driven. Since Cardinal *Beaton* and the Earl of *Arran* had enjoyed the Peace procured them by the King of *France*, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furnished them with a pretence, because the opposite Faction almost wholly consisted of the Reformed. In the course of this year 1546, they put to death several Persons for Religion at *Perth*, *St. Andrews*, and other places (1). The Regent suffered himself to be so led by the Cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the Flames those whom he had formerly considered as his Brethren. Among those who were sacrificed to the furious passion of the Cardinal, a Minister called *Sephocard* (2), who suffered Martyrdom at *St. Andrews*, was particularly remarkable. This Man being condemned to the Fire, the Regent at the instance of one of his Friends would have saved his Life, and to that end sent a note to the Cardinal, desiring him to suspend the execution. But the barbarous Prelate, without regarding the Regent's request, not only caused the Sentence to be executed, but would also feed his eyes with the sad Spectacle, sitting in state in a great Window of his Castle. It is said, that, before he was delivered to the Flames, the Minister told the Executioner, "That within few days the Prelate who beheld him with such pride from yonder high place, should lie in the same as ignominiously as now he was seen proudly to rest himself." This prediction proved but too true for the Cardinal. Presently after he was murdered in his own Palace, and his Body thrown into the Street, out of the very Window from whence he looked on, while *Sephocard* was burning.

Wishart's
Martyrdom.
Buchanan.
Burnet.

His Predic-
tion about
Cardinal
Beaton.

The Cardi-
nal is mur-
dered.
Buchanan.

As for *England*, Religion was still upon the same foot, as the King had been pleased to establish it. The Reformation had made some progress; but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the Reformed could not forbear hoping, the King himself would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually consulted the welfare of their Religion, by remaining in silence, and waiting for better times. This is the true reason why there were fewer Persons that suffered for Religion in *England* than in *France*. It is not to be questioned, that if there had not been hopes of a further Reformation, many People would have openly declared the opinion, which these hopes induced them to conceal. For much the same reason, those who retained all the Tenets of the old Religion, durst not directly oppose the King, for fear their opposition should carry him beyond the bounds he seemed to have prescribed to himself. From hence springing a blind and universal compliance with the King's Will, and the excessive Power he had acquired over all his Subjects, of which he made a very ill use. He had been troubled for some time with an old sore in his Leg, which was grown very painful. This, added to his monstrous Corruption, which rendered him almost unable to stir, made him so froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always stern and severe, but was incomparably more so towards the end of his days, than in the beginning. Flattery had so corrupted his Judgment and Sense, that he deemed it an unpardonable Crime, to contradict his Opinions, though he changed them himself very frequently. I have observed, that he treated with Admiral *Anchaut* of abolishing the Mass, and changing it into a Communion, after the manner of the Protestants. And yet, shortly after, *Shaxton*, who had resigned the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and been long a Prisoner for refusing to conform to the six Articles, being accused afresh of denying the real Presence in the Sacrament (3), the King was pleased to have him tried according to the rigour of the Law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this Man, who had endured the hardships of a long Imprisonment, could not behold with the same firmness the Punishment prepared for him. The King having sent the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester*, to persuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon, and abjuring his pretended Heresy, the King granted him his pardon. He became afterwards a

1546.
The story of
Religion in
England.

Henry VIII.
Martyrdom of
Bishop
Cromwell.

He was
burnt.

Shaxton
accused of
denying the
real presence
Burnet.
He was
condemned to
be burnt.

He abjures
and is par-
doned.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 340.

This example was not capable of moving *Ann Askew*, who was accused of the same Crime, and rigorously prosecuted, though she had good Friends at Court, where she was well known (4). She firmly persisted, notwithstanding all the Promises to save her Life, in case she would recant (5). Some Court Ladies, touched with compassion for her, having sent her some Money, when in prison, for her subsistence, were the occasion of her being more cruelly tormented (6). Chancellor *Wriothesley*, a great Enemy to the Earl of *Hertford*, hoping to draw something out of the Prisoner against that Lord or his Countess, caused her to be racked. Nay, 'tis said, he would be present himself, and observing the Executioner was moved with pity to the Prisoner, threw off his Gown, and taking upon him the honorable Office, drew the Rack so severely, that he almost tore her asunder. But this is a fact that scarce seems credible. However, the Woman's Bones being put out of joint, she was carried in a Chair to the place of Execution, and burnt, with four Men condemned for the same Crime (7). But to add to their sufferings, they were made to hear a Sermon preached by *Shaxton* their false Brother, who upbraided them with obstinacy in very bitter and abusive Terms. All this was not capable of shaking their Constancy, which induced to their last breath.

Ann Askew
burnt.
Hall.
Burnet.
Scopce.

Hall.
Stow.

The Enemies of the Reformation seeing the King incensed against the Sacramentarians, thought it a favorable opportunity to ruin the Queen and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they considered as the grand Protectors of the Reformed. Among the supporters of the old Religion, the chief were, Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey* his Son, *Bonner* Bi-

Don't o-
pen a
man and the
Queen.
Burnet.

T. I. p. 342.
&c.

(1) Some of the *Scottish* Priests were so ignorant, that they maintained, The New Testament was lately written by *Martin Luther*, and therefore they desired only the Old. *Buchanan*. l. 15.

(2) The Author means Mr. *George Wishart*, descended of a noble Family, who finished his Studies in the University of *Cambridge*, and returned to *Scotland* in 1544. See the Story of his death in *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 333; and *Buchanan*, l. 15.

(3) His words were, That Christ's natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial of his Body that was crucified. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 340.

(4) She was nobly defended (being Sister of Sir *Francis Aske*, or *Ascougb*, of *Lincolnshire*) and educated beyond what was usual in that Age to those of her Sex. But she was unfortunately married to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papist, drove her out of his House, where he found the favoured Reformation. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 341.

(5) Upon her examination, being asked by the Lord Mayor of *London*, Whether the Priests cannot make the Body of Christ? She wittily replied, I have read that God made Man, but that Man can make God, I never yet read. *Strype's Mem.* Tom. I. p. 387.

(6) Being asked what favour or encouragement she had from any in the Court, she would confess nothing, but that one in *Liberty* had brought her some Money, which he said came from two Ladies in the Court. This made the Chancellor put her to the Rack. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there, and it was believed the Queen had showed kindness to her. *Burnet*, p. 341.

(7) *John Lajewick* a Gentleman, probably the same that accused *Catherine Howard*, *Nicholas Otterden* and ----- *Deinan* two Priests, and *John Adlam* a Taylor. *Hall*, fol. 263. *Strype*, Tom. I. p. 388.

1546. shop of London, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester; and these had doubtless, among the Courtiers, and the King's Servants, Creatures who failed not to be serviceable on occasion. But whatever Project they formed, the Archbishop of Canterbury was still in their way, who having great Influence over the King, commonly broke their measures. So to be entirely freed from this formidable Adversary, they resolved to complain of him openly to the King, and accuse him of being the Head and Protector of the Sacramentarians, and of all in general who rejected the six Articles. This resolution was executed. The Person who took upon him to speak to the King, told him, there were evident Proofs ready of what was alledged against *Cranmer*, and if he were sent to the Tower, so many Witnesses would appear against him, that the King would be himself surprized. *Henry* was not ignorant that *Cranmer* was against the Six Articles in his mind, since he had himself frankly owned it. But he really loved him, and therefore would not expose him to a Trial which must have been fatal to him. Besides, he took it very ill, that such pains were taken to destroy a Man, for whom he had so often and so openly declared. However, resolving to see how far the Malice of his Enemies would go, he consented that he should be the next day called before the Council, and sent to the Tower, if they saw Cause. But in the night the King sent for *Cranmer*, and telling him what had been resolved, desired to know how he meant to answer for himself. *Cranmer* thanked the King, and prayed him, that since he was to be questioned for his religious Opinions, Judges might be assigned him who understood those matters. The King replied, he went the wrong way to save his Life, for most certainly his Enemies had Witnesses ready to convict him in such manner, that the Judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore since he took so little care of himself, he would look to it. So he ordered him to desire the Council, to use him as a Privy-Counsellor, and as they would expect to be used in the like case, that is, that his Accusers might be brought face to face before he was sent to the Tower; and if his request was not granted, he was to appeal to the King. At the same time he pulled off his Ring, and giving it to him, said, if his Appeal was rejected, he should show the Council that token of his Protection. Next Morning *Cranmer* coming to the Council-door, was so long kept waiting in the Lobby, that the King hearing of this disrespect, sent word, that he should be presently brought in (1). It happened as the King foresaw, so that *Cranmer* was forced at last to produce the King's Ring, which terribly mortified his Enemies. Then they all rose up, and went and informed the King of what had passed, who told them, he thought he had a wiser Council than now he found they were, and laying his hand on his Breast, swore, that he took the Archbishop to be the most faithful Subject he had. The Duke of Norfolk willing to excuse the Council, said, They meant the Archbishop no harm, but only to vindicate his Innocence by such a Trial as would have freed him from all Aspersions. But the King looking sternly at him, answered, "He would not suffer Men who were so dear to him, to be thus handled with Impunity. He knew the Factions that were among them, and their Malice to one another, which he would either extinguish, or very speedily punish." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the Archbishop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward appearance. But for *Cranmer*, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly showed afterwards.

Cranmer is openly accused.
Burnet.

The King gives him a sensible mark of his affection.

The King manifests the Archbishop's Friends.

The Queen is accused, who happily brings herself off.
Herbert.
Burnet.

It seems, so great a mortification should have made these Men more cautious. But their extreme desire to succeed in their Plots, would not suffer them to desist, with regard to the Queen. They perceived, if the King had opposed their accusation of *Cranmer*, it was not to hinder the execution of the Law of the six Articles, but from a pure motive of affection for that Prelate. That therefore their Proceedings could not have displeased him as to the Thing, but only in respect of the Person. This made them think they should find it easier to destroy the Queen, because the King would never willingly suffer that his own Wife should differ from him in matters of Religion. *Catherine Parr*, who was then on the Throne, had gained the King's Affection by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him daily fresh marks of her Gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and

even sometimes took the liberty to have Sermons preached in her Privy-Chamber, before some of her Ladies. It came to the King's ears, but he took no notice of it. Nay, he suffered her to dispute with him upon Religion, imagining she did it only for Instruction. But at last these Disputes having been carried too far, he expressed his displeasure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the Queen, than formerly. This made her Enemies fancy it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilst, ignorant of their designs, she was seeking occasions to inspire the King with favorable thoughts of the Reformation.

The King first vented to *Gardiner* his displeasure with the Queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial Man. *Gardiner* failed not to cherish the King's resentment, by aggravating the Queen's obstinacy, and her Pains to inflill her notions into the Ladies who served her. The Chancellor, who was also let into the Secret, confirmed what *Gardiner* had said, and hinted to the King, that the Queen had encouraged *Ann Askeu* in her obstinacy, and even insinuated, that she was plotting against the State. In short, they went so far, that Articles were drawn against her, and signed by the King. The Chancellor putting up the Paper carelessly in his Pocket, it dropt from him, and the Person that found it carried it to the Queen, who seeing the King's hand to such a Paper, concluded herself lost. However, being advised by one of her Friends, to go to the King and try to appease him, she came into his Room with a settled Countenance, as if she knew nothing of what had passed. The King received her very kindly, and began to talk of Religion. She answered, these things were above her, and she ought to learn of him, what she was to believe. Not so, by St. Mary, said the King, you are become a Doctor, and able to instruct us. The Queen feigning to be surprized at his manner of speaking to her, answered very mildly, "She saw with grief he was offended at the freedom she had sometimes taken to dispute with him in matters of Religion, but she had done it innocently, with the sole view of diverting him, knowing what Pleasure he took in talking of those things, which none understood better than himself; her chief aim had been, not only to make him forget his pain, by such sort of Discourses, but also to receive Instruction herself, and indeed she had profited much; and if she had started objections, it was only to give him occasion to clear the difficulties, which were above a Woman's understanding." And is it even so, said the King, then we are Friends again. So he embraced her with great Affection, and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant Love to her (2). On the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the Queen to the Tower, the King going to take the Air in the Garden, sent for her, and presently after came in the Chancellor, with forty of the Guard. But the King slept aside to him, and after a little Discourse, was heard to call him in an angry tone, *Knave, Fool, and Beast*. Then he came again to the Queen, who seeing him in a Passion with the Chancellor, endeavoured to appease him. But the King told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

Burnet.

Herbert.

Herbert.
Burnet.

Burnet.

These two attempts against the Archbishop and the Queen, not only proved unsuccessful, but also very prejudicial to the Enemies of the Reformation. From thenceforward the King could not endure them, being satisfied their chief aim was to overthrow whatever he had established. *Gardiner* was turned out of favour immediately, and the King would not suffer him to be present in the Council (3).

The King begins to hate the Enemies of the Reformation.
Burnet.

Gardiner's Disgrace.

But a greater storm fell on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Son the Earl of Surrey. *Henry* almost choked with Fat, and perceiving his Leg visibly to grow worse, plainly saw he had not long to live. In this belief, he considered the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, as two Lords who could greatly imbroil the Prince his Son, during his Minority. The Duke of Norfolk was as it were, the Head of the favourers of the Pope, and the old Religion, though, like a good Courtier, he had outwardly complied with all the King's Innovations. *Henry* was contented with this external compliance, though he knew he was ever attached to the Pope, whose Party was still very powerful in England, and that his Son the Earl of Surrey was in the same Sentiments. This sufficed to inspire him with a just fear, that after his death, these two Lords, assisted by the Pope, the Emperor, and their

The King resolves to put the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey to death.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

(1) Dr. Buts the King's Physician, who loved *Cranmer*, went and told the King what a strange thing he had seen: *The Primate of all England waiting at the Council door among the Footmen and Servants*. Whereupon the King sent to the Board to have him brought in immediately. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 343.

(2) Whether the King had really designed her Ruin or not, is differently represented by the Writers who lived next that time. Some, says the Lord Herbert, believe it was not so much the King's Intention to use the rigor of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books, p. 263.

(3) Lord Herbert says, though it appears by *Gardiner's* submission, extant in our Records, that not long after he fell into the King's displeasure, yet whether on this occasion, or that he was a special Friend to the Duke of Norfolk, (who was now also in disgrace) or any other Cause, is not there determined. However, the King excluded him out of the Number of those whom he appointed his Executors, and Counsellors to his Son Edward VI. Herbert, p. 263.

1546. Friends, would labour to fet the Crown on the Head of the Princess *Mary*, and so what he had been at such pains to establish during his Reign, would be entirely overthrown. And indeed, he could not question, if that Party prevailed, they would deem his Divorce with *Catherine of Arragon* null and void. In which case, *Mary* was his only lawful Issue, and the Prince his Son a Bastard. He could hope for no remedy to this Evil from the Parliament, having learnt by long Experience, with how much ease that Body consisting of so many Members, was carried away with the prevailing Party. He thought therefore, the best and shortest way to prevent these mischiefs, and free himself from his Fears, was, not to leave these two Lords behind him, whom he believed capable of disturbing his Son's Minority, and even of robbing him of the Crown. For this sole Reason their ruin was resolved, after which, some pretense was to be found. And this is seldom wanting to those who have the power in their hands. As soon as it was perceived, his Affection for the Father and Son was grown cold, there were Persons ready to insinuate, they had pernicious designs against the State (1), and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the Earl of *Surrey* had refused several good Matches (2) since the loss of his Countess, and it was generally reported, he aspired to the Princess *Mary*: That it was not without some private reason he used the Arms of *St. Edward the Confessor*, though his Father had taken them out of his 'Scutcheon, but however the Duke himself had left that quarter blank, in order to resume that at a proper season. Upon these general Accusations, the King ordered them to be arrested, and sent to the *Tower* (3). After that, care was taken to let the Publick know, that they who had any thing to say against the Prisoners, should be graciously heard, and the King would pardon all Persons concerned in any Plot with them, who would come and make a discovery (4).

Herbert.
Burnet.

They are sent
to the Tower.
Herbert.
Stow.
Burnet.

The two Universities
are preserved.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 106.

The King
strikes out of
his Will.
Burnet.
T. 1. p. 349.

Some time before this Affair was begun, the King restored the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to all their Estates, Rents, and Privileges, though by the Act of Parliament which gave the Lands of the Colleges to the King, they were to be suppressed. It might be thought very strange, the Parliament should not distinguish these two Universities from the rest of the Colleges, considering their Antiquity, and the Advantages the Kingdom had thence received, and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently seen, that they had long acted solely by the direction of the Court. It is probable, the King remained long doubtful, whether he should dissolve or preserve these two Universities, since having received their humble Petitions, the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his answer till *October*. Nay, it was talked at Court for some time, of making great Alterations in their Charters. But at last, the King resolved to continue them upon the same foot they had all along been. Shortly after, on the 19th of *December*, he founded *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, which is one of the noblest Foundations of that kind in *Europe* (5).

Mean while, diligent search was making by the King's order, after every thing that could serve to form an Impeachment against the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl his Son; the King, who found himself near his end, being absolutely bent, they should go out of the World before

him. In this Interval, he ordered his Will, made just before his late Expedition into *France*, to be brought him, and perusing it, caused *Gardiner's* name to be struck out of the number of the Counsellors appointed for the Council of State, during *Edward's* Minority. Sir *Anthony Brown*, who was present, would have spoke in the Bishop's behalf (6). But the King answered, he knew *Gardiner*, and though he himself could govern him, yet none of those who were to come after him would be able to do it.

This Will, extant in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, is dated *December* the 30th, 1546, and the King's name is at the bottom, with those of ten Witnesses. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was signed with the King's own hand. This was afterwards questioned. Mr. *Rymer*, who collected the Records, would have done well to have put the thing out of dispute, and informed the world, whether he had the Original in his hands, and if so, whether the King's name was his own Hand-writing. This he might have easily known, by comparing his name on the Will, with his usual Signings, of which doubtless he had several by him (7). The Importance of this Inquiry consists, in that the Act of Parliament, empowering the King to settle the Succession, ordered, it should be by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his last Will, signed with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the Line of *Scotland*, not being placed in the order which belonged to them, questioned the Validity of the Will, maintaining, that *Henry* had not signed it with his own Hand-writing. Indeed it could be alledged against this pretension, that the Will being dated a month before the King's death, there was no room to suppose, *Henry* was then unable to sign it. On the other hand, it is not impossible, that having ordered his Will to be transcribed the 30th of *December*, he delayed to set his hand, and so was prevented by death. But there is moreover a strong Presumption he did not sign it with his own hand, namely, he was, very probably, unable to write several months before his death, doubtless, by reason his Fingers were so swollen, that he could not hold his Pen. This Conjecture is confirmed by two Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, both prior to the Will. The first is a Power of the 31st of *August* 1546, given by *Henry* to three of his Ministers (8) to sign in his Name, all the Royal Commissions, and Acts of Grace. The second is a like Power of the 16th of *October* following, to some of his Council to put the King's Stamp to, and Seal with his Signet, all Acts to which the King's hand was required (9). The reason alledged for these Powers, was taken from the multiplicity of Affairs, wherewith the King was overwhelmed. But as he had never less than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloke to hide his Indisposition. However, as this dispute, which concerned only the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was ended by the Accession of that Family to the Throne of *England*, it is now of no consequence. And therefore it suffices to mention wherein it consisted (10). Here follows the manner wherein *Henry* settled the Succession, pursuant to the Power given him by Act of Parliament in the year 1543.

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 106.

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 106.

ib. p. 106.

Order of the
Succession.

I. Prince *Edward* and all his Posterity.

(1) Their chief Accusers were some of their own Family. The Duchess, Daughter of *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, had, for above four years, been parted from the Duke her Husband; his Daughter, *Mary* Duchess of *Richmond*, was grown an extreme Enemy of her Brother. From these two Ladies came the first Information against those unfortunate Lords, as appears from Lord *Herbert*, p. 263, 264.

(2) *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey* had married *Frances* Daughter of the Earl of *Oxford*, by whom he had two Sons, *Thomas* and *Henry*, and three Daughters. The Duke of *Norfolk* would have allied himself to the *Seymour* Family, by engaging his Son to marry the Earl of *Hertford's* Daughter, which his Son would not consent to, and the Duchess of *Richmond* his Daughter, to Sir *Thomas Seymour*. *Herbert*, p. 263, 264.

(3) *December* 12. *Stow*, p. 592.

(4) This year, in the latter end of *March*, the publick Stews which had long been allowed by the State, were suppressed. *Stow*, p. 591. They were a continued row of Houses along the *Thames* side in *Southwark*, eighteen in number, and distinguished by Signs. In the Reign of *Henry* II, there were several regulations made concerning these Houses, to be seen in *Stow's Survey of London*, Book IV. p. 7. *Camden* thinks they were called Stews, from the Fish-ponds near them, for the sitting and cleansing Pike and Tench. *Camden in Surrey*.---- April 27. *William Fexley* fell asleep, and could not be waked by any means, till he had slept fourteen days and fifteen nights. The King's Physicians, as well as the King himself, examined him, but the Cause of his sleeping thus could not be known. He was Potter to the Mint in the *Tower*. When he awoke he thought he had slept but one night. He lived forty one years after, till 1587, *Stow*, p. 591. *Hollingsb.* p. 972.---- Of much the same nature is what we find mentioned in *Rymer's Fæd.* There is, in Vol. XIV. p. 447, a Bull of *Clement VII.* for *John Scot* a Layman in the Diocese of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, who lived a hundred and six days without Food.---- This year, on Feb. 18. died the famous *Martin Luther* aged sixty three years. *Steidan*, l. 16.---- In *Henry VIII's* Reign (though the particular time is not mentioned) was instituted the Government of the President of the North; *Jensal* Bishop of *Durham* was the first President.

(5) It was founded out of three others, *St. Michael's College*, built by *Harvey* of *Stanton*, in *Edward II's* days; *King's-Hall*, founded by *Edward III*; and *Fishwicke*, or *Fyllycke* Hostel. King *Henry* founded it for a Master, and sixty Fellows and Scholars, but it has been since augmented by several benefactions. *Camden in Cambr.*---- About the same time the King also founded *Christ-Church* Hospital in *London*, and endowed it with five hundred Marks. It was, before the Suppression, a Convent of *Franciscans* or *Grey Friars*, but the King bestowed both the Ground and Buildings of the said Convent, as also the adjoining Hospital of *St. Bartolomew*, on the City, for the relief of the poor. *Stow*, p. 592.

(6) Thinking it was only an omission. *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 349.

(7) Some Gentlemen were deputed in Queen *Anne's* Reign, by Persons of the first Rank in the Kingdom, to go to the Chapter House of *Westminster* Abbey, to search for the original Will among the Records of the Exchequer. They found one consisting of several Sheets of sott coarse Paper, tacked together with a braid of green and white Ribband; the Writing of a mean and slovenly Character. The Will was signed on the Top of the first, and the end of the last Page, with the King's hand-writing, as pretended, but the Character was fairer than ever he could make, and the Hand it self, like a counterfeit Hand. Upon comparing his Name on the Will, with his Stamp and his usual Hand-writing, it agreed with neither. See *Acta Regia*. p. 348. Vol. III.

(8) Sir *Anthony Denny*, *John Gate* Esq; and *William Clerc* Gent. *Rymer*, Tom. 15. p. 101.

(9) There is the like Order before, dated *October* 12. 1545. *Ibid.* p. 81.

(10) *Mutland* Secretary to the Queen of *Scotland*, accounted the ablest Man of his Nation at that time, in a Letter to Sir *William Cecil*, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, says, "The King neither signed the Will, nor ordered the Stamp to be put to it. He had been oft desired to sign it, but always put it off; But when he saw his death approaching, one *William Clarke*, Servant to *Thomas Hennege*, put the Stamp to it, and some Gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to sign as Witnesses. For this he appealed to the Deposition of the Lord *Pager*, and desired the Marquis of *Winchester* and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Doctor *Buts*, &c. might be examined, and their Depositions entered in the Chancery. He also appealed to the original Will, by which it would appear, that it was not signed but stamped only; and therefore not being according to the Act of Parliament, was of no force". See this Letter in *Burnet*, Vol. I. p. 349; and *Collect.* p. 267.

II. The

1546.

II. The Children he might have by his present Queen, or any other whom he should marry after her.

III. The Princess *Mary* and her Issue, provided she married with the assent and consent of the Executors of his last Will and Testament, or of the major part of those who should then be alive, given under their Hands and Seals. This consent of the Executors, was a condition so annexed to the Right he granted *Mary* to succeed in her turn, that without it, his intent was, she should entirely forfeit her Title to the Crown.

IV. The Princess *Elizabeth* upon the same condition with *Mary*.

V. *Frances Brandon* eldest Daughter of his Sister *Mary* and the Duke of *Suffolk*.

VI. *Eleanor Brandon*, *Frances's* younger Sister.

If all these Persons should happen to die without Heirs, or their Issue come to fail, it was the King's Will, that the Crown should go to the next rightful Heirs. By that he could mean only *Mary* the young Queen of *Scotland*, Grand-daughter of his eldest Sister *Margaret*, who ought naturally to have preceded the Children of the King's younger Sister *Mary*.

Lastly, he added, that in case *Mary* performed not the condition required of her, the Crown should devolve to *Elizabeth*, as if *Mary* had died without Heirs.

In like manner, if *Elizabeth* neglected to perform the same condition, his intent was, that the Crown should go to *Frances Brandon*, as if *Elizabeth* had died without Issue.

Executors.

He appointed for Executors of his last Will thirteen Lords, most of whom were Privy Counsellors, as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward's* Uncle, &c. These thirteen (1) Executors were also nominated for the Prince his Successor's Privy-Council, till he was eighteen years of age. Moreover, he named certain Persons who were to be called to the Council upon extraordinary occasions.

Debts.

He ordered his Executors to pay first all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to several particular Persons.

Heir.

He made the Prince his Son Heir to all his Goods, Plate, Jewels, Money, Cannons, Ammunition, Ships, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of those who were appointed for his Privy-Counsellors, till he had attained to eighteen years of age.

Legacies.

He gave, till their Marriage, to his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth* a yearly pension of three thousand pounds Sterling, and to each a portion of ten thousand pounds or more, if the Executors thought proper.

He left his Queen a Legacy of three thousand Pounds, either in Jewels or Plate, as she pleased, and a thousand pounds in ready Money besides her Dower.

Lastly, he gave five hundred Marks to each of his Executors who were Lords, and to the others three hundred each.

Remark on Henry's Settlement of the Succession.

The most extraordinary thing in this Will was, the King's passing over in silence the posterity of his eldest Sister *Margaret*, or at least his placing them after the Line of his youngest Sister *Mary*. Besides, the clause in his Will, which said that after the posterity of *Eleanor Brandon*, the Crown should go to the next Heir, must have been favorably explained for this first branch, since these general words were liable to sundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power, the Parliament had given the King, to settle the Succession, or rather to unsettle and put it in a horrible confusion, if Divine Providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not possible to devise any other reason of his proceedings, than his hatred of the *Septs*, and his fear that the Kingdom of *England* would one day fall under the Dominion of a Prince or Princess of that Nation, which however all his precautions could not hinder.

Whilst the King was ordering his Will to be transcribed, the Duke of *Norfolk's* and the Earl of *Surrey's* process was forming with great warmth. The King being resolved to dispatch these two Lords, nothing was able to save them. The Son was first brought to his Trial

1547.
The Earl of Surrey is beheaded.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Holinshed.

(1) There are sixteen named in all, of whom there were only seven that were Lords or Bishops; viz. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, Earl of *Hertford* young *Edward's* Uncle, Lord St. *John*, Lord *Ruffel*, Viscount *Lisle*, Bishop *Tusford*. The rest were, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Montagu*, Justice *Bromley*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Harland*, Sir *Edward Weston*, and Dr. *Weston* his brother.

(2) *January 13.* Herbert, p. 264.

(3) *Henry Howard* eldest Son of *Thomas* third Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward* second Duke of *Buckingham* died much pitied, being a Man of great Parts and high Courage, with many other noble Qualities. His Sentence was generally condemned as an Act of high Injustice and Severity, which loaded the *Seymour's* with a popular Odium that they could never overcome. Sir *Richard Seale* deposing, that he knew certain things of the Earl, which touched his Fidelity to the King; the Earl vehemently affirmed himself a true Man, and offered to fight in his Shirt with his Accuser. As to his giving the Arms of the Contender, he said he did it according to the opinion of the King's Herald. His Sister *Mary*, Duchess of *Richmond* being examined, confessed that the Earl her Brother should say, *These now Men* (meaning the *Seymour's*) *lowered his Nobility, and if God called away the King, they should prove for it, with some other pathmatic words and circumstantial Speeches, little to his advantage.* He lies buried at *Franklinham* in the County of *Suffolk*. Herbert, p. 263, &c. Burnet, Tom. I. p. 345, &c. *Dugdale's Baron*. Vol. II. p. 273.

(4) Which they did *January 27.* *Journal's Parl.*

at *Guild-Hall* (2), before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commissioners, and put upon an Inquest of Commoners, because he was not a Peer of the Realm, the Duke his Father being alive. Several Witnesses were examined, whose Depositions the Lord *Herbert* has inserted in his History. But there appears nothing sufficient to convict him of High-Treason, of which he was accused. What was chiefly urged against him was his giving St. *Edward's* Arms, from whence it was inferred, he aspired to the Throne. However, the King being resolved he should die, he received sentence of death, and was beheaded [on *Tower-Hill*] the 19th of *January* (3).

1547.

Mean while the Duke of *Norfolk* used all sorts of means to obtain the King's pardon. He knew him well enough to be sensible, that nothing but an entire submission was capable of appeasing him. To this end, he wrote him a very humble and submissive Letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him, and entreated him for God's sake to let him know the cause of his disgrace. He prayed likewise, that his accusers might be brought face to face before his Majesty, or at least his Council, that his cause might be maturely examined. He knew not, he said, that he had offended any Man, otherwise than in appearing very zealous against the *Sacramentarians*. But therein he had only complied with his Majesty's sentiments and orders. He concluded with conjuring him, to be satisfied with taking all or part of his Lands and Goods as he pleased, leaving him only a subsistence.

This Letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the Duke expected. By clearing himself, he accused the King of injustice, an offence which would not have been easily pardoned, though his destruction had not been resolved. The Duke seeing the King unmoved, signed, the 12th of *January*, before the Lord Chancellor and several other Privy-Counsellors, a Writing wherein he confessed, "That on several occasions he had been guilty of High-Treason, in concealing from the King that his Son the Earl of *Surrey* bore the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confessor, which did only belong to the King: "That himself had born in the first quarter of his Arms, ever since his Father's death, the Arms of *England*, with a difference of the Labels of Silver, which were the proper Arms of the King's eldest Son, and of no other. That he owned this to be High-Treason by the Laws of the Realm; and that he signed this submission without compulsion [or advice,] and threw himself entirely upon the King's mercy."

Very probably the Duke was induced of himself, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confession, in the belief, he should never obtain his pardon, unless he confessed himself guilty, that the King might have room to show mercy. But it was all to no purpose. His ruin was resolved, and the King was not wont to desist from such resolutions when once they were taken. Mean while, as it was easy to see that the Peers, who were the Duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced against him, the King thought he should more easily compass his ends by an Act of Attainder. So the Parliament meeting at this time, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of *January*, and passed. In all likelihood the Duke's confession under his own hand, contributed very much to the passing of the Bill. At least it served for an excuse to those who durst not oppose it. The Bill being sent down to the Commons, was read thrice, and sent up also passed on the 24th of *January*. According to the method, too frequently practised in this Reign, it contained only general accusations, without specifying any thing, except the Duke's bearing the Arms of *England*, with three Labels of Silver. It was very strange, that his Arms should not have been taken notice of before, which he had born so long in the sight of the King himself, and the whole Court, which he had received from his Ancestors, and for which he had the opinion of the Heralds. The Bill having passed in both Houses, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hertford*, and some other Lords were commissioned under the Great-Seal to give the Royal assent (4). After that, a Warrant was sent to the Lieute-

Herbert.

p. 263, 264

The Duke of Norfolk tries in vain to obtain his Pardon.
Herbert.
p. 265.
Burnet.

Herbert.
p. 265.
Burnet.

He is attainted in Parliament.
Burnet.

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 118.

A Warrant for his Execution.

1547.
He escapes
narrowly.

Cranmer
retires to
Croydon dur-
ing the
Duke's pro-
cess.
Burnet.

The King's
death ap-
proaches.

nant of the *Tower*, to cut off the Duke's head the 29th of *January*. But happily for him the King died the night before, and the Council did not think it advisable to begin the new Reign with the execution of one of the greatest Lords of the Kingdom. It is to be observed, that during all the proceedings both of the Court and the Parliament against the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surrey*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* withdrew to *Croydon*, without ever appearing at Court. As these two Lords were justly deemed his most mortal enemies, he would not be accused of being concerned in what was transacting against them.

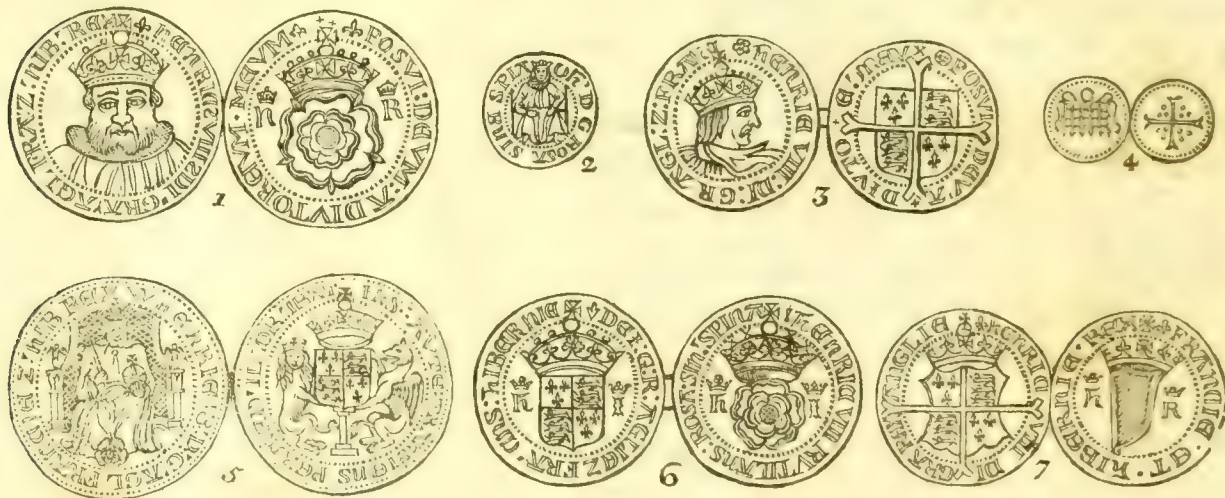
Whilst these Proceffes were forming, the King was seized in his bed with an illness which brought him insensibly to his end. However, the consideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to use compassion towards two Lords, of one of the most ancient Families in *England*, who had done him great Services, and hitherto were guilty of no crime which deserved so severe a punishment. On this occasion, prevailed, as on many others, passion and policy in the King's mind, over justice and mercy. He was bent, at any rate, to sacrifice these two Lords to his Son's safety, and to establish, by their death, all the alterations he had made in Religion, being persuaded they would use their utmost endeavours to destroy them. The sequel plainly showed, he was not mistaken with regard to the Duke of *Norfolk* who survived him. This Lord's Life, preserved

by a sort of Miracle, was a demonstration, how vain are humane precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God.

The King's illness continually increased, and no Man dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that a Prince who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and punish it according to an Act of Parliament, by which those who should dare to foretell the King's death, were adjudged Traitors. But at last Sir *Anthony Denny*, one of his Privy-Counsellors, had the courage and charity to warn him that he had but a few hours to live. The King thanked him, and expressed his great grief and horror for all the Sins of his past Life. Whereupon, *Denny* asked him if any Clergyman should be sent for, and he said, if any, it should be the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But *Cranmer*, being then at *Croydon*, could not come till the King was speechless. He had but just time to desire him to give some sign of his dying in the Faith of *Christ*. The King squeezed his hand, and presently after expired in the night between the 28th and 29th of *January* 1546-7, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, having reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was kept private three days. Probably the Council took time to consult whether the Duke of *Norfolk* should be executed. At last, after three days, the Lord Chancellor signified to both Houses, that the King was dead and the Parliament thereby dissolved (1).

(1) The Reader may see *Henry's* Character drawn at length by the Lord *Herbert*. But as his Life and Actions sufficiently make him known, I shall only add what *Bishop Burnet* says of him at the End of his first Volume of the History of the Reformation. King *Henry VIII.* is rather to be reckoned among the Great than the Good Princes. He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Persuasions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the Worst.-----King *Henry's* Body lies buried at *Windfor*, under a most stately Tomb, begun in Copper and gilt, but not finished. The Reader may see the Model of what it was intended to be, in *Speed*, p. 784.

By Indentures of the 1st. and 23d. of *Henry VIII.* a Pound weight of Gold of the Old Standard, was to be coined into twenty seven Pounds by Tale; viz. into twenty four Sovereigns, at 2 s. 6 d. a piece, or forty eight Rials at 11 s. 3 d. a piece, or seventy two Angels at 7 s. 6 d. a piece, or eighty one George-Nobles at 6 s. 8 d. a piece, or one hundred and forty four half Angels at 3 s. 9 d. a piece, or one hundred and sixty two Forty penny-pieces at 3 s. 4 d. a piece; and a pound weight of Gold of the fineness of twenty two Carats only, was to be coined into one hundred Crowns and a half of the double Rose, or two hundred and one half Crowns, making by Tale twenty five Pounds two Shillings and Six-pence; and a pound weight of Silver of the Old Sterling, was coined into one hundred and thirty five Groats, or two hundred and seventy half Groats, or five hundred and forty Sterlings, (or Pence,) or one thousand and eighty Half-pence, or two thousand one hundred and sixty Farthings; so that every pound weight of Sterling Silver was coined into forty five Shillings by Tale.-----In the 34th. of this Reign, a pound weight of Gold of twenty three Carats fine, and one Carat Allay, was coined into twenty eight Pounds sixteen Shillings by Tale; by which Indenture there were coined Sovereigns at 20 s. a piece, Half-Sovereigns at 10 s. Angels at 8 s. and Quarter-Angels at 2 s. a piece; and a pound weight of Silver of ten Ounces fine, and two Ounces Allay, was coined into forty eight Shillings by Tale, namely, into Testoons (which were 12 d. a piece) Groats, Half-groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings.-----In the 36th. of *Henry VIII.* a pound weight of Gold of twenty two Carats fine, and two Carats Allay, was coined into thirty Pounds by Tale; viz. into thirty Sovereigns at 20 s. a piece, or sixty Half-Sovereigns at 10 s. a piece, or one hundred and twenty Crowns at 5 s. a piece, or two hundred and forty Half-Crowns: And the King had two Carats of fine Gold for Coinage, which yielded him fifty shillings. Silver was coined by the same Indenture, of six Ounces fine and six Ounces Allay, into forty eight Shillings by Tale. It was coined into Testoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings.-----In the 37th. of this Reign, a pound weight of Gold of twenty Carats fine, and four Carats Allay, was coined into thirty Pounds by Tale, as in the last; and the King had four Carats which yielded him five Pounds two Shillings: And a pound weight of Silver, of four Ounces fine, and eight Ounces Allay was coined into forty eight Shillings by Tale, which raised the pound weight of fine Gold to thirty six Pounds; and the pound weight of fine Silver to seven Pounds four Shillings.



The Gold Coins of *Henry VIII.* are Sovereigns, Rials, Half-Sovereigns, Angels, George-Nobles, half and quarter Angels, forty-penny Pieces, Crowns, and half-Crowns: And the Silver-Coins, Testoons, Groats, half Groats, Sterlings, Half-pence, Farthings; to which may be added Crown-Pieces of Silver, which were first coined by this King. *Henry's* Sovereign has on one side HENRIC. 8. D. G. AGL. FRANCIE Z HIB. REX the King in his Robes crowned upon his Throne, with the Scepter and Ball. Reverse, the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, supported by a Lion and a Dragon, IHS. AVTE. TRANSIENS PER MED. ILLOR. IBAT. (Fig. 5.) The Angel of this King is like his Father's; a half Angel has this Inscription on the Reverse, CRVX. AVE. SPES. VNICA. The Crown and Half-Crown of Gold, have on one side a large Rose and Crown betwixt H. I. crowned, HENRIC. VIII. RVTILANS. ROSA SIN. SPINA. Reverse, the Arms of *France* and *England* quartered under a Crown; and H. I.-----DEL. G. R. AGLIE Z. FRA. DNS. HIBERNIE. (Fig. 6.) As for the Silver-Coins, there were two sorts of Testoons or Shillings. That of fine Silver exhibits the King half faced, whereof one has CIVITAS EBORACI. The other Shilling, called the broad-faced Shilling, of a baser Allay, has on one side HENRIC. VIII. DL. GRA. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Reverse, POSVI, &c. a Rose crowned, with H. R. likewise crowned. (Fig. 1.) The Groat has his Head with the side Face, HENRIC. VIII. DL. GR. AGL. Z. FRANCIE. Reverse, the Arms, POSVI, &c. (Fig. 3.) Another has HENRIC. VIII. DL. GRA. REX. ANGLIE. Reverse FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE REX, a crowned Harp between the Letters H. and R. crowned (Fig. 7.) Some coined by Cardinal *Wolsey* at *York*, have a Cardinal's Hat under the Arms. His Pence and Half-pence give him seated on a Throne, with (and sometimes without) the Globe and Scepter. H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPIA. (Fig. 2.) The Farthing has on one side a Portcullis (whereby it is distinguished from Half-pence, which it was not before,) and a Crois and Pansies on the other. (Fig. 4.)

DIRECTIONS concerning the Genealogical Tables.

HISTORY represents to us four things, which are essential to it: 1. The Events: 2. The Place where: 3. The Time when they happened: 4. The Persons who were the Actors. If therefore, in order to understand a History perfectly, it is necessary to have a Knowledge of the Country where the Scene of the Actions lies, by means of Geography, and of the Times wherein they were transacted by Chronology; it is no less requisite to know the Persons concerned, by the help of Genealogies, which very often discover the motives and reasons of Things. Nay, Genealogy has this great advantage above Geography and Chronology, that whereas these last present to the Mind some particular Actions only; the bare Names in a Genealogical Table, form, if I may so say, an Abstract of all the remarkable events in those Persons lives.

Nothing is more easy than to make Genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and distinct manner, and to observe a fix'd and constant method, which represents to the Eye and Mind what one looks after, without the least trouble. This I have endeavour'd to do, by means of the following Rules, which it will be proper to lay before the Reader.

1. The Genealogical Tables are divided by horizontal Lines, marked, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. On the first Line is placed the Name of the common Stock, whose Posterity is set down on the other Lines. Thus all that are placed on the same horizontal Line, (or between the same Figures) are at an equal distance, or in the same Degree from the common Original. Hence may be seen by the cast of an Eye, the number of Generations from the common Root, and the Degrees of Consanguinity between the Descendants. For instance, in the Table of *Woden's* Posterity, *Woden* being the common Stock of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, *Hengist*, first King of *Kent*, is placed on Line (6), by which is meant that *Hengist* is the fifth Descendant from *Woden*. Afterwards, in the Genealogical Table of the Kings of *Kent*, *Hengist* is placed on a Line marked (6), by which means one may immediately see how many degrees any one of *Hengist's* Descendants were removed from *Woden*.

England ceasing to be under the Dominion of the *Saxons* by the Conquest of the *Normans*, instead of *Woden*, *William* the Conqueror is made the common Root of the *English* Kings down to the present Time. Accordingly, in the Genealogy of *William* the Conqueror, his name stands upon the Line marked (1.) to denote his being the Stock from whence all the others spring. For instance, *Edward III.* in this Table, being on Line (9.) in the Table of his own Posterity, he is placed at the same Number, to shew it is only a Continuation of the Genealogy of *William* the Conqueror.

2. The Sons are always placed according to the Order of their Birth, from the left hand towards the right, by which means the eldest Branches are distinguished from the younger, at one view. The same Order is not observed with regard to the Daughters, who are placed in the void Spaces, so as to prevent the Lines from running out to too great a length. But however, the elder stands always on the left hand of the younger Sister.

3. The Children of the same Prince are placed so, that their Father stands in the Line over them, just in the middle, which saves a great deal of trouble and confusion.

4. As the only end of these Genealogical Tables is to facilitate the reading of this History, several Persons who died young, or unmarried, or without Issue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things which render Genealogies plain and useful, is to load them with as few words as possible. By which means the blank Spaces will remain the larger between the names, than which nothing contributes more to make the Tables clear and distinct. This is the reason the following Abbreviations are made use of, as, E. for Earl, D. for Duke, K. for King, Q. for Queen, W. for Wife, d. for died. The Names written in *Italian* Character, under those that are part of the Genealogy, denote the Husband or Wives. For instance, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sledda} \\ \text{Ricola of Kent.} \end{array} \right\}$ This signifies that *Sledda* married *Ricola* Prince of *Kent*. When two or more Names are under another, with Numbers before them, this means, 1st. Wife, 2d. Wife, 3d. Wife, or Husband, &c.

6. Lastly, Each King has a Number annex'd, to denote the order of Succession, and in what rank each succeeded to the Crown. This is absolutely necessary in the Succession to the Throne of *England*, where the order of the Branches was not always observed.



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